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The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture

Foreword by Douglas Cardinal

Springer

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Editors

The Handbook
of Contemporary Indigenous
Architecture

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This book is respectfully dedicated to our fathers, Berthold Enderl (1930–2016), Hugh Greenop (1941–2017), Palaiali'i Farani Refiti (1932–2009) and John Richard Glenn (1938–).

We would like to acknowledge the role our fathers have played in each of our lives. Elizabeth's father, Bert, and Kelly's father, Hugh, both passed away during the preparation of this book. Albert's father, Palaiali'i, passed away a few years earlier, and Albert is a father and grandfather himself. Daniel is also a father and continues to work in partnership with his father, John.

This book is dedicated to our fathers, and fathers everywhere, acknowledging the importance that they have in developing strong, resilient children, families and communities.

Elizabeth Grant, Kelly Greenop,
Albert L. Refiti, Daniel J. Glenn

The original version of the book was revised:
Authors' biographies have been updated. The
erratum to this book is available at
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_35

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the following people and organisations for their contributions to the production of this volume:

Referees

Dr Greg Bamford, Adjunct Senior Fellow, The University of Queensland
Professor Emeritus Graham Brawn, The University of Melbourne
Visiting Assistant Professor Jacob Culbertson, Haverford College, Pennsylvania
Professor Tina A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpaul, Auckland University of Technology
Adjunct Associate Professor Shaneen Fantin People Oriented Design, Cairns, The University of Queensland and James Cook University
Associate Professor Julia Gatley, University of Auckland
Ms Carroll Go-Sam, The University of Queensland
Dr Elin Haugdal, The Arctic University of Norway
Associate Professor Scott Heyes, University of Canberra
Dr Anthony Hoete, WHAT Architecture, London
Philip Kirke, INDIOC Design Studio, Western Australia
Professor David Jones, Deakin University
Noelle M.K.Y. Kahanu, University of Hawai'i
Professor Gini Lee, The University of Melbourne
Professor Hirini Matunga, Lincoln University
Dr Janet McGaw, The University of Melbourne
Dr Daniel M. Millette, Carleton University
Associate Professor Anoma Pieris, The University of Melbourne
Associate Professor Grant Revell, The University of Western Australia
Professor Emeritus Frank Vodvarka, Loyola University, Chicago
Professor Paul Walker, The University of Melbourne
Adjunct Associate Professor Ed Wensing, James Cook University

The University of Adelaide reallocated work to enable Elizabeth Grant to work intensively on the editing of the handbook for a six-month period and supported travel for editorial meetings.

The Indigenous Design Place and Aboriginal Environments Research Centre, The University of Queensland, provided financial support of editors to travel, meet and present work to scholars and practitioners in Brisbane in 2017. The School of Architecture, The University of Queensland, provided their financial support by funding editors' travel and accommodation.

We would also like to acknowledge the numerous academics and practitioners, and others have contributed by reading and commenting on draft chapters and providing advice.

We also thank the many photographers, libraries and archives for permission to use their images that illustrate the works described in this book.

Finally, to the Indigenous peoples and Nations whose projects and work are represented in this volume, we would like to thank you.

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Professor Elizabeth Grant is an architectural anthropologist, criminologist and academic with a distinguished record in the field of Indigenous architecture. From 2000–2017, Elizabeth was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide. Elizabeth holds an adjunct Professorship at the University of Canberra and Associate Professorship at the University of Queensland and has published three books and over 70 papers. Elizabeth is a Churchill Fellow, a member of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), and has been honoured with the International Prison and Correctional Association (ICPA) Excellence in Research Award for her pioneering work on the design of (non)-custodial environments for Indigenous peoples. She worked on numerous Indigenous projects, prepared submissions and acted as an expert witness for Government Inquiries, coronial inquests and Royal Commissions.

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Dr Albert L. Refiti is a researcher and Senior Lecturer in Pacific Architecture, Art and Space at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand. Albert has worked in architectural practice in Auckland and London. His academic work focusses on Indigenous thought and methodologies, new ethnography and anthropology of Pacific material culture and contemporary architecture. His most recent work takes a critical look at architectural spaces that constructs communal memory in museums, diasporic communities, and neoliberal cultural institutions in the wider Pacific.

Daniel J. Glenn, AIA, AICAE is an award-winning architect specialising in culturally responsive architecture and planning for diverse cultures and Indigenous communities. He is the Principal of 7 Directions Architects/Planners, a Native-owned firm in Seattle, Washington. His work and philosophy reflect his Crow tribal heritage. He has been featured in the film, *Aboriginal Architecture: Living Architecture* (Bullfrog Films), and four of his projects are published in the book, *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands* (University of Minnesota Press 2013). He is a regularly invited speaker at national conferences, and he appeared in 2016 in *Native American Green: New Directions in Tribal Housing* in the Public Broadcasting Service series, *Natural Heroes*. He will be part of a team of North American Indigenous architects led by Douglas Cardinal representing Canada in the 2018 Venice Biennale with an entry entitled, *Unceded*.

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Acronyms

AAP	Australian Associated Press (Aust)
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation (Aust)
ABI	Acquired brain injury
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics (Aust)
AERC	Aboriginal Environments Research Centre (The University of Queensland, Aust)
AHC	Aboriginal Housing Company (Aust)
AHP	Aboriginal Housing Panel (Aust)
AIA	American Institute of Architects (US)
AIA	Australian Institute of Architects (Aust)
AICAE	American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers (US)
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (Aust)
AIM	American Indian Movement (US)
ALRC	Australian Law Reform Commission (Aust)
ANU	Australian National University (Aust)
AOO	Algonquins of Ontario (Can)
APY	Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (Aust)
ARC	Australian Research Council (Aust)
ATSI	Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders (Aust)
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (Aust)
ATSIHP	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Housing Panel (Aust)
Black GST	Political Movement ending with acronym GST meaning to end 'genocide', assert 'sovereignty' and secure a 'treaty' (Aust)
CAAC	Central Australian Aboriginal Congress (Aust)
CAT	Centre for Appropriate Technology (Aust)
CCAB	Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (Can)
CEFPI	Council of Educational Facility Planners International
CIP	Canadian Institute of Planners (Can)
COAG	Council of Australian Governments (Aust)
COST	European Cooperation in Science and Technology

CRC	Cooperative Research Centres (Aust)
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (Aust)
DoCoMoMo	(or Docomomo) International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement
DPAC	Design Planning Assistance Center (US)
ECE	Early childhood education
ECU	Edith Cowan University (Aust)
EDRA	Environmental Design Research Association
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (Aust)
FNMI	First Nations, Metis and Inuit (Can)
GAO	General Accounting Office (US)
HIS	Indian Health Services (US)
HUD	Department of Housing and Urban Development (US)
IADV	Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria (Aust)
ICHO	Indigenous Community Housing Organisations (Aust)
IgCC	International Green Construction Code
IHA	Indian Housing Authority (US)
IHANT	Indigenous Housing Authority of the Northern Territory (Aust)
IHBG	Indian Housing Block Grant (US)
ILC	Indigenous Land Corporation (Aust)
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Canada)
LEED	Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design
LCA	Law Council of Australia (Aust)
LIHTC	Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (US)
LRT	Light Rail Transit
MQB	Musée du quai Branly, Paris
NAHASDA	Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act (US)
NAHS	National Aboriginal Health Strategy (Aust)
NAISA	Native American Indigenous Studies Association
NATIVE	Northeast Arizona Technical Institute for Vocational Education (US)
NATSISS	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (Aust)
NCC	National Construction Code of Australia (Aus)
NDIS	National Disability Insurance Scheme (Aust)
NITV	National Indigenous Television (Aust)
NMA	National Museum of Australia
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian
NMMFA	New Mexico Mortgage Finance Authority (US)
NPA	Northern Peninsula Area (Queensland, Aust)
NSW	New South Wales (Aust)
NT	Northern Territory (Aust)

NZIA	New Zealand Institute of Architects (NZ)
NZILA	New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects (NZ)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLT	Commonwealth of Australia's Office of Learning and Teaching (Aust)
POE	Post-Occupancy Evaluation
PCC	Polynesian Cultural Center
PSL	Parallel Strand Lumber
QHTN	Queensland Heritage Trails Network (Aust)
QLD	Queensland (Aust)
QPWS	Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service (Aust)
RAIA	Royal Australian Institute of Architects (Aust)
RAIC	Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (Can)
SA	South Australia (Aust)
SAHANZ	Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand
STA	Sāmoan Tourism Association
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service (Aust)
SCinIC	Sustainable Construction in Indian Country Initiative (US)
SCRGSP	Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision (Aust)
SEAFG	South East Aboriginal Focus Group (South Australia) (Aus)
SEED	Social Economic Environmental Design
SIHIP	Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program (Aust)
SIP	Structural Insulated Panel
SNCC	Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative (US)
SPL	Saskatoon Public Library (Can)
TAFE	Technical and Further Education (Aust)
TSRA	Torres Strait Regional Authority (Aust)
UIHS	United Indian Health Services (US)
UiT	The Arctic University of Norway
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
VIC	Victoria (Aust)
VTOLJG	Victorian Traditional Owners Land Justice Group (Aust)
WA	Western Australia (Aust)
WTC	Welcome to Country (Aust)

Foreword

Indigenous means *of the land*. As Indigenous people, we have a symbiotic relationship with the land and with each other. Rather than separated from nature, or above nature, we are nature. The spirit of the land flows through all life, including ourselves, and we are governed by natural law.

I am Anishinaabe, and what I learned through my elders was how to regard each individual with respect and care. We extend that to all the herbs, medicines, plants, water, fish, birds and animals, all of which we consider as our relations. With this world view, we have a distinct approach to architecture and planning.

The architecture of the dominant culture reflects the hierarchal world view of power and control over human nature and nature itself. Since it is hierarchical, planning comes from the top-down, where the will of the dominant culture is an imposition on human nature and our natural environment.

The Indigenous planning process is from the bottom-up, where people and their needs are our primary focus. It is the user of the space and the vision of the people who will be served that, from which the architectural form is established. Each cell or space is interconnected to each other, and the study of these connections creates a matrix in which an organism begins to evolve. Placing that organism on the site, it is developed with respect not only to the internal forces of the program that are shaping it, but to the external forces as well, such as the topography, landscaping, sun angles and wind patterns.

When the form naturally takes shape around the needs of all people and the environment, then when it is placed in its natural environment it extends that respect to all the life that surrounds it. If we draw on nature as our source of inspiration and entwine natural forms with our own human forms, then we arrive at works of art that elevate the spirit of all who enter the spaces we create.

We must achieve balance and harmony with each other as well as all life around us. We need beauty and harmony around us. As human beings, we all aspire to create or build environment with that in mind.

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada   Douglas Cardinal

Douglas Cardinal is a master builder, his life is dedicated to creating beautiful, thriving and harmoniously built environments. Born in 1934 in Calgary, Alberta, his architectural studies at The University of British Columbia took him to Austin, Texas, where he achieved his architectural degree and found a life experience in human rights initiatives. He then became a forerunner of philosophies of sustainability, green buildings and ecologically designed community planning. His architecture springs from his observation of Nature and its understanding that everything works seamlessly together. In recognition of such work, he has received many national and international awards including 20 Honorary Doctorates, Gold Medals of Architecture in Canada and Russia, and an award from United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for best sustainable village. He is also titled an Officer of the Order of Canada, one of the most prestigious awards given to a Canadian, and he was awarded the declaration of being 'World Master of Contemporary Architecture' by the International Association of Architects. He is one of the visionaries of a new world: a world where beauty, balance and harmony thrive and where client, architect and stakeholder build together with a common vision.
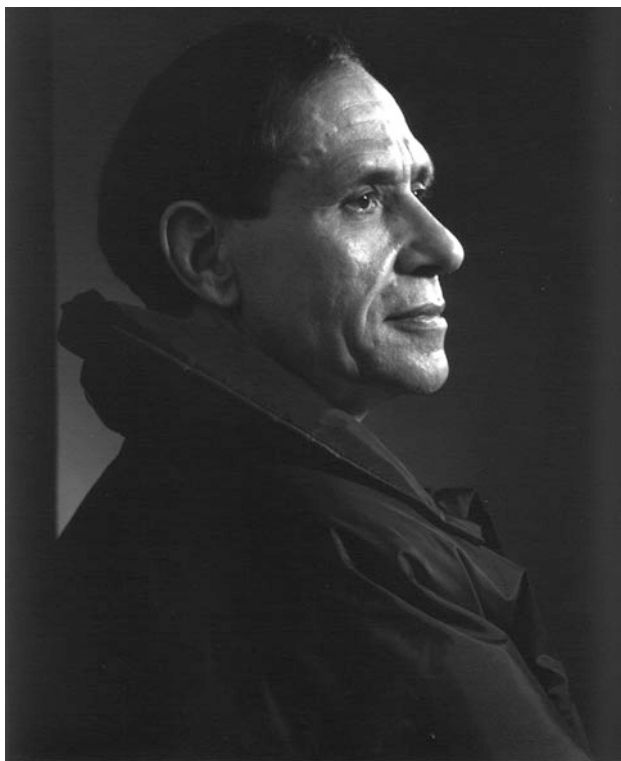
Douglas Cardinal (*Photograph* Yousuf Karsh. Used with permission)

Chapter 1
Introduction

Check for
updates

Elizabeth Grant, Kelly Greenop, Albert L. Refiti and Daniel J. Glenn

Indigenous Architecture: A Growing Practice, Scholarship and Debate

The publication of the *Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* is a reflection of the rise in scholarly work and architectural practice in a field that barely two decades ago was paid little attention. There has been a global rise of contemporary architecture by, with and for Indigenous peoples, who wish to claim, reclaim and revitalise the built environment, and to create places and spaces that are congruent with and reflective of Indigenous lifestyles, histories, cultures and communities, and that celebrate Indigenous identity/s.

The original version of this chapter was revised: Authors' biographies have been updated. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_35

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What could, and more importantly, what should be included in this first volume drawing together international writing on contemporary Indigenous architecture has been the source of much debate. Each of us, as academics or practitioners at various locations across the world, had encountered a similar issue: a lack of literature- and evidence-based research for use in teaching, research and practice. Clearly, there was a need for a publication that brought together research, projects and debates on contemporary Indigenous architecture and placemaking from around the world. In this Handbook, we have strived to bring Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and practitioners from across continents to illustrate the range of project types, locations, historical, theoretical and critical approaches. The diversity of work and writing presented is testimony to the richness of debate and the array of intellectual and design work being conducted.

In this Handbook, we have concentrated on selected works and discourse from countries on the Pacific Rim (with the exception of a noteworthy chapter on Sámi architecture), that is: the USA, Canada, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and countries located within Polynesia and Micronesia. The chapters demonstrate that architecture plays an important role in Indigenous peoples' experiences of both modernity and their own cultural traditions. This book is unlikely to be the last in this emerging field of study and practice, and we anticipate that future publications will provide discussion of additional projects, practitioners, cultures, continents, countries and regions to provide scholars, students and practitioners with further theory, discourse, comparisons and case studies to draw upon. This volume does not purport to be an exhaustive study of exemplary contemporary Indigenous architecture, even within the regions under discussion: rather, it is an overview of the field by a selection of Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners and scholars, and an invitation to further discourse on the forms and contributions to contemporary Indigenous architecture.

In this volume, the chapters focus on contemporary Indigenous architecture, yet there are many significant historical accounts which trace how Indigenous architectural types have endured and the new architectures which have emerged since the colonisation of most countries within this volume and developed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Colonisation and Indigenous Architecture

The legacy of colonisation and its ongoing structures has continuing effects across all aspects of Indigenous cultures, and architecture is no exception. In the countries discussed in this Handbook, much of the architecture that existed at colonisation[1] was destroyed, often without the colonising forces recording the types, materials, usage and importance of the buildings that had been constructed for millennia.

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[1]An important exception to colonisation is the Kingdom of Tonga, which was never colonised, but was radically changed under the influence of missionisation during the same period.

There were persistent myths, for example, that Indigenous peoples in Australia and other places did not have architectural traditions prior to colonisation, although Indigenous oral histories have always asserted this was not the case. Academic scholarship over the past three decades has also proved such claims to be baseless (see, for example, Nabokov and Easton 1989; Memmott 2007; and Brown 2009). Prior to the scholarship in architectural history, it was asserted, in effect, that Indigenous architectural cultural expression considered worthless as 'not architecture', or at least not 'real' architecture. Architecture is, of course, one of the key cultural activities that asserts a collective identity and is practised by all groups of people across the world. Like all cultures, Indigenous peoples have always been architectural—people design and build to accommodate, celebrate and sustain their cultures, economies and families—and given the opportunity, architectural cultures are retained. Architectural and building traditions are vital cultural elements that can express both individual and collective identity, and maintain traditions of craftsmanship, material culture and construction techniques. Architectural traditions often embody knowledge of and responses to local weather, long-term climate, landscape features and resources, and enabled social and cultural practices of families, groups and entire societies to take place.

During initial colonisation and since then, scholarship and the silences within it attempted to erase Indigenous architecture from the consciousness of both scholars (see Memmott and Davidson 2008) and the broader community. The colonial destruction of Indigenous architectures, and then its subsequent omission from the historic records of a nation's cultural heritage, is now defined as cultural genocide and is prohibited in contemporary international treaties, such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), to which the USA, Canada, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, Sāmoa, Tonga and other countries discussed in this book are signatories. Notably, Australia, the USA, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand were the only countries to vote against the declaration at its inception, but have subsequently signed on at various times, years later (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 2017).

The destruction of much traditional Indigenous architectural culture is intrinsically linked to the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral or traditional lands. Colonisation involved the invasion and conquering of peoples for their land, waters and resources, and it required the elimination—physically and conceptually—of their architecture.

Archaeologists and anthropologists have studied the material cultures of Indigenous peoples since colonisation. Much of this was initially based on (contemporaneously acceptable but) racist assumptions of Indigenous inferiority. In many cases, research was patronising, and researchers did not consult with the communities being studied and did not recognise the importance of architecture, the built environment, its setting and support for Indigenous peoples' lifestyles. Similarly, geography was used in surveying, mapping and seizing Indigenous lands, and the discipline has reckoned with its complicity in colonisation in recent years (see, e.g., Howitt and Stevens 2005). Post-colonial approaches to anthropology, archaeology, sociology and other areas of scholarship have seen disciplines

beginning to reconcile with Indigenous communities through recuperative practices, new modes of research and scholarship, and through the work of Indigenous practitioners and academics. This is much less the case in architecture, both in terms of practice and scholarship and major efforts are required to address centuries-old attitudes to architectural merit, agency and how to serve users rather than only the monetary client.

Some progress was made during the 1960s when the field of 'vernacular architecture studies' was developed with authors such as Rudofsky (1964), Rapoport (1969), Oliver (1969, 1997), Brunskill (1971) and the others that followed. These scholars recorded the unique features of Indigenous architectures and helped to formally catalogue the variety, materials and forms that were then and remain under threat from urbanisation and development. This work defined important architectural traditions of Indigenous societies as 'vernacular architecture' or 'ethno-architecture' and has been invaluable in providing a centre for scholarship and debate, and recording rare examples of Indigenous architecture following destructive colonisation processes. Yet, the exceptionality of the term *vernacular* as a prefix to architecture calls into question the importance and acceptance of Indigenous architecture, and ultimately, the use of this terminology can perpetuate the marginalisation of Indigenous people's architectural practices and knowledge. To define Indigenous architecture as vernacular architecture can become a further form of segregation or othering. While the difference between *architecture* and *building* may be argued to be the difference between a cathedral and a bicycle shed, there is more often a clear racially based categorisation through which many people consider vernacular architecture—which could be glossed as 'architecture of colour'—to be no architecture at all (see, e.g., Vellinga 2012). We argue that Indigenous architecture—both contemporary and traditional—should be recognised as architecture and valued accordingly.

An important consequence of colonisation has been the imposition of culturally inappropriate architectures—based on dominant settler cultural values—on Indigenous communities across the world. The full impact of culturally inappropriate buildings and spaces on Indigenous cultures is still being developed as a field of scholarship, though the lack of 'fit' between Indigenous cultures and many of the buildings within which they live or work is clear. Indigenous communities experience ongoing problems with buildings they occupy including household crowding, building designs that are incompatible with Indigenous cultures and assumptions that Indigenous communities will assimilate into Western housing and other buildings such as educational and healthcare settings. In addition to poor cultural fit, many buildings for Indigenous peoples have had poor quality construction and environmental health standards, compared to general community standards in their country, and have other problems such as excessive operating costs or insecure tenure. Building designs that incorporate the socio-spatial and other cultural needs of Indigenous peoples should be readily available.

Commonality in Struggle, Resistance and Survival

Across the world, Indigenous minorities have been challenging the fundamental assimilationist objectives of social policies which have been the cornerstone of government and popular thinking for over 150 years. Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand share a common colonial heritage, and alongside the USA, each of these countries has a minority Indigenous population whose interests still do not receive adequate recognition and attention from current powerholders in their respective nation states. Treaties in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand have given more leverage for Indigenous peoples than found in Australia's constitution which does not currently recognise or adequately compensate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for the loss of their lands, waters and homes.

Australia, Canada, the USA and Aotearoa New Zealand each have developed market economies which have grown, initially based on agricultural industries and opportunistic mining (such as during their various gold rushes), and in the most recent century on industrial-scale natural resource extraction, tourism and land exploitation ventures. In each of these countries, Indigenous peoples' lands, waters and resources were exploited, largely without benefit to the Indigenous peoples concerned. While these developments have made for wealth at the national scale, and provided the basis for excellent living standards for invader, settler and immigrant non-Indigenous populations, in contrast, Indigenous populations enjoy few of these benefits and little access to lands. Most often, Indigenous peoples "… see themselves as having been robbed of their resources and confined to those marginal areas that were of little use to the settlers" (Armitage 1995: 9).

Today, Indigenous peoples across the world are seeking redress for these dispossessions, and this is supported by international recognition of their human rights and of the injuries and injustices committed in previous eras and that continue today. Through relatively recent official apologies and the advent of policies to improve Indigenous peoples' lives, most governments of settler colonial nations now specifically set out to assist Indigenous peoples, at least in conceptual terms, though in practice, progress towards parity for Indigenous communities has been slow. Some programmes to revitalise Indigenous architectural cultures and improve architectural outcomes for Indigenous peoples have been implemented, though results have been mixed. Providing adequate housing for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia, for example, is now described as a "wicked problem" (Head 2008) and remains inadequate, in short supply, and of poor quality, resulting in homelessness, crowding and environmentally derived health problems (see, e.g., Anderson et al. 2017). Poor housing also has lifelong social effects on Indigenous populations arising from poor educational achievement (see, e.g., Behrendt et al. 2012), poor resident health (see, e.g., Bailie et al. 2010) and stress caused by housing tenure precarity (Memmott et al. 2012).

The Recent History of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture

The practice of Indigenous architecture post-colonisation has involved many efforts to maintain architectural traditions, following both physical removal from lands and the destruction of traditional buildings. Furthermore, the changes to landscapes involving removal of access to building materials, suitable building sites and the prevention of transmission of architectural and building knowledge caused major upheavals across Indigenous worlds. Nevertheless, Indigenous peoples adapted the buildings they found themselves within and, in some places, were able to continue building traditions and maintain important architectural knowledge. The adaptation to new materials was both necessary and desired by Indigenous peoples who made use of colonial resources—initially such as nails, wire and Western tools—to construct or adapt new environments in vastly changed circumstances. Later, the adaptation of buildings through decoration, the use and arrangement of furniture, cooking spaces and other functions sought to maintain important social and cultural relationships that architecture enables. It is only relatively recently that this behaviour has been conceptualised by scholars as a meaningful activity, rather than as an expression of poverty or dysfunction.

Many of the built environments of Indigenous communities, since colonial invasion and into the present era, have been controlled by government, churches or other agencies, both in terms of determining their location and the building stock provided. Government and church buildings specifically for Indigenous peoples began as institutions, often with the specific aim of controlling contact or assimilation into colonial cultures. These buildings and those since have most often been ill-suited, poorly designed and built, and underfunded projects derived from culturally inappropriate Western architectural typologies. Architectural outcomes have failed to meet the needs of their Indigenous users, or actively clashed with the users' socio-spatial and cultural norms, causing problems with both the longevity and use of buildings. The provision of inadequate architecture does not uphold the rights, interests or aspirations of Indigenous communities and is dismissive of Indigenous capacity, traditions and cultural knowledge systems.

During the mid-twentieth century, the decoration of buildings to claim ownership, identity and incorporate them as part of an Indigenous lifeworld was a common approach to small freedoms given to Indigenous communities as excessive controls began to reduce. Slowly, increasing agency in terms of building input, construction and development of new forms (e.g. keeping places, cultural centres, meeting houses, community housing) followed, and in some cases, Indigenous peoples have established control of design briefs, budgets, design, procurement and employment derived from the process and maintenance of their buildings. This progress has been uneven, and a lack of control over buildings for Indigenous clients and communities still persists.

This Handbook details a small but rapidly growing number of contemporary built environments that take into account the cultural traditions of Indigenous

peoples. Some are by Indigenous architects, engineers and designers, and most involve serious commitment and collaboration with Indigenous communities to ensure the buildings are culturally appropriate. There is much scholarship to be done to record, analyse and discuss the differential treatment of Indigenous peoples during colonisation and the implications of architecture in this.

What Is Indigenous Architecture?

In considering this publication, the editors have discussed with many people what 'Indigenous architecture' is, or might be. There are of course many answers to this, and we do not attempt in this introduction to come to a definitive conclusion, but to bring to light some of the many voices who have considered this topic. Many contemporary Indigenous architectural designs incorporate traditional Indigenous architectural knowledge, through the accommodation of important social constructs, the use and format of particular materials or artworks, symbols, colours or patterns, and the creation of particular landscapes, into which the architecture is incorporated. Though there are myriad ways in which these links with traditions are achieved, the philosophical and personal approach taken by the architect is individual and often highly dependent on the input of the Indigenous client/s.

Indigenous architecture is, for some, architecture that is designed by Indigenous peoples and that incorporates a strong consideration of Indigenous culture. This recognises the importance of Indigenous peoples reclaiming and controlling architecture once more, and acknowledges the term 'Indigenous' as belonging to the author of the design, not to the function of the building or location within an Indigenous community.

Douglas Cardinal's 1968 Alberta Indian Education Centre vision document explains this philosophy well.

> Because of our lack of understanding and education, of the majority society, we have others fully translating our thoughts, our language and communicating our needs. And our people are aware of how much is lost in translation…To date, we are still surrounded by people who make all our decisions for us (Cardinal 1968 I-9-10).

Cardinal's emphasis on importance of Indigenous peoples being in control of their own lives and destiny is of course an aim of Indigenous societies and non-Indigenous supporters.

Australian Indigenous architect and academic, Carroll Go-Sam discusses the potential for mistakes by non-Indigenous architects, despite good intentions, harking back to Cardinal's warnings about translation of Indigenous thoughts. She explains that an approach to design which recognises cultural difference alone is fraught with potential difficulties:

> This approach, however, is not to be embarked upon by the misinformed. There have been
> considerable successes, but it is also fraught with misinterpretation. History shows us bold
> designs that were sometimes ill-considered and often misguided – largely because designers
> failed to detect overriding cultural imperatives… (Go-Sam 2008: 53).

The use of Indigenous symbols by non-Indigenous architects does not automatically define a building as being 'Indigenous architecture'. The recent controversial Australian 'Portrait' apartment building in Melbourne's central business district design by non-Indigenous architecture firm Ashton Raggatt McDougall (ARM) is a good case study on this point. The building incorporates the face of Indigenous ancestor William Barak across the surface of the building. Many commentators have discussed this particular project (see Cheng 2015; Kaji-O'Grady 2015; Kennedy 2015; Mackenzie 2015; and also Gardiner and McGaw in this volume), and some have questioned what the contribution of non-Indigenous architects has been to the discourse on architectural authenticity, cultural appropriation and representation of Indigenous culture within cities. The building contains small, tightly planned apartments mostly for the international student market in the central business district of Melbourne, Australia. In ARM's familiar tactic of spelling out a message in braille on the building's facade, the building states 'Wurundjeri I am who I am' in reference to Melbourne's Wurundjeri Traditional Owners. Despite the obvious contribution this building makes to debate and awareness of the continuity of Indigenous cultures within Australia's cities, this building is not the typical 'Indigenous architecture' examined within this volume. The authors instead seek instead to discuss buildings *by, with and for* Indigenous people, and the chapters within explore and debate what place Indigenous cultures have in contemporary architecture, beyond symbolism alone, and delve into changing the nature and function of architecture.

A definition and subsequent discussion of Indigenous architecture that excludes buildings designed by non-Indigenous architects would exclude many buildings which have been designed for Indigenous communities, often with substantive Indigenous community input. These buildings are worthy of consideration and recording, especially those that develop new typologies, explore innovative techniques of community engagement, work with traditional materials or support Indigenous social constructs. Some commentators advocate that 'Indigenous architecture' can be designed by non-Indigenous architects, but must incorporate Indigenous cultural consideration and be accepted by the receiving Indigenous community as supportive of furthering their own goals their own goals (see Lane et al. in this volume). Innovation in building typologies, such as cultural centres, keeping places and educational buildings, designed on occasion by Indigenous architects and designers, and sometimes in conjunction with non-Indigenous people,[2] also have an important role in the story of Indigenous peoples' built environments. The approach that we have taken in this Handbook is to begin to collect a history of Indigenous

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[2]An example is Waka Maia Māori Cultural Advisory arm of Jasmax, the largest architectural firm in Aotearoa New Zealand, where Māori architects within Jasmax have set up their own consultancy services like the engineering and urban planning consultancies within the company—see http://architecturenow.co.nz/articles/jasmax-Māori-cultural-advisory/.

peoples' architectural histories and their relationship to current architectures, and to discuss the buildings which have more recently innovated and incorporated Indigenous cultural values, symbolism, art, landscape approaches and many other features.

We acknowledge that for some Indigenous authors, practitioners and community members, their ultimate goal is for Indigenous peoples themselves to be designing for their communities, and for Indigenous academics and scholars to be writing these histories, and critiquing the state of the art from Indigenous perspectives.

Ultimately, what may constitute a contemporary Indigenous architectural work is one that is embraced by a specific group of Indigenous peoples as their own, and that is recognised as belonging to and expressing the culture and values, and serving the needs and desires of that people. It is important to acknowledge that not all of the works discussed or cited in this volume necessarily meet that definition, but they are included here by the authors of the various chapters as points of discussion in an ongoing dialogue about the nature of contemporary Indigenous architecture, its value, purpose and reception.

At present, there are small but growing numbers of Indigenous architects, though some countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand have far greater numbers of Māori architects and designers than Australia or Canada. There are fewer still Indigenous architectural historians or critics, but the important work that those people have achieved to date is greatly valued, and we are pleased to have many included in this book. Others still will, we hope, continue to contribute to the vital recording of Indigenous architectural histories, discussions and debates in other forums.

Indigenous Architectural Practice and Networks

Indigenous architects are organising their own societies such as the American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers established since 1976; Ngā Aho, the Network of Māori Design Professionals which began with a dialogue in 2001: Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria (IADV) in Australia, which was founded in 2010 by Indigenous architects Reuben Berg and Jefa Greenaway, aims to support Indigenous architects as well as other architects to become more engaged with the Indigenous community's needs. In 2013, a group of Australian Indigenous architects and designers in allied fields held a 'gathering' at Melbourne's Koori Heritage Trust, organised by IADV, bringing together fourteen of Australia's Indigenous practitioners. IADV also partnered with the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects in 2016 to run a 'Connection to Country' event to educate the profession about Indigenous cultural landscapes and opportunities. In 2017, Canada held its first ever Indigenous Architecture and Design Symposium in Ottawa at the behest of the recently formed Indigenous Architecture Taskforce of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada which attracted many Indigenous architects, scholars and design professionals. Very significantly, a collaborative group of First Nation, Métis and Native American architects from Canada and the USA were

selected to represent Canada in the 2018 Venice Biennale with their submission entitled UNCEDED.

Indigenous architecture and design groups and practices are beginning to meet internationally, such the conference held in Winnipeg in 2014 and a later conference held in 2016 in Aotearoa New Zealand 'I Te Timatanga-At the Source', hosted by Ngā Aho, the Māori design professionals' network and Ngāti Hau. This event drew together an international group of Indigenous architects and other designers for meetings, workshops and site visits.

The next phase of Indigenous architecture may emerge from the networks of Indigenous designers connecting internationally and finding their diversity and commonalities and supporting other Indigenous architects to reclaim their presence as authors of their own architectural destinies. The imperative for the majority non-Indigenous sector of the academy and profession is to raise Indigenous architectural issues as central to reconciliation and vital to enabling better lives for Indigenous peoples and communities. Fostering more Indigenous architects, designers, architectural historians and critics is pivotal to the development of Indigenous architectures in contemporary societies.

Use of Language Conventions and Terms for Indigenous Peoples

Some explanations regarding terminology, language and the style of punctuation used in this publication are required. First, as a mark of respect, terms such as 'Indigenous', 'Aboriginal', 'First Nation', 'Islander', 'Elder', 'First Peoples', 'Traditional Owner', 'Country' and many others are capitalised. Second, as appropriate, authors have used diacritical points, marks or signs (such as macrons and accents) in their writing. This reflects the correct or preferred punctuation and pays respect to the Indigenous language concerned. Not all diacritical marks are universally accepted or used (e.g. Samoa and Sāmoa are both used), and, in these instances, the preferred usage of the author has been observed. Third, often authors refer to Indigenous peoples, nations or communities rather than 'Indigenous people' to reflect that there is rarely, if ever, a single, homogenous Indigenous group for any location. Fourth, wherever possible, the original Indigenous inhabitants or the Traditional Owners of the area where the project is located are mentioned. For example, a description of a project may mention that it is located at particular geographical location, and, at the same time, note that it lies on the traditional lands of a certain group. In many instances, across the world, geographical boundaries and names have been imposed on Indigenous peoples. Using this method allows the reader to locate the project in other literature, while at the same time noting that it lies in a location which are the ancestral land of a particular group, or by its Indigenous name. The importance of this is demonstrated by this example describing the renaming of Māori places:

…as land 'passed' to incoming Pākehā (non-Māori immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and some European and Scandinavian countries) Māori place names were replaced with English names, frequently severing the visible connection of Māori place names to their location in the landscape as markers of history, culture, ancestors, and events. …Māori language place-names, frequently metaphorical in nature and compounding larger narratives in a key phrase, include names of ancestors, names of battles, names indicating cultural protocols and behaviours, spiritual entities and authorities and genealogies (Day and Rewi 2014: 4).

Fifth, authors have often identified the Indigenous group of the person they are writing about, or that to which they themselves belong. This is noted in most instances in brackets after the person's name. Sixth, Aotearoa is the accepted Māori name for New Zealand. Where appropriate, New Zealand is referred to as Aotearoa New Zealand. The use of the term 'Indigenous', and regionally preferred terms to refer to different groups of Indigenous peoples, requires more detailed explanations.

Given the diversity of Indigenous peoples around the world, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues has not defined the term 'Indigenous' as such. The United Nations states that:

It is estimated that there are more than 370 million [I]ndigenous people spread across 70 countries worldwide. Practicing unique traditions, they retain social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues u.d.: 1).

The United Nations offered a working definition of 'Indigenous communities, peoples and nations'. This expresses an intellectual framework which includes the right of Indigenous peoples themselves to define who is Indigenous. The working definition reads:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having 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.

This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an [I]ndigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);
d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;
f) Other relevant factors.

> On an individual basis, an [I]ndigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as [I]ndigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group). This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2004: 2).

The definitions of who is 'Indigenous' and how that term is used differs between countries and regions. The terminology is also evolving as Indigenous peoples around the world assert their sovereign rights and power to define who they are.

The definition of Australian Aboriginality and the lexicon describing Australian Indigenous peoples has a long and contentious history. In the 1980s, the following definition of Aboriginality was proposed in the Constitutional Section of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs' Report on a *Review of the Administration of the Working Definition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders*: "…a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent, who identifies as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and is accepted as such by the community in which he or she lives" (cited in Gardiner-Garden 2003). This definition has found its way into Australian legislation [see, e.g., *NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (1983) and *Commonwealth of Australia v Tasmania* (1983)]. The three-part definition is not without considerable controversy. Professor Jackie Huggins, an Indigenous Australian author, historian and Aboriginal rights activist of the Bidjara Central Queensland and Birri-Gubba Juru North Queensland peoples, write:

> Foremostly I detest the imposition that anyone who is non-Aboriginal can define my Aboriginality for me and my race. Neither do I accept any definition of Aboriginality by non-Aboriginals as it insults my intelligence, spirit and soul, and negates my heritage (Huggins 1993: 459).

A definition of Aboriginality imposed by a third (primarily non-Indigenous) party does not acknowledge the diversity of Indigenous Australia. The Australian Museum suggests that prior "…to 1788 there were approximately 700 languages spoken throughout Australia with an estimated population of 750,000 people" (National Museum 2015).[3] There are a diverse number of language groups and Aboriginal Nations in Australia, and acknowledging one's membership/affiliation with a language group/s is and has become increasingly important.

In chapters with Australian content, authors have adhered to language protocols suggested by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Islander Studies (AIATSIS). These include:

> When used in Australia, the words Indigenous, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander are capitalised, as would be the name of any other group of people. It is best not to resort to the acronyms of ATSI or TSI.

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[3]Estimates of the number of language groups in Australian prior to European settlement in 1788 vary.

Aboriginal people have referred to themselves for example as Koori, Murri or Nunga which is relevant to the greater region they are connected to. Aboriginal identities can also directly link to their language groups and traditional country (a specific geographic location), for example, Gunditjamara people are the traditional custodians of western Victoria, the Gadigal people of the Eora nation are from Sydney, and the Yawuru people are the traditional custodians of Broome in Western Australia.

Another way Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people might describe themselves, which again relates to their country (including the waters), is 'saltwater people' for those who live on the coast, or 'freshwater', 'rainforest', 'desert' or 'spinifex' for people who live in that ecological environment.

Torres Strait Islander people prefer to use the name of their home Island to identify themselves to outsiders, for example a Saibai man or woman is from Saibai, or a Meriam person is from Mer. Many Torres Strait Islanders born and raised in mainland Australia still identify according to their Island homes (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Islander Studies 2006).[4]

In more recent years, some Indigenous peoples within Australia have referred to themselves as First Peoples (National Congress of Australia's First Peoples 2017), First Nations (Final Report of the Referendum Council 2017) and Sovereign Peoples [e.g. those represented in Sovereign Embassies around Australia see National Unity Government (2017)].

The chapters with Australian content also, on occasion, use the term 'mainstream'. This term is a catch-all for the entire Australian community and is often used to define services and policies that attempt to cater to all Australians rather than for the cultural specificities of one particular sector of Australian society. It is also used in some contexts to draw a contrast with Indigenous-specific systems or programmes.

In Canada and the USA, there is also diversity within the broader category of 'Indigenous' peoples, based often on geographical location but also on certain lineages such as for the Métis people (see, for example, Fontin in this volume). The First Nations peoples of Canada are the Indigenous peoples and communities south of the Arctic Circle and are distinct from the Inuit peoples whose homelands lie within the Arctic. Métis are a distinct group who claim mixed heritage of settlers and Indigenous peoples and celebrate a distinct Métis culture. Within the First Nations, Inuit and Métis groups, as across North America, tribal and geographical groups maintain distinct identity and cultural practices. Thus, a First Nations person may also self-identify with a tribal name and affiliation. The word Aboriginal, as in Australia, has been a collective term for Canadian Indigenous peoples it has been falling out of use in many areas in response to racist use of the term in hurtful ways, similar to many other nations with Indigenous populations.

The term 'Indian' is still used in Canada and the USA especially in relation to older structures and legislature such as the Canadian *Indian Act* 1876 which is still

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[4]It should also be noted that what was 'acceptable' terminology in the past in Australia is often considered offensive. Terms such as half-caste, full-blood, natives, blacks, darkies, blackfellas and other terms were often communicated in a disparaging or racist manner. For many people, these terms can cause distress, anger and resentment and also contribute to reinforcing negative attitudes towards Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples.

in force with some amendments. Terms such as 'Indian Bands'—the local organising unit for First Nations—are thus still in use. For many Indigenous peoples, this is a pejorative term and changes to wording such as 'First Nations Band' or simply 'First Nation' are becoming more common. In the USA too, the term 'Indian' for Indigenous peoples is still in use, but it is also common for people's specific tribal identity to be a primary term of use, e.g. Navajo. So too, the terms Native Peoples, Native Americans and Native North Americans are also used. Other Indigenous peoples in the USA use the term 'American Indian', and it is incorporated into the organisational structures of Indigenous groups and architectural names also, such as the National Museum of the American Indian.

In this volume, authors have used the word 'Indigenous' to generally describe the peoples of North America, but specific authors use tribal, geographic and other names, including American Indian, Native American, Native North American, Métis, First Nations and Inuit depending on their preference, circumstances and the people with whom they are working.

Aeotearoa New Zealand is a more simple case with one coherent group known as Māori and a single Māori language, Te Reo. Within Aotearoa New Zealand, however, there are specific iwi—tribes—to which a person may affiliate, and one or several descriptors may be used to acknowledge ancestry.

In the Pacific Islands, the national terms of Sāmoa, Tonga and so on are used as descriptors for Indigenous peoples from these areas: Sāmoan, Tongan and so on. What is more complex here is the importance of a long-term and continuing diaspora of Pacific Islander peoples, who retain their identity as stemming from an Indigenous homeland, even when living in distant countries. A broader term 'Pasifika' is sometimes used to designate this diasporic identity. This term is used commonly in Aotearoa New Zealand, and increasingly in Australia. Pasifika as a term does not imply a singular culture or identity, but recognises the diversity and cultural difference that the separate and distinct Pacific nations contribute to a shared sense of regional identity. It refers to the patterns of movements and migrations and to the continuing importance of and ties to homelands for diasporic peoples.

Selecting terms to use for the non-Indigenous, colonising, settler and immigrant peoples of various countries has been challenging. To call non-Indigenous populations simply Australians, Canadians, Americans or New Zealanders suggests that these national names are more appropriate for non-Indigenous populations than they are for Indigenous peoples. The prefix 'British-' followed by the nationality (e.g. 'British-Australians') was used in some earlier periods across the British Colonies, but while many non-Indigenous people in settler colonial nations do have British origins, there are many others who have European, African and Asian origins. In any case, nearly all would now reject being called British. The adjectives 'European', 'settler' and 'non-Indigenous' have been used but are also problematic. In the referring to Aotearoa New Zealand, the Te Reo term Pākehā (meaning non-Māori or New Zealander 'of European descent') is often used. Use of collective terms is not meant to imply that these varied groups of people have or had a unified identity or set of views.

Outline of This Volume

This Handbook is divided into two sections. Part 1 contains region-based essays that outline the broad Indigenous architectural histories of specific geographic areas and explain some of the key events that have shaped architectural responses and the situation in that region. Part 2 raises issues of architectural practice in the form of case studies of buildings and projects and opens a discourse on architectural theory and history of Indigenous architecture.

The Chapters 2 and 3 deal with Australia, beginning with Timothy O'Rourke's examination of Australian Indigenous domestic architecture from colonisation to the early twenty-first century. He notes the variety of housing types and the complexity of craft in the dwellings. O'Rourke examines missions and reserves as well as the experimental work of the Aboriginal Housing Panel in the 1970s and other key developments in contemporary Indigenous architectural history. In Chapter 3, Elizabeth Grant and Kelly Greenop survey key architectural works in contemporary Indigenous Australia, including early cases of new building typologies, such as keeping places and later developments in museums, art centres, cultural centres and recent typologies of contemporary Indigenous educational settings and health clinics.

Moving to Aotearoa New Zealand, in Chapter 4, Deidre Brown—already a defining scholar on Māori architecture evidenced by her important book *Māori Architecture from fale to wharenui and beyond*—discusses contemporary Māori architectural forms in urban settings. Brown examines the phenomenon of 'bicul-turalism' and 'self-determination' as two important political and social movements and interrogates what the architectural implications of each may be. Brown examines public, private and community architectural forms to discuss a Māori-led architecture.

In Chapter 5, Sāmoan scholar Albert L. Refiti examines Polynesian buildings in Aotearoa New Zealand, highlighting the important issue of an Indigenous archi-tecture in a diasporic community. Like Brown, Refiti uses social and political concepts—in this case, 'hybrid' and 'cross-cultural'—to examine how architecture is responding to new settings, and to an era of decolonisation.

Six chapters on North American Indigenous architecture round out this section beginning with Carol Krinsky's Chapter 6 survey of buildings between 1966 and 1996 which discusses Native American self-expression through architecture and explains the slow but steady rise in Indigenous-inspired and Indigenous-directed architecture in the USA over the period. The use of traditional forms such as the tipi, pueblo and hogan are discussed, as is the use of symbolism and ornament.

Joy Malnar and Frank Vodvarka, whose book *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands* is a landmark work in this field, use their chapter to discuss the planning and architectural strategies at work in contemporary Indigenous projects in the North American context in Chapter 7. Malnar and Vodvarka explain the challenges and creativity needed by Indigenous groups to access and deploy US government funding and to develop positive architectural strategies at the scale of the building, neighbourhood and area master plan.

Chapter 8 by Wanda Dalla Costa explains the effect of metrics and the quantification of information measuring Indigenous peoples across Canada and how this frames architectural decisions. Dalla Costa starts with an international literature review of culture within architecture and the key concepts of her analysis: kinship, place transformation and sovereignty. She uses specific case studies to examine how these concepts catalyse successful Indigenous architecture.

Place and placemaking are also used as key terms by Sarem Nejad and Ryan Walker in Chapter 9 to discuss recent Indigenous placemaking projects in Canada. They use the term 'symbolic capital' to analyse placemaking projects in urban areas of Ottawa, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Calgary.

The Chapter 10 by David T. Fortin examines how various Indigenous identities across North America—Métis, First Nations and Inuit—have been used to define particular architectural approaches and how identity is increasingly being recognised as central to architectural authenticity. Fortin's use of material culture as a starting point provides a strong link between architectural and other traditions and embeds architectural expression within Indigenous cultures.

Finally in this section, the Chapter 11 by Scott Heyes and Martha Dowsley analyses and discusses placemaking tactics and processes in the Inuit Arctic. They examine the ways in which placemaking expresses an essential connection to land and sea in this region, and to intangible aspects of culture such as language, and a social landscape.

In Part 2: Case Studies and Discourse, the chapters deal more specifically with buildings and their meanings, interpretation through history and the theories of identity, cultural agency, authenticity and other current issues.

Part 2 begins with Chapter 12 by Hirini Matunga whose work grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand broadens to muse on the question of what Indigenous architecture is, or might be. Matunga uses both personal and professional content to discuss Aotearoa and the wider international context for an Indigenous architecture.

Next, the first of the practitioner works highlights Indigenous voices in contemporary practice, with Australian Indigenous designers Andrew Lane and Francoise Lane in an interview with Kelly Greenop. The Lanes discuss their practice philosophy and process, and their vision for Indigenous architecture and allied design in Chapter 13.

Also, discussing the Australian context Indigenous academic Carroll Go-Sam pairs with Cathy Keys to examine the concept of cultural sustainability and develops a framework for conceptualising such an approach in Chapter 14. Go-Sam and Keys find no examples of truly culturally sustainable buildings in Australia to date, but provide examples of strength in the various aspects of the framework that they identify.

Andrew Broffman—a senior architect of the Indigenous-owned Tangentyere Design—writes Chapter 15, a rare and comprehensive account of this long-running and highly successful venture in which non-Indigenous architects and other

professionals serve the Indigenous community of central Australia under Indigenous leadership and with Indigenous agency at the fore.

Chapter 16 is also Australian-based with Timothy O'Rourke returning to discuss the small number of contemporary buildings that have drawn on Indigenous architectural traditions in Australia. O'Rourke points to the paucity of research done on this topic to date and opens a new field for further research.

Shaneen Fantin and Gudju Gudju Fourmile co-author Chapter 17 which explores the collaboration between non-Indigenous architect and Indigenous Traditional Owner and also professional, in a long process to lobby for, and to realise a new type of health clinic for clients with acquired brain injury. Fantin and Fourmile outline their intercultural design process and lay bare the challenges and rewards of such an approach.

In Chapter 18, Grant Revell, Scott Heyes, David Jones, Darryl Low Choy, Richard Tucker and Susan Bird discuss a research project examining the Indigenous knowledge of tertiary students in Australia studying to become design professionals. They examine the shortcomings of current pedagogies and use three contemporary case studies to discuss new approaches to teaching in a cross-cultural setting.

Julian Murphy, Elizabeth Grant and Thalia Anthony, in Chapter 19, examine court buildings in Australia and how cultural agency in contemporary court design can work to alleviate some of the worst aspects of outdated approaches to court design, that marginalise Indigenous peoples.

Three chapters which have place at the heart of their analysis follow next, beginning with Kelly Greenop's Chapter 20 on place as an important precursor to understand the architectural needs of a suburban Indigenous community in Brisbane. Greenop's analysis is based on ethnographic work with the community and stresses the importance of place attachment for those in urban as well as remote settings.

Anoma Pieris and Gary Murray in Chapter 21 discuss an architecture school studio project to insert an 'Indigenous building' based on Indigenous priorities into a primarily non-Indigenous space within Melbourne City. They use the place constructs of sovereignty and country to underpin this project and their analysis.

In Chapter 22, Aunty Margaret Gardiner and Janet McGaw also turn to place as their theoretical base, as well as utilising the Indigenous tradition of dialogue to explain Aunty Margaret's interpretation of particular architectural moments in Melbourne over the course of decades. McGaw's analysis of this combined with Aunty Margaret's dialogue provides for multiple voices and readings of the city within the chapter.

The next three chapters turn to the Aotearoa and the Pacific, beginning with Julia Gatley and Bill McKay examining the legacy of Māori architect John Scott, famous for his Futuna Chapel in Auckland, in Chapter 23. They analyse additional less examined works by Scott to discuss how he incorporated Māori as well as

modernist elements into his designs and how this has been read by architectural critics over time.

Micah Van der Ryn in Chapter 24 explores the meanings of traditional Sāmoan architecture, and how changes to family homes have lead to social changes in how people interact—for example, moving to roomed rather than open houses. Van der Ryn examines the specific meaning of the parts of the Sāmoan fale and how new versions of this sometimes alter these meanings because of constructional and other rationalisations that occur.

The Samoan fale in diaspora is examined by Tina Engles Schwarzpaul and Albert L. Refiti in Chapter 25. They take examples from historical fale as well as the fale in contemporary settings and look at interpretations and receptions, as well as their accompanying social milieu, and the use of fale in touristic settings.

In Chapter 26, Tongan architect and scholar Charmaine 'Ilaiu Talei examines new interpretations of the Tongan fale and, like Van der Ryn, discusses how changes to form reflect continuity or change in social and cultural settings. 'Ilaiu Talei discusses Tongan desires to maintain family structures, and the reception of goods from family internationally and how this has affected both materials being used in housing and how they are conceived of in Tonga.

Three chapters on North America comprise the next section, beginning with Johnpaul Jones, an elder statesman of Native American architecture. Jones' Chapter 27 is a reflection on his decades of work including his contribution to one of the most important pieces of contemporary Indigenous architecture, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington, D.C. The chapter is an adaptation of a lecture given by Jones and followed by reflections commenting on the reception of the four buildings Jones discusses.

The Chapter 28 by Daniel J. Glenn, a Native American architect in current practice, discusses six of his firm's projects, including the 2017 Skokomish Community Centre in Washington State. Glenn outlines a series of projects over time and explains the social, cultural environmental and practical opportunities and constraints that shape the works emanating from his firm 7 Directions Architects and Planners.

Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka in Chapter 29 also discuss recent North American Indigenous architecture and explore the use of regional typologies and the processes used by communities and architects to achieve real consultation and engagement in design.

In a singular chapter on Sámi architecture in Chapter 30, Elin Haugdal examines the Indigenous architecture of the Sámi in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. She analyses the use of particular materials to reference Sámi culture, be it wood, stone or metal, and also the use of transparency to connect to landscape and nature. The elements of decay and renewal, a theme found in many Indigenous architectural traditions, is also discussed.

The final four chapters take an international approach to compare and analyse important theories and building types. Beginning with Paul Memmott, Chapter 31 uses 'behaviour settings' as a way of explaining the construction and use of places by Indigenous peoples, supported by examples from Australian Indigenous

architecture—his usual area of subject expertise as exemplified by the landmark work *Gunyah Goondie and Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia*—and other areas including Canada and the USA. Memmott argues for a renewed focus on behaviour settings, which architecture can support or repress, in the design of contemporary buildings for Indigenous users.

Elizabeth Grant's Chapter 32 examines prison architecture, in the light of the over incarceration of Indigenous peoples across the world. She discusses the forced imposition of architecture and argues for a humane approach to custodial design that accounts for Indigenous aspirations, world views and cultures, and the need for Indigenous peoples to be involved in devising alternatives to incarceration.

In Chapter 33, Angela Kreutz, Janet Loebach and Akari Nakai Kidd compare childcare settings from Indigenous children in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. These delightful buildings and their sensitive design demonstrate how architecture can offer spaces for the practical support and maintenance of key cultural aspects such as language and community connection in childhood, as well as embodying symbolic aspects of identity in design.

The Chapter 34 by Paul Walker takes the cultural centre, a major new type that in many ways exemplifies the desires and pressures on contemporary Indigenous architecture to represent Indigenous identity and simultaneously reconcile past and ongoing colonial wrongs. Walker deftly discusses the use of identity symbolism in form, plan and ornament in four international case studies from Aotearoa New Zealand (Te Papa, Wellington), Australia (National Museum of Australia, Canberra), France (Musée du quai Branly, Paris) and Noumea (Tjibaou Cultural Centre).

Several buildings are discussed in more than one chapter in this book, demonstrating the resonance they have had and also their importance for discussing the implications and theorisation of Indigenous architecture. The themes of developing social, cultural and individual identity through architecture also recur. Building form, materials, plan shape and connection to landscape are frequently discussed as important approaches that increase relevance for an Indigenous building to its community, especially within a culturally significant landscape. But more than this, most authors agree that processes of designing to involve Indigenous community, in particular Elders and Indigenous organisations, on their own terms and following proper protocols are key elements to a successful design. The importance of place and the centrality of place attachments are common across cultures and extend to diasporic communities. Common too is the struggle to design and procure decent, affordable housing with sustainable operating costs for Indigenous communities. While the many community centres, museums and educational projects that fulfil the need for community identity and gathering should be celebrated, Indigenous housing needs to be a priority in architectural, policy and community efforts until real change is effected.

We invite you to contribute to the ongoing development of contemporary Indigenous architecture through dialogue, debate and design, and working with and for Indigenous communities to ensure that the future of architecture incorporates Indigenous voices, ideas and needs at its very heart.

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Authors' Biographies

Professor Elizabeth Grant is an architectural anthropologist, criminologist and academic with a distinguished record in the field of Indigenous architecture. From 2000–2017, Elizabeth was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide. Elizabeth holds an adjunct Professorship at the University of Canberra and Associate Professorship at the University of Queensland and has published three books and over 70 papers. Elizabeth is a Churchill Fellow, a member of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), and has been honoured with the International Prison and Correctional Association (ICPA) Excellence in Research Award for her pioneering work on the design of (non)custodial environments for Indigenous peoples. She worked on numerous Indigenous projects, prepared submissions and acted as an expert witness for Government Inquiries, coronial inquests and Royal Commissions.

Dr Kelly Greenop is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Architecture at The University of Queensland. She conducts research within Aboriginal Environments Research Centre (AERC) and Architecture Theory Criticism History Research Centre (ATCH). Her research has focused on work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in urban Brisbane, using ethnographic techniques to document place experiences and attachment, and the importance of housing, place, family and country for urban Indigenous peoples. She was elected to membership of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in 2009 and has received multiple awards for research and teaching.

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Daniel J. Glenn, AIA, AICAE is an award-winning architect specialising in culturally responsive architecture and planning for diverse cultures and Indigenous communities. He is the Principal of 7 Directions Architects/Planners, a Native-owned firm in Seattle, Washington. His work and philosophy reflect his Crow tribal heritage. He has been featured in the film, *Aboriginal Architecture: Living Architecture* (Bullfrog Films), and four of his projects are published in the book, *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands* (University of Minnesota Press 2013). He is a regularly invited speaker at national conferences, and he appeared in 2016 in *Native American Green: New Directions in Tribal Housing* in the Public Broadcasting Service series, *Natural Heroes*. He will be part of a team of North American Indigenous architects led by Douglas Cardinal representing Canada in the 2018 Venice Biennale with an entry entitled, *Unceded*.

Part I
Architecture and Placemaking: Regional Overviews

Chapter 2
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Domestic Architecture in Australia

Timothy O'Rourke

Introduction

This chapter examines Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander domestic architecture across the period from the onset of European colonisation to the early twenty-first century. In these two centuries, housing and living conditions reflected and shaped the often abrupt and disruptive change to the culture, health and livelihoods of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The post-contact history of Indigenous housing has been determined by government policies, informed by politics and settler attitudes to Indigenous Australians. Until the 1970s, state and territory governments, with specific legislation, exercised control over Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lives including place of residence and access to housing. For an extended period of this history, housing choice was oppressively limited. Despite entrenched disadvantage, it is a story of cultural persistence and adaptation to an imposed architecture that expected sedentary living patterns rather than the more mobile Indigenous lifestyles. Towards the end of the twentieth century, a combination of research and architectural practice had identified approaches to Indigenous housing that could improve living conditions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The creation of colonial cities, towns and pastoral property was only possible through the dispossession of Aboriginal people from their land. Most of the Indigenous people who survived dispossession and adapted to the new economic and social conditions lived on the margins of the new colonial settlements, in church-run missions, on government reserves or camped on pastoral properties or the fringes of towns. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who resided in cities and larger towns experienced different housing conditions and challenges from those living in rural settlements and remote camps (Rowley 1970, 1971). By the twenty-first century, the urban Indigenous population surpassed the remote and

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regional population. Indigenous choice or participation in the design of government-supplied housing has been marginal and even more so in cities and towns where the conventional, detached suburban house was the norm. In contrast to population distribution, both the research on Indigenous housing and attention to architectural design have focused more on remote and regional Australia. Remote communities have also been subjected to more experimental housing with mixed results, although improvements to housing design have occurred in response to a catalogue of observed failures (Memmott 2004; Pholeros et al. 1993). The greater focus on remote housing in this chapter is biased by the available data, but the bias does not discount the need for greater architectural attention to urban housing.

Although general attitudes and policies were shared across the country, the states and territories have varied in their approach to the administration of Aboriginal people and housing supply. Implemented since the late 1960s, Australian Government policies have also been inconsistent in approach and allocation of resources to Indigenous housing—different housing programmes were often reactive and politically motivated (Memmott 1988, 2004). The size of the continent, the different jurisdictions and disparate post-contact histories complicate generalisations about Aboriginal housing across Australia. The available research on housing in the Torres Strait Islands is limited, and the post-1940s diaspora led to a majority of Islanders living in mainland towns and cities (Beckett 1987). One constant feature of this architectural history, continuing into the 2000s, is the persistence of substandard housing and chronic shortfalls in dwelling numbers across Australia.

A single chapter cannot do justice to the diversity of dwellings, housing conditions and occupation across many different places and people affected by uneven colonial histories. Some readers, eager for architectural solutions, might see a disproportionate emphasis in this chapter on the period before architects became more directly involved in Indigenous housing in the 1960s and 1970s. But the dwelling types and varied conditions under which Indigenous people were housed continue to inform approaches to policy and architectural solutions in the twenty-first century. As Will Sanders noted at the turn of this century: "How we understand what went on in the past in Indigenous housing affects what we understand to be going on now, and what will, could and should go on in the future" (2000: 237). The particular periods, themes and precedents examined in this chapter are in need of further studies that might analyse mistakes and successes that direct architects, planners and policy-makers to make better decisions about housing Indigenous Australians.

The first part of this chapter examines Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander building traditions at the time of colonisation. The partial and discontinuous knowledge of these diverse traditions and the associated forms and patterns of settlement add to our understanding of Indigenous histories, but also inform the often troubled transition to the very different housing and dwelling practices introduced by the European colonisers. The second part of this chapter describes the different types of housing in the extended era of the Aboriginal Protection Acts and the different conditions created in government reserves, missions, fringe camps and pastoral stations. Although housing has been one of the instruments used to change

and assimilate Indigenous cultures, informal settlements and camps allowed people to construct dwellings that supported their preferred lifestyles. Responding to cultural difference and lifestyle preference has been a challenge to architects since the 1970s, when housing for Aboriginal and Islander people attracted the attention of the profession. During the 1960s and 1970s, Aboriginal and Islander people agitated for change and formed organisations in an attempt to take control of their own housing and communities. In the third part of this chapter, the involvement of the architectural profession in Indigenous social housing is analysed, from the 1970s to the 2010s. This section highlights examples of architectural design that begin to acknowledge Indigenous domestic practices and cultural preferences, as well as the challenges of delivering housing to different locations.

Precolonial Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Building Traditions

Disparate historical sources recognise the variety and significance of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' building traditions and patterns of settlement prior to the onset of European colonisation. Obdurate ignorance of Indigenous occupation and tenure over land rationalised and excused the displacement of the Indigenous Australian.[1] Applied as a stereotype to Aboriginal people, a reductionist nomadic label ignored the Indigenous land tenure systems, abundant evidence of habitual campsites and the diverse range of dwellings that varied according to the season and purpose of the camp. The deep attachment to the land is described by various Aboriginal words for Country—for example, *ngurra* in Warlpiri—which in many languages also has the sense of home, camp and shelter, extending to cosmos in some dialects (Musharbash 2008; Myers 1986: 54–57).

Until the 1960s, architectural histories dismissed any evidence of precolonial building or settlement in Australia (Boyd 1962; Freeland 1968).[2] Living building traditions and ample archival evidence refuted this omission. Architects and anthropologists in the 1970s began documenting and analysing contemporary Indigenous buildings and settlements that gave insights into the traditions and the pre-contact dwellings (Biernoff 1974; Hamilton 1972, 1973; Peterson 1973; Reser 1979). In his influential book *Gunyah, Goondie and Wurley: the Aboriginal Architecture of Australia*, Memmott (2007) describes the diversity of Aboriginal shelter types across different regions of Australia. Memmott identified three overlapping phases of Aboriginal architecture since colonisation. The phases are

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[1]In 1992, the Mabo Case heard in the High Court of Australia overturned the British assumption that, prior to 1788, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples had no concept of land ownership and the entire country was *terra nullius*.

[2]Until the latter part of the twentieth century, architectural historians were largely indifferent to vernacular building traditions focusing on the Western canon and its antecedents (e.g., see Leach 2010).

spatially discontinuous and occur across periods that vary according to timing, duration and intensity of colonial and settler influence. The category of 'classical Aboriginal ethno-architecture' describes the building traditions in use at the time of colonisation, which in some places endured into the mid-twentieth century. In a second, hybrid phase, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups that survived colonisation adopted the settlers' tools and materials to adapt their building traditions to new, more sedentary patterns of settlement (Beckett 1987; Memmott 2007). This period of self-constructed housing continued from the nineteenth century well into the twentieth century (Fig. 2.1).[3] In the third phase, governments or institutions (such as church groups) provided different forms of housing for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In some towns or regions, Indigenous housing organisations had some say in the design and procurement of dwellings, but the majority of communities were largely at the mercy of state and national government policy and funding.

At the time of colonisation, clan or dialect groups had a repertoire of shelter types (Memmott 2007: 11) responsive to seasonal climates, and the cultural, social and economic activities of the group (Thomson 1939). Camp composition and duration varied from transient dinner camps, for small groups hunting or gathering, to large congregations occupying semi-permanent dwellings. In the later camps, ceremonial obligations drew large groups, and well-resourced areas might sustain a large camp for several seasons (Keen 2004).[4] The purpose and duration of the camp in combination with the climate affected the type of dwelling and often the method of construction (Memmott 2007; O'Rourke 2012). One family group might have used two or three different shelter types in one camp. Social organisation affected the layout and demography of the camp with spatially bounded areas for women and for single men and boys, common to most parts of Australia (Memmott 2007). Social effects on the spatial organisation of the camp, determined by kinship relations, gender and clan or language group identity, continued to influence the success of housing design and settlement planning into the twenty-first century (Memmott 2007).

The architectural types and forms varied from region to region, but some types, such as windbreaks, were common across the continent. Used in clear weather conditions and often in combination with other dwellings, windbreaks are perhaps the most persistent type of shelter, constructed in many parts of Australia in the 2000s. Bough shelters, platform structures, vaulted, conical and domical forms were used in the dwelling repertoires of different groups, with some types limited to particular regions and resources. Domical forms were common to most regions. Used for rain, cold weather, shade and mosquitoes, domes were constructed of heavy acacia boughs, thatched with spinifex grass in the arid regions or fine flexible saplings clad in tropical palm leaves in north-east Queensland. Images of the

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[3]Memmott classifies this as 'acculturated ethno-architecture'.

[4]Ecosystem types influenced population densities and the reasons for mobility and range (see Keen 2004).

Fig. 2.1 Hut that blended traditional construction technologies with imported forms on Badu Island, in the Torres Strait, circa 1928 (*Photograph* C.M. Yonge, National Library of Australia)

pointed traditional domical houses on Mer (Murray Island) in the Torres Strait show lattice frames of bamboo thatched with grass (Long 2009). Material availability influenced the structure and cladding in most areas, although in biologically diverse landscapes, an abundance of resources allowed for an elaboration of construction techniques and choices (O'Rourke 2015). Heat-treated sheets of eucalyptus bark offered a range of different formal options from self-supported vaults to different planar structures (Memmott 2007: 8). European settlers adopted the bark cladding, which became the most conspicuous of the appropriated Indigenous building technologies.

Adaptations to Colonial Settlement

Across an enduring colonial contact phase, the displacement and disruption of Aboriginal society altered customary settlement patterns and changed traditional building practices. Geographic factors, the intensity of conflict and population decline, and the extent of dispossession from ancestral Country shaped Aboriginal and Islander social and architectural responses to the new conditions. In the more densely settled European areas, clan groups were often rapidly alienated from their own lands. The displaced Aboriginal people who had survived the initial invasion and its consequences were forced to adapt, living around the margins of the expanding towns and cities, forming communities on government-declared reserves or vacant land, or, at various periods, coerced into missions. In some more remote

areas of the continent, scattered Aboriginal groups adjusted their patterns of mobility to remain on traditional lands well into the twentieth century.

In the early phase of colonisation, the European towns attracted Aboriginal people, drawn in part to the novel economy and its merchandise, and some to the spectacle of urban life and the foreignness (Morgan 2006; Edmonds 2010: 116). In some of the towns, Aboriginal groups were able to maintain a presence on precolonial campsites, although urbanisation and official policy continued to relegate the majority of Aboriginal people to the periphery of the new settlements until the mid-twentieth century. The early colonial settlements established a pattern where Aboriginal people were quarantined outside of the town centres, segregated by boundaries and with curfews.[5] On the margins of the colonial built environment, Aboriginal people were referred to as 'fringe dwellers' (Prout Quicke and Green 2016).

In the Torres Strait Islands, the maritime-focused economy reduced the effects of colonisation on customary settlement patterns although the market economy and missionary activity were socially disruptive and caused significant cultural change (Beckett 1977, 1987).

During early contact, Aboriginal mobility throughout regions continued but as numbers of Europeans increased, groups were forced into more sedentary patterns of dwelling (Goodall 1996; Long 1970). With loss of land, restricted movement and greater dependence on the colonial economy, Aboriginal people adapted their building traditions and dwellings to new conditions. The self-built dwelling was commonly referred to as a 'humpy', borrowed from Brisbane region Aboriginal word for dwelling. Humpies came to describe a range of dwelling types, constructed of local bush materials and salvaged steel, sawn timber, kerosene tins, hessian and tarpaulins. As Rowley (1971) found in his extensive studies of regional Aboriginal communities in the 1960s, lack of secure land tenure prevented Aboriginal people with the skills and means from constructing more permanent housing than humpies.

The Aboriginal Protection Acts adopted towards the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century,[6] legislated state control over the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This legislation was, in part, a response to the frontier violence, the widespread exploitation of Aboriginal men and women and the impoverishment and poor health conditions of many Aboriginal groups. The Acts formalised a system of reserves that were located to reduce contact and conflict between settlers and Aboriginal people, to contain disease and promote an agrarian self-sufficiency. The Protection Acts exerted complete spatial control over Indigenous people, which included coercion into designated reserves, and restrictions on movement, employment and marriage. Mobility and settlement patterns across clan estates, connecting people to place, language and ritual, were

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[5]Urban toponyms record the lines of segregation, such as Boundary Street in Brisbane, which curtailed Aboriginal movement into the city in the nineteenth century.

[6]The first legislation enacted was in South Australia, where a Chief Protector was appointed in 1860. Similar legislation was passed in Victoria (1869), Queensland (1897), Western Australia (1905) and New South Wales (1909).

replaced by sedentary settlements, often far removed from ancestral land. The net result of legislation was to shift large numbers of Aboriginal people into welfare enclaves, and Aboriginal people were subject to enforced detention on missions, reserves and in other institutions.

Between first contact and the end of the twentieth century, Aboriginal people occupied town fringe camps, missions and reserves of varying size. In the rural and remote areas, Aboriginal camps were formed on pastoral properties, which in some regions allowed greater mobility and connection to country (McKellar 1984: Trigger 1992). The station camps[7] were widespread across the country although, from the late nineteenth century, missionaries and colonial governments were gathering the remnant clan groups into settlements in the more sparsely populated parts of northern Australia.

Missions

From the onset of European settlement, church and missionary societies sporadically attempted to 'Christianise and civilise' Aboriginal people, with mixed success (Gribble 1930; see also Swain and Rose 1988). Expanding across Australia from the mid-nineteenth century, the missionary zeal envisaged the spiritual and cultural conversion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people including remaking their relationship to an altered landscape. Plans for agrarian settlements were instruments in the spatial reform of the mission inmates. For the missionaries, a village of cottages was a fundamental part of the civilising process; 'just as the mission station was formed by an enclosure, so too were Aborigines to be constructed by placing them within houses' (Attwood 1989: 20; Loos 1988: 107–109).

The colonial governments mostly sanctioned missionary activity but offered only marginal or no financial support and a varied approach to land grants (Attwood 1989, 2000; Loos 1988, 1991; Gunson 1978). Relying largely on the church society or missionary board for support, missions were invariably poorly funded and lacked adequate resources for housing or infrastructure—a pattern that lasted into the twentieth century (Gribble 1930). The Protection Acts initially authorised church control over the missions (Attwood 1989; Blake 1998), except in New South Wales, where the State took control in 1893 (Goodall 1996). Missions continued to form in the early twentieth century, although at different times missions were also transferred to state administration in Queensland and South Australia (Grant and Memmott 2007; Rowley 1971). By the late 1980s, the majority of the remaining missions and state-run settlements were transferred to Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander administered communities.

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[7]Larger pastoral properties are called stations, but so too were Aboriginal reserves in Victoria and New South Wales.

Reducing the burden on colonial governments, missions provided a useful form of spatial segregation and administrative control over the Indigenous population, while Christian values and a rudimentary European education would help to produce a subservient labour class.[8] On the frontier, the mission settlement may have offered sanctuary from severe exploitation and violence (Edwards 2016). Many of the early missions were short-lived, with Aboriginal people unconvinced by the meagre incentives to adopt such a radical cultural change. Food and goods were used to co-opt Aboriginal people into the missions, with rations awarded for participation in religious instruction and schooling (Gunson 1978; Long 1970). By the end of the nineteenth century, the Christian missionaries' added purpose was to ease the inevitable suffering of 'a dying race' (McGregor 1997).

Different Christian denominations were active from the mid-nineteenth century, with some missions persevering well into the twentieth century: the Lutheran mission at Hermannsberg (Finke River) in Central Australia operated from 1877 to 1982. Arriving on Erub (Darnley Island) in 1871, the London Missionary Society was particularly successful in establishing a distinctive form of Melanesian Christianity in the Torres Strait Islands (Beckett 1987). In the remote regions, authoritative superintendents could impose harsh, punitive regimes with little oversight (Trigger 1992). Social engineering was integral to most missions, although occasionally more enlightened superintendents permitted certain cultural activities and use of Indigenous languages (Edwards 2016).

In the majority of missions, architecture was used to 'civilise' and assimilate Indigenous people to the modern settler economy and society. The planning of the missions reinforced a European spatial order and the authority of the church (Attwood 1989: 12–14). Whereas Aboriginal camps maintained distinctive socio-spatial patterns (Memmott 2002), both the missions and managed reserves were generally planned to grids that reinforced the authority of the superintendent and the institution. Typically, inmates were housed in rows of huts that were sometimes replaced by basic cottages. Dormitories separated children from their families into the 1960s (Blake 1998; Long 1970; Read 2000; Trigger 1992). Often poorly funded by either church or state, early mission architecture relied on Aboriginal building technologies and materials: on some remote missions, basic huts of bush materials were still in use in the 1980s. Over time, families and groups embraced Christianity, but for varied reasons, the social distance between converted inmate and missionary rarely diminished (see Swain and Rose 1988).

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[8]Some missions were established as commercial ventures based on Aboriginal labour (Ganter 2016).

Reserves, Government Settlements and Stations

As the colony was mapped and claimed under the Crown, colonial governments set aside small areas of land for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples known as reserves. The reserves were created for varied reasons, but, like the missions, they were an attempt to circumscribe and order Aboriginal presence on the margins of towns and in the Australian countryside.[9] Reserves with resident superintendents were more institutionalised (called government stations in New South Wales) although many of the unmanaged reserves were still subject to local protectors or inspectors, authorised by the Protection Acts to exert control over the residents (Read 1984; Rowley 1971). In some states, the reserves were strategically isolated to distance the Aboriginal inhabitants from major towns or cities. In Queensland, this included Palm Island, Cherbourg and Woorabinda, which were used as penal settlements (Fig. 2.2). The administration of this Queensland network of Indigenous reserves was gazetted under the Aboriginal Protection Act in 1897.

> By 1939 almost 7,000 Aborigines had been removed under the Act. The development of major settlements in southern, central and northern Queensland was only possible with the forced removal of Aborigines from all parts of the state. But the removals program functioned more than merely being a means for populating reserves. The removals process was a critical aspect of controlling and dominating Aborigines on and off reserves. Indeed, every aspect of Indigenous life was affected by the removals program (Blake 1998: 51–52).

The threat of removal under the state Acts was used to regulate behaviour and maintain the supply of Aboriginal labour (Blake 1998: 54–5). Managers ruled many of the larger reserves that were invariably underfunded and impoverished although architecture still served as a means of spatial and social control. Over its 84-year duration (1904 to 1988), the government settlement at Cherbourg[10] included separate dormitories for boys and girls with a hall to train Aboriginal women for domestic service.

With insufficient funding for the reserves, supply of houses was invariably of substandard quality and poorly serviced. Standards varied across and within states, but in New South Wales evidence was damning: 'In 1961, a survey of 739 reserve dwellings found that only one in three had bathrooms, more than 80% did not have electricity and that the average population density was eight per house' (Morgan 2006: 30). In Western Australia in '1957 there were 61 camping reserves throughout the state of which 38 had some basic facilities' (Morgan 1972: 4). With only limited (or non-existent) water supply or municipal sanitation, health problems

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[9]In New South Wales, Aboriginal groups, with limited colonial support, argued for productive land as the gathered settlers claimed increasingly more of their arable estates (Goodall 1996: 76–78).

[10]Cherbourg was established as Barambah by the Salvation Army in 1899.

Fig. 2.2 Mixed types of self-constructed dwellings at Barambah Settlement (later Cherbourg) in 1911 (*Photograph* State Library of Queensland)

were an ever-present threat on reserves and stations, in addition to the threat of inspections and removal of families and children (Long 1970; Rowley 1971). In the relatively established Allawah Grove settlement in Perth, for example, the Aboriginal families occupied small, two-roomed, asbestos cement cottages with inadequate services (Delmege 2015).

Town Camps, Fringe Dwellers and Pastoral Camps

Towns and cities attracted Aboriginal people for a variety of reasons, but the European settlers rarely tolerated Aboriginal people living within the urban areas until the 1950s (Edmonds 2010; Morgan 2006: 3–6; Rowley 1971). Dispossessed of land and resources, and vulnerable to attack by settlers and Native Police, Aboriginal people were drawn to towns largely for safety and food, with government-supplied rations, an incentive to congregate on the town fringes (Eckermann 1977; Reynolds 1976; Rowse 1998). In addition to the declared reserves, Aboriginal groups occupied fringe camps on the margins of towns often on vacant Crown Land (Eckermann 1977: 111–113; Prout Quicke and Green 2016; McKellar 1984).[11] The fringe dwellers were sometimes tolerated as a cheap supply of domestic and agricultural labour, although government policies and settler prejudices made the existence of camps tenuous (Read 1984; Reynolds 1976; Rowley 1971).

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[11]In Victoria and NSW, missions and managed reserves often had their own fringe camps (Read 2000: 57).

On fringe camps and unmanaged reserves, dwellings could be located and constructed with a greater freedom to Aboriginal living patterns and cultural practices (Memmott 1996; Reynolds 1976). The construction quality of the self-built dwellings varied but building fabric was invariably a combination of second-hand and bush materials (see Memmott 2007: 258–283). On the camping reserves in Western Australia, for example, the dwellings were viewed as 'the worst possible imaginable range of humpies, wurlies and windbreaks' (Morgan 1972: 3). Although the camps of self-built humpies and huts were adapted to more sedentary lifestyles, intraregional mobility remained high (Eckermann 1977; Read 1984). Such camps were rarely afforded utilities that the settler society took for granted in adjacent towns, but families also made great efforts to meet the standards required to participate in workplaces and to send children to schools where permitted (McKellar 1984; Rowley 1971).

In the 1990s, Smith (2000) documented the self-constructed dwellings in the town reserves in Goodooga, north-western New South Wales. Smith's careful documentation of the bush timber and corrugated steel dwellings revealed culturally derived spatial order in the plans and resourceful construction details. In Central Australia, Keys' (1999, 2003) study of single women's camps examined self-constructed dwellings that perpetuated traditional cultural behaviours that were unsupported in conventional approaches to mainstream housing. These types of detailed studies of living environments provided architectural insights into distinctive Indigenous spatial practices, while informing criticism of government-supplied housing (Cf. Ross 1987).

Poor conditions in fringe camps, lack of opportunity and racism led to a gradual drift of Aboriginal people to towns and cities during the twentieth century, with urban migration increasing from the 1950s. Despite attachments to places and kin, some Aboriginal families embarked on the journey to suburbia, seeking work or education opportunities for their children (Morgan 2000, 2006). The move was to public housing or private rental properties with only relatively small numbers of Indigenous people able to afford or permitted to buy a home. In the 1960s and 1970s, the fringe camps became a symbol of the broader crisis in Aboriginal housing, both the shortfall of dwellings and the substandard quality of the humpies (McKay 1968; Rowley 1971). In 1958, there were over 30 unofficial Aboriginal camps in NSW alone (Morgan 2006: 29). Across rural country towns, non-Indigenous townsfolk also campaigned against fringe camps, which offended civic pride (Goodall 1996; Read 1984: 48; Rowley 1971: 217). Despite the integration of the fringe dwellers in the local economy, petitions to local and state governments saw many of the country camps cleared in the 1950s and 1960s (Memmott 1996).

An exception to the removal of fringe camps occurred in the Northern Territory and remote Western Australia, where Aboriginal populations were relatively high in remote areas. The numerous town camps of Alice Springs, for example, persisted into the twenty-first century. In the 1970 and 1980s, the community organisations gained leases over their camps and gradually improved the infrastructure and housing (Coleman 1979; Heppell and Wigley 1981; Rowse 2000).

Aboriginal camps on pastoral stations were a common type of settlement that often existed outside of government supervision, because of the necessity for Aboriginal labour. Pastoralists claimed large swathes of Aboriginal lands,[12] and those surviving the invasion frequently gravitated to the sheep or cattle stations for rations and work. Few station owners provided anything more than rudimentary housing for Aboriginal workers, with self-constructed camps commonplace (Morgan 1972).

Housing and Assimilation

The assimilation of Aboriginal people with non-Indigenous society was discussed by governments from the 1930s but not formally adopted by the Commonwealth and states as a policy goal until 1951 (Long 2000). As in the missions where architecture abetted cultural change, housing was one of the tools of assimilation. The Department of Native Affairs in Queensland was open about the uses of housing:

> Housing has always held a very high priority in State Government policy aimed at the ultimate assimilation of the Aboriginal people into the white community. Equally, with education, housing provides the medium of uplift without which assimilation would never materialise (Native Affairs 1957 quoted in Heppell 1979b: 1)

Coinciding with assimilation policy, 'transitional' housing was tried by state and territory governments as a partial solution to the shortage of Indigenous housing in regional and remote communities (Go-Sam 2014; Morgan 1972). Transitional housing offered a progression of dwelling types, increasing in room numbers and services, as a stage between reserve or town camp humpies and mainstream public housing. This staged approach would aid the Indigenous people to move from their traditional and fringe camp settlements to conventional European housing located within townships. The first stage offered basic shelter, with minimal services, and external cooking. As basic units of shelter in remote areas, the transitional housing was suited to prefabrication, one notorious example being the Kingstrand house (see Fig. 2.3). The small single-skin, one-room shelters were clad in aluminium sheets ill-suited to the desert climates. The proposed residents rarely occupied the aluminium house, used instead for storage, and continued to use their more climatically comfortable humpies (Saini 1967).[13]

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[12]The pastoralists often settled on Aboriginal campsites that were sources of food and water.

[13]The Kingstrands, and the transitional housing concept, were not successful (see Heppell 1979a; Ross 1987).

Fig. 2.3 Kingstrand houses at Warrabri Government Settlement, Northern Territory, 1958 (*Photograph* W Pedersen National Library of Australia)

Demographic Change and Urban Housing

Before the 1940s, the majority of Aboriginal people lived in remote regions or in and around country towns, with relatively few living in cities. The population shift from regions to cities increased from the late 1940s, although Aboriginal people were still mobile between places and within cities relative to the non-Indigenous population (Rowley 1971: 203, 363–379). In the mid-twentieth century, Torres Strait Islanders moved to the mainland for work, which led to growing populations of Islanders in eastern coastal towns (Beckett 1987). The increasing urbanisation of the Indigenous population was not accompanied by significant architectural responses in housing, although the quality of social housing occupied by some Indigenous people varied from state to state. Lack of housing was common, leading to large households in dwellings that were often substandard (McKay 1968; Rowley 1971).

With widespread racial discrimination in the rental housing market, the growing urban migration increased the need for Indigenous housing organisations and services.[14] Where possible, Aboriginal and Islander people gravitated to kin already living in cities or suburbs (Gale and Wundersitz 1982). In some cities, long-established Aboriginal communities maintained a discrete presence as Indigenous enclaves: for example, La Perouse (Nugent 2005) and Allawah Grove (Delmege 2015; Rowley 1971). Suburbs such as Redfern in Sydney (Anderson 2000) and Inala in Brisbane (Greenop 2009, 2012) developed identities as Aboriginal places through the presence of people and Indigenous-run organisations.

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[14]Aboriginal hostels were an important housing type for the typically mobile urban Indigenous populations.

Indigenous Housing from 1970 to 2000

The Aboriginal Housing Panel

Perhaps the most interesting, optimistic and, arguably, influential period of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing was the decade following the 1967 Referendum that amended two sections of the Australian Constitution. The referendum gave the Commonwealth Government power to make laws that affected Indigenous Australians, previously the reserve of the states.[15] This change had implications for Indigenous housing with a succession of Commonwealth Government programmes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing (Long 2000; Sanders 1993: 216–18). Noted for its symbolic recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, the activism associated with campaigns for Aboriginal rights leading up to the referendum also led to the formation of Indigenous organisations across the county. Advocating self-determination, and encouraged by the policies of the Whitlam Labor Government in 1972, nascent Aboriginal organisations campaigned for control over their own housing needs. Using dedicated Commonwealth Government funding, many Aboriginal housing organisations sought to procure their own dwellings in both urban and regional areas (Long 2000; Sanders 1993), with programmes between 1972 and 1973 supporting over 400 community housing associations (Sanders 1993: 217).

The activism, change in sentiment and greater media presence alerted architects to the cause. With Australian society increasingly aware of the extent of Aboriginal disadvantage, feature articles in *Architecture in Australia* (McKay 1968; Saini 1967) reminded the profession about the crisis in both the quality and shortage of housing. The Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) formed the Aboriginal Housing Panel (AHP) in 1972, shortly after a national seminar on the housing problem and solutions held in the same year.[16] Although architects had designed Indigenous housing for state authorities and public works departments, the AHP developed at a time when architectural practice was taking a greater interest in the needs of housing users. In 1975, the AHP changed from a committee of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects to become an incorporated association directed by anthropologist Michael Heppell, renamed the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Housing Panel Inc. (ATSIHP). Dependent on Federal Government funding, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs disbanded the ATSIHP in 1978, much to the dismay of Aboriginal organisations, the Panel and academics (Heppell 1979c).

During its first phase, members of the AHP travelled to all the states and the Northern Territory seeking advice and services from regional architects, academics

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[15]Just over 90% of all Australians voted yes in favour of amending the Constitution, a symbolic indication that racism had subsided in the late 1960s.

[16]See, for example, papers by architects Hamilton (1972) and Saini (1972) in the Royal Australian Institute of Architects' *Seminar on Low-Cost Self-Help Housing for Aborigines in Remote Areas*.

Fig. 2.4 Prefabricated Goorawin Shelter by Architect Ed Oribin for the ATSIHP at an outstation in Arnhem Land, 1977 (*Photograph* Michael Heppell)

and government administrators. It also commissioned and sought out reports on Aboriginal housing need and made attempts to liaise with Indigenous communities. Across its operation, the Panel explored a range of different housing types, technologies and procurement options, canvassing solutions and seeking housing precedents from overseas. This included research into prefabricated and modular systems, some tailored to local participation and self-build housing (O'Rourke 2017) (Fig. 2.4).

Operating with little local precedent (state departments of public works had provided some specific designs prior to the 1970s: see Memmott 1988), the AHP sought designs for a variety of shelter and housing types for mostly remote and regional communities across the country. Shelter options were to be trialled as a temporary solution to the shortage of housing in remote communities, while architects developed more site-specific designs for housing in particular places. With little or no formal housing in the town camps and remote Aboriginal communities, the most basic shelters were part of the Panel's programme. This included a geodesic dome and the 'James Wiltja' prefabricated steel tent, both clad in canvas (Heppell 1977).

The ATSIHP directed its efforts to different climatic regions, with programmes for desert and tropical housing. The aim of each programme was to commission prototype designs, consult with the Aboriginal users in the design process and evaluate the projects on completion. The evaluations of the projects provided unprecedented data on housing preferences and the cultural, social and technical challenges of housing design in remote regions. The Panel's director Heppell produced reports (1976, 1977; Heppell and Wigley 1977) and edited the highly influential book on Indigenous housing, *A black reality: Aboriginal camps and*

housing in remote Australia (Heppell 1979a). The Panel and subsequent architects learnt much from the failures and shortcomings of the varied projects.

Houses designed by Perth architect John Flowers (Clarke Gazzard Flower Architects) for the Mowanjum Community benefited from consultation as well as a design report by academic anthropologist Freeman. The architectural plans described extensive verandahs and covered outdoor spaces adjacent to external fireplaces in a town plan that acknowledged socio-spatial preferences (Heppell 1976: 36–39). The houses built in the communities lacked the quality of the original designs—a constant problem of remote construction—but lasted long enough to undergo two renovations, the latest by Troppo Architects (Welke 2017) (Fig. 2.5).

Several projects were not so enduring. The failed designs were often the result of multiple factors: a failure to adequately consult with the future householders, poor understandings of the differing needs and requirements of Aboriginal people, and an emphasis on construction technology as a solution. Built in Laverton, Western Australia, architect Lawrence Howroyd's 'Organic House' was unorthodox in plan and section (see Heppell 1976, 1979b). A circular enclosure focused on a central courtyard, and the house was designed to accommodate an extended family unit (8–25 people). The rationale for the courtyard design was to allow the occupants to see the night sky and maintain a central fire. The 12 Metres (39.4 Feet) diameter compound surrounded by a 2.5 Metres (8.2 Feet) high wall also prevented external surveillance of the surrounding community and landscape—an important design parameter for housing in many remote Aboriginal communities (see Fig. 2.6). Shown plans and a model of the house, the community's objections to and criticism of the design went unheeded by the architect who argued that he knew better. The occupants abandoned the house not long after completion (Heppell 1976: 14–15).

Fig. 2.5 One of John Flower's designs for housing in Mowanjum, Western Australia, for the Aboriginal Housing Panel, 1977 (*Photograph* Balwant Saini)

Fig. 2.6 The Interior of Lawrence Howroyd's experimental house design in Laverton, Western Australia, circa 1976 (*Photograph* Michael Heppell)

In 1976, architects Peter Martin and Julian Wigley were given full-time positions in the AHP, with Walter Dobkins joining Wigley in Central Australia in 1977. Learning from the successes and failures of the Panel's earlier projects, the architects spent time in communities documenting the housing needs and consulting with families about their domestic and architectural preferences. For Martin, the communities included Mt Margaret in Western Australia and Aurukun in Queensland. Based in Alice Springs, Julian Wigley developed a conceptual design for housing with multiple plan variants for the Mt Nancy town camp (Heppell and Wigley 1981) (see Fig. 2.7). Different plan variants were based on consultation with the future householders, and these and subsequent designs demonstrated Wigley's attempts to design housing for the preferences and behaviour patterns of Aboriginal people moving from humpies into a Western idea of a house. Prior to the houses, Wigley worked with the town campers to secure a lease for the Mt Nancy and construct an ablutions block, which was essential to the occupation of the site—Wigley, with his wife Barbara, was to spend another decade working on securing leases for communities throughout the Northern Territory.
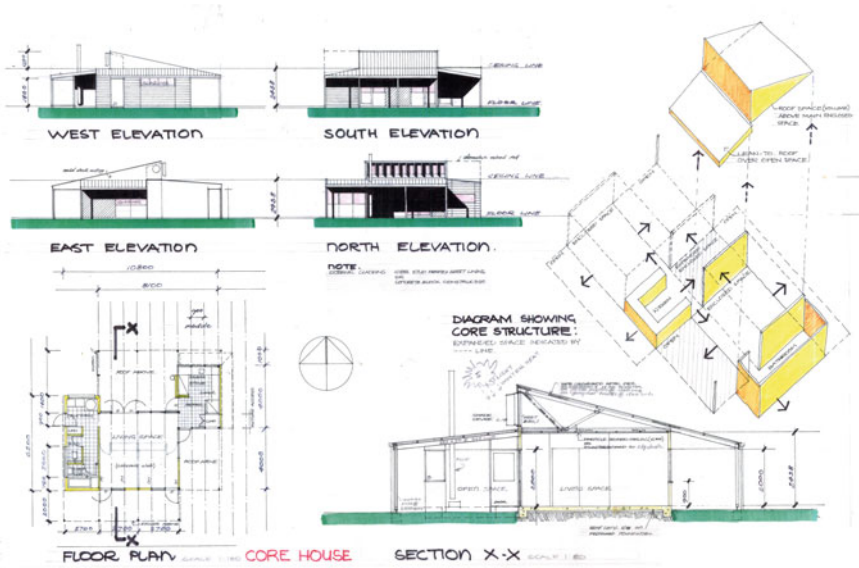
Fig. 2.7 Julian Wigley's design for housing at Mt Nancy town camp, Alice Springs, 1976 (*Drawing* Julian Wigley)

Tangentyere Design and Alice Springs

When the Aboriginal Housing Panel was disbanded in 1978, Dobkins and Wigley moved to help establish an architectural branch for the Tangentyere Council, an Aboriginal organisation established to manage the Alice Springs town camps. Tangentyere Design developed a mode of architectural practice with an emphasis on extensive consultation and building delivery process that yielded both improvements in housing design and a succession of architects trained in the complexities of this design field (Broffman 2008, 2015, 2018). Dobkins continued design work on housing and community buildings for Tangentyere, while Julian Wigley worked on securing leases and services for the town camps (Dobkins 1986; Heppell and Wigley 1981). Jane Dillon and Mark Savage joined Tangentyere Design to produce a portfolio of houses designs in the 1980s that further contributed to knowledge about architectural solutions to Aboriginal housing in Central Australia.

Dillon and Savage, and the architects that followed, were able to observe and evaluate the increasing Tangentyere housing stock, continuing to refine designs and processes of delivery. Living and working in Alice Springs, in the midst of the town camps and Aboriginal organisations delivering services, the architects gained an intimate knowledge of the town campers, their housing conditions and needs, a practice that continued into the 2010s. The longevity of Tangentyere Design provided a repository of knowledge and training for a succession of architects that

influenced practices and projects beyond Alice Springs. Only a small part of this design work has been published (Broffman 2008, 2018; Dillon and Savage 1988, 2003), although analysis of the practice (Broffman 2015, 2018; Dillon 1986; Dillion and Savage 1988; Dobkins 1986) and evaluation of the housing appeared in reports (Memmott 1989) and conferences. Few Aboriginal housing organisations have been able to replicate the Tangentyere Design model given the uneven funding for Aboriginal housing, often influenced by short political cycles (Memmott 2004).[17]

Established in Alice Springs by Bruce Walker in the early 1980s, the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) developed equipment and infrastructure to support Aboriginal households in remote communities and outstations (Mayne 2014: 29–31). From an engineering background, Walker travelled extensively in the region to observe and record community needs and capacity to inform a design programme for technologies appropriate to different locations and cultural groups. CAT trained and employed Aboriginal people to fabricate and install infrastructures such as water pumps and ablution facilities for outstations. In addition to settlement infrastructure, CAT was active in community planning and added housing design and construction to their growing practice that, by the late 1990s, had offices in Cairns and Derby (WA) (Mayne 2014: 57). CAT collaborated with architects on housing and employed one of the first Aboriginal architectural graduates Andrew Lane. CAT was also well placed to carry out post-occupancy evaluation of Aboriginal housing in Central Australia (e.g. see Centre for Appropriate Technology 2013), a practice that has occurred too infrequently in the history of Indigenous housing.

Environmental Health and Housing

Medical practitioners working in remote Aboriginal health recognised the connection between poor quality living environments and poor health often manifest in chronic diseases. From the mid-1970s, Dr Trevor Cutter from the Central Australian Aboriginal Congress in Alice Springs was reporting on community health in the town camps and outstations—problems exacerbated by the recent shift for many to a sedentary lifestyle in substandard dwellings. Similarly, ophthalmologist Fred Hollows' work in Aboriginal health and the National Trachoma programme drew attention to the need for better quality sanitation in housing. In 1987, architect Paul Pholeros, in collaboration with a physician Paul Torzillo and environmental health worker Stephan Rainow, produced an influential report for the Nganampa Health Council and South Australian Health Commission (1987). Aboriginal leader Lester

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[17]From the 1980s, the Commonwealth and states continued to fund or deliver Aboriginal housing under varied initiatives and programmes (Sanders 1993), which affected the level of architectural participation and extent of consultation.

Yami commissioned the interdisciplinary report, concerned about the effects of living conditions on health in the Ananngu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands in the far north-west of South Australia. Based on nine healthy housing principles, the drawings and guidelines for fixing houses and hardware were to inform architectural and construction in remote and regional housing projects across Australia. The trio formed the interdisciplinary consultancy Healthabitat and continued with projects that led to a national housing survey and fixing the programme (Pholeros et al. 1993; Pholeros 2003). The work and Pholeros's evocative drawings contributed to the National Indigenous Housing Guide (FaHCSIA 2007). Across different jurisdictions, the Guide has been influential on the design and specifications for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing.

Aboriginal Housing Organisations and the State

The policy shift to self-determination in Indigenous affairs in the 1970s resulted in the formation of diverse and widespread Indigenous-run housing organisations that provided not-for-profit rental housing to community members (Long 2000). Commonwealth or state (or both) funded these Indigenous Community Housing Organisations (ICHOs), with the states also housing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in their mainstream public housing (Eringa et al. 2009: 12–14). The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), active between 1990 and 2005, was a nationally elected representative body that participated in decisions on housing policy and delivery at a regional level.

Despite an uncertain policy landscape, a significant number of ICHOs continued to provide housing services through the 1980s and into the 2010s: 'in 2006, there were 496 ICHOs in Australia, managing 21,758 permanent dwellings' (Eringa et al. 2009: 1).[18] In addition to rental housing, the ICHOs frequently provide other housing-related services. Established in 1973, Yumba Meta in Townsville provided a domestic violence refuge, temporary support for homeless people and centre for alcoholics. In this type of organisation, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people direct and deliver services to their own people. Professional architectural engagement with the ICHOs has a mixed and often limited history. In rural and remote areas, stock consists of conventional detached housing, mostly different versions of suburban types, including kit homes and prefabs, much of it poorly suited to climate and designed with little regard for distinct cultural behaviours or preferences.

Although urban Indigenous housing remains largely under-reported, the struggle for Aboriginal housing in the inner city Sydney suburb of Redfern has been an exception. Since the early 1970s, the fight to gain housing in a few suburban blocks

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[18]ICHOs managed almost three times the houses in remote communities (about 60 on average) than in the city (Eringa et al. 2009: 1). The larger urban Indigenous populations were distributed across state social housing, private rental markets or owned their own home.

in Redfern—a small area of derelict, working-class Victorian terrace housing—portrays Aboriginal activism, community attachment, social problems and government reticence to act (Anderson 2000; Special Broadcasting Service 2016). Local Aboriginal activists—led by Bob Bellear—formed the Aboriginal Housing Company in 1972, with a grant from the Commonwealth Government, which was used to purchase terrace houses (Aboriginal Housing Company 2016; Bellear 1976). Over several decades, Col James from the University of Sydney and local architectural practices provided both advice and a number of schematic designs for 'The Block' (James et al. 2003). In the 2000s, Cracknell and Lonergan Architects with Angela Pitts and John Mann developed the Pemulwuy Project Concept Master Plan for the Block, which had grown to 116 allotments (Pitts 2008). The NSW Government approved the development in the 2010s (see Aboriginal Housing Company 2016), but debates over the benefit of the scheme to the community were still plaguing the unbuilt project in the mid-2010s.

National Aboriginal Health Strategy

Initiated in 1989, the Commonwealth-funded National Aboriginal Health Strategy included the physical environment in a broader definition of factors contributing to Indigenous health. Developed during a period of greater Indigenous self-determination and more inclusive consultation, NAHS set out to provide greater participation in and control of Indigenous health services. Recognising the significance of environmental health, NAHS programmes also included expenditure on settlement infrastructure and housing, which references the National Indigenous Housing Guide. With the delivery managed by large engineering practices, the initial housing programme found architects peripheral (yet again) to the process, but with advocacy this changed in later stages. Architects with considerable experience in community housing were given opportunities and budgets to design houses for families based on consultation.

Troppo Architects, based out of Darwin, produced noteworthy housing for communities in the Northern Territory funded by NAHS. Architects Deborah Fisher (previously with Tangentyere Design) and Simon Scally (BuildUp Design) worked jointly on NAHS housing projects in communities across the Northern Territory (Daguragu, Umbakumba, Galiwinku) and Queensland in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Fig. 2.8). Fisher and Scully's (2008) review of the NAHS process and their housing projects provide a useful summary of the programme and its benefits. Architects with considerable experience in Indigenous housing contributed to the NAHS housing programme, including Barbara Wigley and Julian Wigley, Geoff Barker and Su Groome (Wigley and Wigley 2003). Both Tangentyere Design and
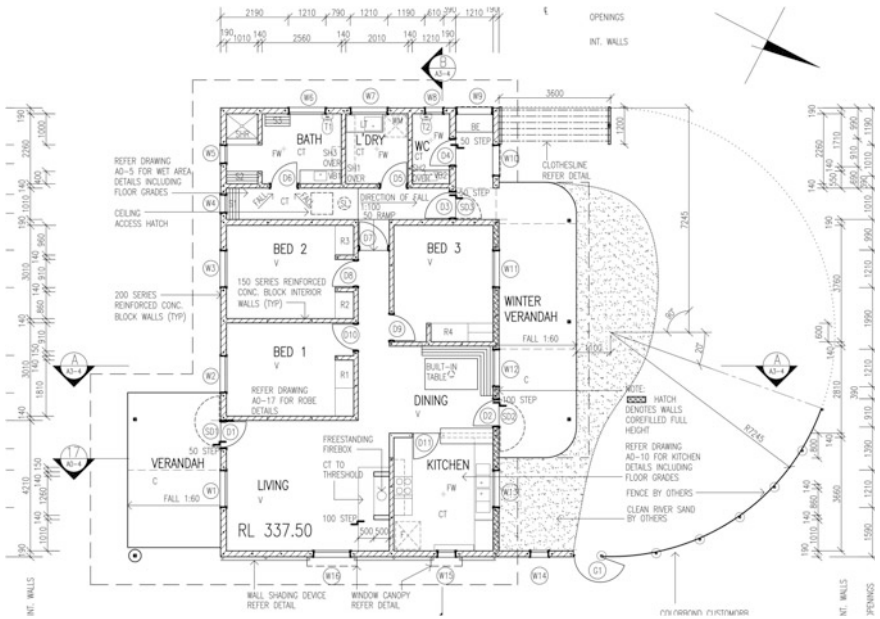
Fig. 2.8 Floor plan for a NAHS house by Deborah Fisher Architect, 2003. The plan responds to preferred domestic patterns of use elicited through consultation (*Drawing* Deborah Fisher)

CAT participated in NAHS housing and infrastructure projects, which included new housing and renovations.[19]

Policy and funding responses to an ongoing crisis in Indigenous housing, particularly in remote areas, led to different programmes with mixed effects for the quality of design input. Other programmes and contributions to Indigenous housing continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s, with mixed results (Jardine-Orr et al. 2004). Under the Indigenous Housing Authority of the Northern Territory (IHANT) scheme, Troppo Architects produced a range of noteworthy designs for communities across the Northern Territory (see Fig. 2.9). Their Galiwinku houses were evaluated in the 2000s in one of the few cases of multidisciplinary post-occupancy evaluations (Memmott et al. 2000). In research that considered housing from this period, Fantin (2003) described the relationships between housing and traditional Yolngu avoidance behaviours, based on kinship rules. Fantin's research used ethnographic data to understand and critique particular problems with housing design. Highly relevant to the more remote Aboriginal communities across Australia, the research contributed to an emphasis on cross-cultural approaches to Indigenous housing originating in the 1970s.

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[19]Andrew Lane worked as a project manager for ARUP on multiple NAHS projects, and described one of these projects in Dajarra, designed by architect Stephen de Jersey (Lane 2008).
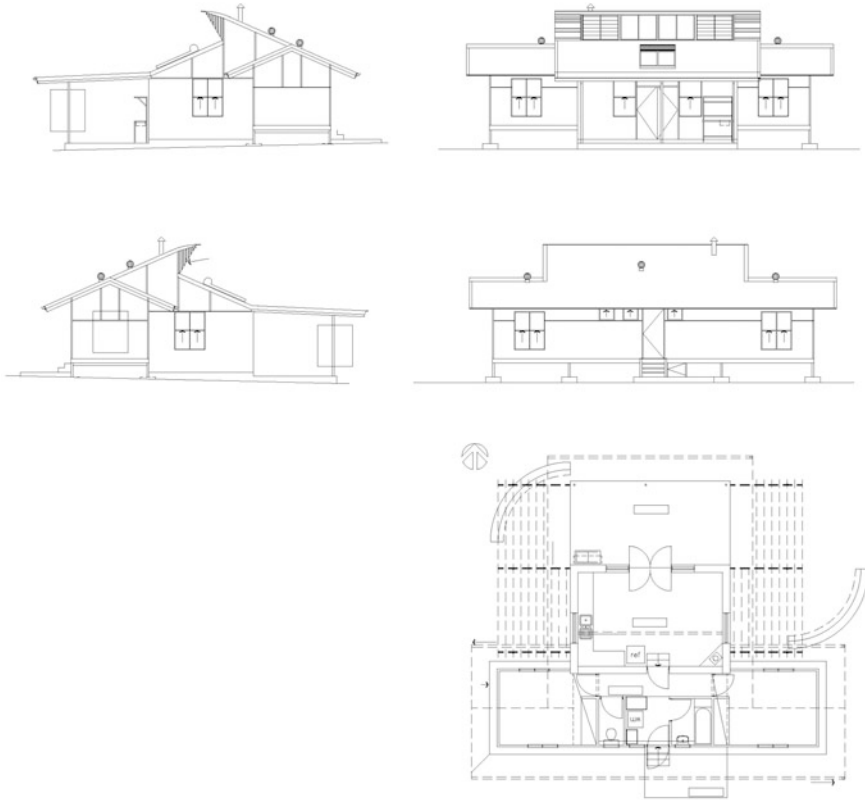
Fig. 2.9 House designed by Troppo Architects for Wongatha Wongannarra Aboriginal Community (near Laverton), in Western Australia (*Drawing* Troppo Architects)

In 1995, Glenn Murcutt received extensive press for his Marika-Alderton House commissioned by and built for a family in Yirrkala. The media celebrated the architect, the photogenic design and featured interviews about the project with architect and client. Discussion of this high-profile house led to a debate about the design and its potential contribution to the broader problem of Aboriginal housing (Dovey 2000). In contrast, participatory approaches to design are exemplified in the more modest architectural work of Haar, whose self-build projects in the Torres Strait and Arnhem Land demonstrate a culturally appropriate but time-consuming method of housing procurement (2000, 2003).

Indigenous Housing in the Twenty-First Century

In the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing was still plagued by poor standards and chronic shortfalls of dwellings. Census data and research on crowding[20] continued to indicate evidence of the high household numbers relative to the non-Indigenous population (AIHW 2014; Memmott et al. 2012). There were still significant numbers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people without consistent access to suitable housing, with Indigenous homelessness a persistent problem being more severe in urban areas (Memmott and Nash 2016; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). In the 2010s, the majority of Indigenous people lived in social housing or private rental accommodation (AIHW 2014). Although increasing, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander home ownership was about half that of non-Indigenous Australians in 2011 (AIHW 2014). In the 2000s, the Australian Government reduced levels of Indigenous self-determination and began a process of transferring ICHO housing stock and management to the state and Northern Territory governments. In cycles of incessant change, the scattered examples of good housing practice, often many years in the making, were also casualties of the new policy direction.

Proposing different methods of supplying dwellings, particularly to remote areas, has been a recurrent theme in Indigenous housing since at least the 1960s. The search for novel procurement solutions is partly a response to the chronic shortfalls of Indigenous housing and the high cost of buildings that meet basic standards (Hall and Berry 2006). The varied approaches to constructing dwellings range from prefabricated houses, to modular systems, to construction programmes that rely on local labour. Recurrent attempts to trial building procurement programmes frequently ignore precedents—in the 1970s, the AHP evaluated many of their approaches to design, which would reappear as novel solutions to the Indigenous housing over the next four decades.

With the different approaches to procurement, the agency of the architect and client also vary, from direct consultation to a selection from a limited number of plans. Technically focused and delivered solutions to Indigenous housing tend to offer minimal consultation with the housing users. This approach can frequently ignore design principles that acknowledge cultural and social preferences of the householders. At the other end of the spectrum, self-build programmes can provide direct participation in design and construction decisions. But this approach assumes that social housing clients have both the skills and will to labour on houses that perhaps should be delivered as a right (Cf. Seemann et al. 2008).

A three-stage suburban housing project in Kununurra by architects Iredale Pedersen and Hook (IPH) provided a noteworthy contribution to Aboriginal housing in the 2010s. Kununurra is a remote town in Western Australia near to the border of the Northern Territory. In their Kununurra transitional housing, IPH used

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[20]Recent research has challenged definitions of crowding and noted that cultural and social preferences affect household numbers as well as dwelling shortfalls (Greenop and Memmott 2016).

Fig. 2.10 Kununurra housing by Iredale Pedersen and Hook Architects. The oversized carports provide external covered living areas (*Photograph* Peter Bennetts)

post-occupancy evaluations of their earlier Kimberly housing projects to inform the design of 35 houses. The aim of this 'transitional' housing was to provide a path to home ownership,[21] managed and supported by a national community housing company and a regional Kimberley Aboriginal development organisation (Wunan Foundation 2016).

> We extended the challenge to create a diversity of spatial types that are embedded with flexibility, allowing potential occupants to select a housing type and then personalise their use of the space. This desire evolved from the post-occupancy studies, which clearly demonstrated variety of use, ranging from spaces with maximal personalization via furniture and fittings to a minimum existence with carefully and strategically placed furniture. From these studies it was clear that flexibility encourages a sense of ownership, pride and dignity (Iredale 2016: 67).

IPH's experience in remote area Aboriginal housing combined with the use of post-occupancy evaluations of their previous work is evident in the architectural results at Kununurra. With a limited construction palette, the designs respond to climate and provide for cultural and social preferences that are frequently ignored in conventional housing (see Fig. 2.10). In its mix of detached and medium density housing, the Kununurra projects represent insights from both research and architectural practice that began in the 1970s.

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[21]Not to be confused with the transitional housing in the 1950s and 1960s.

Conclusion

Since the 1970s, a combination of research and informed architectural practice has made significant contribution to identifying and offering solutions to the enduring problem of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing (Long et al. 2007). There is little disagreement about the importance of good quality, affordable housing to Indigenous livelihoods, health and welfare (AIHW 2014; Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2016). Architects working in remote housing developed approaches to design that made significant improvements to Indigenous housing and policy, from interests in environmental health to the particular effects of cultural practices on design. Informed cross-cultural consultation, design specifications based on national guidelines and tailored procurement strategies are recognised as the basis for the architectural design of Indigenous social housing (Memmott 2003).

What appear to be the most successful architectural projects, at least in the short term, are informed by meaningful consultation with communities and residents, knowledge of the place and its design parameters, and a familiarity with the challenges of working in this field. The Aboriginal Housing Panel under Heppell's direction established the importance of consultation with the users of Indigenous housing, an approach that continued at Tangentyere Design, where architects passed on accumulated knowledge of process and design (Broffman 2015, 2018). For remote housing, Barker (2003, 2008) emphasised the importance of the design and procurement processes related to location, based on decades of work in architectural projects for Aboriginal communities across regional and remote Australian. But even for experienced architects, political agenda, policy settings, budgets and government briefs established the parameters and limits to good practice.

This chapter has only hinted at the significance of broader settlement and town planning factors that relate to housing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In both remote communities and urban areas, settlement plans can affect social structure and cultural resilience of communities: poor socio-spatial decisions in settlements can lead to enduring social malaise (Memmott 2002: 80–81). Studies of crowding, homelessness, tenancies and management of Indigenous housing add to the evidence of the generally poor conditions in urban social housing.[22] Compared to remote housing, and despite the higher urban populations, there has been inadequate architectural attention to Indigenous housing in cities and suburbs. The participation of the growing number of Indigenous architects in housing policy and design might begin to address this imbalance (Greenaway 2016).

Although research on Indigenous housing will often emphasise the failures and design deficiencies, the final part of this chapter has highlighted projects that demonstrate informed architectural approaches to often complex design challenges.

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[22]AHURI-funded research projects produced informative reports on Indigenous urban housing: see, for example, Memmott et al. (2012) and Moran et al. (2016).

But there are likely to be many examples of good practice that remain unpublished and unrecognised. Publication of Indigenous housing projects in the architectural media adds to the meagre record of the field, although measures of success need to be judged carefully. There are far too few case studies and post-occupancy evaluations of Indigenous housing. The evaluation of housing performance that analyses multiple factors—sociocultural, construction, sustainability and lifecycle costing—will provide robust evidence to improve Indigenous social housing in the twenty-first century.

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Chapter 3
Affirming and Reaffirming Indigenous Presence: Contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community, Public and Institutional Architecture in Australia

Elizabeth Grant and Kelly Greenop

Introduction

The design of specific buildings to house Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' activities and organisations has become important in Australian architecture since the 1960s. A growing number of buildings—and new architectural types—have been devised to support, display and safeguard Indigenous cultures and to accommodate Indigenous organisations that have become more prevalent since the self-determination era of the 1970s. These new institutional, public and community building typologies provide an architecture that often speaks to the public—both Indigenous and non-Indigenous—and raise the issues of how buildings represent Indigenous identities and how architecture may meet such a challenge through design.

To understand the Australian context, it is important to note that while there are a number of commonalities between Indigenous peoples and societies across Australia, there is equally great diversity. Each Nation has its own traditional lands, culture, customs, traditions (including architectural practices), lore and language/s. At the time of European invasion (1788), there were over 260 Indigenous Nations across

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Australia, and within each Nation there existed separate, but often related 'clans'. Each Nation had its own language, often with several dialects (Bianco 1990: 4). Massive collapses in Australian Aboriginal populations occurred immediately after European invasion, initially caused by introduced diseases, then through the dispossession from traditional lands and the destruction of food sources. Unconscionable numbers of Aboriginal peoples lost their lives in conflict, as Indigenous peoples resisted the colonising invasion and infringements on their rights and lifeways. Indigenous peoples were both targeted by civilian settler colonists and government military forces and punished for resisting attacks (Harris 2003; Reynolds 2006). Successive government policies and legislation from the late nineteenth century across all of Australia's (then) independent colonies attempted to control every aspect of Indigenous peoples' lives and destroy Indigenous cultures. Many government policies over the course of Australia's history were used to 'justify' the treatment and control of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' lives (see, for example, Read 1982; Kidd 1997; Australian Human Rights Commission 1997).

The 1967 Referendum resulted in changes to the Australian Constitution that removed discriminations in law against Aboriginal people,[1] but this did not result the positive freedoms required for Indigenous peoples to experience equality within Australian society. The effects of colonisation are still felt by every Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander person in Australia today. Compared to non-Indigenous Australians, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have shorter life expectancies, suffer disproportionally higher rates of suicide, domestic and family violence and incarceration and have poorer employment and educational outcomes (Australian Government 2017). Against this backdrop, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have sought to retain and revive individual and collective identities, and made considerable progress in affirming rights to land, cultural practices and identity. Architecture and placemaking that celebrates cultural identity, fits with Indigenous peoples' socio-spatial and cultural needs and is devised by or with Indigenous peoples, is an important aspect of reasserting Indigenous control and demonstrating Indigenous resistance and resilience in contemporary Australia.

In this chapter, we examine a number of different types of Indigenous institutional, public and community buildings, and in particular, survey architectural precedents within the genres of keeping houses and cultural centres, museums, art centres and educational and health projects. Some of Australia's leading architects, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have contributed to these works, often seeking to create architecture that better fits the needs of Indigenous users, to participate in the recognition of the unjust treatment of Indigenous Australians and to dignify contemporary Indigenous cultures through architectural excellence. However, the scarcity of Indigenous architects means there has been controversy over whose culture is represented in building designs, and the design of Indigenous buildings

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[1]No treaties were made with the Indigenous peoples of Australia. The Commonwealth authority for Aboriginal policy and administration was restricted to the Northern Territory until 1967, at which time it acquired concurrent powers with the states to legislate for Aboriginal peoples (Armitage 1995: 13).

by non-Indigenous architects (especially in regard to the application of Indigenous symbolism) remains a politically fraught topic.

The recognition of Indigenous cultural domains by Australian institutions has fundamentally changed since the mid-twentieth century, when architects (who were almost exclusively non-Indigenous Australians at that time) first accepted and then later celebrated Indigenous cultures and identity/s in building design. The need for more Indigenous architects, architectural critics and architectural historians is apparent. Slowly across Australia, there are increasing numbers of Indigenous architects, who attempt to engage sensitively with Indigenous communities. This may lead to further improvement in built environments for Indigenous communities into the future.

The projects discussed in this chapter are not a total list, nor a definitive survey. One could debate whether some of the projects included in this chapter are, indeed, contemporary Indigenous architecture. In writing the chapter, we sought out historical projects, those of national importance, exemplars of architectural design and examples that illustrate various architectural approaches, debates and discourses. In the meantime, the number of Indigenous institutional, public and community architectural projects in Australia continues to grow.

Keeping Houses and Cultural Centres

Ceremony is central to life throughout Aboriginal Australia. From the late nineteenth century, Aboriginal populations were systematically moved to missions and reserves where the practice of ceremony was restricted or prohibited. People were denied access to ceremonial sites and associated secret, sacred and/or private objects.[2] The loss of artefacts to national and international 'collections' compelled Aboriginal peoples to consider ways to preserve vital cultural objects. The construction of "…prefabricated store houses in the vicinity of the settlement[s]" (Kimber 1980: 79) to store Indigenous artefacts commenced in the 1960s, parallel to the increasing momentum of the Aboriginal protest movement.

The earliest contemporary keeping place in Western Australia took the form of a rudimentary shed, built at Twelve Mile Reserve at Port Hedland (Simpson 2007: 164). The impetus was to:

> …provid[e] accessible storage and enable the context, function and symbolism of the artefacts to be communicated to others within the community through oral traditions such as storytelling, song, dialogue and through events such as dance, rituals and ceremonies (Simpson 2007: 161).

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[2]'Secret and/or sacred' are terms used to describe highly significant objects that are usually ceremonial in nature. 'Private' refers to objects used in activities, such as sorcery and certain forms of cultural practice outside the public domain (Kaus 2008). Prior to the European invasion, these objects would usually be stored in a natural setting (i.e. specific buildings or structures were not generally built to store objects) and accessible only to the appropriate person/people.

This and similar projects affirmed Aboriginal peoples' right to own and manage artefacts outside of the context of Western-oriented museums, often associated with cultural exploitation.

A more substantial project was the construction of the Yuendumu Men's Museum (1969–1971) in the Northern Territory (Finnane 2015). In the mid-1970s, Warlpiri men built a museum to house artefacts, with the aim of bringing together the various Warlpiri groups, who had been forced to settle at Yuendumu, to increase social cohesion. The museum is a modest rectangular building, of Western architectural design constructed from local stone. The internal layout differs from European traditions and includes galleries on each side and an earthen floor at the centre. The space is divided into four sections, representing the eight Warlpiri 'skin'[3] groups living at Yuendumu. Mosaics in each section represent the Dreaming[4] (Warlpiri: *Jukurrpa*) and were constructed using wild cotton, ochre and human blood (used as an adhesive) to retain authenticity[5] (Northern Territory Affairs 1972: 216).[6] There are several significant aspects to this project. First, the intended use of the building was for men only; cultural centres constructed at later times tend not to be gender specific, but may have separate areas for men and women.[7] Second, the layering of signs and symbols onto the interior through artwork was used as a method to culturally situate the building into the local community (Carmichael and Kohen 2013). This practice, using a Western-style building imbued with Aboriginal cultural symbols, cultural values and community consultation, is, we argue, a form of 'placemaking'[8] and has become widely used as a method of creating an 'Aboriginal place'. Third, and most significantly, the aim of the museum was to bring various language groups and clans together in the place where they had been forced to settle. Thus, the act of constructing a building, and the structure itself, became a tangible symbol of the unification of Aboriginal groups, especially as the groups may not have had close connections traditionally, and in previous times may have been in conflict. The keeping house is therefore not only a project to preserve and maintain sacred/secret/private objects, and

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[3]Subsection systems are unique social structures that divide all of Australian Aboriginal society into a number of groups, each of which combines particular sets of kin. Subsections are widely known as 'skins'. Each subsection is given a name that can be used to refer to individual members of that group. 'Skin' is passed down by a person's parents to their children.

[4]The concept of the 'Dreaming' is grounded in the notion of Country and incorporates creation and other land-based narratives, social processes including kinship regulations, morality and ethics. This complex concept informs all aspects of Aboriginal people's economic, cognitive, affective and spiritual lives.

[5]The mosaic artworks are viewed as a significant contributor to the development of the Western Desert Art Movement.

[6]For further information, see Wright (2009).

[7]In many remote communities across Australia, there are separate women's and men's activity centres. For detail of gender-specific roles in Aboriginal life see, for example, Merlan (1992).

[8]Memmott and Long note that Aboriginal places and their cultural meanings may be enacted through altering the physical characteristics of the environment; through enacting special types of behaviour within a particular environment; and by association with knowledge such as concepts, past events, legends, names, ideals or memories (2002: 40).

Fig. 3.1 Vaulted Ceiling, Ngaruwanajirri Arts Centre, Wurrumiyanga, Bathurst Island, Tiwi Islands, Northern Territory. Architect: Peter Myers (*Photograph* Satrina Brandt)

a venue for cultural practices; it became a medium to increase social cohesion under Indigenous impetus. Most subsequent keeping place and cultural centre projects have also used the agenda of advancing a social schema, as well as a functional agenda.

During the 1970s, Aboriginal owned and managed keeping places gained favour for government funding under policies of self-determination. As an exemplar of the projects of the period, the Tiwi Elders at Wurrumiyanga (known as Nguiu until 2010) on Bathurst Island off the coast of the Northern Territory sought a place for ceremonies, and to house and display culturally significant items. Architect Peter Myers drew inspiration from the ethno-architectural form of the Tiwi Islands' wet weather shelter (distinguished by its arched covering of stringybark sheeting above a sapling frame) (for more detail, see O'Rourke 2018). Ngaruwanajirri Arts Centre (constructed between 1979 and 1981) has a main gallery with a high vaulted ceiling for the display of contemporary works with a smaller, climate-controlled gallery constructed to house artefacts (Myers 1980). Tiwi artists painted the vaulted ceilings with Tiwi motifs, symbols and designs (known as *Jilamara*) (Angel 2011) (see Fig. 3.1). The inclusion of culturally relevant signs and symbols enmeshes the built form with Tiwi culture.

The Bangarang Cultural Centre was instigated by ten clan groups in Shepparton in Victoria (Pieris 2016: 38). The project is significant for both the collaborative relationship formed between the Aboriginal clients and the architects, and the organic form chosen for the project. The building's octagonal plan with an encircling

verandah and a pyramidal roof was based on the clients' desire for a circular plan thought to "…have appropriate resonances with traditional Aboriginal culture" (Bangarang Cultural Centre 2016).

An important keeping house and cultural centre was designed and built under a different agenda in Mount Isa (within the traditional lands of the Kalkadoon (*alt sp.* Kalkatungu) in 1986 (Furniss 2001: 290). The Queensland mining city had previously promoted its public history from a settler narrative in which Aboriginal people were portrayed "notably through the displaying remnants of the 'last of the tribe'" (Furniss 2001: 279). Historical events (including details of the 1884 Battle Mountain Massacre, a historic war of resistance of the Kalkadoon against the European settlers and the Queensland Native Mounted Police) (see Armstrong 1980) were absent from the public records, and Aboriginal peoples' roles and sacrifices were understated. To counteract this, the Kalkadoon Tribal Council erected a memorial in 1984 near the site of the massacre at Cloncurry and, two years later, erected another monument in Mount Isa. As well as the memorials, a keeping house was built, to instil a sense of pride among Kalkadoon, and to educate the wider public. The centre, while not architecturally significant in itself, demonstrates the role architecture has in redefining public history and contributing to social change.

The Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute on Kaurna Land in Adelaide, South Australia (Malone 2012: 117), was conceived in 1989 during Australia's reconciliation era[9] and aimed to be "…the leading Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander multi-arts and cultural venue" (White 2012: 72). Architect Steve Grieve (now of Grieve Gillette Andersen) transformed the former power station into a cultural centre with three zones: a street frontage with a shop, café and gallery; a central exhibition space; with the rear of the building set aside for artists' workshops and a theatre (Grieve 2002). The building was conceptualised as a blank canvas onto which artwork could be layered to enculturate the space. The project is significant as a major urban development attempting to represent all Australian Indigenous Nations,[10] one of the first attempts to express the concept of 'reconciliation' via architectural design;[11] and the inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in the design team.[12]

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[9]The final report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody called for a national reconciliation process as "…an essential commitment on all sides if change (i.e. the recognition, acknowledgement, redress and remedy of past wrongs committed to Indigenous peoples) is to be genuine and long term" (Commonwealth of Australia 1991: 12).

[10]The presentation of the buildings as 'a blank canvas' was used as a method to enable Indigenous users to embellish the space with their own cultural signs and symbols. As one example, the foyer was painted in 1995 its entirety by acclaimed Arrernte painter, Heather Kemarre Shearer.

[11]A raised concrete streetscape with a series of grey low walls was created adjacent to the entrance. This was conceptualised as a representation of reconciliation, bridging the metaphorical gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies. It had the dual purpose of creating an informal gathering area and creating a barrier to the busy street.

[12]Ngarrindjeri/Kokatha artist Bluey Roberts created a 28-m-long (98.9 ft.) multicoloured mural (River Spirit Dreaming) on the streetscape. The concrete blocks for the artwork were cut by a computer-driven router, using a program created from the original drawing, a challenging and sophisticated task for the period (Hannaford 1992: 106).

There were few precedents for architects or clients to draw upon in the design of the early keeping houses and cultural centres. Projects received minimal coverage by the press or the architectural profession. The design of Brambuk Living Cultural Centre by Gregory Burgess in 1989 changed the status quo and thrust a specific Aboriginal cultural centre typology into mainstream architectural consciousness. Located in Halls Gap in Victoria,[13] Brambuk is often described as one of the first contemporary buildings in Australia where Aboriginal identity was embedded into the design process and expressed through the built design. It was lauded nationally and internationally, and for many, it remains one of Australia's most recognisable 'Aboriginal' buildings.

Architectural theorist, Kim Dovey described the Brambuk Living Cultural Centre:

> The design has sources in both the traditional Aboriginal shelter (stone circles of the western district) and in Aboriginal art. The plan is formed out of five rough circles which represent the five Koori[14] community groups which constitute the client, but the internal divisions are functional and not social. The work is strongly archetypal, with the plan centred on a large hearth in the foyer, a kind of axis mundi. A helical pathway leads to a workshop and restaurant with eye-shaped windows framing glimpses of the mountains as one rises…The plan is strongly oriented to two outdoor spaces which it embraces; an entry courtyard and a meeting area with fire pit (Dovey 1996: 101).

Paul Memmott attributes part of the building's positive reception from the public and design profession alike, to the layers and multiplicities of meaning, stating it is:

> …high-quality architecture that [has the] capacity to generate a semiotic dialogue with its users, to stimulate and maintain multiple meanings and associations which provide the users with an aesthetic response that combines intellectual complexity and intricacy with visual aesthetics (Memmott 1996: 56).

The success of the Brambuk project is partially attributed to the consultation process, and the relationship between the architect and the clients. With little evidence-based research to guide consultation, Burgess attempted to embed himself as a participant-observer with the clients, as well as instigating a ceremonial-style event at which the design was discussed.[15] The project highlighted the importance of the consultation process when working with the Indigenous clients (and in this

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[13]The project is located in the Grampians (*Gariwerd*), a place central to the Dreaming of Aboriginal peoples, particularly the Djab Wurrung and the Jardwadjali, the Traditional Owners of the area.

[14]Koorie (*alt sp.* Koori) is self-descriptor for Aboriginal peoples from the southern mainland of Australia.

[15]Memmott and Reser described one part of the architect's consultation process:

> At the start, Burgess camped for a night near the site, with the Aboriginal groups and other representatives, dancing and singing, eating and drinking and telling stories. In the morning he made intuitive conceptual sketches, to which Aborigines immediately responded, seeing the form as an animated being—an Emperor Moth or White Cockatoo… (2000: 72).

Fig. 3.2 Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, Halls Gap, Victoria. Greg Burgess Architects (*Photograph* Elizabeth Grant)

case, developing understandings of the relevant oral traditions and appropriate signs and symbols) to develop the design. At the same time, it did little to establish 'best practice' or a systematic approach to consultation and led to particular architectural styles being widely accepted as 'Aboriginal architecture' in Australia (Fig. 3.2). It also heralded the beginning of an important discourse on the appropriation of Indigenous oral knowledges in architectural design.

Brambuk Living Cultural Centre has become a major tourism attraction. In 2006, a new entry building was constructed to preface Brambuk. The Gariwerd Information Centre (Wendy Hastrich Architect) provides administration space and amenities for visitors and references Burgess' earlier building (Hastrich 2008) (Fig. 3.3).

Burgess' approach, one that embeds Indigenous meanings into the footprint, plan and building elements, was used in subsequent years by a number of leading architects. In the late 1980s, planning for two separate cultural and interpretive centres in Kakadu National Park commenced, both of which feature spaces shaped to reference Indigenous shelters, and designed to sit within a landscape in ways that create new and specifically Indigenous experiences of place for the visitor. The Bowali Visitor Centre at Kakadu National Park[16] in the Northern Territory was completed in 1994 (Troppo Architects in association with Glenn Murcutt Architects and Associates. Project architects: Phil Harris, Adrian Welke, Richard Layton and Glenn Murcutt) and is designed to present the *Gukburleri* (Aboriginal) and *Guhbele* (non-Aboriginal) views of the Kakadu landscape (Goad 2014). The building takes a slender, linear form inspired by the Aboriginal rock shelters of the proximate

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[16]The Traditional Owners of Kakadu are the Bininj/Mungguy.

Fig. 3.3 Entry, Interpretive Centre built as an addition to Brambuk Living Cultural Centre, Halls Gap, Victoria. Wendy Hastrich Architects (*Photograph* Elizabeth Grant)

Arnhem Plateau including vaulted ceilings and niches. 'Rammed earth walls, ironwood floors and natural stone features help blend the 168 metres long [151 feet] centre into Kakadu's landscape' with wide verandahs to allow visitors a close relationship with the external environment (The Aboriginal Traditional Owners of Kakadu National Park and Commonwealth of Australia n.d.) (Fig. 3.4).

A second cultural centre at Kakadu National Park was completed in 1995. The Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre (Project Architect Graham Lockerbie, Australian Constructions Services) presents ancestral stories and relationships that the Traditional Owners, the Bininj/Mungguy, have with country. At the request of the clients, the form took a circular configuration to represent Aboriginal traditions of people sitting together and to mirror the shape of a *warradjan* (pig-nosed turtle) (The Aboriginal Traditional Owners of Kakadu National Park and Commonwealth of Australia n.d.).

The handing back of Uluṟu (named by Europeans and known by non-Indigenous people for a time as Ayers Rock) and neighbouring Kata Tjuṯa (similarly, named by non-Indigenous people as the Olgas) to the Aṉangu[17] Traditional Owners in 1985 was a significant turning point in the recognition of Aboriginal Land Rights in

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[17]The term Aṉangu means 'person' and is used to refer to an Aboriginal person/s, in particular an Aboriginal person or people from the Western Desert region.

Fig. 3.4 Bowali Visitors Information Centre in Kakadu National Park, Northern Territory. Troppo Architects in association with Glenn Murcutt Architects and Associates (*Photographs* Troppo Architects)

Australia (Australian Government Parks Australia 2009). This, in turn, led to discussions for the need for an interpretive centre at the site. The Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa Cultural Centre designed by architect Gregory Burgess (Gregory Burgess Architects) was opened in 1995. Its design, like that of Brambuk, is embedded with cultural references to Aṉangu concepts of country.[18] A configuration of two serpentine buildings encloses open areas, the arrangement representing the Dreaming story concerning the snakes, Liru and Kuniya watching each other warily across the open field. "The buildings arc about a dead desert oak in a natural clearing oriented to the south face of Uluṟu, on which the Tjukurpa [Dreaming story] of Liru and Kuniya are inscribed" (Tawa 1996: 49). Similar to Brambuk Cultural Centre and other projects designed by Burgess, Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa Cultural Centre is characterised by curvilinear forms, non-orthogonal geometries and the use of rammed earth and timber. The cultural centre has become a major international tourist attraction. It is an archetypal example of the influence of early keeping places and cultural centres which use Aboriginal symbolism, artworks and cultural influences as the basis of the design. It has, however, become a public building primarily for the consumption of Indigenous heritage as a touristic experience.

Karijini National Park Visitor Centre located in East Pilbara of Western Australia was designed by Woodhead International BHD (Project team: John Nichols, Craig Forman, Martin Neilan and Karl Woolfitt). It opened in 2001 and aimed "…to enhance knowledge and understanding of geological and historical aspects of the region, while engendering an ongoing commitment to conservation of the area" (David Lancashire Design 2002) and, again, is primarily intended for non-Indigenous tourists. The building is constructed chiefly of weathered steel panels to match the red earth (Woodhead International BDH 2001), and like the

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[18]Within the design process, Aṉangu stories were mapped. Preliminary layouts and possible sites explored the manner in which tourists would move through the centre and around the site and how the displays would unfold.

cultural/visitor centres at Brambuk, Uluru-Kata Tjuta and to a lesser extent, Bowali, curved forms, 'natural' materials and relationships to the external landscape were emphasised. Furthermore, as in the design of Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre in Kakadu (and some projects discussed later), stakeholders chose a cultural symbol as a generator for the design of the building.

The design in plan represents a goanna (culturally significant to the client, the Banyjima People) moving through country. The goanna is abstracted and not intended as representational image, but is used to imbue the totemic goanna's presence into the design of the scheme. Visitors enter the building between vertical sheets of weathered steel, which mirror the gorges within the National Park and allow extensive views of the landscape through glass walls.

Some critics have described the prominence of curvilinear forms and the alignment of Aboriginal identity with nature and landscapes in such schemes as promoting a romantic, primitivist view of Aboriginal culture and identity.[19] Dovey discussed this in a 1996 article, which centred on Brambuk, but also considered other work:

> To white eyes, a set of conceptual oppositions are set up around the building; white/black, sophisticated/primitive, culture/nature, straight/irregular. The building is said to reinforce a construction of Aboriginal people as primitive, natural and irregular. This critique has sources in postcolonial theory which suggest that in such a power structure, the native 'other' finds a voice only within the framework of a dominant discourse (Dovey 1996: 101–102).

Dovey (and others) noted that the most important aspect of designs is the consultation with the Indigenous clients, but to date, little has been done to outline or define 'best practice' consultation methodologies for professional practice.

A stark contrast architecturally to the projects outlined hitherto is the design of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) building. The competition for the design for the National Museum of Australia and the AIATSIS building (completed in 2001) was won by Ashton Raggatt McDougall (ARM) and Robert Peck von Hartel Trethowan, architects in association. Set on a prominent peninsula in Canberra, the AIATSIS building is part of a cultural precinct which includes the National Museum of Australia (discussed later in this chapter). The AIATSIS design was driven by three factors: the master plan of the National Museum of Australia and Acton Peninsula development, a requirement for habitable spaces to have direct access to windows and the need for a split of public and individual administrative functions. AIATSIS describe the building as 'the great keeping place', a national 'treasure trove' of Indigenous artefacts, photographs, language, song and historical information (AIATSIS 2016). Given that traditionally "Aboriginal cultures did not have monumental or large ceremonial buildings" (Memmott and Reser 2000: 80), and it was to be a building of national significance catering for people from all Australian Indigenous language groups, the architects needed to take a new approach. They stated that the client did not want 'Aboriginal architecture' and "[w]e did not propose an architecture directly derived

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[19]See Fantin's (2003) discussion on this topic.

Fig. 3.5 Front and rear of AIATSIS Building, Acton Peninsula, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory. Architects Ashton Raggatt McDougall (ARM) and Robert Peck von Hartel Trethowan, architects in association (*Photographs* Ashton Raggatt McDougall)

from Aboriginal beliefs or culture, nor an abstraction of their ancient building methods or perceived attitudes" (Raggatt 2001). In response:

> ARM designed a black Villa Savoye (referencing the 1930 Paris building by Le Corbusier) as an understanding of a local version—an inversion, a reflection of Aboriginal architecture, culture or perceived attitudes. This idea…produced a building compatible with the [adjacent] National Museum of Australia, yet distinct and independent (Ashton Raggatt McDougall 2017).

When approached from the National Museum (see Fig. 3.5), the front façade of the AIATSIS building presents not as the black Villa Savoye, but as a striking red and black glass contemporary building. ARM's architectural witticism is appropriately in the background, lending dignity to the front of the building.

The Living Kaurna Cultural Centre located outside Adelaide in South Australia (Kaurna Nation) is one of the few small-scale cultural centres located in an urban area. The centre, designed by Phillips/Pilkington Architects and Habitable Places, was opened in 2002 after ten years of intense negotiations. Set in Warriparinga, a 3.5-ha (8.7-acre) reserve, significant as a traditional ceremonial and meeting place and also as a site of early European settlement, the centre provides a venue to educate visitors about Kaurna culture and a setting for Indigenous community events.

The site is located at the 'gateway' to the Tjilbruke Dreaming, an ancestral story relating to south of Adelaide (for further detail, see, for example, Brodie and Gale 2002; Malone 2007). Domestic in scale, the building features a corrugated iron roof modelled to resemble the sweep of an ibis' wings, gesturing towards the sites in the Tjilbruke Dreaming legends. The building incorporates an art gallery, café, retail area and stage (Malone 2007). Included in the site, and integral to the project is an outdoor art installation named, *Tjilbruke narna arra* (Tjilbruke Gateway). This representation of the Tjilbruke Dreaming by artists, Sherry Rankine, Margaret Worth and Gavin Malone, consists of a number of tree trunks clustered together, interwoven with symbolic representations of the legend. The work was commissioned to provide an outdoor venue where the stories could be told to visitors by Kaurna people (Malone 2007: 163).

In the following year, 2003, Tjulyuru Ngaanyatjarri Cultural and Civic Centre designed by Insideout Architects was opened at the remote community of Warburton (known also as Mirlirrtjarra) in Western Australia. The community-controlled centre reputedly houses the world's largest collection of Australian Aboriginal art. Central to the architectural project was the community's desire to retain control of their cultural information and materials. At the same time, the need to create employment opportunities in the remote community though touristic activities was central to the project's planning. The Tjulyuru Ngaanyatjarri Cultural and Civic Centre includes a gallery space, private spaces for Aboriginal ceremonies and celebrations, and artists' workshops. Significant in the design was the incorporation of Aboriginal socio-spatial practices and kin-related etiquette in the layout of rooms (Fantin 2003).

In 2004, Gab Titui Cultural Centre on Thursday Island, in Queensland's Torres Straits (designed by Mike Ferris and Partners) opened and was the Torres Strait's first contemporary keeping place for artefacts and contemporary art (for further discussion, see Go-Sam and Keys 2018). The architecture "…is a symbolic representation of salient aspects of Torres Strait history, geography and culture" (Herle et al. 2007: 97). With a pitched roof and exterior sails, Herle and colleagues suggests it "…is reminiscent of the luggers which combed the Straits for *bêche-de-mer* and pearlshell from the late 1860s" (Paolella and Quattrone 2007: 97–98). The local environment is referenced in the design through the use of local materials and by enculturating the setting with Torres Strait Islander artwork.[20]

The Mowanjum Art and Culture Centre at the remote community of Mowanjum (settled by people from Wunambal, Worrora and Ngarinyin language groups) in the north-west Kimberley region of Western Australia was opened in 2006. The community has produced internationally recognised artists and hosted an annual Arts and Cultural Festival since 1998. As part of cultural practice, Mowanjum people repaint Wandjina[21] images to ensure the continuity of his presence (Ryan and Akermann 1993: 12), and following this practice, the shape of Wandjina was used as the basis of the floor plan for the centre (Jebb 2009) (note the similarities to the design generation of the plan for Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre in Kakadu).

Architectural theorists note that caution needs to be taken when using this approach: signs and symbols need to be appropriate for Traditional Owners, Indigenous clients and other Indigenous users, and the incorporation of inappropriate signs and symbols may be offensive (Memmott and Reser 2000). Additionally, symbols represented as a plan, especially those involving numerous rooms to make an

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[20]In 2012, Gabi Titui underwent a renovation (James Davidson Architects) which included the reconfiguration of interior spaces and renovation of the gallery spaces and re-cladding of exterior.

[21]The Wandjina (alt sp. Wondjina) are cloud and rain spirits from Aboriginal mythology of the Kimberley region of Western Australia. The spirits are depicted alone or in groups, vertically or horizontally, and are sometimes depicted with figures and objects like the Rainbow Serpent or yams. Common composition is with large upper bodies and heads that show eyes and nose, but typically no mouth. Two explanations have been given for this: they are so powerful they do not require speech and if they had mouths, the rain would never cease. Around the heads of Wandjina are lines or blocks of colour, depicting lighting coming out of transparent helmets.

image, may not be apparent to a person experiencing a building and remain enigmatic in practice. Go-Sam has gone further to say "story places of ancestors are about Country, divisions, boundaries, ownership and being caretakers for Country–if you put it in a building it is disenfranchised" (Go-Sam quoted in Fantin 2003). However, Aboriginal clients often request such signs and symbols and "totemic entities… [which] provide personal subjective links into a co-existing religious world, and render everyday life experience both profound and personalised" (Memmott 1998). Hence, there are complexities for clients, architects and Traditional Owners in developing Indigenous identities in the built form using cultural knowledges.

In 2009, Gwoonwardu Mia: The Gascoyne Aboriginal Heritage and Cultural Centre at Carnarvon, in Western Australia, by architects Jones Coulter Young (JCY) was opened. The centre, like many contemporary projects in this genre, includes a café, artists' workshop, retail space, conference and meeting rooms, galleries and cinema. It is another project where the history and cultures of a number of language groups are showcased, in this instance, the five Indigenous language groups of the Gascoyne region. The architects describe the building as

> …in the shape of the rain and river creating cyclones of the region and incorporates art galleries, a museum and a Hall of Fame with performance areas, artists' studios, a café, retail space and a youth centre to create a vibrant and meaningful home and meeting place for the Yamatji people of the Gascoyne. It also contains an interpretive garden divided into the five landscapes of the five language groups (Jones Coulter Young Architects and Urban Designers 2010).

The establishment of Achimbun Interpretive and Visitor Information Centre in Weipa in far north Queensland[22] designed by Phil Harris of Troppo Architects in 2000 brings out some recurring themes within the typologies of keeping houses and cultural centres, but includes a novel approach. The centre interprets the cultural, landscape and economic characteristics of the region, but is one of the few projects to reuse an existing structure, and puts an architectural twist on the original use. In this case, a 'stubby[23] bar', a building which served alcohol[24] during the region's mining era (around the 1950s) was remodelled. The reuse of this particular building makes an interesting statement on the importance of Indigenous culture over introduced Western practices, through claiming and repurposing the building. The adaptation transformed the former bar with a pyramidal roof insert, the addition of slat screens, and verandahs that allow connections to the landscape and views to the Embley River. Landscaping of the site was integral to the design and includes a large water trap sail discharging to a waterhole (Troppo Architects 2000).

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[22]The project involved the Weipa community and neighbouring Aboriginal communities of Napranum, Arukun and Mapoon.

[23]A 'stubby' is a term for a small bottle of beer.

[24]The abuse of alcohol is the cause of much suffering among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations. It causes serious harm to the physical and social health of individuals and communities, leading some communities to impose alcohol restrictions which ban or limit the amount and type of alcohol that can be taken into a community (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2011).

Champion Lakes Aboriginal Interpretive Centre, in Armadale, Western Australia, was completed in 2011, the result of an invited design competition won by Gresley Abas Architects. The brief was to design a community centre which could operate as a tourist venue and provide education and training opportunities. The project was developed as part of an outdoor recreational area adjacent to a large-scale urban residential development (Bowman Bishaw Gorham 2003). Archaeological artefacts found near the site were used as design triggers for the design of an interpretive walk, which connects the centre to an outdoor amphitheatre. The strength of the project lies with the integration of public artworks, including an interpretive wall designed by Aboriginal artist Norma MacDonald, which forms the spine for the project (Bowman Bishaw Gorham 2003). Aboriginal artist Shane Pickett designed the laser-cut metal canopy situated over the walkway, and other large-scale artworks by Nyoongar artists are prominently displayed.

Some recent remote cultural centre and keeping house projects have included accommodation to allow visitors to stay on site. Djakanimba Pavilions in remote Wugularr (Beswick) in the Northern Territory by Tania Dennis of Insideout Architects opened in 2013 and is part of Ghunmarn Cultural Precinct operated by Djilpin Arts. The project demonstrates the benefits of working closely with the clients, and the building meets cultural requirements and the extreme climate conditions. In awarding the project a national architectural award, the Australian Institute of Architects Jury said:

> …[through] use of sliding walls and fold-up beds, the pavilions can become temporary art exhibition, learning or performance spaces. They are tough, unpretentious and responsive to climate. Off-the-shelf solutions are used elegantly, and the spaces are transformed on a regular basis as envisaged. Elevated on stilts, they sit above the flood plain and surrounding buildings, creating a delightful string of indoor and outdoor spaces hovering in the scrub (Australian Institute of Architects 2013).

Djilpin Arts run an annual festival and are building additional infrastructure to support their activities. Insideout Architects have recently completed stage two of the Ghunmarn Cultural Precinct which includes a retail outlet and café.

The Yothu Yindi Foundation[25] operate the annual Garma Festival, attracting thousands of participants to a remote sacred site in north-east Arnhem Land (Northern Territory). A desire to have permanent facilities led the Yothu Yindi Foundation to build the Garma Cultural Knowledge Centre. The centre was designed by Simon Scally of Build Up Design and completed in 2014. The floor plan takes the form of an anchor to reflect Dreaming stories and centuries-old Yolngu (*alt sp.* Yolŋu) trading traditions with Macassans and others (Grant 2015). The building is constructed predominately of locally milled timbers (to provide employment and industry opportunities) and has a flexible plan allowing multiple uses. It features almost seamless connections to the exterior, affording spectacular

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[25]The Yothu Yindi Foundation was established with the mission that Yolngu and other Indigenous Australians share the same level of well-being and life opportunities as non-Indigenous Australians.

views. Like other recent projects of this genre, art is integrated into the design of the building. In this case, artwork is laser cut into the steel sheets used on verandahs. These cast continually changing shadows across the day (Grant 2015). Grant (2015) notes this appears to be the first Australian example where Indigenous clients have exerted absolute control over their cultural knowledge, using architecture as a medium to convey oral histories and to tell their story. During the design process, the meanings and symbols embedded into the design at the request of the client were not conveyed to the architect.

Discourses on cultural sustainability and Australian Indigenous architecture suggest that this approach may be the way of the future. Memmott and Keys have argued that Indigenous agency over building and design decisions is essential "…if cultural sustainability is to become more intimately aligned with architectural outcomes" (2015: 278), and the meanings encoded into them. Grant notes that in the case of the Garma Cultural Knowledge Centre the design process "…has required the architect to surrender some design to Yolngu direction which appears to have been completed with the architect knowing what makes good architecture" (Grant 2015: 8) (Fig. 3.6).

The last project that we will outline in this section is the fit-out of the Koorie Heritage Trust, which relocated into the Yarra Building in Federation Square, in Melbourne's city centre in 2015. The Trust houses an extensive collection of pre-contact, historic and contemporary items from south-eastern Australia to assist in the maintenance and rebuilding of Koorie cultures. The fit-out of the new Koorie

Fig. 3.6 Garma Cultural Knowledge Centre, Gulkula, Northern Territory (*Photograph* Peter Eve and the Yothu Yindi Foundation)

Heritage Trust was completed by Lyons Architects in collaboration with Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria (IADV), with the design led by Indigenous architect Jefa Greenaway. The design inverts the notions of a museum collection and decolonises the collecting practices that the Trust fought in its establishment (Tunstall 2015). Tunstall described how "[t]he architects innovatively turned the internal 'walls' into transparent display shelving, with drawers that can be accessed by the public" (Tunstall 2015), resulting in more of the collection being able to be displayed. The fit-out features Koorie motifs in the furniture design and the design of the interior spaces, as well as references to the Indigenous histories of significant landscape features such as the nearby Yarra River and Melbourne.[26]

Over the last five decades, the aims, design and nature of facilities of Australian Indigenous keeping houses and cultural centres have undergone dramatic changes with the construction of many examples across Australia. From the humble 'tin sheds' of the 1960s (with the sole aim of providing secure storage for artefacts), contemporary keeping houses and cultural centres cater for a variety of functions and typically incorporate galleries, interpretative displays, theatres, artist workshop areas, community meeting and administrative areas. Many centres include commercial venues such as cafés and retail spaces, and recently, accommodation has been added to that list. Most keeping houses and cultural centres have diversified facilities for touristic purposes to create Indigenous training and employment opportunities. The concept of a 'keeping place' or 'cultural centre' has morphed into a new entity; these are no longer places only for Indigenous people, and often they have become primarily places for non-Indigenous people to visit to learn about Indigenous cultures and for Indigenous communities to develop self-directed economies.

Some of the architectural typologies employed for the genre include the use of natural materials and curvilinear forms, as seen in projects completed in the 1990s such as Brambuk Living Cultural Centre and Uluru-Kata Tjuṯa Cultural Centre. Another approach has included using domestic-scale architecture featuring lightweight materials (for example, the Living Kaurna Cultural Centre, Bowali Visitor Centre and Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre). These typologies generally reference Aboriginal oral traditions and stories within the design. These have, in instances, influenced the plan or form of building or have been layered onto the building through the integration of art in the design process.

Very few projects have used ethno-architecture as the basis for the design of the building form. Unlike other countries, where ethno-architectural forms such as the tipi, hogan (USA and Canada) and wharenui (meeting houses) (Aotearoa New Zealand) have been used as the basis of design, vernacular architecture has not been extensively used a design trigger in Australian Indigenous architectural projects. This may be due to the poor knowledge of Indigenous architectural traditions, so

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[26]In 2018, it was announced that the Yarra Building where the Koorie Heritage Trust is housed would be demolished to make space for a flagship store for Apple. Also announced was the plan to move the Koorie Heritage Trust to the Alfred Deakin building within Federation Square.

that they have been largely neglected as architectural precedents to be drawn upon until relatively recently.

There have been some examples of the reuse of existing buildings. For example, the design of Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute, Achimbun Interpretive and Visitor Information Centre and the Koorie Heritage Trust all used innovative methods to transform existing buildings into 'Aboriginal' places. The design of Tandanya and the Koorie Heritage Trust presented challenges for designers to create an 'Aboriginal place' within the limitations of an existing architectural footprint.

The keeping house and cultural centre precedents have the capacity to inform an important project involving the repatriation of human remains, which has been on Australian and Indigenous agendas for over 30 years. For over 200 years, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ancestral remains have been removed from resting places and placed in museums, universities and private collections in Australia and internationally. The return of ancestors to traditional lands is seen as "the first step towards honouring the ancestors' dignity and to allow them to finally rest in peace" (The Advisory Committee for Indigenous Repatriation 2014: 7). The Advisory Committee for Indigenous Repatriation has recommended that:

> …all ancestral remains provenanced only to Australia should be cared for in a National Resting Place … to be established in Canberra within the Parliamentary Triangle on a site … adjacent to Federation Mall, [and]… within sight of Parliament House (The Advisory Committee for Indigenous Repatriation 2014: 1).

If, and when, the design of this project proceeds and given the sensitive and controversial nature of the project (see Lambert-Pennington 2007), another reinterpretation of keeping houses and cultural centres in Australia will be required.

Museums

Museums are different to keeping places or cultural centres. Cultural centres and keeping places, as described above, developed out of Indigenous community desires to protect, present and celebrate Indigenous cultures, typically in ways that aim to empower Aboriginal communities (Parsons n.d.). Museums are often laden with Western architectural typology and have commonly presented 'culture as an object' displaying artefacts from many cultures (Lonetree 2008: 305). Archaeologists, anthropologists, 'collectors' and other researchers stole vast numbers of Indigenous artefacts, including the bodies and body parts of Indigenous peoples. Museums can therefore be incredibly painful locations for Indigenous peoples as they are holders of unreturned stolen objects and human remains. Some museums have been accused of refusing to decolonise and move beyond the shameful history of their collections. In recent years, some progress has been made in the repatriation of human remains (see Australian Broadcasting Commission 2011; British Museum 2017) and sacred, secret or private objects.

Collections of oddities (Stanton 2011: 3) from Indigenous cultures have at times, purposefully, and at other times, inadvertently, positioned Indigenous cultures as

'primitive'. However, in the past, some museums have been accused of framing histories as linear and presuming an inevitable historical trajectory in which ancient cultures are overcome in the march towards progress and the triumph of Western culture and capitalism (Furniss 2001; Trofanenko 2006). Intentionally or not, historical displays have often shown Indigenous cultures as in decline, frozen in a distant past, or moribund (Byrne 1996). Contemporary museums are moving beyond such approaches.

The 1978 UNESCO Seminar on the role of museums in preserving Indigenous cultures marked a turning point in the rapport between Indigenous communities and the museum sector in Australia (Stanton 2011:3). It is now recognised that Australian museums must take a leadership role in the recognition of the diversity and richness of Indigenous Australian cultures, and in addressing and educating the public on the history of colonisation and conflict. Recent decades have seen major changes in the design and nature of Indigenous exhibitions in all major Australian museums.

Major museums designed specifically to celebrate Indigenous cultures are still absent from Australia. Despite Australian Indigenous cultures being the oldest continuous living cultures in the world, there are no dedicated museums that compare to institutions such as the Museum of Civilisation (Ottawa, Canada) or the National Museum of the American Indian (Washington D.C.). These international examples present Indigenous perspectives on philosophy, history and identity in ways that overturn linear narratives of settlement and present nuanced understandings of the hidden stories and diversity of Indigenous communities (see Lonetree's discussions on the benefits of the establishment of the National Museum of the American Indian 2008: 310). Australian museums continue to struggle with the manner in which they aim to educate the public on the richness of Indigenous cultures through architecture. In this section, we examine a number of museum projects in major cities around Australia.

The design of the Melbourne Museum, including an Aboriginal centre, was generated through a design competition. The winning architectural firm, Denton Corker Marshall, designed the building (completed in 1996)[27] using a three-dimensional grid within which Bunjilaka Aboriginal Centre is expressed as eccentric volume lodged within the frame (Australian Institute of Architects 2011). Bunjilaka is located at one end of the complex and includes curved elements in the ceilings, walls and walkways. Walker (2001) critiqued the design, stating that while the firm "skilfully negotiate[d] the complexities of the contemporary museum", the inclusions in the Aboriginal centre implied "a banal correlation of Aboriginality and 'natural' forms". Key elements of Bunjilaka include the main exhibition gallery, a serpentine linked space which features a five-metre-long etched zinc wall by artist Judy Watson, a 'lean to' activities area clad with rusted steel, specialist storerooms for the collection of Aboriginal artefacts and meeting rooms for use by the Aboriginal communities (Museum Victoria 2017). McGaw and Tootell (2015)

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[27]Gardiner and McGaw's chapter in this volume discusses the social context of the Melbourne Museum project.
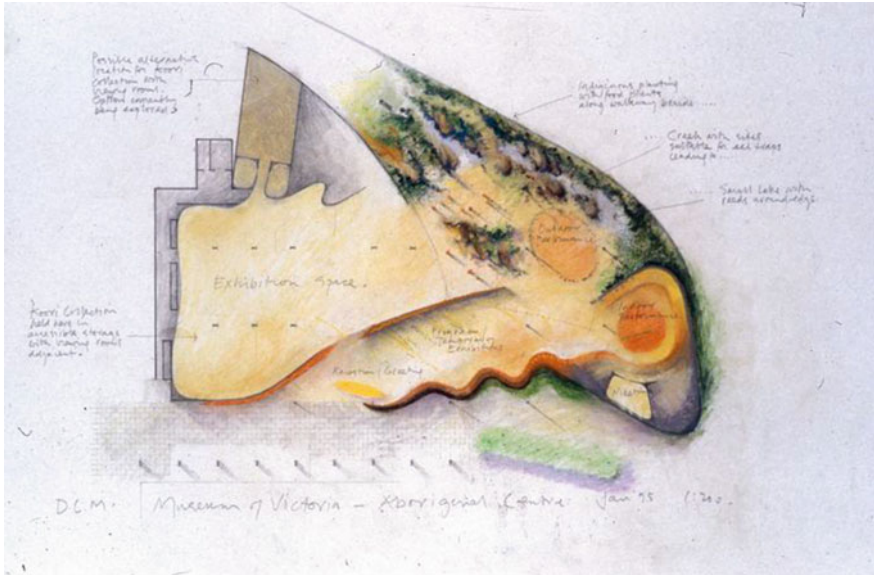
Fig. 3.7 Competition entry for the design of the Melbourne Museum Aboriginal Centre by architectural firm Denton Corker Marshall (*Drawing* Barrie Marshall, Denton Corker Marshall, held in Museums Victoria collection)

argue that in the design of the Melbourne Museum, the Aboriginal Centre (and by extension, Aboriginal people and their cultures) are hidden. They suggest that the exterior of Bunjilaka renders the Aboriginal community invisible as "[t]here is no visible sign of what is inside, except that the dull red-brown of rusted steel differentiates it from the cool silver of zinc and aluminium used elsewhere" (McGaw and Tootell 2015: 93). This again raises the vexed issue of representations of Indigeneity in institutional architecture with an Indigenous mission (Fig. 3.7).

The South Australian Museum undertook an extensive renovation to develop its Australian Aboriginal Cultures Gallery (opened 2000) (Freeman Ryan Design in association with X Squared Design) (Clarke 2000). The project involved the refurbishment of two floors of the historic East Gallery to create spaces to house the world's largest exhibition of Australian Indigenous artefacts. Kerr noted that "the design brief that emerged [for the gallery] placed the primary focus on the contact period: a time in which Europeans encountered Aboriginal societies operating on their own terms, within a 'classical' frame" (2000: 25). The gallery presents object-rich displays of regional case studies interspersed with archival films, soundscapes and other multimedia. Allen and Bulbeck state that their initial impression of the gallery was "of a vast amount of material, much of it crammed into glass cases" (2000: 346). Most of the gallery is subtly lit and includes glass box displays that result in difficulty interpreting Aboriginal cultures as living and contemporary. The issues in the design of such a project (and of similar projects such as

the Musée du quai Branly in Paris) are that particular forms of representation have the capacity to relegate Aboriginal people to being perceived as the 'other' or 'primitive'.

The postmodern design for the National Museum of Australia (opened in 2001) provides 6,600 m^2 (71 044 ft.^{2}) of exhibition space in separate areas forming a semicircle around an enclosed courtyard. The design for the courtyard, entitled 'Garden of Australian Dreams', is based on a slice of central Australia. A concrete surface is a coloured, stylised 'map' of the area in which one step moves a person the equivalent of 100 km (61 mi.) across the landmass. The words on the undulating surface of the map identifying place and country—'home'—are repeated in 100 different languages. The lines that criss-cross the map include surveyors' reference marks, road maps, boundaries of Indigenous Nations and language groups.

A conspicuous design feature of the National Museum of Australia is the massive sculptural loop at the entrance—the most visible part of 'the Uluru line' (diacritic marks added by authors). The 'line' begins at the Museum's entrance as a canopy and sheltered walkway. It then swoops up into a steel curve and loop 30 metres (98.4 feet) high, propped up on tall posts recalling the looping form of a roller coaster, before continuing as a wide red footpath past the nearby Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Building (discussed earlier). The Uluru line ends in a curled concrete ramp that, conceptually, is intended to continue north-west to Uluru over 2500 km (1553.4 mi.) away, thus symbolically connecting the Museum with Uluru, the spiritual heart of Indigenous Australia.

The National Museum of Australia (architects ARM in association with Robert Peck von Hartel Trethowan) was designed and constructed at the height of the 'history wars', a public dispute between academics, social commentators and politicians in the 1990s, as to the severity of conflict between Aboriginal colonisers and settlers during the dispossession era. The Federal Government, especially the then Prime Minister John Howard, contended that only minor confrontations had occurred between colonists and Indigenous Australians (see McKenna 1997). This placed the views of the Government in direct conflict with research from leading historians and Indigenous communities. The National Museum of Australia became the focus of these debates, as its design alludes to the need to apologise to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for past wrongs. The architects sought to challenge the policies and views of the Howard Government. The building, in effect, called for the recognition of colonial atrocities through inscriptions integrated into the design.

The design included hidden political statements, such as braille words and phrases embossed onto the anodised aluminium panels on the exterior of the building, and in places on its interior, including on toilet stall doors. Among the messages are phrases and responses to the Indigenous experiences of colonisation such as 'sorry' and 'forgive us our genocide'. While there have been claims that the building's meanings were secret and interpretable only by a few (see Devine 2006), architectural historian, Macarthur (2001), decoded the building's many meanings—including the braille—in a written piece tied to the architect's own statement on the building (Raggatt 2001). The more controversial messages were obscured with silver discs attached to the surface a few days before the official opening of the

museum, at the behest of the Museum's director Craddock Morton, rendering them illegible (Foot 2008).

The design of the (again) separate Gallery of the First Australians was also controversial. Various sectors stated that the design replicated in plan Daniel Libeskind's design for the Jewish Museum in Berlin, some suggesting that it was a coded statement that Aboriginal peoples of Australia had suffered similar experiences to the Holocaust (Macarthur and Stead 2006).

Other major Australian museums have permanent, most often separate, exhibitions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and histories. In some instances, the design of exhibition spaces has provided opportunities to demonstrate the richness and diversity of Indigenous cultures. For example, Brisbane's Queensland Museum engaged Kevin O'Brien, an Indigenous architect to design its first permanent exhibit, Dandiiri Maiwar, a showcasing Queensland's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. The resultant exhibition space consisted of six circular rooms. Mickel writes:

> The six circles symbolise equal respect for and the importance of, the distinct cultures, stories and perspectives of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders and symbolise meeting places or campsites and the islands (2005).

The exhibition was removed after more than a decade of use, and the space is at the time of writing under renovation.

The development of separate and specific Indigenous galleries or displays within museums across Australia is a recurring practice. Healy suggests to varying degrees,

> …autonomous Indigenous-controlled galleries…both concentrate attention on Indigenous knowledge, culture and history, and separate Aboriginality off from the rest of the museum (Healy 2006).

He further suggests the significance of the Australian approach:

> …lies in the production of spaces and institutional structures that provide some measure of [I]ndigenous autonomy. As new cultural assemblages these initiatives are literally re-making (parts of) the museum as a host of [I]ndigenous spaces (Healy 2006).

The authors argue that separate areas within the major museums tend to make the visitor view Indigenous cultures as separate to mainstream Australian society and glass box displays put the objects outside of their social and historical context. While major Australian museums strive to engage with Indigenous communities on an equal footing, this appears to be an area where considerable work is yet to be done. New projects such as the Museum for Western Australia project (currently in planning phase) (Hassell and OMA have been appointed as the design team) may take alternative approaches (see Western Australian Museum 2017).

Art Centres

Aboriginal art centres began in humble circumstances in 1971, when local Aboriginal men painted a giant Honey Ant Dreaming onto the wall of the concrete block school building in the remote settlement of Papunya in the Northern Territory. Aboriginal people began painting regularly and developed the now famous Western Desert Art Movement from the traditional sand and body art of the Pintubi and Luritja peoples (see Bardon 1979, 1991; Bardon and Bardon 2006; and more generally, Kleinert and Neale 2000). The first Papunya Tula paintings were created by displaced people and the works served as visual reminders of Country and the stories associated with those sites. While the architecture of the Papunya Tula Company's buildings is unremarkable, the importance of symbolism through artworks, and the semiotics of the external visual identity of the building, remains a strong theme for Aboriginal art centres and other buildings.

Many discrete Aboriginal communities have art centres (often separate women's and men's buildings). These are typically modest buildings, but often are decorated with culturally significant murals and artworks. The phenomenal growth and global popularity of Western Desert Art Movement have resulted in resources being allocated for architecturally designed art centres in Western Desert communities and elsewhere.

Other art centres have been developed in completely different settings. Girrawaa Creative Work Centre (located adjacent to the Bathurst Correctional Centre) was the first project of Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit, New South Wales Government Architect's Office (Kombumerri 2016), with the design process led by Indigenous architect, Dillon Kombumerri (Yugembir). The process of generating the design was described by Kombumerri:

> The inmates held a design competition to decide on a scheme for the project and the unanimous winning entry was that of a plan showing the organisation of functional spaces within the shape of a goanna, which is the local Aboriginal totem of the local Wiradjuri. …
> In response, the design of external landscaping incorporates a contemporary interpretation of the 'Burbung' ceremony—a Wiradjuri ceremony for young males' initiation into manhood. Wiradjuri elders were invited to workshops and approval for use of this cultural information was given before proceeding with the design (1999).

The design encourages Aboriginal oral traditions of explaining places of cultural significance and represents Indigenous cultures in a positive and progressive manner.

With the spread of the Aboriginal Art Movement, the Warumungu peoples undertook to develop the Nyinkka Nyunyu Aboriginal Art and Culture Centre at Tennant Creek (opened in 2004). The centre is located adjacent to a Warumungu sacred site, Nyinkka Nyunyu, the home of the spiky-tailed goanna. The centre features an art gallery, multimedia display, retail outlet and arid zone garden with two dance circles for men's and women's performances. Senior architect Stephen Lumb of Tangentyere Design followed the requests of the clients, the Warumungu peoples, and designed a building that echoed the form of the goanna with spiky

Fig. 3.8 Nyinkka Nyunyu Aboriginal Art and Culture Centre, Tennant Creek, Western Australia. Lead architect Stephen Lumb, Tangentyere Design (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

scales (Tangentyere Design 2017a). The radial geometry grew from these ideas, along with the courtyard plan and segmented spiked roof forms. The repeated plane sections of the roof structure were adopted to gain both efficiency and relative simplicity. Again, as seen with many of the cultural centre projects, the project aims

were cultural maintenance and opportunities for Indigenous employment. Materials were sourced locally, and employment opportunities created. Community involvement in the design, planning and approval processes reflected Warumungu needs for ownership of their cultural knowledge, and more explicitly, the project. It also demonstrates the rapid growth of consultation expertise by architectural firms, in this case, Tangentyere Design, the first Indigenous owned architectural firm in Australia (Fig. 3.8).

Tangentyere Design also designed an art centre at the remote Kiwirrkurra Community in Western Australia which opened in 2010. The community is located on the Traditonal Lands of the Pintubi, and artists living in the community are part of a thriving Western Desert Art Movement and the Papunya Tula Artists Cooperative.

The Kiwirrkurra Arts Centre was:

> …moulded from a worn and disused brick storeroom [with a]…brightly coloured blade wall [that] follows the town's civic axis [dividing] the veranda into smaller courtyard spaces, allowing shelter and access to the sun at different times of day and year … The existing roof was replaced with a 'butterfly' form: raised and extended to mark the importance of art in the community's cultural and economic livelihood (Tangentyere Design 2017b).

To allow the users to practise social and cultural norms, separate painting areas for men and women were constructed.

The design of art centres appears to have followed many of the trends used in the design of keeping houses and cultural centres, and in many ways, the architecture of each genre is hard to distinguish. What is interesting in this context is the manner in which the Western Desert Art Movement spread and influenced the growth in the Aboriginal art sector across Australia; for example, dot painting is internationally recognised as unique to Australian Aboriginal art. In the early stages of the contemporary Aboriginal art movement, Aboriginal people were in essence, painting their identity onto various mediums, as a visual assertion of Indigeneity. The surface for paintings moved to building fixtures, and then the building fabric and the buildings themselves have become exertions of Aboriginal identity. There appears to be much more to be explored about the relationship and history between various Aboriginal art movements and architecture.

Keeping places, museums, art centres and other buildings that house cultural objects have direct and important roles in displaying culturally significant artefacts, and in the formation of individual and collective identities. Architecture, when engaging with these cultural artefacts, can be made to seem 'Indigenous' through the presence of Indigenous objects, and their curation. Visual motifs, colours, symbols, shapes and designs can be incorporated into these buildings giving ready access to the public's perception of them as places by, for, or of Indigenous peoples' cultures. Yet such symbolism is not always appropriate or wanted by Indigenous communities and can be limited to the imagination of the (often non-Indigenous) designers and/or curators whose cultural knowledge may be limited. Some buildings respond to their briefs through designing for cultural norms and socio-spatial behaviours rather than the inclusion of Indigenous symbolism.

The next section discusses institutional buildings where Western typologies are well established: school, adult vocational and university buildings and health settings. These building typologies have been typically slow to change as they are often situated within a dominant Western paradigm.

Educational Buildings

Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have sophisticated education and learning practices, based traditionally on oral histories and knowledges and pedagogies such as teaching through experience and learning by observation. The suppression of these forms of education was a tool of colonisation and Indigenous dispossession, a process which many perceive to be ongoing. Contemporary Indigenous learning and teaching practices are varied and embrace new technologies and challenges, yet often remain grounded in cultural protocols, such as acknowledgement of Country and involvement of community, particularly Elders.

Attempts to make Indigenous people assimilate employed Western forms of education, with an emphasis on 'unlearning' Indigenous lifeways. There were virtually no educational opportunities afforded to Indigenous people to gain useful skills, and the corresponding opportunities for social mobility or inclusion into broader society. Subsequently, access to education has not been equal across Australia, and Indigenous people and their supporters have fought for educational equality and access to relevant education for Aboriginal children and adults. Their efforts have been central to the success of initiatives. The fight for adult education for the Indigenous community began in the late 1950s with Aboriginal educational consultative groups. In the 1970s, Indigenous studies courses began to be taught at schools and universities and Indigenous language revivals and the teaching of those languages began. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are increasingly involved in education planning and delivery, signalling growing respect for Indigenous people's abilities to teach and learn from multiple cultures.

Architectural projects that house and support education for, and by, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have developed as communities seek to empower themselves through education. The design of spaces to support Indigenous socio-spatial needs and learning styles has been critical. Designs have considered ways to ensure the learning environment is culturally responsive, to assist in passing on Indigenous knowledges and to use architecture to emphasise the importance of education. In this section, we examine various projects, firstly looking at adult learning centres, then proceeding to university projects, primary and secondary schools and early childhood centres, all designed specifically for Indigenous peoples.

Adult Education Projects

One of the first projects in Australia was the design of Tranby Aboriginal Centre in inner Sydney. Tranby is an adult Aboriginal education centre established in the late 1950s and originally housed in a Georgian style cottage in Glebe, New South Wales. In many ways, the design of Tranby optimises efforts by Aboriginal communities to control their educational destinies. In 1998, the 'Buildings out the Back' development was inaugurated as a collaboration between architects Cracknell and Lonergan, and Tranby. The development consists of:

> …a cluster of two-storey circular pavilions, made of split-face blocks and topped with copper dome roofs, linked by meandering balconies and pathways around a sinuous central court (Tawa 1998).

The central outside space links the European style heritage buildings with the new areas. A bridge from the old section to the new buildings symbolises the interaction and reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples, and circular learning areas accommodate Indigenous circle learning.

In 2009, the Gawura Aboriginal Learning Centre, an adult learning place, was opened at the site of a Technical and Further Education (TAFE) College in Brookvale, New South Wales (Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit,[28] NSW Government Architect's Office). Project leader and Aboriginal architect Dillon Kombumerri[29] stated that "in consultation with local Aboriginal community representatives, the building form represents a culturally significant whale" (New South Wales Government Architect's Office 2009), being a figurative representation of a whale migrating along the eastern seaboard. Kombumerri states:

> [the whale's] fin is expressed in the skylight, which provides ventilation and natural light to internal spaces. The exterior is finished in corrugated metal and fibre cement with a soft grey tone to match the whale's colouring. The building follows ground contours and is elevated on steel post (New South Wales Government Architect's Office 2009).

Other projects have addressed their unique environmental locations. The Centre for Appropriate Technology's Desert Peoples Centre in Alice Springs, Northern Territory (Tangentyere Design in association with Hassell and MKEA Architects), completed in 2009, represents the culmination of years of effort by Indigenous leaders. Their vision was to create a campus where Aboriginal students could learn and share knowledge in a safe and comfortable environment. Set within the

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[28]Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit operated from within the New South Wales Government Architect's Office from 1995 to 2016. Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit has also been known as Merrima Indigenous Design Unit.

[29]Dillon Kombumerri was one of the first registered Indigenous architects in Australia. It appears that the first registered Indigenous architect was Max Lawson (b. 1942). Lawson, a member of the Stolen Generation, was educated at Manly High School and the University of NSW. He registered as an architect in NSW in 1966.

temperature extremes of the Central Desert, the buildings are constructed of lightweight materials, sited in response to existing vegetation and for optimal solar orientation. Building forms and colours are drawn from the surrounding culturally significant MacDonnell Ranges. Detailing includes generous roof overhangs, linked covered walkways, ventilated walls and vertical sun baffles to protect the building from the summer heat (Tangentyere Design 2009).

The largest Australian Aboriginal adult education project is the National Centre of Indigenous Excellence in Redfern, New South Wales (Daniel Baffsky, Liam Noble, Glenn Dixon and Jen Clarsen of Tonkin Zulaikha Greer). The project, completed in 2010, involved the redevelopment of Redfern Public School for use as a residential, training and education facility. Existing heritage buildings and vacant parts of the site were integrated and redeveloped to provide classrooms, recreational areas, dormitory accommodation and dining facilities for up to 100 people. A football field was built along with a new three-level multi-use sporting complex. The project provides a street frontage in a prominent location, important for Sydney's urban Aboriginal population, promoting adult learning and accomplishments by Aboriginal peoples.

A multitude of other Aboriginal adult learning centres have been designed in collaboration with Indigenous communities around Australia. Projects have included Wangka Maya, Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre in South Hedland, Western Australia (Paradigm Architects), and Kagan Institute's Gunung-Willam-Balluk Learning Centre in Broadmeadows, Victoria (Gregory Burgess Architects). The Wiradjuri Study Centre in Condobolin, New South Wales, completed in 2010, was concieved as a circular complex of buildings constructed of earthen bricks surrounding a central courtyard. The building has been inscribed with Indigenous motifs on the window coverings and tables. In this project, as with many recent contemporary Indigenous architecture projects around Australia, principles of sustainability and employment opportunities were incorporated in the project. The building was designed and constructed by Aboriginal people, using locally sourced materials from the site and region consistent with Caring for Country principles.

The preference for developing stand-alone adult learning centres continues, as the need for culturally affirming spaces for Aboriginal education is further acknowledged. As we write, the design development and documentation for a stand-alone Aboriginal Learning Centre (Binalba) to be located within the Tamworth campus of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) are being completed (Perumal Pedavoli Architects).

University Projects

Australian Universities have developed architectural projects focused on educational spaces for Indigenous students. These have often been completed as visible markers of the institution's support of reconciliation, Indigenous education and affirmative action agendas.

In 2000, the University of Tasmania opened a new complex on a prominent point of their Launceston campus (Peter Elliott Architecture and Urban Design). The project included two new buildings: one for the Faculty of Arts and the other for the Riawunna Aboriginal Education Centre. The two separate buildings straddle either side of a diagonal pedestrian spine (Sinatra et al. 1998), which forms a small plaza entrance. The Riawunna building has a curvaceous form alluding to found objects, such as seed pods or shells, and is set into a landscape of rock totems in a sea of shell grit. The 2001 Australian Institute of Architects Jury commended the project stating that it avoided "both cliché and subversion to political intent" (Australian Institute of Architecture National Awards Jury 2001).

Birabahn Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Centre at the University of Newcastle (Callaghan, New South Wales), designed by Richard Leplastrier, Peter Stutchbury and Sue Harper in association, was completed in 2003 (Architecture Australia 2003). It is located on a 140-ha (345.9-acre) bushland site along side with other buildings. The design drew heavily on local Indigenous oral histories. The resultant building when viewed from above resembles an outstretched eagle hawk (a totem of the local Awabakal People) (Pollard 2006). The building reflects the University of Newcastle's increased commitment to Indigenous education beyond reconciliation and affirmative action plans and towards developing a set of cultural standards for Indigenous education (Wollotuka Institute 2013: 5). This new approach aims to genuinely embed Indigenous practices of learning while situated on country.

The plan of the building has a central hub with a double-height communal space. It contains a fire place, recalling the Indigenous practice of gathering around the hearth to "nurture the community spirit and reinforce the domestic scale of the building" (Paolella and Quattrone 2007). The area can be opened up with large folding glass doors, transforming the space into a generous amphitheatre with external areas. Distinctive architectural features include an angled corrugated iron roof plane, supported by two rows of columns along the tapering circulation spine. Tactile references to country are provided by a continuous 600-mm-thick ochre, rammed earth wall—named 'the spirit wall'—providing an area for the display of artwork along the length of the corridor. The Birabahn building has been widely recognised as an exemplar of sustainable design, in its cultural sensitivity, economy of construction and operation, and design for low energy and water usage. The Australian Institute of Architects awarded the project the Sir Zelman Cowen Award for best public building in 2003 (Australian Institute of Architects 2003).

The Kurongkurl Katitjin Centre for Indigenous Australian Education and Research, at Edith Cowan University in Perth, Western Australia, was completed in 2005. It was designed in consultation with Elders to graphically represent Aboriginal cultures and local landscapes (lead architect Charles Thwin of Jones Coulter Young Architects and Urban Designers). The building design takes inspiration from rock formations. Thick walls curve to form the roofs, and on two sides, the curves form a KK motif, representing the Kurongkurl Katitjin name. Paths descend on the building from four sides to "…ground and connect the building within stories and narratives from Aboriginal peoples around the state" (Thwin quoted in Trend Ideas 2017). The architect stated "four story-telling paths

[are created with] openings on all sides. This is a building you can walk through [and it] represents a metaphysical link with the four corners of Western Australia" (Thwin quoted in Pieris 2016: 111). Five mosaic works were commissioned, with four representing regions in the cardinal directions which are linked by story paths to the fifth mosaic, located at the centre of the building called 'Our Place'. The surrounding gardens have been designed to represent the six local Aboriginal seasons, and various other signs and symbols have been incorporated into the design. Aboriginal words about place and family are etched into the outer facades of the building.

In the design of Deakin University's Institute of Koorie Education, Geelong, Victoria, in 2012, Gregory Burgess Architects aimed to utilise "architecture… [as] a creative vehicle to help evolve and shape a community's identity" (Gregory Burgess Architects 2017). The project included the refurbishment of an existing building and the construction an integrated two-storey building (ISIS Group Australia 2012). The building brief and design were collaboratively developed through workshops with staff, students, community and Elders. The plan, design, artworks and relationship with the natural environment for the project present an Aboriginal vision of education and community. The plan for the Institute of Koorie Education:

> …is organised around one main 'track'—a north-south spine threading the main entry, gallery, reception, the main stair, lift, common room and courtyard. From this spine a strong sense of orientation and feel for the pulse and life of the whole place is possible, visually linking the two extremities of the building, their entrances and mediating landscape (Gregory Burgess Architects 2017).

The project includes amenities, teaching spaces and offices distributed around the site to provide a fluid approach, said to be consistent with traditional cultural wisdom. The building spaces have been clustered to form courtyards and alcoves to achieve communal connectedness as well providing privacy for one-to-one discussions.

Edith Cowan University completed the Ngoolark building at their Joondalup campus, Western Australia, in 2015, a decade after the construction of Kurongkurl Katitjin Centre. As with the first project, Ngoolark has been built to bring Indigenous services under one roof. Unlike the previous project, the five-storey building also serves as the hub for all students. Designed by Jones Coulter Young Architects and Urban Designers, the building attempts to merge contemporary design with local Indigenous beliefs and takes its name—Ngoolark—from the Nyoongar word for the Carnaby black cockatoo. The patterns on gold-coloured alloy cladding used on the 2,500 m^2 (26 910 ft.^{2}) exterior façade replicate the chest feathers of the Ngoolark (Edith Cowan University 2015: 8). Similarly, patterned paving leading to the building replicates the ripples on nearby Lake Joondalup. Internal finishes also repeat these themes; for example, glass and carpets were designed with patterns of the chest feathers of the Ngoolark (Wynne 2015).

The design of the interiors of the Lowitja Institute at the National Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research in Carlton, Victoria, by Aboriginal architect Jefa Greenaway represents Indigenous narratives through

Fig. 3.9 Kamilaroi artist, Reko Rennie's sculptural work in the foreground of La Trobe University's research and teaching building in Melbourne (*Photograph* Reko Rennie)

design. Greenaway stated "[we have] move[d] away from tokenistic Indigenous design to a more nuanced representation of culture that allows for a meaningful knowledge exchange" (Greenaway quoted in Lowitja Institute 2014).

Universities have also utilised public art as a means to acknowledge Indigenous peoples and cultures. La Trobe University commissioned Kamilaroi artist, Reko Rennie, to produce a major sculptural work for the forecourt of a new research and teaching building in urban Melbourne. Rennie's work typically combines the iconography of Kamilaroi heritage with stylistic elements of graffiti to provoke discussion on Indigenous identities in contemporary urban environments. Rennie's work at La Trobe entitled 'Murri Totems' consists of four brightly coloured multifaceted columns. It combines traditional Aboriginal ceremonial poles with geometric shapes found in Aboriginal culture, nature and Western science. The work merges traditional diamond-shaped designs, hand-drawn symbols and repetitive

patterning in an attempt to "…subvert romantic ideologies of Aboriginal identity" (Art Gallery of New South Wales 2014). Like many works of the genre in Australian tertiary institutions, it is intended to "…make a statement about the University's commitment to Indigenous culture and to Indigenous art" (Dewar quoted in La Trobe University 2013) (Fig. 3.9).

Primary and Secondary Schools

Historically, Aboriginal peoples' experiences of Western schooling have included missionary schools, segregated and mixed public schooling, and institutions focused on training for manual work or domestic service. Prior to the 1960s, State Governments were solely responsible for Aboriginal Affairs, with each having with different Aboriginal education policies in place. The commonality across Australia was the perception that Aboriginal people were inherently inferior. As a result people received minimal schooling, often only to primary school level. This perception was consistent with the policies of excluding Aboriginal peoples from contact with non-Aboriginal people, and excluding Aboriginal children from government-run schools, which persisted into the 1950s. Thus, accessing school education for Indigenous people in Australia was, at best, difficult from the late 1700s until the 1960s (Zubrick et al. 2006).

As governments reduced their repressive controls on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the second half of the twentieth century, and people were no longer forced to live within missions and reserves or approved premises, education became somewhat more accessible. There was an increase in the number of Aboriginal children attending state-run schools; however, participation was still often only to primary school level with poor school attendance and low student retention.

Racism within Australian society, especially in the practices within institutions such as schools, has affected the Indigenous community's capacity to engage with their children's schooling. In many instances, Indigenous students are disengaged from education and, as a cohort, lag behind non-Indigenous peers in terms of educational outcomes. The decades of restricting access to education and segregating Indigenous children has had a profound and long-lasting impact on Indigenous communities. Similarly, teaching institutions and their expectations of and knowledge about Indigenous cultures are often limited. Nevertheless, education is highly valued by Indigenous communities nationwide and seen as the basis for enabling improvement in the social, emotional and economic well-being of Indigenous peoples in Australia.

The design of Australian public primary and secondary schools is governed by briefs developed by each State Government (see, for example, Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (Victoria) 2008). Generally, architects are provided with design guidelines that align teaching and learning environments with the pedagogical practice and curricula offered. There is a paucity of

research on the physical and psychological needs of Indigenous children. Kreutz (2015) published the first empirical study on Australian Indigenous children's experiences in educational settings offering valuable insights into participatory planning and design solutions for Indigenous children based on a child-centred approach. Kreutz illuminates the commonalities of child development, as well as recognising the uniqueness that stems from specific Indigenous histories and cultures in particular places.

The need to adhere to government briefs can constrain innovation in design, and the design of Indigenous-specific school projects in discrete Indigenous communities tends to be similar to mainstream schools. There have, however, been some examples that have sought to design educational environments specifically for Aboriginal children.

The Djidi Djidi Aboriginal School located in Picton, Western Australia (Edgar Idle Wade Architects), was designed in consultation with the local Noongar community to represent their 'aspirations and visions' and to 'engender a sense of ownership' (Grant 2011a, b, c: 12). Aboriginal culture has a central place at Djidi Djidi, and to emphasise this, the architects have placed the cultural centre in the middle of the school. The architects noted that:

> …flora, fauna, art, music, performance, dance, language, fire and food–all elements that have been clearly used to define the place as a Noongar place for the children, the elders and the Bunbury community at large. Colours and textures of the land provide a backdrop to an enriching learning environment, together with the maintaining and re-establishment of the bushland setting (Edgar Idle Wade Architects 2004: 20).

Bentleigh Meditation and Indigenous Cultural Centre set within a private secondary college in Victoria (DWP Suters) was designed as part of the school's desire to change the behaviours of students, staff and community and to support a curriculum focused on the contemplation of the environment and Indigenous cultures through meditation. It was not completed for the sole use of Indigenous users, nor with the input of the Indigenous community, and therefore it could be argued that this is not contemporary Indigenous architecture. However, the project is interesting because it seeks to induce attitudinal change in mainstream schooling, through the practice of mindfulness, with a focus on reconciliation with the Indigenous community with the designed environment reflecting this. The stand-alone centre acts as a piece of furniture—something to be sat in, on and around—while students engage with the wetland surrounds (Arch Daily 2013). The resultant building is a smooth, fluid, meditative space; the plywood interior lining stands in contrast to the exterior's angular forms and textured timber cladding (Chua 2013).

Early Childhood Facilities

A number of Australian Indigenous communities have envisaged their own early childhood centres to support the culturally distinct learning styles and child-rearing

practices of their communities and to counter the erosion of traditional Indigenous practices by mainstream culture (Penman 2006: 35). Indigenous visions for early childhood centres have included places where children are not viewed as helpless or in need of adult imposed routines. Other aspirations include places where cultural teachings and language are integrated into activities and community and family are involved and supported at every level (Grant et al. 2015). Thus, a well-designed early learning centre for Indigenous children may look less like a traditional kindergarten or preschool and more like a child-focussed community centre. At the same time, licensed childcare facilities have strict programme requirements and these considerations often need to be augmented by the needs of the local community.

Some of these projects have sought to display explicit signs of particular Indigenous cultures in the building form. For example, Kulai Aboriginal Preschool (Coffs Harbour, New South Wales) was completed as an extension to an existing preschool. The designers, Schimminger Architects stated:

> The aim was to create an environment in which Aboriginal values and culture could be taught in a preschool context. The design is focused on providing a generous and organically shaped envelope in which the activities take place. The internal spaces were intended to give a strong sense of shelter and security, a feeling of roundness and a gentle flow of movements. The organic shape of the floor plan was inspired by Aboriginal paintings of echidnas, which is the meaning of the word Kulai. Curved walls and a curved ridge beam form a wavy roof. A forest of tree trunks holds up the roof. (Schimminger Architects quoted in Grant 2011a: 11)

A significant number of early childhood facilities were constructed after Australian State, Territory and Commonwealth Governments entered into an Indigenous early childhood development partnership agreement in 2009. The agreement resulted in the establishment of 38 Aboriginal Children and Family Centres across Australia: 23 in regional or remote areas and 15 in urban areas (Grant et al. 2015: 7). The Queensland Aboriginal children and family centres were co-located within existing Aboriginal community-controlled health services and built as additions to existing buildings. Stand-alone facilities were constructed in Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania. In Western Australia, Northern Territory and South Australia the Aboriginal Children and Family Centres were located adjacent to existing public schools.

Re-imagining environments for Aboriginal children and their families has been challenging (Grant 2014; Grant et al. 2015). Lacking a set of 'best practice' guidelines and exemplars, and with limited literature on Aboriginal parenting practices, architects drew upon various sources including international precedents, existing evidence-based research and community consultation. The resultant Aboriginal Children and Family Centres varied widely. Community consultation was noted to be integral to the design process for each centre; however, the level of consultation varied considerably. In instances where community consultation occurred, Indigenous communities sought to express their own cultural identity through the architecture of the buildings being designed, and noted the importance of each centre having its own cultural identity. This was paramount in reinforcing

positive self-identity and cultural engagement through the projects (see Grant 2011a, b, c, 2014; Grant et al. 2015). Some projects were tendered solely to local architectural firms, others used government architects, and several projects were tendered to design teams consisting of architects, landscape architects and artists.

In some remote locations, prefabricated buildings were often used due to budgetary constraints, the lack of local builders and building materials. One such example was the construction of Bwgcolman Children and Family Centre (Lea Lennon Architects) on Palm Island. The island lies off the coast of Townsville and has one of the most concentrated Aboriginal communities in Queensland. The prefabricated building includes a central hub, consultation rooms, a childcare room and other facilities. A covered deck was built on the southern side of the centre to overlook an outdoor play area. The prefabricated buildings were embellished with artwork from local artists to incorporate local cultural expressions into the building and provide "…a sense of ownership in cultural, political and social terms over spaces" (Ah Kee quoted in Department of Public Works 2017) that reflect the community's culture and aesthetic values.

There are several Aboriginal Children and Family Centres designed specifically to cater for the socio-spatial needs of Aboriginal clients. Both Kununurra and Roebourne Aboriginal Children and Family Centres (Iredale Pederson Hook Architects) in remote Western Australia were designed taking into account avoidance practices, and the need for gender separation and privacy for certain users. Both have been designed to incorporate the commonly articulated need of Indigenous users to have maximum contact with the external environment while retaining thermal comfort. Spaces were designed to deal with issues of 'shame' caused by inappropriate proximity to certain other people at particular times. Dealing with 'shame' architecturally involved providing alternative routes to avoid shame-inducing contact or views, appropriate spaces to retreat to when feeling 'shame', and for private spaces to allow people to attend to certain matters free from intrusion. Both designs also take into account the cultural significance of views from the centres to provide a culturally appropriate backdrop for learning (see Grant 2014; Grant et al. 2015) and are the result of extensive community consultation.

In contrast, another architectural firm, Formworks Architecture, engaged for the Western Australian projects attempted to achieve an 'archetypal' design that could be constructed at various locations. This approach is at odds with typical contemporary design practice. Clayton View and Swan Region Children and Family Centres were designed as organic shaped buildings surrounding semi-enclosed courtyards. The design attempts to reference local Aboriginal ethno-architecture form of a 'mia-mia' shade structure (Formworks Architecture 2013).

The manner in which cultural identity was included into the design of the many Aboriginal Children and Family Centre projects varied, with some projects including readings of contested spaces and colonial history. One such example is the design of the Aboriginal Children and Family Centre adjacent to the Tasmanian Aboriginal Corporation (TAC) at Risdon Cove (Hobart, Tasmania) undertaken by Tim Penny Architects and Interiors. Risdon Cove has a history of continuous Indigenous occupation, as the site of massacre Tasmanian Aboriginal peoples, and

the first place in Tasmania to be colonised by Europeans. The architect attempted to recreate a landscape of Tasmanian Aboriginal heritage, knowledge and identity, locating the centre with views to several significant locations so that the various histories of the site could be interpreted (Tim Penny Architecture and Interiors 2016). The clients stated it was imperative that, given the bloody history of the site, the building sat peacefully within the landscape and the design focused foremost on Indigenous representations of country. The centre operates in conjunction with the adjacent Aboriginal community centre and offices and places ownership of the contested site clearly in the hands of the Aboriginal community.

The design of many Aboriginal Children and Family Centres has emphasised that these places are for family and community, rather than for children only. Several South Australian Children and Family Centres, including Taikurrendi at Christies Beach, Gabmididi Manoo at Whyalla and Ngura Yadurirn at Ceduna, South Australia, were designed by Paul Drabsch and Denis Harrison, JPE Design Studio and Department for Planning, Transport and Infrastructure (DPTI) (Grant et al. 2015). The project briefs included the need to accommodate a wide range of activities in the design. The design team was required to envisage environments where programmes could be successfully delivered, in some instances to groups of people who could not be in contact with children or each other. In these three projects, innovative design led to the design of 'soft' programme and service delivery areas with multiple entrances within 'secure' traffic routes. The South Australian centres incorporate public art into the design, including floor and window treatments, play equipment, landscape elements, furniture and fittings. Each centre features a series of cultural motifs significant to the specific Aboriginal language groups using the centre (Grant et al. 2015).

The Gunnedah Aboriginal Children and Family Centre, named Winanga-Li, the Kamilaroi word meaning to hear, to listen, to remember, was designed by the New South Wales Government Architect Cathy Kubany with Indigenous architect Dillon Kombumerri as the leader of architectural services. Completed in 2013, the plan references the Wallaby Trap, a landscape element important in local Indigenous history. The entry forecourt encloses an existing tree forming a focal point for a yarning circle (Kubany and Kombumerri 2015). The centre is designed to serve multiple purposes, including its key function as an early learning and childcare centre, as well as a community centre, adult education venue and keeping house. The final projects of Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit were the completion of five Aboriginal Children and Family Centres in collaboration with non-Indigenous architects from New South Wales Government Architect's Office for communities in Nowra, Gunnedah, Brewarrina, Lightning Ridge, Western Sydney, and Doonside.

Since the construction of the Aboriginal Children and Family Centre projects across Australia, further evidence-based research on this building type has been published. Grant and colleagues (2015) conducted a post-occupancy evaluation of three centres built in South Australia providing insights into the benefits and constraints of various design approaches and documenting precedents. Further research is required to adapt educational design briefs to deliver culturally appropriate spaces that welcome the Indigenous communities they aim to serve, and

ameliorate the effects of historical exclusion of Indigenous people from education in Australia. Community consultation on building briefs, consideration of the educational pedagogies being delivered and the involvement of Indigenous communities in not only preliminary, but ongoing stewardship of education of young people would appear to be important future steps.

Healthcare Architecture

There is a significant health and life expectancy discrepancy, often described as the 'gap' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. The disparity is greatest in remote areas; however, a significant portion of the gap can be attributed to the disproportionate disease and disability burden carried by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people across urban, rural and remote locations in Australia.

Many mainstream health services are not accessible or user-friendly for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Greater proportions of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population live in remote areas, which lack the comprehensive health services found in Australian capital cities. Mainstream health services that do not offer culturally appropriate services or environments can lead Indigenous people seeking treatment to experience to feel alienated, shamed or belittlement, and they may avoid attending. The costs of medical treatment, lack of culturally appropriate or welcoming services and institutional racism have often dissuaded Indigenous people seeking medical services. Recognition of these problems led to the development of community-controlled Aboriginal health organisations across Australia in the 1970s. In this section, we examine infrastructure projects for Indigenous health service delivery.

In 1969, the Commonwealth Office of Aboriginal Affairs identified health as one major area for Indigenous development and initiated specific grants to the States for the development of Aboriginal health programmes (Thomson 1984). In response, State Government health authorities established Aboriginal health units to address the needs of the Indigenous population and administer the funds (Franklin and White 1991). In 1971, the first community-controlled Aboriginal Medical Service (AMS) was opened in a shopfront in Redfern, in inner Sydney, home to a significant Indigenous population. Within a year of opening, AMS Redfern had become so popular it was unable to meet the demand for its services (Marles et al. 2012).

In 1973, the Commonwealth Department of Health established the Aboriginal Health Branch to provide professional advice to the Government. The following year, a meeting was held in Albury, New South Wales, to discuss delivery of holistic, comprehensive and culturally appropriate health services controlled by the Indigenous community, and the concept of Indigenous community-controlled health services was born. This concept continues to be seen as a living embodiment of the aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and their struggle for self-determination.

Following the lead in Redfern, further community-controlled health centres were established. The first centres were in urban areas and mainly housed in remodelled buildings. The buildings were often layered with Indigenous signs and symbols. The Victorian Aboriginal Health Service in Fitzroy has premises with street frontages proudly emblazoned with the colours of the Aboriginal flag (Yarra City Council 2017). Similarly, Nunkuwarrin Yunti (Adelaide, South Australia) remodelled a former air-conditioning showroom and applied a series of murals to the building façade. Interestingly, the Aboriginal community controlled organisation chose to have no signage on the exterior of the building.

Community-controlled organisations have grown to deliver a diverse range of healthcare and community support services with many centres requiring specially designed facilities to fit their clients' needs and programme requirements. Functional planning for health centres needs to include considerations of complex matters such as cultural factors (e.g. gender separation for clients, outdoor consulting areas and staff retreat areas); privacy considerations (e.g. maintaining auditory and line-of-sight considerations in layout, separate private waiting areas); pragmatic considerations of the multifunctional and sometimes remote nature of many Indigenous health settings (e.g. larger, secure drug storage areas, flexible consulting areas for allied health professionals such as dentists, maternal and child health practitioners, planning for file storage and movement) and the inclusion of resource areas and flexible areas that can also accommodate community functions. There are now over 150 Aboriginal community-controlled health services across Australia delivering primary healthcare and well-being programmes.

In many remote communities, dedicated facilities for community-controlled health services have been constructed; for example, Troppo Architects undertook a series of projects for Aboriginal communities. These include designing a series of six major health clinics, three clinics in smaller communities and an aged care facility for the Nganampa Health Council in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands in the far north-east of South Australia (Architecture Australia 2002). Community aspirations for the centres included consideration of the design issues listed above, and they also tasked the architects in ensuring buildings were durable and supported the principles of healthy living as laid out by Paul Pholeros and associates. Pholeros and colleagues, under the moniker of Healthabitat, operated the Housing for Health projects to deliver better quality buildings and housing hardware to remote Aboriginal communities (see, for example, Torzillo et al. 2008; Pholeros et al. 1993, 2013; Pholeros 2003).

There are many complex, practical and cultural issues involved in the design of projects for Aboriginal clients living traditionally oriented lifestyles in remote settings. A number of other Australian architectural practices have decades of expertise in the design of Aboriginal health clinics and allied health facilities in such locations. This includes firms such as Tangentyere Design, Susan Dugdale Architects, Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT), and Brendan Meney Architects, all of Alice Springs; Troppo Architects (Adelaide, Darwin, Perth, Sydney, Byron Bay and Launceston), Build Up Design, Fisher Buttrose Architects, (both located in Cairns, far north Queensland); and Iredale Pedersen Hook

Architects, (Perth and Melbourne). Projects are also increasingly incorporating a public art component into their design (see, for example, the Wanarn Clinic of the Ngaanyatjarra Health Service, Western Australia, Kaunitz Yeung Architecture 2015). The provision of cultural safety for Indigenous people within a healthcare setting is seen as one of the key principles of holistic health practice. The inclusion of public art into the design of Aboriginal health facilities is becoming one method of expressing culture and showing solidarity through the built environment.

Projects do not just include premises for the delivery of primary health care. One illustrative health project was Kalkadoon Aboriginal Sobriety House in Mount Isa designed by Deborah Fisher which opened in 2001 (Fantin 2004). The health and alcohol rehabilitation facility is Indigenous community-controlled and managed and aims to provide accommodation, medical facilities and rehabilitation counselling for Aboriginal people suffering alcohol and substance addiction (Australian Institute of Architects 2013a, b). The project involved demolishing unsuitable buildings and the construction of new facilities to provide a culturally safe space that allowed residents to monitor sightlines and control their social interactions, as well as socialise outside in the semi-enclosed courtyards (Fisher Buttrose Architects 2017).

Accommodating Indigenous place attachment and the expression of culture was a strength of Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit's work (Indigenous architects Dillon Kombumerri and Kevin O'Brien, Indigenous interior designer Alison Page and others) with the redevelopment, and extension of the nineteenth century Wilcannia Cottage Hospital (completed in 2002) is an exemplar of healthcare architecture. Intrinsic to the redevelopment of the hospital was the construction of a new, linear wing connecting Aboriginal users with the significant landscape of the adjacent river. This serves as a source of spiritual and physical sustenance to reconcile the 'person and place, community and country' (Tawa 2002) and incorporates Barkinji cultural histories and memories into the design. Michael Tawa explained that the hospital's history:

> Run along strict lines of exclusion and control, the hospital became, for the Barkinji, a 'sick place'—where people needing treatment were incarcerated, 'out of sight and out of mind', out the back, away from community and country. In spite of this sorry history, Barkinji experiences have built the hospital and grounds into cultural memory, replete with stories and recollections of birth, sickness and death. Rather than erase these memories, the community was keen to preserve the site and buildings as remembered, to respect family associations and affinities developed over the years, and to reconnect this renewed site of healing with the river (Tawa 2002).

This project also gave consideration to the Aboriginal views of death, in its location of the mortuary. It was sited in a discreet location, allowing people to avoid it during a normal routine, and therefore also providing privacy for families and friends who accessed the area during periods of grieving (Tawa 2002).

In the mid-2000s, the New South Wales Government Architect's Office was tasked with addressing crowding and poor operational conditions in the existing Aboriginal Medical Service facilities at Redfern (New South Wales Government Architect's Office 2005). Merrima Aboriginal Design Unit designed a new building addressing the challenges (such as planning restrictions and heritage considerations)

of the inner-city site. The resultant building strikes a balance between the desire to maximise open space between buildings and providing the required accommodation and amenities for the client.

Other recent health initiatives have included the design of purpose-built healing centres and residential rehabilitation centres. A recent example is Bunjilwarra in Hastings, New South Wales, designed by Vincent Crisp Architects in collaboration with the NSW Government Architect's Office Aboriginal Design Unit (Merrima). Bunjilwarra is a small-scale residential facility developed to provide culturally appropriate intervention-based rehabilitation. The architecture is deliberately domestic in scale, consisting of five buildings arranged around a central fire pit. The layout allows the young people 'weave' multiple paths between the buildings and connect with the landscape. The development includes a cultural building lined with timber which is patterned with scars to "…resonate with the scarred identities of the individuals" (World Architecture News 2012).

Healthcare facilities to assist Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living with physical and psychosocial disabilities and dealing with substance misuse issues are critically needed, and the issues surrounding the design of residential and treatment facilities are still largely unexplored. The Synapse Supported Accommodation Innovation Facility (Cairns, Queensland) has been developed as a collaboration between the host organisation Synapse, architects People Oriented Design, Indigenous architects and interior designers Indij Design and Indigenous landscape architects Abriculture, under guidance from the Traditional Owners (see Fantin and Fourmille 2018). The facility has individual self-contained units for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with acquired brain injury. People Oriented Design stated that the "…buildings are specifically designed to be non-institutional and comforting… [while] the landscape design has been created as a rehabilitative garden" (People Oriented Design 2016).

Another interesting health development has been the development of care facilities for elderly or frail community members. Most Indigenous people in these categories do not wish to leave their community, and, at the same time, require accessible, specialised accommodation to meet their physical and cultural needs to enable them to stay on country.

The design for the Walumba Aged Care Centre in the discrete Aboriginal community of Warmun in Western Australia by Iredale Pedersen Hook Architects provides both self-care and high-level care accommodation options. The architects took a variety of factors from Aboriginal cultures into account, including gender separation, access to both public and private outdoor spaces, and the need to conduct ceremonies that may involve fire and smoke. Acknowledging the importance of Elders within any Aboriginal community, the architects noted that the centre was intended "to act as a focal point for bringing the community back together, and to aid in the transmission of the unique Aboriginal lore, Gija language and cultural knowledge to the younger members of the community" (Howarth 2017).

Central to most successful solutions have been design processes where clients and other potential users are engaged in a collaborative process resulting in built

environments that welcome Indigenous clients, and are conducive to the practice of holistic health and healing. There is, at this stage, a paucity of research on the links between architectural design and improved healthcare experiences. This area is currently being addressed by a study being conducted by the University of Queensland entitled: *Architectural design to improve Indigenous health outcomes*, being led by Professor Paul Memmott.

Conclusion

Public, institutional and community buildings that cater to and purport to represent or make visible Indigenous communities have developed their own typologies during the twentieth century and continue to do so. Early approaches were modest and community-led, often achieved by layering local motifs and decorations on Western-style buildings. As Indigenous communities garnered more support both politically and financially, the size and ambition of such projects grew, resulting in more inclusive approaches often involving multiple Indigenous groups. Often the 'mural' or 'layering' approach to representing the Indigenous community was not appropriate, and new ways of expressing multiple Indigenous identities through the design were developed. This included the use of local materials, pan-Indigenous cultural elements such as the inclusion of design elements fire pits, gathering circles, and regionally specific socio-spatial design considerations such as gender separation.

During the reconciliation era, public buildings such as museums and cultural centres began to incorporate acknowledgement of Indigenous cultures in their designs, in the scale of the building, through regionally specific totemic representations, and specific detailing and materials, such as views to significant places, or materials that recalled significant places. More controversial approaches like the braille messages of apology and acknowledgement on the National Museum of Australia thrust Indigenous issues into the debates around the role of architecture for public buildings in Australia. These debates continue today with publically visible, although not always publically owned, buildings such as ARM's 'Portrait' building. This features the face of Indigenous Elder William Barak on the façade of a highly visible apartment block in Melbourne, prompting ongoing debate on the use of Indigenous cultural knowledge and iconography within architecture by non-Indigenous architects (for more discussion on this project see Gardiner and McGaw 2018).

Perhaps more pressing than the visibility of Indigenous symbols within the public sphere is the appropriate briefings for critical public buildings such as those for educational and healthcare settings. The need for Indigenous input for these buildings for them to function according to needs and expectations, and to reconcile decades of exclusion and racism within these sectors still poses a major challenge for policy-makers and architects alike. While there have been significant successes in smaller communities where Indigenous control and input is central, the design of major hospitals and educational facilities that cater to a multicultural cohort, including

Indigenous Australians, is more difficult to reconcile. Cities and large rural towns are home to the majority of Indigenous people in Australia, and there is a significant challenge in meeting Indigenous peoples' needs sensitively, while facing agendas of shirking public investment and political agendas to 'mainstream' services. Evidence-based design that demonstrates improved health and educational outcomes in more culturally appropriate buildings is occurring, but integration between research and design is needed, along with greater post-occupancy evaluation, and commitment to learn from designs and the resultant impact on Indigenous people and communities.

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Authors' Biographies

Professor Elizabeth Grant is an architectural anthropologist, criminologist and academic with a distinguished record in the field of Indigenous architecture. From 2000–2017, Elizabeth was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide. Elizabeth holds an adjunct Professorship at the University of Canberra and Associate Professorship at the University of Queensland and has published three books and over 70 papers. Elizabeth is a Churchill Fellow, a member of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), and has been honoured with the International Prison and Correctional Association (ICPA) Excellence in Research Award for her pioneering work on the design of (non)custodial environments for Indigenous peoples. She worked on numerous Indigenous projects, prepared submissions and acted as an expert witness for Government Inquiries, coronial inquests and Royal Commissions.

Dr Kelly Greenop is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Architecture at The University of Queensland. She conducts research within Aboriginal Environments Research Centre (AERC) and Architecture Theory Criticism History Research Centre (ATCH). Her research has focused on work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in urban Brisbane, using ethnographic techniques to document place experiences and attachment, and the importance of housing, place, family and country for urban Indigenous peoples. She was elected to membership of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in 2009 and has received multiple awards for research and teaching.

Chapter 4
Contemporary Māori Architecture

Deidre Brown

Introduction

On 25 May 1978, after 507 days of resistance through occupation, 222 protesters were removed from Takaparawhau (also known as Bastion Point) by 800 police officers, after which the *kāinga* (village), *marae* (forum) and gardens they had established to assert Ngāti Whātua tribal rights to the site were destroyed (Taonui 2012). Unlike the frequent nineteenth-century removals of Māori attempting to prevent government seizure of Indigenous lands for redevelopment as farms or residential areas, this event was broadcast on television into the homes of most New Zealanders, creating immediate public concern. The settlement's clearance was taking place in the middle of Auckland, not only Aotearoa New Zealand's most populous but also, due to post-Second World War rural–urban migration, home to the largest concentration of Māori in the country. The event was a watershed moment for the Māori and the country, and its consequences embody the key themes of Māori architecture since the War. It catalysed Ngāti Whātua's successful 1987 claim to the Waitangi Tribunal[1] that eventually led to the return of 700 acres (283 ha) of land, including Takaparawhau, and catapulted the tribe into what is known today as a 'post-[Waitangi Tribunal] settlement' state (Waitangi Tribunal 1987). Emerging from this and other similar tribal settlements are contemporary, self-determined, architecture and '*papakāinga*' (village) communities. These buildings and communities complement the role of *wharenui*, or customary meeting houses situated on marae, an archetype revitalised as a consequence of the Māori civil rights movement

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[1]The Waitangi Tribunal, established in 1975, is a permanent commission of inquiry that investigates Māori claims against the Crown related to breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, the annexation document that the Crown signed with a number of Māori chiefs in 1840.

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of the 1970s and 1980s as an assertion Māori *tūrangawaewae* (belongingness to the land). The Tribunal's work, and a number of other events, also inspired the development of 'bicultural' central and local government policies, which sought to increase Māori participation in decision-making processes and make Māori culture more visible, including in the design of public buildings. Eclipsing all of these architectural developments has been the struggle endured by many Māori to be housed in healthy and culturally responsive homes.

The Architecture of Biculturalism and Self-Determination

Whereas 'biculturalism' can be broadly defined as a partnership between two peoples, Māori and non-Māori, living within one nation, Māori self-determination anticipates a society of two nations, Māori and non-Māori, living within one country (Fleras 2009). In the 1980s, as the sesquicentennial of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi signing approached, national and local body policy-makers began to re-evaluate monocultural systems of governance and decision-making, and investigate the new 'bicultural' models of cultural co-partnership and co-management suggested by Waitangi Tribunal findings. Not surprisingly, the most notable bicultural buildings were largely public institutions designed to follow briefs that required the demonstration of Māori and non-Māori historical, social and political relationships.

The most significant of all is Wellington's Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, designed by the Aotearoa New Zealand-based architectural company Jasmax and opened in 1998. A partnership principle is demonstrated through a 'cleft' in the plan that distinguishes the Māori and non-Māori sides of the exhibition spaces (Brown 2007: 173). Different cultural perspectives of landscape were represented through orthogonal planning, referencing Wellington's city grid, and access to the water to enable Māori vessels to approach the building ceremonially (Fig. 4.1).

Like Puke Ariki Museum and Library, another large-scale project designed on bicultural principles by Boon Goldsmith Bhaskar Brebner Team Architects and opened in 2003 (Fig. 4.2), Te Papa has an expressed biculturalism that sits at the opposite end of a design spectrum from the type of functional biculturalism concurrently appearing in hospitals, mental health facilities and correctional facilities. These latter building projects have included simple spaces for *pōwhiri* (formal Māori welcome ceremonies) as well as *whānau* (extended family) and *kaumātua* (elder) rooms within otherwise Western institutional complexes to facilitate Māori-centric treatment and rehabilitative processes developed as a result of biculturalism and Māori-centric philosophies of improved well-being (Brown 2005: 104–106). The coincidence of biculturalism with postmodernism and deconstruction is evident in the development of conceptual approaches to represent the identity and relationship of cultures that were initially aesthetic-driven, as seen in the application of Māori art to institutional buildings (e.g. a practice seemingly prevalent in the design of courts of justice), and later plan- or concept-generated, like Te Papa and Puke Ariki.
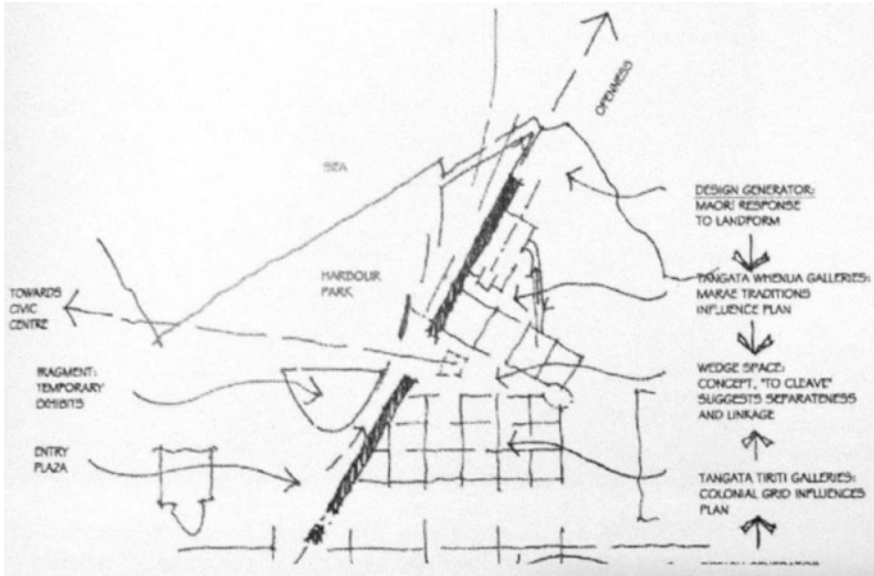
Fig. 4.1 Concept plan of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, opened in 1998, Jasmax (*Image* Jasmax)

Fig. 4.2 Puke Ariki Museum and Library, opened in 2003 (Boon Goldsmith Bhaskar Brebner Team Architects) (*Photograph* Grant Bulley)

The principles of biculturalism have been more far-reaching than individual project design, as they have greatly influenced the education of building designers and the enabling of less monocultural resource management practices that have

affected the way landscapes can be cared for, accessed and used. Yet, the impact of biculturalism on the design of Māori community buildings has been negligible. Instead, a new type of self-determined architecture is beginning to emerge from the infrastructural projects funded through the financial settlement of claims brought by Māori groups against the Crown through the Waitangi Tribunal process. Although often representing only a small portion of the asset base lost through the colonisation process, the resource has been enough for some Māori tribal and subtribal entities to establish new community and governance buildings and other spaces that work with pre-existing marae networks.

Tūhoe Te Uru Taumatua, a tribal governance and community centre opened in Taneatua in 2014, is an important and early example of a post-settlement building (Fig. 4.3; McKay 2014). In 2013, the Crown settled with Tūhoe following Waitangi Tribunal recommendations. The tribe's decision to allocate a significant amount of funding from the settlement towards construction caused considerable discussion within the community given competing needs in tribal housing, education, employment and well-being. However, for Māori and particularly Tūhoe, cycles of social change have often heralded innovative architectural development (Binney et al. 2011). Land is a central concern for Māori tribes and subtribes, and *kaitiakitanga*, or custodianship, over the land has been a priority for Māori entering into post-settlement states.

For Tūhoe, *kaitiakitanga* has manifested itself as sustainable building, a practice not widely addressed in the construction industry before the new millennium and not a high priority for earlier bicultural buildings, like Te Papa, that represented rather than nurtured environments. Tūhoe Te Uru Taumatua was designed and built

Fig. 4.3 Tūhoe Te Uru Taumatua, Taneatua, opened 2014 (*Architects* Jasmax) (*Photograph* Phillippa Flannery)

according to Living Building Challenge (LBC) performance criteria, a North American standard requiring neutral or positive sustainable management of water, energy and waste and the elimination of materials deemed to be toxic (Tūhoe 2014). Tūhoe also required of its architectural consultants, Jasmax, under the leadership of Ivan Mercep (1930–2014) and building contractors that Tūhoe should be active participants in all parts of the project. As building progressed, the principles of self-determination sometimes came into conflict with overseas environmental standards, particularly around local adaption of relatively inflexible requirements, illustrating how Indigenous design and environmental design are based on similar but not identical understandings of custodianship, stewardship and community participation (*Ever the Land* 2015).

The imperatives and differences between the principles of self-determined and earlier contemporary Māori architecture were brought into sharp focus over the fate of the Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre in 2016 (Fig. 4.4). Opened in 1976, the visitor centre was designed by the Māori architectural practitioner John Scott (1924–1992) (*Te Arawa*) for Te Urewera National Park Board (see Gatley and McKay 2018) and was widely recognised as an important example of late Aotearoa New Zealand modernism, particularly for the way in which its massed geometric forms responded to its natural setting (Wagstaff and Dangerfield 2012: 3). For some time, the Crown's assumption of ownership over the Urewera National Park had been contested by the local Tūhoe *iwi* (tribal group), which had led to significant tensions over not only how the Crown was asserting rights over the site, but how Indigenous understandings of the land were being represented (Waitangi Tribunal 2012). In 1997, the Tūhoe activist Te Kaha and an associate removed the *Urewera Mural*, painted in 1975 by renowned Pākehā (Aotearoa New Zealand/European) artist Colin McCahon, from the visitor centre to protest the misappropriation of Tūhoe stories, landscapes and identities in a work of art, many art historians considered to

Fig. 4.4 Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre, Urewera National Park, opened in 1976 (*Architect* John Scott) (*Image* Architecture Archive, University of Auckland)

be one of Aotearoa New Zealand's finest paintings (Binney 2009: 8–10). The painting was eventually returned, yet the actions anticipated issues waiting on the horizon for Scott's building after 2014, when the Crown revoked the National Park status of the Te Urewera region to recognise it as a legal entity, co-governed with Tūhoe, following the Waitangi Tribunal's recommendations (Te Urewera Act 2014).

The Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre was closed in 2007. Faced with costs for deferred maintenance, and a building that did not reflect their future aspirations for the site, Tūhoe decided to invest some of its post-settlement funds into a new visitor centre, Te Wharehou o Waikaremoana, located elsewhere in the National Park and based on the design principles developed during the Tūhoe Te Uru Taumatua project. The decision by Tūhoe and the Department of Conservation to demolish the Āniwaniwa Centre provoked protest from the New Zealand Institute of Architects and Scott's own family and was widely condemned in mainstream and social media. In the end, the building's category 1 historic place listing provided no protection, and it was demolished in September 2016 (Gisborne Herald 2016). The controversy surrounding the Aniwaniwa Centre demonstrates that different Māori architectural interests are, at times, competing rather than complementary. In an increasingly post-Treaty settlement society, biculturalism as an ideology has begun to wane, leaving a built architectural legacy that needs redefinition in a heritage context if these buildings are to survive.

Wharenui and the Māori Civil Rights Movement

Despite, at times, different agendas, contemporary Māori buildings made with reference to non-Māori aesthetics or standards have always sought to complement, rather than replace, the programme and world view perpetuated by customary Māori *wharenui* meeting houses. The genesis of a 'second Māori architectural renaissance' that led to a renewed interest in building *wharenui* was the rise of the Māori civil rights movement in the 1970s (Harris 2004). Equal rights gained by African Americans through the consciousness-raising and protest actions of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party, and First Nations/Native American activism of the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan captured Māori attention. They laid the foundation for similar Māori direct action organisations such as Ngā Tamatoa and the Polynesian Panthers (which also included non-Māori Pacific members). Land ownership and language retention and promotion were initial concerns of Māori involved in this struggle.

In 1975, 79-year-old Whina Cooper (1895–1994) (Te Rarawa) led a land rights *hīkoi,* or march, of up to 5,000 walkers from Te Hapua in the Far North to Wellington's Parliament, sleeping at sympathetic marae during the journey and thus bringing them into the fold of direct protest action (Fig. 4.5). The focus on *tūrangawaewae* and the spatiality involved in walking between, and staying in, a network of marae down the North Island drew attention to the contemporary role

Fig. 4.5 Whina Cooper (standing, right) speaking at Takapuwahia marae, Porirua, during the *hīkoi* to Wellington in 1975 (*Photograph* Alexander Turnbull Library) (Evening Post, 11 October 1975, EP/1975/4297/4)

that marae and their architecture could play in a contemporary politically engaged Māori world.

The late twentieth-century revival of interest in marae architecture led to the repair of many older buildings and the construction of marae in new contexts for pan-tribal urban Māori groups, and in schools, universities, correctional institutions and mental health facilities. Since its development in the mid-nineteenth century, the *wharenui* had been a space for accommodating marae-based communal debate about pressing issues of the day, such as colonisation, Christianity and land sales to Pākehā (Brown 2009: 49). During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, in the wake of the New Zealand Wars (1860–1881), these programmatic meanings were extended when *wharenui* became symbols of Māori resistance to Pākehā oppression (Neich 1993). The Ringatū movement, which combined Māori understandings of Christianity and Indigenous spirituality, constructed *wharenui* across the eastern and central North Island, from which other Māori religio-political movements took inspiration to build communal buildings that reinforced *tūrangawaewae* (belongingness to the land) and notions of a collective Māori identity (Brown 2009: 56–81). This was a highly experimental time for Māori designers, who invigorated customary house carvings with polychromatic paints purchased from Pākehā merchants, developed ingenious figurative paintings styles and adopted new formalisms derived from biblical and colonial architecture. Because of their associations with counter-colonial politics, the polychromatic and figurative decorations of many

Ringatū buildings were painted over in the early twentieth century, only to be rediscovered in the 1970s and 1980s during the renovations inspired by the rise in Māori consciousness (Neich 1993: 1–4). The anthropologist Roger Neich recorded the ethnography of Māori architectural figurative painting in his 1993 book *Painted Histories*, which quickly become an important reference work for a new generation of Māori architectural designers and artists, trained in Western tertiary institutions but not necessarily raised in a Māori context. They identified strongly with the pictorial imagery, coalescence of history and Indigenous narrative, and Western aesthetic and architectural appropriation, and saw the book and its subject matter as a 'way back' into Māori culture. The recovery of this architectural aesthetic of resistance came almost a century after its production, at a time of new need, a point not lost on many of those involved in the reinvigoration of Māori language, customs and infrastructure.

Despite a renewed interest in the innovative architectural expressions of the late nineteenth century, the formalism and aesthetics of the second Māori architectural renaissance, as it appeared in urban contexts, were very much based on that of the first, and its promotion of the pre-New Zealand Wars *whare whakairo* (decorated *wharenui*) as a unifying architectural form.

This type of building was generally associated with the eastern North Island in the second half of the nineteenth century, until after the First World War when it became the basis for a customary Māori building revival across the North Island and led by Apirana Ngata (1874–1950) (Ngāti Porou), Member of Parliament for Eastern Māori (1905–1943) (Brown 1999a: 239–76). Through the partially government-funded School of Māori Arts and Crafts, in operation from 1927 to 1938, Ngata encouraged the construction of around 40 *whare whakairo* and *wharekai* (marae dining halls) that would become the community centres for tribal cooperative farming schemes (Fig. 4.6). Māori self-determination through cultural distinctiveness was central to Ngata's social agenda, an objective that distinguished him from competing Māori leaders who were more embracing of new architectural aesthetic and formal ideas. By the 1950s, all these leaders including Ngata had passed on and, twenty years later, many Māori were struggling to maintain their identity within a social, economic and political context of government-enforced assimilation. In their time of need, it is perhaps not surprising that urban Māori looked once again to the *whare whakairo* as an architecture that could represent unity, self-determination and cultural identity.

The first urban marae with a *whare whakairo* was Te Puea, opened in South Auckland in 1965 to support both the families of the Tainui tribal confederation who were living on the most northerly border of their *rohe* (tribal district) and Māori families from other tribes resident in the area. In 2016, the marae attracted national and international attention when, for several months, it opened its doors to shelter and feed predominantly Māori and Pacific families and individuals made homeless by Auckland's rental and freehold housing shortage as local and central government and NGOs scrambled to find emergency housing alternatives. This act of generosity and those of other marae providing temporary accommodation to people displaced by earthquakes and flooding has redefined the role of

Fig. 4.6 School of Māori Arts and Crafts, Waitangi Meeting House, opened in 1940 (*Photograph* Deidre Brown)

contemporary *marae* and *wharenui* as places of refuge and resilience for pan-ethnic communities under stress.

Between 1979 and 1980, three urban *marae* were opened for Māori communities primarily based on residential location rather than *whakapapa* (descent relationships): Arai Te Uru Marae in Dunedin's Kaikorai Valley; Pipitea Marae in Wellington Central; and Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland (Brown 2009: 135). In 1990, a 'national' marae, Ngā Hau e Whā, was opened in Christchurch. Hoani Waititi Marae was probably the first Māori architectural project commissioned from an architectural practice, JASMaD (now Jasmax). Unlike non-Māori architect-led projects of the time, it had a lengthy four-year consultation process. Long preparations times are now a standard characteristic of Māori community architectural projects, as the 'client' group establishes the *kaupapa* (foundation) of the consultation process before programming and designing begin. Since contemporary architect-designed Māori buildings would be an innovative practice, the lead consultant, Ivan Mercep, became acquainted with marae buildings by touring those of the east coast with the renowned *tohunga whakairo* (master carver) Pine Taiapa (1901–1972), who had trained and later led the School of Māori Arts and Crafts (Mercep 2006). Most of the Hoani Waititi marae community came from Taiapa's Ngāti Porou community on the coast. Although not Māori himself, Mercep felt his tour with Taiapa was a formative moment in Aotearoa New Zealand architecture, as the *kaumātua* (Elder) of Māori architecture provided his endorsement for the

establishment of *wharenui*, of the *whare whakairo* tradition, in urban contexts. Mercep also worked on two other Auckland urban marae associated with the Catholic Church, Te Unga Waka in Epsom, East Auckland, originally established by Whina Cooper in 1966, and Whaiora Catholic marae in Otara, South Auckland, where he met the *tohunga whakairo* and scholar Pakaariki Harrison (1928–2008).

Harrison later carved the Tāne-nui-a-Rangi *wharenui*, the centrepiece of another Jasmax project, the University of Auckland's Waipapa Marae, Māori Studies complex, opened in 1987. Tāne-nui-a-Rangi was perhaps one of Harrison's most impressive *wharenui*, illustrating a pan-tribal conception of the Māori cosmos through the depiction of Māori *atua* (deities) on the figurative carvings of its major structural members, navigators and founding ancestors on its wall carvings, and the progressive movement of light/life to darkness/death in the *kōwhaiwhai* rafter patterns (Tāne-nui-a-Rangi 1988). At that time, Tāne-nui-a-Rangi was the second of two *wharenui* built for new marae complexes on tertiary campuses, beginning a new phase of marae construction within institutions with bicultural and, for some, self-determining mandates, such as mainstream schools, Māori language immersion schools, mental healthcare facilities and correctional facilities (Opening of Te Whakatuwheratanga 1986: 6; Brown 1999b: 19–24).[2]

Urbanisation and Housing

Architecture has presented many challenges for Māori outside of the marae environment over the past seventy years. The end of the Second World War heralded a dramatic mass migration of Māori from predominantly rural areas to Aotearoa New Zealand, and later Australian cities, in search of better employment and educational opportunities. What many found was discrimination in the rental housing and employment markets, leading to accommodation in clusters of new, often government-built, satellite communities of nuclear family homes that serviced blue-collar industries and were serviced by sometimes under-resourced education and health services. These 'urban Māori' were isolated in homes that did not allow for extended family-living and educational and employment contexts that did not support the use of *te reo* (the Māori language) and *tikanga* (custom), leading to an erosion of cultural values that was exacerbated by a lack of opportunity to maintain links with sometimes physically distant tribal marae. Statistics reveal the magnitude of the diaspora: in 1936, 83% of Māori lived in rural areas, but within 50 years, the proportions had reversed with 83% of Māori living in cities. By 2015, although the Aotearoa New Zealand Māori population was estimated at 715 000, over 100 000 people self-identified as Māori in the 2011 Australian census, an indication of the belief among a significant section of the Māori community that life is better as a

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[2]The first was Te Tumu Herenga Waka on Te Herenga Waka Marae, Victoria University, Wellington, carved under the instruction of Takirirangi Smith with tukutuku supervised by Con Te Rata Jones and opened in 1986.

migrant in another country than as an Indigenous person (Statistics New Zealand 2015).

Keen to maintain their cultural identities, some Māori began to establish pan-tribal community groups, using new and pre-existing buildings for social gatherings and residential collectives. They included the Ngāti Poneke Māori Clubrooms, established in 1843 in Wellington's Hotel Cecil Buildings,[3] and the Auckland Māori Community Centre operating from 1948 in a former US Army barracks beside Victoria Park (Fig. 4.7; Te Ao Hou 1962; Blair 2013: 4; Sturm 1955). *Kōwhaiwhai* scroll patterns and *manaia* (profile figurative) paintings decorated structural members of these interiors, making the space 'Māori'. The recently formed Māori Women's Welfare League and Māori Wardens extended matriarchal and patriarchal pastoral care to families, and especially young people, accessing these facilities, in keeping with the roles of *kaumātua* (Elders) on marae. Over 1000 young Māori men recruited into apprenticeships by the Department of Māori Affairs from 1959 to the 1980s were accommodated in hostels in Auckland (Owens Road, Domett Avenue, Gillies Avenue and Dominion Road hostels), Lower Hutt (Trentham Hostel) and Christchurch (Rehua and Te Kaihanga hostels) (Te Puni Kokiri 2009; Te Ao Hou 1966: 8). Many of these young men found employment in the city after completing their trade qualifications, becoming members of a new Māori urban middle class known, in Christchurch at least, as the 'white sheep' generation. Māori hostelries in Pākehā-established towns have a long history, the first opening at Mechanics Bay in Auckland in the 1840s to accommodate Māori traders and the last closing, also at Mechanics Bay, in 1966 (New Zealander 1949). The social function of these community and hostel buildings has been largely assumed by urban marae, two of which—Waipapa Marae (University of Auckland 1988) and Rehua Marae (Christchurch)—are named after hostels, although they are still warmly remembered in Māori collective memory as proudly Māori spaces.

Housing affordability and supply remain the most pressing architectural concerns for Māori. Between the 1960s and 1980s, the government's solution was to provide urbanised Māori families with access to state housing, often in precincts and new suburbs built on the periphery of major cities. Following late modernist principles of architecture, these houses were designed for nuclear Western families, offered little connection to the street and provided few basic communal spaces, and were, therefore, unable to accommodate extended families or interactive community gatherings (Brown 2009: 124–127). Together with poor prospects in the workforce and education, inadequate housing has been a significant negative influence on Māori social outcomes. The shift from income-related rents to market rentals for state housing in 1992 coupled with rising city houses prices have forced many families and individuals to seek lower-quality housing in the private rental sector or to become houseless, which has further exacerbated housing-related

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[3]The Ngāti Poneke Māori Club evolved from the 'NgātiPoneke' Māori concert party formed as a fundraising venture by a group of young Māori women who had travelled to Wellington to work on tukutuku lattice wall panels for the School of Māori Arts and Crafts' Te Ikaroa-a-Maui wharenui project in 1936.

Fig. 4.7 Auckland Māori Community Centre, 1958 (*Photograph* Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira)

well-being issues (Brown 2016). A lack of employment opportunities, low wages for those who can find work and escalating council rates for coastal properties have led to the deferred maintenance of rural homes, creating an often hidden Māori housing crisis in remote areas. Consequently, diseases of the past and of poverty,

such as rheumatic fever, tuberculosis, meningococcus, bronchiectasis and serious skin infections, have resurfaced at alarming rates among urban- and rural-based Māori, predominantly children, with research identifying damp, cold and crowded homes as the most significant causative factor.

Tension between urban and rural Māori housing need has been no more apparent than in the battle over state housing in the Auckland suburb of Glen Innes, a community where around a quarter of the population are Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Although generally built to a high standard with good materials, older state housing from the 1950s and 1960s can sometimes be difficult to repair cost-effectively while lower-quality social housing constructed in the 1970s and 1980s is beyond repair. Auckland's population growth has prompted the government to move away from low-density state-owned housing to medium density mixed-ownership residential planning models (Housing New Zealand 2011). In 2011, the government announced it would rehouse over 150 state house households, demolishing or relocating buildings that could not be renovated with some of the cleared sites used for new state or community service provider homes, the cost to the government being offset by selling the remaining sites to private residential developers (Housing New Zealand 2011; Cole 2015: 2). Critics have argued that the process is a government-led gentrification that is displacing often long-term Māori and Pacific residents (Cole 2015; Gordon 2015). The removal of houses has been as painful as the removal of their tenants, sometimes boiling over into eviction and re-occupation of buildings by protestors leading to police action and arrest.

Eighteen of the removed houses were sold and relocated to form a small *papakāinga* at Kaitaia, in the Far North of the North Island, on land that was converted into Māori title by the He Korowai Trust. Like the *kāinga* (villages) of earlier times, *papakāinga* are generally characterised by a cluster of houses occupied by a number of related families and situated on communally owned land. Over half of Kaitaia's population are Māori and half receive government assistance (Collins 2012; Far North District Council 2013). During a sometimes difficult three-year period, which included NIMBY-motivated objections from surrounding landowners, the buildings were renovated with the assistance of the Māori architect and academic Fleur Palmer (Te Rarawa) for families who have a rent for life option on their tenancy (Collins 2012; Gordon 2015: 70). Local need was such that over 57 families applied to be housed in a scheme that could only accommodate 18. In 2015, 45 children and 16 adults moved into the first nine houses (Palmer 2016: 79, 81). The ethical complexity of this particular urban–rural housing relocation reveals the sometimes-disconnected objectives of high-level planning and welfare policy and the lived experience of people residing in community housing neighbourhoods or requiring affordable housing.

The Return to Tūrangawaewae

A smaller return migration of Māori to tribal areas occurred in the late 1980s, as neoliberal economic policies contributed to a rise in Māori unemployment, and in recent years, as house and rental prices in the cities have forced some Māori out of

urban areas. The emotional motivations for returning, however, are not just economic but also often spiritual, as people seek to engage with their *tūrangawaewae* once more, sometimes through living communally in *papakāinga* (Whangarei District Council n.d.). *Papakāinga* architecture can be relocated like that in Kaitaia, or self-built, prefabricated or commissioned, and can range from very simple Western-style dwellings to more technically innovative and environmentally responsive structures, made from rammed earth or with carbon-neutral footprints. The most significant deterring factor in the establishment of *papakāinga* is the difficulty in obtaining a mortgage to fund construction, as commercial banks are reluctant to use land in Indigenous communal title as security over loans. Other inhibiting factors are the costs of bringing electricity and fresh- and grey-water services to new rural building sites.

One of the most successful *papakāinga* development projects has been one that has had to overcome more than just financial and planning hurdles. In early 2016, Ngāti Whātua moved 30 families back to Takaparawhau into terraced buildings that had been previously been occupied by a dozen state houses. A unique challenge for Ngāti Whātua has been to plan for the longer-term re-occupation of a 40-acre (16.2 ha) site by up to 3,000 tribal members, requiring a level of densification never before experienced in Māori architecture (Gibson 2016). The tribe has overcome mortgage issues by borrowing from commercial banks using its other assets as security and by offering 150-year leases on buildings. The design of the current buildings utilises the close pre-existing bonds between neighbours through the provision of shared outdoor space revegetated by plants grown in the community nursery. Should such leasehold building projects become more common, a new challenge for Māori architecture will be the identification, if not development, of long-lifespan building materials and construction systems.

A Māori-Led Architecture

The story of contemporary Māori architecture is largely one that involves a progressive and insidious erosion of Māori control of their built world. Depending on the location of the community, from the late nineteenth century up until the mid-twentieth century, Māori had determined the design, procurement and use of their housing stock and community buildings. Land loss, urbanisation, high land and building costs, and the registration of building practitioners and regulation of their practices are contributing factors to the decline of the asset and knowledge bases needed to maintain a Māori-led architectural industry. The ongoing Treaty settlement process may enable some Māori communities to access the training and resources required to assume control over their built environment, on and away from tribal lands. Māori-specific apprenticeships, targeted entry into tertiary architecture and construction courses, and training opportunities on community-led projects offer a degree of access to the building industry.

Although the construction industry is currently the fourth largest employer of Māori, with 20% of all self-employed Māori working in the sector, Māori comprise less than 10% of students training to be architects, and perhaps as little 1% of Aotearoa New Zealand registered architects (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment 2015: 11). The first Aotearoa New Zealand trained and registered Māori architect was likely Wiremu (Bill) Tuarau Royal (1931–2013) (Ngāti Raukawa) who completed his studies in 1960 and established his own residential and commercial practice in 1967 (Mane-Wheoki 1990: 31; Te Ao Hou 1967: 25). Like Scott (who did not complete his studies but went into practice in the 1950s), he was a late modernist who was fascinated by geometric formalism, colour and texture. Later Māori architects and architectural designers include: Rewi Thompson (1954–2016) (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Raukawa), Perry Royal (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāi Tahu; son of Wiremu Royal), Tere Insley (Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui; likely, the first female Māori architect), Anthony Hoete (Patuwai o Ngāti Awa), Rau Hoskins (Ngāti Hau, Ngāpuhi), Fleur Palmer (Te Rarawa), Saul Roberts (Te Kawerau-a-Maki, Waiohua, Tainui), Amanda Yates (Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Ngāti Whakaue, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Rongowhakaata) and Nick Dalton (Te Arawa, Tūhoe). Emerging into practice during and after the second Māori architectural renaissance, a commonality in their work is an assured and informed respect for Māori principles of design. Their residential and institutional projects have drawn inspiration from the cultural narratives of the Tangata Whenua (people of the land) and the topographies of their sites.

Admission into architectural studies has been hindered by high-entry qualification requirements, with Māori school leavers achieving these grades being steered by family and schools into law and medical programmes that offer higher salaries on graduation and service immediate Māori needs. However, the increased media visibility of building design, a growing pool of Māori architecture academic staff and the need to enhance built infrastructure in a post-settlement era have inspired a new generation of Māori architectural students to explore their heritage through design. Their projects unselfconsciously utilise digital technologies and explorative techniques derived from conceptual arts to investigate cultural landscapes and customary ideas and establish new formalisms. They have found strength, outside of practice, in Māori professional design and design advocacy networks such as Ngā Aho and ad hoc collectives, as well as work in an expanded practice field encompassing customary and contemporary arts, curating and writing.

The work of Māori architects and architectural designers, such as those discussed above, has sometimes been termed 'bicultural'. This label invites rethinking, given that biculturalism in its wider context is now generally only referred to as a policy or method, and appears to be waning. A better use of the term is as a method or concept, in which the relationship between Māori and non-Māori is explored in design or if consultative practice models are followed. What Māori architects have in common is their ancestral heritage and, following a similar long-established approach from Indigenous art history, all of their work, whether Māori influenced or not, contributes to the story (but not necessarily the definition) of Māori architecture.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the Māori presence in Auckland in 2010, Ngāti Whātua leader Ngarimu Blair commented "this city [Auckland] has been pretty good at teaching us to forget about our past, to forget our traditions, forget the stories and so on …. we see urban design as a way for people to access tribal knowledge as they move about this urban landscape, which quite frankly we've been ethnically cleansed of" (Blair 2010: 50). These sentiments could be extended to the experience of other Māori as they have struggled to maintain their identity, *tūrangawaewae*, occupancy and well-being in other cities. The claims of Ngāti Whātua and other Māori groups to be recognised as *Tangata Whenua* through the Waitangi Tribunal created the intellectual and social climate from which bicultural architectural practice and design emerged in the 1980s followed by more self-determined approaches in recent years. As revealed by the Tūhoe experience, self-determination of the built environment requires a sometimes difficult engagement with existing infrastructure and practices.

Further developments in self-determined architecture are likely to occur in the next decade. Currently, Ngāpuhi, the largest Māori iwi and one with some of the highest rates of child poverty, housing deprivation, youth suicide and rural unemployment in the country, sits on the brink of a Treaty settlement with the Crown. The tribe also shares its southern boundary with Ngāti Whātua, and the metropolis of Auckland, with the Ngāpuhi settlement offering the possibility to self-remedy Crown-instigated sociopolitical issues following the example of its neighbours who have derived significant additional income from investing in Auckland's commercial infrastructure. Indeed, post-settlement investment in Western architecture might produce the income required to address the most significant architectural issue facing Māori, the supply of healthy, affordable and culturally responsive housing.

What will be the archetypes of this new period of architecture? The *wharenui* remains the pre-eminent Māori formalism due to its enduring association with a collective Indigenous identity, being re-contextualised for the contemporary period to meet the aspirations of communities and institutions as well as to confront the challenges of social inequity and physical displacement. Over the past half a century, architects have realised that the integrity of Māori architecture lies in the *wharenui*'s accommodation and embodiment of cultural practices, or *tikanga*, not in its decorations or in derivative 'bicultural' collisions of forms. Māori communities are now demanding *tikanga*-inspired briefs for new types of buildings needed to support new infrastructure and governance processes. Even in this early stage of development, the many and varied formalisms of this architecture recall the diversity of design and programmes that had been apparent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The standards by which Māori architecture is judged may, consequentially, change, as communities demand projects, built by, with and for them on tribal lands and in pan-tribal urban settings. The realisation of a truly self-determined Māori architecture may in future rest on the participation of Māori in every aspect of construction, from materials production and procurement to construction and project management and in design.

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Chapter 5
Recontextualising Polynesian Architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand

Albert L. Refiti

Taeao Pasifika: Mornings of the World

This chapter recontextualises work written by the author on projects constructed between 1940 and 2000 (see Refiti 2002). The essay titled *Polynesian architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand* outlined the emergence of cross-cultural architectural types that were transported from the Pacific to Aotearoa New Zealand. During this period, the term 'Indigenous architecture' was rarely used in architectural histories. Terms such as non-historical styles, vernacular architecture (Oliver 2003) and traditional architecture had been in use since the beginning of twentieth century to classify building traditions at the prehistoric and non-historical spectrum, which Bannister Fletcher's *History of architecture* (1905) identified as having either 'little or no architectural value', or 'styles' that did not 'interrupt the evolution of European historical architecture' (1905: 4, 5, 605). The advent of post-colonial and decolonisation discourses in the social sciences, and studies of place and space from the mid-1990s onwards, the term, 'Indigenous' became widely used to discuss 'socio-spatial structures and patterns' (Memmott and Go-Sam 1999: 235). Some of the projects discussed fall into the category of 'cross-cultural', a popular way to categorise art and design made by migrants and diasporic peoples in the 1990s (Clifford 1988; Thomas 1991), and the terms—'hybrid' and 'blending'—were used to analyse the work of translation between two or more traditions, especially when this gave rise to a new tradition.

The original version of this chapter was revised: Author biography has been updated. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_35

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Categories shift under different conditions, and if we are to rethink this earlier work in the context of contemporary Indigenous architecture, it is necessary to reframe the work as a new enterprise that questions the assumptions that underlie concepts and categories, especially relating to the term, 'traditional'. The term is not just a burden that Indigenous people must carry, but it is also 'a thing that can be acted upon or deployed to diverse ends' (Thomas 1992: 227).

The following chapter is an attempt to reframe earlier ideas through an Indigenous architectural lens, a necessary move to work towards the decolonisation agenda[1] and to construct a Pacific viewpoint/s into the history of architecture. A new category of ideas 'coming the other way' provides Indigenous Pacific perspectives to the history of ideas and events that are important to the shifts in cultural change. Thus, to recognise this new shift in architectural movement, I propose a new category to identify Indigenous Pacific architecture, in particular with regard to Aotearoa New Zealand and more generally for Australia and North America.

A customary strategy for Pacific orators during important ceremonies is to locate all historical events within a framework that conjures up the past and the world of the Ancestors in the present. To summon up the past is to allow the present to hold all these entities together in a single place at one time, in which the living are referred to as descendants. Doing so allows the Ancestors' bodies to bond with those of the living. Sāmoan orators call this moment *Taeao* translated as 'new mornings of the world' (Linnekin 1997: 210). Māori orators refer to a similar idea as *Te Ao Mārama* (Royal. n.d.). For Samoa, there are four *taeao* or historically significant episodes: three are from the pre-European contact period (*Taeao nai Saua ma Samana, Taeao nai Namo, Taeao nai Tumua*)[2] and with the latter episode relating to arrival of the Christianity or *Taeao o le Talalelei.* The most significant of these four major periods of Sāmoan history is the mass migration of Pacific Islanders to other countries [and especially to Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and the USA (Gershon 2007)]. This phenomenon is significant in the history of Pacific architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand and its influence on cultural change in places other than in the Pacific homelands. The following shows the early sequence of this development in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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[1]I am referring here to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's quest to conceptualise a platform for Indigenous people to construct their own point of view within social science discourse; he invents the notion of 'perspectivism' that insists that there is a border between cultures and traditions where differences are invented for all those involved. Recognising such a border allows for the Indigenous 'other' a way to invent a Westernise subject and a context for their own image of thought. See Viveiros de Castro (2014) and Refiti (2015).

[2]*Taeao nai Saua ma Samana* refers to the reign of the demigod Ulioamoa; *Taeao nai Namo* refers to the reign of the twins Taema and Tilafaiga; *Taeao nai Tumua* refers to the King Tuiatua and his Tufuga.

Polynesian Architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand

Architecture in the Pacific and specifically in Polynesia is furnished by ideas that are primarily about the ocean. The Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa has suggested that one way to view this part of the world is as a 'sea of islands' (Hau'ofa 1993). The ocean has played a dominant role in shaping the environment and people of the Pacific; boundaries are not easily drawn on its surface, so the islands become figures that are isolated and placed delicately on the oceanscape with the promise of fertile land and the possibility of rest and respite from the sea. Islands enabled the location of identity and the boundary of cultures, but the sea, with its changing currents facilitating migration and exchange, also meant that boundaries were often dissolved and redrawn. The ocean provided separation and connection, an in-between space where commonality and difference coexist. The ocean is the single most powerful architectural device in the evolution of Polynesian architecture and culture.

To speak about the heritage of Polynesian architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand requires one to discuss the art of locating and identifying where one stands in terms of *tū* the relationship to/before the Ancestors and community [a ritual observed on every Māori *marae* (meeting grounds)], and of looking after one's relationships with others and the community with respect. According to Albert Wendt, this concept is best expressed in the notion of the *vā*, or 'the gap between people or things'. He writes:

> Important to the Sāmoan view of reality is the concept of the Vā or Wa in Māori and Japanese [ma]. Vā is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-in-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. A well-known Sāmoan expression is 'Ia teu le vā'. Cherish/nurse/care for the vā, the relationships. This is crucial in communal cultures that value group and unity more than individualism, who perceive the individual person/creature/thing in terms of group, in terms of vā, relationships (Wendt 1996: 19).

The *vā* is a spatial ordering concept that exists between things and administers a code of good (ideal) behaviour, an invisible language that enables space and things to be configured in a positive manner. It governed traditional aesthetic appreciation in Samoa, Tonga, Niue, the Cook Islands and Aotearoa from oratory to boat building, tattooing to the fabrication of buildings and space.

In architecture, the space of the *malae* (ceremonial meeting ground) (Samoa, Tonga, Niue) or *marae* (Cook Islands, Aotearoa New Zealand) best represented the spatial make-up of the *vā*. The *malae* or *marae*, the open ceremonial ground, is at the heart of the design of a Polynesian settlement. It is a social and ritual space open to the sky, with the perimeter bounded by the meeting houses of chiefs. It is often compared to the ancient Greek space of the agora or Roman forum, which had a similar function in gathering people and the community (Austin 1976). In Japanese architecture, the concept of *ma* as a mediating in-between space that enables the

viewer to achieve an 'aesthetic balance' in traditional tea-house architecture has similarities to the idea of the *vā* (Asada and Isozaki 1992: 16).

In Samoa, the *malae* is formed by four or more chiefly meeting houses (*faletele*) surrounding an open semicircular area roughly 300–400 Metres (984–1312 Feet) in diameter. In some places, the *malae* is laid out in a long space next to the sea (up to 600 Metres (1698 Feet) in length); the houses have their backs to the land and face the water. The *malae* is almost always oriented towards the sea; the sea in this sense completes the boundaries of the space (Shore 1983, 1996). The main use of the *malae* in Samoa was for *fono* (important village meetings)[3] and ceremonies when the High Chiefs from each family took their places in proper order on the *malae* according to their *vā* relationships and the hierarchy of their placement in the Village *Fono* (Council). It is the place where one stands or *tū* in the presence of the community.

This arrangement is also reflected in the layout inside a *faletele* (Chief's meeting house) (Kramer 1995; Te Rangi Hiroa 1930; Handy 1924). In the absence of walls and partitions, where you sit in the house and how you speak are governed by the *vā* of the village. One can observe the relationship in the architecture of the house and the placement of its particular components when the architecture is activated with the village *fono* (Duranti 1994). This is architecture in action—architecture in the fullest sense of the word—where oratory and the politics of manners and the art of location collide to give meaning to the building. With the commencement of the *fono*, the middle portion of the *faletele's* roof structure metaphorically spans the *vā* or gap between the various important families of the village; its *paepae* (elevated platform) provides the stage where the politicking takes place. The *poutū* (central post) that stands at the centre of the house carries the so'a beams that span between the *itū i luma* (front face of the house) and the *itū i tua* (back face of the house), simultaneously securing the roof of the *fale* and the decorum of the meeting. This is analogous to the role of the *Tūlafale* (orator), who sits beneath this portion of the house and whose knowledge of the genealogy of all Samoa secures the foundation of the house with negotiations (Duranti 1994). The *Tūlafale* controls the proceedings and begins to mould the language, fabricating boundaries and relationships. He secures foundations with debate and negotiations, speaking in prose. This is mirrored by the beautiful and complicated gymnastics of the architectural structure. The role of the *Ali'i* (High Chief) in the *faletele* is almost frivolous compared to that of the orator which is also mirrored in the structure. The *Ali'i* sits under the curved part of the roof, the most elaborate (but redundant) portion of the structure. The roofs curved ribs are fixed to the *itū* structure for security, which perhaps symbolically demonstrates the reliance of the *Ali'i* on the *Tūlafale* for certainty of place. *Tūlafale* literally means 'to stand between the houses' and is the custodian of the *vā*.

The fine sennit lashings of the roof structure and posts express the embellished nature of the *fa'a-Samoa* dialogue. The *fono* is still observed in Aotearoa New

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[3]The term *fono* means councils or meetings large or small and also applies to National Assemblies and legislatures, as well as local village councils or any type of meeting between people.

Zealand today; for example, when people from the same village get together, they arrange themselves in a room or hall according to the *vā* relationships from their village *malae* but without the elaborate architecture of the *faletele* as a stage.

There are similarities between the *malae* of Polynesia and the Māori *marae*. Located in front of the meeting house, the *marae* is a space open to the sky but closed on its boundaries and is thought to be the courtyard of the War God Tūmataūenga (Tawhai and Graham 1940). The *marae* has a similar function to the *malae* as the meeting place for the community. It is now generally used to receive visitors. A 'complete' *marae* contains a meeting house, dining hall, food stores and utility sheds. The *wharenui* (meeting house) is dedicated to the Ancestors, who are generally represented by carvings or paintings on the columns inside the house. The orientation of the *marae* and its meeting house is similar to that of the Sāmoan *malae*, tending to face the openness of the landscape—usually the sea or river—with its back turned to the hills and mountains. The mountains provided a landscape of closure, while the horizon of the sea is a landscape of openness (Austin 1975).

It has been suggested by Austin (1975) that the open *marae* and *malae* spaces are a re-enactment of the openness of the sea. The Sāmoan term for the ocean is *vasa*, which can be translated as 'sacred space or gap' or sacred *vā*. The ocean (or the sea of islands) is continuously shifting and changing, which is seen by Polynesians as an element of safety and security. The ocean makes possible the seeds of a culture to migrate and evolve.

Locating Polynesian Architecture and Designs in Aotearoa New Zealand

The heritage of traditional Pacific architecture has evolved in surprisingly different ways in Aotearoa New Zealand. First, there is a fascination with 'Pacific Style' in architecture and design that largely focuses on the aesthetic of the architectural artefact itself; however, the style and symbolic value are often detached from the holistic context from the cultural history and meaning. Second, the adaptation of colonial building types—for example Pacific church architecture in the lower socio-economic suburbs of Auckland and Wellington—has created a strange phenomenon of the hybrid and the 'non-place' where a transplanted artefact often creates an eerie and uncanny break in the fabric of the homogeneous suburban sprawl. Third, and perhaps most interesting, are the attempts to adapt and modernise the *fale* form to Aotearoa New Zealand conditions, often creating a unique architectural forms (Fig. 5.1).

Situated on an island in the Manukau Harbour is the oldest surviving example[4] of Sāmoan architecture (Treadwell 2002). Just minutes from Auckland is a *faletele*

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[4]The typical lifespan of a Samoa *fale* is 20–30 years.

Fig. 5.1 Sao Taito, Puketutu Island Faletele, Manukau Harbour, Aotearoa New Zealand (*Photograph* Athol Greentree)

(round meeting house) built in Samoa in 1939 by *tufuga faufale*[5] Sao Taito and transported by ship to the Centennial Exhibition held in Wellington in 1940. It was later purchased and conveyed to its current location on the privately owned Puketutu Island by Sir Henry Kelliher, the founder of DB Breweries (an Aotearoa New Zealand-based brewing company). The thatched house is located among picturesque, tropical gardens created as a showpiece for the Kelliher Estate[6] to enhance the grandeur of the stately home. The little *faletele* serves as a garden folly,[7] an element which formed an important feature of eighteenth-century French and English garden design. This particular *faletele* serves no purpose than as a deliberately built ornament and to demonstrate the owner's wealth.

The *faletele* on the Kelliher Estate is constructed entirely of timber in the manner of a short *fale afolau* (long meeting house).[8] The four-column structure in the centre supports a system of *so'a* beams and king post structure, which props up the ridge at the middle section of the house. This is the *itū* part of the house, which has a front (*luma*) and a back (*tua*). The two rounded ends (*tala*) framed with curved sections of breadfruit timber are lashed to the middle section of the house. The *faletele* is constructed with a secondary set of load-bearing posts around the edges to ensure

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[5]*Tufuga fau fale* is the name given to the builders of the *fale*.

[6]The estate is now also used as a private venue for corporate events and weddings.

[7]As a general term, 'folly' is usually applied to a small building that appears to have no practical purpose, or the purpose of which appears less important than its striking and unusual design.

[8]This house from is generally called a *faletele*, because it is circular rather than long like the *fale afolau*.

Fig. 5.2 Location of the Kelliher Estate on the privately owned, Puketutu Island in Manukau Harbour, Aotearoa New Zealand (*Image* Google Maps)

the structure remains stable. It is thatched with a mixture of sago and coconut leaves, and the floor is constructed from boards with a *paepae* (outside platform) built of local volcanic rocks (Fig. 5.2).

As the *faletele* was originally designed to be an exhibition piece for the 1940 Centennial Exhibition, it was furnished with a variety of household objects and tourist artefacts: a kava bowl with turtle features, a chiefs talking staff, a woven fly whisk and a variety of weapons for decoration. The tropical garden on Puketutu Island recreates a picture of paradise, a time capsule of 'a primitive life' from a faraway place. So it is in this exclusive setting, accessible only to invited guests that ironically (and somewhat sadly) stands the oldest example of Sāmoan ethnoarchitecture in the Pacific.

'Pacific Style' in Architecture

The appreciation of a 'Pacific Style' in architecture and design has brought about the popular use of Pacific and Polynesian motifs, symbols and patterns design in architecture. One of the most prominent examples is the interior fit-out of the Kermadec Ocean Fresh Restaurant in the Auckland Viaduct Quay Development (Ross 2003: 74–79). A collaboration between the architect Noel Lane and marketing strategist Brian Richards led to a thematic approach to the interior design conveying the aesthetics of the Pacific region,[9] to convey a Pacific-influenced dining experience to the Quay. Richards writes:

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[9]The restaurant is partially owned by a leading exporter of fresh fish to Japan and recognition of this relationship occurred through the design of the main restaurant where there is a intertwining of Pacific and Asian motifs.

New Zealand's strengthening Pacific identity generated the design philosophy behind one of the country's newest and most ambitious restaurants, Kermadec. …. Every aspect of the design, from the highly detailed interior to menu covers, waiters' uniforms and the publicity material which launched the harbourside eatery, reinforces the Pacific theme. Architecture, graphics and uniform design are interwoven to create a rich layering of images and coherent design story. …Lane regards his input as a "celebration" of the Pacific, rather than an holistic expression of that region. He involved painters, sculptors and weavers in the design of artworks which are integral to the fabric of each space. The architecture serves as a canvas for those elements which differentiate brasseries and more formal dining areas, night-time bars and 'wet' and 'dry' tatami rooms. Lane was aware that a restaurant of this size needed to include a range of environments, with a layering of detail. …Artists [including] …a Niuean woman's weaving group made artworks which enrich the Pacific imagery and ocean theme while creating a variety of dining experiences. Different aspects of the design reveal themselves during the course of a meal, and there is always something new for the eye to seek out. The tactile quality of the interior design, with its lashed ropes, sandblasted glass walls, sandstone and fossilised marble, continues in the graphics… (Richards 2016).

Displays include a playful interpretation of a traditional Pacific icon in the design of the reception desk, which looks like a large and elongated kava bowl with long legs like that of a stick insect. Strong connections to the sea are referenced in the design of the Brasserie Restaurant, where sails hang on a wood and metal frame on the ceiling are made from a mixture of woven Niuean mats and painted canvases by Niuean artists John Pule and Sofia Tekela-Smith. The sails and structure are lashed together, mimicking the intricate sennit lashing of timber beams in a *fale* or an ocean—voyaging canoe. These rustic qualities are echoed by the snaking driftwood screen, which cuts through the space and reminds one of the traditional Pacific fishing fences erected in the sea to trap fish. Pule and Tekela-Smith's canvases are inscribed with mythical creatures that spawn multiple heads and offspring inhabiting strange and foreign islands made of ochre stones and palm trees. The design conveys a spirit of the Pacific that is dangerous and volatile contrasts with the tranquil paradise portrayed through the architecture installed on Puketutu Island.

Polynesian and Pacific architectural forms, signs, symbols are increasingly common in the homes and public buildings and spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand. The designs seem somewhat detached from the larger Polynesian community, who find them alienating and inaccessible although, ironically, the design elements are borrowed from their culture. This seems to point to the development of a new Polynesian culture in architecture and design that accesses a wider global community of ideas and capital, and whose focus is on the cross-cultural mixing of identities and experiences that can paradoxically be inclusive, but exclusive at the same time (Ypma 1996).

Cross-cultural and Hybrid

An older form of cross-cultural exchange in architectural ideas was the design and construction of churches in the Pacific. The early churches were an adaptation of a long and large *fale* with coral and lime walls closing off the sides, forming a long

processional space suitable for a Christian congregation. The churches constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century were more of a cross-cultural hybrid. They began with coral and lime churches built in Tahiti and Avarua by missionaries of the London Missionary Society wanting to imitate the Neo-Gothic and Romanesque stone churches of rural England (Buzacott 1866). The Pacific versions were sited in prominent spots in the villages, raised up high on stone and concrete platform that often dwarfed the Chiefs' meeting house. White lime-washed buildings glared in the tropical sun. They were built by craftsmen who were members of the traditional builders' guild or *tufuga faufale* who were responsible for the erection of houses. The craftsmen adapted the designs and construction of the European church to suit the design and modes of construction they were used to, typically the *fale*.

The prominent features of the church buildings, such as the entrance archway and the bell towers, give the building gravitas when compared to a *malae*. The large gable or round arch form roof generally spans the space behind the entrance archway, forming the body of the church. A fence encloses the building. The churches constructed from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth are still standing.

Polynesians imagined these buildings to be the ideal version of the height of European spirituality, a place that represented the utopia of a heavenly paradise in the eyes of an Eurocentric God. These buildings are romantic projections by Pacific people of what a European paradise might be. The architectural representations are often at the core of cross-cultural exchanges and imaginings.

When these architectural imaginings are transplanted to another location, as is the case in the suburbs of Mangere, Otara and Newtown in Aotearoa New Zealand, cross-cultural exchanges occur and change the boundaries of what a Pacific culture might 'be' in these places. The church buildings, artefacts, the product of a (mis) representation of an Eurocentric Christian ideal, have become the objects that various Pacific cultures become identified within Aotearoa New Zealand. The hybrid blurs and distorts fixed assumptions about identity and may produce extraordinary results.

One such example is the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga located in Favona, Mangere in Aotearoa New Zealand. The large and imposing church is approached by a long and impressive drive. It is designed with a large barrel-shaped roof that reflects the form of a long *fale*. At the front of the church is a *malae* area surrounded by a tropical garden. The Minister's residence and outdoor cooking house enclose the complex. The furnishings are typical of church interiors in the Islands, with windows down the sides providing natural light and the pulpit situated at the end of the long space (Fig. 5.3).

The siting of the complex is the most fascinating aspect. The church, some 200 Metres (656 Feet) from the road, is bounded by a 1.5-Metres (5.6 Feet) wall constructed of volcanic stone. This gives the complex an outline that may be seen physically (and conceptually) as separating it from its Aotearoa New Zealand surroundings. It stands alone and does not embrace its surroundings. It is a

Fig. 5.3 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Mangere, Aotearoa New Zealand (*Photograph* Albert L. Refiti)

specifically Pacific space that just happens to be located in Aotearoa New Zealand.[10] From this example, it is becoming apparent that Pacific places and spaces can be created outside their host countries.

Urban *Fale*

Adapting the *fale* form to the urban fabric of the city is one of the more interesting developments in architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand. The construction of Samoa House Banquet Hall in Auckland was the first example. JASMaD Architects (now Jasmax) adapted a *fale afolau* structure to form a large hall attached to a four-storey office block on a restricted urban site. The hall is best viewed from the rear, where the architects designed a building with long elongated roof arch with curved closed

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[10]This is further reinforced by the experience of driving past the complex. The road contains a uniform and uninspiring line of 1970s state houses which is suddenly broken by the 'exotic' appearance of this Pacific complex. For a moment, the continuous homogeneous and familiar fabric of suburbia is disrupted by a strange and uncanny break, and we are not quite sure if the experience is real. Such a simple and straightforward transplantation of architecture (with hybrid hybrid beginnings) from one place to another can raise some questions about our familiar environment.

ends to slot into the tight space. The roof provides an interesting sculptural form to the urban skyline. The curved ends of the roof or *tala* were constructed with triangular sections (instead of round timber beams) to comply with the New Zealand Building Code. The design of the interior attempted to recreate a traditional *fale afolau* structure, but again building code requirements require the use of commercial materials and the structure appears heavy and cumbersome when compared with traditional Polynesian structures. The surrounding walls reinforce the enclosed nature of this space, preventing the flow of space between inside and outside.

A more successful and contemporary adaptation of the *fale* form is in the design of the Otara Ika Canopies, a series of structures covering the plaza at the Otara Town Centre. Māori architect Rewi Thompson created a structure that echoes the roof shape of a *fale* however, avoided a simplistic imitation of the *fale* in other areas of the design. Thompson used materials not traditionally associated with Polynesian buildings such as glass, steel and concrete. In the interior, Rewi Thompson used the fish as a design metaphor as it is reminiscent of Maui's catch. Thompson repeated and wove together the theme to strengthen cultural connections to the Pacific. For example, the sizeable middle canopy looks like Maui's canoe hoisted up on concrete pillars. The innovative canopy structures take on the appearance of fish scales and are fabricated from glass panels attached to fine steel frames, giving it a woven quality (Fig. 5.4).

The use of glass on the roof makes the canopies appear light, not heavy, which is often the problem in adaptations of the *fale* form. The design is broken up into three portions stretched out to cover an area that used to be the shopping plaza and now resembles a village environment. On one end is the small canopy of tinted glass panels that form an enclosure in the shape of the fish's head. The tail is at the other end facing the community centre, while the large middle canopy provides shelter and performance space. The large concrete columns supporting the canopies have been decorated by the local community with painted murals and woven panels. The complex has enjoyed increasing popularity. The local community, comprising mainly Pacific Islanders and Māori, seems to have embraced the design, and it has become an icon for the Pacific community.

Conclusion

These projects demonstrate an interesting phenomenon regarding Polynesian architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand. It demonstrates that there are touristic advantages to using Polynesian themes and cultural motifs in certain contexts. The issues around surrounding the use of Polynesian intellectual property for the generation of architecture for this context and possible financial gain by third parties have not been fully investigated.

The chapter demonstrates that increasingly Polynesians are capable and willing to transport their architecture forms and concepts from one country to another. In

Fig. 5.4 Rewi Thompson, Otara Ika Canopy at the Otara Town Centre, Aotearoa New Zealand (*Photograph* Raymond Sagapolutele)

the process, some of the meaning and customary practices relating to the architecture may be lost, changed or adapted. Some practices and architectural forms (in particular those belonging to certain Christian churches) are seen as integral to Polynesian culture and practice. The enculturated architecture first developed with the assistance of missionaries is now seen as a key component of Polynesian cultures and is built in that format in Aotearoa New Zealand in locations where there are larger Polynesian populations. This project suggests a new way to formulate an architecture that is enhanced by a Polynesian heritage, one that retains a creative interest in traditional forms without being limited by them.

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Chapter 6
Contemporary Native North American Architecture Between 1966 and 1996

Carol Herselle Krinsky

Introduction

Any account of contemporary architecture by and for Indigenous groups of North America must consider history as well as design and construction. There would be no need for a study of this subject, if either of two things had happened. If the Native American population had been exterminated, as some extremist immigrants seem to have wished, there would be no one now to consider a special type of architecture on the continent. If the Indigenous population had been fully assimilated into European-North American culture, there would also be no study of this kind. Since the mid-1960s, the North American peoples Indigenous to the USA and Canada have expressed their various cultural values in architecture designed for traditional practices and for other introduced activities such as schools, hospitals, cultural centres and government functions. The people concerned are known as Native Americans or Indians in the USA, and as First Nations peoples in Canada. Some call themselves tribes, while others prefer to be known as Nations; individuals may use the terms interchangeably or for specific purposes. This chapter addresses buildings of various types on reservations and in cities within the contiguous USA that express specific cultural values using modern architectural methods, materials and forms. They demonstrate that while Native American values have survived, they have also evolved and responded to societal forces.

What did happen in North America was that the European-based powers that invaded and colonised Canada and the contiguous 48 United States had to deal with a multitude of Indigenous societies resident on their ancestral lands. Few of these societies and groups could be eliminated entirely (although some Europeans attempted to do that), but some groups disappeared owing to invasive diseases against which they had no physical defences. While some Indigenous groups lived

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in isolation, occupying vast territories unexplored by the European settlers, others lived in the areas that colonial powers settled early, particularly on the east coast, and had to negotiate with the newcomers for land and natural resources. The resident and coloniser parties were seldom equal, so that eventually, most of the Indigenous residents had to leave their ancestral lands.

Some Native American groups traditionally migrated to follow food sources and therefore had no permanent settlements; the immigrants eventually delimited areas as reservations for the Native American populations. The reservations were not always located on traditional lands, seldom offered similar natural resources, and in many cases were isolated. Other Native American peoples had for centuries occupied inland and coastal territory accessible to the colonisers. The latter sometimes left the Native American communities alone, in other instances intruded upon them with political or religious domination, exploited their human and natural resources or forced the Native American groups to move to regions where they were allowed to settle permanently if the colonisers had no economic interest in those areas.

The Native American communities themselves changed over time, modifying their own cultures as all cultures do following changed circumstances. Native American groups added members who were fugitive African slaves or captured settlers or people who preferred the Indigenous lifeways or who met and married members of other native or settler groups. European-North American governments encouraged hunter-gatherers to become farmers, but the social meanings attached to gender-based occupations, and the poor quality of lands that were in any case remote from profitable markets interfered with that sort of radical social change. The establishment of reservations (called reserves in Canada) created new types of internal governance as well as supervision by national officials. Education changed as the US and Canadian governments instituted formal schools, often staffed by Christian missionaries who aspired to replace Indigenous religions; even now, however, some Native American people choose Christian or traditional practices to suit specific purposes. In areas where there were few or noticeably inadequate schools, children were taken from their families and sent to boarding schools where European-North American culture and language dominated through coercion and discipline; graduates may have valued the education that assisted and assimilated them in modern life but simultaneously resented the suppression of Indigenous cultures and languages, poor treatment, and the removal and segregation from family and community. In other cases, Native American people voluntarily, if often reluctantly, moved to urban areas to pursue work, education and other opportunities in the modern world.

The result of this history, outlined here in only the broadest terms and with many omissions, is that contemporary Native American architecture reflects the Indigenous peoples' reflections on the past. That past is to be understood as a continuum, with complete assimilation to European-North American values at one end, and maintenance of pre-colonised traditions at the other. Assimilation was enforced almost everywhere until the cultural changes of the 1960s, when the impact of African-American civil rights, identity politics and demonstrations made

all Americans aware of cultural plurality. People began to encourage others, especially the young, to maintain traditions that differed from those of the European-North American mainstream that was, moreover, based primarily on the cultures of Western Europe. Other ethnic groups including Native Americans, Slavs, Asians and members of minority religions appeared almost at once to have rediscovered and re-emphasised their own roots and traditions.

These expressions are hybrids of various kinds, because even a reservation school is part of a State's education system, not an Indigenous invention, and the idea of a museum to show cultural artefacts differs entirely from traditional practices in which the artefacts were objects of use in daily life and ritual. The absolute maintenance of tradition occurs rarely, and only in the most remote areas where adults speak an Indigenous language and where broadcast media and the Internet have not yet penetrated. Inevitably, given the dominance of European-North American government and culture, the architecture produced by and for Native Americans reflects choices constrained in many ways.

Native American Nations Self-expression Through Architecture

In the mid-1960s, Native American Nations began to press for their own self-expression in architecture as well as in other areas of life, no longer willing to accept whatever was made available to them by officials of National and State governments. A landmark event was the North American Indian Chicago Conference held in 1961, initiated by anthropologists Sol Tax and Nancy Lurie and directed by Native American people[1] (Hauptman and Campisi 1988; Niermann 2006). 'Self-determination' became the catchphrase. By the mid-1970s, Native American historians were demanding new ways to write history. The revised methods included Native American viewpoints and world views. Emphasis was placed on oral traditions and beliefs instead of relying on European conventions of linear and text-based history. The preservation and revival of Indigenous languages were seen as integral to the preservation of Native American cultures and linguistic revival and maintenance activities occurred in many localities. Many Native American people questioned the value of university-based anthropological studies. Some found fault with the conclusions from those studies, in particular resenting the perceived theft of Indigenous information by scholars (especially those perceived to be profiting from publications). Native American populations and people supporting Indigenous rights voiced resentment over stereotypes of half-naked 'savages' who attacked innocent white settlers and dark-eyed maidens 'attracted' to

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[1]Most prominently, D'Arcy McNickle directed the conference. William D'Arcy McNickle was a member of the Salish-Kootenai Nation (being raised on the Flathead Reservation in Montana) and was an anthropologist, activist, novelist and a professor at the University of Colorado.

white men—the clichés of films, television programmes and low-level fiction. These newly expressed attitudes form the background for the development of buildings and a new architecture that would express specific cultures, replacing what even well-meaning government officials or benevolent whites had decided to build on the Native American peoples' behalf.

There were few Native American architects in practice in the early 1960s. Those in practice were as often different in culture from potential Native American clients as European-North American architects were. In some cases, Native American Nations did not know how or where to find Indigenous architects. Nevertheless, in the hands of sensitive and culturally engaged outsiders and directed closely by their Native American clients, some projects have achieved satisfactory results that have expressed the cultural values of the group. It was the Indigenous group, no longer the government or the charity, that was now perceived as the client (even if funding came from outside grants.)

A New 'Hogan' for the Navajo

An early manifestation of Navajo (Diné) decision-making can be seen at the Ned A. Hatathli Center at the Diné College (originally the Navajo Community College) in Tsaile, Arizona. The project is located on the Navajo Nation Indian Reservation and was completed in 1973 (Krinsky 1996: 91–93; Simpson 2001: 161) (see Fig. 6.1). It was the first college sponsored by Native American peoples for Native American peoples. (There are currently approximately 33 tribally chartered accredited institutions offering two- to four-year courses of post-secondary education around the USA, particularly in the Western states. Their Boards of Trustees and students must be Native American by ancestry and enrolment).[2]

The architects of the Hatathli Center were Chambers, Campbell & Partners. Although they were not Diné, the building reflects the client's decision-making authority. The building's location is near the junction of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and within the Navajo Nation Indian Reservation. It is accessible to visitors from the larger cities in these states as well as tourists who come to the Four Corners Monument and to the reservation itself. The building expresses tradition by its octagonal form, which refers to a 'hogan', a traditional structure used for many purposes, principally that of housing. A log structure or one made of plant material would obviously not suit the purposes of a college in which modern educational practices are pursued along with the teaching of Indigenous cultures, and where the need for electricity, plumbing, fireproofing and other

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[2]The Federal Government for purposes of negotiating treaties wanted to classify all Native American people into a tribe. The method used was to enrol individuals into tribal groups. The initial effort to enrol was carried out by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. When the *Indian Reorganization Act* was passed in 1934, tribal governments assumed the responsibility for setting the conditions for enrolment and the enrolment of members.
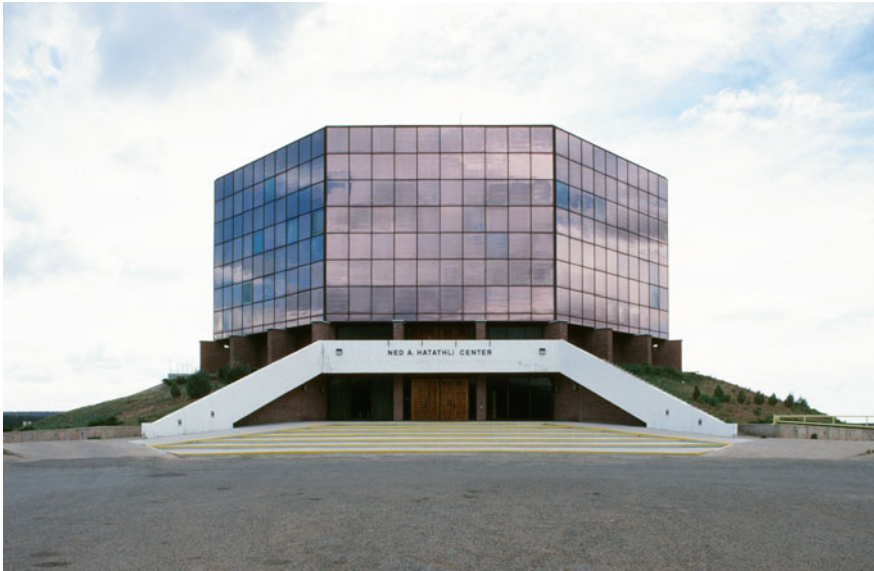
Fig. 6.1 Ned A. Hatathli Center at the Diné College (originally Navajo Community College), Tsaile, Arizona (*Photograph* Carol Herselle Krinsky). Courtesy of Getty images

modern requirements for places of assembly led to the use of concrete, metal and glass for the structure.

The exterior, much of which is sheathed in tinted glass, is made conspicuous by the action of the sun on much of its surface and by reflection of clouds denoting aspects of the weather. The architects disguised the height of the building by covering most of the base with an earthen berm, allowing the octagon to have the general proportions of a hogan. Since 2013, an upper floor of the building has housed a museum of Navajo artifacts, supplementing several other exhibition centres on the extensive reservation. These centres are both actual and virtual, established by the Diné Government to display and explain traditions, artisanal practices, religious beliefs and history.

Only the buildings in Tsaile and a hogan built by the college students at a new campus in Tuba City in 2001 refer to Diné architectural forms. The Navajo Nation Museum in Window Rock (1961) and the more recent Interactive Museum in Tuba City are less distinctively Indigenous, although a hogan stands outside the former, and its principal room features wood, traditional designs and an octagonal skylight. All these museums do more than merely display artifacts. They offer classes and workshops to teach and explain traditional artisanal skills and hold exhibitions in which locally crafted works of art and jewellry are made available for purchase. Children are well catered for, since they are expected to preserve essential aspects of the culture.

A further aspect of the campus in Tsaile is the use of octagonal forms for the dormitories. They acknowledge differing lifeways among the students; some are

coeducational, some segregated by gender, and one is intended for families. Moreover, the library, cafeteria and the College's hogan, all reflect local architectural traditions in their centralised polygonal plans.

The Modernised 'Tipi'

The 'tipi', an impermanent structure, was rejected by many North American Plains cultures as poorly suited to modern building functions, but it has been used occasionally to indicate that a structure is specifically Native American. The most obvious embodiment is as a reinforced concrete version, although the original building type was lightweight and portable. The Shakopee Mdewakanton Dakota Community Hall in Minnesota has undergone several stages of development (Krinsky 1996: 111–112, 227–230; Twin Cities Restaurant n.d.). At first, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community Chairman, Norman Crooks, asked the firm of Johnson, Sheldon & Sorensen for a shingled building intended for family activities of a wholesome kind, to counteract temptations that led young people astray. The architects were then asked to cover the shingled structure with a prominent tipi framed in concrete. The tipi webs do not reach the ground, allowing entry to the original building below. In 1985, Hickey Thorstensen Grover remodelled it into a small gambling hall, and it has recently become the Tipi Restaurant at the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community's Little Six Casino. Within the principal structure, the owners have installed a smaller tipi construction of lodge poles, covered near the top with hides and adorned near the base with figures of three Dakota. The menu features deep-fried fry bread, a food ubiquitous now in Native American restaurants as a cultural identifier.

Tribes now benefit from casino revenue, permitted to Native American tribes owing to their status as domestic dependent nations; as such, they are not subordinate to all state governments' restrictions on gambling. Following the success of the small gambling hall, the same tribe built the Mystic Lake Casino in 1992 and increased its size in 1993. Unusually large and financially successful, it was visually prominent because 12 computer-controlled spotlights crowned the circular building, like lodge poles of a tipi. The lights were visible up to 30 miles (48 km) away until objections from neighbours led the owners to alter their prominence. Casinos, however, have been the economic salvation of many Native American communities which are often located in places with little economic potential, although those closest to large cities have the greatest revenue, but those places have also been fraught with controversy (Krinsky 1996: 221–230; Lawlor 2006; Light and Rand 2005; Rand and Light 2006). Debates among Native American people have led to no universal conclusions about the traditional acceptance of gambling or the cultural or moral suitability of this means of support, but many Native American Nations have established casinos if the leaders have seen a chance to profit from them. Some suggest but do not literally imitate traditional building forms, implying respect for the essential income that they generate, while others are frankly modern

commercial buildings, often circular and made of reinforced concrete, sometimes even decorated with neon clichés of Native American imagery.

The tipi, like a roundhouse favoured for ceremonial purposes by various Southern and Western peoples, or a hogan for the Diné, is hard to enlarge. Round or polygonal buildings are therefore not often used for most contemporary building types, but a community centre or a church with a fixed plan may have a centralised shape. The Church of God in Wounded Knee, a modest wooden structure with poles and a pitched roof that evokes the structural form of a tipi, stands across the road from the site of a tragic massacre. Like a hogan-shaped church in Chinle, Arizona, intended for the Diné but attended largely by non-Native American people, it adopts an Indigenous architectural form in order to express the compatibility of Christian doctrine with at least some ideas of the local historic Lakota religion. Sometimes the attempt to approach aspects of local culture is unsuccessful; Lakota people in 2009 objected to a Pastor at the Church of God because he reportedly denigrated Native spiritual beliefs in comparison with those of Christianity (see YoungManFamily n.d.). The central plan is not unique to Native American religious structures; it became common in Roman Catholic churches after the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council of 1962–65, and also in modern synagogues; thus, the form may be adopted and interpreted in various ways.

The Continuing Pueblo

Pueblo structures made of adobe and architecture made of logs have the easiest forms to translate into contemporary buildings. Clustered or connected houses for the pueblo peoples have long been models for homes of the invaders, whether Spanish overlords at first or wealthy northern whites who spend winters in the warmer climate of the Southwestern USA. The building types have endured for the Native American population itself. Within the usually rectilinear buildings with their thick walls and small windows to keep out summertime heat, people may live traditionally or, as is often the case, introduce modern plumbing and electricity. In California, Arizona and New Mexico especially, public buildings for both Indigenous people and migrants imitate the softened block-like pueblo architectural forms. The city fathers of New Mexico's state capital, Santa Fe, encourage the style, and it is one of the few building styles permitted in the city. A modern translation of this style can be seen in the San Felipe Pueblo Elementary School, a group of box-like forms made of concrete, more precisely geometric than handmade adobe buildings are, but based upon the juxtaposition of cubic spaces (for further discussion of the San Felipe Pueblo Elementary School, see Krinsky 1996: 106–108) (see Fig. 6.2). The building was designed by Michael Doody under the direction of a principal, Robert Montoya (Sandia/San Juan) in his architectural firm, Mimbres Associates. The School opened in 1982 and has since then undergone some architectural modifications in the same general mode.

Fig. 6.2 San Felipe Pueblo Elementary School, New Mexico (*Photograph* Carol Herselle Krinsky)

New Wooden and Log Buildings

Log architecture is common in the northern parts of the USA where deciduous and coniferous forests abound, and where cold, wet weather makes it imperative to build waterproof, thick-walled buildings. On the west coast, Native American groups allied closely with Canadian and Alaskan peoples have built longhouses for ceremonial and therapeutic use, and museums that record and preserve Indigenous cultures (for discussion of Northwest Coast buildings, see Krinsky 1996: 73–76). A special building type that continues older traditions is the canoe shed, as these were seafaring peoples. The modern structure may or may not be built according to traditional methods, using time-honored materials; it is more efficient to use ready-milled wood, but for some culturally significant purposes, community members may elect to fell the trees, strip them of their bark and hew them in a time-honoured way. Among the buildings of the Northwest Coast that reflect tradition are the ceremonial longhouse at the Swinomish reservation in Washington State, built in 1992 by local workers under the direction of Cedar Tree Associates, a professional architectural firm that certified matters of safety and construction. The Sauk-Suiattle (or *Sah-Ku-Me-Hu*) Indian Reservation constructed its own ceremonial longhouse later in the same year, in this case insulated for the comfort of the Elders, and sprayed with a fire-preventive substance in hopes of securing the building. It demonstrates that tradition can embrace practical aspects of modernity; Native Americans repeatedly point out that they are living in the present, not in a mythical or stereotyped environments of the past. One group has often absorbed ideas from another both in the pre-contact centuries and in the modern world.

Log buildings are found in the Midwest and Northeast of the USA as well. In the southern reservations, as at the Pawnee Reservation in Oklahoma, wooden roundhouses (which may be polygonal) have been built in recent decades; that one dates from 1974. It accommodates electricity and some metal construction material. Roundhouses have also been built for community ceremonies and gatherings in a number of California's reservations, and are seen also in the upper Midwest, for instance at the White Earth Indian (White Earth Band of Ojibwe or *Gaa-waabaabiganikaag Anishinaabeg*) Reservation in Minnesota (for a discussion of roundhouses constructed of logs, see Krinsky 1996: 71–73, 79–80, 99–101). There, an octagonal building of about 65 feet (19.8 metres) in diameter is formed of logs with pole rafters. Ideally, the floor of a roundhouse would be earthen, but if that is deemed too uncomfortable for those seated, rather than for the participants in ceremonial activity, part of the floor under the seats may be covered with planks or cement. Again, this demonstrates the local community's accommodation of tradition to newly perceived needs, independent of prompting from outsiders.

North-eastern buildings that allude to a longhouse include Akwe:kon (meaning 'all of us'), a dormitory for Native American students at Cornell University, a private university in Ithaca, in Western New York State (discussion regarding Akwe:kon, see Krinsky 1996: 67–68). Universities have recently acknowledged the multicultural origins of their students by building or allotting spaces for their specific use. The institutions in the USA now offer a multitude of opportunities specific to minority racial and ethnic groups. Students who are starting their acculturation to the wider society find understanding and companionship among similarly situated young people. Multi-tribal cultural facilities are now found at the Universities of Oregon, Washington state, Montana, Idaho, Minnesota and elsewhere. At the University of Minnesota, there are also organisations and dedicated spaces for pan-African and pan-Arab students and those from Cambodia, the Philippines, India, Korea, Laos, China, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Vietnam. There is an organisation for African American engineers, and another for students of various or multiple genders. The image of the USA as a melting pot in which all cultures were homogenised has yielded to cultural fragmentation, in which Native Americans have a distinctive position.

Symbolic Forms

Akwe:kon, located on former Cayuga Nation land, was finished in 1991 by Flynn Battaglia Architects, with the collaboration of Nancy Redeye, a Seneca interior designer. It is covered in red cedar shingles to evoke the bark covering of Northeastern Native American dwellings and has ornament based on wampum[3]

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[3]Cylindrical beads made from shells, pierced and strung, are used by certain groups of North American people as mediums of exchange, for ornaments, ceremonial, and spiritual purposes.

colours and designs. Its long residential wings have been likened to longhouses. The wood-sheathed Iroquois Indian Museum near the tourist attraction of Howes Cave in eastern New York State was also not Indian-sponsored but stands on land formerly occupied by the Mohawks, part of the Confederation (for a discussion of the Iroquois Museum, see Krinsky 1996: 89–90; Faber 1992). Its long shape and rounded porch evoke a longhouse, it was designed with Iroquois participation, members of the Confederation are trustees, and spiritual leaders have blessed the building. Native American artefacts are displayed with respect and after consultation with Indigenous authorities, as are paintings and sculptures by contemporary Iroquois artists. Opened in 1991, it was designed by architects, Banwell White Arnold Hemberger & Partners, with a view towards creating a culturally appropriate form within the constraints governing public building safety and construction. Exceptionally beautiful white pine logs from forests in the Adirondack Mountains form the Shako:wi Cultural Center for the Oneida in Verona, New York. Crafted by Jules Obomsawin (Oneida) without the use of nails, it avoids using any chemically treated wood to show respect for tradition and to avoid interfering with nature (Krinsky 1996: 175–177).

Another type of historic evocation is the use of a symbolic form for the entire building. This can create difficulties in allocating functional spaces, but the sacrifice of efficiency may be seen as a necessary concession to the value placed on tradition. The particular form chosen must have deep resonance for the community. An outsider might imagine a health clinic with a waiting room shaped like an arrowhead, and examining rooms located along the shaft, but to a Plains community, the arrow might be only a functional object, not one with deeper cultural resonance. An architect who suggested a superficial shape would see the suggestion rejected. At the Fort Totten Tribal School (now known as the Four Winds High School) opened in 1983 at the Spirit (formerly Devil's) Lake Reservation in North Dakota, a team of architects including Denby Deegan, (Sioux-Arikara also known by the ancestral name, 'Surrounded-by-Enemy'), and Neal A. McCaleb (Chickasaw) designed a circular building, corresponding to the earth, with entrances at the cardinal points under symbolic forms (see Figs. 6.3 and 6.4). At the heart of the school is a tipi, used for counselling troubled children. In this case, the symbolism introduces the pupils to meaningful ideas even before they enter the building (Krinsky 1996: 119–121).

The Oneida, located both in the northeast and in the upper Midwest of the USA near Green Bay in the state of Wisconsin, believe that the world we see is supported on the back of a tortoise, a land-based turtle, or, in another interpretation, the world is analogous to the animal's form. The four seasons, for instance, are represented by the feet, the head emerges from the shell as birth occurs in mammals, and the carapace reflects aspects of the sky. The tortoise itself is a low-lying creature, laterally expansive and therefore a suitable shape for buildings that reflect the traditions of ecologically constructed building for this group.

A cultural and ceremonial building in this form was erected first in Niagara Falls, New York, to the design of Hodne-Stageberg Partners with the assistance of Dennis Sun Rhodes an Arapaho architect who was known to the institution's founder, and Duffy Wilson, a sculptor who was a member of the Tuscarora Nation
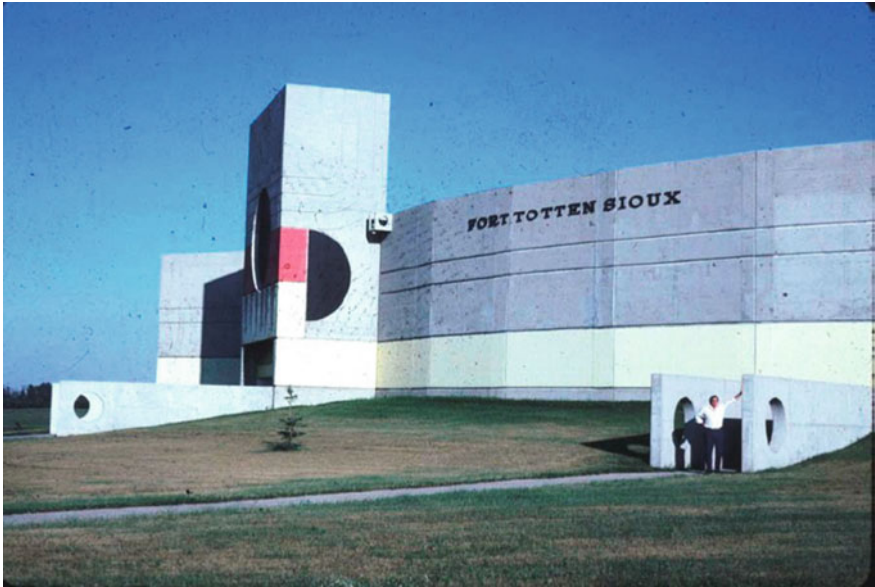
Fig. 6.3 Exterior, Four Winds School, Fort Totten Reservation (North Dakota) with Surrounded-by-Enemy (Denby Deegan) (Sioux/Arikara) pictured in foreground (*Photograph* Carol Herselle Krinsky)

Fig. 6.4 Four Winds High School showing the circular shape (*Image* Google Maps 2016)

(Krinsky 1996: 133–141) (see Fig. 6.5). Sun Rhodes has designed many buildings embellished with abstractions of Native American patterns and symbolic colours, and his Euro-North American colleagues displayed his ideas on a number of buildings with specifically referential shapes. These include a stylised beaver used at the Pine Point School on the Ojibwe Reservation in Minnesota (1978) and a

Fig. 6.5 Native American Center for the Living Arts, Niagara Falls, New York (*Photograph* Carol Herselle Krinsky)

stylised eagle at the Piya Wiconi Center at Oglala Lakota College, a tribal institution, on the Pine Ridge Lakota Reservation in South Dakota. Using symbolic forms for these buildings resulted from the fact that these cultures' traditional structures were tipis, portable, and lightweight and thus ill-suited to classrooms or other permanent installations.

The Turtle, as it was known, was officially the Native American Center for the Living Arts, completed in 1981 by Hodne-Stageberg in the downtown area of Niagara Falls (Schifferle 1993). Sponsors hoped that tourists visiting the magnificent waterfalls might learn more about Indigenous cultures of the region, presented from Native American viewpoints rather than those of anthropologists or others who may condescend. The Center had been founded in 1970 by Native American artists living in New York City, where about 80,000 people of partly or wholly Native American descent made their home, although this population is thought to be increasing at a rate higher than the national average. Finding a suitable location with affordable rent has long been difficult in the metropolis, and Niagara Falls, a locus of international tourism, provided an alternative location. One advantage of that smaller city is that it is closer to reservations occupied by various members of the Six-Nation Iroquois confederacy (or *Haudenosaunee*—translated as 'People Building a Longhouse'), the people whose cultures were to be celebrated and displayed in the new Center.

There was nothing inherently Indigenous about the construction of this building; the symbolic shape is what mattered. The architects employed a geodesic dome

construction for the carapace that covered a large and uninterrupted round cere-
monial space. The entrance under the Turtle's raised head led directly to this central
area. The legs held an art gallery, service areas, a gift shop, and rooms for
archaeological and anthropological study. The enlarged tail accommodated a teen
centre, studios and community rooms, and although a larger tail is associated with
marine turtles rather than tortoises, it did not disturb the overall concept or give rise
to objections. While this bold structure attracted Native American artists and
admirers of Indigenous ceremonies and artifacts, it did not attract sufficient paying
visitors; school children were more than half of those who attended events and
exhibitions. The building closed in less than 15 years, having defaulted on various
loans. Critics claimed that Duffy Wilson and his family were too exclusively
connected to it to attract broader participation. More important, the admission
revenue was insufficient to provide maintenance or to sustain the artist-in-residence
programme. Eventually, the facility was locked and remains unused. It has been
re-painted in bland white instead of in its original bold colours that included red and
green, and is being offered by the Niagara Falls Redevelopment Corporation as a
site suitable for 'tourist and entertainment attractions or hotel/condominium
development.'

Another turtle form provided the plan of the Oneida tribal school designed in
1992 and finished in 1995 near Green Bay, Wisconsin (see Krinsky 1996: 141–142;
Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 88–90; Oneida n.d.). This has had a happier outcome,
albeit thanks to the extraordinary amount of money used for construction; revenue
from the tribal casino was available to cover the increased cost. An Oneida student
is given credit for proposing the plan; the building in Niagara Falls for the
Confederation that included Oneidas was surely known to the tribal leaders and
likely also to the architect, Richard Thern. In Wisconsin, the gymnasium, the head
of the turtle, is used for community gatherings while the broadened feet contain
classrooms. The philosophy of education emphasises reason; righteousness as
related to the natural environment and to other people, involving consensus; peace;
and health in mind and body. Preservation of the environment and preservation of
Indigenous understandings of wampum and stories are among the goals. The form
of the Turtle is meant to reinforce them.

The Single Signifier

Often, the modern use of a building precludes the copying of a historic or symbolic
form. Nevertheless, the community may want to evoke something specific about the
traditions of the past. This has led to a multitude of buildings in which only one
feature is emphasised, such as an evocation of a tipi or roundhouse, often at the
entrance or the centre of the building.

On the Warm Springs Reservation in central Oregon, the US Federal Government
assembled three unrelated tribes. When there was an opportunity to erect a museum
in 1987, the three groups maintained their separate identities by revealing them in

parts of the building finished in 1993 (see Krinsky 1996: 85–88). The Wasco had lived in reed mat-covered longhouses, a form evoked by the administration wing. The Warm Springs (or *Tenino*) people were hunter-gatherers, for whom the tipi was a preferred shelter form; a version of it appears outside near the centre of the building. An allusion to the Paiute travois rises above the permanent exhibition area. These are not imitations; viewers can characterise most of the forms as they wish. The non-Indigenous architects Stastny Burke Architects welcomed various explanations of these forms, from a riverside encampment to the wings and head of an eagle. Interpretive uncertainty was a carefully considered result, based on a week-long design meeting with the tribal authorities. The interior is generically related to nature; the lobby, for instance, has supports that resemble abstract trees and branches rather than forms related to a specific Native American architectural model. The contents are varied, including artifacts, a tipi, videos, recordings, dioramas, and other forms of display, sometimes including artisans making handcrafted objects. Visitors often comment on the handsome design of the building as a totality.

A school that provides facilities required by boards of education and that meets their standards of safety and space cannot easily copy a traditional architectural form, even if at times the programme can be fitted into a symbolic form, such as that of a tortoise. There will more likely be a useful and economical plan in which a specific space is used for cultural reinforcement. That is the case at the Nay-Ah-Shing Lower School (1993) for the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe in the north central state of Minnesota (Council of Educational Facility Planners International 1995: 13; Krinsky 1996: 63–64). Cuningham Hamilton Quiter Architects executed several commissions for these clients, including some handsome smaller cultural facilities designed in wood and located in various subsections of the reservation. For the school, part of a complex of buildings for lower and upper grades, the architects provided a central assembly room in which the round form is related to that of a Dream Catcher, an Ojibwe invention: a loop of willow with a network of sinews within it, and feathers and beads perhaps affixed to it. This object is meant to shield infants from bad dreams and to offer other comforts to the Ojibwe. The Dream Catcher was transmitted to other Native American Nations during the 1960s and later, as pan-Indian conferences and gatherings became more frequent; they are now distributed as gifts by several groups of Native American fund-raisers. In the school, the structural supports—the sinews—rise from the lower wall past a band of large windows to a central skylight.

Among other activities held in this central space are pipe ceremonies and other ritual assemblies where cultural knowledge is transmitted. In the same state, the Ojibwe at Cass Lake asked Partners of Architectural Concern to build a polygonal room in their school that is used for similar purposes; it opened in 1984 (Council of Educational Facility Planners International 1995; Krinsky 1996: 64–65). Students face nature through tall windows and receive additional natural light through clerestory lighting at the room's centre. Because these schools are not administered by state boards of education but by the US Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC, they did not benefit from funding provided by a programme called 'Race to the Top', established to assist failing schools in each state. As a result, these initially

handsome buildings are now poorly maintained and despite their cultural relevance
have failed to raise the achievement levels of the children on these reservations
(Wallbank 2010). Architecture may be used as an adjunct to healing and the
development of cultural pride, but transmitting those values to youth in commu-
nities of low educational standing and pervasive poverty requires more than a
sensitive physical environment, desirable and potentially encouraging as that is.

Another educational facility with a specific evocative form is housed in the
former Chief Gall Inn on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in South Dakota
(Krinsky 1996: 112–113; Indian Health Service n.d.) (Fig. 6.6). Intended originally
as a conference centre, with a 48-room motel, meeting rooms, swimming pool,
campground and restaurant, its attractive buildings were designed by architect
Harrison Bagg and opened in 1972. The location near Mobridge, a remote town
located in a barren, windy area near a manmade lake with fluctuating shorelines and
a truncated forest below it, deterred people from using the facility. In addition, local
mismanagement and a lack of outside supervision led to its rapid closure, although
within a few years, it reopened in l998 as a youth treatment facility. The buildings
are nevertheless handsome polygons, partly rock-faced, with tipi poles—originally
open—reaching upward to identify the facility as related to Indigenous Plains
culture. Their isolation and good design may assist the therapeutic programme of
the Great Plains Area Regional Treatment Center for Native American adolescents
aged 13–17 who are addicted to drugs and alcohol. Educational and cultural
opportunities are offered to the children during a period of residence. Features
specific to Native American peoples' needs include promoting healthy living and
prevention of diabetes which is a scourge of Indigenous people, meetings of

Fig. 6.6 Chief Gall Inn, now Great Plains Area Regional Treatment Center for Native American
Adolescents, Mobridge, South Dakota (*Photograph* Carol Herselle Krinsky)

Ala-teen (a programme designed to counsel teenagers about familial alcohol abuse), and cultural education to supplement academic classes by presenting a healthier Native American way of living.

Ornament and Single Symbols

In localities where a specific form is not closely identified with the group, or where the specific form cannot be made to suit the needs of a modern family, school, clinic, library, or office building, the connection to the local past has been made clear by the application of ornament or symbolic shapes. Across the USA, Native Americans display pride in their cultural heritage by adorning tribal offices, museums, health centres, and other buildings with imagery that proclaims the specific heritage of the sponsoring organisation. This may also be the cheapest or most efficient way to identify the building as Indigenous in sponsorship.

The stepped geometric designs at the Sulphur Bank El'em Pomo Rancheria (small reservation) office in California, built by A.C. Morse, a contractor, in 1983, decorate a functional building that testifies to modern Indigenous administration and governance (Krinsky 1996: 7); it stands across the road from a roundhouse, a community and religious structure of traditional form gradually erected by the residents themselves as they acquired the money and materials. Bands of figures,

Fig. 6.7 Seneca-Iroquois National Museum, Salamanca, New York (*Photograph* Carol Herselle Krinsky)

stylised as early basket-weavers and carvers represented them, decorate the administration building for the Seneca-Cayuga people on their reservation. These are Iroquoian groups, some of whom moved to Oklahoma from the east and from Ohio in the US Midwest during the tragic migrations of eastern tribes during the 1830s expulsions disguised officially by treaties to which the native populations were forced to agree. The building was designed by architects Neal McCaleb (Chickasaw) and his colleagues, Jack Nusbaum, and Robert L. Thomas and opened in 1977 (Krinsky 1996: 5456). Geometric motifs and comparably stylised figures mark the Seneca-Iroquois National Museum in Salamanca, New York, where contractor Lloyd Barnwell and artistic designer Carson Waterman (both Seneca) finished the building in that same year (see Fig. 6.7). The building is made of industrial materials chosen for their low cost; the establishment of the museum was of greater importance than elaborate architecture, and the ornament sufficiently identifies the building as something other than a utilitarian structure (Krinsky 1996: 54, 56).

Respecting Lifeways

Applying ornament to a building is not difficult to do. It requires consensus among the decision-makers as to the type of ornament to use, its quantity, the materials used to produce it, the executant, and the refinement of the design. But it does not require deep analysis of Native American lifeways. By contrast, a few buildings have attempted to do something more profound: to embody cultural values, whether or not they appear to be related to traditional forms. One of them is the Minneapolis American Indian Center, designed by architects Hodne-Stageberg Partners and opened in 1975 (Krinsky 1996: 54, 56). This building serves members of several native nations who have migrated to the metropolis for education and work. Therefore, the architects were not asked to display the traditions of any one culture. They had to make the building if not universally pan-Indian, at least representative of woodland and plains cultures from which the Indigenous population of Minneapolis is principally derived. The building had to contain offices and meeting rooms, a place for food preparation, and areas for indoor and outdoor ceremonies. With the collaboration of Native American architects Dennis Sun Rhodes and Surrounded-by-Enemy, the Hodne-Stageberg firm erected a horizontally extensive building using a concrete structure with large windows and external walls partly covered by designs in woven wood, prepared by sculptor George Morrison, an Ojibwe artist. Outside the building, a circle surrounded in part by steps provides a ceremonial space for specific performance rituals. Events indoors are conducted on the ground floor, which has at one long side a ramp rather than balconies or stairs. The ramp provides space for groups of onlookers to stand informally, as is customary during events held in Native American communities; the architects paid attention to customs and cultural practices rather than to models from European–American buildings with observation areas. There is little overtly to represent a

specific non-European culture but the building respects Indigenous lifeways and artistic heritage.

Respecting these lifeways is harder to do for housing because of the budgets provided by the US Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agency of the Federal Government. This support is essential, because many Native Americans have incomes too small to provide their own housing. Before the 1970s, virtually all housing supplied by the Bureau was standardised within a given region of the USA, and while it might suit European-North Americans sufficiently, it was ill-suited to families in which all members sleep in one room, to extended families, to those who find indoor plumbing unsanitary, or to families sheltering members who would otherwise be homeless, in buildings intended for four residents.

Another building that respects the cultural model of its Native American users is the Nay-Ah-Shing Clinic at the Mille Lacs Reservation by Cuningham Hamilton Quiter, opened in 1993 (Krinsky 1996: 160). At the request of tribal leaders, the architects created a building with a curved corridor and doors to either side at the ends and centre. This created awkward examining room shapes, but accommodating those shapes was less significant than the provision of privacy. The clinic serves patients with both somatic and mental illnesses. The latter were not yet understood fully by all local residents as illness; the manifestations of illness were associated with troubled spirits and other traditional ideas. It made sense, then, to provide privacy for patients with these disorders from being seen by others. The curve of the corridor shields the patients seeking mental health treatment from those with other health problems that carry no cultural stigma. Good health for all kinds of illness is thought to be promoted also by traditional imagery, so the Red Lake Indian Health Services Hospital in Minnesota has murals painted by an Ojibwe artist, potter and Episcopal priest, Johnson Loud, Jr., showing animals, footprints, and other subjects familiar and comforting to those who need medical services.

The Pan-Indian Museum

By the end of the twentieth century, the US Government finally made available a site available for the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) on The Mall in Washington, DC. This grand open space extends from Capitol Hill in a wide swath of green interrupted in places by the red brick castle-like Smithsonian Institution (the national cultural foundation) building and by monuments. Flanking The Mall are stately geometric museums in pale grey and white tones suited to their primarily neo-classical designs. These were not suitable models for Native American peoples who were determined to establish an alternative identity.

Toward the end of the century, the US government prepared a programme for the new museum, including a planning document assisted by architects Venturi Scott Brown and Associates, a firm famous for postmodern design and theory (Smithsonian Institution. Office of Design and Construction 1991; Krinsky 2004). The government then sponsored a design competition, open to people of all ethnic

backgrounds but with the requirement for at least 50% collaboration with Indigenous contributors. Putting Native American architects on an equal footing with prominent Euro-North American and Latin American firms represented a milestone for Indigenous architects. The competition winners were Douglas Cardinal, (of Métis Blackfoot/Kainai, German, and Algonquin heritage) who had recently designed the Canadian Museum of Civilization (1989, now Canadian Museum of History) and who favored the curvilinear forms that some competition judges considered to be authentically Indigenous and nature-based; and Geddes Brecher Qualls Cunningham, a Euro-North American architectural firm with offices in Pennsylvania and Maryland. This design was to be both pan-Indian and suited to its context on The Mall, a difficult design problem, but one that potentially embodied the various methods of providing culturally relevant architecture that were created before the NMAI project began.

The inception of the NMAI marked a moment of serious engagement between the US government and Native American Nations as partners rather than as antagonists. The efforts made in this project and dozens of others around the USA show the extent of Native American self-respect and the desire to preserve and emphasise aspects of their heritage (Olbekson 2011). The architectural methods used to do this may vary from using historic ornamental forms to excerpting elements of traditional building, through imitation of buildings, to using symbolic forms as plans, but the motivations are the same. The buildings proclaim that the group has survived and is culturally self-aware and show that Native American peoples wish to preserve heritage in the face of pressure to abandon it. The buildings testify to their hope of transmitting historic values to younger generations, and their faith in the power of information to change the ignorance of outsiders to an understanding of the value of multiple cultures in the USA.

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Author's Biography

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Chapter 7
Recent Architectural and Planning Strategies on Native American Lands

Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka

Introduction

Native American reservations are considered quasi-independent political entities within the US federal system. This status was articulated in 1831 by Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall in the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* case: to wit, those tribes possess nationhood status and retain inherent (albeit circumscribed) powers of self-government. The current Federal Indian Trust responsibility—itself the basis for major Supreme Court decisions—is a legal commitment under which the USA "has charged itself with moral obligations of the highest responsibility and trust" towards Indian tribes (as articulated in *Seminole Nation v. USA* in 1942).[1] This responsibility includes a financial obligation to "protect tribal treaty rights, lands, assets, and resources, as well as a duty to carry out the mandates of federal law with respect to American Indian and Alaska Native tribes and villages" (US Department of the Interior Indian Affairs n.d.). But the Supreme Court has, on occasion, used language in its rulings that further suggest "that it entails legal duties, moral obligations, and the fulfilment of understandings and expectations that have arisen over the entire course of the relationship between the United States and the federally recognized tribes" (US Department of the Interior Indian Affairs n.d.).

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[1]This is a somewhat self-serving view, as it coincides with the Federal Government's failure to observe virtually all the past legal commitments contained in treaties with Native American peoples.

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In short, there exists a legal association based on limited sovereignty between the 566 federally recognised Native American Indian and Alaska Native tribes and villages and the federal government. In fact, tribes "possess the right to form their own governments; to make and enforce laws, both civil and criminal; to tax; to establish and determine membership (i.e. tribal citizenship); to license and regulate activities within their jurisdiction; to zone; and to exclude persons from tribal lands" (US Department of the Interior Indian Affairs n.d.).[2] Reservations currently account for 56.2 million acres (22.7 million ha) that are held in trust by the USA; the largest of these is the 17.5 million acre (7.08 million ha) Navajo Nation Reservation located in the southwest. Historically, responsibility for construction of clinics, schools, civic buildings and housing on reservations has fallen to the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, with generally unsatisfactory—sometimes tragic—results.

While there are multiple reasons for this to have occurred, perhaps the most profound has been the drive to impose a standardised reservation life on the varied Native American peoples of the North American continent in disregard for their own cultural preferences.[3] Thus the long litany of legal acts in regard to US Native Americans—the *Dawes Act* of 1887, the *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934, the *Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Program* of 1937 and the *Housing Act* of 1937— all involved the promotion of a living pattern thought critical to successful assimilation, relying on the type of housing that characterised white society. These acts all proved inadequate; indeed, in 1961, the Secretary of the Interior reported that there still existed a critical need for Indian housing assistance. Courtney Eagan-Smith notes: "To participate in these new programs tribes had to establish an Indian Housing Authority (IHA). The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) would then only deal with the IHA, and to get assistance the IHA had to comply with HUD requirements" (Eagan-Smith 2008: 449). Unfortunately, the methods, materials and design typology associated with these requirements were inadequate at best and alienating at worst.

In the following years, little changed for the better as a 1978 General Accounting Office (GAO) report, *Substandard Indian Housing Increases despite Federal Efforts—A Change Is Needed* makes obvious by its title alone. But there did ensue an increased public awareness of the reservation crisis, aided in large measure by the emergence of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1968. In 1972, AIM put a series of twenty claims—primarily dealing with treaty considerations and land restoration—before the President; item 20 was to "Reclaim and affirm health, housing, employment, economic development, and education for all Indian people" (Wittstock and Salinas n.d.).[4]

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[2]While this description is accurate for the majority of federal reservations, there are significant exceptions; the most obvious is that of Oklahoma, where the various Native American Lands developed very permeable borders following statehood in 1907.

[3]We here have generalised this indictment to include Canada.

[4]Under President Richard Nixon.

By 1988, funding for Native American housing was allocated through HUD's new Office of Native American Programs, but the situation remained bleak; in response to this predicament, the US Congress enacted the *Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act* (NAHASDA) in 1996. Eagan-Smith notes that NAHASDA's purpose was not only to increase the availability of housing but also to establish a programme that was tailored to the needs of Indian tribes: "In order to accomplish the legislative goals, NAHASDA has two primary focuses. The first is to provide a way to bring in private lending, and the second is to offer a single block grant that tribes are able to use according to that tribe's specific needs" (2008: 451). It is no exaggeration to say that NAHASDA (which was amended in 2000) has opened many possibilities by embracing a single block grant programme with one set of funding criteria for HUD to administer, and one system for managing and accounting for funds. The practical effect has been an increased ability for individual tribes to hire their own architects and contractors and determine the type of housing appropriate for their situation.

Native North American Issues

As a phenomenon, certain aspects of NAHASDA are worth detailing. The Public and Indian Housing Native American Housing Block Grants 2015 Summary Statement and Initiatives state its basic premise quite clearly:

> Fundamentally, NAHASDA programs, the Indian Housing Block Grant and the Title VI Guarantee program, recognize the rights of tribal self-determination and self-governance, and the unique relationship between the federal government and the governments of Indian tribes, established by long-standing treaties, court decision, statutes, Executive Orders, and the United States Constitution. NAHASDA requires HUD to engage in formal negotiated rulemaking with IHBG recipients to periodically review and issue program regulations. The foundation of HUD's partnership with federally recognized tribes is its government-to-government consultation policy, which includes a commitment to engage in formal negotiated rulemaking when appropriate, as when developing federal policies that have tribal implications (Public and Indian Housing 2015: L-8).

In fact, the Indian Housing Block Grant (IHBG) programme and the Federal Guarantees for Financing Tribal Housing Activities programme were the two major outcomes of NAHASDA, which was reauthorised in 2008 through the fiscal year 2013. The Summary Statement notes that the IHBG programme "is the principal means by which the USA fulfils its trust obligations to low-income Native American and Alaska Native Americans to provide safe, decent, and sanitary housing. Further, IHBGs are the main source of funding for housing assistance in Indian Country. IHBG recipients have the flexibility to design and implement appropriate, place-based housing programs, according to local needs and customs" (Public and Indian Housing 2015: L-3). The local control this policy engenders has given Native American planners the ability to consider long-term housing development, "taking into consideration climate, geography, and their population's needs

and preferences. IHBG recipients also have the flexibility to leverage their federal dollars to access other sources of funds, which spurs further community and economic development" (Public and Indian Housing 2015: L-3).

This ability points to one of the reasons for the on-reservation popularity of NAHASDA. Another reason may be found in the act itself. Of the seven provisions related to the IHBG eligible activities, the first states: "Development: The acquisition, new construction, reconstruction, or moderate or substantial rehabilitation of affordable housing, which may include real property acquisition, site improvement, development and rehabilitation of utilities, necessary infrastructure and utility services, conversion, demolition, financing, administration and planning, improvement to achieve greater energy efficiency, mold remediation, and other related activities" (Public and Indian Housing 2015: L-5). Clearly, some of these functions have multiple applications. This is an important consideration, as NAHASDA refers exclusively to housing development. The health facilities (which primarily fall under Indian Health Services), schools, administrative buildings and cultural centres that are all as needed on Native American Lands as elsewhere must be funded through various combinations of federal, state and private grants, as well as the monies raised by the tribes themselves.

So, what are the drawbacks to the programme? One problem is that NAHASDA restricted housing assistance to tribes on the basis of income, perpetuating the misconception that federally assisted housing programmes on Native American Lands are charitable poverty programmes rather than compensation for land cessions. Inadequate funding represents another issue, especially in light of the enormous need. In 2003, the US Commission on Civil Rights issued a report in which it was stated:

> Between 1998 and 2003, Native American housing program funding remained relatively stable. While HUD's overall budget authority increased 62 percent, Native American funding only increased 8.8 percent. When accounting for inflation, this amounts to an actual decrease in spending power. Native American program funding makes up a smaller proportion of HUD's discretionary budget today than it did five years ago …Given the unique housing challenges Native American peoples face; including impoverished economic conditions, restrictions on individual land rights, lack of homeownership, and substandard housing - greater and immediate federal financial support is imperative (US Commission on Civil Rights 2003).

This situation continues, as many Native American peoples are still living in substandard housing, and appropriations are still lagging. According to Annette Bryan (Puyallup), Director of the Puyallup Nation Housing Authority in testimony to the US Senate in 2013, "the annual Indian Housing Block Grant appropriations under NAHASDA have not kept pace with inflation, and in real dollars the last few years of appropriations represent a significant decrease from the amounts initially appropriated in the early years of NAHASDA. The amounts adopted over the past few years have essentially remained flat, while both the need and the costs of serving that need have increased… The annual funding we currently have is nowhere near sufficient to meet the substantial need for housing services" (US Congress Senate Committee on Indian Affairs 2013). Finally, as NAHASDA is

considered for reauthorisation in 2016, certain new provisions have caused concern among tribal entities, particularly among the larger reservations like the Navajo Nation. The House of Representatives voted to pass the reauthorisation, but problematically "seeks to rein in funds carried over year to year when they're not spent" (ICTMN Staff 2015). The offending provision was a new clause added to the appropriations proposal in 2015:

> Withholding Policy: For several reasons, including the significant unmet needs in Indian Country, it is important that grantees spend program funds in a timely manner and avoid accumulating excessive undisbursed balances from prior-year grants. Therefore, the Budget proposes to withhold funding from any grantee that, on January 1, 2015, has a total undisbursed balance greater than three times the funding allocation it would otherwise receive in 2015 (Public and Indian Housing 2015: L-18).

This provision reappears in the *House of Representatives Bill H.R. 360, Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Reauthorization (2015)*. This bill states, under Section 302, that the Secretary may recoup undisbursed block grants that exceed three times a yearly allocation for a recipient; it is a provision, moreover, that is dated to 2015.

The Navajo Nation recently voiced its concern with this portion of the House version of NAHASDA, despite supporting the majority of the bill. It would result in the Navajo Housing Authority losing $81 million in housing funds that year alone as Indian Country Today Media Network has reported (ICTMN Staff 2015). The US Senate recently issued S.B. 710, its version of the NAHASDA reauthorisation, which features a date of 2018 for taking back unspent NAHASDA funds (compared to the 2015 date in the House version). The Senate version provides a more reasonable timeline that may allow the Navajo Nation to disperse funds that have already been allocated for ongoing projects as reported by ICTMN. But, while this version mitigates the immediate financial impact, it does nothing to ameliorate the larger problem of long-range financing. So, NAHASDA is not perfect. Still, almost all of the noteworthy construction on Native American Lands is post-NAHASDA, and largely the result of increased Native American control over what gets built, whether housing or cultural centres.[5]

Master Planning

A discipline not often credited to Native American peoples is that of master planning. Yet, as the historic urban complexes from Cahokia on the Mississippi River to Cicúye on the Rio Grande demonstrate, urban planning has long been

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[5]While Canada has not experienced quite as sweeping a change, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) introduced the *On-Reserve Housing Policy* in 1996 that allowed First Nations to play a key role in decision-making in regard to the investment of housing funds.

practised.[6] It is, unfortunately, equally true that for the past 150 years that function has tended to be fulfilled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or other federal agencies rather than the actual people affected. This has to some degree changed in the post-NAHASDA period, necessitating a rethinking of urban planning parameters. It is important to note that master planning is funded under the 1996 NAHASDA Act; to wit, "The intent of the Committee is to make NAHASDA funds available for the purposes of [the] development [of] a community master plan consisting of roads, schools, businesses and recreational areas" (US Congressional Serial Set 2002).

Ted Jojola (Isleta Pueblo) notes that it is becoming clear that there are some ideological factors that should serve as a foundation for a paradigm shift in Indigenous planning:

> First—Indigenous Peoples are not minorities. The territories of Indigenous Peoples are characterized by a social and cultural geography where it is the outsider or non-Native who is a minority;
>
> Second—the essence of Indigenous scholarship is native self. In the spirit of idealism, Indigenous People adapt their ideas from experience;
>
> Third—Indigenous voices need no translation. Rather, Indigenous Peoples are educated and trained in the best of traditional and western traditions. …Native people are poised to take their rightful role as enablers of their own communities. This is accomplished by mutual respect, participatory styles of consensus-making and the adherence to traditional protocols; and
>
> Fourth—the Indigenous planning process is informed by the Indigenous worldview. Central to this world-view, are values associated with territory, land-tenure and stewardship. It represents a philosophical construction of humankind's relationship to the natural world and is demarcated by territories that balance human needs with ecologically viable and sustainable development (2000).

While it is painfully obvious that this is not as things have been, these principles may serve as the basis for a new paradigm in urban planning.

According to a 2004 National Health Care for the Homeless Council report, "On reservations, the housing shortage is acute—individuals linger on waiting lists an average of 41 months—twice the national average—for low-income rental units. The condition of housing on the reservations in general is dismal…" (Zerger 2004: ii). In short, while clinics, schools and cultural centres are necessary concomitants of cultural survival, housing represents the single greatest need on Native American reservations. Thus, much of the planning that has occurred on reservations is concerned with residential infrastructure. As noted, the Navajo Nation is the largest of the Native reservations in the USA, totaling approximately 17.5 million acres (27,425 square miles). The Navajo tribe comprises just over 300000 members, according to the 2015 census, making it one of the two largest tribes in the USA.[7] The reservation primarily occupies Arizona and New Mexico, with an extensive

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[6]When it was at it largest during the thirteenth century, Cahokia had a population in excess of 40000 people, making it one of the largest cities in the Americas.

[7]The other tribe is the Cherokee Nation, with approximately 302000 members; however, the requirements for tribal membership are stricter for the Navajo Nation.

system of schools, clinics, governmental buildings, and housing, and correspondingly extensive needs. In 2011, the Navajo Housing Authority, in cooperation with Swaback Partners, as architects/planners, began a three-year major planning process with the Navajo Nation. The need, or context, was stated in the planning manual:

> Relative to the United States overall, housing on the Navajo Nation is generally smaller and in very poor condition, with overcrowding and limited access to utilities… A number of factors affect housing needs on the Navajo Nation, including geographic dispersal across the reservation, affordability of housing, existing housing conditions, and inventory. The 2009 Navajo Housing Authority (NHA) Housing Needs Assessment estimates a total need for 34000 new and replacement units of housing and a need to expand 8500 existing homes to accommodate growing families (Swaback 2012).

The result is an extraordinary document titled *The Sustainable Journey of Beauty: A Planning Manual for Developing New Housing and Community Initiatives on the Navajo Nation*, prepared for the Navajo Housing Authority. The Navajo have partnered in this with the Enterprise Community Partners, Inc., the Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative (SNCC), HUD and the Sustainable Construction in Indian Country Initiative (SCinIC). The immediate goal was to 'lay out a framework for 34000 housing units that will satisfy the need for sustainable and cultural housing on the Navajo Nation'. This was to be accomplished by identifying appropriate land for new housing while offering sustainable planning approaches for housing patterns and designs that would align with Navajo culture, regional climate and community needs (Swaback 2012). "In the Navajo (Diné) way of life, the concept of 'Hózhóogo naasháa doo,' ('walking in beauty') is an ancient term describing a sustainable way of life 'steeped in the land, water, air, sun, and seasons'" (Swaback 2012). The planning effort centred on the development of a sustainable framework for designing new communities, a challenge given the Navajo history as rural people who gather in small, remote, family clusters (see Fig. 7.1).

Strategies included public sessions, charrettes and group conversations, while the areas of concern ranged from preferred building types to density tolerance. As might be expected, sustainability is a key concern for the planners. Thus, the entries under 'key considerations for long-term sustainability' include under the first category:

> The Navajo culture, and
>
> Elements that may impact where and how people live:
>
> - Strong respect for family and families influence location,
> - Desires for 'Breathing Room',
> - Care and stewardship for Mother Earth and all living things,
> - Balance between heritage and twenty-first century reality (Swaback Partners 2012: 31).

This interesting list is augmented by the more prosaic concerns of basic physical infrastructure (roadways, water supply, etc.) and housing types (health clinics,

Fig. 7.1 Example of the Larger Village Center with a mix of uses (*Drawing* Swaback Partners)

schools, etc.). The important thing, however, is that sustainability is being viewed in cultural terms rather than simply its technological implications.

We here repeat the 'lessons learned' and the 'best practices' outlined in the manual, as they are very likely common to most design situations on Native American Lands. The lessons include:

> …understanding the importance of directly engaging the community at the grassroots level can help gain insight into a community's needs and culture; and using 'smart growth' planning, strategies must be modified for a rural context with limited infrastructure, remote sites, and a traditional rural culture that values very low densities (Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative n.d.).

The best practices include:

> community-based planning methodologies were developed to directly engage the community through on-site workshops and charrettes; tribal professionals, housing authority staff, and students were all involved in the engagement process; and regional planning must achieve sustainable goals that are specific to culture and climate (Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative n.d.).

One strategy for broader, more inclusive architectural planning in the southwest involves the restoration of communal living where this kind of tradition still exists. Thus, the programme for the Tsigo Bugeh Village, commissioned by the Ohkay Owingeh Housing Authority, had as its intention the restoration of communal living through buildings inspired by the historic pueblo. The 'village' is located in Ohkay Owingeh (formerly San Juan Pueblo), where there have for some time been serious housing needs.[8] The 2003 project consists of 40 units, offering both market-rate housing and housing for those earning less than 60% of the area median income. It

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[8]Ohkay Owingeh means 'Home of strong people' in Tewa.

Fig. 7.2 Plaza, Tsigo Bugeh Village, Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, New Mexico (*Photograph* Frank Vodvarka)

does this by relying on a traditional pueblo typology, the arrangement of multi-storeyed buildings around a plaza (Fig. 7.2).

The buildings are one and two stories, much like the existing 700-year old pueblo structures located nearby, and the plaza contains both the traditional horno (conical bread oven) and drying racks. According to the housing authority Executive Director and Tribal Member, Tomasita Duran (Ohkay Owingeh): "Ohkay Owingeh was growing, but there was nowhere for older children in many families to go…the pueblo realized that relying solely on federal funding for housing projects led to substandard buildings, high maintenance costs and sprawl since previous homes were on separate lots" (Trujillo 2009). This was no accident, but the result of a long-standing HUD preference for the construction of white, suburban housing models on reservations despite Ohkay Owingeh citizens having always lived in a dense core of one- and two-storey adobe pueblos. Duran comments, "The new NAHASDA regulations that had come into place really allowed that flexibility that we needed in terms of being able to develop the type of housing that we needed for our community" (Duran 2011). Duran opened a dialogue with the Elders: "[t]he design that came out of all those events was something that reflected traditional pueblo living attached units divided around two plazas, one oriented to the solstice and the other to the equinox" (Trujillo 2009).

The forty-unit development comprises one-, two-, three- and four-bedroom rent-controlled apartments that will be eligible for sale to the occupants. The project benefited from the presence of Jamie Blosser, AIA, who came to Tsigo Bugeh courtesy of the Enterprise Foundation's Frederick P. Rose Architectural Fellowship:

"We began talking about ways to approach new affordable housing. We hired Van Amburgh + Parés Architects and together walked the historic pueblo, which is laid out around plazas where tribal members still participate in ceremonial dances on ritual feast days. Antonio Parés [architect of record] brought his compass and noted that the main plaza was situated exactly east-west, meaning it would line up with the path of the sun on the spring and fall equinoxes. This discovery immediately became the cornerstone for our new development—to learn from the ancient settlement patterns of the Ohkay Owingeh" (Blosser 2006).[9]

The method of funding displays creativity, relying primarily on Federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTCs) and NAHASDA. Additional funding came from the HOME Investments Partnerships Program funds allocated by the New Mexico Mortgage Finance Authority (NMMFA), and a small risk share loan from NMMFA. Notably, Ohkay Owingeh was the first tribe in New Mexico to utilise HOME money (Blosser 2011). Their innovation in obtaining various funding sources was noted as one of the successes in the Senate Hearing conducted for the purpose of *Identifying Barriers to Indian Housing Development and Finding Solutions*. Cheryl Causley (Ojibwe), Chairperson of the National American Indian Housing Council, in her statement to the hearing, pointed out that "Even a simple pooling of existing resources is difficult because compliance requirements actually vary from program to program, presenting barriers to efficient administration of multiple funding streams, and limit the ability of tribes to access multiple programs in an effort to reach adequate scale" (US Congress Senate Committee on Indian Affairs 2013). Private-sector funding remains difficult to source as most land on reservations is held in trust and cannot be used as collateral, thus it is difficult to borrow money. According to Duran, "The Tsigo Bugeh Village project combines modern characteristics with traditional design which will be a model for future development in San Juan Pueblo" [Ohkay Owingeh] (Federal Home Loan Bank of Dallas 2003).

This effort now extends to the restoration of 30 traditional homes in Owe'neh Bupingeh, the Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo's central district. The preservation plan received the 2013 HUD Secretary's Opportunity and Empowerment Award. Fortunately, the ancient pueblo has remained mainly intact, albeit uninhabited save as venue for special ceremonial occasions. It comprises four ceremonial plazas surrounded by one- and two-storey adobe dwellings, which will rely on both old and new construction techniques in their restoration: "Where feasible, the rehabilitated dwellings incorporate adobe wall construction and mud plaster for the exterior finish. …Another effort to preserve cultural traditions is the restoration of vigas—structural timbers in pueblos of the Santa Fe region that were traditionally given as gifts among tribal families" (US Department of Housing and Urban Development 2013). The plan calls for a careful balance of old and new, as well as inclusion of modern amenities such as kitchens and bathrooms to make dwellings habitable, and the installation of energy-efficient appliances and improved insulation to promote affordability and environmental sustainability.

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[9]This award is known as the Enterprise Rose Architectural Fellowship.

The restoration of 20 dwellings was completed in 2012, and nine units subsequently; utilities were placed throughout the complex in a way as not to interfere with tribal ceremonies. The financing for the project is worth noting, as it indicates the complexity of such enterprises:

> Financing for the rehabilitation work completed thus far includes $3.9 million in HUD Indian Housing and HUD Indian Community Development block grants and $2 million from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. The preservation planning process was initiated with a grant from the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division and received subsequent financial support from the National Park Service, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the McCune Charitable and Chamiza foundations, as well as a grant from the HUD Rural Housing and Economic Development program (US Department of Housing and Urban Development 2013).

In another pueblo, Zuni, a new master plan has grown out of an unrealised design for a cultural centre. The preliminary design for the Zuni Art and Culture Center was completed by one of the premier Native American architects in the USA, Johnpaul Jones (Choctaw/Cherokee). While the 2008 recession disrupted any plans for its construction, the Zuni took the opportunity to develop a master plan for the pueblo.

It is, in fact, a pueblo with a long and interesting history. In 1540, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, with three hundred men, attempted to complete the journey to the famed seven cities of Cíbola. They instead reached Hawikuh Pueblo, but found it not to be the city of riches they had hoped for. In the attack that followed, Coronado prevailed and continued on to examine the remaining pueblos; although he found more architecturally complex pueblos in the region to the northeast along the upper Rio Grande River, they were no richer in gold and the like. Coronado nonetheless had to admit that these were very good houses, of three to five stories, and well laid out. The Spaniards continued still further to the most eastward of the pueblos, Cicúye (Pecos), a large and carefully designed complex; they were so impressed that they waited longer than usual to destroy it.

During the eighteenth century, the seven pueblos in the initial area visited became united and together built the Pueblo of Zuni, notable for its ladder-accessed terraces. Zuni is somewhat isolated from the primary area of pueblo population and indeed isolated generally. It is located about 150 miles (241 km) west of Albuquerque and comprises approximately 450 000 acres (182 110 ha). The pueblo contains (2010 census) just over 6000 inhabitants living in the core area, and unlike many of the pueblos the population consists of predominately Indigenous people.[10] Zuni is the commonly spoken language, unusual in that it has no known relationship to any other Native American language. This perhaps reflects the isolation of the pueblo as well.

Art has always been central to Zuni life, especially pottery, silversmithing and carving—as seen in their kachina dolls and small stone animal fetishes. Up to 90% of the Zuni workforce is involved in some aspect of the traditional arts, and it is

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[10]Figures from the 2010 Census indicate the Zuni population is 97.14% Native American descent.

common that the tribal leader is an artist. The Pueblo's website notes that it has evolved by virtue of traditional Indigenous practices and thus is not based on a grid pattern as is typical of western cities: "It does not have a commercial district or a downtown. Instead, Main Street skirts and separates the traditional Halona: Itiwana (middle place) from the rest of the modern pueblo. The traditional village of Halona is a culturally vibrant area that is utilised year-round for cultural and ceremonial events that follow a ceremonial cycle. Visitors to the village must respect these events which sometimes require closing the area to outsiders" (Zuni Pueblo MainStreet n.d.). This creates an unusual commercial situation:

> …arts production is one of the community's main sources of income. Despite the large number of artists and makers, no designated space exists for them to sell their wares. Zuni MainStreet is home to an informal, cash economy that undervalues the artists' products…A series of community-wide planning events and design build activities will help local artists, planners, and leaders build a cultural streetscape that serves as a functional and inviting marketplace (iD+Pi 2015).

The Zuni strategic plan developed by the Indigenous Design Planning Institute in consultation with the Zuni makes this residential/commercial evolution clear (Fig. 7.3).

In *Zuni MainStreet—Balancing the Past, Present and Future*, Tom R. Kennedy, Zuni Tourism Director, describes the situation: "Zuni is a village of artists. Though the arts have been central to Zuni's economy since the mid-1940s, no specific program had sought to promote or market this key 'industry' until efforts in the late 1990s to develop a Zuni tourism initiative. Advice from consultants and two federal grants helped to establish a bona fide tourism program based around cultural
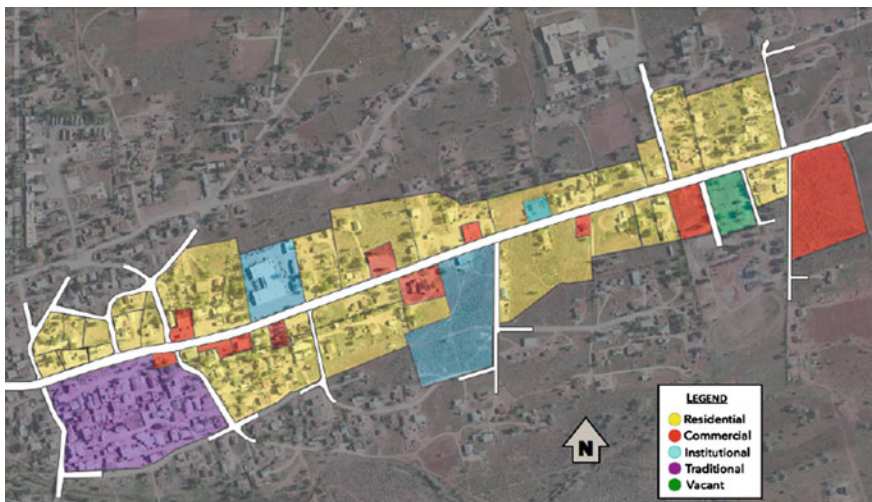
Fig. 7.3 Zuni Strategic Plan: Land Use Challenge (not a grid city) (*Drawing* Indigenous Design + Planning Institute)

heritage and the arts" (2012). As noted, this is not a simple task, as promotion of the arts-based economy must be balanced by the need to properly educate and direct visitors to not interfere with ongoing traditional cultural and religious activities: "This is the delicate balance of welcoming our visitors as guests but also ensuring that they understand the occasional limitations of visiting such a traditional community—including the two times a year that all businesses are closed for four days of 'fasting'" (Kennedy 2012).

The MainStreet which Kennedy refers to is a programme of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, a privately funded non-profit organisation that works with a nationwide network of coordinating programmes and local communities to encourage preservation-based community revitalisation (National MainStreet Center n.d.). It is administered by New Mexico's Economic Development Department to promote community-based economic development in its small-town downtown areas. Since 2004, New Mexico MainStreet and the Design Planning Assistance Center (DPAC) at the University of New Mexico's (UNM) School of Architecture and Planning have been cooperating to provide help with critical design and planning issues in MainStreet Communities (Zuni Visitor & Arts Center 2012). In 2012, New Mexico MainStreet and the National Trust dedicated Zuni Pueblo as the first Native American 'MainStreet' community in the nation. This is noteworthy; while, as Kennedy points out, New Mexico has participated in the programme for over 27 years with 22 active sites, so far no other Native North American community has met the criteria or chosen to participate (2012). New Mexico Economic Development Cabinet Secretary Jon Barela notes: "the initial grant of $75,000 is just to get things going. The designation of Zuni Pueblo as a MainStreet community means ongoing grants to the pueblo for planning, redevelopment and restoration of its Main Street" (Bommersbach 2013).

The partnership between the state of New Mexico, the University's Indigenous Design + Planning Institute (iD+Pi), and the Zuni Pueblo is especially interesting. Through the partnership, they received an ArtPlace America grant to design and develop more effective spaces and programmes and to enhance the marketing and professionalism of Zuni artists. "ArtPlace, one of the nation's largest philanthropies dedicated to creative placemaking, is investing $225000 in the Pueblo of Zuni to further integrate arts and culture into the field of community planning and development" (iD+Pi 2015). The design team from iD+Pi—notably consisting of Dr. Ted Jojola (Isleta Pueblo) as Director and Program Specialist Amanda Montoya (Taos, Ohkay Owingeh and Isleta)—formulated a six-part report remarkable for its comprehensiveness. The broad factors include the cultural context, physical features, socio-economic factors, design solutions and strategies. The first category includes the historical background, place and religion, traditional farming, and sacred landscape, among others—all critical to the design's success (iD+Pi 2014).

Thus, it is also necessary to treat the surrounding landscape in a respectful manner, as it sacred to the people who live there:

> This connection can be seen in the innumerable landmarks surrounding the Pueblo. …For the Pueblo community, new development must not infringe on these sites, either by impeding access, or by over-commercialization. The same factors may apply to places alongside the Zuni MainStreet. The highway connects many of these sites, many of which are unmarked. These sites are part of a sacred geography that will require extra consideration and diligence in the planning and economic development processes (iD+Pi 2014, slide 15).

Part of the solution has involved the formation of cultural buffer districts to protect the integrity of the Halona or ancient pueblo (Fig. 7.4).

The problem faced by the Zuni is a familiar one. While tribal lands exercise sovereign authority, that authority is limited. Moreover, as property is non-private, 'land in tribal trust cannot be used as collateral' towards improvements (iD+Pi 2014, slide 26). There are other challenges, including the outmigration of families with young children and the overall ageing of the population. These facts have, moreover, major implications for health care, education and the economic climate of the area (iD+Pi 2014, slide 32). Perhaps the most important aspect of the plan concerns the efforts being made to balance a rational economic plan having broad implications with a need to make provision for traditional, cultural concerns that seem at first blush to be economically counter-intuitive. But, as the Elders have made clear, the cultural and religious concerns outweigh the economic ones (Kennedy 2016).

At another pueblo site, Kewa Pueblo (Santo Domingo), Joseph Kunkel has been working with the six-member housing authority in determining the rehabilitation of substandard homes, developing a master plan and the design of new housing as well as expanding national dialogue through Enterprise Fellowship's Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative. He states: "Being of First Nations people, I have seen firsthand the built environment on my reservation, and the effects it can have on a community" (Enterprise 2013). Kunkel, Associate AIA, Architect, is the
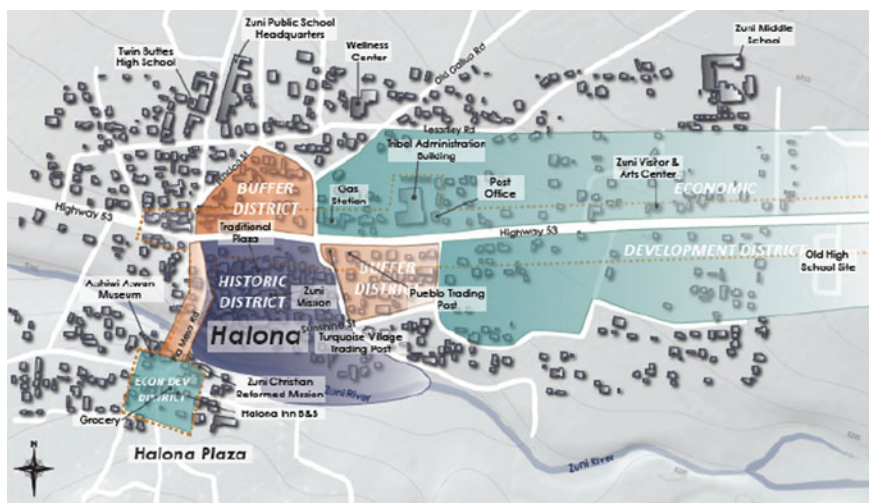
Fig. 7.4 Zuni Cultural Buffer Districts (*Drawing* Indigenous Design + Planning Institute)

Architectural Development Coordinator for the Santo Domingo Tribal Housing Authority (SDTHA), bringing experience in architecture, planning and design to the organisation. He was hired specifically as the architectural coordinator to "assist SDTHA over the next two years to complete the historic preservation planning and document and assist the SDTHA Architects to complete the plans and specification for the historic rehabs" (Application of Santo Domingo Tribal Housing Authority 2013: 8). But there are, in fact, multiple aspects to the master plan: historic rehabilitation, a heritage trail, new housing and overall village development.

The heritage trail is fundamentally a series of nodal points based on the response of tribal members as they proceeded on a community walk. These nodes are located at ¼ mile (.4 km) intervals and are conceived as resting points; also included are points notable as visual icons or connections to landscape elements. There are, as well, public comfort stations and significant, historical structures (Fig. 7.5).

There is an emphasis in the plan on the rehabilitation of older dwellings as both humanely necessary and economically desirable:

> The Kewa Pueblo has identified deteriorated and vacant homes in the historic Village area of the Pueblo, particularly those occupied by the low-income and elderly and disabled, as a threat to the Tribe's viability. The historic Village area consists of buildings and plaza areas that are used for cultural and traditional activities, which also drive tourism in the Pueblo, and important economic engine, and over 500 traditional homes, that provide essential
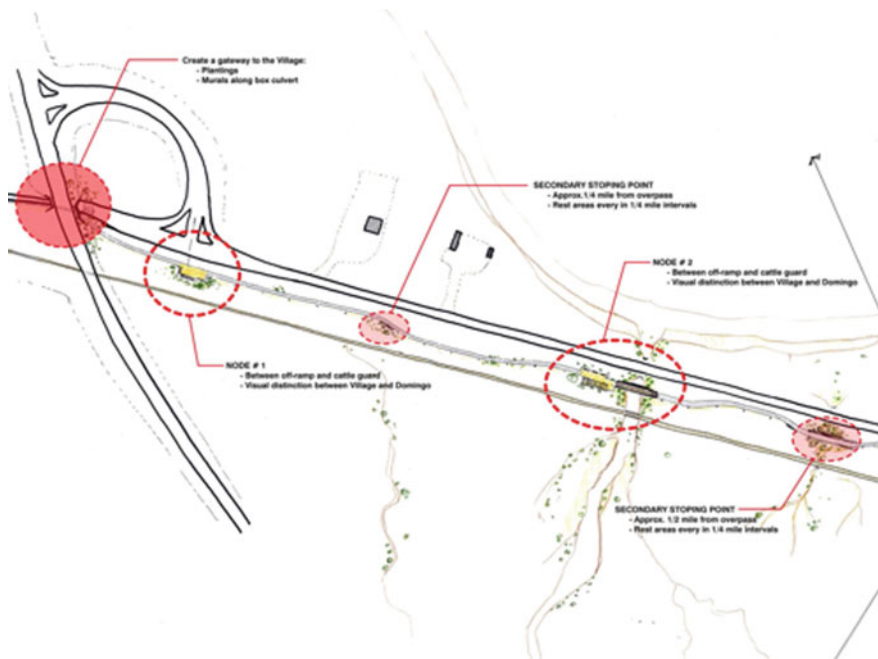
Fig. 7.5 Proposed Santo Domingo Heritage Trail (*Drawing* Joseph Kunkel)

shelter for Kewa tribal members (Application of Santo Domingo Tribal Housing Authority 2013: 13).

But the overarching need is for new housing, and they have established an interesting set of objectives:

- Developing housing models that are specific to Santo Domingo and the environment.
- Understand that the relationship between economic, social, cultural and physical space can improve the quality of resident's everyday lives.
- Design housing concepts that promote healthy living, through building system and material choices, durability, ease of maintenance, and provide comfort and peace of mind.
- Planning the community environment(s) to interact with surrounding landscapes and developments with secure and well-integrated outdoor community spaces (Kunkel 2014).

The sections provided for new housing indicate a concern for traditional massing of elements into one- and two-storey structures, with an entirely usual density for pueblos along the Rio Grande (see Fig. 7.6).

There is also, as one might expect, a concern for sustainability; not as nicety, but as a critical component of the pueblo's survival. The example illustrated below comprises virtually every tool of sustainability available today, from the technical photovoltaic panels to passive solar thermal hot water systems. Attention has also been paid to a very important issue in the southwest, rainwater harvesting. In all, it is a very sophisticated approach to housing (Fig. 7.7).
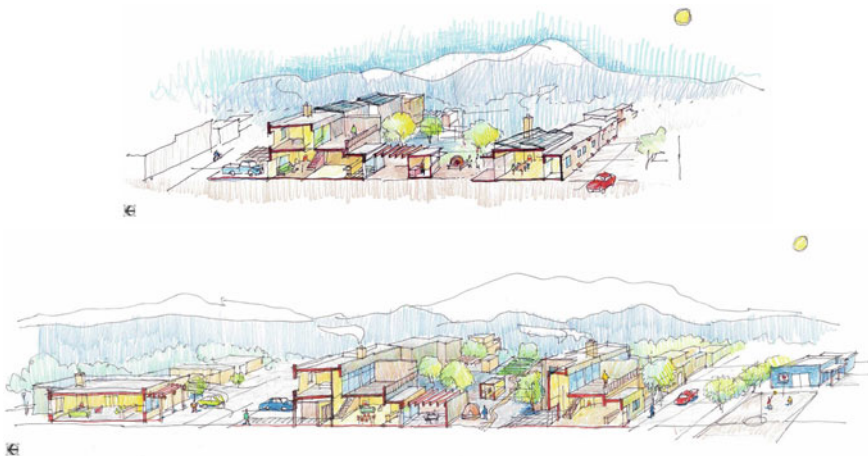
Fig. 7.6 Community cross section (*Drawing* Joseph Kunkel)

Grid-tied Photovoltaic System

Solar Thermal Hot Water System
High Emissivity Cool Metal
Roofing System

High Performance Exterior Wall
Assembly

Recessed Triple Pane Low-E
Insulated Windows

Trellis and Overhangs to
Promote Passive Cooling

Rainwater Harvesting

Protected Courtyard Provides
Shaded Exterior, Vegetable
Garden and Compost

Cistern for Reclaimed Water
Storage

Constructed Wetland

Solar Thermal Storage Tank

Septic Tank and Sand Filter

Solar Radiant Floor Heating
System

Xeriscaping - Native, Drought
Resistant Planting

Fig. 7.7 Exploded axonometric drawing showing sustainable features (*Drawing* Joseph Kunkel)

Sustainability

Sustainability, for Native American building projects, is not a philosophical stance, but a requirement of the situation on reservations. The demand and need for construction, of housing particularly, is high, the financial means slim; mechanical systems necessary, local expertise scarce; and the issues of ongoing maintenance ever present. But cultural issues are no less crucial to design success. Native American architect Daniel Glenn (Crow) emphasises the necessity of architecture being both sustainable and culturally responsive, and he has formulated a conceptual structure to serve as basis for design:

> I often refer to the architecture as 'red and green architecture.' The idea is that we all know about green architecture…But I use the term 'red' to signify culture because red is a strong color in many of these cultures… my belief is that the best way to really get at the culture beyond just research and examination is an integrated community design process…Climate is a science, but I also seek to learn from my own Elders, and from the Elders of other Native cultures in terms of how they successfully lived in these various climates for thousands of years. This is extraordinarily sustainable when compared to how we do it (2010).

In fact, there is little chance that practicality or sustainability will, of themselves, be sufficient reason for a building to be accepted on Native American Lands, without cultural reassurance.

Fortunately, many of the new, sustainable materials being used on Indigenous projects are readily accessible; some being made on reservation land. For the Navajo, an essential material is FlexCrete, which can be worked by the owners and is comparatively inexpensive to purchase. FlexCrete is a lightweight concrete block so filled with air holes that it enjoys a high insulation value. Its weight is one-third of concrete, making it easy to transport, manipulate and cut. As fly ash—a by-product of coal burning—is a necessary component of the product, it can also be viewed as a contribution to sustainability generally. Even lava rock has been pressed into service, as the Isleta Pueblo has begun the manufacture of lava brick for construction.

Yet another material currently enjoying a widespread use on reservations relies on straw bales. One of Nathaniel Corum's ventures, the Navajo Elder Straw Bale Housing initiative, is addressing the housing problem by building with a combination of local timber, FlexCrete, and Navajo-grown straw bales. Corum comments:

> The Navajo have a big enough nation that they have their own eco-concrete products, via Navajo FlexCrete; their own wood products, through Navajo forestry initiatives, and their own straw-bales through tribal agriculture programs. This means that the local and natural materials exist within their Nation to address their housing shortfalls (2011).

Compressed earth bricks, earthern berms and rammed earth walls all are being used, often in combination (e.g. straw bale finished with a natural plaster and supported by FlexCrete). Straw bale and rammed earth have ancient origins, but there are some modern materials that are proving to be extremely effective in terms of sustainability. This includes structural insulated panels (SIPs), especially interesting because of the adaptability to varied climates and typological application; they typically have a far greater insulating factor than comparable building materials.

Corum notes that there is a great deal happening in the area of Indigenous architecture: "I think what is worth mentioning is that there is an increase in tribal member designers, but it is part of another wave, which is community design and natural building…The natural building community has a lot of respect for traditional or vernacular buildings, and Indigenous building traditions act as a resource for many of us…Indigenous building was historically natural, green, culturally appropriate, community-based consensus design, and focused on the welfare of tribal Elders and children" (2011).

In 2015, DesignBuildBLUFF, a University of Utah School of Architecture programme known for its design of sustainable housing, designed and built a family residence in the Mexican Water Chapter of Navajo Nation. The 730-square-feet (16.5 m^2) design, named Badger Springs after a nearby water source, is focused on delivering adaptability within a small footprint. The design is loosely based on existing local housing, but adapted to the particular needs of the family, which includes a supportive space for visitors seeking healing and recovery (see Fig. 7.8).

Fig. 7.8 Badger Springs House, Navajo Nation (*Photograph* DesignBuildBLUFF)

This is manifested "through flexible and protected open space, both inside and out, that easily allows gathering of various sizes" (2015a). The sustainable aspects are noteworthy:

> Informed by the clients' deep knowledge of prevailing wind direction and sun path, a combination of satin aluminum door and window coverings, a cellulose-insulated chase wall, and recessed window planes ensure that minimal direct sunlight enters the home during summer months, drastically reducing solar gain and enhancing passive cooling and ventilation (DesignBuildBLUFF 2015a).

A large, east-facing overhang provides protection and covers a natural plaster wall, toned red to reflect the local sand and clay: "Exterior façade decisions were based on a material's ability to adapt to its environment, whether transforming and adapting through time or staying constant and unchanging. …Thanks to GRID Alternatives Tribal Program the project is outfitted with grid-tied photo-voltaic panels" (DesignBuildBLUFF 2015a).

The DesignBuildBLUFF programme has, over the past decade, completed more than 20 projects on Navajo lands. Their approach is creative: "We offer students an immersive hands-on opportunity to design and build a full-scale work of architecture in collaboration with the Navajo people. We emphasize sustainability and a respect for the unique social, cultural, and environmental needs of the region. Students are encouraged to explore alternative building methods, unique materials, and innovative solutions. It is, in a way, the ultimate sustainability to use elements naturally at hand, within reach, both physically and economically" (2015b).

Tribal Building Codes

These new methodologies in turn raise questions concerning the ability to develop codified guidelines in regard to construction techniques and use of materials on reservations. The Northeast Arizona Technical Institute for Vocational Education (N. A.T.I.V.E.) is an example of an early building using Tribal building codes in its development. In August 2011, Kayenta Township, a political subdivision of the Navajo Nation, was the first tribal community in the USA to pass a resolution to adopt the 2010 edition of the International Green Construction Code (IgCC). The architect, Steve Barduson, says: "The building massing and ledgestone piers intends to reflect the iconic mesas, cliffs, and plains, which surround the town…" (2013). Their website states: "The Navajo people (Diné) view this project as a new beginning uniquely describing their 'Navajo aesthetic' through floor pattern, orientation of plan, exterior form and dynamic symbolic elements. Which include the four prominent mountains that border their original land and four district colors recognized in their culture: Black (North), White (East for rising sun), Blue (South) and Yellow (West)" (BCDM architects n.d.). While this is commendable, such adherence to tribal codes remains the exception. In fact, as reported by the Tribal Green Building Codes Workgroup in 2012, "Most tribes have yet to adopt building codes. As a consequence, construction practices on tribal lands often default to state or local, non-tribal government building codes, or are determined by the federal agency funding the building project" (Tribal Green Building Codes Workgroup 2012).

They go on to delineate the benefits of adoption of such codes: restricting the use of toxic building materials and preventing mould that can lead to poor indoor air quality and threaten human health; providing a comprehensive set of building safety and fire prevention codes unique to the respective tribal community's culture, resources and needs; design considerations to protect the local habitat and conserve resources; increasing efficacy, kinship and spirituality; and facilitating cultural practices—spiritual, linguistic, artistic and material—in a way that general codes do not (Tribal Green Building Codes Workgroup 2012). There now appears to be a wider recognition of their value and hence, general application.

Native American Design Strategies

One aspect of 'cultural' building codes is the question of what is being codified, and whether a broader view of 'code' could be construed. Dr. Craig Howe (Oglala) has a complex view of the design process:

> In architecture you consider three things: the built forms, anything you can touch; then the architectural spaces within the forms, which have to be concave and enable human, face-to-face interaction; and finally a method to connect the architectural spaces. That's where you get the grammar of architecture, a spatial syntax. …You look at these spaces and consider theoretically how you can combine them. And everything about this process is

culturally based. We're looking for the cultural rules that define how you think about space, how you organize space (Standard 2010: 33).

For Howe, culture provides the fundamentals from which communities develop an architectural 'code' which informs the built forms, spaces and spatial relationships. This code therefore "tells how to build a building, any building, within a specific cultural set of norms" (Standard 2010: 34). These codes, Howe states, derive from fundamental beliefs, such as what that group believes about the origin and function of the universe (Standard 2010: 34).

His research suggests the possibility of architecture's communicative and rhetorical functions being addressed through architectural codes that crystallise shared tribal values and long-term goals; thus, codes may assist tribal communities to counteract what he calls

[the] universalizing momentum of contemporary mainstream architectural practice. … Architectural codes can provide tribal communities with a way to produce new and previously inconceivable architectures in the Native American new world that differentiate tribal communities from each other and from the dominant culture (Howe 1995: 109).

Furthermore, "architecture, because of its perceived permanence, is the perfect medium for encoding tribal specific messages" (Howe 2011). Just so, but Howe is praising both the differentiation of tribes from each other and from the dominant white culture in which they are amid.

This raises the question of just how far the notion of a shared Native American 'culture' can be stretched before it is so generalised as to lose all connotations. In his dissertation, Howe makes the point that the collective term 'Native American architecture' has no meaning, in that there has never been a coherent aggregation of Indian people. "Such an imposition usually serves only to detribalize tribal peoples, to homogenize them, to render invisible their distinct identities and cultural boundaries" (Howe 1995: 16). This is a criticism of current pan-tribal design concepts, and the broad definitions of 'Native American' that arose as to collectively (and often detrimentally) describe all that was different from European culture. But the insistence on a localised, tribal point of view is not always viable in design situations. There are many schools, clinics and cultural centres that could not have been built were they tribal entities only. The key issue, for Howe, is the issue of informed consent. "Intertribal activities, if they are to be successful, require choice and agreement: choice from the wide array of tribal and non-tribal options, and agreement, within the intertribal community, to accept the choice(s)" (1995: 23).

Howe makes the point that even though an increasing number of contemporary Native American architectures that express Indigenous identity are being built, "tribal architectures beyond those intended for ceremonial purposes are nearly non-existent" (Howe 1995: 25). Here, he is right, and one hopes that the trend to address cultural coherency in current master planning will continue. On the upside, he sees "an emerging emphasis within tribal communities, or at least in public architectures on tribal lands, to be more 'culturally sensitive'" (Howe 2011). Rather than tribal architecture, he says, he "would characterize these structures as

architecture on tribal lands, or for tribal communities" (Howe 2011). The larger the project, the greater the tendency for this to occur. Howe's analysis points to the difficulty of designing culturally expressive buildings for multiple clients, even when a common raison d'être—that they are all Indigenous cultures—is claimed by the clients themselves. Two examples of this phenomenon immediately come to mind: the first in Oklahoma and another in Washington, D.C.

The American Indian Cultural Center and Museum, sited on three hundred acres of land donated by Oklahoma City, has as its mission the celebration of Native American culture. That involved the collaboration of 39 federally recognised tribes in Oklahoma, 31 of whom had been forced there from almost every area of the USA. It was designed by Johnson Fain Architects, in association with Hornbeek Blatt Architects, under a design paradigm where design considered to be a "unique outgrowth of culture" (Johnson Fain Architects n.d.). "The genesis of the physical design of the project grew out of Native American spiritual concepts and the desire to achieve a seamless relationship between the earth and building" (Johnson Fain Architects n.d.).

Faced with the problem of finding a form that could reasonably represent all their clients, the architects employed topographic phenomena in the form of an immense berm. The building's form is carved from the massive earthen spiral rising from a grassy disc (more than a thousand feet in diameter) to a high bluff. The spiral earthen form recalls the journey from earth to sky and provides a high east-facing inspirational promontory. The spiral grows out from the building as though each was a part of the other. Grounding in the earth is expressed through the use of natural materials—stone, wood and earth itself (Johnson Fain Architects n.d.; Native American Cultural Center and Museum Project Statement n.d.: 8).

The grasses are held in place by a complex gabion construction of netting (Fig. 7.9). The architects note: "building of earth, earth as building—these are ancient Native American traditions stretching back 6 000 years to the days of the Ancestors of the Tribes now residing in Oklahoma" (Johnson Fain Architects n.d; Native American Cultural Center and Museum Project Statement n.d.: 8). In order to provide a more inclusive design, the architects had to include elements that would be familiar to other tribes, especially those inhabiting the western part of Oklahoma.

Johnson Fain Architects is a contemporary firm, perhaps chosen for its ability to evoke a modern, yet unmistakably Native American aesthetic. In discussing the evolution of the promontory chosen to represent that broad aesthetic, Scott Johnson comments:

> We were aware of the mound sites. …having said that, the larger picture of the development is a 300-acre master planned site which contains many different formal and landscape elements. In an effort to create an overall environment which included all Tribes, and would define themes which might resonate with all, the site was organized into riverine, woodland and plains, the prototypical landscapes which, taken together, define the totality of native homelands. The promontory, for example, resonates with one of those habitats (2010).

Fig. 7.9 American Indian Cultural Center and Museum (*Photograph* Johnson Fain Architects)

The result is a cultural centre that feels different from a typical museum setting, yet slightly familiar from historical references, but one that is not tribally distinctive. Indeed, this tends to be true of most buildings whose designers have embraced the tenets of modernism, thus resulting in forgoing the profound distinction between tribes in favour of an inclusive aesthetic that still feels 'Native North American' in nature.

This was not an easy task, but the result—when finally completed—is likely to be successful. Imagine, then, the difficulty encountered in designing for, not 39 Native American tribes located in a single state, but Indigenous groups throughout the Americas—from northern Canada to Brazil. This is the case with the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI),[11] located on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The museum, part of the Smithsonian Institution, is the inheritor of the now-defunct Museum of the American Indian, which was located in New York City. That museum was the project of George Gustav which operated from 1916 to 1990. Its collections were vast and organised like New York's Museum of Natural History as an anthropological display of history.[12] The NMAI, from its inception, was intended to avoid that approach instead allowing Indigenous Peoples represented to tell their own story and to set that story in the present. That permeates

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[11] See also Johnpaul Jones' chapter in this volume.

[12] George Gustav Heye, who lived between 1874 and 1957, seemed fairly uninterested in contemporary Native American peoples, instead concentrating on their past.

the individual (and sometimes controversial) flavour of the museum's design, and the type of programming that takes place within it.

The museum has had a remarkable array of designers involved with its creation, beginning in 1991 with Venturi Scott Brown and Associates Inc., who were commissioned to assist in developing the design programme requirements and criteria. The major commitment came in 1993 when the Smithsonian Institution selected the architectural firm of Geddes Brecher Qualls Cunningham in association with Douglas Cardinal Architect Ltd. to create the design concept. Cardinal (Blackfoot-Métis) was the project's architect and project designer; although his relationship with the Smithsonian ended in 1998, the final result clearly represents his design aesthetic. It is a large building, with 250000 square feet (76200 m^2) spread over five storeys on a site just over four acres (1.6 ha) in size. Its curvilinear shapes, covered with a warm, Kasota limestone contrast sharply with every other building on the mall, and it is perhaps this distinction that proclaims its unique status. Cardinal has relied on geologic forms to suggest the power of raw nature in the 'eroded' sedimentary layers of stone familiar to many people living across the Americas. Those familiar with Cardinal's designs for the Canadian Museum of History (formerly Canadian Museum of Civilization) in 1989, the Oakes Red Bear Student Centre at the University of Saskatchewan (a centre for Aboriginal students and ceremony) and the First Nations University of Canada in Regina, Saskatchewan (2003) will see similarities (These are all, we hasten to point out, excellent buildings.). Our point is that Cardinal when faced with multiple-client situations turned to natural topographic and essentially abstract forms (Fig. 7.10).

As with the Oklahoma complex, landscape design was also pressed into service to define the 'otherness' of the NMAI. The landscape architects are Jones and Jones Architects and Landscape Architects Ltd. (Seattle) and EDAW (Alexandria, Virginia). Just as the building itself, with—according to Johnpaul Jones (Choctaw-Cherokee)—only a single sharp angle to be found is determinedly at odds with the Greco-Roman character of most of the National Mall, so does its landscaping contradict the rest of the mall, which has lines of trees and a reflecting pool. Washington D.C. was conceived as the acme of Roman Republicanism, but the mall landscape more nearly represents an eighteenth-century French *plaisance*. So the two together—building and setting—declare themselves not of the mall despite their prominent placement in it, such that anyone can see the distinction. Whether that distinction that sense of natural landforms also conveys the sense of being Native American is the question. Still, it is a handsome structure by any standard.

We earlier commented on the 'array' of designers. One of the NMAI's most interesting aspects is the number of Native American designers connected with it. Johnpaul Jones writes:

> From the beginning, we offered our services to the museum as a design team: two Indian women–Donna House (Navajo-Oneida) and Ramona Sakiestewa (Hopi)—and two Indian men, Douglas Cardinal and me… We felt that our different backgrounds and interests would be strengths we could bring to the challenge of designing a museum that hoped to represent all the Native peoples of the Americas (Jones 2004: 69).

Fig. 7.10 National Museum of the American Indian (*Photograph* Whiteside, NMAI)

It is clear that he sees the building as broadly Indigenous.

It's difficult to explain precisely what makes this a Native place, the elements are so intertwined throughout the whole building. When you step onto the site, it's going to feel different from other places in Washington, more connected to the natural world (Jones 2004: 73).

We think he is, on balance, correct in that assertion. Nor are these the only significant designers connected to the project; the list includes Lou Weller (Caddo), the Native American Design Collaborative and Polshek Partnership Architects (New York). The remarkable aspect of the project, however, is that Native Americans occupied every leadership position concerned with the design, construction, and exhibit programming of the building.

Ah—the programming. A simple glance at NMAI's website reveals a range of exhibits, performances and events that are remarkable by any standard. The intention of the museum has, from the start, been to present Native Americans in a different light, using different means than the Heye collection had employed. In a perceptive essay, Ira Jacknis notes that while some things would be familiar:

> …as many have noted, the museum would probably be unrecognizable to George G. Heye. First, and perhaps most important, it is focused on culture, not objects. And in place of the founder's interest in a distant past, represented by non-Natives, the current museum emphasizes the present as seen by American Indians themselves. Finally, it did all this by moving from private ownership by one man to control by all Native Americans on behalf of the entire nation (Jacknis 2008: 33).

One of the reasons for this is the establishing legislation, which calls for more than half of the trustees to be Native American peoples; another is the extensive involvement of Native American peoples in its staffing. But there are other reasons that Heye would not recognise this new incarnation.

The clear emphasis is on Native American peoples as they are today, their current lives are interpreted—in part—with the use of modern media. While ethnographic museums, which account for most of the past representations of Indians, stressed articles of clothing, weapons, beadwork, pottery, etc, this museum examines ceremonies, performances, dancing and interactions with contemporary culture. It is very much a case of Native American life now, with a concurrent de-emphasis on the past 500 years as represented in the dioramas of anthropological displays. This approach met with initial criticism from those who expected a more academic (and familiar) method to museum presentation; that is, an extensive reliance on artifacts displayed with accompanying texts to provide context. Elizabeth Archuleta describes the NMAI format as one in which

> …museum curators structured their displays like the 'many little threads' of a spider web, each strand adding to the larger picture, radiating out from the center that is the NMAI. This method of organization requires visitors to set aside notions they previously held about museums and Indians, 'listen' to the stories being told in the exhibits, and trust that meaning will be made if they become involved as participants in the storytelling process (Archuleta 2008: 191).

This description is quite accurate, and of course the antithesis of the traditional museum experience. Indeed, it lies outside the essential passivity that characterises most cultural interactions experienced by traditional white society. Small wonder it met with criticism. Archuleta goes on to say: "The NMAI's decision to challenge traditional museum modes of exhibition is political, because the outcome confronts stereotypes created by museums and other knowledge-producing institutions"

(Archuleta 2008: 192). It is ultimately humane as well, as it represents a resistance to a glorification of the past at the expense of the present (and in some sense, the future). It states quite clearly that these cultures are alive and recognise that the past —while part of who they are—does not define their entirety.

There is a second criticism that is leveled, perhaps more troubling because it originates with Native Americans themselves. Amy Lonetree begins a perceptive essay on the NMAI by noting: "[m]useums are indeed very painful sites for Native peoples, as they are intimately tied to the colonization process" (Lonetree 2008: 305). She makes a valid point, as the colonisation process depends on objectifying the objects of attention; surely one of the more effective strategies is to suggest, through historical displays, that those subjects are essentially moribund. This, intentionally or not, is the result of dioramas, displays and other depictions of the past. A collaborative process between scholars, curators and Native peoples themselves is characteristic of the NMAI's approach and applauded by Lonetree (among many others):

> The museum's ambitious 'new Indian museology' has been praised by several scholars and journalists for offering a complicated, nuanced, and ultimately effective presentation of Indigenous philosophy, history, and identity as told from the perspective of Indigenous communities (Lonetree 2008: 310).

But, she had hoped, she says, for

> more moments of wonder and places that touched my heart and more of an emphasis on truth telling—a site where the difficult stories could finally be told to a nation with a willed ignorance of the past five hundred years of ongoing colonization (Lonetree 2008: 310).

Lonetree has a point: If the gross iniquities of the past 500 years are present in these exhibits, it is certainly not in any explicit way. And while the NMAI would obviously prefer not to dwell on this period of Indigenous history, surely it has had a greater influence on Native American lives today than the previous 5000 years has had. Nor has it ended as an Indigenous reality. As Winona LaDuke (Ojibwe) poignantly states: "Most Indigenous cultures of the western hemisphere suffer from a historical unresolved grief. That is a grief that is accumulated over generations of trauma" (LaDuke 1999: 148). This is a difficult question; while, on the one hand, no group wishes to make abject victimisation the centre of their identity, on the other, no group wishes to ignore painful, ongoing realities for the convenience of the 'wilfully ignorant'. Once again, this is a decision that needs to be made by the Indigenous caretakers of the NMAI.

Returning to the building itself and the degree to which the form has divorced itself from any direct Native American references. Howe's concern about informed consent is certainly attended to: "Intertribal activities, if they are to be successful, require choice and agreement…" (Howe 1995: 23). What of the non-specific nature of the iconography? In an insightful essay, Judith Ostrowitz states:

Nature, history, directional symbolism, circularity – to an extent, all of the concepts that
emerged to inform these examples of new Native American architecture are highly plastic
and open to interpretation because they are abstractions; they are 'principle-based.' None of
them actually requires the true replication of pre-contact or early post-contact buildings
(Ostrowitz 2008: 98).

Ostrowitz goes on to suggest that the NMAI should be measured against other
contemporary Native projects as its principles are to be found there as well:
"However, the NMAI supersedes all of these other examples in the level of
abstraction with which these commonly derived principles have been expressed"
(Ostrowitz 2008: 98). This is the crux of the matter as we see it, as well. But we
think the question remains: Is there anything left to suggest the building is Native
American? NMAI of course benefits from its context; no one would mistake it for
yet another part of the culture that is expressed by the rest of the Mall. But how
would it read in an isolated setting? Howe's concerns that the general turn from
'tribal' to 'native' may yet be problematic is not unwarranted. But in the end, the
people most affected by its presence have embraced it and apparently affirmed its
'Native American' qualities.

Conclusions

Interesting things are happening on Native American Lands in the USA, and in
Canada as well. Cultural design parameters, new structural techniques and mate-
rials, master planning, sustainability, and financial strategies have all been evolving
at a rapid rate on reservations in the USA. Some of this has been the result of
improved federal policies—the key term in NAHASDA is 'Self-Determination'—
but much has to do with Native American groups seizing the initiative and for-
mulating a critical sense of what form that self-determination will take. While
NAHASDA deals with housing, it has proved generally useful in fund-raising for
other types of buildings and established an operational methodology for design
generally. All these aspects are to be found on reservations throughout the mid- and
western USA, and lately in the east as well.

Asked whether a new North American architecture is developing on Native
American Lands, David Sloan's (Navajo) response was emphatic:

Definitely. I think as tribal communities become more able to see how they can impact their
development, there's more participation from the tribal communities to want to build
something that is significant to them, that works for them. To me it's not so much Native
architects and designers motivating this drive, as it is the tribal communities themselves
(Sloan 2010).

Indeed, a new Native American Regionalism is developing that will be of sig-
nificance to those architects—Native and non-Native American—working on
Indigenous lands by virtue of providing design paradigms that act as guidelines. It
is heartening to see that so much vibrant discussion surrounds the design of new

buildings on these lands. And much of what is happening will, if everyone lets it, ultimately redound to the advance of architecture generally as a refutation of the pernicious notion of 'universal design' that has so held the architectural profession in thrall.

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Authors' Biographies

Joy Monice Malnar, AIA is a licensed architect and Professor Emerita in the School of Architecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her professional experience includes employment at Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill. Her design work focuses on the sensory and cultural attributes of architecture. She has co-authored The *Interior Dimension*: *A theoretical approach to enclosed space* (Wiley 1992) and *Sensory Design* (University of Minnesota Press 2004). Her co-authored book *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands* (University of Minnesota Press 2013) moves beyond academic, phenomenological theory to present buildings designed to address cultural and environmental sustainability. She is currently in the Editorial Advisory Board of *Senses & Society*.

Frank Vodvarka is Professor Emeritus at Loyola University Chicago. He has co-authored *The Interior Dimension: A theoretical approach to enclosed space* (Wiley 1992) and *Sensory Design* (University of Minnesota Press 2004). He has also given lectures on aspects of sensory design in Singapore and Seoul, and at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal. His book, *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands* (University of Minnesota Press 2013), was presented at the National American Indian Housing Council's 39th Annual Convention in Chicago, the American Institute of Architects Seattle Diversity Roundtable's 16th Annual Summer Solstice and NAISA (Native American Indigenous Studies Association), of which he is a member.

Chapter 8
Metrics and Margins: Envisioning Frameworks in Indigenous Architecture in Canada

Wanda Dalla Costa

Introduction

New Architecture on Indigenous Lands was the first book published on the subject of Indigenous architecture for over two decades. It was the work of two academics seeking to compile an inventory of recent architectural projects on Native American lands. In the publication, the authors made some bold statements. They proclaimed that cultural meaning has largely been lost in Western architecture. They also declared that Indigenous[1] architecture is "more complex, profound and meaningful" than current Western practice (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 3).

Around the same time as the book was published, there was a highly publicised debate occurring in North American architectural circles. The argument put forward was that architecture had become increasingly disconnected from the public. The New York Times ran an article "How to Rebuild Architecture" (Bingler and Pederson 2014), while Forbes ran the follow-up article entitled "Architecture continues to implode: More insiders admit the profession is failing" (Shubow 2015). The authors Bingler and Pederson (2014) argued for an architecture that responds to a larger and more diverse client base. At the same time as the articles were published, the American Institute of Architects launched its first public awareness campaign. The *Look Up* campaign, a three-year initiative commencing in 2015, sought to re-connect the public with architecture and to increase public perception of the value of the profession (The American Institute of Architects 2015).

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[1]A note on the use of the term 'Indigenous' in this chapter. The author uses the term Indigenous to refer to a group of people who "resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive people and communities" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples 2008).

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These discourses and initiatives inspire engagement of previously neglected theses. One area where there has been a paucity of research and discourse is the nexus between Indigenous perspectives and knowledge systems, and architecture. Work in this area is long overdue. Indigenous people offer a unique way of looking at the world, "their particular lens carries with it embedded meanings related to spatial organization, collective coexistence, experiential learning, spiritual values and ideological ethics of stewardship" (Dalla Costa 2016). This chapter seeks to articulate this intersection of Indigenous perspectives and architecture.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, *Indigenous story in architecture,* examines culturally based perspectives, reviewing the work of scholars such as Dr Balkrishna (B.V.) Doshi (India) and Professor Hirini Matunga (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mamoe, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Paerangi) (Aotearoa New Zealand) to discuss the challenges of crafting a cultural thesis of architecture. In the second section, the role of four influences in Indigenous architecture is discussed, the notions of place, kinship, transformation, and sovereignty, and is examined through the work of authors such as Dr Gregory Cajete (Tewa) (Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico), Professor Theodore (Ted) Jojola (Pueblo of Isleta) (Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico) and Professor Graham Smith (Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Kahungunu) (Aotearoa New Zealand). The third section, *Metrics in Indigenous architecture*, reviews measurement systems for the design of the built environment. Three culturally based systems; Matunga's *Indigenous Planning as Outcome*, the *Te Aranga Māori Design Principles* and Boussora's nine-part inventory to regional architecture are then used to provide a starting framework for examination. The final section of this chapter, *Indigenous Projects in Canada*, uses the vocabulary developed from these learnings to discuss three architectural exemplars; The Gathering Circle at Prince Arthur's Landing, the Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre and the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre.

Indigenous Stories in Architecture

Where does one begin a discussion of crafting an Indigenous story in architecture? In *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands*, Malnar and Vodvarka attempted to define typologies in the field of Indigenous architecture, seeking to establish common denominators to help describe, analyse and interpret an incredibly diverse set of projects. The aim is honourable, but perhaps, premature. Until understandings of culture's innate catalysts are developed and the nature of how these affect architecture, typological assumptions are superficial.

It is useful to look at the work of internationally renowned architect and educator, Balkrishna (B.V.) Doshi. Similar to the experiences of First Nations, Métis, Inuit, and Native American peoples in North America, the colonial occupation and rapid modernisation of India has meant that Indian traditional principles and cultural influences in the built environment have been largely ignored. Doshi's writings serve as a place of reflection, highlighting the challenges inherent in

Indigenous architecture: capturing cultural undercurrents, transcribing the potency inherent in traditional built environments and seizing the vital role of process in design. These challenges, viewed in another manner, become an opportunity for identifying areas for innovation.

Doshi argues that Western models of architecture and urban planning are ill-suited to Indian culture as they omit critical functions of the built environment.

> Pre-industrial Indian architecture served the physical, symbolic, social and spiritual needs of people: At a physical level, it embodied centuries of learning with regard to orientation, climate, building materials and construction techniques. At a spiritual level, the built-form conveyed total harmony with the life-style in all its daily as well as seasonal rituals, unifying the socio-cultural and religious aspirations of the individuals and the community (Doshi 1985: 112).

Doshi describes the deficiency in terms of tangible and intangible parameters, reminiscent of Louis Khan's measurables and immeasurables. By tangible, Doshi is referring to the traditions and their associated context. By intangible, he is referring to the intrinsic relationships that arise between people and their surroundings. According to Doshi, these "abstract, cultural undercurrents" that transcend visual analysis are critical to architecture. They have a dynamic role, nurturing and complementing the sociocultural institutions, and supporting the structures that culture is built on (Doshi 1985: 111). Doshi uses the term *total environment* to describe culturally and socially inspired spatial arrangements in which buildings, spaces and culture exist in a unified whole (Doshi 1985).

Doshi examines traditionally ordered cities, such as Jaisalmer and old Jaipur, to uncover the essential orders of the built environment. The traditional Indian town plan was compact and activated by walkways, complete with niches for pausing and balconies for observing. According to Doshi, this is a complete divergence from current residential realities which he describes as "impersonal bee-hives of flats, in concrete, in isolated locations, separated by unsuitable public spaces" (Doshi 1985: 112). The incongruity Doshi expresses between traditional and contemporary residential architecture is ubiquitous in Indigenous North America, and well documented in the field of architecture (Pettit et al. 2014: 1–70).

Doshi draws another vital connection between the two architectural traditions that is helpful in examining cultural architecture: the role of process. Doshi uses the example of Mughal architecture, in which everyone, community members included, contributed to the final product. Together, they are shareholders in an enterprise where the outcome represented and was of benefit to all (Doshi 1985: 112). Process is also highlighted by Matunga. He claims that process will reveal all the biological, cultural, social, economic and political factors which have the potential to impact the spatial environment. It will also allow the vital links between ancestral places and the inhabitants, to emerge.

In the light of challenges posed by Doshi, a number of questions arise. How do we access intangible, abstract, cultural undercurrents? Perhaps the larger question becomes, can we access the undercurrents for a culture we are not born into? Moreover, we need to question, whether the typical design process, consisting of a

modest amount of ethnographic research and a few community engagement sessions, enables the architect to grasp the complex relationships of the natural, physical and social realities?

Matunga acknowledges the immense challenge in this field. He uses the term multi-layered materiality and memory, to articulate the complex undercurrents in Indigenous spatial planning (Matunga 2013). By materiality, he is referring to the physical quality, presence and structure; by memory, he is referring to the recall of experience and existence. He asserts that capturing these complex undercurrents in contemporary environments is the biggest challenge for spatial planners today, especially considering many of the physical traces have been erased (Matunga 2013: 8).

Catalysts in Indigenous Architecture

To examine architecture from First Nations, Métis or Inuit perspectives, it is necessary to reveal ways of thinking and knowledge systems that impact the environment and the creation of built form. This section will review four catalysts that speak to the epistemology of Indigenous peoples of North America. The author introduced three of the four catalysts (*place*, *kinship,* and *transformation*) at the 2016 Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture conference in a paper entitled: *Contextualized metrics & narrating binaries: Defining place and process in Indigenous North America* (Dalla Costa 2016). The fourth catalyst, *sovereignty*, has been added, as it is increasingly being expressed and explored through architecture.

This section should be viewed as living and evolving, affected by the changing realities within individual communities. It should also be recognised that not all projects should engage all catalysts. Any architectural project that explores a single catalyst moves the subject of Indigenous architecture forward.

Catalyst One: Architecture as Place

In discussing Indigenous ecological knowledge systems and traditional management practices (and specifically those of the Karuk Tribe), Hillman and Salter note that "[p]urely rational and technical approaches unaugmented by a sense of the sacred or by the sensibilities specific to place will necessarily become destructive and irrational over time" (1997). The same can be said of Indigenous architecture, a field that relies heavily on place.

An insightful story provided by Steven Semken[2] conveys the entwined nature of place, Indigenous world views and the complexity of the cultural landscape. While in the field, and following a field lecture on 'science', his Navajo students would share their understandings of place. Their understandings would be told through naming, stories and traditional interpretations. According to Semken (2016), place is the basis of cultural identity. Ceremony, songs and lifeways (the way people live) emerge from the physical landscape of place.

Gregory Cajete has also examined place and sees it as inseparable from Indigenous thinking. He uses the term *relational worldview* to describe the human–nature relationship in which humans co-occupy the universe with other living things, both animate and inanimate. Cajete (2000) uses terms such as *biophilia, animism, totemism* and *perceptual phenomenology* to deal with the concept within a Western framework. The codependent relationship between humans and nature is embedded over time in song, story and place-based learning. The result is that Indigenous people are unable to formulate a detached, objective view of land and place (Cajete 2000: 24). The belief system, the natural world, lifeways and ritual are thus integrated.

Compounding this interrelationship, land is tied to the notion of collective stewardship. Ted Jojola reminds us that traditionally, successive generations of people owned land communally. Together, they worked towards the productivity of the land (Jojola 2008: 40). Property was not viewed as a commodity leading to individual prosperity, but a collective responsibility entrusted to the current generation of caretakers. The integration of place-based interactions, accumulated knowledge systems and collective ownership is confirmed by the United Nations definition of Indigenous knowledge:

> …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 (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples 2009: 64).

When viewed through the lens of either Cajete's relational world view or Jojola's notion of collective stewardship, place is a cultural construct, secured through a cultural understanding. Being inspired by place, a common architectural device, and having a belief system tied into place are two very different notions.

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[2]Professor Steven Semken is an ethnogeologist at Arizona State University who investigates the influences of sense of place, culture and their effect on modes of teaching and learning. Semken spent 15 years teaching at Diné College on the Navajo Nation.

Catalyst Two: Architecture as Kinship

Social cohesion is a vital strategy for survival and continuity in traditionally based societies. Matunga tells us that "commitment to the group, and improving the well-being of the kinship community are paramount" (Matunga 2013: 24). Doshi discusses community as the nucleus or ordering device in the creation of physical environments:

> In traditional Indian society, one is not alone, but part of a community. Buildings are not built in isolation, but in groups leading to a total environment, merging buildings, spaces, and culture in a unified whole. The community shares everything. …Unless this socio-cultural tradition is understood, the organization of buildings, streets, spaces and their forms cannot be the desired fabric wherein the community wants to live. It is, therefore, necessary to talk about physical environment in terms of culture rather than only in terms of buildings, space, technology or economy (Doshi 1985: 114).

Overshadowed by Western spatial priorities, many contemporary First Nations, Métis and Inuit built environments do not prioritise kinship as a central ordering device. Architects and planners should not assume this is the desired outcome, nor should assumptions be made of current lifestyles that do not abide by kinship-driven spatial ordering systems. Structures and systems have been interrupted historically. However, there are examples of kinship-centric ordering techniques emerging. Recently, a project called the Niitsitapi Learning Centre aimed to find ways to re-operationalise *community* and kinship structures. With Elders as guides, traditional ordering devices, such as the Seven Grandfather Teachings[3] and the Medicine Wheel,[4] were deployed. These traditions provide the structural basis of culture and foster cultural continuity. Kinship as ordering device cannot be understated.

Catalyst Three: Architecture as Transformation

According to Graham Smith, a vital requirement of Indigenous theory is its transformative ability "where the research gives back to and benefits the community in some manner" (Kovach 2009: 91). The catalyst of transformation has far-reaching impacts in architecture. Designing buildings or creating communities can provide value in many facets of community development including economics, the environment, culture, social well-being and even political sovereignty.

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[3]The Teachings of the Seven Grandfathers, often known simply as either the Seven Teachings or Seven Grandfathers, is a set of teachings on human conduct towards others (Benton-Banai 1988).

[4]While Medicine Wheels are interpreted uniquely in every culture, they generally represent the alignment and continuous interaction of the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual realities (Graveline 1998).

While some impacts are easier to assess, for instance environmental impact, others need thoughtful examination and input from community members. Architectural-economic strategies could include: designing with local construction expertise in mind, specifying materials that contribute to local businesses, or hiring local personnel. Architectural-political strategies include any means to promote self-determination, such as employing traditional building techniques or creating a local advisory board to guide a project.

Architectural-art strategy is an area that requires future consideration. Architecture has a dual role (Pallasmaa 1988: 132). It is both communal and autonomous. However, with the prioritisation of community within Indigenous theory, the dual role becomes blurred. What is the role of the architect? How does an architect (as artist) effectively produce a collective self-image of another culture? While this subject will not be solved here, it is a core challenge within the practice of Indigenous architecture. The solution lies somewhere between being able to identify community-driven priorities, reformulating values in architectural education and providing professionals with tools that enable broad transformational thinking.

Catalyst Four: Architecture as Sovereignty

While cultural continuity has been interrupted by a number of historical events, namely the reservation system, residential schools and the outlawing of culture traditions, re-operationalising culture and the resurrection, restoration and revitalisation of traditional methodologies is actively underway. Other ways of knowing are beginning to have an impact on many disciplines including natural resource development, health care, education, governance and now planning and development.

Architecture, as a discipline, is proving powerful in its ability to express culture and to contextualise traditional knowledge. Due to its transformational aims in many culturally significant domains such as land, environment, culture, spatial meaning, story and historical precedent, it is a potent vessel of communication. It is a means of storytelling. It is healing. Cultural lessons, previously coveted for fear of misuse, are being articulated as pathways to sovereignty.

Architects, in their role as translators, have played and will continue to play a vital role in re-instituting culture. A visual language *will* emerge and will be complemented by what is held within the pages of this book, which is the development of the complementary spoken language (Dalla Costa 2016: 2). This work and the terminology created within are all expressions of sovereignty.

Metrics in Indigenous Architecture

According to the authors of *Design Thinking for Social Innovation*, any system which does not have a means of assessment is precarious. The authors propose a three-part system to ensure validity in the design process: inspiration, ideation and implementation. According to the authors, we are to envision "inspiration as the problem or opportunity that motivates the search for solutions; ideation as the process of generating, developing, and testing ideas; and implementation as the path that leads from the project stage into people's lives" (Brown and Wyatt 2010: 33).

Design thinking is a useful method in Indigenous architecture, particularly helpful in readdressing the lack of First Nations, Métis and Inuit authorship and agency in the built environment. The majority of built structures, both on and off reserve, have been *inspired by*, and *implemented by*, non-Indigenous professionals. *Ideation*, or testing ideas, is difficult to achieve, as there is no measurement system from which to examine cultural architecture. Meanwhile, metric systems in the design of built environments are becoming increasingly common. The Living Building Challenge is aimed at achieving net zero buildings. It now includes qualitative indicators such as 'happiness', 'beauty', 'spirit' and 'inspiration'. Other systems focus on process or engaging participatory design, which is the case in Social Economic Environmental Design (SEED). While still others, such as the Circle of Sustainability, serve to broaden the definition of sustainable urban environments, with culture as one of the main four indicators. As a group of initiatives, they enable the critical feedback loop, of both quantitative and qualitative measurements, within the built environment.

Two culturally based metric systems are included in this discussion to bring cultural priority to the forefront. The first is the *Te Aranga Māori Design Principles*. The principles were developed in conjunction with Māori professionals and the Ministry of Environment, and published as part of the *Auckland Design Manual*. They are application-based principles, designed for enhancing cultural outcomes in design (Ministry of Environment 2005). The second metric was developed by Algerian architect and academic Kenza Boussora. Boussora's work was a response to contemporary (and often climatically unsuitable) architecture being constructed in Algeria. The result is a nine-part inventory aimed at reinstating architectural values derived from the local culture, spatial norms, climate and economy.

Codes for collective living are well established in traditional North American Indigenous society. The establishment of codes served multiple purposes: to share history, to transfer generational knowledge, to affirm values and to ensure social cohesion (Kovach 2009: 95). The codes were communicated orally, told through story, song and prayer, and enabled visually through symbols, and occasionally built form. An example of codified values in built form is the Cree tipi poles. In the Cree belief system, each tipi pole represents a value, for example, humility, kinship or sharing. The act of erecting a tipi served to embrace these values into everyday life.

Architecture is a means of codifying values and telling a story. Buildings convene multiple disciplines into a single endeavour, creating a mechanism for dialogue. The disciplines impacted include: the environment, economics, natural sciences, geography, history, public engagement, sovereignty and artistic expression. Moreover, architecture fosters a conversation on many levels, including the space between Indigenous and non-Indigenous science and ways of knowing. Through both the process and product of architecture, rich relationships are fused between the storyteller, which in the case of Indigenous architecture is community + architect, and the listener or viewer.

Cultural catalysts in Indigenous architecture remain underutilised. Until these notions are embedded in architectural education and practice, metrics are a useful mechanism to articulate community-driven aims. The topics provided by Matunga's *Indigenous Planning as Outcome* can be viewed as margins for exploration in architecture. The categories provide a structure to the discussion of metrics. As Matunga reminds us, our aim, as spatial planners, is to find adaptive ways of working within these culturally driven outcomes (Matunga 2013: 31).

Assessing architecture as *outcome*, instead of using *process*, as in the SEED tool, is intentional. Outcomes allow the reduction of broad aims in architecture, into achievable categories of giving back. The areas of return include: cultural, environmental, economic, political and social. While it can be recognised that not all projects can engage all catalysts, it can be seen through examining three Canadian projects in this chapter that engaging multiple outcomes in one project is possible.

Contemporary Indigenous architecture is a developing field. While applying prescriptive measures to a creative field is undesirable, the ability to measure success is crucial. By giving language and structure to the catalysts, processes and outcomes in cultural architecture, it is possible to achieve four concurrent goals: to embed catalysts (place, kinship, transformation and sovereignty) as drivers; to initiate the development of architectural terminology to describe cultural undercurrents; to assist professionals by highlighting vital design opportunities that secure local priorities; and finally, to create a user-friendly feedback loop within which the community can participate. The last goal is critical for Indigenous peoples to re-operationalise *their* language in a contemporary context.

Outcome One: Cultural Protection and Enhancement

Culture is a broad concept. It encompasses art, customs, creative expression and the social fabric of everyday life. In the case of First Nations, Métis and Inuit cultures, core cultural values are enabled through practices, institutions, ceremony, customs, languages and distinctive idioms (Matunga 2013: 26). To fuse culture and architecture requires engaging deeply all of the above. Re-operationalisation of culture is underway; however, it is marked by cautiousness and carefulness. The practice of architecture needs to embody a spirit of generosity, of time and patience, to bring

together the people, their stories and the remaining physical evidence into a collective and living kit of parts.

Te Aranga assists in clarifying broad cultural concepts into actionable steps. Two principles, provided here, are aimed at constructing authentic cultural narrative in the built environment. The first, *Mahi Toi*, is defined in general terms as *art* and *craft*. The goal of Mahi Toi is to capture narratives creatively and appropriately. This includes ancestral names, sites and landmarks, and creatively re-inscribing these elements into landscape, architecture, interior design and public art. The principle further states that mandated design professionals and artists should be engaged in the process. Three application-based solutions for Mahi Toi are identified: establish design consortia equipped to translate cultural narratives; re-investigate urban (or shared) landscapes to reflect cultural identity and contribute to sense of place; and re-inscribe cultural narratives in the environment through public art and design.

The second culturally aimed principle in Te Aranga is *Whakapapa*. It is defined in general terms as *genealogy*. This principle recognises ancestral names as entry points for exploring and honouring ancestors, historical narratives, customary practices of site development, and for building 'sense of place' connections. The application of Whakapapa is achieved through three activities: consultation and research on the use of correct ancestral names; recognition of traditional place names in signage and wayfinding; and development of names to inform the design process.

Outcome Two: Environmental Quality and Quantity

The deep association between First Nation, Métis and Inuit people and their environment, whether viewed through the concept of relational world view (Cajete 2000) or collective stewardship (Jojola 2008) or other means, requires exploration and advocacy in design. Care needs to be taken to avoid romanticised environmental assumptions of Indigenous sustainability (Matunga 2013: 24). Moreover, Indigenous people need to define the 'duty of care' that suits their community and that corresponds to their other desired outcomes (economic, political, social and cultural). Three environment principles from Te Aranga, work to strengthen and nurture the human–nature relationship and are a voice for environmental preservation for future generations.

Taiao is defined as *natural world* and is aimed at protecting, restoring and enhancing the natural environment. Applications include: creating and connecting ecological corridors; planting Indigenous flora in public and private spaces; selecting plants to attract native birds; planting for biodiversity; and establishing traditional food and cultural resource areas.

The second environmental principle, *Mauri Tu*, is defined as *life essence* and is aimed at environmental health including the physical resources of water, energy and air. Architecture and planning can be assessed through their ability to enhance the life principle, where natural resources are actively monitored, and energy and

material are conserved. Applications include: restoration of waterways, remediated soil, rainwater collection, greywater recycling, passive solar design and the incorporation of materials and landscape with high cultural value.

The third Te Aranga principle unites environmental and cultural protection. *Tohu*, or to *preserve and conserve*, recognises the value of protecting significant sites and cultural landmarks. Four applications are identified: uphold the preservation and conservation of sacred sites, mountains, water bodies, gardens, food sourcing places and ancestral settlements; establish, preserve and enhance visual connection to significant sites; ensure design responses (buildings and orientation) are informed by landmarks and their associated narratives; and finally, create heritage trails, markers and interpretation boards as part of development.

Outcome Three: Political Autonomy and Advocacy

This outcome centres on power-sharing with state and agencies, and building autonomy and advocacy into the development process. Political autonomy is addressed in the Te Aranga principle of *Mana*, which is defined as *mandate or jurisdiction*. Mana provides a platform for working relationships based on cultural values and world views. The Māori principle has two applications: identifying all Māori interest groups in any given development and the establishment of high-level treaty-based relationships prior to finalising design approaches.

Advocacy was identified by Matunga as a sixth outcome, entitled 'Support from Within the Community of Planners'. It is integrated here, as it can be seen to work towards the same overall goal: bringing awareness of, and advocacy to, Indigenous voices in the built environment. The first step is for the community to self-define their priorities and goals. Professionals in the field can then become advocates in transferring local, regional and national planning responsibilities and assisting in the growth of this field (Matunga 2013: 26).

Outcome Four: Economic Growth and Distribution

First Nation, Métis and Inuit economics are often linked to an asset base, such as land or resources. The asset base empowers communities to rebuild economically. In line with traditional economics, the aim of this outcome is to ensure the proceeds of resources are shared. As with all other outcomes, economic priorities need to be defined internally and will require negotiation with other outcomes such as social well-being and environmental protection (Matunga 2013: 25).

The *Ahi Kā principle*, or *continuous occupation*, contained within Te Aranga, affirms that tribes are guaranteed a living and enduring presence and are secure and valued within their territory. They are enabled to live, work and play within their community. The principle further states that Māori should resume their stewardship

role in urban areas. Applications of Ahi Kā include: access to natural resources (species, food sources, waterways, etc.); enhancing Māori authority over land and resources; the establishment of joint (tribal-municipal) venture developments ensuring a sense of place; and the establishment of joint (tribal-private) venture developments to enhance employment.

The work of Boussora can be overlaid to expand the Te Aranga principle of Ahi Kā. Boussora's work aims to reinstate local economies and local resources (i.e. materials, labour and technology) through architecture and construction in Algeria. This mission resonates with the prioritisation of economic well-being within First Nation, Métis and Inuit communities. Architectural-economic strategies include: a detailed assessment of local economic factors (funding available, comparative cost of building materials, and methods); a survey of materials and the relevant labour available, including the number of people with traditional, local crafts skills; and finally, an assessment of training or new skills needed (Boussora 1990). Boussora's recommendations could be reviewed as potential workforce development strategies for Indigenous communities in North America.

Outcome Five: Social Cohesion and Well-Being

The aim of social cohesion is to improve well-being across all indices including: housing, health, welfare, education and social equity (Matunga 2013: 24). Two Māori core beliefs, which underlie the Te Aranga principles, have socially invested outcomes. *Whanaungatanga* is defined as *kinship*, or connecting as one people (Auckland University of Technology 2007). It references a relationship through shared experiences and social obligations (kinship, familial, friendship or reciprocal). It provides people with a sense of belonging and is based on the notion that the strength of the group strengthens each individual. The other Māori value is *Kotahitanga*, defined as *unity*. Other terms associated with this are: solidarity, cohesion and collaboration. *Kotahitanga* has been traced back to a movement of national Māori kinship groups in the late nineteenth century in New Zealand (Māori Dictionary 2007).

Referring to the work of Boussora, who prioritises distinct social needs and spatial norms in cultural architecture, it is seen that social cohesion is a vital mode of establishing cultural continuity in traditionally based societies. Social requirements are culturally determined, and for this reason, building types may not transfer from one culture to another (Boussora 1990). To counteract this, Boussora proposes a survey method built into the process of architecture. The survey will assist the architect in understanding needs of the current local lifestyle, defining the pattern of daily activities, and reassessing building types based on the lifestyle survey.

Indigenous Projects in Canada

The following section highlights three projects in the emerging field of Indigenous architecture in Canada. While these projects engage very different approaches, they offer invaluable insight for practitioners and scholars into the field. These projects employ both catalysts and outcomes, and represent the work of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous architects. The projects have been recognised for their contribution to the body of architecture in Canada and have received accolades worldwide.

The distinctions include: Governor General Medal for Excellence in Architecture, National Urban Design Award Medal by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC), Award for Planning Excellence by the Canadian Urban Institute of Planners, Award for Innovation in Architecture (RAIC), and a category winner at the World Architecture Festival in Barcelona. One of the projects featured here was the first architectural practice to receive a Progressive Aboriginal Relations award by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB), a recognition rewarding the level of collaborative development with Aboriginal stakeholders.

The select buildings are documented in chronological order. The first is the Nk'Mip Cultural Centre (2006) by Bruce Haden of DIALOG architects for the Osoyoos Indian Band in British Columbia. The second is the Gathering Circle and Spirit Garden (2012), designed by Brook Mcllroy, and part of the waterfront redevelopment of Prince Arthur's Landing in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The final building, the Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre (2016) designed by Douglas Cardinal Architect, is located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

DIALOG Architects, Osoyoos, British Columbia

Built in 2006, the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre is situated within a unique Canadian landscape within the territory of the Osoyoos Indian Band. The site has been described as a pocket desert and is home to endangered plant and animal species, complete with prickly pear cactus, scorpions and rattlesnakes. The unique climate and desert landscape was a major driver for the project. The project has received a number of prestigious awards including the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Award for Innovation in Architecture, the Governor General Medal for Excellence in Architecture, and category winner at 2008 World Architecture Festival in Barcelona.

The main façade is the largest rammed earth wall in North America, measuring 80 Metre (262.5 Feet) long, 5.5 Metre (18 Feet) high, and 600 mm (23.5 Inch) thick (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013). The wall resembling strata of the earth has

Fig. 8.1 Nk'Mip Cultural Centre (rammed earth wall) (*Photograph* Nic Lehoux)

become its most recognisable feature. Both the client and architect aimed to capture the notion of *land*. The firm's goal was to 'present the Osoyoos Band's long tenure on the land', while the client was striving for something 'breathtaking, but with very little footprint on the land' (Weder 2008). The result is striking. The building clearly prioritises its desert setting as a major driver and, in doing so, facilitates understandings of local values (Fig. 8.1).

The cultural centre program is equally powerful in its engagement with the desert environment. The entry sequence begins at the midpoint of the massive rammed earth wall, moving visitors from the exterior public plaza, through a dramatic oversized corten steel door. Beyond the door, there are 50 km of interpretive walkways, punctuated by small interpretive pavilions, a reconstructed pit house and numerous sculptures. The interior of the building contains an interpretative centre a theatre and an amphitheatre.

Catalyst: Architecture as Place

The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre is grounded in the exploration of place. It guides the exterior expression, the programming, and outlines a sustainable philosophy. By capitalising on *place*, this project powerfully articulates the local world view, an innate driver in the human–nature relationship. It blurs the role of the architect as the leading character, or protagonist of the architectural story, to the

Fig. 8.2   Nk'Mip Cultural Centre (site context) (*Photograph* Nic Lehoux)

land becoming the leading character. Through the land emerges the building, and not the reverse. In line with Indigenous learning methods, one becomes embedded within the story of the land. The entwining of land, plants, humans and geological time, as represented by the strata of the wall, is intentional. The story is one of inter-dependence with other living things (Fig. 8.2).

Architecture as Outcome: Environmental, Cultural and Economic Narratives

The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre is inspired by the ethnoarchitectural tradition of the pit house. Engrained in this historic structure is a host of time-tested sustainable principles. In this fragile desert ecosystem, where extreme temperatures fluctuate between hot, dry summers and cool winters, local earth building techniques and green roof covering assisted in stabilising temperature fluctuations. This project moves towards a valuable direction in First Nations, Métis, and Inuit architecture: extrapolation of sustainable principles from traditional precedents.

The building goes beyond passive design strategies such as orientation and passive solar, to include a number of restorative strategies. The project actively serves to re-establish habitats, including incorporating a water management strategy and education tools to familiarise visitors with Indigenous fauna and flora (Weder 2008). This building illustrates how architecture can serve to protect, restore and

enhance environmental health. It exemplifies *Taiao* (natural world), *Mauri Tu* (life essence) and *Tohu* (preserve and conserve).

The dynamic form of the centre conveys Chief Clarence Louie's vision for the Osoyoos Indian Band. He is a proponent of both cultural narrative (*Mahi Toi*) and embedded genealogy (*Whakapapa*). The Chief requested that every detail of the development was marked by culture. Signage is written in the local language and describes the significance of the land, wildlife and history. Local hiking trails are complete with traditional Osoyoos structures including the tule-mat tipi, a pit house and a sweat lodge (MacDonald 2014).

With economic resilience as a primary driver for all projects in the community, the band has become one of the most prosperous First Nations in Canada. In line with his economic goals, Chief Louie has worked to ensure band members were invited to partake in the construction of the cultural centre, developing local skills and adding to the economic sustainability of the region. Osoyoos Indian Band has a number of tourism, construction and recreation companies, including Nk'Mip Wine Cellars, the first Aboriginal-owned winery in North America. There is virtually no unemployment among the band's 520 members.

The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre embodies a resilient vision: it conveys a vigorous architectural language, it is based on enviro-cultural values, and it enables visitors to partake in the natural world. The building epitomises *place* and is robust in its outcomes. It has created an enduring narrative that will have impact far beyond its Canadian desert setting (Fig. 8.3).

Gathering Circle and Spirit Garden, Prince Arthurs Landing

Architect: Brook McIlroy, Thunder Bay, Ontario

The Gathering Circle is part of Prince Arthur's Landing, a waterfront mixed-use redevelopment in the City of Thunder Bay. The development is designed to re-connect the downtown area with Lake Superior (see Welch 2012; Rochon 2013). Lake Superior is one of the five Great Lakes of North America, the largest group of freshwater lakes on earth. Opened in 2011, the project has received a number of prestigious architectural, landscape architecture and urban design awards; including the National Urban Design Award Medal (RAIC), the Award for Planning Excellence and Aboriginal Community Planning (Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP)), and the Canadian Urban Institute Best Large Scale Project. Brook McIlroy is the first architectural practice in Canada to receive a Progressive Aboriginal Relations designation offered by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB). The award highlights the unique level of collaboration with the Aboriginal stakeholders on this project.

Fig. 8.3 Nk'Mip Cultural Centre (interior) (*Photograph* Nic Lehoux)

In the centre of the Spirit Garden, there is an eighty-foot diameter, open-air pavilion referred to as the Gathering Circle (Canadian Institute of Planners 2012). Its use of arched, truss-like columns drives the aesthetic impact. The technique is derived from local bentwood building. The pavilion accommodates a number of cultural activities including: music, storytelling, ceremony, blessings, dance and

Fig. 8.4 Gathering Circle and Spirit Garden (*Photograph* Calvin Brook)

theatre. Designed to celebrate culture in an urban context, it has become a major landmark, informing visitors and residents of the influence of Indigenous culture in Thunder Bay (Fig. 8.4).

Catalyst: Architecture as Sovereignty and Transformation

The most important impact arising from this project is its recognition of the missing Aboriginal history in the design of Canadian urban environments. The committee for the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada noted that the project brought forward "a history that was previously invisible to a large percentage of Thunder Bay's population" (Royal Architecture Institute of Canada 2012). Similarly, when the Canadian Institute of Planners described the contributions of this project, the committee mentioned the lack of tangible expression of Aboriginal culture within the city.

Similar to many Canadian communities, Thunder Bay has a significant and growing Aboriginal population. While an important part of the community's past and future, there is no tangible physical expression of Aboriginal cultures within the city. No public places, objects or installations exist that one could clearly point to as a place that signified the important and proud culture of the Anishinabe

communities who have inhabited the shoreline and adjacent areas for 9 000 years (Canadian Institute of Planners 2012).

With an increasing number of Indigenous people relocating to urban environments, urban design opportunities, and their potential impact, are increasing. Projects such as this announce to the rest of the world that Aboriginal culture matters and should be celebrated. Moreover, urban projects, such as the Gathering Circle, hold tremendous value to assist First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples in working through issues of identity and belonging within an urban context (Fig. 8.5).

This project exemplifies the manner in which a project can be a catalyst for transformation. The Gathering Circle is an exploration of the ways in which architecture can give back and redress past injustices. It enabled an architectural-cultural narrative by engaging local Indigenous designers to craft the story and empowered authentic architectural-art strategies by employing local Indigenous artists. The process typifies architectural-economic best practices by supporting local construction technology and expertise, and facilitated architectural-social vitality by creating a venue for cultural activities to take place. The project supports architectural-political (sovereignty) strategies through engaging a community organisation to guide and direct the process. All the while, the project celebrates its nature-inspired setting, bringing to life the architectural-environmental priorities of the local Indigenous peoples. The Gathering Circle aims for broad transformations in attitudinal thinking and societal change and should be viewed as an exemplar in advancing Indigenous architecture.

Fig. 8.5 Gathering Circle and Spirit Garden (view within the city) (*Photograph* Calvin Brook)

Architecture as Outcome: Cultural, Environmental, Social and Political Narratives

In terms of cultural outcome, this project is exemplary in crafting an authentic narrative. Its success can be attributed to the high level of outreach by the architects. Working alongside local community members, the architects translated narratives, investigated urban landscapes and re-inscribed the narratives into art and design. All three applications of *Mahi Toi* (art and craft) are achieved.

Both the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business and the Canadian Institute of Planners recognised the unique level of engagement in this project. What this level of outreach gives to a project, and to the field of Indigenous architecture, is an authentic and enlarged understanding of a place. It allows designers to move away from literal motifs, and commonly used references, allowing layers of subtle associations to emerge, "abstraction to breathe, and the power of nature to resonate" (Rochon 2013). These are aspiring aims in architecture.

The design of the Gathering Circle evolved from a series of workshops with representatives from the Fort William First Nation, Robinson Superior Treaty Communities, and the Red Sky Métis. Adding to the process of honouring Indigenous contributions, a number of individuals and organisations were invited to participate. First, Aboriginal designer, Ryan Gorrie, an Ojibway architectural intern who studied at University of Manitoba, became the champion of the pavilion. He sought ways to express a process of decolonisation in architecture (Rochon 2013). Collaborations were also undertaken with local Aboriginal artist, Randy Thomas. Thomas was invited to design the steel laser-cut panels which can be seen on the outer wall of the circular drum-shaped concrete retaining wall. Finally, an Aboriginally owned organisation, Aboriginal Strategy Group, was responsible for designing and leading the engagement process (Fig. 8.6).

In its aim to re-inscribe cultural narratives, the Spirit Garden explores the four sacred elements: fire, water, earth and air. This exploration serves both the local community, by engaging sacred values, and serves the visitors through a process of sharing a living story of this landscape. There is a fire pit, with a seating area and viewing platform, referred to as the *Fire Circle*. The *Living Shoreline* (water) creates four unique wetland zones, characteristic of the Thunder Bay region. The *Medicine Garden* (earth) focuses on growing traditional herbs. Finally, the *Open-air Pavilion*, open to the sky, represents air.

The nature-inspired form brings into focus the surrounding context. The materiality, the local bentwood structure, integrates into the local environment, evoking building traditions that are resoundingly of this place. The site becomes energised as a series of patterns and planes in play with both nature and the urban backdrop:

> The shroud is a 'light-catcher'–a patterned surface of overlapping, divergent planes that enables views through its wooden frame onto the adjacent waterfront as well as the city's downtown area. By night, a network of soft lighting highlights the curving, luminous shell form that can be seen from many vantage points throughout the City. The bentwood shroud transforms depending on the season and time of day (Rinaldi 2012).

Fig. 8.6 Gathering Circle and Spirit Garden (steel cut panels by local artist) (*Photograph* Calvin Brook)

In terms of environmental narratives, the project epitomises the Te Aranga environmental principle of *Mauri Tu*, or life essence. There are low impact areas of development and materials with high cultural value (cedar and spruce). The local building technique, made possible by employing a local master craftsperson, versed in bentwood craft, brings a powerful narrative to this project. The narrative is about time and our Canadian history: it brings forward historical forms, and with it, the story of the people, of this place:

> The spruce was harvested in the summer, the bark stripped off and the wood bent into structural trusses immediately after. Much of the bentwood tradition has been lost, so the architects were forced to look hard for a knowledgeable craftsperson. They found a builder living in British Columbia, who returned to his native Fort William First Nation to craft the spruce trusses (Rochon 2013).

Through the involvement of a broad group of stakeholders, a platform for reciprocal working relationships was formed. This is power-sharing, and this is what political advocacy in architecture looks like. The simple act of hiring an Indigenous organisation, such as the Aboriginal Strategy Group to design and lead the community consultation process, can alone be responsible for changing outcomes. These individuals can bring the right people to the table, ask the right questions, and create a setting for true engagement to happen (Fig. 8.7).

Fig. 8.7 Gathering Circle and Spirit Garden (bentwood tradition) (*Photograph* Calvin Brook)

The Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre

Douglas Cardinal Architect with RBM Architecture, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Douglas Cardinal, a Métis and Blackfoot architect, is well known in North America. His previous commissions include the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the First Nations University of Canada and the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. His work has been acknowledged internationally, and he has been given the title of World Master of Contemporary Architecture by the International Association of Architects.

The current project occupies a prominent position on the University of Saskatchewan campus. Completed in 2016, the 1884 m^2 curvilinear structure houses the Aboriginal Students Centre, as well as offices, a lounge, a computer resource centre and a hospitality area. The building provides a place for vital cultural activities such as dance, ceremony, lectures and social gatherings. It has become an important resource for the growing First Nations, Métis and Inuit student populations, currently estimated at 2200 students or 11% of the total student population (Fig. 8.8).

The building is named after Gordon Oakes, also known as Redbear, a well-respected Saskatchewan Elder who passed away in 2002. Oakes' story serves
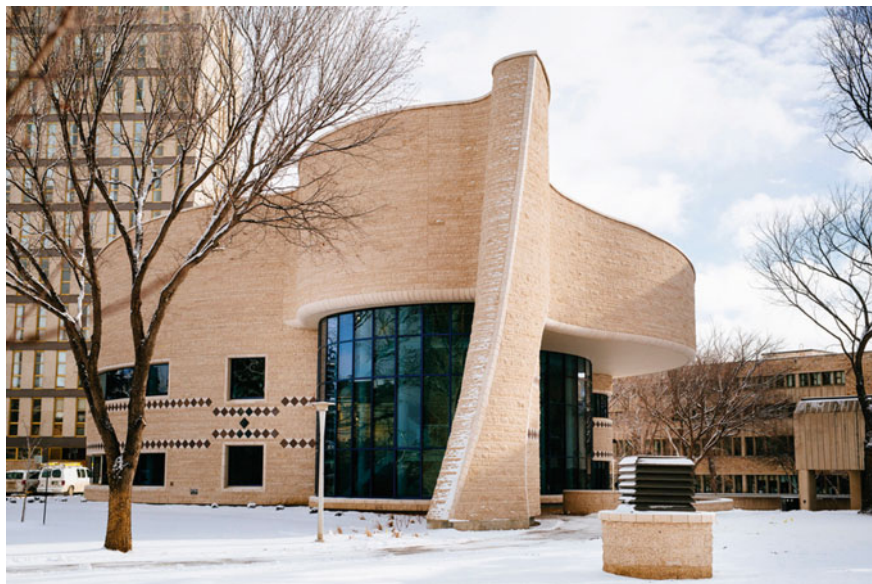
Fig. 8.8 Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre (exterior) (*Photograph* Douglas Cardinal Architect)

as a reminder of the critical interrelationship between education and spirituality. Redbear, a former Cree Chief, who lived within the small community of the Nekaneet band, did not attend school, preferring to retain a traditional lifestyle and shunning mainstream society (CBC News 2016). Despite this lifestyle, Gordon's son, Larry Oakes, says their father felt "education and spirituality should be like a team of horses pulling together" (Green 2016). This relationship is precisely what Douglas Cardinal was aiming to achieve in the design of the new facility.

This project offers a timely message regarding the role of culture in education. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008–2015) was established to respond to the trauma that many First Nations' children and families have suffered as a result of the Indian residential school legacy. Between 1870 and 1996, 150,000 Indigenous children were removed from their families, to be educated in line with a Western educational curriculum. The commission's call to action includes a directive to higher education institutions to increase the participation rate of Aboriginal students in post-secondary education and to find ways to integrate aboriginal history and knowledge into the curriculum (The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation 2015). Douglas Cardinal attended residential school, and his aim with this building is to articulate the changing role of education. His vision is "a drum in one hand and a computer in the other" (Green 2016).

The building offers a number of lessons for the study of Indigenous architecture. Through its process emerges a story of the vitality of sociocultural traditions alive today. Its cultural outcome, particularly the Te Aranga cultural principle of *Mahi*

Toi, or art and craft emerges in a powerful package, in an equally powerful setting. While Indigenous architecture can fall prey to an overabundance of ideas, compromising clarity as it meanders multiple layers of meaning, Cardinal's Gordon Oakes Center stays true to the architects' signature language, unapologetically announcing to the world that culture matters.

Catalyst: Architecture as Kinship

Community, or kinship, is a vital ordering device in Indigenous architecture. The traditions that uphold community—whether they come in the form of a support system, a method of value preservation, or a building—provide the structural basis of culture and guarantee its continuity. The province of Saskatchewan has the highest per capita Aboriginal population in Canada, yet the University of Saskatchewan suffers from low Aboriginal retention rates. First-and second-year student retention rates fluctuate between 55 and 65% (Dawson 2012).

A sense of community and a support network on campus are two key factors identified as critical to the retention of First Nation, Métis and Inuit students (Dawson 2012). The Gordon Oakes Centre serves that purpose, bringing together support services, and packaging it in a form that is inspiring to the students: "the new student centre will provide a welcoming cultural setting for Aboriginal students coming from various communities and backgrounds and will help these students integrate into the university's learning environment" (Dawson 2012). The aim of creating campus or urban environments that are 'welcoming', is an understated goal in Indigenous architecture.

Honouring community values weighed significantly in crafting the final design of the building. Paul Blaser, the local project architect, recalls the first reveal to the community. Part of the initial design involved a sloping courtyard to connect the building to the universities underground tunnel system, a common feature in cold-climate design. Blaser says: "I fully expected we would be cheered as heroes [but] it was completely quiet. Then one of the elders started talking and it was a story about how her father would say, …never go more than a shovelful into the ground when you're building your fire" (Blaser quoted in Green 2016; Choise 2016). As Blaser further explains, "…each of the six or so elders there told a story in turn, every [story] a version of the first … building on one another until they had made a clear point that it is not the right thing to dig into the ground and have a lower level. But they never said that, they only told stories" (Blaser quoted in Green 2016).

Fortunately, the architects acknowledged the magnitude of these cumulative stories. The communication method was indirect, but the message was heard. The architects created a setting for listening, allowing lessons to emerge through story, and the values of this community to be upheld. As Blaser remarked, "the building would have fractured the stories and symbols it was intended to embrace, thereby disconnecting it from the very people it was designed for" (Blaser quoted in Green 2016). In the end, there was only one option: Cardinal and Blaser redesigned the

building. The revised building sits above ground, and the surplus soil created by the site work creates a giant earth drum upon which the building sits.

Architecture as Outcome: Cultural and Political Narratives

One of the vital outcomes of this project is the declaration of culture. The project, with its curvilinear form, is a clear departure from the campus' predominantly Gothic-inspired architecture. According to the Assembly of First Nations National Chief Perry Bellegarde:

> People from around the world, around this country will ask what does this mean? Why are these colors like that? Why are there doors to the east, south, west and north here? What's the significance of it being on mother earth, the connection to the land? All those things are questions. It's a way of educating, not only ourselves to keep these things going, but to people throughout the world (Bellegarde quoted in CBC News 2016).

Cultural design narratives are found in every aspect from the orientation to the mechanical exhaust system. Some of the design features include: a nonlinear spatial organisation, a star blanket pattern on the skylight, a medicine wheel painted ceiling and a south-facing orientation which symbolises the migratory north–south flow of life in northern Cree traditions. Even the mechanical exhaust system is symbolic; it collects pipe and smudge smoke from a number of spaces and brings it to the centre, and then parts it to the four directions to release it out of the building (Green 2016) (Fig. 8.9).

Fig. 8.9 Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre (interior) (*Photograph* Douglas Cardinal Architect)

Viewed from Te Aranga, Mahi Toi, the building employs a number of culturally driven applications. First, by enlisting a well-known Blackfoot/Métis architect, the team is well equipped to translate narrative. Second, the shared landscape is driven by a cultural narrative. According to Cardinal, it is designed as a lodge, to express the spiritual buildings of Indigenous cultures (Cardinal and Blaser 2016). There is also a narrative of cultural identity, as Cardinal writes, the facility is designed to "tell the stories of who we are and who we desire to be" (Cardinal and Blaser 2016).

Third, Cardinal engages cultural art and design in a comprehensive manner. He does so through form, pattern, material selection and detailing. The limestone is from Tindall, Manitoba, selected in a buff colour to represent the buckskin blanket. The stone beads on the exterior add to the blanket effect, while multiple natural colour variations signify the four directions. The stone, which represents grandfather stone, is designed to contrast with the blue anodised aluminium frames and glass, which represents grandmother water. Maintaining the integrity of the architects' sculptural form required close collaboration between the architect, a detail architect and a mason contractor (Fig. 8.10).

By reaching far beyond historical or Western precedents, and aiming instead, to define a blend that is both about continuity and contemporary expression, the Gordon Oakes Centre is a manifestation of sovereignty. While the university deserves credit for supporting the development of an Indigenous centre on campus

Fig. 8.10 Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre (interior) (*Photograph* Douglas Cardinal Architect)

(an act of power-sharing or *Mana*), the sovereign intent is driven home by Cardinal's signature organic architecture, pushing the dialogue forward in its proud and prominent declaration. A master of originality, disconnecting himself from popular stylistic constraints, once again Cardinal secures his position, leading the charge for an architecture of Canada, and of this place.

Conclusion

At a time when many institutions—educational, corporate and political—are struggling to incorporate diversity, Indigenous architecture is a beacon. Representing 1184 diverse cultures in North America, there are transferable and transformational lessons beyond culture and beyond architecture. Our role as practitioners is to find ways to assist communities in capturing the vitality inherent in their ancestral environments, in a contemporary setting.

This chapter is an exploration of approaches in Indigenous architecture, particularly catalyst and outcome. It is a conversation, leading to questions as opposed to answers. Can these tactics assist in identifying community-driven priorities? Are notions of catalyst and outcome useful in accelerating design discourse? Can they provide direction to the multi-directional meandering inherent in Indigenous architecture? Do they articulate margins for more in-depth explorations? Three Canadian projects—the Gathering Circle at Prince Arthur's Landing, the Gordon Oakes Student Centre and the Nk'Mip Cultural Centre—offer generous subjects of study.

The cultural lens of architecture brings to life intangible and qualitative undercurrents and provides opportunities for analysis. It is intended that this chapter will propagate additional catalysts, outcomes and perhaps other means of strategising transformation in cultural architecture, adding to the construct of a (spoken) language in Indigenous architecture—a way of speaking to the world—a story that occurs through architecture.

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Chapter 9
Contemporary Urban Indigenous Placemaking in Canada

Sarem Nejad and Ryan Walker

Introduction

Cities in settler states are centres for the production and reproduction of colonial relations. The creation of a built environment uncritically centred on Western architecture, planning and urban design has displaced Indigenous materiality and memory (Matunga 2013) to the periphery of Canada's urban imaginary and nearly removed it entirely from the urban landscape (Banivanua Mar and Edmonds 2010; Walker 2013). Yet the majority of Indigenous peoples in Canada live in urban areas, and Indigenous political and cultural resurgence (Simpson 2011) comes with the promise of casting new dimensions of urbanism where Indigenous peoples reclaim the creation and appropriation of urban space. Urban design, therefore, not only imposes power over Indigenous communities but also provides a platform from which to assert the transformative power to create an Indigenous urbanism. Indigenous urbanism is important for turning negative symbolic capital tagged to urban Indigenous peoples—often associated with a discourse centred on 'lack' and 'deficit' (Newhouse 2011)—to a positive symbolic capital of situated attachment, prominent presence and general 'unsettling' of the city in its Indigenous territory (Tomiak 2016). In this way, the future of urban Indigenous placemaking in Canada is a hopeful one, in the midst of its becoming.

The chapter examines recent examples from Ottawa, Calgary, Saskatoon and Winnipeg, where Indigenous cultures are driving design and being infused into the programming of public spaces in these Canadian cities. Our understanding of these examples was formulated using documentary materials gathered over the past five

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years and conversations with key Indigenous and non-Indigenous officials involved in the projects occurring in the four cities. Listening to presentations by Blackfoot Elders, municipal officials and a real estate developer at MOH-KINS-TSIS— Calgary Indigenous Heritage Roundtable—sponsored by the National Trust for Canada at Fort Calgary in October 2015 significantly influenced our interest in the Calgary case. The history shared in the section about the Round Prairie Métis community is influenced by research done by University of Saskatchewan Indigenous Studies undergraduate and graduate students several years ago (e.g. Troupe 2009), under the supervision of Dr Brenda Macdougall, interpretive materials at Saskatoon Public Library, and a conversation between the second author and a Métis Elder.

Our discussions and analyses were iterative, over time, and involved opportunities for triangulation and modification. But it is important to emphasise that the interpretations shared in the examples discussed in this chapter are ours and any error of fact or misinterpretation is ours alone. Each of these communities keeps knowledge in their own way, using their own experts, and the best we can do in this chapter is share what we learned, not what they ultimately know.

Public spaces are where many dimensions of oppression, privilege, resistance and recognition materialise and are most perceptible. Key concepts from the academic literature on place, placemaking and urban design are discussed, setting up a point of departure for a discussion of examples examining contemporary trends in Indigenous placemaking from four large Canadian cities. The chapter concludes by highlighting some important and emerging principles for Indigenous-inclusive placemaking in Canadian cities that would increase the visibility of Indigenous cultures in the built environment.

Place, Placelessness and the Sense of Place

The sense of 'place' connects sociality to spatiality in everyday life (Dovey 1999, 2010). It is a qualitative concept full of complications, hopes, the ebbs and flows of life and cannot be described fully by appeal to abstract or quantitative knowledge (Relph 1976). Social relations are influenced by power relations, symbolism and meanings, and there is a social 'geometry of power' within which places are generated (Massey 1994).

Places in this sense do not have a singular authenticity, boundedness, fixed identity or static characteristics. The uniqueness of place is defined by a particular mix of social relations not only within that place but also the interconnections with other places. This anti-essentialist understanding of place rejects placemaking as the domain of control of a particular group at the cost of dispossessing other cultures or ethnic groups of their claims to the production of space (Lefebvre 1991; Massey 1994). Sociality and spatiality are not frozen in time, but rather in a continuous process of production and reproduction. So a group—such as Indigenous peoples— which is contributing to the social production of space and current social relations

within cities should not be associated with a static heritage—translated into a distant time in the past—and their role in contemporary urbanism ignored. The visibility of culture and ceremony in the public spaces of our cities is important (Shaw-Collinge 2017).

As architectural theorist Dovey (2010) argues, the ontological view of place has been oppressed in Western thinking in favour of an understanding that would see place as an abstract 'location' within the landscape, the 'site' of something. Cresswell (2004) refers to 'space' as that abstract locational concept, without deep meaning. He argues that when meanings are associated to space by people, place is generated. Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space interacts well with Cresswell's depiction of the conversion of space to place. The built environment and how it frames a sense of place creates a medium through which culture becomes perceptible in the material world; the built form transmits social and cultural currents through its spatial forms (Dovey 2010; Hillier 2007).

At the time of settlement, across Indigenous territories, newcomers did not aim to recognise and coexist alongside pre-existing Indigenous places on traditional lands. The colonial processes of urban planning and design have been directed instead at replacing Indigenous places with settler colonial landscapes, cityscapes where "racially coded legacies continue to generate contests over the ownership and belonging of space" (Banivanua Mar and Edmonds 2010: 3).

The Sense of Place

Tuan (1974, 1977) uses the term *topophilia* to describe the particular qualities such as meanings, attachments, memories that people develop for particular places. Norberg-Schulz (1980) uses the term *genius loci*, the spirit of place, to describe the meaning of places and how architecture can help generate a sense of belonging. At the International Indigenous Architecture and Design Symposium held in Ottawa, Chakasim (2017) explained the importance of seeing a reflection of one's self in the premeditated form of architecture. The interrelation of physical setting (materiality, appearance), activities (programming, functions) and meanings (symbols, memories)—past, present and future seeking—create the sense of place (Relph 1976). Rooted in the lived experience of a particular cultural group, the act of unself-conscious placemaking is driven by particular values, desires, aspirations, world views and knowledge. In this context, places are centres of individual and collective meanings, identities and memories (Lynch and Ley 2010; Norberg-Schulz 1980; Relph 1976). Indigenous ontological and epistemological constructions of 'place' may relate significantly and intergenerationally to "custodial responsibilities, narratives, or spiritual awareness" (Porter 2010: 41). Indigenous ways of boundary making and connection to the land often vary from Eurocentric conceptualisations of land ownership and exchange value. The sense of place may be interwoven with a relationship to the land not easily translated through political, social and technical

processes of Western planning and architecture that seem fixated upon land own-ership, property demarcation and power (McGaw et al. 2011).

In Lefebvre's (1991) theoretical framework of spatial production, it is the *lived space* that shapes the places of a city out of local knowledge, values and aspirations. At the time of resettlement, Indigenous ways of placemaking were not valued by settler populations. In the absence of intercultural understanding, or simply the blatant imposition of power in spite of it, Indigenous placemaking was ignored by settlers who carried out their own colonial placemaking and re-territorialisation (Stanger-Ross 2008). Settler placemaking was carried out at the expense of Indigenous places embedded in rich cultural landscapes. Colonisation, in its spa-tiality, consisted of imposing abstractly conceived designs for placemaking and spatial production onto the lived spaces of Indigenous communities (Porter 2010).

Placelessness

The absence of a sense and significance of situated sociality and spatiality, iden-tities, memory and meaning yields placeless geographies (Relph 1976). From an anthropological perspective, Augé (1995: 77–78) discusses placelessness through the concept of 'non-place'; spaces which 'cannot be defined as relational, or his-torical, or concerned with identity'. Madanipour (2005: 9) argues that the per-spective of modern thought towards space and place has been from the third-person viewpoint, the point of view of science, looking from outside, 'without being able to account for the expression of feelings and mental states that a first-person viewpoint may include'. Relations of power and privilege are reinforced in the everyday life of Indigenous inhabitants through the city's built environment. Shaw (2007) points out that settler cities reproduce the heritage of 'Whiteness', carried out through processes such as neighbourhood gentrification, the creation of sites of spectacle and consumption, large-scale developments and heritage management through urban design that disrupts the Indigenous sense of place, land claims and sites of significance.

Creating geographies free of the Indigenous presence, recognition and sense of place has been a principal feature of urbanisation processes in settler cities. Indigenous peoples are more likely included in consultations over green space development or preservation than processes centred on shaping the built environ-ment of cities (Behrendt 2009). Even this limited scope of consultation is controlled under the authority of mostly non-Indigenous 'experts' keeping Indigenous engagement tightly circumscribed. Creating and reinforcing a sense of place among Indigenous urban communities is a powerful way of working towards spatial justice in Canadian cities. A major component of achieving spatial justice and recognising the right to the city for all urban inhabitants is creating capacities for participation in the design, programming and appropriation of urban places over the course of everyday life.

The next section discusses approaches to reclaiming Indigenous places in settler cities and how placemaking might create symbolic capital for Indigenous urban inhabitants. Creating Indigenous places in cities is not done solely through formal acts of architecture, planning and design. In parallel, Indigenous cultural resurgence has played a major role in asserting the Indigenous presence in cities, challenging hegemonic forces of abstraction. One should not, however, leave unexplored the mostly (as yet) unrealised potential of Indigenising the very processes and material outcomes of urbanism, and in particular, public space design, programming and architecture.

The Built Environment and Symbolic Capital

Wilson and Peters (2005) argue that Indigenous peoples see their relationship to the land as an important symbol of Indigenous culture and have used this relationship as a base for resisting colonial urban development. Based on interviews with urban Indigenous people, they identified three strategies that Indigenous peoples in their research applied to sustain their cultural identity. First, they created small-scale places for expressing their spiritual and physical affiliation to the land in cities. These spaces include private backyards and isolated parts of urban parks, sidewalks and other green and quiet areas. Second, they go back and forth to the reserve communities they relate to, where they exist. Finally, they participate in ceremonies with other urban Indigenous peoples to reproduce their connections with the land (Wilson and Peters 2005). Creating Indigenous-inclusive public spaces is not easy in urban areas. Cultural marginality, misunderstandings and lack of recognition from mainstream society and municipalities are factors that make Indigenous peoples feel vulnerable in their use of urban public places as spaces for cultural practice (Peters 2005). Indigenous ways of making places challenge the dominant cultures of placemaking and their associated spatial characteristics. Disrupting the reserve and city boundary through asserting the Indigenous presence in urban areas, claiming the centre and programming public places that may vary from Western patterns of use may be effective in transforming power structures so that Indigenous peoples can coexist in space more equitably. The design of the built environment is fundamentally related to power relations as "it is the imagination and negotiation of future worlds. The invention of the future will always be contentious, and places will always mediate power relations" (Dovey 1999: 6).

The dynamics of urban development are heavily influenced by economic forces. Built form is a means for capitalisation and investment. The design and programming of the built environment involves not only the generation and distribution of economic capital but also cultural capital (e.g. preferences, aesthetics, knowledge), social capital (e.g. networks, relationships, attachments) and symbolic capital (i.e. assignment of greatest legitimacy to certain types of each of the other capitals), according to Bourdieu's categorisation (Bourdieu 1986; Dovey 1999). Capital is understood as a comprehensive system of exchange in which different forms of

asset circulate within a complex social network within and across various fields. Bourdieu (1984, 1993) argues that the conceptual construct of capitals is inextricably related to two structural concepts: *habitus* and *field*. Habitus includes the properties of individuals, social groups or institutions in their social lives. It involves a way of seeing the world, feeling, thinking and being. Habitus is a framework through which the sense of place for each person is created. It is organised by one's past and present circumstances, and it structures one's present and future tendencies. It is also created out of a series of dispositions which systematically generate perspectives, values and practices (Grenfell 2008: 51).

Field is the social space in which actors compete over the accumulation of different types of capital. Capital which social actors possess affects the processes that shape fields. At the same time, capital of different types is produced within social fields. Consequently, the social field provides unequal opportunities to different actors to gain capitals. Drawing upon the ideas of Bourdieu, Dovey (2010) elaborates upon the concept of capital in architecture and urban design. Placemaking has a direct impact on the generation of various forms of capital in Dovey's view:

> The design of built form involves the production and circulation of non-economic forms of capital. Social capital becomes embodied in places in the best and worst of ways, as mobilisation towards a better future and as enclaves of class distinction. Symbolic capital circulates through places and fields of practice; its potency relies on being seen as a form of distinction rather than a form of capital. From such a view, places often camouflage practices of power; distinctions between people are camouflaged as distinctions between places (Dovey 2010: 7).

Symbolic capital translates into cultural recognition and the acceptability of particular tastes, meanings and values. It is generated out of the salience (or simply by domination), and the legitimacy this can impose, of a certain symbolic order. Bourdieu explains that symbolic capital is not a distinct kind of capital per se, and every kind of social, cultural and economic capital could convert into symbolic capital when recognised as 'legitimate' (Bourdieu 1986, 2000). Racialised placemaking too often generates negative symbolic capital for Indigenous communities in settler nations. Some areas are conceptualised as problematic and a blight upon the city in the view of mainstream institutions and citizens. Placemaking has the capacity to generate positive symbolic capital for Indigenous communities and help to eliminate place-based social relations that reproduce oppression and dispossession, supported by racism. Negotiations over civic identity, symbolic capital and related challenges to the power of a settler majority in the built environment happen mostly in the public spaces of the city, its most contested and political components (Walker 2013). The next section explores the role of public space in urban life and how design and programming approaches could be applied to increase Indigenous visibility in urban form.

Public Space Design and Programming: Architecture, Public Art and Place Naming

Public spaces are areas of the city that are accessed freely by all citizens and play a major role in creating a city's identity. As the physical part of the public domain, their design and management contribute to culture, social behaviour and interactions, safety, health, commercial success, among other things (Madanipour 2006). They are not merely leftover spaces between the buildings; rather, they are the media of communication of the city through which its social life is shaped. Public spaces shape civic identity; they are places that form, store and circulate society's collective sense of itself, its past, present and future. Just as the creation of monumental public spaces has always been included in the official agenda of states (Goheen 1998; Madanipour 2003), public space has also provided an arena where marginalised groups can express their rights, identity and co-presence in urban life, sharing their experience of the world with others and claiming their right to the city (Harvey 2008; Lefebvre 1996). Achieving the right to the city is dependent upon public space and the struggle over who does and does not have access to it (Mitchell 2003). Considering cities as 'natural homes of difference' makes their public places active sites for meaning and controversy, arenas for expressing values, claims and symbolic significance, and in short, for practising citizenship (Goheen 1998; Madanipour 2006; Sandercock 2003). The question here is whether public spaces are truly supportive arenas for display, performance, expression of identity, recognition, awareness, where all citizens have an equal right to access, occupy and program. In response to this question, one should consider that urban spaces are being 'framed' by urban design projects and places are 'created' by institutions in control of resources and power.

Public space is inseparable from the process of bridging social exclusion. The design and programming of public spaces are important for facilitating intercultural relations and generating symbolic capital for Indigenous communities. As Malone (2007: 158) argues with respect to the creation of Indigenous 'cultural markers' in Adelaide:

> Inclusion of Indigenous peoples in civic landscapes contributes not only to their spiritual and cultural renewal and contemporary identity, but also to the whole community's sense of self and to the process of reconciliation. This has the potential to provide a gateway to a different way of understanding place which includes an Indigenous perspective and could, symbolically, contribute to the decolonisation of Indigenous people.

Removing the visible Indigenous presence in Western settler cities has been a major outcome of the colonial experience (Burley 2013; Matunga 2013). When faced with pressing challenges like poverty, poor housing or homelessness, and the need for culturally appropriate urban services, participating in how the built environment is shaped may not seem like a high priority for Indigenous peoples and organisations. But given that sociality and spatiality are intertwined in cities and the design and programming of the built environment are associated with power relations and the processes of oppression and, potentially, resurgence, it is important to advance the

project of Indigenous placemaking. Urban Indigenous communities have the capacity to expand the architectural discourse of Canadian cities, converting stories, rituals, knowledge and values into built form and public space. Indigenous architecture can generate distinction and positive symbolic capital for Indigenous communities through which new 'meanings' are constructed within a predominantly settler-derived urban landscape.

Stewart (2015) asserts that Canadian Indigenous cultures have distinct design traditions which are expressed in their architecture and are informed by Indigenous knowledge of environment, geography, climate, social issues and spirituality. He argues that through the built form, Indigenous peoples present their existence and their cultural resilience. Stewart (2015) conceptualises Indigenous design processes as ceremony which applies the place-based Indigenous knowledge and traditional Indigenous forms to articulate principles of architectural design.

> An authentic indigenous building is a building designed by an indigenous architect that exhibits elements of indigeneity privileging indigenous culture in 'resistance' to the western norms of the status quo…other attributes of indigeneity include significance as having meaning to someone, materiality as being made of 'stuff' to be touched, tasted, plainly seen, having a temperature, a weight, an inherent strength (Stewart 2015: 73).

The point of Indigenous architecture, according to Stewart (2015), is not showcasing only Indigenous artistic forms. Rather, it is about resisting hegemonic forces of dominant Western settler cultures of placemaking, celebrating Indigenous cultures using processes through which Indigenous protocols, methods and values are prioritised. Stewart (2015) emphasises that Indigenous architecture should not shut itself within settler colonial boundaries. If it speaks only to existing design and programming norms, it will not contribute to the spatial justice and right to the city needed by Indigenous communities, reduced instead to tokenistic gestures of celebrating Indigenous heritage, cast typically only in the historic past.

Like architecture, public art has the capacity to stimulate visual memory and help to represent social identities of diverse communities through asserting their historical and contemporary place in the urban landscape. Public art aims to initiate a dialogue among a broad public and in so doing contribute to the sense of place and civic identity. The Toronto Aboriginal Research Project completed in 2011 indicated that the Indigenous arts sector is one that offers enormous promise for reconstituting Indigenous visibility in the symbolic capital of Canada's urbanism, noting that:

> The Aboriginal arts are understood to play an important role in raising the overall visibility of Aboriginal people, and establishing and maintaining an Aboriginal community presence in Toronto. Moreover, the Aboriginal arts provide unique perspectives of Aboriginal cultures, contribute to collective community understandings of cultural meaning, and support healing and positive Aboriginal identities (FitzMaurice et al. 2012: 258).

Public art can help to re-territorialise urban space as an Indigenous place. By applying Indigenous cultural capital and generating Indigenous symbolic capital, their situated cultural density (Andersen 2009) and heritage may become 'visible' to non-Indigenous peoples in public spaces of the city.

Places are also claimed through naming processes, as much as they are by the names attached to them. The naming system demonstrates whether a social group or institution has the authority to attach meaning to public space, or whether a culture deserves public recognition or not. Place naming is one of the ways to create 'places of memory', similar to the creation of museums, monuments and galleries in our cities (Rose-Redwood 2008). Geographers argue that political debates over spatialising social memories through toponymy both legitimise a certain historic narrative and also contribute to the erasure of some communities—like Indigenous communities—constituting a process of conscious forgetting (Alderman 2000; Azaryahu 1996; Legg 2007). In his study of placemaking practices in New York, Rose-Redwood (2008) explores how the naming process works to produce both places of memory and places of erasure. Drawing upon Bourdieu's symbolic capital concept, he argues that naming consists of the interplay between various forms of capital (i.e. economic, cultural, social and symbolic) to legitimise certain sociocultural narratives in cities. Naming public places after prominent Indigenous figures or using Indigenous signs and symbols can enhance the symbolic capital of Indigenous peoples in urban areas and cast attention upon the Indigenous territories on which cities are located. Alderman (2003) argues that the generation of positive symbolic capital depends on the socio-spatial context in which the naming process occurs. For example, naming a small street or park has a different commemorative effect than renaming a major public infrastructure project (e.g. bridge) or a signature public space. Toponymy presents opportunities for Indigenous symbolic empowerment, but it is only a tokenistic gesture if Indigenous communities are not sharing in, or holding, the authority to carry out the naming process according to their protocols and world views.

Canadian cities are built on traditional Indigenous homelands, whether in a treaty relationship or altogether un-ceded. In the process of decolonising and re-territorialising Indigenous urban space, we must consider the right to own the land, the right to create places at central locations in the city using Indigenous art, architecture, languages and artistic forms programmed and designed through Indigenous authority exclusively or collaboratively (McGaw et al. 2011; Walker et al. 2017). The invisibility of Indigenous communities in the public domain enables the state to abrogate responsibility and reproduce discursive currents that label Indigenous peoples as social problems or culturally out of place in the city, generating negative symbolic capital (Dovey 2010). The chapter turns now to examples of contemporary urban Indigenous placemaking in Canadian cities that are attempting to push back and build positive Indigenous symbolic capital.

Lansdowne Park and Pimisi LRT Station, Ottawa

In October 2016, the Governments of Canada and (the Province of) Ontario signed an historic land claim agreement-in-principle with the Algonquins of Ontario (AOO) covering a land area of 36000 km^2 stretching from Ottawa—Canada's

capital city—to North Bay, Ontario. The City of Ottawa is the largest urban area within the territory of the land claim. The Algonquins have sought recognition from the Crown of their land claim as the first peoples of the region for over 250 years (Algonquins of Ontario Negotiation Team 2016). For the past 24 years, they have been in negotiations towards a modern day treaty with Canada and Ontario, and the agreement-in-principle is an historic move towards finalising it. Though it may take several years to finalise and ratify the details of the land claim, the agreement-in-principle provides the framework for doing so and the commitment by all parties. Though the negotiations between AOO, Canada and Ontario are important, the City of Ottawa did not wait for an agreement-in-principle to be signed before beginning a series of projects with the AOO to enhance Indigenous placemaking as part of local urbanism, in recognition of the place of the Algonquins in the city's historic and contemporary cultural landscape. Two of those examples (and there are others not covered here) are the Lansdowne Park Revitalisation Project and the Pimisi Station along the Confederation Light Rail Transit (LRT) line.

The City of Ottawa made the decision to revitalise one of its signature urban parks, Lansdowne Park, in 2010. The revitalisation project includes three main components: a large urban park, the refurbishment of the civic centre and stadium, and construction of a mixed-use area with residential, retail and office space. The City and the AOO worked together to reflect Algonquin history, culture and art in the city's revitalisation of the park. Essentially, the City of Ottawa asked the AOO to consult with its communities and to guide the City's project team on the design and implementation of some aspects of the project. This includes, for example, an Algonquin food vessel basket-weave pattern for the interlocking stone pavers of Aberdeen Square, which is home to the Ottawa Farmers' Market (see Figs. 9.1 and 9.2). Seven trees of cultural significance to Algonquins, an ethno-botanical garden, and a teaching circle which includes seating designed and oriented according to Algonquin cultural protocols (see Fig. 9.3), are also part of the Lansdowne Park Revitalisation Project. Further components to the project such as Algonquin-themed programming, public art and wayfinding may be incorporated in the future.

The revitalisation of Lansdowne Park is an example of how Indigenous symbolic capital can be strengthened within the central shared signature public spaces of a city, designed to be inclusive of Indigenous peoples' sense of place in a way that is accessible for all citizens. Though the process of working with the AOO on consultation and design at Lansdowne Park was a promising practice in many ways, it was notable upon visiting the site in May 2016 that on the large plaques around the site recognising the partners in the revitalisation project, namely various levels of government, the AOO were not recognised. Algonquin interpretive signage is present at a variety of locations on the site explaining the cultural dimensions of the interlocking pavers, trees of significance and teaching circle. But the sovereignty of this First Nation and its participation as a partner in the overall project does not appear alongside the settler governments on the large plaques recognising the partners in the Lansdowne Park Revitalisation Project. Yet this land is within Algonquin traditional territory, subject to a land claim agreement-in-principle that

Fig. 9.1 Aberdeen Square, Lansdowne Park, Ottawa (*Photograph* Roger Lalonde, City of Ottawa)

Fig. 9.2 Ottawa farmers' market, Aberdeen Square, Lansdowne Park, Ottawa (*Photograph* PFS Studio)

Fig. 9.3 Algonquin teaching circle, Lansdowne Park, Ottawa (*Photograph* Ryan Walker)

sets out principal elements of what would be a new treaty, and the AOO had a large role in designing and programming the site.

A few years ago, the City of Ottawa began construction on its new LRT line—the Confederation Line—a 12.5 km (7.8 miles) east–west line with 13 stations. In 2013, the City of Ottawa worked with the AOO to determine an Algonquin name for one of the stations located in close proximity to the Chaudière Falls and Victoria Island in the Ottawa River, which have always been sacred gathering places for the Algonquins. After consultation with their communities, the AOO offered the name Pimisi Station (see Fig. 9.4). Pimisi is the Algonquin word for eel, which is a sacred and essential part of local Algonquin culture. Pimisi (eel) was once abundant in the river and migrated up and down the Chaudière Falls. The eel is endangered and the naming of the station draws attention not only to Pimisi in Algonquin heritage, but to its current situation as being in need of protection (Algonquins of Ontario Negotiation Team 2016). In addition to naming the LRT station, the design and artwork at the station is carried out with or by Algonquin artisans and artists. Beyond the station itself, the City of Ottawa has also commissioned stand-alone art works by an Algonquin artist(s) to be distributed along the Confederation LRT line.

When the news broke that the station would be named Pimisi Station, media carried stories of how members of the public did not like the name and would prefer instead that the station be given a traditional (western) location name indicating a major landmark close-by for wayfinding purposes (e.g. War Museum). The idea

Fig. 9.4 Pimisi Station, confederation LRT Line, Ottawa (*Image* City of Ottawa)

was reported as public opinion that transit stations should be named after destination landmarks close-by for ease of passenger navigation (e.g. Ottawa Sun 2013). This brief public profiling of the issue serves as a reminder that Indigenous placemaking which asserts local Indigenous cultural capital must be seen in the context of Indigenous self-determination, and rights to placemaking and to the city. It is not simply a case of appropriating an Indigenous motif to suit a Western application. It is important to understand the shared public spaces of the city as being also within Indigenous traditional (and contemporary) territories. This discussion of the relationship between the City of Ottawa and the AOO in Lansdowne Park and on the Confederation LRT line draws attention to some promising examples of re-territorialising traditional Indigenous lands in the shared public spaces of the city through placemaking. It also draws attention to resistance by non-Indigenous media and a sector of the public who would prefer a Western version of place to be privileged.

Paskapoo Slopes: Moh'kins Tsis, Calgary

Paskapoo Slopes are located on the west side of Calgary, a city of approximately 1.1 million people, where close to three per cent identify as Aboriginal (i.e. First Nations, Métis or Inuit) (see Fig. 9.5). Calgary is situated within Treaty 7 (signed between First Nations and the Crown in 1877) territory where the Bow and Elbow rivers meet in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. The Blackfoot name for the place is Moh'kins tsis, and it was a hub in Blackfoot traditional territory where two of their trading routes intersect (Crowshoe 2015). The Paskapoo Slopes site is an

Fig. 9.5 Paskapoo slopes, Calgary (*Photograph* City of Calgary)

important site to the Blackfoot people who used it as a buffalo kill site dating to approximately 9 400 years ago (Crowshoe 2015). Today, the Paskapoo Slopes are just east of Canada Olympic Park, a principal site of the 1988 winter Olympics. An archaeological inventory in 1998 showed 39 camps and buffalo kill sites at Paskapoo Slopes. Blackfoot Elders describe Paskapoo Slopes as being deeply intertwined with natural cycles of all living things and vital to the survival of Blackfoot people in that area (Crowshoe 2015).

A developer purchased 105 ha (260 acres) of land at the Paskapoo Slopes area in 2013 and submitted a proposed concept plan to the City of Calgary the following year for the 40.5 ha (100 acres) Trinity Hills Project, which comprised a mix of residential, retail, entertainment and office space on the lower portion of the site. The upper portion of the land purchased was required to be dedicated as a large regional park. The proposal triggered a stakeholder engagement process and "for the first time, Blackfoot people were invited to speak about development in their traditional territory" (Crowshoe 2015: 17). Given that the Blackfoot reserves are not located close to Calgary, it is especially significant to point out the recognition of the Blackfoot people in the context of their traditional territory, which is indeed the context in which Indigenous engagement in placemaking should be seen. Reserves are merely pockets of land within much broader traditional territories, though too often settler governments and the public use reserve boundaries as 'the extent' of Indigenous territory.

As Lorna Crowshoe points out in her article discussing the Paskapoo Slopes, the Blackfoot cultural landscape, and the development plan put forward for the Trinity Hills Project:

> Elders from the Blackfoot community addressed the plan by noting the huge cultural footprint left behind by their ancestors. They voiced concerns about the archaeological sites because they felt these belonged to their ancestors and they wanted them to be protected for the future to help teach and sustain the Blackfoot belief system. They stated that in the past, Western laws came into effect that forced Elders to compromise their own Indigenous laws to accommodate development. This time, they asked for a more balanced approach to these laws and for participation in the monitoring of historical sites (Crowshoe 2015: 18).

Touring the Paskapoo Slopes site with the developer and city officials, the Elders identified damage that had been done to waterways and natural springs that required continuing stewardship, and ways to move away from misusing Blackfoot names such that they lost their meaning. They also invited city officials and staff from Trinity Development Group to the Blood Reserve to visit their sacred and cultural sites, including the Sundance and medicine wheel areas, and their buffalo pound site on the reserve, to explain the links between these practices, the natural cycle of life and a revitalised Blackfoot culture (Crowshoe 2015).

On a subsequent trip to the Paskapoo Slopes Trinity Hills site, Elders Andy Black Water and Bruce Wolf Child performed "a blessing ceremony to apologise to mother earth for any activity that has caused or may cause damage or harm to the area, and an offering ceremony to bring good will" (Crowshoe 2015: 19). They helped the public understand the importance of cultural protocols and offerings at the site, and Blackfoot understandings of how the natural system of that area functions, including identifying local species of plants and the patterns of animals living there. Over an eighteen-month period, there were several meetings among the City of Calgary officials, the Trinity Development Group, and the Elders to discuss the development proposal, the archaeology of the area, the planning and development process, site visits, and the visit to the Blood Reserve. The engagement process between traditional knowledge keepers—particularly Elders, Andy Black Water and Bruce Wolf Child—and the City of Calgary planners and officials is unprecedented in that city and stands out as an example to share from the Canadian urban experience. The historic and symbolic significance of the site was recognised as a result of a meaningful collaborative placemaking process. The sharing of power in decision-making resulted in mutual learning, devising creative solutions and an inclusive culture of urban design in which the goal of development was elevating, rather than erasing, the Indigenous sense of place and meanings associated with it (Jacobs 1996; Walker 2013).

Some examples of elements resulting from the engagement process were specific measures in the development plan for the site to protect waterways and springs, to continue to work together on archaeological protection and interpretation, monitoring during the grading of the site, and hiring of Blackfoot workers to help remove artefacts from sites in the development area. The Elders have provided the developer and city officials with a community name—Medicine Hill—which is a translation of a Blackfoot term that fittingly characterises the site, and with a list of

Blackfoot words to name streets and park spaces within the development. City Council approved the development plan in July 2015 and asked that the place-making process used continues into the future in consideration of Blackfoot and Indigenous history (Crowshoe 2015). Discussions got underway in 2016 to produce a master plan for the regional park on the upper Paskapoo Slopes where it is hoped that some traditional Blackfoot uses can be undertaken, reclaiming the active use of this part of their traditional territory and sharing that cultural footprint with non-Indigenous Calgarians now living and working nearby. Intercultural place-making of the kind discussed in this section generates positive symbolic capital for Indigenous inhabitants of Calgary, working against stereotypes that disassociate Indigenous cultures from cities and the production of urban space and place.

Round Prairie Métis: Saskatoon Public Library

Saskatoon is a city of approximately 260000 people, where close to 10% of the population identify as Aboriginal (i.e. First Nations, Métis or Inuit). It is situated within Treaty 6 (signed between First Nations and the Crown in 1876) territory and the traditional homeland of the Métis nation. The newest branch of the Saskatoon Public Library (SPL)—the Round Prairie branch—opened in December 2016, and the process of naming the branch stands out as an example of placemaking—or perhaps place reclaiming—that brings a layer of Saskatoon's situated civic identity back into public consciousness (see Figs. 9.6 and 9.7). In addition to its name, it also contains interpretive material on the history of the Round Prairie Métis and some of their influence on the city and surrounding region (see Fig. 9.8). The branch opened in Stonebridge, one of Saskatoon's newest neighbourhoods. The name was chosen in consultations between the SPL and Métis and First Nations Elders, hosted by Saskatchewan's Office of the Treaty Commissioner (Office of the Treaty Commissioner 2016). After discussions of different names, Round Prairie was selected to honour a Métis community by that name which is one of the most important original communities of the City of Saskatoon and its surrounding region.

In Saskatoon, it is common to hear of two groups of white settler colonists credited with founding the city—the Temperance and the Barr colonists. But prior to these groups, the Round Prairie Métis were settled in the regional landscape that now includes Saskatoon. Starting in the 1850s about 40 km south of present-day Saskatoon, along the east bank of the South Saskatchewan River which bisects the city, the Round Prairie Métis community was established (Troupe 2009). It was one of the largest Métis settlements in Saskatchewan. The community began as a wintering site for about 30 buffalo-hunting Métis families that travelled seasonally between Round Prairie and Red River in Manitoba (the main centre in the Métis nation's homeland). In the spring of 1870, they left Red River with hundreds of Red River carts (a style of wagon designed and built by the Métis) to settle permanently at Round Prairie (Schilling 1983). Community members spoke Cree, French and/or

Fig. 9.6 Round Prairie branch, Saskatoon Public Library (*Photograph* Ryan Walker)

Michif. The French name used by the Métis for the community is *La Prairie Ronde*, though the English translation is used most frequently now.

Kinship ties between the Round Prairie Métis and Gabriel Dumont and the Batoche Métis led to them fighting alongside one another at the Battle of Fish Creek during the Northwest Resistance in 1885 under Louis Riel, against the Canadian

Fig. 9.7 Descendent of the Round Prairie Métis speaks at the opening ceremony for Round Prairie branch (*Photograph* Saskatoon Public Library)

government's neglect of pre-existing Métis rights in the territory (Troupe 2009). After the battle, many Métis, including the Round Prairie Métis, left their homes and relocated to Montana for fear of reprisal by the Canadian government. In the early 1900s, the Métis families began to move back to their homes at Round Prairie. By the end of the 1930s, the Round Prairie Métis had permanently settled in Saskatoon's built-up and fringe areas. On the west side of the South Saskatchewan River, many families settled in the King George and Holiday Park neighbourhood (built-up and fringe) areas. On the east side of the river, families settled in the built-up and fringe areas near Clarence, Lansdowne, William, and Dufferin Avenues and First, Second, and Taylor Streets East, including the site of today's Aden Bowman Collegiate which served as a community garden. The area that is now the Stonebridge neighbourhood—the location of the new Round Prairie Branch—was a popular site for community purposes like berry picking and hunting (Troupe 2009).

The historic site of the Round Prairie community continues to be maintained and cared for, housing the community's cemetery, a declared historic site, close to their (and Saskatoon's) neighbour, the Whitecap Dakota First Nation reserve. Many of the Métis people in Saskatoon are descendants of the Round Prairie community, including civic leaders who established and currently lead the Central Urban Métis Federation Inc., Saskatoon's local branch of the Métis Nation-Saskatchewan. Many have also served as leaders of the Métis Nation-Saskatchewan and the Saskatoon Indian and Métis Friendship Centre. There are several other long-standing civic and

Fig. 9.8 Interpretive materials at the Round Prairie branch, Saskatoon Public Library (*Photograph* Ryan Walker)

service organisations in Saskatoon that began with leadership from Round Prairie descendants (e.g. SaskNative Rentals, a prominent affordable housing provider) (Troupe 2009). Notwithstanding the prominent role played by the Round Prairie Métis in Saskatoon's urban evolution, the naming of this new library branch is the first placemaking initiative honouring that community in the city.

The Forks: Winnipeg's Signature Downtown Public Space

In 2011, 11% of Winnipeg's population—approximately 72300 people—identified as Aboriginal (City of Winnipeg 2011). This is the largest proportion of Aboriginal citizens of any Census Metropolitan Area in Canada. *The Forks* at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers is a Canadian national historic site and the signature public space of Winnipeg. According to archaeological evidence, human settlements at The Forks area date back to at least 6 000 years ago. The Forks is not only the nucleus of the city of Winnipeg; it is the site of the first permanent European settlement in Western Canada. During pre-contact times, The Forks was an important meeting place for diverse Indigenous communities including Sioux (Dakota), Assiniboine (Nakota), Cree and Anishinabe (Ojibway) due to its strategic

location. The arrival of Europeans around 1734 changed the character and the role of the area. It became a major site for the fur trade industry. The business of fur trade and even the survival of Europeans were possible only by collaboration with Indigenous peoples of the region. However, by the time Manitoba became a Canadian province in 1870, the original inhabitants of the area and also the Métis—constituting the largest segment of the population in the area—were experiencing racism and marginalisation from settler newcomers. Later in the nineteenth century, The Forks became the major site for railway development in Western Canada turning Winnipeg into the administrative hub of agriculture and grain trade in the prairie region. Facilities and buildings were constructed to support the railway industry in the area, some of which still exist. Immigration into Manitoba prompted residential construction at and around The Forks. All in all, the physical transformations at The Forks have reflected the social and cultural dynamics of the city ever since its inception (Artibise 1977; Dafoe 1998; Huck and Flynn 2003; Parks Canada 2009).

Around 1872, the Hudson's Bay Company prepared plans for shaping a town inspired by European-style lot divisions and boulevards. Artibise (1975) writes that before 1910 urban planning and design in the city was limited to allocating land for public parks, tree planting and the construction of boulevards. Influenced by the US and European contexts, the official city planning movement began in 1911 with the establishment of Winnipeg's City Planning Commission aimed at improving social and health conditions through physical planning (Artibise 1975).

Post-Second World War suburban housing and commercial developments led to the economic and social decline of the inner city. The responsibility of the federal government for preserving historic transportation routes in Winnipeg, adapting them for recreational use under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's leadership, and the goal of provincial and municipal governments to develop public spaces for recreation converged and led to studies for creating a national heritage and all-season recreational site at The Forks. In the 1980s, the Core Area Initiative, a tri-level government agreement, was the main vehicle for revitalising Winnipeg's downtown. The Forks—at that time a deserted railway yard absent from sight and the mental map of Winnipeg's citizens—was the convergence point of these tri-level government interests (Dafoe 1998; St. John 2003).

The Forks Renewal Corporation prepared an initial plan. Phase I of the plan was approved in 1987, and the site was opened to the public in 1989. Main site features included a plaza, boat basin, a glass tower, a lighthouse, river walk and a children's museum. A market with restaurants, shops and offices became a financial 'success' in creating economic sustainability at The Forks as a signature public space destination. Construction at the site continued with a hotel, parking structure and a pedestrian bridge to the historic St. Boniface neighbourhood. In 1993, *The Heritage Interpretive Plan* was prepared to identify key historical elements that should underpin the development of the site. The aim was showcasing The Forks as "Canada's crossroads, a meeting place for old and new, the meeting of diverse cultures, and a place for people to meet, work, and play" (St. John 2003: 161). Commemorating Indigenous historical presence was done through placemaking at

the site, creating the *Wall through Time* and *Oodena Celebration Circle*. The Oodena Celebration Circle—named after the Ojibwa word meaning 'heart of the city'—was aimed at providing a 'spiritual heart' among the proliferating commercial and recreational developments (The Forks 1993). In the design documents pertaining to the site, there was no specific indication of Aboriginal cultures and the emphasis was "to restore contact with the cultural history of the site and the dynamic forces of earth, water, and sky" (HTFC Planning and Design 1993). The design firm Hilderman Thomas Frank Cramm's mission was to create a mainly multicultural public space and the development documents do not indicate that the Oodena Celebration Circle included Indigenous peoples in the design process; instead, it appears that the cultural history of the site and the use of Indigenous motifs combined to generate a distinct sense of place for the area. Yet, in spite of this, the Oodena Circle has—through its regular use—served as a prominent stage for holding Indigenous events and celebrations at The Forks (see Fig. 9.9).

The redevelopment of the site as a public space has been inspired by the concept of reviving The Forks as the 'meeting place'. According to the developer, The Forks North Portage Partnership (2009), The Forks draws its character from Indigenous history and heritage and symbolises the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities (The Forks North Portage Partnership 2009). However, the way Indigenous heritage commemoration has occurred in the development processes at The Forks follows a style of contemporary placemaking in settler nations

Fig. 9.9 Oodena Celebration Circle, The Forks, Winnipeg (*Photograph* Sarem Nejad)

which can be seen largely as the appropriation of Indigenous design motifs without deep engagement with Indigenous communities in the conceptualisation of the area or site overall, and the design and construction of specific installations and developments on it. Creating places of consumption for the majority non-Indigenous public, without joint planning and design with Indigenous peoples of the territory, further dispossesses Indigenous relationships with the land and sites of significance. The creation of sites of spectacle and consumption, large-scale developments and heritage management through urban design can act in a way that disrupts the Indigenous sense of place, meanings and histories associated with that place. The result has been the successive commodification and packaging of Indigenous cultures for consumption in a gesture of inclusion by non-Indigenous authorities that is palatable to the general public and visitors (Dovey 1999; McGaw et al. 2011).

The Forks was designed to celebrate Winnipeg's heritage and showcase its vision for a future urbanism which is heavily influenced by the Indigenous presence and participation. However, as Cooper (2009) explains, the site redevelopment since the 1980s has been informed by colonial assumptions towards Indigenous cultures. First of all, The Forks is trying to represent itself as a safe, peaceful and isolated alternative to the run-down, dangerous downtown core. The heritage which is being celebrated at the site diverts attention away from the continuous dispossession and loss of Indigenous cultures and peoples spread throughout the rest of the city. The site's planning and development documents locate Indigenous history and heritage in the distant past and at the same time ignore the colonial history of the site. In fact, the structure of decision-making and the elimination of Indigenous peoples and organisations from having meaningful participation in the planning and programming of the site reinforce existing stereotypes and perpetuate the exclusion of Indigenous culture from placemaking in Winnipeg (Cooper 2009). Development plans for the site are prepared on the premise of empty land; open areas are being taken over, and structures built-up. Indigenous meanings and memories associated with the open space are ignored so the seemingly 'vacant land' of The Forks can provide an unencumbered context for increasing commercialisation at the site. *Building Connections 2010–2020*, the plan guiding the development of The Forks has proposed further development—including a mixed-use project with residential and commercial functions—within and surrounding the site.

The Canadian Museum of Human Rights—opened in 2014—is the most recent example. Inspired by the 'flagship-museum' paradigm in contemporary urban development, this museum with its distinct architecture and massive structure is aimed at attracting tourists and investors and sustaining the financial success of the area (Shoval and Strom 2009). Its development is politically aimed at characterising Winnipeg as a city for human rights, peace, reconciliation and coexistence. Ironically, however, the museum refused to create an exhibit depicting Canada's treatment of Indigenous peoples as one of its international examples of (cultural) genocide (see Alfred 2009 for a discussion of the depth and breadth of mental and physical health problems and economic damage attributable to the colonial practices of the Canadian state).

Despite the tendency in settler cities like Winnipeg to underperform in the realm of meaningful Indigenous engagement in official urban design discourse, the situated demographic and sociocultural realities are transforming the production of urban space and place in contemporary times. With its large and growing young Indigenous population, Winnipeg is arguably a privileged city owing to its authentic place-history where thousands of Métis and First Nation peoples had already lived in the Red River region, at and surrounding The Forks, where the city was founded prior to the arrival of European settlers. Like other settler cities, the processes of urban development have been oriented towards displacing Indigenous communities from the urban landscape (Burley 2013). However, despite displacement, marginalisation and assimilation, the Indigenous presence has never been eliminated from Winnipeg's sociocultural landscape, and Indigenous communities have always influenced the city's urban ethos (Ens 1996). Winnipeg has the largest and most complete spectrum of urban Aboriginal organisations among cities in Canada, which politically represent urban Indigenous inhabitants and provide them with socially and culturally appropriate services (Peters 2015; Silver 2006).

A young, large Aboriginal population along with the existence of urban-based Aboriginal organisations in Winnipeg has created a rich cultural and social capital for Indigenous communities. Based on the concept of prior occupancy, Indigenous inhabitants are claiming the city as an Indigenous place and distinguish themselves from other minority groups. The *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study* (Environics 2011) reported that most Indigenous inhabitants of Winnipeg consider the city as their home, they have strong pride in Indigenous cultures, and they want to build a high quality urban life. Placemaking is increasingly gaining importance for Indigenous citizens of Winnipeg to assert their presence and contribution to urban life. Indigenous peoples are claiming their place in the architecture, public art, toponymy and other urban design mechanisms which reify Indigenous urban cultures in the urban landscape.

A recent instance is installing a monument at The Forks commemorating missing or murdered Aboriginal women in Manitoba (see Fig. 9.10). The monument is a joint project between the *Ka Ni Kanichihk Aboriginal Cultural Centre* and the Province of Manitoba. Although small scale, such placemaking activities are of importance in decolonising the city and provide a stark contrast to the design for large-scale popular consumption that has driven the vast majority of work at The Forks, carried out mainly by non-Indigenous planners, designers and business interests, even when they evoke a commemoration of Indigeneity at the site. The essence of this project for missing and murdered Indigenous women is a more incisive, authentic and contemporary urban design installation, undertaken in collaboration between the Indigenous communities and mainstream public authorities. Not only does it honour and recognise missing and murdered Indigenous women, but it brings continuing awareness to a contemporary issue that is deeply afflicting Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in communities across Canada.

Fig. 9.10 Monument honouring missing and murdered Indigenous women, The Forks, Winnipeg (*Photograph* Sarem Nejad)

Conclusion

As Glenn (2017) has pointed out, we should think of Indigenous urban communities in terms of how many centuries they have been there at that place, and not simply in terms of their population size (e.g. percentage of a city's total population). Urban Indigenous communities conceptualise cities as their home and are claiming their right to participate in shaping the built environment where they live (Environics 2010; Newhouse 2011). The concept of original occupancy and the associations of Indigenous cultures with the land shape a continuous sense of place which has informed an historical and contemporary sense of belonging in the city. However, Indigenous collective memories, meanings and associations with these places have been removed by colonial planning and design processes. The invisibility of Indigenous cultures from the built environment of cities is a hallmark of the dispossession of Indigenous communities from their right to participate fully in urban life. For a long time, urban design has been complicit in removing Indigeneity from urban areas; however, it could also be used as an empowering tool and the means for generating new symbolic capital for Indigenous urban inhabitants.

As some of the examples in this chapter show, the Indigenous presence and influence in contemporary urban design in Canadian cities is reclaiming ground in notable ways. Incorporating Indigenous approaches into existing placemaking structures creates potential to transform existing social structures of oppression and Western privilege. Accomplishing this task in contemporary urbanism in settler cities will not be easy. Public spaces are increasingly commercialised, privatised, uniform and politically and culturally indifferent towards non-Western and non-capitalist cultures. Such non-places or placeless geographies tend to be privileging and exclusionary (Augé 1995). Public space is the site where relations of oppression, privilege, resistance and recognition are practised and materialised. Eliminating the homogenising culture of placemaking requires addressing the lived experience of urban inhabitants and acknowledging the right of Indigenous peoples to participate in and appropriate the production of urban space. The built environment, as a cultural product, should be shaped reflexively and collaboratively. Inhabitants should have the ability to "actively negotiate, contest or even corrupt socially constructed meanings" (Wansborough and Mageean 2000: 186). Fulfilling spatial justice and Indigenous peoples' right to participate in urban life requires that opportunities be created for Indigenous cultures to become tangible within the urban landscape.

Indigeneity can be re-inscribed in the design and programming of public spaces through architecture, public art and place naming. Indigenous-inclusive placemaking should address both the past and the present, as in the case of the Paskapoo Slopes in Calgary. The focus on the past should be about engaging Indigenous original occupancy and associated meanings with the land in present and future-seeking design and placemaking initiatives, and not simply cataloguing cultural artefacts in galleries portraying an anachronistic interpretation of Indigenous lives, where communities may "find their creative capacities undervalued and undermined" (Wall 2012: 20).

In addition, there should be a good number of well-designed, well-programmed and well-maintained Indigenous places spread over strategic locations within cities. Architectural form, the use of public art and place naming should be informed by meaningful Indigenous participation and control. Indigenous community participation in placemaking must go well beyond tokenism. The application of visual elements is not itself sufficient. Placemaking must initiate dialogue and shared authority in the context of coexistence within shared urban (Treaty) space (Porter 2013). Tomiak offers a view towards the importance and complexity of the project ahead, a suitable place to end this chapter:

> The various struggles to decolonize the city involve not only re-asserting physical, political, and symbolic space, but are also about fundamentally re-thinking how the city is conceptualized and by whom. In this way, the city becomes visible as a contested space and space of contestation where competing ontologies and politics challenge settler colonial common sense and state power (2016: 16).

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Chapter 10
Mixing It Up: Métis Design and Material Culture in the Canadian Conscious

David T. Fortin

Introduction

In 2008, author John Ralston Saul described Canada as a 'métis civilisation' because, "[like] Métis people, Canadians in general have been heavily shaped by the First Nations" (2008: 3). His bold proposition that such a collective identity might emerge from a better understanding of Canadians as a people 'of Aboriginal inspiration' echoes the 1979 Declaration of Métis Rights, which states that the Métis are "the true spirit of Canada [and] the source of Canadian identity" (Harrison 1985: 15). Yet, within Saul's suspicious mass métis-isation, it is essential to note his strategic use of the small and capital 'm', which is at the core of current debates surrounding Métis identity and culture. The recent *Daniels v. Canada* (2016) case reconfirmed that the Métis, an Indigenous people initially formed through mixed-blood relationships during the fur trade, are "Indians" as per the 1867 Constitution.[1] Along with the First Nations and Inuit, they form the now broadly used acronym for Canada's Indigenous peoples: FNMI. However, despite this formal recognition, there remains some confusion as to who should be considered 'Métis'. Nascent to Canadian architectural discourse, the questions surrounding

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[1]Four important documents have established the framework for the Canadian government's relationship with the Métis. The first is the 1763 *Royal Proclamation* that recognised 'Indian' title to land until ceded through treaty. The second is the 1867 *British North America Act*, later renamed the *Constitution Act, 1867*, which recognsed that the responsibility of the 'Indians' was that of the federal government. In 1982, when the 1867 Constitution was amended and combined with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Part Two, Section 35(2) of the revised *Constitution Act, 1982* clarified that "'[A]boriginal peoples of Canada' includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada". *Daniels v. Canada* (2016) confirmed this to be binding. See Department of Justice Canada (2012).

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Métis culture and peoplehood offer significant insights into the inherent complexity involved not only with the idea of contemporary Métis architecture, but also contemporary Indigenous architecture more broadly as related to issues of cultural identity and design process. Compared to other Indigenous communities who have centuries of building practices and traditional typologies to reference and celebrate (the igloo, the tipi, the longhouse, the kiva, the wigwam, etc.), there is very little understanding of what traditional Métis architecture is, let alone contemporary interpretations. Furthermore, despite millions of dollars spent by the government during the previous decades on schools, healthcare centres, cultural buildings, housing and recreation facilities in Métis communities, a critical discussion about Métis architecture has been surprisingly absent, presumably due to some of the confusions surrounding who they are and how contemporary architecture might play a role in strengthening collective and individual Métis identities. This chapter thus opens with a brief, but essential, introduction to the complexity surrounding Métis peoplehood, followed by two separate discussions of how the capital and lower case 'm's might inform the notion of contemporary Métis architecture moving forward.

Big M, Little m

To begin to understand the Métis in the current global context, it is necessary to first acknowledge the obvious, that ethnic intermingling has occurred for time immemorial as an inherent outcome of human exploration and migration. This expanded significantly during the age of European 'discovery' in nearly every 'exotic' corner of the world to varying degrees. For France, like other European countries haunted by the Black Death of the fourteenth century, a higher population meant increased power and this guided colonising policies to encourage their overseas nationals to intermarry with Indigenous populations in order to expand the geographic reach of the nation (Dickason 1985). As early as 1670, the word 'métis' (from the Latin word *miscēre* meaning 'to mix') was used by French-speaking settlers to describe those born from interracial relationships, primarily between European settlers and First Nations women during the fur trade. The use of 'métis' became increasingly necessary as other terms such as half-breed, quarter-breed and eighth breed became unmanageable (Sealey and Lussier 1975: 1). However, as Redbird importantly notes, "it is safe to assume that Métis identified themselves as a distinct group sometime before" they were labelled as such (1980: 3).

Furthermore, as MacDougall et al. assert, despite such widespread mixing throughout North America during these centuries, this does not indicate that Métis peoples are correspondingly scattered throughout the continent.

> [Only in] specific situations, when the dual-heritage children begin to intermarry and create families and communities with one another and to develop a distinctive culture based on novel practices–such as a new language, artistic production, or economic activity–and especially when a shared sense of collectivity is expressed, ethnogenesis, or the birth of a new people, occurs (2012: 3).

This was the case in Canada as a critical mass of Métis people converged by the early nineteenth century at the Red River Settlement in Manitoba where they played a fundamental role in the economic, political and cultural activity linked to the vast Canadian fur trade. By 1870, the year the Canadian government acquired Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company, the population at Red River was largely Métis, with approximately half speaking French and half speaking English (Wade 1967). As the buffalo hunt declined and more settlers arrived from Ontario following the massive land transfer, many of these Métis migrated further west, forming both sedentary and migratory communities, primarily throughout the regions now known as Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Montana. Over several decades, these Prairie or Red River Métis and their leaders (most famously, Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont) engaged in a series of political and physical confrontations with the government over their sovereignty, their rights to land and the preservation of their unique culture, culminating in the 1885 Northwest Resistance in Batoche, Saskatchewan, where General Middleton and his army defeated the Métis and their First Nations allies in one of Canada's few armed conflicts with Indigenous people. For many, it is this history of a unified political and cultural group that established the Métis as a distinct nation (The Metis Association of Alberta et al. 1981: 21). According to Anderson (2014), it is also critical to understand that the Métis ethnogenesis, in contemporary terms, is 'Indigenous' because there is evidence of 'prior presence', meaning that Métis culture and society existed before racialisations were set forth through the colonising process. This is a critical distinction that the establishment of Métis peoplehood in the prairies, like other Indigenous groups such as the Lumbee, Oji-Cree, Comanche and Seminole, predates the acquisition of the land by the Canadian government (Vowel 2016: 43). Thus, the Métis are Indigenous, not solely because they are genetic descendants of their various First Nations ancestors, but because Métis society existed "at least a century before confederation" (Redbird 1980: 55).

Another prominent Canadian court ruling in 2003, however, commonly known as the Powley Case, concluded that two Métis men from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Steve and Roddy Powley could not be held guilty for unlawfully shooting a moose without a hunting licence given that they, as Métis, had a right to hunt under Section 35 of the Constitution. This decision has been instrumental in urging a national discussion about the use of the term 'Métis' outside of the prairies given that, for example, the Métis National Council only includes provincial jurisdictions from Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. A specific example of this scenario is the mixed-heritage communities along the coast of Labrador who formed the Labrador Métis Association in 1986 despite few, if any, people previously using the word 'Métis' to self-identify. The claim was contested by both provincial Indigenous institutions (such as the Labrador Inuit Association) and the provincial government (Kennedy 1997), but a 1998 Royal Commission concluded that, similar to the Red River Métis, these mixed-blood communities, with their own history of exclusion from both their Inuit and 'Settler' ancestors, as well as a uniquely established culture, "exhibited the historical rootedness essential to nationhood" (Kennedy 2015: 233). Thus, shortly after they changed their name

to the Labrador Métis Nation until again renaming themselves the NunatuKavut (meaning 'our ancient land' in Inuktitut, the mother tongue of the Inuit people of Canada) in 2010 to better reflect their Inuit heritage (Kennedy 2015). Despite the community's official use of this term, others describe them as Inuit-Métis because the majority of the community members now identify as Métis (2015: 233).

Yet even if the NunatuKavut are accepted under a 'Métis' umbrella, there still remains some confusion surrounding the small 'm' métis. As Peterson and Brown highlight, it was in 1984 that the Métis National Council opened its statement to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations with an attempt to clarify this issue.

> Written with a small 'm,' métis is a racial term for anyone of mixed Indian and European ancestry. Written with a capital 'M,' Métis is a socio-cultural or political term for those originally of mixed-ancestry who evolved into a distinct Indigenous people during a certain historical period in a certain region in Canada (Peterson and Brown 1985: 6).

Furthermore, this distinction is important to better understand shifting Métis demographics in Canada. In the 2011 census, registered Métis comprised roughly one-third (approximately 451 795 people) of all Indigenous people (Statistics Canada 2012). However, while population growth for Indigenous people between 1996 and 2006 was significantly higher than for non-Indigenous people, this was largely fuelled by the near doubling of the Métis (compared to 29 and 26% growth by First Nations and Inuit), an anomaly largely due to "an increasing tendency for people to identify themselves as Aboriginal in recent years" (Statistics Canada 2015). For many Métis, this trend is potentially troublesome in that Canadians who discover a distant Indigenous ancestor are beginning to self-identify as Métis despite having no cultural or meaningful connections to any specific Métis community or place (Vowel 2016). The vetting of Métis ethnicity has recently gained national attention as even renowned Métis author and spokesperson Joseph Boyden's claims to his Indigenous heritage have been publicly interrogated (Fine 2016). For now, the governing provincial Métis associations have established guidelines as to who can be accepted, which does not allow a distant Indigenous ancestor to qualify one for Métis status; however, other more recently formed associations such as the Métis Federation of Canada and the Canadian Métis Council also now issue memberships that are not as stringently tied to Red River. Thus, this complex and highly contested registration process, which could have significant implications for issues such as future government reconciliation with Métis people, continues to evolve across the country amidst Métis political turmoil in places like Saskatchewan, one of the highest Métis-populated provinces.

So what does this all mean for architecture more precisely? The following sections will offer some perspectives that may add some clarity while simultaneously asking more questions. First, with regard to the Métis as a specific cultural group, there has been very little architectural attention paid to their distinct culture and/or spatial and material sensibilities, or how contemporary design could further strengthen Métis identity with this in mind. Thus, it is necessary to first introduce the Métis vernacular traditions formed in Red River during the nineteenth century,

and how they evolved across the prairies. A few contemporary interpretations of buildings designed for Métis communities will then be discussed, as well as selected projects by contemporary Métis designers. Lastly, given the trajectory for a general increase in the number of both Métis and self-identifying métis, and Ralston Saul's call for a collective 'métis' identity, it is worth briefly considering what might be described as a contemporary 'métis' architecture when conceived as a syncretic approach to design embracing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous world views, as well as the limitations and caveats associated with such a position.

'Métis' as Nation

To better understand the complexity surrounding the idea of a contemporary Métis architecture, it is worthwhile to first consider that Douglas Cardinal, as Canada's most iconic Indigenous architect, has been described in media and publications as a "Métis-Blackfoot architect" (Rabb 2011: 217), of Blackfoot, German and Métis heritage (Cook 2012), and as a "Métis architect" (Barkwell 2010). Thus, though it is often assumed that Cardinal is Métis, there is a complexity to his ancestry adequately summarised by Hall.

> Both his mother and father were of mixed European and native Canadian blood—he was one-quarter Blackfoot and she was of German and Métis ancestry. And while Joseph and Frances Cardinal suppressed their Aboriginal roots, often to the point of denial, their native genetics were written clearly on their first child's dark face (2014: 8).

Furthermore, despite openly acknowledging his Métis heritage, he also states clearly in an interview with the author that, "I am not Métis in terms of that culture, per se", revealing his understanding that having mixed-blood heritage does not automatically make one Métis (Cardinal 2014). In fact, of the fifteen or so registered Indigenous architects in Canada, many of mixed-heritage, only three are known members of a Métis Nation or Federation (the author, Shawn Bailey and Harriet Burdett-Moulton who are discussed below). Thus, if the world's most recognised Métis architect is not, by his own admission, 'Métis', then this evidently complicates any discussion about contemporary Métis architecture. To address this, it is essential to recognise that in order to register as a member of a Métis Nation in Canada, one must identify as being distinct from other Aboriginal peoples, meaning that one cannot be registered as both First Nations and Métis. If this were possible, it is likely that more of Canada's Indigenous architects would also identify as Métis. For example, in a 23 September 2016, interview with Dene architect, Chris Clarke, he describes himself as Métis, "not in the Red River sense, but in the fact that I am both Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal, which has given me the ability to see many different aspects of things, which I may not if I was only one or the other" (Clarke 2016). Similarly, Saskatchewan architect Ray Gosselin, whose portfolio of work references various Indigenous cultural forms including Cardinal's curving style, is a member the Muscowpetung First Nation but also takes pride in his prairie Métis

roots. Thus, to use the divisions set forth through the registration process is limiting in discussing Métis architecture given it necessitates, temporarily, excluding many Indigenous architects in Canada, including Cardinal, Gosselin and Clarke, who along with fellow mixed-heritage Mohawk architect Matthew Hickey designed a Northwest Territory Métis Legislative Assembly building for their award-winning combined 2006 master's thesis from the University of Calgary (Clarke and Hickey 2006). Furthermore, related to national debates surrounding the use of 'Métis' in Eastern Canada, internationally recognised Canadian architect Brian Mackay-Lyons has also publicly identified as Métis, explaining that, "My forebears [Mi'kmaq] go back 10 000 years. I have my Métis card. I feel very, very rooted in the Maritimes" (Bruce 2015). Yet, in his foreword to *Local Architecture: Building Place, Craft and Community,* there is no mention of how his Indigenous identity has impacted his career. Instead, he writes, "As a practitioner, I would like to think of myself as a farmer …[and] as a teacher I would like to think of myself as a village priest, a keeper of the faith, keeping the lamp lit in the face of often-disappointing reality" (Mackay-Lyons and McCarter 2015: 11).

Thus, in order to further navigate through some of these convoluted distinctions, it is essential to recognise that 'Indigenous architecture' is considered here as a term under which Métis architecture is categorised, along with the other distinct First Nations and Inuit communities in Canada. And while there is substantial cultural variation between even the Red River Métis, scattered across the Prairie Provinces and Northern states, there is indeed a traditional Métis culture of building worthy of further recognition and understanding. Thus, the following section will focus on: (1) a brief summary of Métis folk homes and material culture in the prairies, (2) architecturally designed projects for Métis communities and (3) examples of contemporary Métis-designed projects.

Métis Folk Homes and Material Culture

A complete history of the earliest 'métis' buildings lacks proper documentation; however, it can be assumed that various mixed-blood people established variations of inherited building typologies during the early centuries of Indigenous and settler contact. A rare study into early Labrador Métis (NunatuKavut) sod structures, for example, suggests such early hybrid approaches likely existed (Beaudoin et al. 2010). However, it is also probable that design and construction by these early métis groups would have depended largely on which culture (Indigenous or non-Indigenous) they were closest to geographically and who mentored the builders. For example, by the time of the establishment of the Red River Settlement, the most densely populated and 'Métis' community of the prairies in the nineteenth century, the architecture largely resulted from a combination of two primary factors: (1) the available resources and (2) construction methods and building typologies used by the British and French colonies of Eastern Canada (Wade 1967). Like most settler communities throughout North America, early buildings at Red River used

log construction due to the limited availability of other building materials and an established history of similar methods from Eastern Canada and Europe. Red River structures predominantly used a method whereby squared horizontal logs are notched and slid into grooved vertical posts at various distances depending on the available length of the log. In French-speaking communities such as St. Boniface, a Métis community in the region, it was referred to as *poteaux sur sole* (or posts on the sill) given the mortising of the vertical uprights into a heavier log sill foundation (Hourie and Barkwell 2006). Largely influenced by trends arriving from Eastern Canada, there were variations on these homes and buildings that included the Hudson's Bay style described above (now also commonly known as the Red River style) and various notched corner details (including saddle, dog, wedge, square and dovetail). Some of the prominent Red River-style buildings of the period in Manitoba include the Grey Nuns Convent and school, and various Métis homes, including the Delorme house and Louis Riel's mother's home in St. Vital (Kalman 1994: 330–1). The Métis carried these building methods with them as they migrated west, with the notched corner construction becoming the rule for Métis farm buildings in the Western interior. The Hudson's Bay style also appeared, for example, in the construction of the chapel at the Oblate Mission of St. Albert, Alberta, where Father Albert Lacombe established a Métis missionary. However, in Métis houses, it was generally used for lean-to additions only (Burley and Horsfall 1989).

Yet while the building techniques employed by the Métis were largely inherited from their European ancestors, it is their unique application of them that is most relevant to a discussion of contemporary Métis design. Research led by Simon Fraser University archaeologist David Burley during the 1980s confirmed earlier suggestions of a distinctly Métis vernacular that emerged in the St. Laurent region of Saskatchewan during the 1870s as many Métis, fleeing from Manitoba due to the increased number of homesteaders arriving from Ontario, shifted from their migratory patterns (hunting buffalo) to establishing agricultural farmsteads. Burley's research concluded that the houses of the region embodied "the concepts by which Métis ethnicity can be defined and identified", thus providing significant insight into the spatial and material values embraced by the Métis of the period (Burley et al. 1992: 2). The authors write:

> The unconscious rules of Métis behaviour conform to a conceptual order that, in its basic structure, is reproduced in day-to-day activities and in the built environment. This structure is 'holistic,' integrating continuity in the culture/nature relationship, an unbounded and asymmetric perception of space and overriding concerns with egalitarian principles of social organization and consensus (1992: 2–3).

Their egalitarian values, for example, led the Métis of Saskatchewan to adopt the river lot system used at Red River and along the St. Lawrence River, not only because they were familiar with it, but also because it allowed each family equal access to both the river and the road, while allowing houses to be alongside one another to strengthen their sense of community. The placement of buildings on the landscape also differed from non-Métis farmsteads in the region in terms of their

relationship to the landscape. They oriented their buildings outwards to their surroundings, used informal 'string' arrangements of buildings relating to specific landscape features, did not delineate property boundaries with fencing and exhibited a general "preference for open unstructured space" that was consistent with settlement patterns from Red River (Burley and Horsfall 1989: 29). The overall design of the Métis folk house similarly reveals a unique tension between order and informality, exterior and interior. As Burley and Horsfall write:

> The Métis adopted the [Georgian, or Euro-Canadian] façade but not the interior …the symbolic message of the Métis house front masks the reality of Métis cultural values … This built environment reflects openness, informality, lack of rigidly defined structure, and continuity with the landscape (1989: 30).

Thus, the completely open and informal Métis interior was a distinct feature not only for its egalitarian qualities, but also for its adaptability. The large room could easily transform from a dining or living space into a gathering space or dance floor, facilitating cultural events and other everyday practices. In Burley's words, the folk home interiors were thus the antithesis of the Georgian homes that reflected a highly structural and specialised society due to their "lack of boundedness…an environment in which Métis sense of communalism, consensualism and equity were pre-eminent" (2000: 32). Freelance writer Graham Chandler further describes these Métis interiors as being closer to the Plains tepee than their settler counterparts (2003). Furthermore, renowned Métis author Maria Campbell recalls in a 2016 interview how grandmothers would sleep near the front door of these homes, which ensured the protection of the children and women. She also describes the seasonal rituals of burning the grass surrounding the house prior to cleaning the interior and re-plastering and liming the exterior back to a bright white colour for the upcoming summer (Campbell 2016).

These Métis folk homes, with variations across the prairies, were built until around the 1930s when various influences, such as access to dimensioned lumber as well as various other commercially available goods, began broadly shifting approaches to homebuilding. However, it is also important to note that following the 1885 resistance, the Métis were mostly marginalised, with many fleeing to woodland areas or squatting along road allowance areas where they became known as the 'Road Allowance People'. In urban centres, such as Winnipeg, they formed shanty communities such as Rooster Town, where they built mobile peri-urban structures, often out of recycled materials, before finally being evicted during the late 1950s (Burley 2013). In Alberta, the provincial government accepted responsibility for their devastated Métis communities, finally establishing land for them in the form of settlements scattered throughout the province through the 1938 Métis Population Betterment Act designed to allow them to live off the land. During the formation of these communities in the 1930s and 1940s, Métis families arrived with little money or possessions and built log homes akin to the earlier folk homes. Similarly, schools and churches were erected through communal efforts using local materials and traditional building methods. However, government housing soon replaced these early log homes and buildings through various programmes

including, for example, vinyl-sided premanufactured houses and mobile homes similar to neighbouring non-Métis centres (Fortin 2015).

Despite these trends for government low-cost housing and other prefabricated community buildings being broadly implemented in Métis communities for the past half-century, recent field research suggests there are examples of contemporary Métis-built homes with a remarkable resemblance to the nineteenth-century folk home, demonstrating some continuity of material and spatial tendencies. For example, a resident of East Prairie Settlement in Alberta gave up his 'new' government home to return to what Public Works coordinator John Supernault refers to as 'the old ways'. He chose a site on the edge of a remote section of muskeg to build an off-grid two-storey home that combines contrasting approaches to material and construction. The open interior of the home exhibits rustic elements (i.e. rough timber posts, wood burning stove, hunting rifle, and traditional medicines hung to dry) and manufactured ones (corrugated plastic panels, coloured skylights, prefabricated doors and framing connectors—even a Marcel Breuer Cesca-inspired chair). Additionally, the exterior combines one-foot-by-one-foot hewn log construction and a lean-to for a sweat lodge, with conventional wood framing, commercial oriented strand board (OSB) sheathing, store-bought wood lattice and spray foam insulation to replace traditional chinking. Although the details are rudimentary and ad hoc, the home is unique in its conscious combination of traditional and Western construction and material approaches, as well as its response to its unique landscape (see Fig. 10.1). Similarly, a Métis-built home in northern Saskatchewan's Fish Lake Métis Local territory repurposes power line posts into structural

Fig. 10.1 Contemporary Métis-built home in East Prairie Settlement, Alberta (*Photograph* David T. Fortin)

members, has a similarly open floor plan centred on a wood stove and maintains strategic relationships with the surrounding landscape (Fortin and Surkan 2016).

Thus, though the nineteenth-century folk house had been largely succeeded by other construction methodologies by the 1930s, there is convincing evidence that some Métis homebuilders are erecting houses consistent with earlier Métis ways. Furthermore, visits to various Métis communities across the prairies reveal other forms of a distinctly Métis contemporary material culture, for example, boat building, animal shelters and smoking structures for fish and meat, that have formal and performative intricacies worthy of more architectural attention. In northern parts of Canada, these include items such as dog sleds, snares and drums, all used by Clarke and Hickey (2006) to inspire their thesis project for a Métis Legislative building. It is evident that further studies into contemporary spatial, material and cultural forms in Métis communities hold immense promise for implementing a relevant Métis architecture moving forward.

Architecture Designed for Métis Communities

Despite the historical evolution of Métis material culture and design described above, it must also be recognised that an architectural paternalism for the Métis has persisted, most likely initiated in Red River, in schools such as the Grey Nuns Convent that was established by Bishop Joseph-Norbert Provencher to support his goals of assimilating the Métis and First Nations children through enforced European education (Chartrand et al. 2006: 23). Such colonising relationships were famously repeated across the country in residential schools that shared no connection with those Métis children whose families were closer to the buffalo hunt, or especially those "identified as living the Indian mode of life" (Chartrand et al. 2006: 19). This has continued since the defeat of the Métis in 1885, evidenced by a repeated pattern of housing and community buildings being designed *for*, and not *with*, Métis communities (if they are designed at all). As both church and state took increased responsibility for sheltering the Métis due to the rapid deterioration of their economic situation (following the loss of their lands and livelihood without proper compensation), colonial power relationships became increasingly evident. In Alberta, for example, according to the Métis Nation of Alberta and Sawchuk (1981: 180), "[a]t no time either in the opening or closure of the [St. Paul des Métis] Colony [1896–1905] were the Metis consulted as to their own desires". Significant evidence of governmental control over all aspects of building in the development of the Alberta settlements similarly exists, while visits to multiple Métis communities quickly reveal broadly imposed building construction and design, with little to no consideration for the landscape or Métis culture.

An especially disturbing contemporary example of this is the administrative centre built at the Batoche National Historic Site that opened in 1986 in Saskatchewan. According to IKOY, the architectural team from Winnipeg led by Ron Keenberg, the project intended to "interpret the history of the Métis settlement,

prepare visitors for self-guided trail tours through the adjacent battlefield, and house site maintenance facilities" (IKOY u.d.). Yet the focus of the design overtly fetishises the battle while completely ignoring the historical context of the St. Laurent region where the Métis folk houses were most evident. IKOY's description of the building is especially revealing with regard to their interpretation of contemporary Métis culture.

> The site has come to symbolize the Metis' last stand as united people, the end of their independence, and the eventual closing of the Canadian frontier…The building is designed to intensify this story–its rifled gallery walk, its V site focused on the church, its pavilion administration, theatre and museum provide spaces to glimpse the landscape (IKOY u.d.).

IKOY's solution to the prompt for a Métis interpretive centre was thus to provoke visitors via imposed material and alien forms (corrugated metal-sided boxes) and force them to walk through the barrel of a soldier's gun pointed directly at the preserved Métis community church. The project was widely applauded by the architectural community at the time, winning multiple awards, however, as Hutton writes, referring to the disparate military strategies used during the resistance,

> IKOY reveals its own discomfort in an isolated environment. Like Middleton's soldiers, IKOY is unable to recognize opportunities for camouflage or to 'dig in' like the Indigenous Métis. The building is widely disliked by the Métis community not only for its appearance but because it provides so little opportunity for them to represent their culture (1996: 4).

This disconnect eventually led to a retrofit of the building in 2010 by P3 Architecture Partnership because, in addition to its no longer meeting programme standards and being energy inefficient, "the aesthetic was inconsistent with the values of the Metis people" (P3 Architecture Partnership n.d.: 3).

In response to IKOY's offensive building-as-object, Hutton's culturally driven graduate thesis, completed in 1996, foreshadowed shifts in the design process that have recently attempted to break from such overtly colonising overtones. The Gift Lake Métis community complex (including a replacement school, local college, day care and other youth facilities), for instance, was completed in 2014 and was designed using extensive community engagement led by Group2 Architecture and Interior Design. Important to the community was that the design responds to cultural specificities, which led to the use of an interior colour palette inspired by the Métis sash and their corresponding meanings, as well as a chevron brick pattern on the exterior linked to the sash and other Métis visual arts (Clegg 2013). Similarly, the design of an 8,500 m^2 (91 493.24 ft^2) combined hospital and high school facility completed in Île-à-la-Crosse in 2007, involved numerous community consultation sessions facilitated by the Saskatoon-based AODBT Architecture. From these conversations, the prominence of the canoe in the region was reflected in the curved shape of the roof, while the multi-coloured exterior panels and brick mimic the local sunsets as seen on the school board logo.

Yet, despite the community of Île-à-la-Crosse being nearly fully populated by Métis people, and compared to Cardinal's unique design for the nearby elementary school, the AODBT website curiously describes the town as 'a unique rural community in Northern Saskatchewan' with no reference to its rich Métis culture

and heritage. Furthermore, it was acknowledged during a 2016 interview with one of the lead designers that no research was done into Métis ways of building or traditional sensibilities beyond the items mentioned above, as well as a cultural room outfitted with proper venting for various ceremonies. Other recent projects with Métis-specific content include the Rossdale Memorial in downtown Edmonton, designed by Manasc Isaac Architects, which incorporates the infinity symbol of the Métis flag into the landscape design, while the Métis Housing Corporation completed a seven-storey affordable housing tower in 2013 for elderly urban Métis that includes a spiritual gathering room, intended to reflect a distinctive Aboriginal identity.

In many of these cases, however, there is a distinct shift in the way Métis architecture is conceived. The contemporary projects unconsciously sever themselves from considerations of traditional Métis ways of habitation, including social and spatial distinctions, the tectonics of log construction, preferences for informality and flexibility, cultural rituals and strategic responses to landscape intricacies, for example. In most Métis-related projects, Métis-ness is reduced to an applied surface treatment, a colour, or symbolic reference to a recognisable image (often the sash or the infinity symbol) that is decaled onto an otherwise generic building. An exception is clearly the Cardinal-designed Île-à-la-Crosse Elementary School, completed in 1976, where the interior is preserved as a large open space with shorter partitions to maintain its volumetric core. Cardinal's intimate knowledge about the Métis and his respect for their culture developed through both the influence of his mother and his professional work for other Métis communities, including Paddle Prairie Settlement, Grouard and Bonnyville, Alberta, for example. He recalls these as positive experiences, especially at Île-à-la-Crosse where designing the new school also involved his participation in the restructuring of the curriculum and educational infrastructure to be more grounded in Métis values (see Fig. 10.2).

The Kikino elementary school designed by Koliger Schmidt Architect-Engineer and led by Japanese architect Yoshi Natsuyama's likewise seeks a meaningful Métis interpretation. The conceptual design emerged from Natsuyama's research into Métis culture and his camping at the site during two separate visits to better understand the community and the *genius loci* of the place. This resulted in the massing of the building to reflect a welcoming village as opposed to the monolithic structures of residential schools, steeple forms to reference the important role of the church in Kikino, as well as using colours and patterns discovered through his research into Métis visual culture. Partner Bruce Koliger recalls that Natsuyama camped out in order to 'sense the air and feel the ground', which led to an approach to design that aimed to strengthen Métis culture and identity through its visual cues and massing, but also through the modest wind turbines atop the towers, providing an ethereal link between the presence of the place and the community itself. It is clear that, despite being foreign to the country, the site and the community, Natsuyama unveiled aspects of Métis culture that resonated with the community and offered a uniquely conceived Métis architectural interpretation (see Fig. 10.3).

Fig. 10.2 Interior of Île-à-la-Crosse Elementary School, designed by Douglas Cardinal Architect (*Photograph* Jason Surkan)

Fig. 10.3 Rendering of Kikino Elementary School, designed by Koliger Schmidt Architect-Engineer, rendering by Cesar Uson (*Drawing* Koliger Schmidt Architect-Engineer)

Furthermore, in 2016, Nova Scotia-based Ekistics Planning and Design completed a set of interpretive pavilions and a 'family garden' at the Batoche National Historic Site that utilises the landscape to didactically emphasise the river lot system and the local community's history. In this modest project, the chevron pattern of the sash returns in a wood slat and batten pattern, with the battens being further informed by exposed laths on nearby folk homes, while the slats are metaphorically linked to "a river, trail and trade route" (ArchDaily 2017). The sash and the flag (atop a tower) mark the project as distinctively Métis-inspired, while the extended use of the river lot with its long mowed path connecting the structures offers a spatial narrative unique to its regional and cultural context. Similar to the

Fig. 10.4 Batoche National Historic Site. Ekistics Planning and Design. Project Lead: John deWolf. Lead Architects: Chris Crawford and (*Photograph* Pete Lawrence Photography)

IKOY project, the structures intentionally detach themselves from the landscape formally and tectonically (yet in this case, for minimal impact and archaeological sensitivity); however, the overall design uses a series of symbolic, visual and material cues to experientially connect the visitor to the site and reinforce "the conviction of a thriving Métis culture" in a contemporary way (ArchDaily 2017) (see Fig. 10.4).

Métis-Designed Projects

Finally, it is essential to highlight a few contemporary projects by Métis designers. Tiffany Shaw-Collinge was born in Calgary and currently resides in Edmonton, but has always maintained close ties with the Fort McMurray area where her mother was raised and where her ancestors led a traditional Métis lifestyle. A member of the Métis Nation of Alberta, it was through her art and design education that Shaw-Collinge found profound inspiration in her Métis heritage and this has become central to her fledgling career as a designer. For example, she notes that knitting, crocheting and sewing are all skills passed down through her maternal ancestors, and she continues to pursue them in her life as a continuum. In one of her early school projects at the Southern California Institute of Architecture, for example, her inherited knit stitch formed the foundation for a formal exploration that led to her design of a recreation centre for downtown Los Angeles (see Fig. 10.5). Later, in 2012, Shaw-Collinge's submission was accepted for Canada's 'Migrating Landscapes' contribution to the Venice Biennale where she combined the knitting and crocheting techniques learned from her mother and grandmother to construct a model of the trap line cabin of her great grandfather, Jean Paulin. Two other models, made from deer hide and cable ties, offered other material expressions of the modest cabin. Shaw-Collinge has also designed and built a hybrid arch–igloo structure that could provide warmth for nomadic shelter in Edmonton, blending Indigenous and Western construction types into an innovative prototype. These

Fig. 10.5 Knit Stitch: Student project by Tiffany Shaw-Collinge, Southern California Institute of Architecture (*Image* Tiffany Shaw-Collinge)
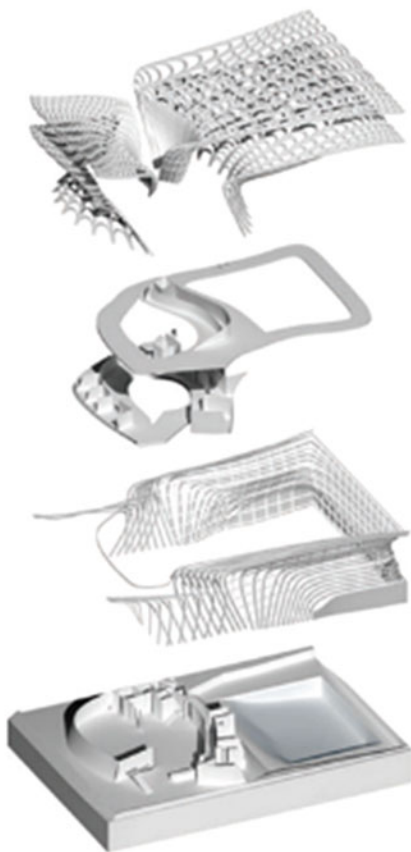
sorts of material and formal explorations by a new generation of Métis designers offer compelling insights into how traditional methods might be re-imagined using emerging technologies.

It was during his education at the University of Manitoba that architect Shawn Bailey similarly found inspiration in his Métis heritage, having been raised in a remote area of Lake of the Woods, Ontario. For Bailey, a member of the Métis Nation of Ontario, his heritage has impacted his approach to architecture in that, 'Indigenous ways of thinking seek to explore reciprocal responsibilities and mutual obligations, not only between humans, but also the more-than-human world'. Reciprocity is also key to his overall design interests as demonstrated by his graduate thesis for an Anishinaabe Roundhouse located on Tunnel Island 'common ground' in Kenora, Ontario, a property owned by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The project explored relationships between building systems, parametric design and analogue methods of working, in the context of cross-cultural exchange and interplay. As he describes, "My thesis shared a vision of people living side by side, learning from each other, sharing with each other, and finding harmony in common ground, while continuing to honor the distinct elements of each culture" (Bailey 2017). For Bailey, the current moment in Canadian history with a 'renewed focus on resolving outstanding treaty obligations' offers immense opportunity 'to develop new, emerging, and novel methods, approaches and traditions that reflect an equitably shared contribution from all parties'. Now a partner at Boreal Architecture Studio Incorporated, Bailey's explorations have continued into his professional projects, including a Sharing Centre for the Ochiichagwe'Babigo'Ining Ojibway Nation, designed as a fusion between vernacular Anicinabe and contemporary approaches to thinking and building. The programme includes a wild rice and meat processing area, classrooms, conference rooms, an interior and exterior gathering space and food services that would support large gatherings and cabins located throughout the site, with the goal to educate community members, share with non-community members and boost economic development (see Fig. 10.6).

Meanwhile, NunatuKavut architect Harriet Burdett-Moulton, born in Cartwright, Labrador, and raised in a nomadic mixed-blood community deeply tied to the seasonal hunting and fishing cycles of the region, has established herself as one of the pre-eminent architects in Northern Canada over the past decades. This is largely driven by her comfort in working with Inuit communities and her passion for developing ways to increase community involvement throughout the design process. Some of her significant projects include the relocation of the Davis Inlet community to Natuashish in the early 2000s (including building a new school), the reconstruction of St. Jude's Cathedral in Iqaluit—completed in 2013, and the Piqqusiliriivvik Inuit Cultural Learning Facility in Clyde River, Nunavut, whose unique layout references a *qaqqiq* (large communal igloo) with various teaching and work areas designed for observational learning. Wood on the interior and earth tones on the exterior relate to the surrounding tundra, while lichen-red flooring and sealskin-covered built-ins similarly reference the northern landscape (see Fig. 10.7). Though not designed with Red River Métis culture in mind, Burdett-Moulton, like many other Indigenous architects, clearly aims to reconcile specific cultural sensitivities with contemporary building technologies, embracing the community's Indigenous values through engaged consultation. These design

Fig. 10.6 Ochiichagwe'babigo'ining (Dalles) Sharing Centre. Design by Boreal Architecture Studio Incorporated. (*Image* Boreal Architecture Studio Incorporated)

Fig. 10.7 Piqqusiliriivvik Inuit Cultural Learning Facility, Clyde River, Nunavut. Designed by Stantec Architecture. Design Team: Harriet Burdett-Moulton, Joshua Armstrong, Terry Gray, Roger Tulk (*Photograph* Dave Brosha)

principles that have shaped Burdett-Moulton's career as a NunatuKavut architect largely emerge from her liminal life experience between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worlds. In her words, "This fusion of cultures can have a strong influence on design and if we foster it, it could be unique to Canada".

Lastly, it is essential to consider the illustrious career of Manitoban architect Étienne Gaboury, whose subjective Métis identity was mostly unknown. The first member of the Gaboury family (Antoine) arrived in Canada in 1690 from France, and among his descendants, was Marie-Anne Gaboury who married Jean-Baptiste Lagimodiére. One of their grandchildren was Louis Riel. Although this has been referred to as the essential link to Étienne's Métis lineage given the recognisability of Marie-Anne's name, his Indigenous heritage is instead tied to his mother, Valentine Lafrenière, whose grandmother was Marie Madeline McTavish, an Ojibway from Ontario. Born in 1930, Gaboury acknowledges that his family's Métis heritage was never "overtly" acknowledged growing up, as "it was considered a negative trait" (Gaboury 2015). For example, he recalls his grand-mother Gaboury (Auriélie Chabot) constantly reminding him and his siblings that they had Indigenous ancestry, and 'berating' them for any physical features that evidenced it (such as the black or dark brown hair and eyes of some of his siblings). As Gaboury recalls, it was not until later in life, "when being Métis became a mark of distinction, even of pride", that his family began to openly celebrate their Indigenous heritage (Gaboury 2015).

When asked how his identity as a Métis person has impacted his architectural career, Gaboury's answer is careful not to mistakenly simplify one's identity or heritage with the application of formal or typological signifiers. Instead, his answer reflects the rich complexity embedded in his approach to design and often attributed to the sophistication of his work.

> The Métis trait is atavistic and primeval in that it is mostly embedded in my subconscious. Some are overt, like skin, hair and eye colour, but most are deeply ensconced in my genes whose attribution would be a minefield to unravel. My sensitivity to the environment, my respectful fascination with nature, and my love of its creatures and plants, are probably influenced by the native genealogy, at least it would have reinforced those tendencies. There is also a sense of the sacred, a more animalistic sacredness, an awe of nature, of the universe that cannot be accredited directly to my Roman Catholic upbringing since Catholicism emphasized our dominance over it rather than our belonging to it, our being an integral part of it (Gaboury 2015).

Thus, reflections on his Métis identity lead directly to Gaboury's relationship with the natural world, a connection honed through his upbringing on a Manitoban farm working outdoors, caring for the various animals and harvesting grain and hay. It is this intimate relationship with nature that he feels had a direct impact on his architectural career, inspiring him to design in an organic way, "following a more natural and intuitive process of composition, mimicking nature where organisms evolve from the intrinsic to the extrinsic form, from the germ to its full blossoming maturity" (Gaboury 2015). An example of this is the Église du Précieux Sang/ Precious Blood Church, completed in 1968 in Winnipeg, where the sculptural form did not effortlessly evolve from its reference to the tipi (tepee, teepee) alone, but

instead through such a lengthy organic process guided by the community. As Gaboury describes, the church had "considerable Métis cultural and social overtones …[a] fairly typical French-Canadian parish whose Métis members probably formed the majority" (Gaboury 2015). The priest in 1965 was Father Aurèle Lemoine, who had spent several years as the pastor in the Métis community of Saint-Laurent. Lemoine approached Gaboury with his dream of a new church, adding that it should be, "unique, beautiful, [and] grand in scale" (Gaboury 2015). Gaboury's design team submitted six solutions for Precious Blood over three years, "due to the arduous search for the right solution, the proper expression" (Gaboury 2015). A subsequent purchase of additional land allowed their team to develop a more resolved solution with a spiral plan, brick walls and floor and a wood superstructure. Suggesting a Métis spatial and material identity, Gaboury further describes the design and its unanimous reception by the Métis community.

> This very organic snail-inspired spiral plan with its teepee morphology was immediately accepted…It seems revealing, meaningful, that a group of architectural neophytes would spur an architect to seek the 'right' solution, one that would be meaningful to them, one that mirrored their values, their reality, one that was in harmony with their sense of space, with their subliminal, primordial memory (Gaboury 2015).

Precious Blood Church is illustrative of how a regional and organic design process can merge with the values of a community to inspire an iconic architectural expression not achievable under any other set of circumstances, which was in this case designed for and inextricably tied to a Métis community (see Fig. 10.8).

Beyond Precious Blood, Gaboury has also worked with many other Métis groups or on projects inspired by Métis history. These include Collège Louis Riel (1968), the Louis Riel Arts and Technology Centre (1968), the Louis Riel Monument (1972, with Marcien Lemay), Louis Riel Park (1995), the Pont Provencher/Esplanade Riel Pedestrian Bridge crossing the Red River (2004), a Métis Interpretive Centre Study (2004) and the conceptual design for a cultural centre in Saint Laurent. Thus, though Gaboury is one of the most respected and applauded Canadian architects of the twentieth century, most of this was achieved without public knowledge or understanding of his deep connection to his Indigenous lineage. Today, he speaks proudly of his Métis heritage and acknowledges that it has always played a role in shaping his identity and world view. But he also admits that this identity has remained largely intrinsic, as he has never been registered with the Manitoba Métis Federation, for example. A monograph celebrating his career does not mention his Métis ancestry (Hellner 2005). Thus, it is worth considering if Étienne Gaboury's career could be described retroactively as that of a 'Métis architect'. Aside from his expressed Métis identity and heritage, there is much in his approach to architecture and life experience that is consistent with the notion of a dual world view experienced by many Métis—one outwardly grounded in the Canadian legacy of colonial influence and education, but also intrinsically connected to the natural and spiritual wonders of the Manitoban landscape and its Indigenous Métis stewards.

Fig. 10.8 Église du Précieux Sang/Precious Blood Church, Winnipeg. Designed by Étienne Gaboury (*Photograph* Henry Kalen)

'Métis' as Hybrid

Related to this notion of an Indigenous–non-Indigenous world view and approach to design central to the work of the architects discussed above, it is worth returning briefly to Ralston Saul's 'métisisation' of Canada and the implications this might have for a broader national discussion. The notion of such hybridity has long been

considered an essential contributor to Métis identity. For example, as Slobodin writes: "[as] a 'hybrid', [a Métis] is allegedly torn between two sets of cultural conditioning, rejected or not fully accepted by either of his ancestors' societies" (1966: 6). Similarly, quoting Métis leader Stan Daniels, Harrison writes that, "the Métis have found themselves 'caught in the vacuum of two cultures with neither fully accepting [them]…they are Métis because they are not somebody else'" (1985: 15). Analogous experiences shaped the early life of Douglas Cardinal, as revealed in a 2014 interview with journalist Joe Hall:

> Those handsome, movie-Indian features gave Cardinal a rough childhood ride in 1930s and '40s Alberta, which had built what he calls 'apartheid divides' between its Aboriginal and European populations. "In many cases, if you're mixed you don't even belong in either society," he says. "You're ridiculed and humiliated every day" (Hall 2014: 8–9).

Yet, despite these adverse symptoms of a dual-ostracisation process, and as a direct result of them, a series of unique cultural forms and identities emerged in Métis communities throughout Canada. Michif, a distinct language with various dialects, was developed by the early Métis and is still spoken throughout the country in various communities today. One of the most recognised versions of it is a mixture of Michif French (itself a variation from eastern and central Canadian French) and the Indigenous Cree (of the Algonquin family). In this form, most nouns are French, while the verbs are Cree, expressing "both a connection with the ancestral cultures and, at the same time, a form of resistance against them" (Bakker 2012: 180). Other forms of cultural expression similarly developed over centuries including the following: unique flowered beading designs, adaptations of traditional fiddle music, the adoption of the *l'assomption* sash as a cultural symbol, the Red River jig (dance), Red River cart (designed by the Métis for transporting goods across the prairies) and the Métis folk house described above. All of these examples demonstrate how the prairie Métis fused together their dual world view into a uniquely Canadian mixed-Indigenous form of cultural identity.

Unsurprisingly, this Métis ethnogenesis shares some similar patterns with other mixed-blood communities around the world. For example, in South Africa, certain populations of mixed-blood people were originally called Basters (from bastards) but then changed their name to Griquas in 1513 when a missionary informed their leaders of the offensive nature of the term (Kienetz 1983). 'Basters' is a term that has also been used by a mixed-blood group in Namibia (Lang 1998). Wright (2002) further intimates that other international colonial 'hybrids' abound, from nineteenth-century British India and Malaysia to Dutch Indonesia, French Senegal and Italian Ethiopia, all involving hackneyed colonial narratives governing their multicultural 'exchange'. In the USA, select south-eastern architecture has also been discussed by historians as 'creole' due to its hybrid origins in the mixing of French and Caribbean influences, including a series of asymmetrical Louisiana French Creole houses that 'evolved' gradually 'out of primitive cabins' (Edwards 1994: 155). Perhaps the most relevant to a discussion of Métis architecture, however, is the long history of mestizo culture in South and Central America and its impact on architectural discourse. Bailey describes the mestizo style as a fusion

between late Renaissance and Baroque European forms and "Andean sacred and profane symbolism", which emerged during the seventeenth century in Peru as "one of the most vigorous and original outcomes of the meeting of two cultures" (2010: 1). This resulted in a series of unique carvings and architectural expressions, initially applied by Indigenous artisans to the iconic structures of Catholicism throughout the region, where local plants and wildlife, as well as other Indigenous symbols, were etched into the otherwise alien European surfaces.

Hybridity, in such terms, has widely inspired architects and designers for decades, and in a world increasingly defined by hyperlinks, global exchange, multiculturalism and mashups, it seems only natural to approach architectural design as a process-oriented negotiation between a multitude of complex interactions, systems and cultural influences. Thus, if the idea of the hybrid is applied to Ralston Saul's conceptualisation of a 'métis' Canada, it is worth considering how this might define a specific design process that could transform the built landscape of Canada to better reflect its so-called collective Indigenous values. If the small case 'métis' is conceived as broadly embracing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous world views, as it was during the early usage of the term in Canada, then it is worth considering the work of Cardinal, for instance, under these terms. His writings, lectures and designs overtly emphasise a world view framed by a rigorous and devoted First Nations philosophy, but also one that embraces technology and its capacity for positive impact in the world, evidenced by his introduction of groundbreaking computer software used for the structural design at St. Mary's church, for example, which was completed in 1968 (Boddy 1989: 39) (see Fig. 10.9).

Fig. 10.9 St. Mary's Catholic Church, Red Deer, Alberta. Designed by Douglas Cardinal (*Photograph* Douglas Cardinal Architect)

It is also worthwhile, in this context, to briefly consider Alfred Waugh's identity as an Indigenous architect, similarly impacted by a dual world view. Though registered with the Fond Du Lac (Denesuline) Nation of Northern Saskatchewan, he also openly acknowledges his English and Swedish heritage, which has led some to refer to him as a Métis architect as well (Taggert 2009). A focus on sustainability (both environmental and cultural) has established Waugh's firm, Formline, as one of Canada's most recognised and progressive Indigenous design studios. Though not as outwardly focused on the iconic formal expression of Cardinal, Waugh's design sensitivities are exhibited through extensive research and contemporary interpretations of material and technological detailing related to Indigenous building typologies and local cultural practices. Examples of this include the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre where Waugh's team combined studies of the wood plank construction of traditional Salish longhouses with the idea of cultural transparency to develop a 'transparent plank', which then required a custom-designed curtain wall (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013) (see Fig. 10.10). Similarly, at the First Peoples House at the University of Victoria, woven bulrush mats at the back wall of the traditional longhouse inspired the interior acoustic walls. Waugh's design process thus begins with a sound understanding of Indigenous design principles, including sustainability and meaningful connections to the land, and then utilises contemporary building

Fig. 10.10 Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre, Whistler, British Columbia. Design Team Alfred Waugh (architect in charge), Wanda Dalla Costa and Adam Slawinski. (*Photograph* Formline Architecture)

technology and methods to achieve similar results with the ultimate goal of having, in his words, "one foot in the past and …one foot into the twenty-first century" (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 78).

Thus, returning to the question of 'métis' as a hybrid Indigenous–non-Indigenous world view and approach to design, like Cardinal, Gaboury, Shaw-Collinge, Bailey, Burdett-Moulton and Waugh, many other Indigenous architects across Canada similarly share mixed-heritages and were likewise trained in schools of architecture founded on non-Indigenous principles and metrics for design excellence. If 'métis' has been historically used as an umbrella term to describe individuals across the country who identify with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultural heritage, it is at least conceivable that the term could also be employed to describe buildings and design methodologies, such as those mentioned above, that actively seek to integrate traditional Indigenous culture and knowledge with contemporary design and building methods. If such design practices were more broadly implemented, involving sustained participation by Indigenous knowledge holders and community members, a 'métis' hybrid design process could arguably begin to re-infuse architectural relevance into specific regional cultures and landscapes across the country. Alberto Perez-Gomez has recently criticised current trends in architectural practice by arguing that, "The deep emotional and narrative aspects that articulate places in a particular natural or cultural milieu are usually marginalized by a desire to produce fashionable innovations" (2016: 108). Hybrid approaches to design that attempt to embrace both local Indigenous and globalised world views offer tremendous potential to resist the cultural devastation achieved by commodity-driven mechanisms in a unified attempt to, using Frampton's words, "maintain a dissenting cultural and political position" (2015: 29). The notion of a distinctly Canadian 'métis' design methodology, informed by and developed alongside Indigenous communities, could play a central role in this shift.

However, despite the popular appeal of such ambitious cultural and sustainable goals, there are a number of significant problems with activating this concept too quickly. For instance, it would imply that a métis design process could be adopted by any well-intentioned architect or designer who, like Ralston Saul, wants to meaningfully connect with their Canadian Indigenous 'inspiration'. Though this may be viewed as a noble move towards a 'decolonisation' of the built environment by well-meaning designers, Indigenous or not, there are also many inherent problems with this. As Tuck and Yang elucidate, there are embedded power relationships involved with non-Indigenous people aspiring to 'decolonise', especially through a series of what they describe as 'moves to innocence', or "those strategies or positioning that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (2012: 10). One of these 'moves to innocence' involves settler nativism, or finding a distant Indigenous ancestor in order to mark oneself as 'blameless' for the injustices of Indigenous people (which is linked directly to the debate surrounding such 'métis' claims in Canada). Another relates to 'freeing one's mind' or

'decolonising' one's mind, through the teaching and/or learning of settler colonialism, and thereby convincing oneself that this is enough for so-called decolonisation processes to follow (Tuck and Yang 2012). Métis scholars such as Vowel (2016) and Gaudry (2013) have taken exception to Ralston Saul's metis-isation of Canada under similar terms, arguing that "Canadians cannot simply look within themselves to find their mythical Aboriginal core" in order to understand Indigenous knowledge (Gaudry 2013: 80). Such decolonising mythologies, for Gaudry, achieve their goals by "erasing the very real colonial context in which Canadians and Indigenous peoples live, have lived, and will, in all likelihood, still be living for the foreseeable future" (2013: 80). Gaudry and Anderson further speculate that Ralston Saul's optimistic hybridisation of an entire country could be read as an attempt to mark his own mythical Indigeneity (Gaudry 2013: 67; Anderson 2014: 5).

Similarly, in an architectural profession tainted by an entrenched history of colonial and/or Orientalist approaches to design, there is warranted suspicion of cultural exploitation for the wrong reasons. As Tuck and Yang note, "settler scholars may gain professional kudos or a boost in their reputations for being so sensitive or self-aware. Yet settler moves to innocence are hollow, they only serve the settler" (2012: 10). Adding to such suspicions in architectural practice, work with Indigenous communities is also potentially lucrative and often offers favourable marketing opportunities. This is an unsettling topic for any well-intended architect who has devoted small or major parts of their careers to working with Indigenous communities and should not be considered applicable to all circumstances. However, in order to avoid charges of exoticism and cultural exploitation through design, it is critical to emphasise the importance of establishing, using Gaudry's words: "deeply meaningful relationships with actual Indigenous peoples" (2013: 80). This may sound like an attainable goal for any aspiring architect or firm, but there are various by-products of conventional practice (tight project deadlines, budget and travel constraints, lack of exposure to Indigenous cultures and/or accurate education about them, etc.) that hinder the majority of architects from being able to achieve this. Furthermore, until very recently, there has also been a significant neglect of Indigenous values and knowledge by architectural institutions in Canada, both academic and professional. Thus, the risk of aspiring towards a métis design process without fully understanding the personal and institutional investment of such an endeavour would be equitable to the shallow claims of 'métis' Indigeneity by individuals with no meaningful family or community ties, cultural investment or long-term commitments. To highlight this, Gwendolyn Wright's concluding remarks to her essay expressing concerns for the colonizing history of global modernism are telling. She asks, "Can we produce histories and visions of the future attuned to local knowledge and universal hope" (2002: 131)? The greater question for Wright would be who is the 'we' in this context and thus doing the producing and attuning?

Lastly, it is essential to consider other ramifications of using the small 'm' métis so loosely, as Ralston Saul does. Gruzinski's concluding reflections on the nature of the 'Mestizo mind', offer insights to this caveat as he argues, "it is pointless to seek to

pin down [a Mestizo] identity", especially an identity "whose main feature is change, transformation, and nonstop 'disappearance'" (2002: 205). Thus, using 'métis' as a blanket term defined solely by its hybrid etymology risks associating 'Métis' people with, in Gruzinki's words, a 'culture of disappearance'. This is the precise antithesis of the Métis who embrace the infinity symbol of their flag, for instance, to assert "the existence of a people forever" (Dorian and Prefontaine 1999: 17).

Conclusion

To summarise, it is worth returning very briefly to a comparison with mestizo architectural expression. According to Bailey, there has been a nearly century-long debate over the historiography of Latin American colonial art, as leading scholars grapple over the origin, meaning and legitimacy of the mestizo style as a school of architecture. At the core of this debate is whether the Indigenous content of that period and style can be attributed to the role of Indigenous people, or if it emerged out of an 'altered and debased European transplant'. One side of the debate argues that, akin to the Métis nation, mestizo architecture paralleled the "interracial blending …of colonial society" in a specific region by a specific group, while the other contends that the style was merely part of a universal phenomenon where artists from all corners of the planet "misunderstood Western European models" and appropriated them as their own "folk art" (2010: 15).

   The risk of adopting Ralston Saul's national 'métis' conscious as a design ethos based on Indigenous–non-Indigenous hybridity is therefore that it undermines the cultural specificity of Métis communities across the country and dilutes the topic into a mere mixing of architectural styles and visual cues. If there is value in pursuing a contemporary architecture that meaningfully connects with the Métis, it will be discovered through better understanding their traditional and contemporary material culture and vernacular typologies, as well as developing meaningful relationships with the diverse communities across the country. Burley et al. offer valuable insights about spatial and material specificities related to traditional Métis ways of inhabiting the prairies, while recent field research into contemporary vernacular building suggests that these principles have maintained their relevance and may inspire Métis design moving forward. Meanwhile, selected projects for specific Métis communities by Cardinal and Gaboury, both with Métis heritage, should be considered as contributing to an evolving lexicon of Métis buildings, along with the work of contemporary Métis designers such as Burdett-Moulton, Bailey and Shaw-Collinge, who are reinterpreting their customs and cultural sensibilities in sophisticated and current ways. Louis Riel famously proclaimed that "my people will sleep for one hundred years, but when they awake, it will be the artists who give them their spirit back" (Manitoba Métis Federation n.d.). With approximately 450 000 Métis people in Canada, and growing quickly, it is the time that architecture aims to better fulfil this claim and that culturally specific Métis design

excellence is acknowledged, prioritised and manifested across the country as the long overdue shift towards architectural reconciliation unfolds.

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Chapter 11
Practices and Processes of Placemaking in *Inuit Nunangat* (The Canadian Arctic)

Scott Heyes and Martha Dowsley

Introduction

In this chapter, we introduce the concept of 'placemaking' to the Canadian Arctic context, a term frequently used in urban planning and architectural settings to describe and characterise how spaces are formed by organic and systematic activities, particularly in contemporary times. Our interpretations of placemaking in relation to the Arctic are made as non-Inuit researchers, who have lived, studied, travelled and worked alongside our Inuit friends and experts for over fifteen years in the Eastern Canadian Arctic region. Working in separate regions of the Arctic as ethnographers (Heyes in Nunavik, Arctic Quebec and Dowsley in Nunavut), we offer here our combined insights and observations on how Inuit generate, connect and derive meaning from the land and the sea. Our reflections provide critical perspectives on Inuit senses of place, and by extension, how tangible and intangible spaces on the tundra, water and sea ice are regarded by Inuit.

Footprints

In borrowing the term 'placemaking' from the design disciplines and applying it to an Arctic context, we do so only to capture the essence of the changing contemporary spatial dynamics that are occurring in and around Inuit townships, settlements and camps. The spatial changes occurring in Arctic settings are rapid and

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unparalleled and include the creation of enlarged villages, permanent hunting camps, road systems, mines, resource extraction sites, scientific research stations, conservation areas, monitoring and defence sites, and ports. These developments, initiated in the process of colonial and neocolonial attempts to administer and manage the Arctic and its people, are also the product of social, physical, technological and demographic forces that have arisen as a result of Inuit society moving from a subsistence-based economy to a cash economy in a relatively short amount of time. These changes must also be seen in the context of the increasing role of their Arctic homeland in the international arena related to geopolitics, transportation and communication networks and infrastructure, and most recently for climate change concerns.

Before focusing on contemporary manifestations of placemaking and the factors affecting this, we pay attention to the fact that the Inuit have been making, shaping and naming places on the land and the sea ever since their ancestors, the Thule people (*Tunnit*), migrated eastward from present-day Alaska over 2 000 years ago and in a matter of a few centuries occupied the Arctic lands across present-day Canada and Greenland. The Arctic peoples who occupied the region before the Thule were the Palaeo-Eskimos. This group is represented by the Pre-Dorset (2500 BCE–500 BCE), Independence I and Independence II people (2400–1800 BCE and c. 800–1 BCE), and the Groswater and Dorset people (500 BCE–1500 CE). The Palaeo-Eskimo people likely named and shaped the environment according to their own traditions and knowledge systems (McGhee 1984). The archaeological record and studies of their material culture strongly suggest that they maintained practical and spiritual understandings of places and sites. These interpretations have been made by researchers on the basis of studies of physical forms constructed upon the landscape such as long houses (Lee 1974; Fitzhugh 1984; Plumet 1985), subterranean dwellings (Friesen and Betts 2006; Cox 2003), caribou hunting blinds (Fitzhugh 1981), quarries (Lazenby 1984; Loring 2002) and stone arrangements (Hallendy 2009), as well as studies of their material culture in the form of crafts (Zságer 2010; Fitzhugh 2015), tools (Bielawski 1988), building materials (LeBlanc 2003) and burial practices (Harp and Hughes 1968; Jerkic 1993; Brown 2011).

The extent of occupation of the Palaeo-Eskimo people across the Arctic upon the land was remarkable, especially given the belief among scientists that they survived with rudimentary tools and lacked dog teams and kayaks for travel and hunting (McGhee 2001). Not only did these former Arctic residents make places, but they also seemed to have a sense of place that was distinct to their cultural beliefs. Vestiges of these places from the distant past remain as tangible fabrics of the Arctic landscape, preserved by permafrost in archaeological sites. However, their intangible understandings of places, embedded in oral accounts, vanished when their populations died out. We are left, however, with some remarkable echoes of their culture in the form of artwork, including tiny carvings of animals and humans. Many of these carvings are also tools and point to ecological and hunting relationships with animals particularly the relationship between Inuit and their main prey, ringed seals, as well as their co-predator, the polar bear (Betts et al. 2015). Thus, the intangible

spaces that make up the Arctic fabric today belong to those formed by the Inuit, whose Thule forebears displaced the Palaeo-Eskimo people.

The Inuit have developed an expansive footprint of occupation across the Arctic that reflects their subsistence lifestyle, modes of mobility and cultural practices and customs. Before modern settlements were created in the 1950–1960s, they lived mainly in small family camps that were positioned predominantly along the coast and nearby lakes and rivers. Necklaces of camps were established at places where sea and land mammals, and birds and shellfish were most abundant, and where fish would congregate on their annual runs. Depending on location, their dwellings at these camps were made from a combination of sod, snow, stone, animal skins, driftwood or whalebone (see Fig. 11.1). Families would move camp following the seasonal round and in many cases return to the same camp sites annually, thereby forming deep familiarity and connections with certain places. They shifted home following the migratory route of animals and travelled between places in summer and autumn by foot, kayak or *umiaq* (small boat). In winter and spring, travel was by dog team.

The extent of travel by Inuit and their deep knowledge of environmental systems have been well documented in cultural mapping studies. Two landmark studies in particular, *Inuit land-use and occupancy report* (Freeman 1976) and *Our footprints are everywhere* (Brice-Bennett 1977), helped Inuit establish land claim settlements with governments in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. These reports, accompanied by oral histories and maps, recorded the full gamut of Inuit places, including toponyms, trails, hunting grounds, berry-picking sites, spiritual sites, gravesites, birth sites, historic sites and family camps. The methods used by the authors of these volumes to document Inuit knowledge of places remain a respected ethnographic

Fig. 11.1 Inuit tents (*tupiks*) (Left) An Inuk woman repairing seams of a sealskin tent. *Photograph* taken at Pangnirtung, Nunavut, in the 1920s. The covering was probably made from bearded seal (*Photograph* Library and Archives Canada) (Library and Archives Canada Catalogue No. PA-180151: Mikan #3192867). (Right) Two Inuit women outside a canvas tent at Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk/Tununirusiq) at Nunavut on 7 September 1945. Skin tents were replaced by canvas during the contact period, a waterproof material introduced to the Inuit by the Hudson's Bay Company and widely used today (*Photograph* Arthur H. Tweedle) (Library and Archives Canada Catalogue No. e00234420: Mikan #3606570)

technique that has since been repeated in other Indigenous homelands around the world.

Placemaking, the practice of affording the land and waters with tangible and intangible meaning, is a time-honoured practice that Inuit have performed upon the tundra and permafrost for generations. And while they no longer live in igloos or travel from camp to camp by dog teams following the seasonal round, as was still the case when the major mapping studies cited above recorded their life ways in 1970s, they do, however, continue to practise new forms of dwelling, knowing and interacting with places on the land. A study of built forms and landscape interactions by Inuit in the post-settlement period offers tremendous insight around their placemaking practices. A thorough understanding of these practices also requires an appreciation of how Inuit interact with the land and form intangible connections to place, including the practice of naming the land.

Belonging to Place Through Language

The Inuktitut language spoken by the Inuit is a prefix/suffix language. When referring to certain places, a suffix denoting affiliation, location or attachment to place is applied to a verb or noun base (root). Common root words are *nuna* 'land' and *Inuit* (*Inuk*: sing.) 'people'. Common suffixes include *vik* 'a place where' and -*vut* 'our' This base understanding of the structure of the language provides one with an appreciation of how Inuit describe and identify with space. The characteristics of the Inuktitut language and its spatial lexicons have been the subject of substantial research and discussion (Gagné 1968; Graburn 2000; Dorias 2014; Steckley 2008; Muller-Wille and Weber 1983). Gagné (1968: 35) explains that the spatial world of the Inuit consists of three pairs of opposites: here/there, up/down and inside/outside. Gagné (1968: 35) and Dorias (2014: 85) indicate that the speaker is positioned at the centre of these localisers and that the prefix *ta-* can be added to refer to portions of space difficult to perceive. Jacques-Dorias uses the example of *anna*, which means 'very far away'. When applying *ta-*, it forms *tannna*, 'that one there far away hardly perceptible'. This term is useful to hunters who are regularly scanning the horizon on hunts, such as when caribou, whales or seals are being pursued. Gagné (1968) contends that because of this spatial positioning system in Inuktitut, the Inuit are able to specify with more precision than is found in most languages, where things and places are located, how to reach them and their attributes in relation to settings.

Spatially laden terms and descriptors are frequently used in Inuktitut and are used at various scales to denote affiliation. At the broad scale, Inuit refer to their homeland as *Inuit Nunaat*, which literally means 'the people's land'. This homeland stretches across the Arctic of North America, east to Greenland and west to Siberia. When referring to the Canadian portion of this homeland, the Inuit distinguish this as *Inuit Nunangat*: 'the people's country (land, water and ice)'. This region (see Fig. 11.2) is further divided into four areas, which have been recognised because of their distinct political history and geography. Of these areas, the largest is the territory of *Nunavut*
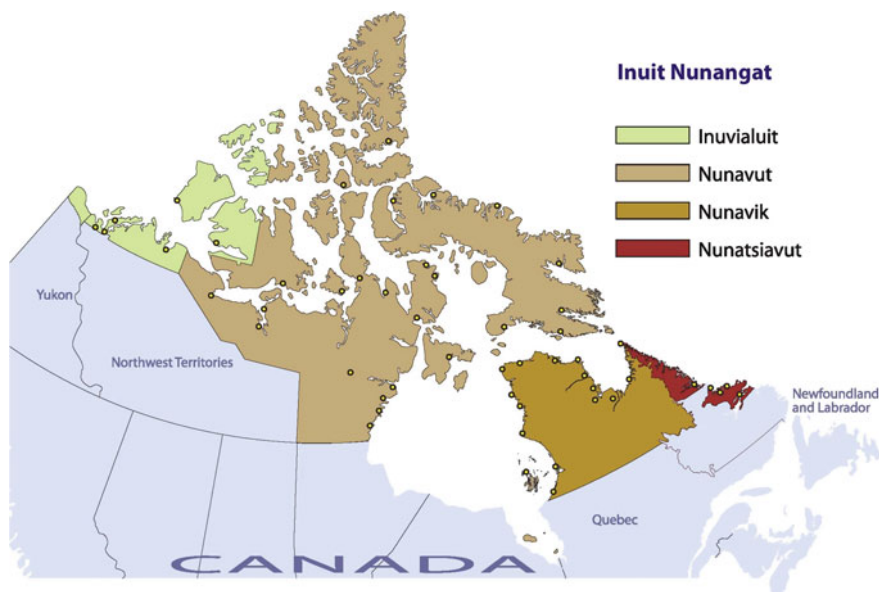
Fig. 11.2 Map of Inuit Nunangat. The Inuit homelands of Canada are represented by four distinct regions and 52 Inuit communities. The last Canadian census (2006) reported a population 50,485 or 4% of the Aboriginal population of Canada. In 2006, 22% of Inuit lived outside the region (Map: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) (www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/InuitNunaat_Basic_0.pdf)

(our land) which includes much of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. This region separated from the Northwest Territories in 1999 to include both a territory and land claim settlement between the Canadian government and the Inuit people. To the west of Nunavut is the *Inuvialuit* (the real people) Settlement Region, which includes the northern areas of both Yukon and Northwest Territories. South and east of Nunavut is *Nunavik* (Great Land) in the northern region of Quebec and *Nunatsiavut* (our beautiful land) in Northern Labrador. All four regions are recognised and are governed through land claims. A fifth Canadian Inuit homeland, *NunatuKavut* (Our Ancient Land), is located in Southern Labrador, a region yet to reach an Aboriginal land claim.

The way of describing one's affiliation with place also extends to the village level. When inquiring of one's place, the suffix, '-*miut*' (belonging to/originating from), is added to the name of the village they originate. Thus, a resident of Kuujjuaq (big river; *kuuk* = flow or river, -*juaq* = big) in Nunavik would regard themselves as *Kuujjuamiut*. (To create the morpheme, the final letter of the noun is dropped when applying the suffix.) This form of individual and collective designation to place is consistent across the Eastern Canadian Arctic and follows the person wherever they may go in their lives, including cities in Southern Canada. This naming convention cements Inuit to place and characterise one's sense of

belonging to community, family and heritage. This form of identifying with place is an old practice. The Smithsonian naturalist Lucien M. Turner paid special interest to Inuit forms of attachment to place when recording the customs and language of the Inuit people of Northern Quebec and Labrador in the late 1880s (Turner 1884). On naming conventions, he remarked that:

> Locality has an important bearing on the character of an Innuit[1] and unless those influences are carefully studied many important facts may not be clearly understood. The region of one's birth clings to him and designates him, wherever he may journey, as one from that place. That place may be excessively restricted, even a neck of land extending into the sea, yet the local designation of that point is sufficient to stamp each Innuit as one from that locality. While there are as many names for natural objects as there are objects, they may be included as a part of tract and he who is born on any part of that tract belongs by birthright to that tract or territory (Turner 1887: 44).

As hunters, fishers and trappers, it is perhaps no surprise that every part of the landscape is known by the Inuit, for knowing the land was central to survival. With over 1500–2000 years of occupying the Arctic, the Inuit are evidently very good at this practice. Naming the land and identifying with it enabled hunters to communicate their whereabouts and movements with other travelling hunters and to memorise the landscape. As Inuk hunter Minnie Morgan recalled in a 2005 interview, "As long as you know the names of the land you know where you are" (cited in Heyes 2007: 201). Another observation from Turner, which remains as precise today as his century-old report, serves to illustrate Inuit ways of knowing place:

> Innuit are remarkably precise in the terms applied to localities. The application being always descriptive of the most important feature. Every cove, bend, beach, bay, rock, islet, stream, mountain etc. has its distinctive name and is known to all the people of that region. Various postfixes augment or decrease the importance of the feature affording the name of the location (Turner 1886).

Nuttall's (1992) research on intangible notions of place provides further context to Turner's observations, suggesting that Inuit practices of naming their children after deceased individuals (i.e. newborns take on a namesake *atiq*) generate a form of a social landscape. Nuttall argues that naming a child who displays certain characteristics or mannerisms of a close deceased family member generates a 'memoryscape', a landscape imbued and enmeshed with the histories, kin and place relations of the namesake and the newborn. Nuttall's work highlights the tangible and intangible connections Inuit maintain with place, through place names, individuals and family identities. While Inuit are travelling peoples, it seems that Inuit are very much grounded to place.

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[1]Alternative spelling of Inuit at the time of quote and also used today.

The Spirit of Place

As we turn our attention now to discussions of contemporary placemaking in the Arctic, the definition of the term 'place' in Inuktitut offers insightful perspectives on its meaning and application. To Inuit, the term is known as *ini* or *inni*, which specifically refers to a 'room, place, or locality'. The word implies "a sense of permanence either temporary or continued", and it may also refer to a "situation found to be agreeable or suitable" (Turner, 1887: entry 2238; Schneider 1985: 82). The term can also "designate a place, spirit, site, situation, location fitted for habitation" (Turner 1886). In his learning of Inuktitut while stationed at St Michael's, Alaska, in the late 1870s, Lucien Turner remarked that the term *Innuit* (derived from *ni* = home, habitation, fixed dwelling and *yut* [-*uit* in modern orthography] = three or more persons) "…meant "house-people" to distinguish themselves from the Ingalit or Indians, [as] the latter did not dwell in fixed habitations" (1886). He also believed that the term *Inuit* took on this same embedded meaning of place when he studied the Inuktitut dialect of Northern Quebec and Labrador in the 1880s. On the notion of place, Turner also noted that the verb *innuvok* referred to one who "is alive, has life, lives, breathes, dwells, inhabits" and that its use was "restricted to mankind alone" (1886). This was in distinction to using the term to describe aspects of the non-human world, including spirits.

The root of the term *Ini* appears in *Innua*, the name once given by Inuit to "the genius or thinking spirit of [an] object or place, [which] inhabits not only animals, but also prominent physiographical features such as rocks, points or mountains" (Hawkes 1916: 127). Although most Inuit have now largely abandoned Shamanistic beliefs in favour of Christianity, it is important to recognise that their ancestors maintained spiritual connections to places less than a century ago. Early explorers, anthropologists and missionaries readily reported that spirits controlled different landscape domains. In Northern Labrador, it was believed that the:

> …*Torngak*, under the figure of an old man, dwelt in the waters and was the supreme ruler over whales and seals, and that a female demon, under the form of an old woman, *Supperguksoak*, resided in the interior, and reigned over the land animals (Anonymous 1833).

The story of Sedna is widespread among the Inuit today. Ever the trickster, she swims about the seas controlling the creatures of the maritime world. In shamanistic times, she had to be placated when hunting was poor and the people hungry.

Local experiences and legends also demonstrate a landscape populated with numerous non-empirical entities including giants, tricksters and shadow people. In some locales, one must not camp due to bad spirits which inhabit the site. An example is provided by Elder Tivi Etok. He recalls (cited in Heyes 2007: 483) stories passed on to him from his grandmother of spirits called *Itsasajaq* (meaning: *to scratch*) that would claw at the skin tents of travelling hunters during the night, distributing and scaring the occupants (see Fig. 11.3). In other places, one must be careful of monstrous hands that emerge from the sea ice to grab at passers-by. Other places are homes to invisible people who are shy of humans and thus do not show

Fig. 11.3 Spirits that scratch at hunter's tents. The Inuit know and name places that are to be avoided, especially places that are home to malevolent spirits. This 2005 illustration by Inuit Elder and storyteller, Tivi Etok, of Kangiqsualujjuaq in Nunavik, Quebec, represents his interpretation of a story of the Itasajaq spirits who would scratch at the tents of sleeping hunters. Scared by these noises, hunters would choose to camp elsewhere (*Drawing* by Tivi Etok cited in Heyes 2007: 483/503)

themselves, but a dog team might approach such a place unbidden and stop there as if arriving at a camp. These spirits, ancestors and their kin continue to provide place names and inspiration to modern-day Inuit artisans, who draw on their traditions to reflect on Inuit ways of being and knowing the world (Etok 1975).

Making Sense of Place

Centralisation of the Inuit population into villages and the decline in the hunting and gathering lifestyle over the past half century have profoundly shifted Inuit relationships with the environment. However, this does not represent acculturation; rather, Inuit have maintained their links to the land and their sense of place and both adapted old ways of interacting with the landscape and developed new ones that are in keeping with their history and their geography (Dowsley 2015). Examples include land trips aimed at promoting positive social and psychological experiences, connections with their past and formal spiritual, healing and therapeutic excursions. The value of the land is expressed by one Inuk research participant as: "We see the land as a special place, so much history, so peaceful, quiet" (Mary Killikti cited in Dowsley 2015: 541).

The subject of place and how this relates to Inuit patterns of dwelling and movement through the landscape and seascape has attracted significant attention in the Arctic over the past few decades, with a spike of research in recent years due to human–environment relationships being increasingly affected by climate change, and the rapid adoption of technologies such as global positioning systems and mobile devices. Place studies have focused on: navigation and wayfinding (Spink and Moodie 1972; MacDonald 2000; Heyes 2002; Aporta and Higgs 2005), knowledge of the sea-ice realm (Aporta 2002; Heyes 2007, 2011; Laidler and Ikummaq 2008; Krupnik et al. 2010; Fox-Gearheard et al. 2013), architectural forms (Dawson 2002; Collings 2005; Fienup-Riordan 2007; Whitridge 2008), toponomy (Muller-Wille and Weber 1983, 1987; Makivik 1985; Alia 2008), spirits and non-human places (Burch 1971; Saladin d'Anglure 1984; Hill 2012), knowing and losing place (Brody 1976; Collignon 2006; Heyes and Jacobs 2008) and memory and imagination (Carpenter et al. 1959; Brody 1981; Lopez 1986; Nuttall 1992).

There are some forms of placemaking undertaken by the Inuit that are emerging, are rather organic and have not yet caught the attention of most researchers. One example is the burgeoning creation of permanent cabins (*illuralaaq*) on the land in lieu of seasonal camping in tents (*tupik*; tent site is *tupirvik*). Across Nunavik, communities are witnessing a growth of family-sized cabins being constructed near popular fishing lakes and rivers, mostly within a short drive from the outskirts of the main villages (*nunalik*). Placed along or adjacent to summer roads (so that they can be accessed all year; snowmobiles are used in winter), we have observed that these cabins are being made to serve as retreats from community life, akin to a summer house or cottage in a Southern Canadian context. These are not typical hunting cabins made from salvaged materials. Some are two storey, with balconies, fireplaces, wet areas and jetties, and most are positioned towards pleasing aspects and views (see Fig. 11.4). Many are made from local building materials harvested from

Fig. 11.4 Making places of retreat. Inuit are building permanent cabins throughout the North like the one pictured here on a popular fishing lake near the Inuit village of Kangiqsualujjuaq in Nunavik, Quebec. This form of occupation on the land represents a departure from overnight stays in tents and makeshift camps (*Photographs* Scott Heyes)

the nearby tree line and from materials sourced from the South. It is not uncommon for Inuit families to have three or more such cabins, located throughout the land near reliable hunting and fishing sites, and for Inuit to buy and sell cabins to make up a portfolio, so to speak.

On the notion of retreat, Inuit recount that their cabins provide an opportunity to remove themselves from village life, particularly on weekends where social and community issues intensify. The cabins also give Elders a break from overcrowding in their homes, with some three-bedroom homes stretched to capacity and accommodating fifteen or more individuals, typically with infants, their parents and grandparents under the same roof. Housing shortage remains an issue throughout the North.

These homes away from home are also being well constructed so that Inuit can retire outside their villages, as some individuals have remarked to us. This prospect is appealing for many reasons, not to mention being away from noisy townships. Due to land claim agreements, the permanent dwellings do not require Inuit to pay rent to the government, as is the case with houses in the village, and the owners are free to extend and harvest building materials without restrictions. They are largely furnished and equipped with the same contents as their village houses, making travel to the land to hunt a more pleasing and relaxed affair when travelling as a large family unit. Furthermore, retiring on the land is about returning to treasured childhood places and family campsites, where memories of gathering and fruitful hunts abound. Building the cabins relatively close to villages also allows for short day trips to stock up on supplies and to be close to health services.

The hunting and fishing pressures on these more permanently settled places are yet to be determined, as is the damage that is being caused to the environment by making roads to access these places. Interestingly, much research and policy focus is being placed on intensification in Arctic villages, yet it seems that the footprint of settlement areas should be enlarged to incorporate the services required to support cabins located outside villages proper.

Inroads

On road making, a bulldozer stands ready in the community of Kangiqsualujjuaq to help carve out new paths to desirable cabin locations (see Fig. 11.5). Without plans or engineering drawings, road-makers break through new trails year after year across the tundra, changing course to avoid steep embankments, immovable boulders, lakes and streams. As a result, community members now have access to areas that were once impassable in summer (when ice-free, the mossy tundra is particularly difficult to cross by all-terrain vehicles due to permafrost melt forming bogs and small lakes, and the exposure of uneven terrain). Each year, this community enjoys accessing 'new' areas that are opened up through these roads, providing fun places to explore on day excursions with family and guests. Roads in this context are not just carriageways. They serve as corridors for exploration,

Fig. 11.5 Roads to somewhere. When villages were created across Nuanvik in the 1950s and 1960s, there was little forward planning to accommodate for growth, and very few roads were created outside the villages themselves. With populations expanding in villages Inuit are now looking for places to explore on weekends and after work that are within reasonable reach of villages. Vast networks of roads have been created to keep up with demand. These photographs are of recent roads under construction in Kangiqsualujjuaq, some 10 km (6.2 miles) from the village (*Photographs* Scott Heyes)

especially for families only with cars and whose driving limits were once restricted to internal villages roads. The pleasure that families derive from these short forays into the landscape on these constructed roads suggests that village life, while generating a strong sense of place to community, might ironically restrict individual and familial senses of place.

When centralised villages were created across Nunavik over seventy years ago, as part of a colonial exercise by the Canadian government, the objective was to keep Inuit groups together and to generate social cohesion, along with other educational and health objectives. Communities at this time were small, cars were non-existent, and travel overland to hunting places was on foot, dog team or snowmobile. Hunters were regularly interacting with the land during this period, thereby maintaining connections with it. The need for roads and cabins to connect Inuit with the land was therefore not a requirement of the time. However, the situation in communities presents a different story today. Communities are stretched to capacity dealing with issues related to population growth and overcrowding, and most Inuit are engaged in the daily workforce to keep communities functioning. The opportunity to hunt, fish and connect with the land and the sea is now largely restricted to weekends and after hours. With families becoming time-poor and hunts becoming an expensive enterprise (fuel and food costs are exorbitant in the North), the ability to connect to, hang out and travel to places within the immediate reach of villages has become ever more desirable. Hunting and travelling to more distant areas seems to be becoming an activity reserved for longer holiday periods. Staying closer to home but maintaining a longing for the land is one of the principal reasons that vast networks of roads will continue to be constructed throughout Nunavik. Geographical features limit the ability for summer roads to connect villages in Nunavik, but visions remain to achieve this goal. As a hunter relayed in Kangiqsualujjjuaq while standing by a freshly made road, "Inuit have always been making trails, and this is just a different

type of trail. We want to make a road to travel to see our relatives in Nain, Labrador, over 400 km [249 miles] away, and one day we will" (Heyes 2015). As this clearly indicates, Inuit yearn to connect with the land and distant relatives.

Transforming Places

Housing problems in villages are another reason why Inuit take to the road to escape village life at nearby hang-outs from time to time. Most houses in Inuit villages are government- or community-owned and resemble each other in colour and design. This form of ownership restricts the modifications that Inuit can make to their homes to adapt them to their lifestyle and preferences. In many new developments, Inuit live in row houses or apartments that lack outdoor areas for individuals to store belongings and to tinker on equipment and machines, a favourite pastime—and necessity—for many Inuit. Architecturally and despite good intentions, most northern dwellings are not well designed to accommodate Inuit customs and practices and are often unfit to withstand the harsh environmental conditions. Sitting on footings, most houses and windows crack and shift when the permafrost thaws, and because most houses are slightly elevated, the underfloor insulation is often inadequate. Cold wind penetrates the floor.

Generally, Northern houses do not account for Inuit forms of communal living, where extended members of the family are under the same roof. With such over-crowding, there are often not enough beds. A baby can heard crying while an Elder is trying to sleep and while a child is trying to study. Modern houses have few surfaces for working, eating and alone time. There is generally a lack of tables and furniture for anything other than for drinking tea. Homework is often done on the couch and meal times are often had while sitting on the floor. The only clear and large work area in the home to prepare and carve up frozen fish and meat, as is tradition, is on cardboard laid out across the living room. This pastime of preparing meals is an important facet of Inuit life and any visitor to the house is invited to eat with the family, making for a large group of diners sitting within the confines of a relatively small living room. Indeed, the shift from igloo to the modern-day home has required the Inuit to make considerable adjustments and transformations to their ways of life.

Yard spaces around Inuit homes (older homes in villages include generous outdoor space) often reflect the hunting and fishing activities of families and are most interesting places (see Fig. 11.6). Snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles and other mechanised equipment are parked randomly around the perimeter of the home, with those in working order parked more closely to the front entrance. Working dogs are tied up and howl at unsuspecting passers-by. Boats, sleds (*qamutik*), ropes, building materials, fuel cans, draped electrical cables and hunting apparatus are typically

Fig. 11.6 Modern Inuit homes. Three-bedroom Inuit homes and surrounds, shown here in winter time and summer time. These forms of houses and spatial arrangements are typical across villages in Nunavik (*Photographs* Scott Heyes)

found around the house, to be covered by snow in the next storm. Children's bikes and toys lay among the mounds of snow, too. These elements around the home are not messy, however. Inuit take much pride in their homes, including the exterior, with things in the yard often well organised. A small timber 'shack' or small garage (sometimes a converted shipping container) is usually located at the back of the house, where motors and other equipment are kept. This space is also used by some to make carvings and other artwork for sale to the public. The yard spaces around Inuit homes are always lively and full of activity and projects.

Inuit have also started to adorn the exterior of their houses in recent years, to celebrate occasions such as Canada Day, Halloween and Christmas. There is now healthy competition among Inuit to light up their homes for these events—the presence of snow amplifying the quality of the LED flashing displays of colour. In the Southern Inuit communities of Nunavik, closer to the tree line, Inuit have also started to experiment with planting gardens and agriculture. This includes making and importing soil and seeds to lay turf in the summer at the front of their homes and constructing greenhouses to grow vegetables. The summer time, with extended daylight hours, makes for a good growing period. Others are raising chickens for eggs with great success, an activity being subsidised by Inuit corporations to help offset high food costs in the North. Some families have also transplanted conifers (very slow growing) from nearby woods to frame their homes and placed large logs around their yards to define their 'private' space. This is a particularly interesting phenomenon given that Inuit do not have fences between their homes and that they subscribe to the notion that the land is not owned by anyone. While only a few examples exist of this nature, it may suggest that communal notions of private and public space are changing.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented a picture of Inuit placemaking that is a product of Inuit ways of seeing and knowing the world. Contemporary placemaking follows the practices of their Elders. Characteristics of the Inuktitut language indeed shape how places are known, named and understood, as do customs around namesakes. And although the spirit world of the past is no longer embraced by all Inuit, shamanism and its associated beliefs have left a mark on the landscape. Places are still avoided on this basis today and must always be known.

It is interesting to speculate whether future placemaking practices in the Arctic, perhaps due to southern Canadian influences and overcrowding in Northern villages, will see a rise in places being generated that are more private in nature. The creation of cabins by Inuit to serve as family retreats points to this as a possible trend. Whatever the case, Inuit have shown great adaptability to their environment and settings, and faced with new climatic and social challenges, will continue to make places that reflect their ways of knowing and being in the world. They stand on the places that their Elders made for them, poised to make new ones that are embedded with meaning and purpose for future generations. The Arctic is a big place. It has plenty of room for new places.

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Part II
Case Studies and Discourse

Chapter 12
A Discourse on the Nature of Indigenous Architecture

Hirini Matunga

He Tīmatanga Kōrero: Architecture of 'This Place' and of 'This People'

In 1937, on another continent, colonised country and colonised people, half a world away from Aotearoa New Zealand, American architect Frank Lloyd Wright began a discussion on some aspects of the past and present of architecture with the statement:

> The land is the simplest form of architecture. Building upon the land is as natural to man as to other animals, birds or insects. Insofar as he was more than an animal, his buildings became what we call architecture (Lloyd Wright 1953: 49).

Fifteen years later, in a telecast conversation on the future of architecture, to the question—"If you were to plan an entire city, including elements of shelter, work, recreation and workshop, what would you intend to accomplish in doing this?—" he replied:

> Primarily use of and sympathy with the site according to the nature of the ground, and the purpose of the city or town, whatever it might be, and of course the character of the inhabitants would be no little consideration in that connection. In other words, it would be a native and natural performance. Organic architecture is a natural architecture. Now, what would a natural architecture be? Indigenous, wouldn't it? It wouldn't be some eclecticism or other—something you picked somewhere by way of taste and applied to the circumstances, you would go to the nature study of the circumstances and come out from this thing from within, wouldn't you? (Lloyd Wright 1953: 33).

In 1987, Aotearoa New Zealand architect Rewi Thompson (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Raukawa) in an interview for Architecture New Zealand, the magazine of the New Zealand Institute of Architects, spoke about his work and his architecture:

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> Māori people have a different approach … and it's not only on the design side but all aspects of the business. So what I'm developing is a unique business and administration approach to an architectural practice … how my work reflects the biculturalism of Māori and Pākehā, being bought up in the more physical world of the Pākehā, I learnt to deal with physical things, as opposed to the Māori world which is very metaphysical. I think that's unique to New Zealand and that's what I have to offer as an architect. And that motivates me to further my knowledge and experience in both European and Māori worlds. I believe in architecture … That is my product. Because I'm Māori I just have a different approach (Thompson 1987: 19).

In this chapter, I respond to architects Frank Lloyd Wright and Rewi Thompson and go both to the 'nature study' of the circumstances from within and this 'different approach'. I also acknowledge Indigenous architects worldwide, who across pre- and post-colonial contexts that were temporally, spatially, culturally and historically varied, created Indigenous architecture as a structural response to their time. Their architecture provided shelter, refuge and a sanctuary for their people. It also became the architecture of survival and a built response to the colonial violence and dispossession that was largely aimed at extinguishing not only the materiality but also the humanity and memory of Indigenous communities.

To investigate this different approach, I engage in an iterative discourse (possibly polemic) that traverses the personal and professional. My views are marked out by a confluence of the personal and professional, as a recipient and user of Māori architecture, professional and academic collaborator with Māori architects, and professional practice as a planner specialising in urban and rural Māori planning issues.

I then attempt the 'tricky' exercise of extrapolating from the local to the national, and then the international context, to give my take on the concept of Indigenous architecture and its current progeny, namely contemporary or modern Indigenous architecture. I use the word *progeny* deliberately, to signify that Indigenous architecture—as a people-/place-based human endeavour with its own tradition and genealogy (and in a Māori context: *whakapapa*)—has always existed. That it has produced and continues to produce a coherent corpus of architecture is undeniable. That its integrity as Indigenous architecture continues to be grounded in its expression as a structural response to Indigenous cultural values and the 'framing of space' to enhance these values, remain its defining characteristics.

That said, the ravages and violence of the colonial encounter mean that Indigenous architecture is both *position and opposition* and *acceptance and resistance*. By that, I mean it has its own position, reference points, methodologies, approaches, traditions and processes. Given that it continues to evolve as a design and built response to an ever-changing context, it should also resist the pejorative labels that in the past have tried to marginalise it, render it invisible or minimise it as a 'legitimate' architecture. These have ranged from labels such as primitive and savage to folk and traditional, 'rough' or 'just buildings' through to the vernacular, pastiche or 'just a little bit too local'. Therefore, Indigenous architecture must be the arbiter of its own categorising typology and chronology—and not be subject as can indeed happen whenever Indigeneity 'rears its head'—to the controlling tyranny of 'western/colonial' disciplinary taxonomies.

Theorising anything is difficult territory. Nevertheless, I engage in a personal attempt at just that; my take not only on theorising Indigenous architecture, but locating it within the broader pantheon of Indigenous design and planning interdisciplines.

Ko Wai Au: Who Am I?

As a child of the late 1950s and 60s, like many Māori people of my age from hundreds of rural marae across Aotearoa New Zealand, I was raised on ancestral rural Māori land, on a *marae papakāinga*, surrounded by *whānau* (family). Our *wharenui* (meeting house)—Te Amiki, at the centre of our *whānau papakāinga* (extended family housing settlement)—Petane Pa, had been designed and built on the land gifted by my great-great-grandfather and *tipuna* (ancestor) Henare Pohio, in the late 1800s (Binney 1995: 363). The *pa* had been mapped out spatially with the *marae* and *wharenui*, the geographic and sociocultural epicentre of our community. Concentric zones were also mapped out for *whānau* dwellings, with adjoining land for primary production, future commerce and industry. The old wooden church down the road was co-located with the family *urupa* (cemetery), and our settlement was bounded north, south, east and west by *our* hillside, coast and river. The aim, essentially cradle to grave support, provided sustenance for *our* rapidly growing *whānau* community in *our* place, within *our* community buildings and dwellings, *our* architecture and critically on *our* ancestral land.

Prior to the 1940s, over 80% of Māori people lived in rural areas (Meredith 2006: 246–250). Māori architecture was principally a rural architecture of the *marae*, *wharenui*, *papakāinga* and to some extent, post-contact 'civilising' mission of the Christian Church. By the mid-1940s, rural *marae/papakāinga* across the country were experiencing a population drift to towns and cities for work that began with a trickle but within two decades became a flood. The reasons were principally antiquated racist planning restrictions and controls that prevented Māori 'urban' development in rural areas, unless it was linked to agriculture. As populations grew, rural *marae papakāinga*, newly subject to major planning and financial constraints on growth, expansion and development, witnessed a catastrophic reduction in their viability as self-sustaining rural socio-economic communities. This was extinction of a different kind.

A New Migration

By the 1980s, over 83% of Māori were resident in cities and towns across the country (Meredith 2006: 247). The sociocultural and politico-economic phenomena that became Māori urbanisation produced one of the highest rates of urbanisation in the world. It also triggered a dual effect, which irrevocably altered the rural context

that many Māori had left behind, and the urban context to which they migrated. As depopulation across the rural Māori heartland kicked in, the architecture and infrastructure that had supported and sustained these communities for generations quickly fell into varying states of disuse and disrepair.

Furthermore, the new urban environment to which they migrated, precipitated a confrontation with the harsh and unforgiving reality of the free market, private property, urban planning and racism. Critically, it also resulted in spatial dislocation from their ancestral lands and the social and kinship networks that had nurtured them. Dispersal across the city, coupled with a loss of the familiar and the architectural elements that made home–home, left a legacy from which many new urban Māori communities and the rural heartland they left behind are still recovering. Put another way, dislocation was not only spatial and structural but had severe cultural, psychological, social and economic consequences.

Translocation remains the dominant modern Māori narrative. Although, prior to this phenomenon, traditional *marae papakāinga* on the urban periphery, and within the urban context itself, were already being marginalised either to periurban reserves or urban enclaves engulfed by urban expansion and intensification. Whether rural, periurban or urban, the net effect was material and ideological marginalisation.

Experiences such as these have shaped my personal discourse on Māori architecture, and indeed other Māori design and planning interdisciplines, into what (in my view) they are still becoming as we navigate the tricky domain between tradition and modernity, Indigeneity and colonialism—post, neo or otherwise.

Māori architecture, like other design and planning interdisciplines, is at its core, both a process and an outcome. By that, I mean a process of 'doing architecture' with (not just for) Māori communities and an outcome whereby Māori cultural values and principles ultimately materialise in spatial, structural form. Either way, Māori architecture has always been a means of 'framing space' and if needs be, 'retrofitting and re-purposing this space' to facilitate the ontological purpose of being and living 'as Māori'.

'A' Narrative for Indigenous Architecture

The socio-economic forces and cultural imperatives that shaped Māori architecture as a situated pre- and post-colonial contact structural response reflected a global trend and pattern imposed on Indigenous peoples around the world. In the grand narrative of Indigenous human history, Indigenous architecture nuanced to temporal, spatial and cultural context, existed, evolved, and flourished as a human endeavour well before colonisation—as evidenced clearly by its great traditions. So while colonisation did not create it, the hegemony of colonialism and so-called globalisation of hegemony certainly arrested its natural growth. It also created a negative/positive duality that marginalised Indigenous architecture, while also producing an almost subversive creativity in design—designing new ways to cope.

The post-contact period saw these communities and their architects quickly co-opt colonial technology to innovate in the cultural framing and re-framing of space. A testament to their fortitude and resilience, an extant Indigenous architecture survived, continues to evolve and today offers a remarkable template for Indigeneity *in* architecture and indeed other spatial design and planning disciplines.

From this conceptual and cultural base, the future design possibilities of *and* for Indigenous architecture remain limited only by the imagination of the architect and the Indigenous community in question.

Indigeneity and Architecture

Global estimates suggest that Indigenous peoples encompass more than 5000 different groups across more than 70 countries with an estimated population in excess of 350 million people. These communities are spread across vast regions of the globe from China, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Japan, the former Soviet Union, North America, Central America and Mexico, South America, Africa, Arabia, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and the Pacific, Scandinavia and Greenland (Hall and Patrinos 2012: 10–13).

Indigenous experiences of colonisation have been geographically and historically varied. That said, they share similar characteristics and patterns best summed up in one word—violence. Through time, violence against Indigenous communities has taken many forms from extermination to borderline extinction, extreme dispossession, dislocation, marginalisation, alienation even assimilation, of life, land, community and place. Writ large across the globe, the legacy of violence continues today in various forms and across a range of socio-economic indices. Poverty is a common denominator, the severity of which is generally determined by whether the community is located in the so-called rich Global North or the poor Global South. Spatial disadvantage, a product of the dual colonial phenomenon of rapid urbanisation and rural/regional isolation, has also led to significant and often extreme social and cultural dislocation of many of these communities. Given that the core thesis of the colonial project was essentially the erasure of the memory and materiality of Indigenous communities, this was no accident of history.

Therefore, to comprehend the highly variable contexts, diversity of experiences and common identity around Indigeneity, Indigenous architecture must be viewed both as a social and political movement and a design approach. The context clearly affects and influences design, and architecture and design have the power to influence context significantly. In other words, one can only fully comprehend Indigenous architecture against the spotlight of the social, political and economic history that both created and indeed inhibited it.

In this environment, the concept of a unifying theme, let alone a theory, around Indigenous architecture is culturally and epistemologically daunting. Indigenous communities share a deep ancestral attachment to their places, communities, lands and territories. This attachment that predates colonisation has weathered the

violence of the colonial encounter and continues to deal with colonialism's legacy. As such, these frequently violent interactions have not only shaped Indigenous communities, cultures and the creation of *their* narrative for 'Indigeneity in a place' but also the basis of and for *their* architecture.

Therefore, Indigenous architecture is at its essence a critical mechanism for expressing or articulating this narrative, in built and natural form. In other words, architecture must be constructed from this narrative; from Indigenous knowledge/s, Indigenous values and Indigenous processes to be Indigenous architecture.

Architecture 'in' Place

As an architecture *in place*, the moniker 'of this place' is the central pivot around which Indigenous architecture rotates. Architecture of *this* place by definition means not *that* place. It is architecture from within the people of this place and their relationship with each other, their cultural values, knowledge and principles, their land, environment, geography and climate. It is architecture using their natural resources, materials and construction methods and introduced materials, technologies and approaches adapted, adopted and nuanced to their cultural and social needs. It is also architecture embedded in an ever-evolving Indigenous people and place-based aesthetic using their palette, colours, designs, patterns, geometry, sculptural forms and shapes. In other words, an architecture ultimately redolent of their narrative about their relationships with their place–now, back in time and into the future (Fig. 12.1).

Indigenous architecture invokes notions of modified landscapes, structures and buildings, of *this* place, of *this* people and *this* land and territory. The ancestral link between people and place is inextricable, indeed fundamental. Architecture and the built environment became, and, what is more, remain a critical medium through which this link can continually be reinforced.

A Structural Response

Indigenous architecture also implies a structural response ultimately to Indigenous people's needs, circumstances, opportunities and constraints—whether precolonial contact or the various iterations of post-coloniality traversing the distant past to the continuing present. In other words, 'their' human, spatial, temporal and ultimately cultural context as told by their narrative about themselves.

Therefore, the design process from the articulation of reason or need through to structural response must engage Indigenous communities for it to be, indeed, Indigenous architecture. As an aspirational architecture, it also aims to converse at an almost existential level with fundamentals such as: What does Indigenous self-determination look like? What does self-sufficiency and sustainability look
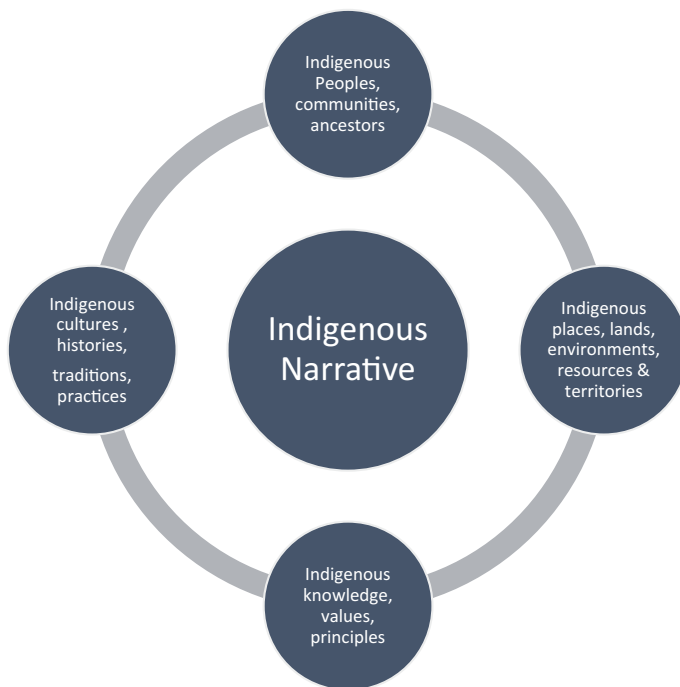
Fig. 12.1 Indigenous narrative for architecture and design (*Diagram* Hirini Matunga)

like? How might our cultural and spiritual values be best articulated in built form? And, given our architecture is both in nature and an extension of nature *and* exists in a symbiotic rather than parasitic or abusive relationship with nature, what does building with and from, rather than against the natural world look like? (Fig. 12.2).

Indigenous values, principles and conceptualisations of space are the substrata of *and* for Indigenous architecture, design and the built form. And, in a mutually reinforcing self-perpetuating loop the resultant form continues to buttress and underpin these same values, principles and links to place and even derivations of the Indigenous aesthetic (Fig. 12.3).

'A' Chronology of (Māori) Indigenous Architecture: Extant Not Extinct

While it might appear presumptuous for a non-architect to 'have a go' at shaping a chronology let alone typology of Indigenous architecture, such attempts are essential for at least four reasons.

The first is to re-insert Indigenous architecture nationally and internationally into architectural history. From my reading, it seems to have been excluded, vaporised, marginalised, othered or categorised as organic, vernacular, folk, primitive or 'just
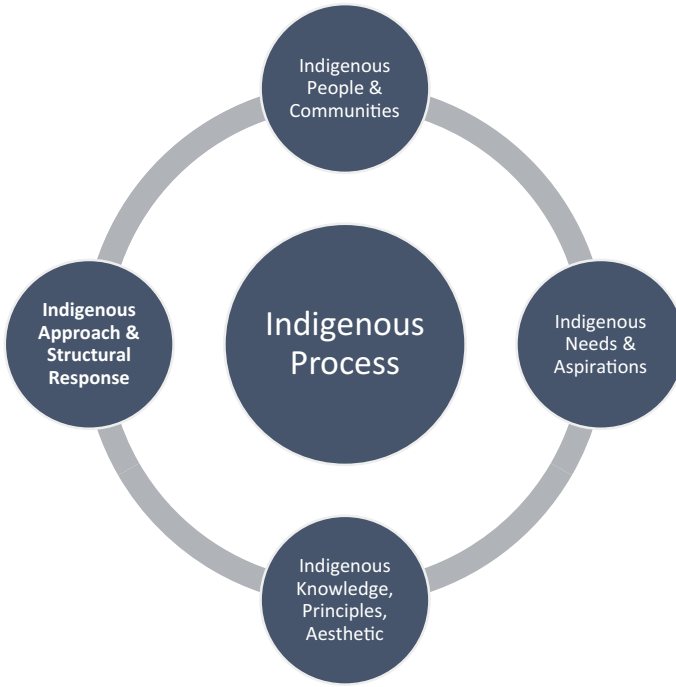
Fig. 12.2 Indigenous process for architecture and design (*Diagram* Hirini Matunga)
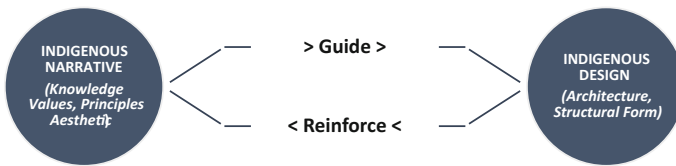
Fig. 12.3 Indigenous narrative: Indigenous design loop (*Diagram* Hirini Matunga)

buildings'. 'Writing back' is epistemic justice of the architectural kind. It responds to colonising practices that from my observations remain exclusionary and dismissive on the one hand, while culturally cringing and begrudgingly accepting on the other.

The second is to contextualise and control categorisation to an intra-Indigenous world view and corpus of experience. This experience has been shaped not only by physical, spiritual and cultural attachments to ancestral lands, places and territories since time immemorial, but also by the violent exigencies of 'being Indigenous' from colonial contact to the present. The impact of colonisation on various iterations of Indigenous architecture (and even its marginalisation as a legitimate architecture) requires perspective across a much broader and Indigenous chronology.

The third is to re-frame (or co-opt) the meaning of so-called universals such as classic, modern, renaissance and postmodern to reflect Indigeneity, an Indigenous paradigm of *and* for design and the ongoing project of Indigenous self-determination, including 'in' architecture. In other words, it is to challenge if not reject the universalising assumptions of these terms and perhaps to realign them in an Indigenous paradigm.

Fourthly, if Indigenous architecture is a built response to an Indigenous narrative about relationships between people, place and culture, then understanding its expression through time and across space also requires a critical analysis of the politics, ideology and impacts of colonisation. Architecture exists in a political context around power, privilege and influence. Indigenous architecture is not a disinterested architecture, but rather an engaged architecture. As such it has a clarity about its place-/people-based origins and an acute awareness of its own evolution through time and across pre- and post-colonial space. This evolution is, and must be, framed around the needs and aspirations of the particular Indigenous community—whoever and wherever they might be (Fig. 12.4).

Clearly, a comprehensive treatise on the logic/rationale for an Indigenous chronology/typology is well beyond the scope of this chapter. Having said that, Indigenous architecture is a reflection of the social, economic and political history that created/creates it. And, despite highly diverse spatial and cultural contexts, colonisation is a common denominator. Patterns have also emerged that are worthy of at least positing a tentative chronology and typology. These I define as epochs.

Even though the post-colonial contact phase might be considered an epoch in itself, it needs to be disaggregated in order to comprehend the distinctive nature of each post-contact period and its impact on Indigenous design/structural form. Given that epochs are themselves cultural constructions, at a more-detailed level they do need to be constituted 'within' the specific Indigenous community of interest. So, while I will briefly interpret them through a personal lens that is my perception of Aotearoa New Zealand Māori architectural history, clearly they need to be
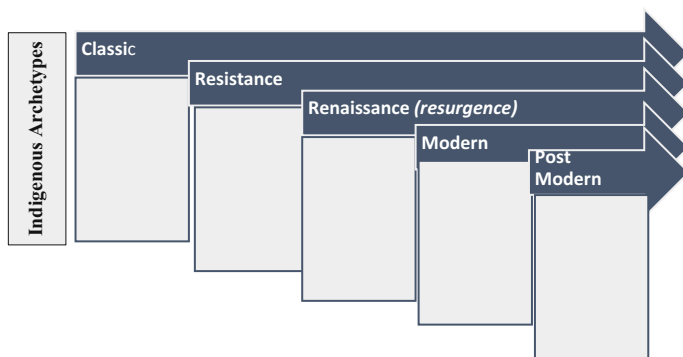
Fig. 12.4 Chronology for Indigenous architecture (*Diagram* Hirini Matunga)

contextualised to specific Indigenous cultures and communities. This exercise can only be carried out by these communities and their architects.

Classic Indigenous Architecture

The first Indigenous architecture was a native and natural performance, a response to the land, environment, geography, topography, climate and seasonality, and the need to house, shelter, protect and defend. It was also a medium to express in spatial form certain critical cultural values and principles, and a mechanism for addressing social, economic and political needs and requirements. And, an approach circumscribed by the availability of resources, materials and technologies to meet a defined need.

'Classic' is a convenient and appropriate descriptor, given its definition variously as 'serving as a standard or model', 'adhering to an established set of rules or principles', and '… characterised by simplicity, balance, regularity and purity of form' (Collins English Dictionary 1998: 298).

As an epoch, the classic period of Indigenous architecture covers the broad sweep of Indigenous histories, peoples and territories. It spanned hundreds, as in the case of Aotearoa New Zealand Māori, (Taonui 2006: 57), to many thousands of years. In the case of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, it is 60 000 years (Behrendt 2012: 18) or more. Classic is marked out as the period before colonial contact across Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe and Oceania– wherever Indigenous peoples were colonised by a foreign invading power.

In Aotearoa, the classic phase spans the time from the first migration over 1 200 years ago from tropical Polynesia to temperate Aotearoa. Margaret Orbell's article on the evolution of the Māori house describes it:

> By the 12th century if not before, Māori were building small sturdy, rectangular buildings [*wharepuni*] with substantial ridgepoles from which rafters crossed by battens sloped down on both sides. The doorway with its sliding panel was extremely small, entered on hands and knees and alongside there was a small window. In front of the door and window, the roof and side walls generally extended forward to a porch. The thick roof was tightly thatched with grasses and bark and the low walls were similarly covered, with soils sometimes heaped against them for greater warmth. In the grand buildings of high-ranked families the timbers were partly or entirely shaped with stone adzes. All buildings of importance were painted with red ochre and generally the rafters and some other surfaces were adorned with curvilinear *kowhaiwhai* (painted scroll ornamentation) patterns. At least some of the timbers would be carved and these carvings generally represented the ancestors. Thus the carved ancestors were inseparable from the house itself. They supported the building and its inhabitants both literally and figuratively, protecting them from sorcery and manifesting in their presence and splendour the *mana* (power and status) of their descendants. As early as the 1820s chiefs' houses had grown considerably in size and were becoming more like the buildings now known as meeting houses (Orbell 1987: 37).

Joan Metge also describes the form of the *marae*:

Each major settlement had a marae, an open space used as a gathering place, a large house variously described as a *whare runanga* (council house) or *whare hui* (meeting house), and one or two storehouses set on piles (*pātaka*). The *marae* was not a structure as in parts of Polynesia: it had no visible boundaries and was defined only by encircling dwellings. The community used the *marae* primarily for formal assembly, for receiving and entertaining visitors and for community ceremonial and discussion … they also used it for the business of daily living … It was living room, workshop, recreation ground, and forum all at once (Metge 1976: 9).

In Aotearoa, the *wharepuni* evolved to become the *hapū* (subtribal) *wharenui*. As such, the *wharenui* as both structure and ancestor became an archetype. And, with the *marae ātea*, encircling *wharepuni*, *pātaka* (elevated store houses), *whata* (elevated storage platform), *kāuta* (cook houses) even *wharau* (temporary shelters) became the *kāinga* or settlement site on which to express critical cultural values and perform critical cultural functions. These included the ability to practise *manaakitanga* (hospitality) to appropriately welcome, host, feed and farewell guests, to hold *tangihanga* (funeral ceremonies) to appropriately farewell the dead and to practise *whānaungatanga* (functions and activities to enhance family and group relationships). These design and spatial arrangements became the archetypal form for Māori architecture, planning and indeed urban design.

Among the various *iwi* of Aotearoa, variation of structural form, space and settlement around these archetypes was also evident, reflecting not only the uniqueness of tribal and cultural history, nuance and practice, but responses to a broad range of environmental factors. These included availability of natural resources, access to year-round or seasonal food supply, geographic location, climatic variation and seasonality. They also depended on whether the structure or space was intended for permanent, periodic, temporary or protected (as in naturally fortified or pallisaded *pa* sites). Therefore, settlement pattern and even the nature of the architecture were heavily influenced by the environmental context, further illustrating the notion that Māori architecture is indeed an extension of nature.

In other Indigenous cultures, unique and diverse archetypes had also been created. A design expression of the link between humans, their ancestors, the natural world and the cosmos, they imbued the form not only with significant cultural and social meaning, but also with spiritual essence and qualities. They also provided inspiration and indeed solace for these communities, as they weathered the ravages of post-colonial contact where home was increasingly becoming foreign imperial territory. Even across Indigenous cultures where the built form for a host of reasons including climate, seasonal migration and vastness of territory required only 'temporary shelter', the natural world, its ecosystems, flora, fauna and land forms, provided and still provide archetypal structural formations that remain critical to the framing of space by these communities.

This vast epoch of time created, in cultural context, a unique pattern or set of built and natural design reference points and archetypes for future iterations and derivations of Indigenous architecture and the built form to present, represent and inspire.

Resistance Indigenous Architecture

The next period of early colonial contact is marked out as an era of extreme vulnerability. Survival became the imperative and architecture a device to facilitate it.

In Aotearoa New Zealand from the mid-1800s, Māori prophets such as Te Kooti and Rua Kenana and the various millennial movements that sprung up around them (see Walker 1990) became the architects of major political protest and what I term *resistance architecture*. Their architecture was unequivocally one of resistance and response, what I refer to earlier as the binary of resistance and acceptance. On the one hand, a fierce opposition to the havoc that colonialism was creating, but on the other, a pragmatic almost clinical willingness to co-opt colonial tools, even colonial religions. The aim was to synthesise the old and the new and to re-express structural archetypes, but with survival as the end goal.

Te Kooti Rikirangi Turuki of the Rongowhakaata tribe, founder of the Ringatu faith, prophet, resistance fighter, renegade, fugitive and hero/anti-hero, was one of the first Māori architects to practise after colonial contact. Along with Rua Kenana and others, he stands out for his contribution to Māori architecture and planning.

In his article, boldly entitled: *Te Kooti: Architect*, Mike Linzey reviews Te Kooti's contribution to New Zealand architecture:

> In 1865 … engulfed in colonial warfare Te Kooti found himself the leader of a renegade force as a fugitive but unbeaten warrior of a people surrounded by defeat. Te Kooti's immediate response to this was architectural … He set about with his followers to build and carve a meeting house. The form for the Ringatu ceremonial which was originally devised by Te Kooti is also an architectural prescription in the form of the modern *marae*. If a *hapū* did not already have a meeting house they were required to build one. Those who were skilled in carving or could afford to pay for outside carvers produced fully carved meeting houses. But other groups had no carvers and Te Kooti encouraged them to paint their houses instead. This is how the famous Ringatu tradition of painted houses came to be (Linzey 1989: 90–93).

He goes on to state that:

> Modernity prefers to believe that traditional architecture occurred spontaneously and anonymously without the guiding light of individual architects. This modern myth is demonstrably false. In fact, every architectural tradition has creative individuals who can be identified and should be respected as such. In the tradition of the modern New Zealand marae, Te Kooti is one such figure (Linzey 1989: 90).

My point is that *all* Indigenous communities had architects like Te Kooti, who used their architecture both as a design device and a political response to early colonisation and in particular the decimation of their people. As architects, they were generally 'othered into anonymity' and in many cases (as was certainly the case with Te Kooti and other Māori leaders of the time) othered into yet other 'catch all' colonial categories: renegade, fugitive and traitor, rather than hero, freedom fighter, visionary, prophet, architect and planner.

The survival thesis was also reflected in the parallel civilising mission of the Christian Church. Orbell notes:

> A further influence came in the 1830s and 1840s when most Māori enthusiastically embraced Christianity, and many communities erected churches in which traditional workmanship was combined with such new features as unprecedented size, side windows and branching rafters (Orbell 1987: 38).

Through architecture, design and planning, what Te Kooti and other Māori leaders did across multiple dimensions was re-conceptualise traditions and in so doing give licence to future generations of Māori architects, designers and planners to put survival, community well-being and *mana motuhake*, (self-determination) at the forefront of their planning and design. So, despite the extinction rhetoric, Māori architects and planners like Te Kooti through their architecture and planning fought back. Along the way, they co-opted and appropriated whatever colonial accoutrements were available, taking archetypal Māori structural forms: the *raupo whare*, *whare puni*, *wharenui* and *marae ātea*, through to another iteration. As an overtly political expression, they also extended the form more prominently to express leadership, local government, *tino rangatiratanga* (chieftainship) and *mana motuhake*.

During this phase, the theme of Indigenous peoples' extinction was central to a virulent, racist discourse across the colonised world. Colonial metaphors such as 'smoothing the pillow of a dying race' were common. While they may have served superficially as signifiers of colonial benevolence, they masked malevolent intent. Ultimately, Indigenous communities were destined if not for extermination, at least extinction. Indigeneity was to be 'bred out' though whatever means were available from assimilation to miscegenation. Indigenous communities were supposed to die out. Against all odds, they did not. During this phase, Indigenous architecture and spatial planning served as an essential part of the resistance armoury of these communities.

Renaissance (Resurgent) Indigenous Architecture

While they were both early post-contact phases, I have differentiated resistance architecture from renaissance architecture to make a point. Renaissance architecture belongs to the stage at which Indigenous community survival became less tenuous and another more celebratory and resurgent form of architecture was developing.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, this phase was epitomised by a new generation of Māori leaders from the early 1900s such as Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi (Walker 1990: 190). Still drawing on archetypal structural forms that were by now commemorative and celebratory, their architecture focussed on projecting an optimism for the future, celebrating Māori people, culture and survival, and consolidating a platform for *mana motuhake*. Critically, through the increasingly elaborate carved meeting house or *whare whakairo*, they also linked Māori architecture to the cultural, social and economic renaissance of Māori.

Joan Metge describes the *whare whakairo*, the personification of renaissance architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand, as follows:

The meeting house is almost without exception traditional in form: a single storeyed, rectangular building consisting of one large room, with a deep gabled porch across the front and a single door and window in the front wall. Nearly all are built of modern materials, mainly timber weather boards with corrugated iron roofs. The facades and interiors of many meeting houses are richly decorated with traditional carving, reed panelling (*tukutuku*) and rafter patterns (*kōwhaiwhai*). These are not however essential features. In Northland and Taranaki, only a few of the many houses are so adorned. Function, not appearance, is what distinguishes a meeting house from a hall in the final analysis.

The meeting house is not only named after an important ancestor: it is symbolically his (or her) body. Its ridgepole (*tāhuhu*) is his back bone, a carved representation of the face (*kōruru*) covers the junction of the two barge boards (*maihi*) which are his arms, the front window (*mataaho*) is his eye, and the visitor steps through the door into his chest (*poho*) enclosed by the rafters (*heke*) which are his ribs. The central pillar supporting the ridgepole is the heartpost (*poutokomanawa*).

When Māori talk of the meeting house they use a personal pronoun and refer to him (or her) thinking, feeling speaking and acting as a living person contemporary with themselves. Providing a shelter for his descendants literally and figuratively, the meeting house serves as a particularly potent symbol of their group identity (Metge 1976: 230).

And again to quote Orbell:

Like churches, meeting houses have a spiritual significance which does not depend on their age. But in the older meeting houses one becomes most powerfully aware of the presence and history of the people who built them in the past and whose aspirations they express (Orbell 1987: 38).

So, despite the decimation of many communities and the perilous reduction in their ancestral land and resource base, Māori did survive. Survival was now celebrated through an expansion of the archetypal structural form, principally the *whare whakairo*, a visually formidable indicator of cultural identity and an omnipresent sentinel of survival. The archetype was also increasingly being expressed across other Māori renaissance contexts, particularly through education, religion and uniquely Māori-focussed schools and churches.

In this regard, Māori were not unique. Across the world, Indigenous cultures and communities through their archetypes and unique place-based structural formations were also expressing survival and resurgence through their architecture.

Up to this point though, Māori like many other Indigenous peoples were still primarily rural, descent-based communities living on the remnants of their ancestral lands, reserves and tribal territories. Significantly, additions were already being made to the *wharenui* archetype through additional buildings to the *marae* complex to accommodate modern living, in particular the *wharekai* (dining hall/kitchen) and *wharepaku* (ablution facilities). That said, the architecture was still principally rural.

Major change was imminent as many in these communities were propelled into yet another orbit, to distant or nearby urban centres for work and better economic prospects. Rural Māori settlements on remnant ancestral Māori land that adjoined colonial towns and cities were also increasingly being engulfed by urban expansion and intensification.

The shift in a relatively short period of time from a traditional and generally rural to a modern and generally urban context facilitated a rapid transition to a modern phase in Māori architecture. Māori communities were no longer predominantly located in their traditional place-based context, but through migration were increasingly dispersed across urban centres. Separated from their ancestral lands and their descent-based communities and architecture, spatial dislocation created a new challenge for Māori in terms of architecture, design and even urban planning. The existential challenge of 'being Māori' in an urban context, separated from the social–cultural elements and familiarity that made home–'home' brought up a new set of architectural and design questions.

This predicament was by no means unique to Māori. Translocation leading to cultural, social and economic dislocation is a central part of the Indigenous narrative of *and* for the modern colonial era. What it necessitated though was a design response, one that could comprehend dislocation and conceptualise Indigeneity and Indigenous cultural values and identities across new, 'untested', largely urban contexts. Indigenous responses to the multiple dimensions of urbanisation became a significant driver of modern innovation in Indigenous architecture.

Modern Indigenous Architecture

The new urban reality, dominated by a market economy, private property and individualism, was the complete antithesis of the traditional political economy many Indigenous people had left behind. Consequently, the socio-economic and cultural impacts were often severe. Indigenous communities were not only urban migrants but often refugees on the margins of their own country. What it forced though, was a creative re-framing of space to comprehend Indigeneity across new and increasingly diverse and unpredicted contexts.

Increasingly, it found expression primarily (though not exclusively) through what I term grand and humble design responses. For want of a label, I describe these respectively as the *grand narrative* and *quiet narrative* architecture of the Indigenous modern. The former was/is a continuation and expansion of Indigenous structural archetypes. The latter had to re-conceptualise and then repurpose a fixed space to meet the needs and cultural values of Indigenous communities. In the face of very limited or no access to capital and with limited influence and political power, this challenge was immense. To add yet another dynamic, the architecture was on occasion located within the ancestral territory of another Indigenous group, introducing a new form of Indigenous design and planning politics. This required astute intra-Indigenous negotiation and cultural diplomacy to accommodate multiple ways of 'being Indigenous' including 'Indigenous urban'.

In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, urbanisation of Māori communities was grotesquely compressed into a relatively short time frame of three or so decades. While many of the new migrants endeavoured to retain contact with the rural heartland, the separation by sheer distance, except for very important occasions,

made this increasingly difficult and often very costly. Compounded as it was by a separation from traditional support networks, the new setting resulted in a human and spatial separation not only from each other, but also from the familiar reference points and materiality of the *wharenui* and *marae papakāinga*.

Grand Narrative Indigenous Architecture

What I term grand narrative architecture of the Indigenous publics is one of the two critical responses in the modern era. A direct reference to bold and deliberative expressions of Indigenous archetypal structural forms in the rural, urban, traditional and modern contexts, 'publics' is simply a qualifier to indicate 'less private'. Because archetypes organise or frame space to create/impart/imbue social, cultural and spiritual meaning, they are timeless architectural expressions. The meaning of the architecture is paramount and the structural formation primarily a mechanism to materialise meaning. As such, grand narrative architecture still serves to connect structure with humans, ancestors and the cosmos. In so doing, it collapses time but also creates a material platform from which to express critical cultural values and perform critical cultural functions, well established from classic times.

I categorise grand narrative architecture in a temporal sense, as contemporary or modern architecture, to reflect how new technologies and materials have enabled the expansion of the Indigenous structural archetype to include new 'more modern' features.

In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, nowhere is grand narrative architecture more evident than the *whare tipuna* (ancestral meeting house) and its carved expression the *whare whakairo* (carved meeting house). The *whare tipuna* adjoins and frames yet another spatial archetype, the *marae ātea* (or open-space ceremonial forecourt). As the most prominent example of the grand narrative in Māori architectural tradition, the evolution, provenance and *whakapapa* of the *wharenui* from classic times is clear. But, in the modern context, its expression as an archetype continues to extend across multiple and increasingly diverse spatial and social contexts. While they are often (though not exclusively) urban people-based constructs, they illustrate the timeless quality of the Indigenous archetype in architecture and planning.

Urban migration precipitated the creation of many new urban Māori communities. These were no longer based on common descent from a founding ancestor, but commonality forged around a new urban Māori identity as Nga Hau E Wha (Māori people of the Four Winds). As a result, since the 1960s, new urban *marae* and *whare whakairo* have been established to cater particularly to the social and cultural needs of the urban Māori diaspora. Not surprisingly, all critical functions articulated though previous epochs of the *wharenui* archetype relating to *manaakitanga*, *tangihanga* and *whānaungatanga* have remained constant.

Marae and *whare whakairo* archetypes also found expression as architectural statements across other public sector and institutional contexts with a significant

Māori focus or function beyond the traditional rural and even modern urban marae. From the 1980s, again these were often linked to education, particularly schools and tertiary institutions, but from the 1990s quickly extended to other Māori-focussed public institutions and services, particularly health, justice, corrections and museum/heritage facilities.

Furthermore, from the mid-1990s, reflecting an increase both in Māori political and economic influence, and the major Treaty of Waitangi settlements between *iwi* (Māori kinship group or Nation) and the Crown (New Zealand Government), yet another turn in grand narrative architecture was ushered in. Significant financial compensation by the Crown to *iwi* for historic injustices, coupled with an expanding capital base, provided the impetus for *iwi* to construct even bolder architectural expressions of *tino rangatiratanga* and *mana motuhake*.

One recent example is the Ngai Tuhoe Tribal Headquarters opened in 2014. In his article entitled *Te Uru Taumatua: Te Wharehou o Tuhoe*, Bill McKay states:

> Te Uru Taumatua is the new Tuhoe building … the front of the tribal chamber is spec-tacular … the lean-to roof rears up towards the north balanced on a laminated timber arch that relates to the suns path and symbolises the sun at its zenith, as is also seen on the Tuhoe flag. It's a striking frontage and turns the building into a gateway, a guardian at the head of the valley. And suitably for an iwi as distinct as is Tuhoe, it's formally unlike any other building in the land … In front of this archway is an open space surrounded by seating that can function as an *ātea* does in front of a meeting house … [and according to the Ngai Tuhoe Chairman] it reflects Tuhoe's beliefs for its own and New Zealand's future (McKay 2014: 47–50).

McKay goes on to note:

> There is a wide diversity of architectural form in Māori buildings, both those designed by Māori and those built for them. The new iwi buildings that we have seen sprouting up in these days of Treaty settlements, are another wave of architectural development. While *marae* largely operate at *hapū* level, we have seen various movements over the last few centuries such as *kotahitanga*, *kingitanga*, *Ratana* and that of *Parihaka*, develop buildings for assembly, debate and governance (McKay 2014: 47).

Following a pattern established during much earlier phases, bold architectural expressions of the *wharenui* and *marae* archetypes are now also emerging across a range of other contexts, including but not limited to educational institutions and museums—off the traditional *marae* and beyond Māori ancestral land. Whether or not they sit on the cusp of a postmodern turn in Māori architecture, and more to the point, what that statement might actually mean, is a matter for future debate.

Having said that it is important to restate that *all* Indigenous cultures display grand narrative architecture either in the built environment or through living interactions with the natural landscape and ecology of their place. By this, I mean that the natural environment is also a site where space is framed but rather than the built form, by and through nature. By applying this framing space thesis, I don't limit grand narrative architecture exclusively to the built environment. 'Framing' occurs wherever the community coalesces or congregates *as* Indigenous peoples— either permanently or temporarily.

Quiet Narrative Indigenous Architecture

While a plethora of grand narrative architectural statements across multiple Indigenous contexts might reflect an improved capital base, special admiration is reserved for what I have called 'quiet narrative' Indigenous architecture. A muted and often unassuming adaptation, this architecture presents another, more poignant story of Indigenous survival in the modern era. It is generally in urban settings but on occasion in rural locations; it is generally but not always outside the 'traditional' ancestral land context. It is also a symptom of the duality of urban and rural dislocation and the lingering effects of colonisation. But, above all, it is a response to the exigencies of the market, private property, lack of capital and limited/no architectural choice—in other words, the architecture of necessity. Often couched around the classic archetypes of the Indigenous publics, but increasingly present in the modern residential context of the 'Indigenous privates', it begins with the question: What do you do if what is available is not what you might otherwise prefer, but are left with little choice but to accept?

Quiet narrative Indigenous architecture of the Indigenous modern is the architecture of retrofit and repurpose. It means taking what might be available or affordable and retrofitting and repurposing it to meet a uniquely Indigenous cultural and/or social purpose, and way of being and living.

In the Aotearoa New Zealand context (as in many contexts for Indigenous peoples), it took two distinct forms. The first was in the Indigenous public domain and entailed retrofitting and repurposing existing structural arrangements to create urban (and some rural) *marae*, as social and cultural centres for the Māori diaspora in the city and country. Whatever was available, affordable and accessible, including disused warehouses, bakeries, community halls, vacant commercial, industrial buildings and farm buildings, was co-opted. Where possible, internal and external space was re-configured, internal and external structure was culturally adorned (but sometimes not) and re-conceptualised as *wharenui*, *wharekai* and *marae ātea*. Re-framing external and internal space, according to the classic archetypes again allowed critical cultural functions and ceremonials associated with *manaakitanga*, *tangihanga* and *whānaungatanga* to be performed. Not ideal, but necessary, it has required a unifying Māori community vision coupled with design innovation and creativity. This became the architecture of cultural, social and economic necessity.

The second in the 'Indigenous privates' or residential context was and still is challenging. Residential architecture appears to have been configured around so-called normative social and cultural values and standards of the dominant settler (i.e. Pākehā/European) community rather than Indigenous (i.e. Māori) community. Not surprisingly, Māori families often do not conform to the western norm are larger in size and intergenerational with *whānau* members visiting often for long periods. Critically, they have specific cultural requirements around the organisation

of internal space and spatial separation of particular uses and functions—most importantly, those associated with food and the human body. As such, it required coherent design responses that are socially and culturally nuanced. This was generally lacking or at least deficient and is still highly problematic for housing providers. The default residential setting is often too small, inappropriately oriented and lacks the structural flexibility to cope with variable, periodically intense but constantly evolving demands and pressures. Except in rare circumstances, the default generally ignored Māori social and cultural requirements for residential living. Again, the Māori community response was generally to retrofit and repurpose the fixed residential space to be congruent with their needs. In other situations, it is a case of 'making do' with whatever is on hand to the best of one's ability.

In a curious, though not altogether surprising, twist of history, the Māori residential context has increasingly become the site for critical Māori cultural functions and ceremonials 'normally' associated with the *marae/wharenui* archetype, particularly the *tangihanga*. The humble residential dwelling and section have now transitioned to the status of temporary *marae*, in many respects returning to its cultural progenitor from classic times—the *wharepuni* and *wharenui*. The residential front yard is often 'temporarily repurposed' as *marae ātea*, and the garage or marque in the backyard as *wharekai*. In other words, a modern take on yet another classic archetype, the traditional *wharau* or temporary shelter.

Following this cultural trend, the *wharenui* and *marae ātea* archetypes have also moved beyond the traditional place-based context to accommodate the culturally and socially distinctive needs and practices of the Māori diaspora, whoever and wherever they might be. Space is now being culturally re-framed as 'Māori place' across many and quite diverse contexts.

What does this have to do with Indigenous architecture let alone architecture? In short, quiet narrative architecture tells its own story. It is the architecture of Indigenous compromise, adaptation, retrofit and repurpose, 'making do as best you can'—to meet a social and cultural objective, in whatever context you might happen to be, not necessarily by choice. Using a form of ontological reasoning, it offers critical design insights into what could be, rather than what is. And, it is a design template for how Indigenous communities might live if indeed they had been given the choice. Diminished or no cultural agency across multiple contexts, including design and planning, is a symptom of systemic and entrenched lingering colonialism. In some respects, quiet narrative architecture responds to colonialism in architecture and design and, as a form of democratised architecture of, by and for the people, so to speak—subverts it. Understanding that subversion is critical in my view to the future of/for Indigenous architecture, because it provides the best insight into what could have been and what still might be, had colonisation and colonialism taken a different, more enlightened and collaborative turn. In other words, the trajectory of Indigenous architecture might have been quite different.

Postmodern Indigenous Architecture

I have two responses to the question: Is there a postmodern Indigenous architecture or a postmodernism in Indigenous architecture? The first is hedging of bets—'not sure, time will tell'. The second is a tentative 'Yes'. I think we are seeing indications of what might be considered postmodernism in Indigenous architecture. Having said that perhaps the more appropriate question might be—what does postmodernism in Indigenous architecture even mean, and more to the point does it actually matter? If for now we can accept that postmodern anything implies after or beyond modern, in the context of Indigenous architecture—and my as yet untested view—it does not mean a rejection of the modern, but rather a reinterpretation of all that has gone before and 'new ways' of reconstituting tradition, and rethinking Indigenous archetypes to comprehend new contexts (many unpredicted) along with new modes of/for Indigeneity. In some respects, as the architectural other to settler architecture, Indigenous architecture has been in a postmodern state since colonial contact, before the concept was even proposed. Postmodernist 'acceptance' of the other has increasingly and hopefully finally initiated the 'de-othering' of Indigenous architecture.

Clearly, colonisation, 'lingering colonialism', urbanisation and other factors continue to rupture Indigenous communities in multiple ways. In spite of this and through all epochs from classic times to the present, the constant has been a unique Indigenous 'framing of space' either through nature, spatial arrangements in the landscape or Indigenous structural formations. These formations, sourced through what I have termed 'Indigenous archetypes', have ensured and continue to assure not only a continuity of tradition, but also a continuity of ancestral attachments to people and place buttressed by a set of values that binds it all together into a coherent and stable cultural whole. Clearly, the archetypes continue to be produced and reproduced through time and across different spatial and institutional contexts. Indigenous communities must be the facilitators of this production and so-called postmodern structural expression for it to indeed be Indigenous architecture.

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, examples are now surfacing, particularly in the public sector that might be deemed postmodern. For instance, a number of public secondary schools are now expressing commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi, relationships with Māori and biculturalism in education through conscious, planned and prominent location of the *wharenui* and *marae ātea* archetypes, often at the school entrance. Māori design archetypes are being included as part of overall design, therefore fully integrated into school design and function, rather than retrofitted as a design afterthought. Similar design trends are also being articulated across other public sector contexts, including museums, libraries and public facilities. The *wharenui* and *marae ātea* archetype is expanding out across broader urban design contexts, precincts and public buildings. Through time and no doubt across spatial, cultural and institutional contexts—Māori centred or aligned, Māori publics or Māori privates, settler publics or settler privates—a postmodernism in Māori

architecture and design, and therefore Indigenous architecture will no doubt reveal itself more fully.

That said, to more broadly posit a postmodernism in Indigenous architecture, one might be rethinking Indigenous archetypes, re-configuring and expressing them in different, even novel ways and/or adding or juxtaposing them with/against non-Indigenous structural formations. While new expressions might initially jar and appear incongruent or dissonant or even culturally discordant, the critical point is their ability to meet an agreed Indigenous social, cultural, aesthetic objective, mediated through the relevant Indigenous community. It also implies that the structural formation is traceable to an Indigenous archetype and therefore has a provenance that is clearly and uniquely Indigenous in origin.

In Māori philosophy, it is a concept that we know as *whakapapa*.

'A' Typology of Indigenous Architecture?

In some respects, 'western' notions of chronology and typology have a degree of consilience with the Māori concept of *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* connotes a sequence of connected and complementary components including: to present a genealogy, to link humans and the cosmos, to trace one's ancestry, to place in layers, transfer knowledge from one generation to the next, to establish identity and associations and to firmly connect with rights to land and place (see Benton et al. 2013: 504–505).

Placing the notion of Māori archetypes, structural formation and architecture within a *whakapapa* framework implies that the formation (whether classic, resurgence, renaissance, modern or indeed postmodern) has a *whakapapa*—in other words, it did not just happen spontaneously, without conscious thought or purpose, but has an inherent meaning, a traceable genealogy and therefore provenance. For a form to be Māori architecture implies that it has a *whakapapa*, can trace its ancestry, is based on knowledge transfer through the generations and is connected through ancestry or gifted rights to specific lands and places, by the Māori community of that place.

All Indigenous cultures and communities across the world have concepts similar to *whakapapa* embedded in their philosophy. That said, while its fundamental tenets might be universal, again it must be contextualised to distinct and unique Indigenous peoples, places and cultural traditions. Indigenous peoples and groups are not homogenous.

The previous discussion has been an attempt to posit a chronology of/for Indigenous architecture, through a prism that is my interpretation of Māori architectural tradition. I have been careful only to posit it as a tentative chronology, through a genealogical layering or series of epochs. While I have assigned approximate temporal markers to epochs in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, I have been careful not to apply these in any way to Indigenous groups across the world. The diversity of Indigenous experiences, unique traditions and archetypes,

coupled with the effects of colonisation and lingering colonialism, means that the *ordering*, rather than *timing* of each epoch, is critical.

Assigning temporal categories is the sole prerogative of the Indigenous community of interest. In other words, it is their decision to develop a paradigm to define, and if they deem necessary, shift or realign it. Indigenous architectural history is a direct reflection of the political, social and cultural history that created it. Critically, it must be told through Indigenous voices.

If I were to posit a typology of Indigenous architecture, it would align with and reflect various epochs across the Indigenous chronology. Indigenous archetypes have evolved as a response to the time and context, while the meaning of the resultant architecture has remained constant and for the most part intact through the archetype. While access to new materials and technologies has enabled structural additions/innovation to accommodate new and evolving contexts, definable characteristics can be linked to the architecture of each epoch. In other words, Indigenous chronologies also double as typologies, enabling a classification by characteristics and a co-linear Indigenous typology to be devised.

Accordingly, I offer up the following, albeit tentative thesis.

For architecture or any structural formation to be Indigenous, it needs to exhibit some if not all of the following characteristics:

- a clarity about its genealogy or *whakapapa*,
- a link to an Indigenous archetype or archetypes,
- an engaged response to a defined Indigenous need—past, present or future,
- a structural articulation of the cultural and social values of the particular Indigenous community,
- a design response to an Indigenous peoples' specific place-based narrative,
- a structural form—informed by Indigenous knowledge, world views and cosmology, and
- an inherent, culturally configured or ascribed Indigenous meaning.

The last point spotlights yet another characteristic of Indigenous architecture. If meaning is inherent in the structure and the form as presented, or indeed ascribed (as in quiet narrative architecture), Indigenous architecture collapses time or is timeless. What I refer to as the continuity of tradition or the continuing present manifests through the ongoing interpretation and reinterpretation of archetypes. Timelessness is manifested in the Indigenous archetype continually producing and reproducing itself across an ever-expanding range of temporal and spatial contexts —old but new, traditional but also modern, rural and urban, local and distant.

Design Binaries, Dualities and Maxims

Modern Indigenous architecture challenges many modernist assumptions in Western architecture and Western/settler interpretations about the Indigenous architectural other. These are important to note, as they are often articulated through

culturally constructed binaries, dualities, aphorisms or maxims. The maxim 'form follows function' is a good example of a so-called universal principle for action. When applied to grand narrative Indigenous architecture, its universality simply collapses. The Māori *whare whakairo* and *marae ātea* archetypes are good examples where instead of form following function, form becomes function—or rather form is function.

Binaries and dualities create a similar conundrum. Distinctions either evaporate or at the very least need to be refracted through an Indigenous lens. Generally, their universality is not actually universal at all, but culturally constructed in another paradigm and then imposed on Indigenous communities, often against their will. I call this 'living in someone else's paradigm' or more to the point, 'living in someone else's house—not by choice but necessity'. All so-called universal maxims, binaries and dualities used in architecture and design need to be filtered through an Indigenous lens and reconstructed against an Indigenous paradigm.

Indigenous architecture must, therefore, comprehend and reflect how Indigenous peoples and communities not only perceive space in a conceptual–cultural sense, but also move through and utilise space in a more active–cultural sense. Such insights are crucial to an understanding of how space should be framed, organised, partitioned, re-framed or repurposed to facilitate pursuit of the desired cultural and social endpoints. As the architecture of necessity, compromise and adaptation, quiet narrative Indigenous architecture is particularly critical for the insight it offers into how culturally disjointed dualities and binaries have often been imposed across specific Indigenous contexts, making them not only inherently untenable but likely to be subverted if not dismantled.

While it is by no means a complete list, the following table illustrates some of the more common binaries (Fig. 12.5).

Binary	Oppositions
• inside	• outside
• interior	• exterior
• indoors	• outdoors
• entry	• exit
• center	• periphery
• above	• below
• open	• closed
• welcome	• farewell
• flexible	• fixed
• individual	• group
• public	• private
• Sacred	• Common
• ?	• ?

Fig. 12.5 Common binary oppositions (*Diagram* Hirini Matunga)

Because binary opposites and dualities are culturally coded, explicitly re-coding them in specific people–place-based contexts and in terms of Indigeneity is essential. For instance, in spatial terms, inside as opposed to outside means what? What is understood by entry as opposed to exit? What makes space interior or exterior and for that matter exterior to what? At a more fundamental level, unique and specific Indigenous ontological formations also need to be understood, interpreted and accommodated; What, for instance, does private as opposed to public actually mean? How is sacred and secular space delineated? What makes space sacred, as opposed to secular or common? Can space be 'temporarily' sacred?

Another issue critical to this discussion is what I term Indigenous threshold or liminal space. This space is located at/on the threshold between culturally constructed binaries or dualities. As a transition space, it can be fraught, challenging and anxiety-producing. Consequently, moving in and out or across the threshold is not necessarily straightforward. In some cases, it might require cultural protocols or ceremony to be acknowledged and performed. The *marae ātea* (ceremonial forecourt) in front of the *wharenui* is an example of liminal space in a Māori context. There are countless others. For instance: What does moving from secular to sacred space and back again mean? How can it be conceptualised and spatialised through design to make transition less challenging? Or, is challenge in fact the aim? In yet other cases, the threshold might be as straightforward as moving across the porch from the inside to the outside—once agreement is reached on what that actually means.

My point is, meaning cannot be assumed to be fixed or static in a culture, let alone across cultures. It requires discussion and dialogic debate not only on what the terms and concepts mean, but also how Indigenous communities ascribe meaning through design. In other words, a culturally competent discussion on how best to spatialise unique Indigenous ontological formations and what it means to be Indigenous in architecture is essential.

A Tentative Typology of/for Indigenous Design and Planning Inter disciplines

Earlier in this chapter, I proposed the notion that Indigenous architecture, like other Indigenous design and planning inter disciplines, is at its core both a process and an outcome, that is, a process for doing architecture *with* (not just for) Indigenous communities and an outcome or endpoint where Indigenous cultural and social values and principles ultimately materialise in spatial, structural form. The notion that Indigenous architecture is a critical mechanism for expressing or articulating an Indigenous peoples-/place-based narrative in built, spatial and natural form was also proposed. Architecture must be constructed from a narrative, from knowledge, from a values base and process sourced in Indigeneity or an Indigenous ontology to be Indigenous architecture. Anything less, or else, is likely to be misguided homage or worse still misappropriation.

The viability of extending the approach, process and conceptual thinking, outlined for Indigenous architecture across all Indigenous design and planning inter disciplines, is another proposition worth considering. All have a strong Indigenous process-outcome imperative, as well as people-/place-based emphasis. All rely on Indigenous narrative construction linked to an Indigenous ontology as their foundation (Fig. 12.6).

If for now we can accept that this proposition raises issues around disciplinary boundary making (intellectual, professional and political), it also highlights the importance of fluidity across these boundaries. In many respects, the boundaries between disciplines are already porous, hence the emphasis on the interdisciplinary. Nevertheless, the opportunity exists for even greater fluidity grounded in an *Indigenous-derived design and planning paradigm*.

For example, creating good urban spaces and places might be the focus for 'good' urban design, but raises the issue of 'good' by whose definition and for whom. On the other hand, Indigenous urban design as an Indigenous inter discipline would in a more focussed way concern itself with creating good urban spaces and places for Indigenous people to be Indigenous, or more broadly—for Indigeneity in the city to flourish through design. Similarly, urban planning manages land use in an urban context but again raises similar questions—in whose interest and against whose definition of 'good' land use management? And, again, as an inter discipline, Indigenous urban planning would recast these questions against an Indigenous ontology and epistemology.

That said, two slightly variant approaches to the issue of inter disciplinarity need to be considered. Both acknowledge the need to accommodate Indigeneity across all disciplines and associated design professions, but diverge slightly on the issue of emphasis. For instance, the first takes the discipline, architecture, as its primary

**Indigenous
Architecture**

**Indigenous Urban
Design**

**Indigenous Urban
Planning**

**Indigenous
Landscape
Architecture**

**Indigenous
Regional
Planning**
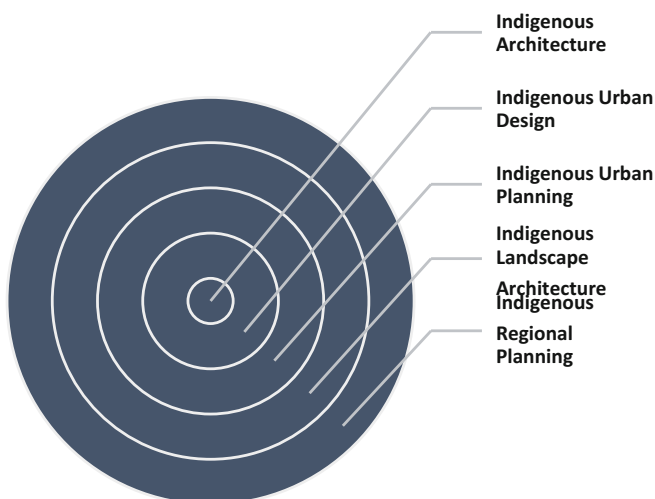
Fig. 12.6 A tentative typology for Indigenous design and planning (*Diagram* Hirini Matunga)

focuses and engages fully with Indigeneity to better achieve an interdisciplinary emphasis—in other words, Indigenous architecture. The second takes Indigeneity and Indigenous design and planning as its own discipline, or at least unique area of activity and clearly its primary focus, while retaining a critical link to architecture or one or more of the other design/planning disciplines. Both approaches are critical to the future of Indigenous architecture, and indeed, architecture.

My point is, engaging with Indigeneity in multiple ways is as critical for architecture as indeed it is for all design and planning disciplines and puts a spotlight on these disciplines given their general configuration around settler/ Western epistemologies. Having said that, expanding this to accommodate 'the other'—namely Indigenous epistemology and ontology—in a collaborative rather than distant or dismissive way, opens the door to significant opportunity for collaboration, innovation and creativity in architecture and indeed all other design and planning disciplines.

He Kōrero Whakamutunga: Concluding Comments

In 1972, an article for Architecture New Zealand prosaically entitled *Māori Buildings* commented:

> It cannot be denied that the earliest buildings in New Zealand which survive in recognisable architectural form are the traditional Māori structures which have in their very simplicity of form an architectural character. Neither can it be concealed that the concept of architecture as we know it was one of which these builders were completely unaware [in regard to the Whare Whakairo]. It is not always the highly carved buildings that have the greatest architectural appeal and apparently in some areas carving was relatively little used. It is the simple dignity of the purely useful which was the basis of architectural feeling … on the other hand these are self-conscious examples which appear not so much architecture designed by and for human beings, but sample room illustrations of the carver's art; useful as records or museum pieces, but not valid pieces of architecture (Fearnley 1972: 250–251).

Twelve years later, and reflecting the bicultural tension in architecture, another article for Architecture New Zealand offered a different commentary:

> The last thirty years … provide the hope that one day the New Zealand architectural profession may find itself, and speak strongly with an authentic Indigenous identity…We are whether we like it or not living in one of the most creative and controversial periods of architectural history … In contrast to the mindless unimaginative conformity of the first 150 years in our [Pākehā/European] culture, ours is a time when we can begin to see the irony of our colonial past … Architecture is a deep social and spiritual concern. When New Zealanders learn to understand and participate in it as a creative adventure only then will an authentic Indigenous architecture take deep, full and firm roots. [The commentator, Russell Walden went on to state:] Only one building form is Indigenous to New Zealand—the Māori whare (Walden 1985: 13–16).

Not only has there been an historic battle about *and* for legitimacy, as valid architecture, but more recently a recognition that Indigenous history and Indigenous architecture provide the only basis for an authentic architecture because of its deep roots to *this* place rather than *that* place. More often than not, the architectural gaze has been everywhere but home, as if legitimacy in an existential sense could only be found somewhere else—generally overseas and usually somewhere closer to the imperial centre. This has had a damaging dual effect. First, it foreclosed on significant opportunities for collaboration and architectural creativity a bit closer to home. Second, it curbed the natural growth of Indigenous architecture, until relatively recently. That said, new generations of Māori and Indigenous architects have been at the forefront in advocating a different approach and fast tracking to the design trajectory that *could* have been happening from the point of colonial contact, had colonisation taken a different, more enlightened turn.

This narrative has played out through a multiplicity of cultural, temporal and spatial contexts across the Indigenous and colonised world. My response has been to sketch out a tentative conceptual framework for framing space within an Indigenous paradigm, both as a process and outcome. I have also proposed the notion that architecture of *this* place and *its* people must be constructed from an Indigenous narrative for it to be Indigenous architecture. My attempt at articulating a chronology for Indigenous architecture (albeit through a Māori lens) names epochs in Indigenous history and through a sequence of Indigenous archetypes links these to Indigenous structural formations—from the classic to modern periods. The aim has been to rethink (if not rewrite) all Indigenous architecture back into architectural history.

Though many might try to claim it and even dismiss the Indigenous structural other as 'just buildings', no one culture or people *own* architecture. Architecture is a universal human endeavour as old as the proverbial human condition itself. Having said that, Indigenous narratives offer a rich source of design inspiration for conceptualising architecture to its authentic, place-based context. Context is critical, and coupled with current discourse around Indigenous rights, environmental sustainability and concerns about the future of our planet, Indigenous architecture as an extension of nature, founded as it is on a symbiotic rather than parasitic or abusive relationship with the natural world is well placed to take on the challenges ahead.

Above all, this chapter has been an attempt to respond to the challenges posed by architects Frank Lloyd Wright and Rewi Thompson to go to the nature study of the circumstances from within and this different approach. This approach is what we now justifiably and proudly call—Indigenous architecture.

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Chapter 13
What's the Story? Contemporary Indigenous Architecture in Practice in Australia

Francoise Lane, Andrew Lane and Kelly Greenop

Introduction

This chapter is based on conversations between architect Andrew Lane and interior designer Francoise Lane, the founding directors of Indij Design. The firm is one of the few Indigenous-owned and operated architecture Practices in Australia, based in Cairns in the far north of the state of Queensland, Australia.

Practitioners often lack time and funding to write for academic publications, and documentation of their work is imperative to demonstrate the value and the challenges for practitioners and the Practice of Indigenous architecture. This chapter is based on an interview between Andrew Lane, Francoise Lane and Kelly Greenop. The interview was transcribed and reviewed by the practitioners.[1] From the transcript, a narrative was developed to explain how the practitioners approach their work, both in respect of their own and other, Indigenous cultures and how they define Indigenous architecture, and the future changes and challenges they foresee in the Practice of Indigenous architecture.

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[1]This chapter has been edited and includes augmented commentary (marked in italics) to provide connection between the sections and is a collaborative effort between the three authors.

The original version of this chapter was revised: Author biography has been updated. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_35

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Who We Are: Indij Design

Andrew Lane is an Indigenous architect, who also holds qualifications in project management (for more detail, see, e.g., Memmott 2007: 307; Lane 2008; Australian Government 2008; Scuttles 2013: 13; Queensland Government 2017; Engineers without Borders Australia 2017). Scuttles described Andrew's career in 2013:

> Andrew Lane became Queensland's first Indigenous registered architect in 2005 and has already left a substantial mark on the industry, particularly in delivering housing and infrastructure to remote communities. Mr Lane was first employed by the Queensland Department of Housing in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Housing section, then by the Centre for Appropriate Technology in Alice Springs where he designed the Yuendumu Art Centre. At present, his work centres around planning building infrastructure and housing projects in small communities throughout Queensland, Torres Strait, Northern Territory, South Australia and Western Australia (2013: 13).

Francoise Lane is an interior architect (for more detail, see, e.g., Arts Queensland 2016; Arts Hub 2016; British Council 2016). The British Council described Lane's background and professional interests:

> Francoise Lane is a Torres Strait Islander woman whose maternal family are from Hammond Island [who has worked as] a freelance commercial and residential designer and consultant in Alice Springs and Cairns …Francoise also specialises in textile design and surface patterns and, in 2013, she developed Indij Prints, a range of bespoke prints that are inspired by her connection to the Torres Strait Islands and are adaptable for interior and architectural application (British Council 2016).

In 2011, the two practitioners founded the design Practice, Indij Design following successful careers in private practise and Government (most often charged with housing delivery in remote contexts and commonly involving projects for Indigenous clients). Hence, both as practitioners and from their own cultural backgrounds, they have extensive experience in consultation and working *for* and *with* Indigenous communities. This is key to their professional practice and that of the firm (Fig. 13.1).

A Philosophy of Design: Respecting and Acknowledging Traditional Owners

KELLY: So, do you want to start by talking about your philosophy on Indigenous architecture?

FRANCOISE: So, what we try to do, and what we try to incorporate into our work, is that with every project, the land on which you are building has a history behind it. And we recognise that part of that history belongs to a group of people, the Indigenous Traditional Owners. So, we like to find out and incorporate what's special about that place to the people who first used that area. Really with our

Fig. 13.1 Andrew and Francoise Lane at the opening of the James Cook University Outdoor Learning Centre in 2014 (*Photograph* Indij Design)

philosophy, we are focused on valuing the connection to Country that people have. So, I think with so many public architecture projects out there, that consideration doesn't take place and there's no thought about that in relation to the cultural history of that site. In Indigenous architecture, we should try to bring in that connection to Country and what that means.

ANDREW: So it's about trying to find out what the Indigenous history of the site is, that you're looking at doing your project on. And that's probably most important if it's a public project. With a public building or a public space, because you're going to have people that are potentially Traditional Owners walking across the site, so you want to be respectful to them about what you do on that site. And part of that understanding is that the land has a history and when you're doing a project, you're actually adding another layer on to that history. We certainly have the view that by finding out what the history of the site is from an Indigenous point of view and whether it was special (sacred) or not, could actually contribute to the design and value add to the design process. Part of it is thinking about actually opening up more design opportunities, as well as being respectful of the history of the site itself.

KELLY: Can you tell me how you go about getting in touch with the Traditional Owners, whether that's something that project funders are happy to include or perhaps are even seeking, when they engage a firm like yours, in particular?

FRANCOISE: What we recognise from the outset, when you look at the historical context of the site, that information is owned by a collective of people. It's not individuals; it's not fixed to one family line. It's a collective of people. So, part of

that—and it's something that I think people who work in this area understand—is that a collective is a large, large group of people. And I think today, that collective ownership is really impacted by clans or nations, and within that, family groups making a claim on that ownership defining who that collective is. In extending an invitation for Traditional Owners to be consulted on public project, we have experienced clients needing help in navigating the cultural considerations and sensitivities prior to a conversation beginning around built environment. Usually we're invited to be a part of that process when the client wants that level of engagement and that they want outcomes from that engagement to be translated and incorporated in some way into the design.

Clients are never really quite ready for how we place value on the knowledge and time of Traditional Owners and how it translates into our process of engagement. Regardless of whether they want us to be undertaking engagement and then translating it into our designs clients are seldom ready, even though we talk to them about this. They're not ready for the transparency and honesty that we have in representing Indigenous groups or Traditional Owners. So, there's one thing to have clients who want to have that Indigenous engagement and to incorporate that into the direction of the design, but it's another thing to get that into the final brief, and furthermore for clients to realise what Indigenous people are actually giving them, and recognising the real value of that information. So, what we want to do is develop the relationship not just with ourselves and the Traditional Owners, but between the Traditional Owners and the client. And we'd like that mutual respect and the awareness that the information being given about the site and its history has a value. For example, there is value placed on and a monetary payment of say, a historian providing consultation services, so likewise there should be value placed on Traditional Owners as consultants providing historical cultural information relevant to the project.

Originally when we started doing community engagement services, we didn't really think about it as "OK, how do you place value on engagement with Traditional Owners and Indigenous people?" Because I think, we weren't quite ready to make the stand to clients in saying "There is value on the Traditional Owners' knowledge and time". The knowledge they're giving you is *their* knowledge and *their* connection to *their* Country. To use the information collected from an engagement without a clear understanding on how that content will be used from both the client/client representative, and Traditional Owners can lead to a situation where there is a rape of their stories and their connection to Country. So, we're very clear about that now with clients, that this should be valued and paid for in terms of monetary payments and also in terms of utilising the content respectfully through memorandums of understanding and contractual agreements for use.

ANDREW: Yes, it's that old story about academics coming into an area, getting all the stories and their PhDs and then the people are left with nothing. Sometimes there's a sense of sharing knowledge during that process. But then the local Indigenous people don't get anything out of it. So, that one of the things, like Francoise said, it's about convincing a client that the knowledge that you get out of these facilitation workshops, whatever the engagement is, has a value on it.

The tricky question comes back, well what is that monetary value? And we simply state, "Well, it's not for us to say". But what we've done on a couple of projects is just put enough respect there to the Traditional Owner Groups, we've engaged with and said "Look, how does this number sound?" And for the most part, those groups have actually just appreciated that you're recognising that their time has a value. And because of the collective nature of Traditional Ownership, we encourage our clients to not pay an individual Traditional Owner but to pay to a registered Indigenous organisation that represents the group that you're engaging with. So, then how that money is divided up within that group is for them to control.

FRANCOISE: We're aware that we have an accountability to make sure that if we're paying for the time of people participating in an engagement, that it goes to an organisation, that there's some trail of accountability from the Indigenous group. The approach of payment to an organisation representing a group works fairly well.

KELLY: Do you think in Australian architecture we've moved beyond using Indigenous knowledge as a token gesture and instead are incorporating it and valuing it in ways that are more than cursory?

ANDREW: I think that some government authorities are an example of that tokenism in engaging Indigenous designers to be involved or "consulting" with the Indigenous community. Where they've engaged us to "do the right thing" in their view (and I'm doing inverted commas here, with the hands) we would put that into the "to tick the black box" approach. But in all of our proposals we put down that if this is a token gesture, then we don't want to be involved. Because we have relationships with the Traditional Owner groups in the region, and we're actually friends with people. And we don't want to be involved in a project where their input hasn't been valued and it's just been to tick the box to say that there was some level of engagement. But with some city councils and other government authorities, I think they've certainly started—they have engaged us to "do the right thing", in inverted commas. But out of that, I think that they've seen, especially with some recent urban design projects using community consultation more fully, that there is a clear value that's been added by doing that. The way that the project has been run, which is different to the way they've done things in the past, has resulted in, I think, a lot of people being really happy with the outcome.

Indigenous Community Engagement Processes and Outcomes

The practitioners discussed specific projects they had worked on and how their process of engagement with the Indigenous community was staged and managed, and what unexpected outcomes sometimes arose from these approaches.

FRANCOISE: Part of our process of undertaking engagement is breaking it up into stages. Firstly, getting information and then verifying the information collected. Then we have a second stage, where we go away and translate that information into a language suitable for the project design team or for the client, whatever it is that they need. The third stage is we take the translated information and meet again with the community and they validate whether we're on the right track or not and we get their support.

So, there's really three stages there to what we do and we explain that in the fee proposal that we give to our clients for our services, that this is what we're going to be doing. We include the fee for the payment to Traditional Owners for their knowledge within our proposal. We make it clear with the client, that the relationships we have with Traditional Owners are good and that part of the reason why Indigenous people are even going to come to the table is because *they know we will be respectful, value their contributions and operate with integrity*. It's been repeatedly said to us by community members, time and time again. So, we have a responsibility not only to the client to produce information that they can use, but also to the Traditional Owners that we incorporate what they would like to see come through in the design. We also endeavour to manage expectations, because not everything that the client or engagement participants' want can or will always happen. But we try to educate people about the process, on both sides of the fence. And we try and bridge that gap in understanding through our services. So, yeah, it's challenging but equally rewarding.

ANDREW: One of the other big things you need to be aware of when you're doing the engagement process with Traditional Owner Groups is making sure you're talking to the right people. That can actually take a bit of research and ringing around. Because I know of examples where someone from the Indigenous community said to the architects on a project, (not one of our projects), "Oh, who did you speak to?" and they have said, "Oh, we spoke to this person". And everyone has just responded, "He doesn't speak for us". It can happen, for example in one project being developed, there was a community man consulted who used to be an ATSIC regional councillor.[2] And he made himself out to be the boss man—a term that is sometimes used to mean community leader. The engineers in this case thought they were talking to the right person, and they didn't go further to find out who else should be involved in conversations about the project. They later found he didn't have the support of the community and they were no longer welcome in the community.

So in our process, in our firm, we clarify, by asking "Do you have the authority to speak on behalf of everyone?" And then when people go, "Yes, I have the authority" we try, with sensitivity, to verify that.

FRANCOISE: And verifying the right people to talk to has been a really interesting one to get responses to. So, representatives have got to be accountable to their own

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[2]ATSIC was the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission which operated from 1990 to 2005, an Australian federal government body through which Indigenous communities were consulted about government policy.

people and we kind of sift through that in our processes of consultation. We have established procedures through our engagement experiences to ensure there is an understanding of responsibility to the larger clan or nation group being represented by the nominated person.

ANDREW: And we keep that recorded, so there is transparency. We are transparent about who we speak to, who attended community workshops. And we record the events and material produced at workshops. So, if anyone else from the group says "I didn't hear about this workshop, can you tell me what went on?" Well, we're happy to share that information, because it's about being transparent.

Advocacy for Indigenous Involvement in Major Public Architecture Projects

Francoise Lane described how in the lead up to the design of a major architectural project in their region, other Indigenous architects questioned why the Indigenous community of the region and Indigenous architects and designers had not been consulted. This advocacy resulted in some important changes in approach by the client resulting in a more genuine Indigenous engagement for the project. Unfortunately, this project was not realised but the concept of valuing Indigenous input was sown and used in other projects.

FRANCOISE: "Cairns City Centre Alive, Shields Street Heart Upgrade" is a project that demonstrates the wide reaching benefits of the Indigenous engagement process working well. The Indigenous stakeholders' feedback was valued and incorporated into the design. Participants could see the way the streetscape artworks reflected common identified themes. The procurement process of the artworks respected the rights of artists. Indigenous artists and emerging artists had opportunity to work in collaboration with speciality trades to realise their artworks applied to the built environment. This was empowering for the artists involved. Having support for emerging Indigenous artists to work with manufacturers, where they are building up their skills to the standard required for a public urban streetscape is very valuable. Most of Indij Design's recommendations put forward on that project, really came out of the mouths of participants from our engagement.

KELLY: Do you think that constant political and activist pressure is needed to make governments and all sorts of organisations step up to the plate to take on Indigenous issues in multiple ways?

FRANCOISE: Yes, absolutely. And I think what we're bringing to that conversation around Indigenous architecture is value and recognising there is a history to the land and a narrative belonging to a group of people. That it's not about saying, "Yes, this place belongs to the Traditional Owners", and then not recognising that you haven't spoken to enough people. I think that on public projects in particular, whoever's doing the engagement—and I'd love to see large architectural firms

recognising that it is really important, to get the Indigenous engagement methodology process right and make it meaningful to all stakeholders.

FRANCOISE: To me, it's important that the bigger built environment public projects done in major cities identify the value and necessity for an Indigenous engagement methodology to be incorporated into the project submission and is requested at the tender stage. We don't know currently how thorough this is and whether those conducting the engagement have the cultural awareness and knowledge to provide tailored and appropriate engagement services.

KELLY: I don't think it's currently mandated in major public design projects in any part of Australia. But do you think that that's something that should be mandated?

FRANCOISE: Yes, I do.

ANDREW: In public spaces.

FRANCOISE: For public works, yes.

ANDREW: Because there have been at various times, for example, mandates for public art in a major development and it used to be that a certain percentage of the budget had to be spent on public art, which is why you end up with all these sculptures out the front of government buildings and so on. So, you know, ideas about how major projects contribute to a wider culture have been implemented before. I do have the view that people creating the projects, whether they be government or developers doing major public works, would be more encouraged to go through the Indigenous engagement process, if they saw the value in the end product. We need to showcase the success of this approach in completed projects and say, "Look at that project. How would that be different if we hadn't sought the contribution of the Indigenous community? Could that project have proceeded as well?" So, I think the more projects that go through that engagement process and you can see where the input from the Traditional Owner Groups has been, the more you will see that there's been a value added there. I think that will make it easier for future projects to realise that it is well worth spending the money on, because we can see that there actually is a value to the design and the outcome of the project, it's not just ticking a box.

Improved Design Outcomes Follow from Indigenous Engagement in Projects

Francoise Lane and Andrew Lane discussed some projects they had worked on or seen come to fruition and explained the kinds of design features and outcomes that one might expect to see, and how these relate to their original philosophy of the importance of land and the connection to Country and the knowledge of Traditional Owners.

ANDREW: I think it was last year (2016), we were asked for a proposal from an architect and it was for major public project in Cairns. And it was to do Indigenous engagement and I very clearly stated in our proposal, that if this is just a tick and

flick thing, then we don't need to be involved. If you want a statue of a Traditional Owner or a nice painting on the wall, just go to the Indigenous art collective.

The key difference is that what we want to do is to actually affect the design, to have input into the design and to have the design changed in response to what is going on. So, for this major project instead, we identified some sight lines to very significant places for Indigenous people. And I pointed this out during the workshops with the Traditional Owner Groups: I said, we can put in sight lines and nobody else has to know about it, you can retain your knowledge while also providing a design strategy that will be meaningful to the Indigenous community. So when you come to the project site and turn around and look, it actually frames a view towards a significant mountain, and there are several of them around here. Then, that's one way that we can change the design, so that it actually makes it a more welcoming place for the Indigenous community. That was one of the things we were pushing for in the project, was "how do we make this space a comfortable space for Indigenous people?"

KELLY: Do you think that as there is more success for Indigenous architects and designers, that there will be a building up of recognition and momentum in this area? Are you hopeful, or do you see it still as a bit of a struggle?

FRANCOISE: I think we've still got quite a way to go. We need to value the way in which you can transfer Indigenous information into a design language that is meaningful to the Indigenous participants. They need to be able to see how their contribution has been translated into the design language and that the design team have actually responded to that through their work. I think we've got a way to go. In one example, our professional involvement was initially just contracted for that first stage of community engagement, even though there were three stages to that project's engagement. We were at completion of the first stage of gathering information, and then the architectural team invited Andrew and I to continue onto their design team, because they saw that the way that we interpreted the information from the community was really useful. They couldn't provide that interpretation and translation into a design language—which I found surprising, because I just thought they would be able to do this. But some of the community's suggestions for imagery that came up were about turtles being in the area and the different traditional tools being made from the turtle's shell. So, personal items like turtle-shell combs and things like that. And one of the translations of that community input that I put across into design was that we could utilise that beautiful pattern of the shells overlapping on the turtle's back. Or we could even do a translucent image of the colours of the turtle's shell and put that on to a wall. I gave examples of how you could incorporate these and put it in a significant location in the building, that Indigenous people would go, "Oh, yeah, that turtle shell", and you know, they would have this immediate connection to Country or to animals or to their memories of hunting.

ANDREW: Or families.

FRANCOISE: Or of their grandmother combing their hair when they were younger with the turtle comb. All these lovely connections that come from having something so simple as that and the design team just recognised that the way we could

translate some of these stories was something that they really struggled with. So, we were invited on to the team, but unfortunately, there was a change in Council and Mayor and that got canned.

ANDREW: Yeah. It costs money, which is always the issue that people have.

FRANCOISE: And so it should cost money. But some clients don't value it.

FRANCOISE: A really important point that I want to convey about consulting with the community is that within an area, with every project, there is a new site and there should be a new consultation with the community for each new project. The point we make back to our client, is that the information gathered from a conversation process on one project, does not mean they have the authority to use that content in another project. So, we've become a bit smarter about the way in which we set the permissions for use of Indigenous knowledge and we get that permission from the initial outset of the engagement session with the Indigenous community, that their information is only going to be used for this project and should another project come along, that the client is not welcome just to go back and use their community's information again. Because it may not be applicable to the site or to the people who belong to that area. We also view the content shared during engagement being Indigenous Cultural Intellectual Property (ICIP) belonging to a collective of people where permission is granted to utilise the content for a single project application. This can be likened to single-use license agreements for the use of an artwork to a single application (Figs. 13.2, 13.3 and 13.4).

Fig. 13.2 James Cook University Outdoor Learning Centre (*Photograph* Indij Design)
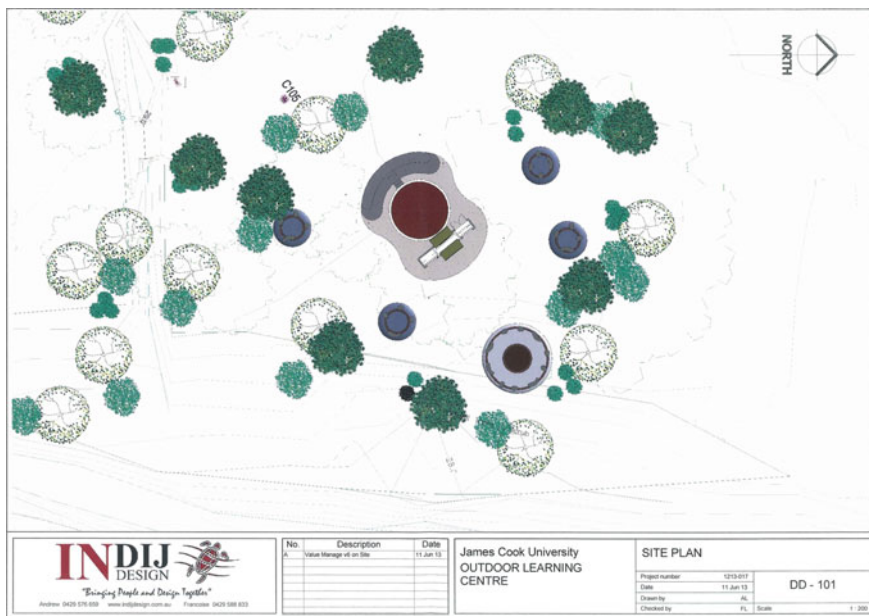
Fig. 13.3 Plan, James Cook University Outdoor Learning Centre (*Drawing* Indij Design)

What Is Indigenous Architecture?

A key question for architects as a profession and for Indigenous communities is "What is Indigenous architecture?" This draws in issues around what the role of Indigenous communities is, or should be when projects are planned; how should Indigenous communities be consulted and what could the role—albeit rarely seen in Australia as yet—of Indigenous architects and designers be? Francoise and Andrew Lane discussed what—if anything—they perceived Indigenous architecture to be and why it matters. As Indigenous architects and designers, they discussed their role, their ethics and approach, their responsibilities and their views on how non-Indigenous architects fit into this realm.

KELLY: I was interested in something you were touching on, Francoise, that you were surprised that the other designers didn't have the same skill level in say, abstracting something like a history of turtles and turtle hunting into the design of a project, but they were obviously really impressed with what you and Andrew were able to come up with. Do you think that there are just such different ways of thinking, being an Indigenous person that you have skills that are hard for you to even recognise as different? And that that's something that you have to offer as part of your business, to ask yourselves actually, "What do we do that's different and that is really much more skilled or culturally specific?" and articulate that to your clients.

Fig. 13.4 Andrew and Francoise Lane on site at the Synapse Health Care facility, Cairns in 2017 —joint venture design with People Oriented Design (POD) (*Photograph* Indij Design)

FRANCOISE: I know, I've thought about that kind of question before, Kelly. And it just might seem like, we have the knowledge and nobody else does, and I don't think that's the case. Different designers, they do and can work really differently. Even between Andrew and I. Andrew has more of a technical brain, and mine is kind of that loose, free, artistic mind. And how I approach design is from that angle. Whereas Andrew approaches it from the more technical side, even though he's creative as well. So, look, I don't think that you have to be Indigenous to get it, just a person who can listen and have a willingness to respond to the Indigenous imperatives through the design. To say that "I can do this, because I'm Indigenous", when I'm actually receiving information from a nation or a clan of people that I have no connection to, to say that I understand their culture and I know about their culture and whatever else, wouldn't be true. And I don't. I'm a Torres Strait

Islander woman and I don't know the nuances and the differences between the different Nation and Clan groups across Australia. I have some idea. But when we go into a consultation, I'm listening. I'm actively listening. And again, trying to understand their connection to that Country, their story.

But our approach is quite different to some. Ours is about people and looking at the land itself. The land has an energy that's connected to people. And in some of my limited talkings with other Indigenous people, the energy that they feel and that connection towards the land, what makes it come alive is that interaction between people and Country. And they have stories to pass on and the activities done on that Country also add to that connection and life and death of members of family, passing on that Country and just knowing that ancestry line. Picking up on the beautiful places—like the sea—and relationship of animals and weather, for example, a patch of breeze coming through in a certain way and you think, that's not normal, what does that mean? And you might recognise that as the spirit of a lost one who's passed. There's so much to how people are connected to land. And I don't think that's unique to Indigenous people alone.

ANDREW: I just think a lot of non-Indigenous people grow up in cities and that's all they know. You know, I mean, people go out to the bush and then go "Wow, something's different". And there's a different energy and a different pace, I think most of it is they're just slowing down, you know?

KELLY: This brings us to the question of what is Indigenous architecture?

ANDREW: For me, it's many things and nothing, all at the same time. In the sense that people need to categorise stuff, why does that exist? Yes, I'm an Indigenous architect, but I say to clients that I'm actually an architect first. I have a love of design and stuff like that. I just happen to be Aboriginal. So, does that being Aboriginal, does that mean every piece of architecture I do is Indigenous architecture?

KELLY: Yes, great question. Is it?

ANDREW: I would say no. For me, part of a design being "Indigenous architecture" is whether I can identify an Indigenous influence in the design, whether that design's been done by an Indigenous person or a non-Indigenous person, I actually don't think matters. Because I think a good architect will grasp and understand a brief and deliver to the client what they want.

FRANCOISE: That's essential in our information (Fig. 13.5).

ANDREW: Well, that's kind of the caveat there, is getting that information. And one of the things that we have found is that us being Indigenous in the engagement process, we've had clients say they wouldn't even get a foot in the door of the community, because they're not trusted for whatever reason. So, there is a higher level of trust in an Indigenous consultant working on behalf of an organisation, rather than the organisation doing that themselves. But that also carries a greater responsibility. You don't want to abuse that trust. It's all—everything's about relationships. And yeah, I mean, I had a situation when I was out at Cloncurry working on a project for an Indigenous housing organisation. And the manager from the organisation I was meeting with started to go on a rant about how government people want to control everything, control the money and it was in reference to the project, which was housing renovations, so kitchens and bathrooms and so on. And then she started on

Fig. 13.5 Mornington Island Youth Media Building (*Photograph* Indij Design)

her rant and then looked at me and she went, "Oh, you're Indigenous, aren't you?" And I went "yeah". And she went, "Oh, okay". And then she realised at least the project manager was Indigenous and they had more of a chance of him listening to what they really needed. So, we have found that being Indigenous has at least helped people get a foot in the door in that engagement process.

FRANCOISE: Yeah, one of the really big troubles for me, on Indigenous architecture is when it comes down to, you know, shelter and housing and that, for Indigenous people, a lot of us are still struggling with having appropriate housing for the areas in which we live or for our behaviours, everyday behaviours and having other people's values forced upon us. I'm just really frustrated that there is still that method of housing procurement from government, which means that housing being provided to these remote areas where nearly all residents are Indigenous, is—other than providing a shelter from the elements—inconsiderate of the way in which people live and use the dwelling. I think there has to be continuing pressure to government, that they have a responsibility to the health, to the well-being, to the social implications of the designs being put out there. I think there needs to be a lot more pressure there, so that they're thinking about a percentage of work going out to regional and remote communities, that allows for new design work, for exploration of new housing solutions and that the process allows for engagement with the community. Recognising that every community can be different.

For example, I know that some communities need to be a lot more defensive than those up in the islands where I am from. So, people in some communities want to sit around their houses, in locations where they can see people approaching. And the

design of the houses doesn't allow for that. They don't allow for that surveillance, to see who's approaching their property. And there have been really awful kinds of abusive confrontations, even with government service providers going out and doing home visits. I know of an incidence where a government service provider was met with the householder confronting them with a knife because the householders got a shock at the visitors' sudden approach. Maybe it's because he thinks it could be someone else or culturally the clan group is more aggressive in behaviours. So, there's some real—there are some serious issues with housing that is affecting the safety of people in communities and I'm just so frustrated that it still continues to this day. And Queensland is a shocker, for government, just not progressing in that area. ANDREW: Back in 2007, after I registered as an architect, I was interviewed on Australian Broadcasting Commission Radio National on "Conversations Hour", and towards the end of the interview, the host said, "Okay, so you're an Indigenous architect. So, you have the solution for Indigenous housing?" And, after a little pregnant pause, I just simply said, "As long as Aboriginal people—as long as Indigenous people continue to be individuals, there will be no *one* solution to housing". And I think again, it comes back to the dollars being invested. Like, when people said that the National Aboriginal Health Strategy was expensive in delivering housing. And it was, but the community was consulted about the sort of housing that it wanted. And there was a design process, where the architects worked with the Councils to give—to design the housing that they were looking for.

Afterword

In 2016, Francoise Lane was awarded an Accelerate Fellowship which took her to the UK to develop her creative leadership skills. Francoise has been working with textile and surface design, and has been working to develop her fabrics into clothing, soft furnishings and furniture applications. Francoise curated the Cape York Art Award 2017 at the Laura Aboriginal Dance Festival.

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Authors' Biographies

Francoise Lane graduated from Queensland University of Technology with a Bachelor of Built Environment (Interior design) in 1995. She has an ability to draw from people their ideas, plans and motivations which proves valuable in the critical brief development stage. Francoise Lane is a Torres Strait Islander woman whose maternal family are from Hammond Island.

Andrew Lane is one of only a few Aboriginal architects registered in Australia. Since 1994 Andrew has focussed his career on housing and infrastructure in Indigenous communities across regional and remote Australia. Andrew, with his wife Francoise, runs Indij Architectural and Interior Design—an architectural design Practice based in Far North Queensland.

Dr Kelly Greenop is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Architecture at The University of Queensland. She conducts research within Aboriginal Environments Research Centre (AERC) and Architecture Theory Criticism History Research Centre (ATCH). Her research has focused on work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in urban Brisbane, using ethnographic techniques to document place experiences and attachment, and the importance of housing, place, family and country for urban Indigenous peoples. She was elected to membership of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in 2009 and has received multiple awards for research and teaching.

Chapter 14
Mobilising Indigenous Agency Through Cultural Sustainability in Architecture: Are We There Yet?

Carroll Go-Sam and Cathy Keys

Introduction

This chapter proposes that architectural projects, for, with and by Indigenous people, could have more leverage if the goals of cultural sustainability were adopted, thereby mobilising greater participation and agency more effectively. The sustainability agenda advances resource accountability to moderate economic growth providing socio-economic benefits for future generations. This concern was first raised about the overdeveloped Western world; however, drawing on the writings of Indigenous and other scholars, we found that socio-economic sustainability concepts derived from Western paradigms are not easily adapted to all circumstances and development practices, because Indigenous Australians have not benefited to anything like the same degree as their non-Indigenous counterparts, somewhat undermining cultural sustainability. Our aim is to explore how the goals of cultural sustainability can mobilise Indigenous agency to greater effect across architecture and associated design environments.

While there has been growing interest in the ways sustainability and architecture overlap, there is a knowledge gap on how Indigeneity, sustainability and architecture might intersect. To address this deficit, we consider the cultural sustainability framework recently made explicit in the Soini and Dessein ([2016]), *Culture-Sustainability Relation: Towards a Conceptual Framework*. The integrated conceptual framework defined the role of culture in sustainable development and provided a means of addressing the critical gap between ecological and sociological aspects of architecture across Indigenous Australia. The framework has a policy and

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research focus offering three distinct categories that further divide into eight structural dimensions. The three representations expressed as Culture in Sustainability, Culture for Sustainability and Culture as Sustainability each have distinguishing features determined by the varied role culture 'plays in sustainable development'. In addition to defining the role of culture, its associated values and interrelationships with development, society and nature, contrasting modes of governance are also incorporated.

Sustainable development frameworks applied cross-culturally appear to privilege Western modes of thinking, increasing the complexity of how they have been interpreted, adopted, modified and challenged at various sites around the world. Soini and Dessein (2016: 5) refer to the capacity of cultural sustainability frameworks to respond to nuances of local circumstances, cultural diversity and participant aspirations. However, debates around sustainable development have highlighted the critical role social dimensions hold in achieving outcomes (Boström 2012) with policy-makers and scholars taking an increasing interest in the role of culture as a transforming aspect of sustainability (Auclair and Fairclough 2015). Cultural sustainability aims to resolve the exclusion of culturally embedded behaviours, recognising that achievements in sustainability are dependent on human agents, their associated beliefs, accounts and behaviours (Soini and Dessein 2016: 1, 6). Burgeoning cultural themes in architecture from the late 1980s encouraged Indigenous participation in design. Globally, post-colonial nation states, Canada, the USA and Aotearoa New Zealand, have demonstrated a willingness to incorporate Indigenous cultural themes; however, in later decades, these pursuits have competed with rising sustainability agendas across architecture. While architectural discourses about Indigenous themes in post-colonial Australia have centred on how this has contributed to, or detracted from settler identities, questions over methods of inclusion, levels of involvement and long-term outcomes for Indigenous stakeholders have not been fully explored. Relationships between culture, sustainability and architecture designed with and for Indigenous clients and stakeholders are indeed complex. By applying the concept of cultural sustainability to architectural projects, we aim to present opportunities to negotiate architectural development contexts in culturally specific ways that provide governance and material benefits to Indigenous agents beyond the immediate objectives of procurement.

Contemporary Indigenous Cultures and Architecture in Australia

Present-day Australian Indigenous cultures are diverse and do not resemble the social world views formerly lived and practised. The flows shaping current perceptions of Indigenous culture and social identity in architecture over several decades have shifted from civil rights to cultural celebration. Cultural recognition also shifted from concerns about representation to concerns about unequal power relationships. However, preoccupations with cultural identities has led to

misconceptions, mythologising and fixing culture as resistant to external influences. Cultural ideologies about ecology illustrate how Indigenous people are polemically framed as caretakers and not exploiters of land. Other representations statistically describe Indigenous people as lagging in socio-economic outcomes. These indices are reported by the Australian Government as a gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous outcomes, against key measures of health, housing employment, education and income (AIHW 2015; Commonwealth of Australia, 2015) but, may unintentionally restrict Indigenous people as deficient, lacking capacity and agency. Architecture is not immune to this focus on differences between Indigenous peoples and others. However, by increasing understanding of Indigenous economic and other aspirations, the profession may recognise the critical role architecture can play in facilitating capacities that further cultural sustainability. Additionally, we need not overlook other changes architectural developments could achieve by mobilising Indigenous participation and agency more effectively.

Australian social identity emerged from constructions of British imperialism in the sixteenth to twenty-first centuries. This was somewhat weakened by rearrangements of place and space through "migrants, slaves, indentured labourers, convicts, refugees or seekers of wealth during the colonial era" (Mar and Edmonds 2010: 1). Formative national identities of the new colony were founded on the heroism of 'daring explorers and stoic settlers' as 'conquerors of a forbidding landscape'. This narrative overlooked forcible appropriations of lands and the consequences upon 250 Indigenous language groups. Australian identities recalibrated national identity after waves of post-war immigrants and refugees from Europe and Asia settled (McGaw and Pieris 2015: 9–12). Contemporary Indigenous culture and social identities are often conceptualised as being shaped by influences of traditional Indigenous knowledge systems, place affiliations and post-colonial histories. Indigenous Australians are descendants of two distinct sub-populations, comprised of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who formerly inhabited distinctly different parts of the continent and Oceania, yet shared a transition zone between northern Cape York and Western Torres Strait Islands (Memmott 2007: 18). Historically, both groups are distinguished by separate land and sea affiliations, linguistic, architectural and cultural variance, emerging simultaneously from different historical, geographic, social, cultural and economic experiences. The Indigenous population in 2014 was approximately 713,600 with Aboriginal Australians numbering 649,900 and Torres Strait Islanders accounting for 63,700. Rowse (2014: 301) identified that "diverse Indigeneities" resulted in dissimilar responses, understandings, perceptions, beliefs and practices. Indigenous lands and discrete Indigenous communities occupy about one-fifth of the Australian continent. However, it is estimated that 79% of Indigenous Australians do not live on their homelands, but largely reside in major cities, regional areas and remote townships with only 21% on traditional country or lands. Conversely, 98% of non-Indigenous Australians live in urban areas and two per cent live in remote areas (AIHW 2015: 13).

Culture-based development trends in Europe and elsewhere can be retraced to the search for new economic horizons with increased interest in the economic potential of cultural perspectives and tourism-led cultural consumption. However, these goals

were somewhat restrained by environmental politics (Lysgard 2013; McGaw and Pieris 2015). In Australian contexts, developments for and about Indigenous peoples remained heavily invested in culturally inspired concerns. Here, Indigenous cultural representations occurred across multiple geographies and architectural types. Numerous building types incorporated Indigenous themes across public infrastructure, health, education, tourism, culture, arts, housing and the judiciary. All come under the label Indigenous architecture, mirroring desires for cross-cultural exchange that aligned with the objectives of reconciliation and opened a further dialogue between monoculture, Indigeneity and other cultures (McGaw and Pieris 2015: 26–27). Indigenous Australians engaged in consensual, negotiated design to meet the demand for iconic depictions of Indigeneity, generating shared cultural understanding and representations (Cowlishaw 2011: 174). State or Commonwealth initiatives reflected shifts towards integrative governance in the late twentieth century that sought to assimilate Indigenous difference and culture into the nation state (Walter and Andersen 2013: 22; Povinelli 2010: 23). The implication of this increasing architectural presence is revealed in McGaw and Pieris' (2015: 1–2) exploration of the cultural centre building type. They identify persistent tensions between local and global demands, with some productions appearing to serve the interests of others, having the barest relationships with Indigenous stakeholders during and beyond procurement. This contestation between stakeholders and objectives was not confined to external relationships between Indigenous people and others but also occurred within Indigenous domains.

As Indigenous identities were increasingly incorporated into cultural developments, concerns were raised about how knowledge was transferred and transformed by architectural procurement processes, leading to the conclusion that existing power imbalances were being perpetuated (Dovey and McDonald 1996; Lochert 1997; Message 2009). The forces of modernity constantly change culture and State-sponsored imaginings according to some, have contributed to quixotic visions of Indigeneity (Dovey & McDonald 1996). There has also been a tendency in Australia to mythologise Indigenous culture as if it is impervious to external demands and influences. Cultural change and adaptation were often seen to occur more rapidly in urban centres. However, this conception ignored how remote residents have been equally transformed by human agency, social relationships, social construction (Peterson 2015: 493; Douglas 2015: 34; Greenop 2013: 30–34; Martin 2003: 9) and by modernity (Walter & Andersen 2013: 68–69). According to Peterson (2010: 251–253), the ideational characterisation of Indigenous culture ignores that the material world and culture are sociologically interactive and that no human is immune to change. Povinelli (2010: 29) prefers "cultural recognition" or "institutionalised difference" over cultural ideation to describe transformational influences. The writer considers these influences as 'disrupting Indigenous socialities', thereby creating 'partial political fields of cultural recognition [by] enshrining incommensurate forms of culture'. This disturbing tendency to taxonomise Indigenous people according to degrees of cultural demonstration has redistributed them into confined categories of extremes, 'traditional, historical, too cultural, (and) not cultural enough'.

In urban Australia, cultural discourse is skewed towards politicisation of cultural representations linked to cultural survival, revival or reconciliation, attachments and contestations of place. Cowlishaw (2010: 222) illustrates how the desire for Aboriginality creates highly politicised exchanges and inventions of customs that work against unity through isolating ethnicised and racialised difference. In referring to "dispersed conditions created by suburbia", Cowlishaw (2011: 171–174, 182) further observed contemporary representations of Indigeneity selectively pursue separatist constructions of an "*ancient* culture" imbued with tradition or "'sentimental politics' of regret and reparation". Transformations in Indigenous attachments to ancestral lands have tended to be surpassed by sociality, heightened by the immediacy of nearby connections to place. This is illustrated by ongoing attachments to place within remote urban towns and urban capital city suburbs of Inala, Queensland and Redfern, New South Wales. The in-depth study of the south-western Brisbane suburb of Inala, explored by Greenop (2013: 23, 39, 60), advances multi-layered, hierarchical place attachments, and contestations are deeply rooted where Indigenous people presently reside. Since the 1970s, Sydney's infamous inner-city suburb of Redfern evoked debates about place contestation and aspirations for self-determination (Anderson 2000). It is a place of persistent Indigenous presence, first known as a centre for Indigenous rights, but later developed a chequered social reputation (Pitts 2008). Indigenous place in Redfern was established by cultural, educational and care facilities and has been revitalised by new Aboriginal institutional architecture (McGaw & Pieris 2015: 189–195). Place attachments are not just an urban phenomenon (Petersen 2015: 491). Place significance of homelands has been supplanted by priorities of Aboriginal agency as a distinct self-determining influence, along with social exchange networks and agendas of everyday life.

Across remote, regional and urban Australian geographies, many Indigenous inhabitants are embedded in concerns of race, place, reparation, reconciliation and ecology. Ongoing contestations alert us that cultural frameworks understood from multidisciplinary perspectives may assist in illuminating complexities that have emerged from sustainability debates, in particular those that exclude culturally differentiated social realms. Cultural sustainability aims to resolve divisions arising from taxonomising cultures, by incorporating culture as a parallel and equal dimension of sustainable development.

Sustainability Agendas and Cultural Sustainability

In some regions of Australia, sustainability has become synonymous with community closures under controversial welfare reform policies that seek to rationalise government expenditure towards denser townships and regional centres. Still, there exist assumptions that Indigenous ecological practices and beliefs naturally align with environmental sustainability; however, these conclusions are partially undermined by Indigenous and other academics (Langton 2012a, b; Pearson 2000, 2001;

Altman 2001, 2005, 2006, 2010). Indigenous scholars and advocates have expressed misgivings about sustainability agendas that confine Indigenous peoples to being conservators of land. Moreover, the international adoption of sustainability frameworks has been criticised for advancing technical and scientific principles in response to environmental impacts, while excluding socio cultural dimensions that drive world views and consumption practices (Pieris 2010: 27). Discussions on sustainability agendas and cultural sustainability in Australia emphasise that they should be considered in the context of Indigenous disadvantage and economic development. While sustainable development may have gained broad traction internationally and nationally, some Indigenous Australian perspectives do not neatly align with the broad tenets of sustainability principles.

The United Nations General Assembly (2005: 13) responded to urban global growth, stating that sustainable Indigenous communities and development should include dimensions of economic viability, social equity and environmental responsibility. Sirgy (2011: 16) defined sustainable communities as those that aim to meet the ideals of social aspirations along with concepts of well-being and environmental objectives. The notion that a community should enable people to reach a higher quality of life, 'so its members can lead healthy, productive, enjoyable lives', achieved through enhanced, economic, environmental and social opportunities typifies the concerns of the sustainability agenda. However, applying economic vitality is challenging in remote and very remote Australia where disparity is heightened. Here, Indigenous people continue to live in underdeveloped or poorly developed communities, often without adequate governance systems, prohibiting economic opportunity and advancement (Ho et al. 2006; McGrath et al. 2006: 56; Newman 2006: 15). However, barriers caused by lack of opportunities and inequitable access to resources in remote and urban areas only partially explain Indigenous tensions with sustainability.

The economic reality and the living circumstances of many Indigenous peoples figure prominently in debates about sustainability and cultural sustainability. We have found that most writing in the field is focused on remote and outer regional sustainability, rather than urban areas, where the socio-economic difference is perceived as less acute. Whether to pursue integrated or separate opportunities for Indigenous economic development is a complex matter. According to Biddle (2013: ii), "Indigenous Australians experience higher levels of socio-economic disadvantage compared to non-Indigenous population in the same area". He further ascribes these variations to geography, asserting that "there was a higher level of disadvantage in remote parts of the country, [although] there was significant variation within location types. There are many disadvantaged urban areas and many relatively advantaged ones in remote and regional Australia". There exists a broad literature on Indigenous economic development that extends beyond architecture, covering issues of community infrastructure, housing sustainability and cultural sustainability. Vast distances separate over one thousand discrete remote Indigenous settlements from economic centres. The majority are a legacy of previous government policies where Indigenous settlements were funded and consolidated with State finances. A large number of these settlements are in Western Australia and the Northern Territory,

where they vary in size, population, remoteness and distance from major townships. Characteristically, a number of these settlements have at least a 60% proportion of Indigenous Australians. Some locations have nearly 2,000 inhabitants, reaching the scale of small remote townships, while others have 50 or fewer, largely consisting of extended kin households. Between 2014 and 2016, a heated public debate raged over government plans to withdraw economic and infrastructure support from small settlements with an Indigenous population of 200 or fewer residents. (Go-Sam & Memmott 2016: 53).

Settlement and development sustainability also advances resource accountability as a moderating force on economic growth providing enduring socio-economic benefits for future generations (Newman 2006: 6; Brundtland 1987). This largely applies to the overdeveloped Western world, but a significant proportion of Indigenous Australians have not benefited to anything like the same degree as their non-Indigenous counterparts. They lack the stable economic livelihoods that could undermine cultural sustainability outcomes (Newman 2006: 8–15; Fisher 2006: 25–26). The debate in Australia has centred on what constitutes sustainable and economic development. Sustainability agendas have sometimes been questionably applied to impoverished Indigenous people. Government welfare reform in Australia, for example, has led to threatened settlement closures justified by merging neoliberal economic rationalisation with concepts of sustainability. The implication has been that remote Indigenous communities typified by small populations and minimal infrastructure were declared either economically or socially unsustainable. Larger populations with supporting infrastructure were defined in government policy as sustainable due to centralised services, but these may not necessarily have the capacity to alleviate Indigenous disadvantage. Assessments of communities with low or inconsistent population numbers have amplified government concerns over persistent levels of disadvantage. Leading causes identified were poor infrastructure resulting in limited opportunities for full economic engagement, high welfare dependency and intractable social problems (Kagi 2014; Stein 2015; O'Connor 2016a, b; Rothwell 2013; Sanders 2010; Carson et al. 2008; Altman et al. 2008). Sustainability has become associated with community closures, government infrastructure and service withdrawal for many remote Indigenous communities impacted by these reforms. Effectively, the term 'sustainable' acquired politically fluid meanings about what constituted efficient development under the implementation of reform policy.

Key contributors to the cultural sustainability debate see solutions for addressing remote Indigenous disadvantage as either economic development or cultural survival (Churchin 2015: 413). The size of Indigenous economies in remote regions where custodial land ownership more often than not is recognised presents distinctive opportunities and challenges. Aboriginal academics Langton (2012b, c) and Pearson (2000, 2001) advocate economic development as a solution to disadvantage, by challenging the assumption that Indigenous people share similar perspectives and aspirations about environmental sustainability and development. They have argued that differing social and economic circumstances arising from dependency on the welfare economy in remote Australia requires an integration of,

and not retreat from, the mainstream or 'real economy'. Langton targets the green movement and its utopian definitions of 'wilderness' as problematic. The declaration of wilderness regions and the narrow utilisation of national parks have economic implications. Muecke (2005: 62) describes the idealised aims of the green agenda, which can exclude Indigenous utility of areas, noting "'wilderness' can too easily link up with the romantic conception of a primal paradise, where human presence—including Indigenous ancestral occupation—is effaced". Langton (2012b) asserts that 'green ideology' places environmental sustainability above economic activity, negatively affecting Indigenous economic advancement and entrenching poverty. 'Wilderness ideology and its fixed cultural views of Indigenous peoples as the ultimate conservators', as Langton suggests, have locked up remote regions, preventing Indigenous people there from engaging in intensive, land-based economies. In summary, Langton sees a dichotomy between nature conservation objectives and Indigenous economic aspirations. In some contexts, Indigenous attitudes to land utilisation and values appear more aligned with rural land-based economic development objectives of mining and pastoralism industries than environmental sustainability.

Influential counter arguments to economic development support cultural sustainability and see Indigenous initiatives more aligned with the green movement. Government-funded programmes such as "Caring for Country" or "Working on Country" seek to fund Indigenous traditional owners to manage natural resources on land and sea (Thomassin 2016: 97–106). In south-western Gulf of Carpentaria, traditional owners remove feral cats and use traditional fire management practices as a means of offsetting greenhouse emissions. Other activities include contesting environmental destruction and contamination caused by resource extraction industries (Kerins & Green 2016: 112–120). Small-scale activities such as those incorporating traditional economies have been classified as hybrid economies because they sit outside State and market sectors. Sanders (2016: 2–10) illuminated some successes and failures of hybrid economies as well as the vagaries of mainstream economies in remote Australia (see also Altman 2001, 2005, 2006, 2010). Still other cultural sustainability advocates nominate Aboriginal agency as a priority, arguing for objectives that encourage autonomy and self-direction. But this stance has attracted criticism for overlooking the range of development imbalances in remote Indigenous Australia. Some key barriers put forward against hybrid economies and autonomy include limited or non-existent local governance systems (Newman 2006; Moran 2006); poverty and associated issues of equitable rights to sustainable service delivery (Ho et al. 2006); technological access (McGinley et al. 2006); housing deficits (Biddle 2012); health outcomes and reduced access to economic benefits experienced by mainstream Australia (Mathew 2006).

In addition to the lack of governance structures, stable economies and accessible services, there are concerns about integration with global or national markets. In some regions, economic realities and vast distances prohibit the long-term viability of either small-scale or mainstream economies. Martin and Martin (2016: 214–223) identify four distinct factors in remote Indigenous economic development contexts in Cape York that increase economic uncertainty: firstly, the vast distance from

mainstream markets; secondly, shifts in government political cycles; thirdly, local politics; and lastly the tendency to practise Indigenous agency through dependency, rather than through independence. They argue that this effectively creates reliance on government and regional organisations to continually support initiatives. Additionally, small-scale or large-scale remote economies connected to global markets can equally experience vulnerabilities. International economies can deflate, lowering demands for Indigenous cultural products, extracted resources or pastoral exports (Altman 2016: 282, 295; Connolly & Orsmond 2011: 4; Puig et al. 2011: 181–182). Debate about the viability of small-scale Indigenous developments on remote homelands continues in the search for diverse solutions and approaches. What are the strengths and weaknesses of hybrid economic models, and what are the long-term economic and social implications of segregation from denser Indigenous communities, troubled as they may be by socio cultural problems and divisive politics (Altman 2001, 2005, 2006, 2010; Peterson & Myers 2016; Sanders 2016).

Indigenous tensions with sustainability are located between the spectra of competing visions, but they also indicate how Indigenous people and others seek to modify policies. Particular representations of Indigeneity have played a central role in the perceived tension between Indigenous aspirations and sustainable development concepts. They have been used to frame a set of principles and values about resource management, but simultaneously lack an understanding of Indigenous economic realities and aspirations. Tacit assumptions that Indigenous people are natural conservators misaligned with modernity and industrialisation (Langton 2012a) inform how restrictive cultural portrayals impact on economic sustainability. In certain contexts, sustainability has alliances with contemporary Indigenous rights and aspirations, specifically in land- and sea-based management involving biodiversity conservation, resource management, traditional resource utilisation and protected areas management (Altman et al. 2008: 2–4). The above issues highlight the need for an increased understanding of lived realities and the constraints or advantages of geography, governance and economies. Without an understanding of such conditions, overlaying sustainability frameworks may add further burdens upon underdeveloped Indigenous communities. Still, where does architecture fit into a discourse of culturally sustainable development for Indigenous Australians regardless of where they live?

A Framework for Conceptualising Culture, Sustainability and Architecture

In considering a framework for conceptualising where culture might intersect with sustainability and architecture, we pose three related questions. What is culture and how is it conceptualised? How might culture be related to architecture and sustainable agendas? How has architecture engaged with Indigenous cultures in

Australia? In an attempt to define culture, Soini and Dessein et al. (2016: 4–5) differentiate between culture as an everyday concept and its application and variable interpretation across different disciplines. They largely draw on the work of the Welsh literature scholar and cultural theorist Williams (1987) who made considerable contributions towards clarifying the usage and meaning of culture, later revised by Bennett et al. (2005). Williams (1987: 87–93) defines three permutations of culture as "(i) a general process of intellectual, spiritual or artistic development, (ii) works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity and (iii) a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group". Our concerns here relate to the implications of these definitions of culture as they apply to the double consciousness of Indigenous people's identity as Australians.

In applying Soini and Dessein's (2016) framework for cultural sustainability to architecture, we first sought to understand how issues of culture and sustainability have been structured in architectural texts. Tzonis (2006: 22–23) concludes that sustainability of the social quality of the environment is dynamic and interdependent. Pieris (2010: 11–14) dissects culture and sustainability in Asia, its evolving manifestations, resurgence, expansion and emergence with identity, nationalism, vernacular and regionalist architecture. Revitalised interest in culture and sustainability emerged from international shifts in the perception of the role culture plays in sustainability from passive to active, where culture was seen as not only "representing realities but also constructing realities" (Soini & Birkeland 2014: 214). Within architecture, aspects of culture have largely remained outside of research on sustainable development which has largely centred on environmental or 'green' issues (Tabb & Deviren 2013) with a number of fields evolving into sustainable architecture (Williams 2007; Bergman 2011), green architecture (Wines 2000; Edwards 2001; Stang & Hawthorne 2005; Chen 2011; Kwok & Grondzik 2011), ecological/environmental design (Yeang 1995; Tay 1989; Stitt 1999; Yeang 2002; Earth Pledge 2005; Bay & Ong 2006), eco-housing (Roaf et al. 2013; Rovers & Klinckenberg 2008), biodesign and biophilic design (Kellert 2005; Kellert et al. 2008, 2011) and regenerative design (Lyle 1994; Robinson & Cole 2014).

A concern with cultural difference in architecture has its disciplinary roots in the field of vernacular studies, which started in the USA and the UK at the end of the nineteenth century (Upton 1981: 59; Cooper 2002: 29). As this field of study grew, folklorists, cultural geographers, anthropologists and preservation historians began interpreting vernacular architectures as artefacts of human culture expressed as 'architectures for the people by the people'. However, it was not until the 1960s that Oliver (1969), Rapoport (1969) and others introduced links between cultural practices and vernacular architecture to a wider architectural audience, while side stepping political entanglements (Pieris 2010). While there has been a long tradition within vernacular architecture studies of focusing on sustainability (Ayiran 2011; Correia et al. 2013; Eiraji & Namdar 2011; Hamilton 2005; Kazimee 2008), these texts respond predominantly to climatic aspects. Indigenous ecological scholar Douglas (2015: 30–33) identified that there is a problematic tendency to ignore the social in Indigenous ecological relationships, but also religious beliefs and cultural values as well. However, it is clear that contemporary theorists are seeking more

critical approaches to the links between vernacular architecture and sustainability. They called for a broadening beyond the existing preoccupation with materials, technologies and energy performance. These might include considerations of economic patterns, cultural values, political relationships, religious beliefs, social structures and issues of identity (Alsayyad & Arboleda 2011; Vellinga 2014). Critical contributions by researchers from Southeast Asia have been responsive to broader influences. In the context of globalisation, several have explored social and cultural aspects of sustainability and contemporary architecture in high-density urban environments (Beynon 2010; Chiu 2003, 2004; Pieris 2006; Zhang 2013).

Cultural difference in architecture also became the focus in the field of people environment studies from the 1970s (Altman & Churchman 1994) with cultural beliefs and behaviours emerging as critical factors in the design, experience and understanding of architectural and urban spaces (Rapoport 1969, 1977; Michelson 1970, 1977). While this field considered the intersection of culture and architecture, it has not specifically looked at the issue of cultural sustainability, the exception being Memmott and Keys (2015: 4–5). They argued that culturally sustainable architecture sensitive to the needs of Australian Indigenous clients needs to go beyond three pillars of economy, social and environment. They suggested encompassing diverse cultural dimensions applicable to all human groups requires consideration of several issues: (i) where authority lies in design decisions, (ii) culturally specific forms and values of spatial behaviour, (iii) the idea of behaviour settings, (iv) meanings in buildings and environments, (v) cultural properties of places and buildings, (vi) the dynamic nature of architectural traditions and (vii) cultural constructs of well-being. However, there are inherent risks of cultural sustainability frameworks adopting irreconcilable concerns at incompatible geographic scales. Citing competing agendas as a concern, McGaw and Pieris (2015: 54–55) critique the pitting of macro-scale debates about global warming against regional-scale cultural activities of Indigenous communities.

From the early 1970s, research studies in Australia have primarily documented architectural housing projects designed for Indigenous peoples dominated by cultural appropriateness, technocratic health hardware design and process-driven design paradigms (Heppell 1979; Ross 1987; Memmott 1988, 2003; Long et al. 2007). These disciplinary concerns attempted to counter pro-development objectives primarily fixated with alleviating post-colonial inequalities. From the 1980s, there has been increasing research on the intersection of architecture and Indigeneity and its absorption into expressions of nationhood (Dovey & McDonald 1996; Tawa 1996; Lochert 1997; O'Brien 2006; Message 2009; Go-Sam 2011; Grant 2009, 2015, McGaw et al. 2011, 2012; Fantin & Fourmile 2014; Pieris et al. 2014; McGaw & Pieris 2015). McGaw and Pieris (2015: 6) observed scholars theoretically engaged with critical architecture "for their aesthetics rather than their politics". Conversely, Indigenous collaborators participated for their politics rather than their aesthetics. This scholarship is located within growing international interest in contemporary Indigenous architectures (Brown 2009; Chang 2012; Malnar & Vodvarka 2013) and the potential for architecture to enable cultural agency as an empowering force and leverage for social change (Findley 2005).

Post-colonial discourse and its influence on architecture was led by a contingent of international theorists, preceded by post-structuralist and post-modernist theories engaged with issues of culture, architecture and sustainability. Pieris (2010: 15) maps the interrelated theoretical origins of post-colonial studies to its cultural, vernacular and regional roots, traversing topics on identity politics and marginalisation of "race, gender, class, and sexual "difference"". Yet McGaw and Pieris (2015: 5–9) observed that, viewed from a global context, public architecture in Australia had not dramatically shifted from the precolonial past, ignoring Indigenous and settler social transformations and the effects of modernity. Contradictory perceptions of whether these productions represent authentic expressions of Indigeneity prevail. As observed by Bennett et al. (2005: 67), differences in the reception and "interpretations of cultural expressions within academic debates …have strong connections with the particular values of ruling groups and classes". Under the influence of geopolitical shifts towards decolonisation, McGaw and Pieris (2015: 7) trace the lineage of critical architectural practice in the late twentieth century under newly framed "discourses on tourism-led consumption and environmental politics" that opened design to representations of ethnic minorities and Indigenous groups. Culture-based developments expanded economic horizons, in Europe and elsewhere; as Lysgard (2013: 183) observed, they diverted attention to the economic potential of cultural perspectives, and as a result, place or place relatedness "acquired new significance" in urban development strategies.

Applying a Cultural Sustainability Framework to Architecture

Missing from this growing body of work is a framework for ways in which architecture might support the concept of cultural sustainability. Significant shifts in 'acceptance of geographic and cultural diversity of the world' caused a re-evaluation of the capacity that culture had to change outcomes. However, single-disciplinary perspectives either confined culture by distancing it from sustainability discourse or allowed sustainability to dominate. Multidisciplinary researchers supported by COST, an intergovernmental framework for European Cooperation in Science and Technology (2011–2015), collaborated to increase understanding and determine the role of culture in sustainable development to define what had previously been vaguely expressed (Soini & Birkeland 2014: 214). This network sought to synthesise transdisciplinary theories, policies and practices covering fields as diverse as geography, sociology, sustainability science, environmental and political sciences, anthropology, history, archaeology and planning, but not specifically architecture (see Auclair & Fairclough 2015; Dessein et al. 2015, 2016; Hristova et al. 2015). The network findings led to the development of a framework for conceptualising linkages between sustainability and culture summarised by Dessein et al. (2015) and most recently by Soini and Dessein (2016).

The framework has a policy and research focus offering three distinct categories and eight structural dimensions defining the role of culture, associated values and interrelationships with development, society, and nature, under contrasting modes of governance. The three representations expressed as Culture in Sustainability, Culture for Sustainability and Culture as Sustainability each have distinguishing features in which culture 'plays important roles in sustainable development' as a means of addressing the critical gap between the ecological and sociological aspects of architecture.

In the first representation of Culture *in* Sustainability, culture plays a supportive role and expands the conventional sustainable development discourse of ecological, social and economic factors by adding culture as a fourth pillar. This directs attention to protecting culturally valued assets, widely pursued in the existing cultural heritage policy literature, where there is a "focus on creativity and diversity of cultural expression and the contributions of artistic/cultural activity and expressions to human-centred sustainable development trajectories" (Dessein et al. 2015). In this model, culture and society pillars are considered complementary, and culture is seen not only as capital, but also as an achievement in development under hierarchical governance structures (Soini & Dessein 2016). Looking at this approach through the lens of architecture, this concept might be used to strengthen and express what are considered core values of Indigenous culture and ecology, physically expressed (1) through cross-cultural representation and participation in architecture and (2) in the aesthetic integration of creative artworks and symbolic interpretations of place and historical memorials in contemporary architecture that pursue ideals of diversity. We found the majority of case studies can be seen to align with Culture in Sustainability, and these will be discussed in the following section.

In the second category or representation in the Culture for Sustainability framework, culture is understood as playing a central mediating role balancing and guiding sustainable development between economic, social and ecological drivers. In this conceptualisation, culture frames, contextualises and influences. Culture and society are considered as affording 'all spheres of life'. Correspondingly, culture is seen as 'a way of life' notably a resource and condition for development under co-governance structures (Soini & Dessein 2016: 171). This approach might include an architecture that seeks to influence, share and shape the aims of other societal dimensions, like livelihood, industries, social and environmental well-being. Architecture in this context might respond to and support culturally specific values and behaviour. Importantly, Indigenous people may influence the many stages of the architectural design process (Lochert 1997) achieved through prevailing structures that facilitate co-governance. We found only one example of a contemporary architectural project that aligns with Culture for Sustainability and that was the *Gab Titui* Cultural Centre, which is also discussed in the following section.

In Culture as Sustainability in Soini and Dessein's (2016: 167) framework, culture is conceived as enclosing the other sustainability pillars where it acts to integrate, coordinate and guide all aspects of sustainable development through

self-governance and new modes implying meta-governance. Culture in this model has a more holistic and transformative role, providing not only the platform but also the structure for achieving sustainable development. Development is recognised in this model as a cultural process. Culture is understood as a "worldview, a cultural system guided by intentions, motivations, ethical and moral choices, rooted in values that drive our individual and collective actions, and to a process and communication of transformation and cultural change" (Dessein et al. 2015). Architecture delivered within this representation would aim to promote broader transformations by supporting more holistically sustainable societies. We have not found examples of projects that represent this State of cultural sustainability, but we would argue it is something to aspire to.

All three manifestations of cultural sustainability described above can occur separately or simultaneously in architectural development contexts. Cultural sustainability frameworks in architecture centred on the first representation are what Sioni and Dessein et al. (2016: 9) described as "anthropocentric" rather than "ecocentric". Warning that the proposed framework should not be applied as an 'evolutionary or normative path', they emphasise the importance of responding flexibly to context. While adapting Soini and Dessein's (2016) conceptual framework to Indigenous themes in architecture, we observe projects that give attention to environmental sustainability need to equally consider the intersection of Indigenous ecological values and social relationships that are largely under-represented or bypassed in architectural textual discourses. Architectural developments are shadowed by persistent concerns about the material and conceptual contexts surrounding the assemblage of Indigenous identities. There are, however, a few exceptions (McGaw & Pieris 2015; O'Rourke & Memmott 2005, 2009). Our objective here is to focus attention on what outcomes reveal about how Indigenous agents expressed their capacity to undertake social action. This was evident not only in influencing design, but also in the ability of architecture to foster processes of engagement, enhancing and affording opportunities beyond procurement.

Indigenous Agency in Cultural Sustainability Architecture

Australian architecture can engage with Indigenous people, presenting opportunities for them to exercise their agency but rarely at the level seen, for example on Native North American lands. In the USA, British Columbia, Canada, Malnar and Vodvarka (2013: 1) observed, "responsibility for new construction has increasingly been turned over to tribal authorities". However, these advancements in Native North American agency, grounded on independent sources of wealth and government funds, have achieved 'an uneven sort of progress'. In Australia, government agencies have reversed earlier self-determination policies and returned to centralising government administrative authority since 2005. Neoliberal fiscal efficiency has influenced practices to exert considerable control over the financial resources for infrastructure and architectural projects. In retracing Indigenous affairs in

Australia, legislatures have a history of authorised institutional controls of segregation, forced removal and restricted movement in the protection era (1897–1939). In the assimilation era (1940s to early 1970s), contradictory policies were formulated to advance and absorb Indigenous people into mainstream society. Replacing assimilation with the policy of self-determination, the Whitlam Labor Government (1972–1975) advocated Indigenous rights, reflecting international shifts in human rights laws. States in Australia resisted or assisted these changes in policy cycles, operating somewhere between centralisation and decentralisation of government services and control (Moran 2006: 34–36). Indigenous self-determination was advanced under the Commonwealth funded entity, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC).[1] Despite economic and political rationalisation, the Torres Strait Islander Regional Authority has continued to operate over a small constituency of Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal residents in the remote north.

Indigenous people remain subordinate to governance structures that either enhance or constrain agency. However, they can still influence, reproduce, change or resist development. Indigenous agency when afforded opportunity can manifest "reflexively", as described by Page and Petray (2016: 89). Agency is also exercised with an awareness of "capability to undertake social action" and do so "with an understanding of how power operates" (2016: 88–90). In the projects considered here, Indigenous agency is evident in different ways through cultural exchange, social activism and economic advocacy. These projects have a clear political agenda asserting traditional custodial land ownership to Indigenous and national audiences. Indigenous people are increasingly agitating for adjustments to architectural methods so that they can move beyond piecemeal consultation and advance to higher levels of collaboration and greater Indigenous control. Indigenous stakeholders and designers hold that development collaborations should deliver tangible benefits that improve economic and social outcomes (Australian Broadcasting Commission 2015). We find from the case studies considered here that when Indigenous participants have collaborated on architectural or environmental projects, they have strategically exercised their agency within the constraints of governance systems. In fact, many do so with the objective of maximising opportunities for collaborators, often with the aim to improve livelihoods.

The examples outline how Indigenous people have exercised agency in divergent ways, as advocates, stakeholders, collaborators, project leaders, clients, creative practitioners, contributors, employees or activists. They cover a range of building types from memorial, environmental and cultural tourism to education and health sectors. While presented thematically, they illustrate approaches to Aboriginal agency and participation in different settings throughout the architectural process. Therefore cultural sustainability is reflected through 'conservation, preservation, and maintenance of tangible and intangible culture'. All but one of these projects can be seen to fit outside the anthropocentric manifestations of the

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[1]ATSIC was established in 1990 and was disbanded in 2005.

first category of Culture in Sustainability, experienced in "historical sites, heritage, artistic creation as works of culture" (Sioni & Dessein 2016).

The Misty Mountains Trails and Hull River Monument, Queensland

In the early twenty-first century, cultural tourism was seen as a means of opening up the cultural economy contributing to economic sustainability. The Misty Mountains Trails and the Hull River Monument are related projects at different sites on *Dyirbal* people's land, in north-eastern Queensland. Both projects commenced in 2002 and arose out of the Queensland Heritage Trails Network (QHTN), one of numerous State projects forming part of a larger national project, the Commonwealth National Heritage Trails programme supported by an alliance of Commonwealth, State and Local Government funds. The partnership included some Indigenous organisations. *Girringun* Aboriginal Corporation representing *Dyirbal* peoples and neighbouring groups in matters of cultural heritage and land and sea resource management provided administrative support. The Queensland-wide programme estimated at over AUD $110 million occurred over four years. It sought to enhance cultural tourism opportunities and develop sustainable partnerships between community, government and business aligning with Indigenous and contemporary values of place. The projects provide an example of the intersection of memory and place that spoke to global and national audiences via the cultural economy of tourism. Representations of histories and heritage involve negotiated practices of uncovering concepts of place that include recounting painful stories of loss, oppression as well as celebration. These portrayals seek to attract and not deter audience participation by balancing and mediating preservation of cultural landscapes and heritage.

Dyirbal traditional lands or 'country' is partly defined by the Herbert River sub-basin, containing Murray and Tully rivers that empty seasonal rains into coastal seas. Rural towns of Ravenshoe, Milla Milla, Tully and Cardwell are fringed by rich biodiversity interspersed with remnant rainforests, natural riverine systems and home to Indigenous heritage and living cultural knowledge. The landscape within the basin formerly included dense tropical rainforests. The area extends from the mountainous plateau of the Atherton Tablelands down to the coastal plain lands at South Mission Beach. Colonial agrarian expansion from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards socially and economically altered *Dyirbal* traditional land estates. The contemporary *Dyirbalngan* represent a "socio-territorial group" comprised of six dialect language groups, *Dyirbal*, *Mamu*, *Girramay*, *Djiru*, *Gulnay* and *Ngajan* (O'Rourke 2012: 15–40, O'Rourke & Memmott 2005, 2009: 78–79; Cook 2001). These natural and cultural assets combine to offer varied tourism experiences, marketing resources unique to Queensland.

In 1988, the Wet Tropics region was entered on the World Heritage List, halting logging and preserving ecological, scientific and aesthetic values. The Misty

Mountains Walking Trail was coordinated by the Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service (QPWS) and Wet Tropics Management Authority with funding provided by Commonwealth National Heritage Trails. The project developed walking tracks, cultural heritage trails in National Parks, towns and city centres. It was a model of collaboration between the lead government agency, QPWS, *Girringun* and *Dyirbal* communities. After several meetings with QPWS, Dyirbal people authorised involvement, confident that the walking tracks positively impacted on their cultural heritage and places. Elders shared cultural knowledge, revealing former traditional seasonal migratory travel routes and they attributed *Dyirbal* place names to three of the four tracks, *Koolmoon* Creek, *Cannabullen* Creek, *Gorrell* and Cardwell Range. The tracks and cultural sites are significant experiences in the trails network. Sites of cultural significance near tracks were identified and negotiated to prohibit access by non-*Dyirbal* visitors, thereby preserving burial sites and former ceremonial areas, commonly called *bora* grounds. The trail design was a catalyst for revitalising traditional knowledge about walking tracks to Dyirbal youth. From the project's commencement, *Dyirbal* people advocated an expansion of their role from mediating consultation with Elders identifying sites of significance, to leveraging and generating further employment opportunities. This was accomplished through *Dyirbal* representatives who participated as project managers and leaders, site supervisors, cultural heritage advisors and researchers. They were responsible for locating, approving and designing the pathways and clearing and constructing the trails with some later engaged as national parks staff (O'Rourke & Memmott 2005, 2009: 78–79; National Parks, Sports and Racing 2015).

The "Monument to Hull River Settlement" or *Mija* Memorial built on *Djiru* land at South Mission Beach involved the Cardwell Shire Council, Queensland Heritage Trails Network and *Girringun* (Australian Institute of Architects 2004). This monument illustrates how memory and place might be used to support a notion of cultural sustainability through the creation of memorial architecture underpinned by contemporary interpretations of contact histories and local Aboriginal vernacular architecture. While examples of modern interpretations of Indigenous vernacular architecture in Northern America and the Pacific exist, such an attempt is rare in an Australian context (Malnar & Vodvarka 2013; Brown 2009). The Hull River Monument designed by Insideout Architects records government-funded missionary interventions involving the removal of Dyirbal and other neighbouring groups under the policies of protection and assimilation. The historian Wells (2000: 65–74) noted the intentions of the era involved contradictory institutional objectives of "banishment, containment, separation and relocation". This project sits within a small number of architectural examples referencing Australian Indigenous pre colonial vernacular architecture and histories of colonisation.

An estimated 400–500 people were forcibly removed from their traditional lands to the Hull River site. Approximately, 50 Aboriginal people, the Superintendent and his daughter were killed in a cyclone and subsequent tidal surge in 1918 (Community for Coastal and Cassowary Conservation n.d.). The contemporary steel structure, with a roof clad in polycarbonate corrugated sheeting, invokes elements of *mija* shelters and windbreaks in the form of a low wall. The fanning

roof provides partial sun protection to a series of engraved signs and a memorial plaque. Interpretive signs tell the stories of past and contemporary Aboriginal place attachments, identifying the nearby traditional *Dyirbal* walking track used in seasonal journeys from the rainforest to South Mission Beach (Insideout Architects 2013; Monument Australia 2016; AIA 2004). The memorial's principal contribution is not so much that it was inspired by rainforest houses or *mija* built by *Dyirbal* people, but rather that it retells a chapter of the mission era under the 'protection' regime. In this example, Indigenous agency informed cultural expressions and representations in architecture, conveying Indigenous cultural continuity and historical memory to non-Indigenous visitors. Theorists have pondered if references representing tainted historical memories "beckon" or repulse white settler audiences when "confronted with permanent physical reminders of brutal histories of colonisation" (McGaw & Pieris 2015: 5; Message 2009: 30–31). In this sense, cultural continuity and memory mediated by architectural material features, representation, signage and artworks emphasise the destructive nature of the cyclone over and above the forces of human destruction under protectionism.

The Misty Mountains Walking Tracks and *Mija* memorial project are examples of cultural capital preservation in cultural sustainability, utilising Aboriginal agency throughout project delivery and subsequent offshoot projects. QPWS under the trails network engaged in integrative governance by flexibly responding to Indigenous agency to maximise *Dyirbal* involvement and employment opportunities to the benefit of the national agenda by enhancing cultural assets and increasing economic sustainability. *Girringun* was effective in capitalising on employment opportunities while learnt skills and effective participation gained under the QHTN legitimated Indigenous capacity. Many *Dyirbal* were later retained for the maintenance of the tracks and other natural resource management initiatives in the Wet Tropics region. Notably, these projects are invested in anthropocentric programmes such as Caring for Country established and expanded after the heritage trails. Although resource management programmes have a decidedly ecological aim, they are equally valued for their cultural and economic sustainability. Present-day *Dyirbal* perceive the project as having consolidated land rights. Beyond such acknowledgments, the traditional owners negotiated cultural and governmental alliances, while navigating the State's discomfort in acknowledging tainted histories. The gains to traditional owners were in preserving custodial land ownership rights, and their collaboration through agency ensured localised political and economic objectives.

Ngoolark Building, Joondalup, Western Australia

The student services Ngoolark Building (AUD $72 million) located at Joondalup Campus at Edith Cowen University (ECU), Western Australia, is built on Nyoongar Aboriginal peoples land. The five-storey building provides an expression of cultural sustainability achieved through architectural representations of Aboriginal people's

cultural landscapes, traditions and custodial land ownership in higher education institutions. In Australia, purpose-built Indigenous themed buildings on University campuses first occurred in the 1990s in Western Australia, at the Karda Centre for Aboriginal Studies, Curtin University (1994). This example was predated somewhat by another adult training and learning institute, the Tranby National Indigenous Adult Education and Training Centre, New South Wales (1958). Tranby was originally housed in a Georgian cottage and was later redeveloped in 1998 by a joint architectural partnership between Cracknell and Lonergan and Merrima Design (a former Indigenous architectural practice within the NSW Government). The *Ngoolark* building's representation demonstrates the University's Indigenous placemaking ambitions and follows the Australian pattern of adopting Indigenous names to encode meaning, enhance civic pride and advance participation through symbolic gestures of reconciliation. Major investments in University buildings expand their role beyond educational spaces for staff and students to reflect a greater role by the University in combining institutional, service support, commercial and corporate facilities. The building actively facilitates public zones through inclusive under croft spaces that mediate the convergence of campus pedestrian paths with users and visitors. The external public space doubles as a marketplace for temporary stalls (JCY Architects & Urban Designers 2015a). The practice of engaging with *Nyoongar* Elders to represent Aboriginal culture and landscapes in contemporary architecture by JCY Architects and Urban Designers was preceded by their work at Edith Cowan University on the iconic *Kuronkurl Katitjin* Centre for Indigenous Australian Education and Research (completed 2005) (Pieris et al. 2014: 177, 269).

The building name Ngoolark is derived from the *Nyoongar* word for the local bird species, the black cockatoo. The building completed in 2015 is located on Edith Cowan's Joondalup campus, yet another *Noongar* name referring to *Joondal* or the Milky Way. Joondalup means the place of the moonlight's silvery reflections on water. Designers JCY Architects and Urban Designers were informed by the brief provided by traditional owner Jason Barrow and the *Noongar* community's Elders Reference Group. Barrow's also employed as ECU's Cultural Liaison Officer played a key advocacy role in expanding *Nyoongar* concepts of country. He stated, "there are opportunities to unpack Joondalup for all people who come here". Barrow's shifted the building's intended brief to house administration services within a five-storeyed tower with oblique references to the pre-existing *Kurongkurl Katitjin* Indigenous Centre. Not satisfied with this approach, he sought to further reinforce *Nyoongar* concepts of place, noting that 'the building honoured the country and educates the users about the land on which it stands', thus deepening the levels of engagement. This consequently elevated *Nyoongar* aspirations for cross-cultural communication. The building expresses aspects of local Aboriginal culture, references wildlife and makes symbolic connections to culturally significant places viewed from within the site. The building's materiality adopts abstract patterning derived from cultural elements as inspiration for the external sun-shading screens, wall panelling, external paving, internal glass and floor coverings. Additionally, Elders provided comments on drawings at the design stage and after construction performed smoking ceremonies on each floor before the

building was opened. Aside from being end-users, *Nyoongar* agency also included roles as cultural consultants and artists on the "*Ngoolark*" architectural project (Wynne 2015; JCY Architects & Urban Designers 2015a, b).

Nyoongar envisaged their role as imparting broader education about traditional concepts of land by authorising interpretations of their intellectual, linguistic and artistic contributions to the building. For Barrow's, the audience of *Nyoongar* concepts of place included Indigenous people, "who are off country, but also international guests and everyday Australians who come through here" (Wynne 2015). The building in this sense assumes an educative role by physically acknowledging and referencing *Noongar* place and names. *Ngoolark* shares similar Indigenous agency tactics with the *Dyirbal* projects cited, where seemingly understated interventions, participation and inclusions have multi-layered aims that first begin with reinforcing custodial land ownership and secondly seeking to maximise economic opportunities.

Supported Accommodation Innovation Fund (SAIF) Project, Cairns, North Queensland

Aboriginal medical services were established in the early 1970s under government policies that supported community-controlled Indigenous health services in Australia. The service arose from concerns within the health sector about discrimination and the need to increase Indigenous people's engagement with healthcare services. The first was the Redfern Aboriginal Medical Service (1971) located in Redfern, an inner-city suburb of Sydney, New South Wales (Haddow 2005: 45–47). In the past two decades, focus has been on Indigenous agency in healthcare service delivery models to encourage higher participation rates and outcomes. Specialised services that include accommodating individuals and in some cases extended family have led to service developments that address specific cultural practices and beliefs like birthing. Another example targeting substance abuse in culturally responsive ways has led to increased numbers of Aboriginal alcohol rehabilitation facilities. More engagement and partnerships in the development of purpose-built healthcare facilities or remodelled healthcare spaces reflect emphasis on the social aspects of Aboriginal cultural views about place, space, health, mourning, healing and identity. Healthcare architecture can be seen to portray a notion of cultural sustainability in accommodating Indigenous attachment to place and social views of healing and death. The Wilcannia Health Care Centre in rural western New South Wales completed in 2002 facilitated opportunities for Aboriginal clients to support not only those healing, but also those mourning family who had passed away. The hospital remodelling was led by Indigenous designers, architects Dillon Kombumerri and Kevin O'Brien and interior designer, Alison Page. The unique Indigenous design unit established within the NSW Department of Public Works specialised in buildings for urban and rural Indigenous communities. The design took into account existing buildings and, importantly, responded to cultural beliefs associated with the adjacent

riverine landscape by carefully crafting social spaces for large family gatherings to support those ill and to mourn the deceased (Tawa 2002; Haddow 2004; Slessor 2005; McGraw & Pieris 2015: 175).

Another aspect in which the health sector supports the notion of cultural sustainability is by process driven design of specialised supported accommodation. At the time of writing, an architectural project providing eight independent dwellings and gardened landscape for Indigenous people with acquired brain injury in Cairns (far north Queensland) had just reached practical completion (Synapse 2016). The residential and rehabilitation project was funded by the project was funded by the Government Supported Accommodation Innovation Fund programme (SAIF) and proposed as an integrated service facility. What is so exceptional about the project is the high level of agency of Indigenous people in the design process. The project was initiated by *Synapse*, a disability service provider under Indigenous CEO Jennifer Cullen and the Elders Reference Group. They sought a design that encouraged independence and personalised care for Indigenous clients. Indigenous design manager Gudju Gudju Fourmile influenced the early stages of the project through a collaborative process with non-Indigenous architect Shaneen Fantin of People Oriented Design, and Indigenous designers, architect Andrew Lane and interior designer, Francoise Lane.

Fantin and Fourmile (2014) have described their adaptation of traditional leadership and project management roles undertaken by architects, as one with far greater transaction, collaboration and agency, a process they refer to as 'intercultural design practice'. The 'Indigenising' of the process, for example, included time out for mourning practices. It challenged the time frames of funding bodies but allowed engagement and consultation with Indigenous stakeholders in a culturally appropriate way that ensured opportunity for detailed design consultation. The project sought to maximise the professional involvement of Indigenous practitioners and their skills in architecture, ecology and interior design. The designers responded to local beliefs about the potential of mitred corners to harbour malevolent spirits, which resulted in eliminating corners in residential spaces with a gentle curve; it is not, however, prescribed as a normative approach to Indigenous belief. Culturally significant material artefacts and plants have informed the shape of roofs. Indigenous design elements seamlessly integrate indoor and outdoor spaces. The garden designs plan to include traditional bush foods for nutrition and a natural swimming pool, both of which are used for externally oriented therapy. The Elders Reference Group was integral to the design process, and their direction and input was also sought for the intended care model (Synapse 2016).

Gab Titui Cultural Centre, Thursday Island, Torres Strait Islands, Queensland

An example of Australian contemporary architecture that aligns with co-governance frameworks as described in the second category of Culture for Sustainability is the renovation of *Gab Titui* Cultural Centre, on *Kaurareg* land on Thursday Island. *Gab Titui* Cultural Centre includes a regional art gallery and keeping place for cultural artefacts and reflects the concept of cultural sustainability in architecture through co-governance. It is an example of the convergence of tourism, the cultural economy and local cultural values and activities, demonstrating a high capacity of agency and level of participation by Indigenous people. The Torres Strait Islander Regional Authority (TSRA), a Commonwealth authority, was established in 1994 and manages *Gab Titui*. It is the leading representative body for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples living in the Torres Strait. However, some Aboriginal people with cultural links to Indigenous communities in the Torres Strait Islands and Gulf of Carpentaria identify as *Kaurareg*. The Torres Strait Islands are a group of several hundred islands of which 17 are inhabited by approximately 7,000 residents. They are situated between the furthermost northern extent of the Australian continent in the State of Queensland and the western province of Papua New Guinea. Members of the TSRA are elected from twenty electoral wards in the Torres Strait and the remote mainland region of Queensland, called the Northern Peninsula Area (NPA) (Australian Government Torres Strait Islander Regional Authority n.d.).

Following twenty years of planning and local community interest in establishing a place in which to house, share and support the development of historical and cultural material of the Torres Strait, *Gab Titui* was created in 2004 based on a concept design by Troppo architects, later completed by Michael Ferris and Lynda Hickman. The initial project had numerous stakeholders, with finance from the Queensland Heritage Trails Network, combined with resources from the Torres Strait Regional Authority, Commonwealth and State governments. It was operated by the Torres Strait Regional Authority, whose 20 Indigenous board members represented eighteen communities across the Torres Strait and Northern Peninsula Area. The cultural centre catalysed cultural and political objectives with the choice of its name linguistically depicting the convergence of '*Gab*' meaning 'journey' from the eastern islands and '*Titui*' from the western islands meaning 'stars' (Fig. 14.1).

The Gab Titui Cultural Centre was not greatly utilised by local Indigenous people. Although operating under co-governance structures, the centre did not initially aim to facilitate other spheres of Torres Strait life, but instead had become a tourist destination where visitors could view art and purchase souvenirs. In remote locations, tourism is a source of art centre revenue, but this inconsistent income as McGaw and Pieris (2015: 54) observed creates a particularly fragile economy.

In 2012–2013, Gab Titui was renovated after extensive community consultation led by James Davidson Architect. Davidson expanded a simple brief by providing opportunities for the architecture to support cultural events and celebrations,

Fig. 14.1 Gab Titui Cultural Centre, Thursday Island, Torres Strait Islands taken at the 2015 opening of the exhibition titled: *Evolution: Torres Strait Masks* (*Photograph* George Serras, James Davidson Architect)

thereby encouraging greater local use of the site. The multi-staged renovations were directed by Acting Manager Bronwyn Jewell and Program Manager Mary Bani. Stage 1 focused on improving public access and included the addition of a disability ramp, new public amenities, upgraded storage spaces and a viewing platform looking out to the ocean. The renovation of the main gallery's western wall reduced heat and improved internal temperature control. The ecological aspects of the project were pursued for practical and economic reasons rather than as a resource management objective.

Stage 2 involved construction of an outdoor stage for performances and programme activities, extension of the gallery floor space, installation of museum-quality display systems, air conditioning and renovation of the Centre's Gallery Shop (Bani 2013). The architecture of the gallery and keeping place supports a commitment to 'proactively engage Indigenous people in the content development, research documentation and performance'. The Centre management encourages youth participation in cultural heritage and learning (Bin-Juda 2006) facilitated by an outdoor workshop, performance and making spaces. Active art workshops for children and young adults include instruction by Elders in local language. The success of the outdoor performance space has strengthened relationships between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups in the region and is a concrete example of an architectural space physically supporting existing cultural conditions (Fig. 14.2).

Stage 3 of the project involved the creation of an office for Indigenous workers at the gallery. The Centre's storage facility is designed, "not only to engage with

Fig. 14.2 Saamkarem Era Kodo Mer Dance Team from Erub (Darnley Island, Torres Straits) night performance in the outdoor performance space at the opening of the Indigenous Art Award (2014), Gab Titui Cultural Centre, Thursday Island (Torres Strait) (*Photograph* George Serras, National Museum of Australia)

materials from the past", but also to "foster contemporary artistic production and the promotion of the living *Ailan Kastom* of the Torres Strait" (Gab Titui Cultural Centre 2016). The new café is to be managed by the local Training and Further Education facility (TAFE).

Stage 4 of the renovation is considered a deeply significant change in the building's function involving an upgrading of the *Gab Titui Centre*'s quarantine and storage facilities in a partnership with the National Museum of Australia. It has been designed with the intention that Indigenous artefacts removed from northern Australia and the Torres Strait Island may be returned to the region for display on extended loans.

Gab Titui intends to build a stronger web-based platform to sell local art and artefacts. A strong indicator of the success of the project is its ongoing management by, use of and relevance to the broader Torres Strait Island and Aboriginal communities. The recent repatriation of culturally significant artefacts to homeland communities and the training of Indigenous people as curatorial staff has enhanced the Centre's social and economic relevance (Davidson 2016) (Fig. 14.3).

Indigenous participation in the project began as clients and financiers; it grew to include roles as consultants, carpenters, landscapers, labourers and end-users. While the general public come to view Indigenous cultural expressions, local Indigenous people now actively participate in the generation and sharing of regional cultural activities. *Gab Titui* supports artists, performers, teachers, students and makers by

Fig. 14.3 Ephraim Bani Gallery, Gab Titui Cultural Centre, Thursday Island, Torres Strait. Gertie Zaro in the background viewing Keriba Ad/Ngoelmun Gidhal exhibition (translated 'Our Stories' in two languages of the Torres Strait, Miriam Mer and Kala Lagaw) (*Photograph* George Serras, National Museum of Australia)

displaying work and thereby generating income from sales. It also employs local managers, curators, gallery, museum and retail staff and groundskeepers. As development stages of *Gab Titui* were executed, the facility opened up opportunities for local activities, cultural art programs, teaching and intergenerational knowledge transfer. Indigenous involvement with *Gab Titui* during and after procurement was deeply integrated into the architectural project and Torres Strait lifeways with culture playing a pivotal role between the economic and social drivers of culturally sustainable development (Davidson 2016).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have utilised the cultural sustainability framework presented by Soini and Dessein (2016), *Culture-Sustainability Relation: Towards a Conceptual Framework*, to explore the complexity of relationships between Indigeneity, sustainability and architecture in Australia. Applying the model of cultural sustainability to architecture places the entire architectural process under a new kind of spotlight. We found in general that when architectural texts paid attention to sustainability, they tended to focus on technocratic solutions to architectural environmental issues, bypassing Indigenous other cultural and economic concerns.

The framework addressed a critical gap between ecological and sociological aspects of architecture and development. Environmental sustainability concerns were largely subsidiary in most of the examples considered. We conclude that when ecological sustainability is pursued as a wilderness ideal, some Indigenous groups did not support it above economic sustainability. For other Indigenous groups, there was an alliance with Western environmental values; however, differing Indigenous ecology values also incorporated divergent economic, social, cultural, place and religious values. Several of the examples discussed were attentive to contrasting Indigenous cultural values, economies varied by geography and socio political relationships to land in cultural tourism, education and health sectors.

The cultural sustainability framework concerned with Culture *in* Sustainability finds a presence in existing policy and integrative governance practice. Culture for Sustainability is a growing area of policy and co-governance practice, where Culture as Sustainability is an ideal or as we found an aspirational State of governance (from top to bottom and bottom to top), not yet attained in Australia. We sought architectural and development projects that aligned with concepts that supported Indigenous agents in expressing their capacity to undertake social action. In practice, we found few examples that fitted the parameters of the first category—Culture in Sustainability—and decided to include case studies with environmental projects due to the rareness of architectural exemplars.

The Misty Mountains Walking Track, *Mija* memorial and *Ngoolark* Building are anthropocentric projects designed to promote land ownership rights and supplement economic benefits. The facility for acquired brain injury placed emphasis on architectural process through adaptive leadership with high levels of intercultural design practice by allowing delivery time frames to match community lifeways. This approach was not evident in the methods in the *Ngoolark* Building, but the project gave rise to encoding territorial symbolism. We found only one possible contemporary project that aligned with the descriptor, Culture *for* Sustainability. *Gab Titui* demonstrated how co-governance structures take time to stabilise and are highly influenced by dependency upon government funding models. Funding support allowed local integration with the facilities available at *Gab Titui*. It is vital that ever-shifting government agendas and economic rationalisation do not overlook these community generated aspects of cultural sustainability. Lastly, we found no example of the final aspirational category, Culture *as* Sustainability. We acknowledge that the complexity of the model may make it unachievable for Indigenous people in Australia due to their political and economic dependency on the State.

The case studies covered a small selection of building types and illustrated cultural sustainability through increasing Indigenous agency and participation. We specifically drew attention to how design intentions were influenced by Indigenous agents, modifying outcomes to varying degrees through aligning, reproducing, extending and resisting certain objectives. We suggested that project engagement with Aboriginal people should stretch beyond design outcomes expressed in the physical architecture. This was evident in the economic sustainability objectives of the Queensland Heritage Trails Network that financed three of the five case studies.

The programme built Indigenous capacity and agency at *Girrigun* and *Gab Titui* (under TSRA) so that beyond project completion, participants were able to more effectively mobilise skills gained in pursuing other opportunities. The *Synapse* intercultural design team provided a unique model of supported accommodation that strategically navigates government structures and programmes to deliver culturally responsive services for Indigenous people with acquired brain injury. Several project outcomes provided opportunities for Indigenous agency, participation and authorship from initial project conception through to occupancy and can be seen to align with culturally sustainable architecture. The case study examples also revealed that when Indigenous people were afforded the opportunity to collaborate on architectural or environmental projects, they sought economic and socio political outcomes aimed at improving livelihoods and cementing territoriality. These examples additionally highlighted how Indigenous people used these opportunities to exercise agency in varying ways, either as advocates, stakeholders, collaborators, project leaders, clients, creative practitioners, contributors, employees or activists. While the examples of Australian architecture discussed showed increasing awareness to provide opportunities for Indigenous agency to flourish, we observed there is some way to go to achieve the depth of agency found in architectural projects on Native American lands in Northern America made possible due to their financial independence and governance models. The resources provided to the Torres Strait Islander Regional Authority demonstrate how the regional council effectively utilises co-governance to achieve cultural sustainability. It is clear that on mainland Australia, there is still some way to go in maximising Indigenous agency in intercultural project designs. While the benefits elicited in terms of cultural sustainability are promising, we are not there yet.

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Chapter 15
Tangentyere Design: Architectural Practice and Cultural Agency in Central Australia

Andrew Broffman

Introduction

Tangentyere Design is an Australian architectural practice owned by Tangentyere Council, a long-established Aboriginal owned and operated corporation that has played a key role in Aboriginal governance, housing provision and social service delivery in Central Australia since its establishment in 1974 and incorporation in 1979 (Rowse 1998; Tangentyere Council 2008). This chapter is a case study of the formation and four decades of work of Tangentyere Design located at Alice Springs (*Mparntwe*) within the Arrernte lands in the Northern Territory of Australia. The role of Tangentyere Design has been to support the social, cultural and political aspirations of Aboriginal peoples living in Central Australia. This chapter highlights this role and considers the concept of social enterprise as a response to the neoliberal belief in community benefit through market-based mechanisms, while describing a number of the practice's architectural exemplars, both in-built form and as agents of advocacy for equity in the built environment. The work indicates that architectural practice as social enterprise may not be a financially profitable endeavour, but the ability to endure for four decades, within a continually changing Indigenous policy landscape, suggests that the work remains relevant and the practice resilient.

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The Contextual Landscape

Each year during the week long, Australian Heritage Festival[1] held in the remote Central Australian town of Alice Springs (*Arrernte*: Mparntwe),[2] local school children visit the Old Hartley Street School, the town's first purpose-built education facility. It was not always 'old', of course. In 1930, when it was opened it was just the Hartley Street School, but today it is 'old' and the children come dressed in 'period' costumes: the girls wear pinched bonnets and crinolines, and the boys, bush hats and breeches. The garb may not be faithful to the 'olden days'—more colonial than pre-war—but the conceit of transporting young minds to another time may seem charming. The children sit in the octagonal schoolroom, behind wooden desks with puzzling inkwells. The pliant timber floor sounds the footfall of the docent, and the high out-of-view windows focus the mind as the children listen to stories of mateship and toil in the remote desert outpost that once served the country's telegraph line. The school is open to visitors throughout the year, to those who wish to explore the town's post-colonial architecture and social history, and to fondly recall the hard but important lessons of life sometimes delivered at the sharp end of a ruler. On the lectern, within the dark covers of the daily attendance ledger, one can search for familiar names, perhaps one's own or that of a relative; a reminder of the passing of generations (Fig. 15.1).

At the same time that the Hartley Street School was moulding the hopeful minds of its young charges, another institution with a darker mission was established on the northern side of town, at the site of the former Telegraph Station.[3] The Bungalow[4] was the school and 'home' for Aboriginal children forcibly removed from their families under the Australian Government's various policies of

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[1]The Australian Heritage Festival is an annual, community-driven festival, supported by the National Trust of Australia held in various towns and cities across Australia to provide opportunities for communities, individuals, local governments and organisations to recognise and celebrate the places and events that have shaped Australian heritage.

[2]The area is known as *Mparntwe* to the Traditional Owners, the Arrernte peoples (alt. sp. *Aranda, Arrarnta, Arunta*). Three major groups: the Western, Eastern and Central Arrernte people have lived in the Central Australian desert in and around what is now Alice Springs and the MacDonnell Ranges for at least 30 000 years. There are five dialects of the Arrernte language: South-eastern, Central, Northern, Eastern and North-eastern (Broad with Eastern and Central Arrernte speakers 2008; AIATSIS u.d.).

[3]The Alice Springs Telegraph Station was established in 1872 to relay messages between Darwin and Adelaide; it marks the first site of the European settlement in Alice Springs and was one of 12 stations along the Overland Telegraph Line. Its establishment marks the commencement of Aboriginal land dispossession in Central Australia as pastoralists took possession of the land around permanent water supplies.

[4]The Bungalow has a complex history (see Australian Government (u.d.)); for example in 1928, Alice Springs became a prohibited area for Aboriginal people and the Bungalow was moved to Jay Creek (Tangentyere Council 2008).

Fig. 15.1 Hartley Street School c. 1930 (*Photograph* Trudy Hayes) (Trudy Hayes Collection, Alice Springs Public Library)

'protection' and 'assimilation'.[5] Later known as the Stolen Generation,[6] their harrowing experiences are still being recorded (see, e.g., Austin 1997; Commonwealth of Australia 1991; MacDonald 1995)[7] and were finally brought to national attention in the *Bringing Them Home Report* (Australian Human Rights Commission 1997). The removal of children and their subsequent experiences at the Bungalow and other locations resulted in generations of Aboriginal Australians suffering (and continuing to suffer) intergenerational trauma, including lost connections to family,

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[5]For descriptions and discussions of Government policies regarding Aboriginal peoples in the North Territory, see, for example Australian Department of Territories (1958), Baker (1977), Austin (1997), Armitage (1995), Sutton (2009).

[6]The term the 'Stolen Generation' was first used by historian Peter Read. He published an article on the topic with this title and later expanded the material into a book titled *The Stolen Generations* (1981). The term refers to children of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent who were removed from their families by the Australian Federal and State government agencies and church missions, under acts of Parliament.

[7]In 2013, at the Mbantua Festival in Alice Springs, former residents and their descendants poignantly told the stories of the Stolen Generation in a performance of 'The Bungalow Song', a multimedia live performance, co-commissioned by Opera Australia and directed by Nigel Jamieson.

language, community, cultures and place (for more detail, see, e.g. Raphael et al. 1998; Cunneen and Libesman 2002; Dudgeon et al. 2014)

The founding teacher at the Hartley Street School, Ida Standley, was also the Bungalow Matron in its early years. In Alice Springs, Aboriginal and settler histories always intersect creating complex histories[8] that have led to the creation of a place which is, at times, deeply troubled (see, e.g., Hartwig 1965; Austin 1993; Finnane and Finnane 2016).

Today, the Old Hartley Street School sits quietly within this divided world, as a site of historical charm—the benign face of early public education—now a museum and commercial tenancy. At the southern end of the building, in the original classroom where the searing summer heat continues to press against the thick masonry walls and where the chalkboards reveal the faint lessons of the past can be found the Aboriginal owned architectural practice, Tangentyere Design, an enterprise that has sought since the 1970s to reimagine the built environment as a site of social justice and cultural agency for Australian Aboriginal peoples. Through its decades of work in the design and planning of housing and community facilities, Tangentyere Design has been a committed cultural agent,[9] working to create suitable and better built environments for Aboriginal Australians.

Cultural Agency

In an insightful review of a number of cultural institutions around the world, Lisa Findley argues for the possibilities of a resistant and transformative architecture, one that challenges what she calls the 'spatial strategies of power', the means by which architecture and finance have been used to assert control over the economic, political and cultural aspirations of minority groups and Indigenous peoples. Findley asks:

> How is it that the buildings we design can support the general trend toward more widespread cultural agency and spatial manifestation of peoples who have been systematically made invisible or excluded from representing themselves in the built world? (Findley 2003: 33).

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[8]For historical accounts of Alice Springs, see, for example Purvis (1952), Donovan (1988), Traynor (2016).

[9]When I speak of Tangentyere Design, it may appear as if I speak for all those architects who have come before me, describing events that I did not witness. It may seem that my words are those of the practice's Aboriginal owners as well. I cannot claim to speak on behalf of others, but I have been witness to the last decade of Tangentyere Design's work, the variable politics that influence this place and its people, and the challenges, the successes and the failures of working in Central Australia. I offer this chapter with humility knowing that my word is neither the only word nor the last.

Findley argues that cultural agency can be exercised both in the act of building and in the forms that buildings take, noting that buildings developed with Indigenous clients often illuminate ancestral stories or oral histories.

Tangentyere Design has worked on a number of commissions in which traditional stories have found expression in architectural form. The plan for the Nyinkka Nyunyu Art and Culture Centre in Tennant Creek references the spiky-tailed goanna and its importance in the stories of the Warumungu people of the Tennant Creek region. Christen quotes a sign at the site written in both Warumungu and English which explains the site's significance:

> This is the home of the Nyinkka (spiky-tailed goanna). Nyinkka Nyunyu is the Warumungu name for the area where the town of Tennant Creek now stands.
>
> The Nyinkka used to go out hunting all around these rocks, digging around with her yam stick for flying ants and termites. Other dreamings also went around this site—the Sugarbag and the Flying Fox, and the two Munga Munga women went around here looking for bush coconuts.
>
> The Nyinkka dug a soak with her shovel made of snappy gum, behind the site of the Papulu Apparr-Kari Language Centre. The dirt she threw to one side when she was digging forms the low hill on which the Catholic Church of Christ the King stands.
>
> There was another ancestral being, Crow, at a place called Yawu. The Nyinkka used to go from here to dance for that Crow. One day when she was dancing, the Crow killed her. Yet her essence or spirit lives on in these rocks (cited in Christen 2007: 101–102).

Tregenza (2000) notes that one of the motivations of Warumungu people for building the centre was to tell their history from their perspectives and to create a place where cultural knowledge took centre stage (Tregenza 2000: 13–15). The project featured an unprecedented depth of community involvement with ongoing consultation involving more than 80 Waramanga Traditional Owners which was critical to: (1) establishing the requirements of the clients and ensuring they were represented properly, (2) establishing Waramanga approval of developments, (3) maximising employment and training opportunities and (4) establishing Waramanga ownership of the project (Tangentyere Design and X Squared Design 2004). The architectural form is an abstraction of the spiky-tailed goanna. The Waramungu people as Traditional Owners for the Nyinkka Nyunyu sacred site requested a building that echoed the form of the goanna with its spiky scales. The radial geometry grew from these ideas, along with the courtyard plan and segmented spiky roof forms (Fig. 15.2).

As Findley reminds us, the design of buildings with representational expression is one way of exercising cultural agency. It must be noted that cultural agency in the built environment can also be practised through less tangible political advocacy such as seen in the formation of Tangentyere Design.

Fig. 15.2 Nyinkka Nyunyu Art and Culture Centre, Tennant Creek, Northern Territory (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

Formation

A stained glass window at the Araluen Art Centre in Alice Springs tells a story of *Mparntwe* (Alice Springs). Images of honey ants, carpet snakes, local rivers and distant hills share the scene with more fantastic beings, moon man and honey ant man as they try to impress with their song the honey ant women who have travelled

Fig. 15.3 Detail of *Arrernte Country* by Wenten Rubuntja and Cedar Priest, 1988, Araluen Art Centre (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

from afar. The window's glass is particularly glorious as the afternoon sun falls across its imagery, bending desert colours onto the gallery floors and walls. The window design is based on a painting by a well-loved Aboriginal artist and local leader, Wenten Rubuntja, who was instrumental in establishing the local Aboriginal organisation, Tangentyere Council, among other notable achievements (Fig. 15.3).

In the wake of the Whitlam Government's policy of Indigenous self-determination[10] a group of Aboriginal leaders in Alice Springs, including Wenten Rubuntja, came together to demand political, social and economic justice for Aboriginal people living in settlements known as town camps (see Heppell and Wigley 1981). These areas date back to the late 1880s when many Aboriginal people throughout Central Australia–Warlpiri, Pitjantjatjara, Luritja, Pintubi, Anmatyere and other language groups—were forced from their traditional lands through colonial dispossession (Coughlan 1991) (Fig. 15.4).

Wenten Rubuntja recalled:

> We got lost in the Welfare days, then we started Tangentyere Council. We picked up people out of the drain. Along the creek. Todd River, rainy day was blanket for cover, make a humpy with a little blanket. We picked them up, asked the Northern Territory Government for money for tents. We had many tents, Tangentyere (Rubuntja and Green 2002: 129).

The establishment of Tangentyere Council as a voice for Aboriginal people marked the beginning of a decades' long agitation for land tenure on the town camp settlements. As the representative organisation of the Town Camp Housing Associations—governance bodies comprised of town camp residents—Tangentyere Council has historically provided housing, social services and political voice to its constituents (Wigley and Wigley 1993) (Fig. 15.5).

By 1989, sixteen discrete areas in Alice Springs had been granted leases in perpetuity, allowing town camp residents to build houses and community buildings and to begin to enjoy the benefits of drinking water and proper sewerage. Until then, Aboriginal people in Alice Springs had lived in tin sheds and humpies, with no access to running water or flushing toilets. To assist with the necessary development work, architect Julian Wigley from the Commonwealth Government's Aboriginal Housing Panel came to Tangentyere to work with town campers to develop prototype housing designs and prepare the cases for land tenure (Wigley and Wigley 2003). Wigley's challenge was to understand domiciliary behaviour and translate this into useful architectural plans.

> It was necessary to go back to a proper beginning and collect information about the ways in which each household used the spaces it created for itself, the relationship that each household had with each other, the kinds of interaction that occurred between them and how these interactions contributed to the overall social organisation of the camp (Heppell and Wigley 1981: 131)

When the Aboriginal Housing Panel was disbanded in 1978,[11] Tangentyere Council began to employ its own architects including Wally Dobkins, Barbara Wigley and Phil Cohen to continue this work (Wigley 2017).

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[10]See Bramston (2013) for discussions of the Australian Labor Government under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam (1972–1975).

[11]For more information on the Aboriginal Housing Panel, see, for example Heppell and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Housing Panel (1977), Heppell and Wigley (1977), Heppell (1979), Memmott (1988), Long (2000), Read (2000), Memmott (2004), Habibis et al. (2013).
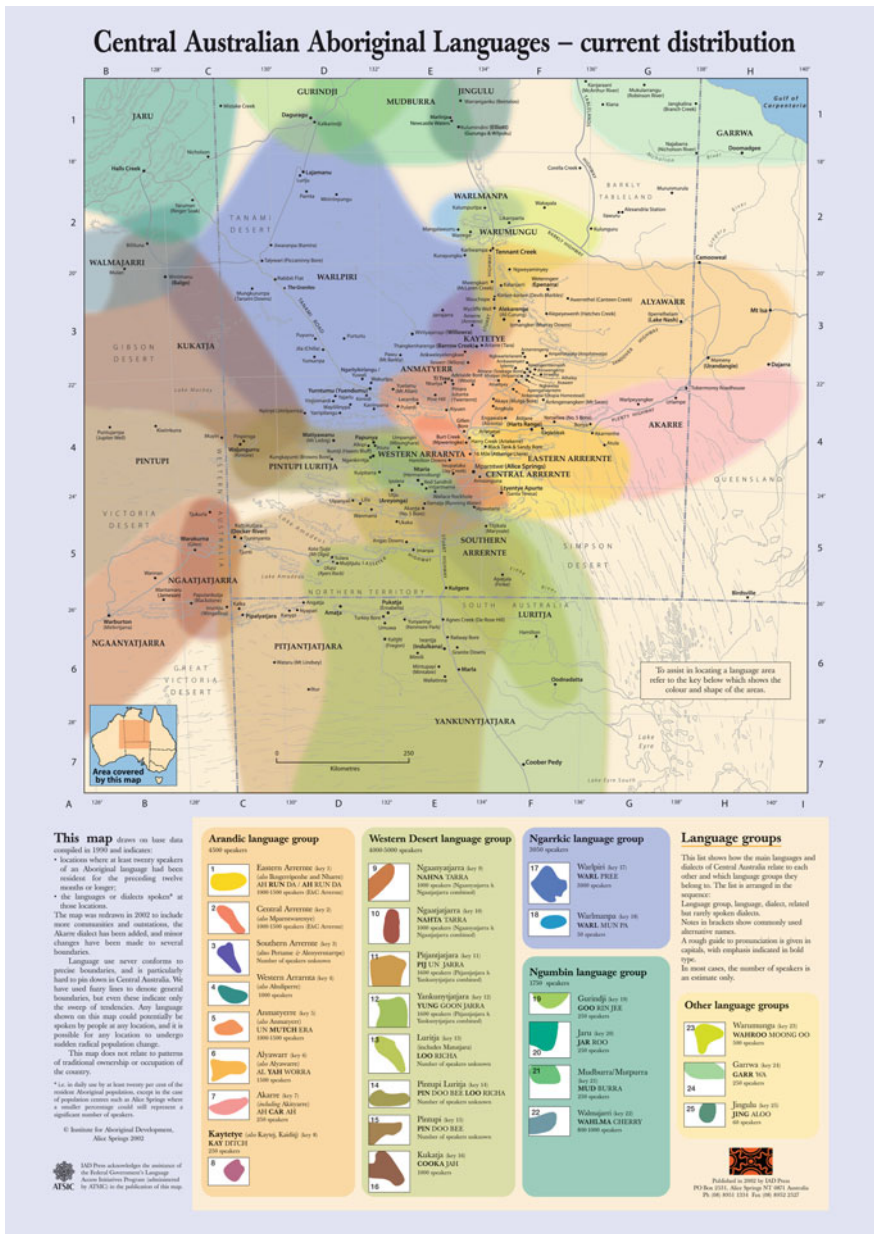
Fig. 15.4 Aboriginal nations and languages: Central Australia (Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs)
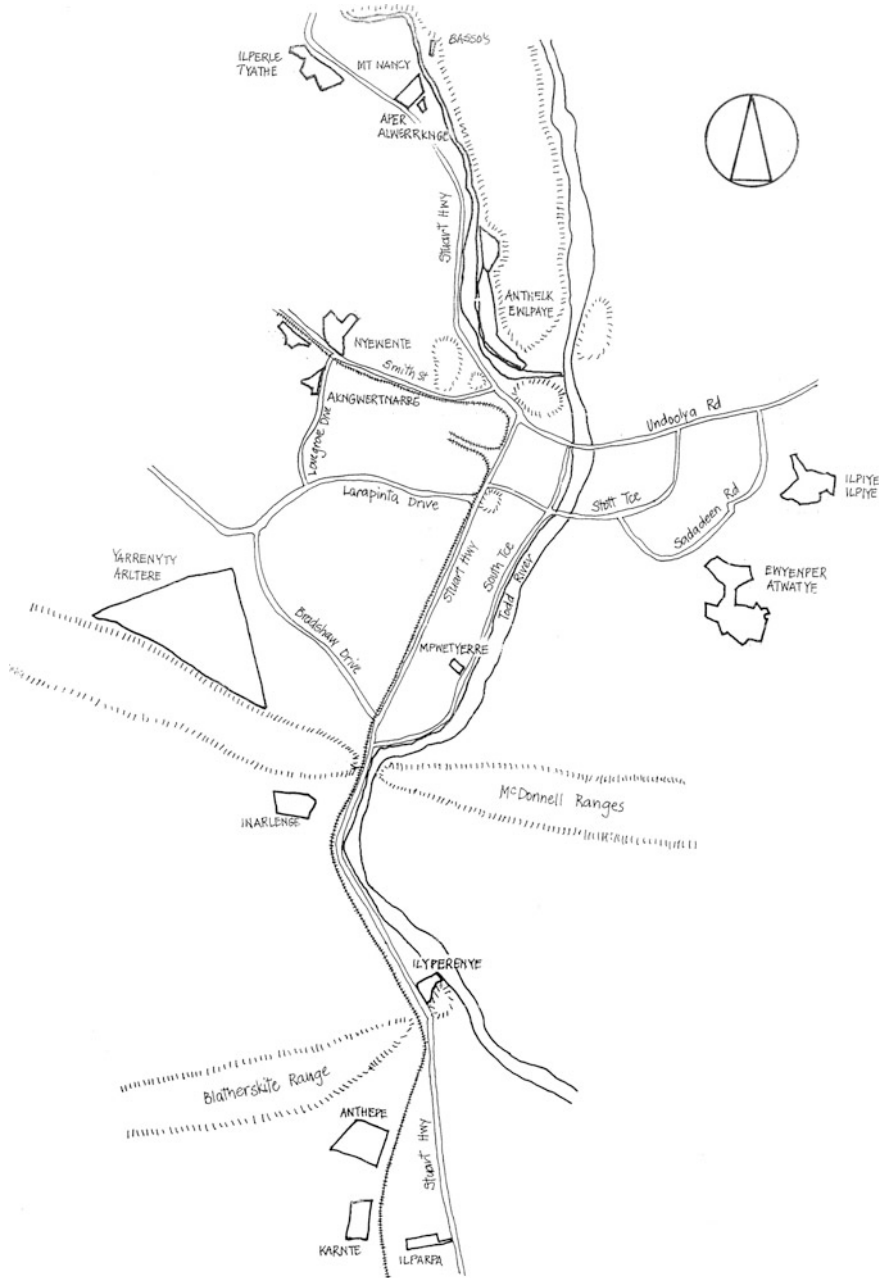
Fig. 15.5 Map showing the development of the town camps in Alice Springs (*Map* Tangentyere Council)

Tangentyere Design has a tradition of committed and competent architects managing the practice and its direction. The efforts of Tangentyere Council's design department in the 1980s, for example, are well documented by Jane Dillon and Mark Savage. Through their work with town camp residents, Dillon and Savage observed and documented Aboriginal domiciliary and socio-spatial behaviours (see 2003) (also see, Heppell and Wigley 1981; Wigley and Wigley 1990), and grappled with the challenges of climate and local construction techniques. Dillon and Savage developed a range of housing types that set benchmarks for Indigenous housing design throughout Australia through the 1980s and 1990s (O'Rourke 2016).

Meaningful engagement with Aboriginal Australians has always been a key component of Tangentyere Design's work. Though taken for granted today (even if not always practised), the notion of asking Aboriginal people what their housing expectations were was novel three or four decades ago. Reflecting on the importance of community engagement as a means of empowerment, Francis Coughlan in his history of the Alice Springs Town Camps noted:

> Consultation is accepted as a self-determining process only in situations where power is not an issue. For example, architects employed by Tangentyere consult with town campers regarding house designs. In such instances, town campers are employing architects to consult them, there is no conflict, and they remain in control of the decision making process (Coughlan 1991: 408).

Much has been written on the significance of consultation and engagement when undertaking architectural work in a cross-cultural context. For example, Lee and Morris (2005) provided a comprehensive review of consultation methods employed by architects working with Indigenous clients to improve housing conditions. Similarly, Geoff Barker (2003) outlined a number of recommendations for working in cross-cultural settings.

The nature of engagement can take many forms, from structured interviews to more involved participatory design methods (see Broffman 2008, 2015). It has been noted that Tangentyere Design, "…probably established the first participatory planning approach to Aboriginal housing design in Australia" (Lee and Morris 2004: 24). Lee and Morris suggest that community participation is often lacking in housing programmes and when this happens:

> …the people are reported to feel disengaged with the process of getting a house. To promote an extended life expectancy for houses, it is important to facilitate a sense of ownership through involvement and negotiation that leads to informed acceptance. (2005: 38).

In the 1990s, Tangentyere began working outside the town camps and in more remote parts of the Central Desert. This was partly in response to the demands of financial stability. Work in the town camps was limited, and other avenues for income were necessary. At the same time, there was a growing interest in developing art centres in the wake of the successful Western Desert Art Movement.[12]

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[12]For further information on the Western Desert Art Movement and Aboriginal peoples' architectural responses, see Grant and Greenop (2018).

Fig. 15.6 Kiwirrkurra Art Studio, Western Australia (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

Tangentyere designed a number of art centres, helping to support the cultural production and economic aspirations of Indigenous people in locations such as Santa Teresa and Yuendumu. Later, Tangentyere's work on art centres extended to Kintore in the far west of the Northern Territory, and to Kiwirrkurra in Western Australia, with facilities for artists represented by the Papunya Tula Artist Cooperative (Fig. 15.6). Tangentyere also worked with Tangentyere Artists in developing an art gallery and studio space in Alice Springs for this emerging enterprise representing the work of town camp artists.

In the latter half of the 1990s, Tangentyere began to feel the pressure to remain commercially viable in the face of shifting government policy priorities. The architects began taking on private and commercial commissions, adding to its established portfolio of work for Aboriginal clients. In 1999, Tangentyere Design became a registered architectural company, competing with other commercial practices across a range of building typologies. In the last decade, the practice has deliberately refocused its efforts on the values of its founding mission, and today the practice continues to manage a balance of work for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal clients.

Purpose

Tangentyere Design is today the trading name for Tangentyere Charitable Trust, established in 1998. The Trust's stated objective is "to relieve the poverty, sickness, destitution, distress, suffering, misfortune or helplessness of Aboriginal people in Central Australia" (Tangentyere Council 1998). While acknowledging the arguably disempowering nature of 'deficit discourse' in the light of recent thinking on strengths-based approaches and 'empowered communities',[13] we can note that this statement from twenty years ago is relevant today, when there is still a wide gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in health, life expectancy, education and employment opportunities.

For many architectural practices, more comfortable with the language of tectonics and inhabitation, Tangentyere Charitable Trust's objective is both ambitious and confronting. The spatial implications of Tangentyere Design's charter are difficult to decipher, as are the range of activities the Trust is tasked with fulfilling, including:

> Alleviating the plight of …communities and their families by improving their housing, living conditions and general standards of living; … Bringing the needs of …communities and their families …before the Australian community, governments and specialised agencies. …Providing for consultation and cooperation between …communities and governments and specialised agencies engaged in the provision of services to Aboriginal people… [and] fostering research into the needs of …communities and their families …and by so doing attempt to overcome their economic, social and cultural problems (Tangentyere Council 1998).

In short, housing, advocacy, consultation, facilitation and research are at the core of Tangentyere Design's founding principles. The challenge for the enterprise is how to 'architecturalise' these values; how to effectively engage with these objectives, to privilege social agency through architectural work, and do so in a way that is sustainable for the business.

It would seem that the Trust's objectives would not allow for the practice of architecture merely to earn income. While some commissions may be more obviously aligned with the idea of cultural agency—an art centre for Aboriginal painters, or health clinics to service the Indigenous population—what of a private residential project or a commercial office fit out? How are such commissions consistent with the idea of 'alleviating the plight of communities'? Does the idea of Indigenous enterprise begin to address this question?

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[13]The so-called deficit models of social analysis are often negative and use a 'blame the victim' paradigm. Alternative ways of working with under-served communities look to more positive images of people (see, for example Empowered Communities 2015). Recently, the Australian Prime Minister proudly noted that the 'empowered communities' model is now being used in eight regions across Australia (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2017: 5).

Indigenous Enterprise

The Australian Prime Minister's *Closing the Gap Report*[14] noted that the 2018 deadline to halve the employment gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people could and would not be met (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2017: 7). Employment levels are considered a key indicator of economic participation, and government has established a number of policy initiatives aimed at improving Indigenous economic engagement, including a range of procurement reforms, and grant funding for Indigenous entrepreneurs and start-up businesses. Many Indigenous businesses provide employment opportunities through land management and tourism ventures that turn cultural connections to country[15] into income earning business propositions. Clearly, there are many benefits to Indigenous enterprise development.

> Due largely to the leadership of Indigenous people themselves, these initiatives have increasingly been aimed beyond the improvement of socioeconomic circumstances. Their goal is not economic development alone, but economic development as part of the larger agenda of rebuilding their communities and nations and reasserting their control over their traditional territories (Peredo et al. 2004: 5).

The notion of 'reasserting their control' is in essence the desire to claim social agency through commercial activity. The difficulty is that economic activity and commercial enterprise are not always compatible for Indigenous people. Peredo et al. note that cultural practice is often seen as a barrier to economic development. Citing modernisation or assimilation development theory, Moore says:

> Pre-existing social relations…family, kinship and community, constitute obstacles to business enterprises and achievement …Successful capitalism involves some rupturing of existing social relations and possibly the diminution of affective relations to leave more space to impersonal, calculating forms of social interaction believed to characterise the market economy (Moore 1997: 289).

Denis Foley, from the University of Newcastle, has also written on what he calls the 'dark side of Indigenous enterprise', namely the psychological strains that are experienced by Indigenous entrepreneurs and their families in establishing and

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[14]The Prime Minister's *Closing the Gap Report* is an annual Federal Government 'report card' on how "…as a nation, [we] are meeting our responsibilities in improving outcomes for our First Australians" (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2017: 6).

[15]In her landmark essay, Deborah Bird Rose states

> Country in Aboriginal English is not only a common noun but also a proper noun. People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country. …Country is a living entity with a yesterday, today and tomorrow, with a consciousness, and a will toward life. Because of this richness, country is home, and peace; nourishment for body, mind, and spirit; heart's ease (1996: 7).

operating businesses. Foley sees this as the negative side of the neoliberal faith in entrepreneurship and questions the ability of the free market to address disadvantage, lifting people out of poverty and into prosperity (Foley 2016).

These observations are fundamentally about Indigeneity; that is, the assumption that the enterprise is not simply Indigenous owned, but in fact is Indigenous managed as well. For those enterprises not managed by an Indigenous person, but claiming status as an Indigenous enterprise, a commonly accepted classification measure of the Indigenous component of ownership is no less than 50%. Varying degrees of ownership, management and Indigeneity are used by certifying agencies (such as Supply Nation) in Australia for determining eligibility as a registered or certified supplier of goods and services.[16]

Tangentyere Design remains Aboriginal owned, but it has never been managed by an Indigenous architect, and its staff members have largely been non-Indigenous as well. An argument could be made on the basis of management and staff alone that Tangentyere Design is not an Aboriginal enterprise. What is sometimes referred to as the 'Aboriginalisation' or 'Indigenising' of organisations as an expression of self-determination continues to challenge Aboriginal organisations reliant on expertise provided by non-Aboriginal staff.

For Tangentyere Design's owners, encouraging greater Aboriginal employment is important, but management by non-Aboriginal employees has not been a barrier to fulfilling its mission. Tangentyere Design's non-Aboriginal managers have historically provided advice regarding the day-to-day operations of the business, but ultimately the mission and vision of the enterprise lie solely with its Aboriginal parent company as stated in its Charitable Trust Deed (see Tangentyere Council 1998).

In the absence of Aboriginal managers, how do the aspirations of its Aboriginal owners find expression in Tangentyere Design's Practice? The practice works on many projects for a range of clients in different locations. How, for example, do projects that are developed in places seemingly far removed from the lives of town camp residents, support their own interests in social and economic justice? Is it sufficient to say that the virtues of ownership are enough to translate into at least a social dividend?

Part of the answer is in the relationship between the technical capacities of the design professionals that manage and run the practice and the social capital of its Aboriginal owners. The literature has established that social capital for Aboriginal people lies in ties to country and kin. Without social capital, there can be no architectural project. Understanding this is essential to creating the foundations upon which the technical aspects of architectural work can be done. In other words, an architectural project must have the imprimatur of its Aboriginal clients for it to have any hope of success. This authority comes through local and distant ties to country. A project in Kintore has resonance for certain town camp language groups through the relationships that exist between the two places.

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[16]For more on this, see Supply Nation's website: http://www.supplynation.org.au.

Social Enterprise

There is an uncomfortable relationship between the neoliberal notion of business enterprise and the concept of social justice. One is committed to financial profit, the other to social equity. Proponents of market mechanisms would suggest, however, that social and environmental issues are, in fact, best managed by a benevolent 'invisible hand' and that the two categories are quite compatible.

In spite of a natural faith in the market to address social challenges and make money at the same time, those who champion a free market approach to social justice still feel a need to distinguish themselves from naked commercial interest. They do so by co-opting the language of a more transformative politics. The 'social' has now become the business of business, and corporate social responsibility, the new mantra, along with the catch phrases triple bottom line, social impact and public value.

These ethical markers have become commonplace. New ways of branding have emerged out of the fertile ground of what might be called, 'ethics on parade'. Businesses now have Reconciliation Action Plans and can obtain 'B-Corp' certification, putatively testifying to their commitment to social and environmental responsibility. In his essay *Battling the Hydra,* Michael Hobbes recounts his advice to the 'head of sustainability of a pet store company':

> Complying with human rights is complicated. It's relevant to all your operations, all your suppliers, all your relationships with governments. We recommend that companies do this privately, and focus on delivering real improvements to their employees and their customers, before they communicate it publicly (Hobbes 2017).

For businesses that aspire to an ethical charter, Hobbes suggests that there be less talk and more action, but he remains doubtful.

> The way to tell how seriously a company takes something is to ask them how much they spend on it. The mining company that paid [a consultant for a charity] $40,000 to research their social investments? They spent $500 million on marketing last year. The pharmaceutical retailer you've been working with, the household name? Their 'social issues' department is exactly one guy. He's outnumbered by tax lawyers 40 to one (Hobbes 2017).

For the not-for-profit sector, social and/or environmental dividends are their *raison d'etre* and profitability is only important insofar as it allows good work to continue. Many non-profits soon find, however, that it is difficult to sustain themselves without some measure of participation in and indeed commitment to the market economy. The concept of 'social enterprise' has been developed to describe this balance.

> The growing practise of social enterprise is fuelled by non-profit organizations' quest for sustainability, particularly in current times when support from traditional, philanthropic, and government sources is declining and competition for available funds is increasing. Social enterprise enables non-profits to expand vital services to their constituents while moving the organization toward self-sufficiency. Non-profit organization leaders understand that only by establishing an independent means of financing can they become a going concern (Alter 2007: 1).

What exactly is a social enterprise, and how is it different from more conventional businesses with a socially responsible mandate? In her survey of business models in Latin America entitled *Social Enterprise Typologies*, Kim Alter suggests the following:

> A social enterprise is any business venture created for a social purpose–mitigating/reducing a social problem or a market failure–and to generate social value while operating with the financial discipline, innovation and determination of a private sector business (Alter 2007: 12).

Alter believes that, "social enterprises use entrepreneurship, innovation and market approaches to create social value and change', and are often 'structured as a department within an organisation or as a separate legal entity, either a subsidiary non-profit or for-profit" (2007: 52). The purpose of the social enterprise, she maintains, may be either as an additional funding mechanism, or as a sustainable programme mechanism in support of the organisation's overall mission. 'Used for either purpose' Alter states, "…business success and social impact are interdependent" (Alter 2007: 18).

Tangentyere Design's primary project focus is typically on work to serve the interests of Aboriginal clients. Whether childcare centres, health clinics, art centres, housing or advocacy, the work is aimed ultimately at creating social value for the recipient communities. When Tangentyere Design manages to turn a financial profit, money goes back to its parent organisation for use in supporting Tangentyere Council's social service programmes, a modest supplement to their grant-based funding.

This has been Tangentyere Design's focus since it was founded. It is only now, however, that the practice has felt a need to brand itself as a 'social enterprise' in response to a market demand for differentiation. In other words, it would seem that simply doing work aimed at social justice outcomes is not sufficient. One must also commodify the effort.

Practice

Tangentyere Design has a broad portfolio of work built over several decades. It has had many architects pass through its doors, some who have gone on to form successful practices of their own. The practice has been honoured by its peers, winning both state and national awards for its architectural work.

The architecture, of course, is important. It visually captures the efforts, the conversations, and the difficulties of getting things built. But the finished buildings —important though they are for their contributions to the built environment and for their role in supporting the aspirations of their clients—are only part of what it means to practise architecture here.

The projects described below capture the broad palate of Tangentyere Design's more recent portfolio. Some are notable for the apparent absence of architecture as it is conventionally understood. These are examples of advocacy through the built

environment. They are projects that redefine what it means to practise architecture in a contested place where more is at stake than simply buildings.

In their introductory essay of *Expanding Architecture: Design as Activism*, Jose Gamez and Susan Rogers make a passionate plea for a socially engaged architectural practice:

> …we must question the tendency to blindly accept the market as a guiding principle. This uncritical acceptance is disempowering and undermines our capacity to conceive of alternatives or to define architecture differently… We can refuse to play unquestioningly by the market rules that insist on the profitability of design; we can investigate the market's spatial impact and look for ways to circumvent its negative influences (Gamez and Rogers 2008: 24).

This type of activism, both in the refusal to play by the market rules and to advocate for an alternative agenda, characterises much of the work Tangentyere Design currently conducts.

The Venice Biennale

The Venice Architecture Biennale is one of the pre-eminent events on the international architecture scene. It is an opportunity for select architectural practices around the world to exhibit their work under their country's curatorial banner. In 2016, approximately 275 000 people visited the exhibition, which occurs at the various international pavilions situated in and around the city of Venice.

In 2012, the Australian pavilion for the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale displayed work by Australian practices under the title, *FORMATIONS: New practises in Australian Architecture*. Curated by creative directors Anthony Burke and Gerard Reinmuth, *FORMATIONS* interrogated the notion of architectural discipline and the myriad connections that might instead be mined for alternative forms of practice. In their introductory essay to the catalogue entitled, *The Plasticity of Practise*, Burke and Reinmuth looked beyond architecture as strictly about form making and instead towards an alternative agency.

> Formations then describes an approach to the dynamic of practising structures that captures a capacity to effect change in domains that extend through and beyond the traditional architect's focus on building. What these formations enable is an effect at a political or cultural level that is rarely possible from the confines of the conventional professional structures and approach (Burke and Reinmuth 2012: 20).

Tangentyere Design was selected for feature in the *Formations* exhibition catalogue, under the title, *Remote Formations*. Tangentyere's Biennale entry mapped the various relationships—through its architectural work—between town camp residents, remote community groups, government policy and decision-making, distance and relational reciprocity (Fig. 15.7).

Though it may be difficult to argue the immediate impact of being featured in an international exhibition on the day-to-day challenges faced by Aboriginal people

Fig. 15.7 2012 Venice Biennale, Tangentyere design's entry submission (*Image* Tangentyere Design)

living in Central Australia, the question of cultural agency does have resonance. As a small Aboriginal owned architectural practice, being on a world stage is significant. It is an opportunity to display work to a wider audience and to prosecute the case for alternative practice that honours cultural agency.

This has been done effectively by other Indigenous groups. The work of Australian Indigenous artists is frequently displayed internationally. At the Musee du Quai Branly, for example, Top End artist Lena Nyadbi's artwork is a permanent feature on the roof of the building. Australia's entry to the 2015 Venice Art Biennale, at the newly opened Australian pavilion, featured creative director Fiona Hall's *Wrong Way Time*, and her curated exhibition of work by a number of Indigenous artists. Following Tangentyere's lead in 2012, other Central Desert architects and designers were included in the Venice Architecture Biennale.[17]

Town Camp Housing: Post-Occupancy Evaluation

In the dying days of the Australian Federal Government led by John Howard[18] in 2007, Indigenous affairs in Australia received renewed interest. At that time, a report on child abuse in Northern Territory Aboriginal communities was released. The *Ampe Akelyernemane Meke Mekarle: Little Children are Sacred Report* shed light on what it found to be widespread sexual abuse of children in Aboriginal communities

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[17]The 2014 Venice Biennale included the work of Alice Springs-based architect Susan Dugdale and Associates, a former senior architect at Tangentyere Design. The 2016 Architecture Biennale displayed pool deck chairs designed by Alice Springs designer Elliat Rich and constructed at the Aboriginal training and development workshop at the Centre for Appropriate Technology.

[18]To see the values, directions and policy priorities of the Coalition Government laid out by the then Prime Minister, John Howard refer to Howard (1996).

(Anderson and Wild 2007). The report contained close to 100 recommendations within a context of redressing Aboriginal social and economic disadvantage.

Regrettably, the report was used by the government of the day to justify the 'Northern Territory Emergency Response'[19] also known as 'The Intervention'.[20] The Intervention included, among other measures, the promise of improved housing in Indigenous communities throughout the Northern Territory, in exchange for land title under a range of extended lease agreements with the Commonwealth. In Alice Springs, the Town Camp Housing Associations, after strong resistance, agreed to 40-year subleases over the land they had fought so hard to secure in the 1970s. The housing programme that emerged from the government's 'intervention' was called the Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program (SIHIP).

Tangentyere Design had a role in scoping the work for major renovations to existing housing in the town camps just prior to the formal implementation of the SIHIP. The housing programme lasted from 2008 to 2011 and included approximately AUD \$100 million of new and renovated housing on the town camps. The new housing was delivered under so-called alliance contracts between the Commonwealth Government and building development partners.

In 2011, at the end of the construction work, Tangentyere Design commissioned the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) to undertake a comprehensive 18-month longitudinal study—a post-occupancy evaluation (POE)—of the housing

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[19]The Northern Territory Emergency Response or 'The Intervention' was an extensive and contentious series of actions by the Australian Commonwealth Government into the lives of Aboriginal peoples living remote communities in the Northern Territory. Roffee suggests that there were three features in the argumentation: "the duality in the Prime Minister's and Minister's use of the Northern Territory Government's *Little Children are Sacred Report*; the failure to sufficiently detail the linkages between the Intervention and the measures combatting child sexual abuse; and the omission of recognition of Aboriginal agency and consultation" (2016: 131).

[20]Rex Wild (co-author with Patricia Anderson) said in the Sydney Morning Herald:

It always seemed significant to us that the Commonwealth interventionists seized on the first sentence of our first recommendation and ignored what followed immediately, which gave it its context (Wild 2008).

Interestingly, the Commonwealth Government's publication *One Year On* (2008) contains the following introduction:

The Northern Territory Emergency Response was announced in response to the first recommendation of the *Little Children are Sacred Report*. This asked that: Aboriginal child sexual abuse in the Northern Territory be designated as an issue of urgent national significance by both the Australian and Northern Territory governments.

In Wild's view, this:

…perpetuates the mischievous and misleading manner in which the Commonwealth Government(s) has always presented the findings of the report. It ignores, as successive silent bureaucrats have continued to ignore, the necessity to grapple with the underlying significant cultural, social and legal issues confronting Indigenous Australians (Wild 2008).

work delivered under the SIHIP. In 2013, CAT completed their report entitled *Housing Experience: Post Occupancy Evaluation of Town Camp Housing 2008–2011* (Centre for Appropriate Technology 2012, 2013). The evaluation, one of CAT's more substantial investigations, remains the most comprehensive assessment of SIHIP housing work and tenant experience in Aboriginal communities completed to date.

The report is noteworthy for a number of reasons. One is that post-occupancy evaluations of Indigenous projects are rarely done, in spite of the valuable lessons that can come out of them. The other reason is that the project represented an initiative by Tangentyere Design to improve its own understanding of housing work, and to contribute to the breadth of the housing literature. The POE is consistently and increasingly cited in submissions to Government (see, e.g., Australian Institute of Architects (NT Chapter) 2016), and other investigations, with 'its pathways to impact' slowly building, including the development of a number of projects that were founded on the report's evidence.

A post-occupancy evaluation is fundamentally a research tool, not what one would normally consider 'architectural' work. However, it is the sort of work to which the practice is devoting more resources, adding to its conventional services of building design and delivery to include research and advocacy.

A University Partnership

Coastal New South Wales and the formerly industrial city of Newcastle seem far away from the Central Desert, but in 2016, Tangentyere Design began a partnership with the University of Newcastle's School of Architecture and Built Environment. Tangentyere Design's interest in the relationship was twofold. On the one hand, the practice sought to diversify its more conventional architectural services, making it more attractive and therefore competitive. On the other, Tangentyere sought to bring resources to a range of town camp projects that the practice had little time to service. A number of these came out of the town camp housing post-occupancy evaluation recommendations.

It has been thought that the partnership might also encourage students to more seriously consider alternative career paths in architecture, and indeed to consider working with Tangentyere Design in the future. Tangentyere Design recognised as well the attractiveness for students to work in a unique cultural and climatic environment without having to travel overseas in search of a cross-cultural experience. The partnership, therefore, would be beneficial to both parties. Importantly, the practice felt that it could continue supporting the aspirations of town camp residents and their building needs.

And so it began: a collaborative effort to bring architecture students to the desert to spend time working with Aboriginal clients on a range of architectural projects for community benefit, pedagogical advantage and sustainable practice.

Tangentyere Design, in consultation with town camp residents and Tangentyere Council, developed a number of project briefs for the students to interrogate. Briefs included community centre renovations and public space activation as well as projects focusing on disability access for an ageing population. The architectural briefs were all in response to the ongoing challenges voiced by Aboriginal people themselves. The students spent two intensive weeks consulting with town camp residents, investigating the various sites and developing design responses to the range of community challenges.

Out of the studio came three community centre designs, and the beginnings of a guideline for home modifications for people living with a disability, chronic illness or facing the challenges of ageing. The guideline is discussed in more detail below. Two of the community centre design proposals were subsequently used to support successful capital works funding applications. It is anticipated the renovation work to these facilities will be completed in mid 2018 (Fig. 15.8).

Tangentyere Design's partnership with the University of Newcastle and their collaborative advocacy efforts on behalf of town camp residents will continue in 2017 with a number of town camp projects, including community safety through public space planning and traffic management, prototype housing modifications to address overcrowding and disability access, and upgrades to an existing youth recreation facility to improve the delivery of family outreach services.

Fig. 15.8 Tangentyere and the University of Newcastle 'Pop-Up' Studio, Alice Springs, 2016 (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

Accessibility Project

Visit any of the Town Camps in Alice Springs and one will encounter elderly residents often sitting on their front verandas or cooking around a fire in their yards. The challenges of ageing and disability on town camps and remote settlements are substantial. Grant et al. note that while census data indicate that around 20 000 Indigenous Australians may be assumed to be living with a profound or severe disability, the literature indicates that these figures are merely the 'tip of the iceberg', with evidence in the order of 50% of Indigenous people living with some form of disability, and often requiring specialised housing solutions (2016: 2). Many of the houses in the Alice Springs town camps are not designed for disability access nor easily adaptable. Doorways are too narrow, and bathrooms too small; level changes from yards to verandas and from verandas to front doors are often too high to negotiate without ramps. The stories of elderly residents and people with disabilities or chronic illnesses trying to lead dignified lives in poor housing conditions can be confronting.

One of the projects that came out of the Tangentyere Design and University of Newcastle collaboration in 2016 was the beginnings of a guideline aimed at improving disability access. The guide was entitled *Housing for better health* and was developed by University of Newcastle architecture students in consultation with Tangentyere Council's Aged and Community Services Division and town camp residents (Tangentyere Design and University of Newcastle 2016). The guide's illustrated pages tell the stories of a number of elderly residents and the challenges they face in moving in and around their homes. Suggesting a number of optional home modifications, each with a price and a suggested timeframe, the guide is designed to offer housing providers a clear and simple way to begin addressing the needs of an ageing population often living with a disability.

Tangentyere Design has since taken the guide a step further and developed a proposal for a larger 'accessibility project' that includes further work on the guide as well as a pilot project to inform the guide's recommendations. This work has included the establishment of partnerships with occupational therapists, researchers, academics, building practitioners and the construction industry. Approaches to government and philanthropic organisations to fund this ongoing work continue.

The viability and success of this work will be tested in anticipation of the roll-out of the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS), scheduled in Central Australia in 2018. The NDIS is a new approach to disability services, devolving control of service selection to the consumer. While there is currently no new funding for housing attached to the NDIS (Grant et al. 2017), Tangentyere Design is attempting to employ its architectural knowledge to ensure its constituents benefit as the landscape around the NDIS evolves. The stark reality remains that many Indigenous people living with disabilities face multiple barriers to securing appropriate housing and negotiating living environments that meet their needs. When coupled with known issues around access to, and the quality of, housing and community infrastructure (Grant et al. 2014), "…this puts the population group at

an even more disadvantage in terms of health, wellbeing and social, economic and community participation" (Grant et al. 2016: 1).

Watarrka Visitors' Shelter

The Ernest Giles Road[21] is a short cut for four-wheel drive enthusiasts who wish to wander off the sealed flats and experience the jarring challenges of the dirt tracks that connect the interior of the Northern Territory. The Giles Road winds west to Watarrka National Park, also known as Kings Canyon. The track skirts the southern end of the Finke Gorge National Park and crosses through pastoral areas as it makes its way past the Henbury meteor craters. Along the way, spinifex-covered granite ranges give way to sand dunes and desert oaks (sp. *Allocasuarina decaisneana*). On approach to Watarrka, the layered sandstone hills begin to rise up, and a sense of quiet solitude takes hold (Fig. 15.9).

In 2016, Tangentyere Design worked with the Parks and Wildlife Commission of the Northern Territory and their joint management partners, the Traditional Owners of Watarrka, to develop a visitor information shelter. To prepare for the work, the practice researched traditional forms of shelter including windbreaks, wiltjas and stone walled bird hides found in ethno-architectural forms of Western Desert architecture (see Keys 1997; Memmott and Go-Sam 1999; Memmott 2003, 2007). It became apparent, however, during conversations with the project working group that they were not interested in these traditional forms, or in architectural references related to *Jukurrpa* (the Dreaming).

Architecture often uses form as a way of telling stories, but for many Indigenous people stories are not always for sharing. The select use of important symbols in painting, for example, has become a way to protect story and in that protection, assert cultural agency. Findley describes the development of the Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa Cultural Centre where architectural expression was found in a range of techniques including the use of non-sacred symbols, traditional forms and materials, as well as in the telling of stories through spatial movement and arrangement (2005: 79–136). Anangu[22] refer to tourists as *minga.*[23] Tourists at Watarrka are also referred to by the Traditional Owners, *Martutjarra-Luritja* and others as *minga*, emptying from

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[21]The road was named for the non-Aboriginal Central Desert explorer and runs between the Stuart Highway and Luritja Road south of Alice Springs.

[22]Anangu means 'person' or 'human being' in the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara languages, however, it is now used as a noun for Aboriginal person (especially an Aboriginal person originating from Central Australia).

[23]Pitjantjatjara speakers have adapted some words to describe new concepts. One term for tourists is *minga*, the word for ant, but often used for the tourists as they appear like tiny scurrying specks as they climb the massive flank of Uluṟu (Ayers Rock) (see Findley 2005: 83). It must be noted that Anangu ask as visitors to their land that people respect their wishes, culture and law and not to climb Uluṟu.

Fig. 15.9 Aerial view of road to Watarrka National Park, Northern Territory (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

Fig. 15.10 Watarrka National Park Visitor Information Shelter (*Photograph* Tangentyere Design)

their cars and disgorged coaches as they wander off on their walks through the park. The Watarrka Working Group decided that the design response for the shelter should capture this amusing image of ants, an image that could be more widely shared (Fig. 15.10).

While the design of the shelter met its functional brief and is both curious and playful, it does not express any overt or implied cultural meaning. Its interpretation remains open to the viewer, just as the Traditional Owners had wished. For architects, the lessons from this experience are not so much about the primacy of form and built expression, but more about allowing the time and creating the circumstances for meaningful conversations to unfold. Perhaps there are messages for the future about the types of buildings that Indigenous communities might wish to generate?

Conclusion

For almost four decades, Tangentyere Design has carved out an architectural practice within the contested landscape of Indigenous affairs. It is a landscape that has been shaped by a legacy of government policies of assimilation, self-determination, reconciliation, shared responsibility and intervention.

Against this backdrop, Tangentyere Design has been committed to working for Indigenous clients across Central Australia to achieve healthy, safe and innovative built environments. The practice has endeavoured to work with humility and is comfortable with uncertainty. Its formation is interrogative; the answers always in play.

At the practice's beginnings, Tangentyere Design assisted Aboriginal people in Alice Springs in securing land tenure and basic housing and infrastructure. Its work since has included childcare centres, schools, health clinics, art studios and aged-care buildings. And it continues today to advocate for better housing and community facilities for Indigenous Australians. As an Aboriginal owned enterprise, Tangentyere Design is accountable to the Tangentyere Executive Council, comprised of the eighteen town camp housing associations, who themselves represent some ten language groups with traditional ties to remote communities where much of our work is located.

Tangentyere architects drive hundreds of kilometres along dirt tracks to places that swelter under 50° temperatures, where there are no building supply stores, no skilled trades, and limited telephone communications. They venture to places where cultural practice for many remains strong, but also where despair and hopelessness pervade; where Indigenous languages continue to be spoken, but also are disappearing. Its architects work in locations where the existing built fabric is often sparse and ad hoc, where buildings may be abandoned or in states of disrepair. And they practise in places where social relations are strong but often strained by violence.

Architects may naively enter this landscape. We know briefs and understand budgets, we can investigate a site and design, document and administer contracts. We think we are able to express our architectural visions, and work to understand the visions and aspirations of our clients. But our training also assumes a pact between client and architect; an understanding that, in this formation, may not be understood. To many Aboriginal people living in discrete communities, architects may be just another fly-in–fly-out service provider, regarded with reasonable suspicion.

It is here—where process is equally important to the product, where outcomes are as much about health as they are about creating beautiful buildings—that a unique formation is required. Here, an ethics of performance is essential; a constant reflection to not simply deliver a competent professional service, but one which embraces the challenges of remote disadvantage and profound cultural difference. In Central Australia, where many Aboriginal people continue to practise traditional lifestyles, the practice of architecture in the interests of social justice demands careful, deliberate and considered communication. This can only be done through commitment to place and by building strong relationships over time.

Tangentyere Design—settled with a measure of historical irony in the Old Hartley Street School—straddles the worlds of commerce and culture. It recognises the importance of advocacy and agency for its parent organisation, Tangentyere Council, and its owners, the town camp people of Alice Springs. With a strong architectural legacy and record of advocacy, Tangentyere Design seeks to continue as an innovative Aboriginal owned enterprise committed to social justice in the built environment.

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Chapter 16
Indigenous Traditional Knowledge and Contemporary Architecture in Australia

Timothy O'Rourke

Introduction

This chapter traces the varied uses of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander building traditions across different periods of colonisation to the early twenty-first century. In Australia, two-way exchanges of European and Indigenous building technology began on the colonial frontier and continued in remote parts of the country into the twentieth century. Despite the eventual dominance of colonial and modern architecture, Aboriginal building traditions have persisted in certain places across an uneven history of European contact. Renewed interest in Aboriginal and Islander building traditions, in addition to a wider recognition of the varied dwelling types and materials, suggests a potential for greater reuse and inventive adaptation of these traditions in contemporary architecture.

Used in this chapter, partly for convenience, building tradition includes the knowledge and skills associated with construction of dwellings. As a craft practice, materials, technologies and structure are of interest to architects and designers. But building tradition also carries a broader sense than its reference to built form and its construction. It encompasses the spatial practices associated with dwelling and the occupation of buildings. This is particularly so in self-constructed environments but also in the ways in which conventional or mainstream environments are adapted or altered to suit distinctive social and cultural practices (Long 2005).

This chapter examines the representation of the varied forms of Indigenous building traditions that are broadly continuous with—but not necessarily unchanged from—precolonial living conditions. What sources and types of building knowledge have been used, and what are the under-explored options that might enrich architecture for Indigenous people and non-Indigenous building users? Providing a broad overview, the chapter identifies uses of tradition and examines the different

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ways that architects have referenced Aboriginal or Islander building knowledge in the design of different building types.

Although the chapter considers different approaches to represent Aboriginal knowledge, this excludes architecture that references cultural symbols beyond those related to building. The metaphorical or figurative use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, beliefs, art or history in architecture is a broader and keenly debated topic (see Dovey 1996; Fantin 2003; Lochert 1997; Memmott 1997, 2007; Grant and Greenop 2018). There are many more published examples of this approach to design in contemporary architecture than those buildings that make reference to traditional building practices.[1] This exclusion limits the scope of the chapter and reduces the number of relevant precedents, although the politics of cultural representation and identity encountered across different approaches to architecture are still germane to this topic.[2]

The first part of this chapter provides a brief description of the precolonial building traditions and precedents. In a further five parts, the remainder of the chapter examines the different ways that Indigenous building traditions have been used and transformed since colonisation. Each of these parts categorise the use of tradition for analytical purposes and to frame the discussion and precedents (not all of which fit neatly into this taxonomy). The five-part classification begins with an overview of enduring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander practices and ends with the more figurative representation of Indigenous building traditions in contemporary architecture in Australia.

Precolonial Building Precedents

The precolonial Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander buildings were predominantly domestic in use and related to the seasonal and ceremonial cycles of hunter-gatherer lifestyles. The great diversity of people and environments, including the different building traditions across the islands of the Torres Strait, tends to negate generalisations, although common building types are evident in the fragmented evidence of Aboriginal settlement patterns and dwellings. Aboriginal people in different places drew upon a repertoire of dwellings related to the seasonal conditions and duration of stay in the camp. Camps could be transient, lasting less than a day, or verging on sedentary, when groups occupied habitual campsites across several seasons (Keen 2004; Memmott 2007; O'Rourke 2012, 2013).

Knowledge of the repertoires of dwellings and the ways they were employed draws on enduring building practices, ethnographic documentation and historical

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[1]For example, see the early work of Merrima Design (Wilson 1998; O'Brien 2006), architect Greg Burgess (Spence 1988) and the increasingly inventive approaches to the integration of Indigenous art in buildings.

[2]In design processes, this includes observing cultural and social protocols, with attention to adequate, informed consultation (Memmott and Reser 2000).

records (both archival documents and oral histories). The records of Indigenous building tradition relate to the colonial frontier, the time of the European invasion, the duration of conflict and the spatial consequences for Indigenous people. Dispossession from land in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was often highly destructive leaving fragmented European references to settlement patterns or dwellings. In contrast, relatively late colonisation of remote areas in Central and Northern Australia, where Aboriginal people were able to remain on their lands, supported both continued building practices and scholarly documentation of traditions (Biernoff 1974; Reser 1977, 1979; Memmott 1996, 1979; Keys 1997, 1999; Long 2009).

Despite the geographic diversity of the continent, several dwelling types were common to varied groups and environments across mainland Australian and its islands. Windbreaks were common to the repertoire in different places and climates, indicating the preference for outdoor living and a minimal architectural response to often benign climatic conditions. Shade structures, similarly, were built throughout arid, subtropical and tropical regions. As a type, domical dwellings were used across the continent for wet and cold weather. The domed building varied considerably in shape and size, from small, low domes to the distinctive beehive-shaped domes on Mer (Murray Island) and Erub (Darnley Island) in the Torres Strait Islands (Long 2009). Images of these dwelling types from photographs and drawings describe the forms, but construction techniques and material technologies have been documented in only a few places.[3] By extrapolation, ethnographic data indicate the purpose and use of the dwellings, although interpretations are limited where the data are sparse (Fig. 16.1).

For architects wanting to explore tradition when working with a particular Indigenous group, the source material will depend on the colonial history of the group, their practices and oral histories, and the extent of the record of their built environment. Paul Memmott's (2007) book *Gunyah, goondie + wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* provided a much-needed general reference to Aboriginal building traditions. This overview acknowledges that further research is required to document the architectural traditions of the Torres Strait Islands and many other regions where the published histories are limited or non-existent.

Different Uses of Building Tradition

It is useful to consider the different ways in which building traditions are still used by Indigenous groups or applied in architectural practice, as well as the few examples where these traditions are referenced in other disciplines. To this purpose,

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[3]With a few exceptions, archaeologists (O'Connell 1979) and architects (e.g. Peter Hamilton in Memmott 2007: 226–231; O'Rourke 2012) tend to be more interested in construction technique than anthropologists.

Fig. 16.1 Village on Mer (Murray Island) in the early twentieth century when the traditional domical dwellings been influenced by the rectilinear plan forms introduced by missionaries (*Photograph* State Library of Queensland)

it is necessary to consider extant Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander building practices and examine the design approaches used to employ these practices in contemporary architecture. Although still marginal in contemporary practice, a greater interest in the history of Indigenous building is synonymous with a broader scholarship on non-Western architectural traditions, often marginalised or displaced by a combination of colonialism and modernity (Asquith and Vellinga 2006).

Current and potential uses of tradition include the continued construction and occupation of what are evidently precolonial building types, which demonstrate the continuity of traditional knowledge, skills and living preferences. Such precedents are increasingly uncommon in the twenty-first century and serve to illustrate the extent of building knowledge lost through colonial processes and displacement of Aboriginal and Islander people. As a primary category, extant building tradition serves as a referent for contemporary design practice.

With the onset of colonisation, selected Indigenous traditions adapted to new building types are evident in different precedents that might be described as a form of hybrid architecture. These types of building that blend traditions demonstrate that exchanges of building settler and autochthonous technologies were prominent on the contact frontier. On many Indigenous missions and reserves, self-built dwellings were a necessity well into the twentieth century. In such places, there were often a temporal overlap between continued use of precolonial types and adapted settler

types of building.[4] Lapsed building traditions also re-emerge in reconstructions of buildings that often aim to represent the precolonial past. Reconstructed for varied purposes, this display of building heritage contrasts with the previous two categories—continuity and adaptation—in favouring representation rather than occupation and use. This practice, not without its architectural critics, can be useful to communities and informative to designers seeking to learn from the traditions.

While the first three categories are convenient to examine autochthonous use of tradition, designers tend to select particular Indigenous building traditions in the service of new architectural types. This includes the appropriation and reuse of form, or the use of Indigenous building materials. These two categories are examined separately, although a number of the examples are overlapping. The next section of this chapter examines the use of building tradition through the use of these five, loosely defined categories.

Persistent Building Traditions

Aboriginal building tradition persisted through both necessity and preference, particularly when forms continued to support cultural practices. Sustained use of building crafts is inevitably dependent on contact histories and the effect of colonisation on Indigenous peoples. Aboriginal and Islander people were quick to adopt the new building technologies of the colonisers, but in remote communities and outstations, resources were often limited to traditional materials. Remoteness and continued presence on homelands are common conditions for the maintenance of traditional building types and technologies.

Anthropologists (Peterson 1973; Biernoff 1974; Reser 1977; 1979) were able to document the persistence of stringybark (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*)-roofed platform structures in Arnhem Land in the 1970s, showing a continuity of classical building traditions that anthropologist Donald Thomson (1948, 1949a, b) had photographed and described in the 1940s. The buildings were mostly in outstations or seasonal camps, and their presence tended to decrease in the more sedentary communities.

A study of building traditions in the Wet Tropics region of north-eastern Australia revealed that multiple factors were required to maintain the knowledge and skills required to sustain building crafts (O'Rourke 2012). With histories of dispossession the norm, access to resources in familiar, intact Indigenous landscapes were one of the conditions for the maintenance of knowledge and skills. It helped to be living on the country or, at least, alongside it. Small numbers of Girramay and Jirrbal people continued to construct domical dwellings (*mija*) as lived-in housing on the periphery of European settlements until the 1960s.

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[4]Various studies have described the continuity of precolonial or classical (see Sutton 1988) practices in built environments that were visually quite distinct from historically recognised forms (Keys 1999; Long 2005; O'Rourke 2012: 138–139).

Individuals sporadically continued the practice into the early 2000s although by then, the purpose of the construction had shifted to representation for education or tourism rather that occupation. Studies of these dwellings revealed an extensive range of materials used for the structure and cladding, drawn from a mosaic of biodiverse ecosystems (O'Rourke 2012).

Two of the common building types in the repertoire of shelters used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Memmott 2007), the windbreak and the bough shade were still being built and used in the twenty-first century. Although the bough shade was adapted and widely used by the settler society on the frontier, the windbreak has remained as a distinctly Indigenous building type (see Fig. 16.2). The adaptation and continued use of these two traditional shelter types deserve greater recognition and use in contemporary architecture, either symbolically or as useful additions to conventional building.

The available records indicate that bough shades were a consistent part of the repertoire of dwellings across the continent and extending into the Torres Strait (Long 2009). Bough shades were typically a post and rail structure made from stout or slender branches depending on the available trees. Two pairs of forked posts each supported poles that then carried secondary boughs or branches as purlins. In arid environments, a brush roof of branches was laid across the frame, to which grass could be added. In the tropics, bark or palm thatch was used to construct more waterproof roofing. Aboriginal bough shades were typically low in height for the seated users who occupied the shelters during the day.

Fig. 16.2 A windbreak and bough shade in the yard of a house in Dajarra, north-west Queensland in 2013 (*Photograph* Timothy O'Rourke)

Aboriginal windbreaks were typically curvilinear elements open to the sky, with considerable material and formal variation between regions. Orientated to provide protection from cold winds, windbreaks were commonly used as a nocturnal shelter but also inhabited during daytime activities. When used during the day, a low-walled windbreak allowed for visual surveillance beyond the living space of the residence group. In the Torres Strait, Stephen Long (2009) recorded the persistence of two types of traditional windbreak on Erub or Darnley Island. Built along the beach side of housing, tall bamboo fences, locally named *kai* or *mud*, were used to decrease the intensity of strong seasonal winds and may have served a defensive purpose. Given the typically fragmented information on precolonial architecture, it is difficult to compare with precolonial practices, although intent and purpose are evidently similar. The second type of windbreak constructed in the Torres Strait was similar in purpose to the shelters constructed on the mainland in different climatic zones (Fig. 16.3).

Fig. 16.3 A bamboo windbreak on Erub (Darnley Island) in 2007 (*Photograph* Stephen Long)

Adapted Traditions and Hybridity

Cross-cultural exchanges of building technologies were an early feature of the contact frontier. Early settlers appropriated Indigenous thatching technologies, often using the techniques and materials for decades on the frontier where manufactured building materials were scarce. Conversely, Aboriginal people readily adopted the new imported materials to their architecture whenever opportunities arose. Two-way exchange became more lopsided over time, but Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people appropriated materials and technologies to create buildings that supported social and cultural practices. There are different ways in which contemporary design might reference these hybrid traditions.

Depending on the agency of the builders, self-constructed environments and hybrid architectural types offer an insight into domestic spatial practices as well as modes of construction. A few scholars have documented the organisation and use of such environments, which includes adaptations to conventional housing that continued into the twentieth century (Ross 1987; Keys 1999; Long 2005; Memmott 2007). The self-built dwellings—humpies and huts—characterise the living conditions on Aboriginal reserves and in the fringe camps that persisted on the edge of regional and remote towns until the 1960s and 1970s (Memmott 2007: 258–283). Humpies[5] were constructed from locally gathered timber and imported materials, mostly recycled corrugated iron, flattened kerosene tins, hessian and tarpaulins.

Stephanie Smith's (1996, 2000) study of Aboriginal town camps in Goodooga in north-western New South Wales documented the adaptation of fencing technologies to construct permanent dwellings. The self-constructed dwellings were an elaboration of the bough shed clad in recycled corrugated steel, constructed from bush timbers tied together with wire hitches, with inventive details for the structure and openings. Where the dwellings were more permanent, the structural grids could be extended to house families that were typically dynamic in numbers.

In this period of adapting to sedentary settlement, windbreaks were built in town camps and in the yards of conventional housing in both remote settlements and urban areas. Whenever available, sheets of recycled corrugated steel, held in place with steel pickets, replaced local organic materials. Much of the government-supplied housing failed to meet social and cultural requirements in Aboriginal communities, and a common response was to organise living environments adjacent to the house. Corrugated steel windbreaks served to define spaces and protect outdoor cooking and sleeping areas in yards. Windbreaks and bough shades were constructed to create outdoor rooms with arrangements of furniture including beds, wood stoves and tables (Long 2005).

Missionaries typically used architecture as one of the methods of 'civilising' the Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander traditions (Attwood 1989; O'Rourke 2018). The early missions across Australia invariably relied on local Indigenous building

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[5]*Humpy* is derived from the Brisbane region Aboriginal word for dwelling.

technologies and material to construct the formally planned settlement. This was most often expressed in the cladding of European building types: eucalyptus bark sheets in Cape York Peninsula and Victoria; spinifex thatch in the arid interior and blady grass and palm leaf thatch in the tropics and Torres Strait Islands. Although the missionaries strove to build in conventional materials,[6] the autochthonous traditions persisted with money and manufactured materials in short supply. In most examples, the missionaries determined the building—basic cottage or huts for domestic architecture—but the construction by necessity was a mixture of Indigenous and imported technologies. The most striking examples were invariably the churches, designed after Western European types but clad using local Indigenous material. The Lockhart River Mission Church built in the 1950s, for example, was roofed in melaleuca bark, with walls of stringybark.

With differences across the archipelago, it is difficult to generalise for the Torres Strait Island group but the thatching and weaving traditions were well suited to cottage architecture. The influx of missionaries into the Torres Strait Islands in the late nineteenth century changed the dwelling types over a short period (Beckett 1987), although some building technologies persisted (Long 2009).

Reconstructing Building Traditions

In the 1960s and 1970s, a wider recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people by governments and institutions, coupled with Indigenous political activism, encouraged varied forms of cultural expression and revival, particularly in performance and art (Merlan 1989). This production and presentation of material culture has occasionally featured building forms, with the practice increasing in the twenty-first century. Created mostly to reproduce the precolonial past, the architecture contrasts with other Indigenous art and craft practices that have responded to contemporary markets through the innovative use of traditional and novel media, particularly in painting (Sutton 1988; Myers 2002; Morphy 2007), sculpture (Jones et al. 1986; Sutton 2007) and fibre arts (Hamby 2010).

Precolonial building types are reconstructed for several reasons: as an expression of group identity, encouraged by scholarly interest in material culture and for cultural tourism. Reconstructing building heritage has its limits and challenges, but the process can be of benefit to communities. Used as a research method, reconstruction can elicit material and construction details used in traditional buildings that have been previously unrecorded (O'Rourke 2012). This type of documentary evidence of construction is useful to designers wanting to reference or reuse particular traditional technologies (see Fig. 16.4).

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[6]The Lutherans in Central Australia were an exception, thinking that churches built from local materials would aid the process of religious conversion (Leske 1977). Some missionaries followed a similar approach for housing (Grant 1999).

Fig. 16.4 A *mija* reconstructed by Girramay builders in 2004 (*Photograph* Timothy O'Rourke)

Global and local interest in Indigenous cultural tourism creates economic incentives for reconstructing architectural heritage over the longer term. There can be valid architectural reasons for criticising reconstructed traditional buildings for tourism experiences (Oliver 2001), despite the potential for financial gains and the affirmation of cultural identity (O'Rourke and Memmott 2007). A standard critique is to question the authenticity of traditions commodified for tourism, particularly when buildings are constructed in places with limited reference to environmental and historical conditions (O'Rourke 2006). It can also be argued that reconstructed buildings can represent different forms of adaption and reinvention of traditions that can be employed productively. As in other craft practices, novel materials and abstracted forms can create critical representations and interpretations of the past. Artists Fiona Foley and Djon Mundine, for example, used the form of a bough shade as a major element in their joint sculpture 'Ngaraka: Shrine for the Lost Koori' situated on Acton Peninsula in Canberra. The evocative steel structure— covering a midden of crushed kangaroo bones—demonstrates the symbolic potential of traditional architectural forms (see Fig. 16.5).

Fig. 16.5 'Ngaraka: Shrine for the Lost Koori' by Djon Mundine and Fiona Foley in Canberra (*Photograph* Timothy O'Rourke)

Morphological Reference to Traditions

The use of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander building form or structure has received scant attention from designers. This can partly be explained by the widespread ignorance of building types, as well as the transient nature of the more common types. There is also the architectural challenge of fitting forms to purpose. Contemporary design approaches to the use of Indigenous building require some form of abstraction, even for domestic architecture, which would require adjustments to the scale of the Indigenous precedents.

The vaulted stringybark platform shelters found in Arnhem Land and Cape York Peninsula are perhaps one of the most recognisable and striking of Aboriginal building forms. In the early 1970s, Peter Myers designed the Naparipuluwamigi Keeping Place at Nguiu on Bathurst Island as a barrel-vaulted structure in reference to local building forms (Myers 1980: 66; Memmott and Fantin 2007: 244; Grant and Greenop 2018). Built at Nguiu (renamed Wurrumiyanga), corten steel portal frames were used to construct a semicircular vault, which was lined internally with stringybark sheets. Local Tiwi artists painted the bark panels with traditional designs, in reference to the earlier practice of painting on bark sheets used for cladding dwellings (Tacon and Davies 2004). The building was used for storage for many years but since 1994 began operating as Ngaruwanajirri Arts Collective and Gallery. With its direct reference to formal building tradition and use of a decorated stringybark ceiling, Myers' design is one of the most successful, yet little-known, examples of building in Australia that reference Aboriginal architecture.

Fig. 16.6 Naparipuluwamigi Keeping Place on Bathurst Island designed by Peter Myers in circa 1974 (*Photograph* Satrina Brandt)

Furthermore, its modest plan appears to have supported changing uses over four decades, while retaining the integrity of the structure and ceiling (see Fig. 16.6).

The forked post and ridge-pole used in different shelters throughout Arnhem Land are significant to Yolngu (Yolŋu) mythology and ceremony (Reser 1977). In response to a request by an Aboriginal client in the community of Galawin'ku, Troppo Architects referenced forked post and ridge-pole in the verandah posts and balustrade (see Memmott and Fantin 2007: 244). The modest architectural gesture, developed through informed consultation with the client, is one of the few examples of an attempt to use this type of symbolism in housing.

Also inspired by the elevated stringybark shelters from Arnhem Land, Simon Scully of Build Up Design in Darwin cited these dwellings as an inspiration for his backyard 'love shack' (Fantin 2002). In this rare example of Aboriginal influence on non-Indigenous architecture, the relationship to tradition is more figurative rather than mimetic.

Commissioned to design a public monument that told the grim story of the Hull River Mission in north-eastern Queensland, Insideout Architects consulted the Girramay, Jirru and Jirrbal descendants of the mission inmates (Gibson and Besley 2004: 66; O'Rourke 2012: 232). Proud of their architectural heritage, the Aboriginal Elders requested a building in the shape of a *mija*, traditional domical dwellings that were symbolic of their rainforest culture. Insideout Architects used

Fig. 16.7 Monument to Hull River Mission designed by Insideout Architects, built in 2004 at Mission Beach Queensland (*Photograph* Timothy O'Rourke)

curved steel tubes to reference the traditional sapling lattice framework of the *mija*, with sheets of corrugated steel mimicking the palm leaf (or bark) cladding (see Fig. 16.7). Although successful as a public monument, this example raises questions about the relationship between architectural abstraction and representations of tradition, as well as public readings of metaphorical allusions to traditional form, structure and materials.

The lattice structure of saplings and rattan (*Calamus* spp.), which was used to build relatively complex organic forms, remains under-explored in architecture (see Fig. 16.8). This building tradition is relatively localised, related to the geographically limited tropical rainforest regions in Australia extending along north-eastern coast of Queensland. The architectural potential of the traditional forms, and developments in modelling software, integrated with advanced timber technology could be combined to create buildings that represent the building heritage of the rainforest Aboriginal groups.[7] Vaulted forms, which used a similar construction technique and were recorded in coastal areas from central New South Wales to the Torres Strait, are similarly open to architectural and structural experimentation.

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[7]The integration of computer software for design and wood machining technology has allowed advances in timber lattice structures, such as those by Shigeru Ban.

Fig. 16.8 Sapling and rattan lattice mija frame constructed by Girramay and Gulngay builders in 2004 (*Photograph* Timothy O'Rourke)

Indigenous Building Materials for Contemporary Architecture

Traditional Indigenous building materials offer a potentially expressive palette for contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander architecture, but with particular constraints. Greater awareness of vernacular building traditions has led to renewed interest in materials for aesthetic and environmental regions. A quest for improved sustainability in construction is one reason for the inventive reuse of materials previously alien to modern construction—bamboo is one example. Commercial imperatives also drive research on the properties of traditional organic material and the development of new building products or elements. One challenge is to develop the organic materials into more durable building products and ensure the resources are harvested sustainably.

The varied traditional cladding types are an under-explored source for contemporary architectural applications. Eucalyptus bark is one of the more expressive of the endemic Aboriginal building materials, for both its materiality and its formal qualities, particularly when heat-treated and curved. Arnhem Land structures recorded in images by Donald Thomson (Wiseman 1996; Thomson and Peterson 2005) evoke these qualities, as do the images of Aboriginal bark shelters in Victoria (see Memmott 2007: 76–78). Adopted by the early settlers, eucalyptus bark was used extensively as cladding for both domestic and civic architecture. In many missions located in forested country, churches were clad with the relatively durable

eucalyptus bark.[8] As discussed above, architect Peter Myers used the local Darwin stringybark on his design for a Keeping Place on Bathurst Island. At this scale, it is relatively sustainable, but harvesting the bark kills the tree and the more commercial use of bark as cladding or lining would need to be evaluated.

Spinifex grass (*Triodia* spp.) covers extensive regions of arid and semi-arid Australia and was used by Aboriginal people as a thatch, particularly for their domical wet weather dwellings. The settlers adopted the thatch to their own building types, and the grass was used extensively in arid zone missions for cottages and on early churches (Pittman 2010; O'Rourke and Memmott 2014). Architect Peter Hamilton recorded its use on the wiltja of the people in the Everard Ranges in the late 1960s and noted the capacity of thick spinifex grass to provide good thermal insulation (Memmott 2007)—a property also recognised by settlers, who used the spinifex under corrugated steel roofing.

The use of spinifex to thatch bough sheds—shelters hybridising Aboriginal and settler technologies—maintained the thatching technology into the twentieth century. Although relatively easy to harvest, particular environmental, seasonal and knowledge are necessary to locate the durable plant varieties and species. In the mid-1970s, architect Julian Wigley made a series of design proposals for different building types for remote Aboriginal outstations in Central Australia (Heppell and Wigley 1977). The low buildings combined bough shed technology and tensile elements, with spinifex grass used to make the walls and roof insulation (see Fig. 16.7). Only one of these was built, but the designs show an early attempt to create appropriate architecture from local Indigenous materials (Fig. 16.9).

In a less ambitious project, spinifex bough shed technology was adpated to construct shelters for visitors to the Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park in Central Australia, in the 2000s (see Fig. 16.10). The tourist shelters use the simple detailing of the vernacular technology. On a timber structure, reinforcement steel mesh supports the spinifex thatch that is wrapped in light-gauge wire mesh; a system suited to the organic roof forms, which sit discretely in the arid landscape.

Preliminary research into the properties of spinifex indicates that this widespread grass has building applications across remote Australia. Inspired by the use of spinifex thatch on Aboriginal domical shelters, spinifex was tested as a loose fill thermal insulation material in building construction (O'Rourke et al. 2010). The results indicated a range of possible building applications in arid areas, limited mostly by sustainable harvesting (Gamage et al. 2012).[9] This research suggests that other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander building materials deserve similar attention. These might include rattan (*Calamus* spp.), blady grass (*Imperata cylindrical*) and the many types of palm leaves use as thatching.

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[8]For example, churches in Cape York Peninsula missions used bark sheets from the abundant *E. tetradonta* for roof and wall cladding.

[9]In the same research project, material scientists identified cellulose nano-fibres in spinifex that, when added in small quantities, improve the mechanical properties of a range of plastics (Amiralian et al. 2015).
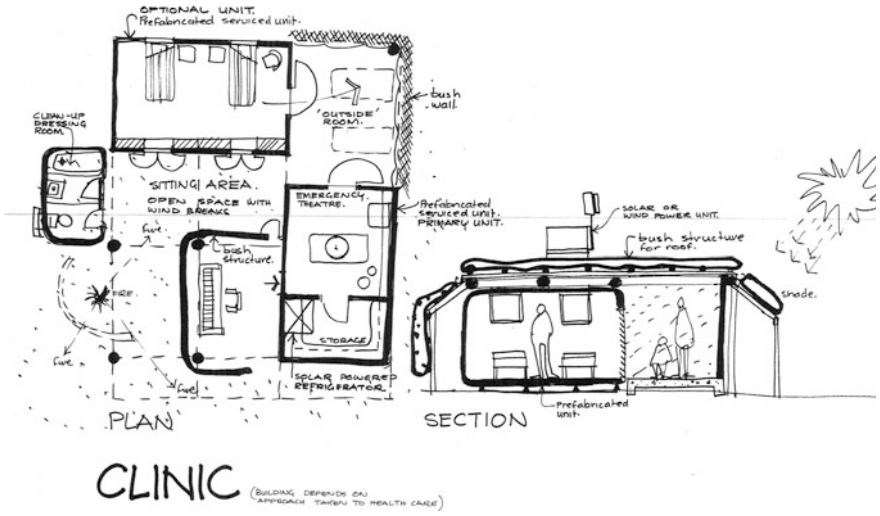
Fig. 16.9 Wigley's drawing of a clinic for Aboriginal people on remote outstations in Central Australia (*Drawing* Julian Wigley). *Source* Heppell and Wigley 1977

Fig. 16.10 Visitor shelters thatched with spinifex in the Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park in Central Australia, 2010 (*Photograph* Rodger Barnes)

Conclusion: A Wider Use of Traditional Architectural Knowledge

Despite the extensive disruption of Indigenous societies in Australia, many groups have tenaciously maintained and adapted building traditions under varied conditions. The persistence of certain building types such as windbreaks and bough shelters demonstrates their inherent utility and continued relevance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the twenty-first century. Wider recognition of Indigenous culture and the assertion of cultural identity led to a much-needed re-evaluation of building traditions long dismissed by the mainstream majority. Various forms of research have been used to present evidence of the diversity of the Indigenous building types and technologies to wider audiences. Deeper knowledge of the past practices can lead to more thoughtful reuse of tradition as either technique or symbolic representation.

The rather meagre list of contemporary architectural precedents that reference Indigenous building traditions in this chapter suggests under-explored opportunities for designers working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. The restrictive conditions under which architects frequently operate can place limits on the inventive reuse of building traditions. Requests (or architectural advocacy) for cultural representation in design projects typically require extended consultation that does not always result in consensus. Location, consultation and funding often present significant challenges, but the few examples in this chapter begin to show the architectural possibilities. Peter Myers' vaulted Keeping Place on Bathurst Island adeptly referenced traditional building forms and adapted material and art practices into a convincing cultural building. Detailed documentation of different building traditions, such as the rainforest domical structures, offers similar opportunities to both clients and architects.

There are many approaches to the architectural representation of Indigenous culture and identity, but for varied reasons, Indigenous communities or clients may choose to avoid any form of cultural symbolism in their buildings. In the twenty-first century, however, mainstream public buildings increasingly incorporate Indigenous symbols and art as a form of recognition. But in addition to representation, designers should be alert to the relationships between architecture and Indigenous spatial practices. Influenced by belief systems and social structures such kinship, community politics or distinctive economic activities, different types of spatial behaviour can affect circulation and spatial organisation that can be reflected in a building plan, section and form.

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Author's Biography

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Chapter 17
Design in Perspective: Reflections on Intercultural Design Practice in Australia

Shaneen Fantin and Gudju Gudju Fourmile

Introduction

Since the 1970s, a number of Australian architects have been considering how non-Indigenous designers can work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to achieve better built environments. A consistent message from this work has been the importance of employing inclusive, respectful, cross-cultural processes that engage the client and end-users, understand the history of the people and place, and share knowledge and expertise in the process. The authors of this chapter have worked collaboratively on architectural projects to pursue new design methodologies that reflect these principles and to hone their skills in what is termed 'intercultural design practice'.

The term *intercultural* was originally coined in environmental psychology, education, teaching and community development (Bechtel and Churchman 2002) and referred initially to communication and negotiations between cultures. It has its base in environmental psychology and understanding enculturated human behaviour (Hall 1966). Research on intercultural practice in architecture and design is fairly new and often focused on the sociopolitical history affecting the architecture or place, or anthropology and its relationship to form and symbolism in architecture, rather than intercultural design methods (Memmott 2003; McGaw and Pieris 2014). Specific examples of intercultural design methods can be found in Martin and Casault (2005), who describe and analyse the participatory design process applied in working with First Nations people in Québec, and Broffman (2015) who discusses inclusive design strategies for working in remote Central Australia.

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This chapter is structured in two parts, the first being an narrative exploration of Indigenous architecture through conversations between the authors, otherwise known as "collaborative yarning" (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010)—a popular tool in intercultural communications, and the second being a discussion of a recent collaboration,[1] the design of a residential health facility for Indigenous people living with an acquired brain injury. The chapter explores the complexities of intercultural design practice through the exchanges between the authors and describes a range of issues that were considered in the design of the health facility. The chapter touches on topics such as ethno-architectural traditions and their relevance to contemporary architecture, Indigenous identity and notions of ownership, Australian history and cultural appropriation, socio-spatial rules and their application in design and architects as brokers, advocates and agents in the design process. If making architecture is a complex process, then making Indigenous architecture through collaborative methodologies may be considered a wicked problem—it is multifarious, with many changeable interdependencies.

Context: The Importance of Talking About Indigenous Architecture

The two authors have known each other's families for more than two decades. Fourmile is a Gimuy Walubarra Yidinji (Gimuy) Elder and retired electrician from far north Queensland in Australia, while Fantin is a practising architect and a third-generation descendent of a European family who migrated to far north Queensland. Fourmile's family are the Traditional Owners[2] of the farmland on which Fantin lives. The authors are colleagues and friends and bound together by a commitment to land and Indigenous rights.

The authors have been discussing notions of intercultural design practice for some time and met to consider and document their thoughts around Indigenous architecture and how design practice is undertaken and can be improved. The ensuing semi-structured interviews included in this chapter followed a narrative and reflective approach where Fantin asked the questions and Fourmile responded with memories and experiences on country, or with opinions about design, history, law, sovereignty and civil rights.

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[1]Both authors have been participants in this project, Synapse SAIF (Supported Accommodation Innovation Fund) project since its inception. The first author was the lead architect, and Fourmile was a member of the project's Traditional Owner Reference Group, the project's design manager (2011–2013) and the landscape designer.

[2]'Traditional Owner' is a term used in Australia to describe an Indigenous person who has original or first rights over land. In most urban areas of Australia, traditional ownership is not formally recognised under non-Indigenous Native Title Law as freehold title extinguishes Aboriginal rights to Native Title (Native Title Act 1993).

Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) describe such conversations as 'collaborative yarning' and present them as a legitimate research method for gathering information, sharing and testing ideas. During their research, they found collaborative yarning increased their awareness of their roles as active listeners and observers in the research process.

> Both researchers are now more cognizant of the role, influence and impact that language and western/academic theoretical understandings can have on their relationship and communication during the interview process (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010: 41).

Through this process key elements of the discussions between the authors became very clear: there was much discussion about what Indigenous architecture was, or could be, and it was clear that each perspective was distinct.

> SF: When we talk about Indigenous architecture in Australia it's one of these new-ish, fluid terms and I think people are still trying to work out what it means.

> GF: Yeah, I think that's because of, you know…you've got to blame bloody James Cook[3] for that because his idea of no-one living here.

> [long pause]

> SF: *Terra nullius*?

> GF: *Terra nullius*, and to live with that lie, to justify it, a lot of the traditional architecture, design, villages and houses had to be cleared to show that no-one really lived here. And you know, you have accounts in history, and thank goodness for some historians that recount, a lot of those villages. Here we're living in Cairns, there were villages at, Mount Sheridan, White Rock area up the top and the villages up out at Gordonvale, and the buildings were something like 30 metres (98.4 feet) by 4 metres (13 feet) high.

> GF: In the early days because people really didn't want to give us credit for our architectural skills and design, they, kind of, put it by the wayside and just, you know, saw it as no, no, no, these people don't know what they're doing. But no-one really talked to some of our older people in regards to how things were architecturally built and I suppose it's good nowadays that people are looking and have conversations about that (Fourmile 2016).

In the moment after Fourmile's first comment, there was a contemplative silence where two people who have been collaborating for nearly a decade realise each continues to view the world through a different lens.

For Fantin, this was a reminder that Indigenous architecture does not have a long history of analysis in Australian academic literature and the memory of it was wiped out, kept silent or lost along with many of Queensland's Indigenous peoples, as

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[3]Captain James Cook was a British explorer and navigator who was sent by the British Crown to claim Australia as a territory in 1770. At the time, no legal justification for this was provided, but in subsequent eras the doctrine of *terra nullius* was used to justify the invasion as having a legal justification. The *terra nullius* legal fiction was overturned by *Mabo vs. Queensland* (1992) allowing for the re-establishment of Native Title by Indigenous people over certain tenures of land within Australia.

described by Tim Bottoms in *Conspiracy of Silence* (Bottoms 2013). It has only been since the early 1990s that the term Aboriginal architecture has been accepted in academic research and writing in Australia (Memmott 1993, 2007; Memmott and Go-Sam 1999). Prior to this time, the term Indigenous or Aboriginal architecture[4] might have been construed as a protest term, one of flagrant disrespect for the basis of Australia's European sovereignty, founded as it was on *terra nullius*. For people to have an architecture which is acknowledged as embedded in country is a demonstration of the ownership of land. Fourmile makes this point consistently, and it underpins his collaborations with non-Indigenous architects.

The opening dialogue also demonstrates Fourmile's commitment to collaboration and educating non-Indigenous architects, designers and researchers on the history, culture and architecture of his people. In his praise of historians, he acknowledges the usefulness of non-Indigenous records of his people's history. In his response to people's observing and talking about Indigenous building, he raises the critical importance of recognising Indigenous architecture and Indigenous rights in Australia.

Fourmile's perspective is that the Gimuy accepts the value of non-Indigenous historical records for the purpose of cultural control over their architecture. Due to the brutal nature of colonial contact, the Gimuy has been careful about the protection of cultural information to avoid further appropriation and destruction of their culture.[5] With intergenerational cultural change, there is now a need to use data gathered by non-Indigenous historians and other researchers to maintain Gimuy cultural traditions. Hence, it is with caution that Fourmile says: "I suppose it's good nowadays that people are looking and have conversations about that".

Fantin's perspective is that Australian architects have begun to recognise and acknowledge Indigenous histories and cultures as an essential element in urban, rural and remote design projects. It is a time in the history of architecture in Australia when non-Indigenous architects are embracing Indigenous knowledge systems, cultures and histories. Indigenous architects, designers and project collaborators are showing ways of creating places that unearth and embed Indigenous identity, needs and culture in projects, and in some instances use architecture as a tool for reconciliation (Berg and Greenaway 2013; Lane and Lane 2014).

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[4]'Indigenous architecture' has recently become a widely used and accepted term for a specific field of research and practice. This occurred when the author collaborated with others in the field such as Elizabeth Grant, Kelly Greenop, Rueben Berg and Jefa Greenaway (and later Daniel J. Glenn, Albert L. Refiti and Paul Memmott) to develop social media and Wikipedia sites to share Indigenous architecture projects in the public domain.

[5]Fourmile's sister, Professor Henrietta Marrie, has written on the attempts at control of Indigenous cultural heritage (see Fourmile 1987, 1989).

Intercultural Design: Finding and Maintaining an Intercultural Space

'Intercultural design' is comprised of two words with roots in different professions and academic disciplines. As stated in the introduction, the term *intercultural* was originally coined in environmental psychology and environment and behaviour studies in the 1960s. Intercultural communications between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians were the focus of the work of von Sturmer (1980) and Christie (1985), an anthropologist and linguist, respectively. These scholars were among the first in Australia to discuss the complexities and nuances of intercultural communications in relation to understanding perceptions of place, space and meaning, key aspects in the creation of architecture.

Design derived from the Latin 'designare' (to designate, mark out or assign) dates from the 1600s or earlier (Little et al. 1993). To an architect, a more contemporary definition of design might be the art and science of planning and creating something in the built environment. The making of architecture requires continuous and iterative problem solving, usually working in a team of specialists, balanced with maintaining the original conceptual intent of a project. When the terms 'intercultural' and 'design' are brought together and applied to architecture, the phrase describes the process of people from different cultural backgrounds with different communication styles working together on the design of places and buildings and, importantly, the conscious bringing of their respective cultural lenses to the design process.

There are terms similar to intercultural design that vary by discipline. It has been called "The Intercultural Space" (Radovic 2004; Martin and Casault 2005) in teaching and communications. Fantin's interpretation of this term is described below.

> This is a space for listening, sharing, learning and attempting to understand the world through someone else's eyes. In this space also lies much uncertainty, questioning of values, challenging of cultural assumptions and the need for self-reflection. It is a meandering and exploratory space, where it is easy to make mistakes and create confusion (Fantin and Fourmile 2013: 3).

In cultural anthropology and sociology, it has been called "the recognition space" (Habibis et al. 2013) and "…refers to the intercultural field in which the competing demands of the state, Indigenous governance and lifeworlds, and the responsibility of stakeholders in each come together" (Fantin 2016: 34).

Intercultural design is sometimes used interchangeably with 'inclusive design'. Fantin suggests that they have different meanings. Inclusive design developed out of research in the UK for future ageing populations and accessibility in the early 1990s (Coleman 1994) to enable more end-user input into design processes. Broffman states that:

> Inclusive Design in architecture–like Participatory Design, Co-Design and User-Centred Design–describes an approach that aims to broaden design practice to include community

involvement in decision-making. By opening participation to those who are directly affected by design choices, there will likely be a better fit between a building and its occupants. The people who are commonly known as the 'users' are active participants in the design process and hence the boundary between 'designer' and 'user' becomes blurred (2015: 4).

In the context of working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia, intercultural design is a process that brings consciousness of cultural perception, beliefs and bias to the fore, rather than containing the design focus to user participation and physiological needs as elements within the Western cultural milieu of design. For example, an inclusive design process for a women's centre may focus on the needs of the women using a centre and include a participatory design process. However, an intercultural design methodology would include the women in the process and additionally also aim to understand specific cultural imperatives and beliefs that may impact on the design and ask the women to bring a cultural perspective and method to the design process.

The relationship between culture and design has been investigated by numerous scholars (Rapoport 1969; Oliver 1969; Memmott Memmott 1988, 1997a, b), who concur that design is a culturally embedded and subjective process, inseparable from the cultural milieu of the designers and the design brief. The authors assert that an awareness of the cultural lens that each participant brings to the design process is essential as part of an intercultural design process.

Projects are often defined by what Fourmile calls 'institutional learning'. Institutional learning is the unconscious bias or institutionalised racism found in Government, professional services and everyday decision-making in post-colonial Australia. When a project is constrained by institutional learning, it has been created and established from a perspective that does not think beyond the norm for that kind of project in Australia. Fourmile believes that unconscious bias leads to projects that are often ill-considered from their outset for Indigenous Australians.

It is easy for architects to become focused on the design brief, programme and technical requirements of a project and to have a constrained view of the overall sociopolitical context. In general, architects are not trained to consider that everyone on the design team will view the brief, programme and technical requirements from their perspective, influenced by their individual sociocultural experiences. It is only those trained or experienced in working with Indigenous clients, Indigenous land tenure and/or the parameters of remote, rural or urban Indigenous contexts who see a broader picture of what creates a successful built environment, space or place for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. For Indigenous Australians, there is a long history of architects, project managers and funding bodies not seeing, hearing or valuing the perspective of the Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people who will inhabit, use and maintain a place. This is partly because the funding body is often Government, and because projects usually have specific technical, cost and time-based constraints that have been developed without Indigenous input. Broffman agrees stating:

The top-heavy bureaucratic representation is evident, and a critical element is conspicu-
ously absent. That is, the end user. Aboriginal people living in and around these buildings
often have no more than a perfunctory role to play in the project conception and execution.
In this environment, genuine inclusive design is not possible. It is instead replaced by the
rhetoric of inclusivity (2015: 123).

In a context of funding cycles, technical briefs and ministerial priorities, inter-
cultural design is a liminal space easily at risk of being unbalanced if one stake-
holder has more to offer or gain than the other, or if respect or interest is diminished
in either stakeholder. The authors found this to be a common equation on projects,
where a project embarks in a balanced manner and contains the intent for inclusivity
of Indigenous people, but becomes unbalanced through the pressures of
non-Indigenous funding, governance structures and methods of working.
According to Fantin:

The recognition space [intercultural space] is a positivist construct and assumes a func-
tioning intercultural zone where people interact in a somewhat meaningful way. It is not
understood as a dysfunctional zone and assumes a level of respect, trust, interest and
willingness to interact in the first instance (Fantin 2016: 41).

What then constitutes meaningful interaction rather than rhetoric, and what
creates productive intercultural design space in Australia on Indigenous projects?
The authors believe a range of conditions needs to be present on a project for
intercultural design to work effectively. In summary, these include: Indigenous
leadership; clear protocols for communicating and working that are culturally
appropriate and sanctioned and a commitment to an intercultural practice where
ideas are examined and tested from a sociocultural perspective. More often than
not, a project will have some of these conditions, but not all of them. And then, due
to funding, programme and team changes, it can be hard to sustain the conditions
for the length of time required to complete an architectural project. Some of these
conditions and methods are demonstrated in the case study in the second part of this
chapter. However, the author's conversations about Indigenous architecture and
history are a necessary precursor. Understanding the social and historical context of
a project from an Indigenous perspective helps to erode and challenge institutional
learning that can affect and constrain project outcomes. The following sections
examine, among other topics, the perspectives of the authors on ethno-architecture,
technology and assigning cultural values.

Appropriation, Forgetting and Assigned Cultural Values

How does one begin a conversation about contemporary Indigenous architecture in
a post-colonial environment where the majority of technical and legislative
parameters that control the built environment are created with non-Indigenous
cultural frameworks? Everything has cultural values inherent in it. Architecture
embodies cultural values through all its stages and parts: its land tenure, programme

type, designer identity, design methods, materials, forms and use. In Australia, the cultural values inherent in these elements are, more often than not, non-Indigenous, and a thorough intercultural design process should examine such pre-existing conditions. Key questions that regularly arise in the intercultural design process are 'Which and whose cultural values are assigned to which part and why?', and 'Which of those do we take for granted and which is there some capacity to change?'. Fourmile believes that part of the answer lies in understanding Indigenous ethno-architecture, culture and science and Australia's lack of recognition of its influence on contemporary built forms.

In one of their conversations, Fourmile gave the Sydney Opera House as an example of the murkiness of cultural values in Australian architecture. In the exchange, he asked 'Is it an Australian building? It is embraced by Australia and part of our national heritage, but where did the designer come from and what were his influences?' Jørn Utzon was a Danish architect, and Fourmile believes it was his cultural roots and interest in nature and Mayan architecture that created such an organic form for Australia that has been celebrated and embraced as a national icon.

> Utzon had a Nordic sense of concern for nature which, in his design, emphasized the synthesis of form, material and function for social values. His fascination with the architectural legacies of the ancient Mayas, the Islamic world, China and Japan enhanced his vision. This developed into what Utzon later referred to as 'additive architecture,' comparing his approach to the growth patterns of nature (The Times 2008).

For Fourmile, Utzon's connection to landscape and interest in natural forms in design mirror Indigenous philosophy in science and art that celebrates a connection with the earth, beauty in biophilia, complex ecological systems and the natural environment (Rudder 1977; Christie 1991; Morphy 2017). Fourmile perceives this as a pan-Indigenous view of the world that Utzon embraced and the Sydney Opera House as a symbiotic non-Indigenous appropriation of it. This is a broad and challenging statement by Fourmile, and it launched a conversation on Indigenous science, law and the appropriation of ethno-architecture forms and structures in Australia.

This statement moved the conversation into a challenging intercultural space. This was particularly so for Fantin who felt uncomfortable thinking about the Opera House as an appropriation of Indigenous architecture and culture: our national Australian icon and most loved public building another rip-off of Indigenous culture? Fantin had always considered Utzon's work as original and beautiful in its mathematical abstractions of natural forms. However, it was a symbol of oppressive post-colonial culture for Fourmile, built in Australia between the late 1950s and the mid-1960s, a period when Indigenous people did not have a right to vote and were fighting for amendments to the Australian Constitution, equality and land rights. From the perspective of intercultural design methods, this kind of exchange is a productive place to be because it is a space where new ideas are explored and developed. The discussion about the Australian Opera House was a conversation which at its core was about the ownership of knowledge and Indigenous rights. As a Gimuy man and an Australian Aboriginal Elder, Fourmile was asserting his rights

to environmental and design knowledge that dates back more than 40 000 years, compared with Europe which has a much younger history.

In Fourmile's opinion, Queensland architecture and building traditions have many examples of appropriation of Indigenous architecture and technology.

> GF: Yeah, well, see, the thing is when people come over here, you know, and this is the first immigrants—the British, so when they've come over here they really didn't know the resources that were available to them on the land.

> And they still don't know, but they would have had to have seen what the tribal people in that area utilised, whether it's the timber, how the villages were made and all of that, the material that was used, and then design their little camp sites according to what had been traditionally done.

> SF: So we've been borrowing from Aboriginal architecture for a long time.

> GF: For a long time yeah, you know, and no-one's–no-one's really bloody cottoned onto the fact that they have been, you know.

> GF: Now if you look at the 1800s, you know, the first immigrants that came here from England and Ireland and those places, their designs of houses they would have been modelled from how they built their houses, back at their home. But the same materials couldn't be found here because you don't have the peat and the cob like some of the homes were built or the sandstone, unless you're actually going to go and dig some of the big sandstones out. So, you know, the train of thought would have come from, well, I liked the way they designed that little house, but we'll make it look like home.

Fourmile's point in the commentary above is that he believes there was a borrowing of ideas from Aboriginal Australia from the first contact with non-Indigenous settlers, but that it is not acknowledged or recorded in written accounts of early settlement. He notes that even the most extreme events such as massacres have only begun to be discussed in the past decade.

On travelling around Queensland as a child in the 1960s and 70s, Fourmile explains:

> GF: …it was, sort of, like, oh, yeah, we're just meeting another lot of relations, but, you notice it [the buildings] when you're growing up but you don't think about it, but then when you think back about it now you think about, wow, it was a nice–nice place, you know, because, even here in Yarrabah,[6] they did it over at Yarrabah too, and they used the palm, the black palm to make the floors

> SF: …because it's a great timber and it looks beautiful?

> GF: It's a great timber yeah, but, I suppose the thing is the different technique was – because it was hard to buy nails so they would have had to tie it. They tied it. A lot of the old people's houses that were around were tied up with string that they made.

> GF: It was, like, you know, or if they could buy a string they'd buy a string and tie it up because, that was a traditional method of keeping things together, and much cheaper than nails.

> SF: So people were using the tools or the methods they knew.

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[6]Yarrabah was established as an Aboriginal reserve in the late 1890s and is located south of Cairns. Mr Fourmile was born and lived in Yarrabah as a small child.

GF: Yeah to construct houses, but to actually secure it they'd use the old method by tying it, not – because at that time no-one could buy, nails, you know, because it was dear and hammers were dear so it's, sort of, like, you could only utilise what you could.

SF: Would this be an equivalent example from a non-Indigenous perspective–when you go to cattle stations and sometimes they have the whole kitchen mess constructed with fencing connections, you know, the post and beams are all…

GF: Tied with wire.

SF: Tied together with fencing wire…

GF: Yeah. Well, when you look at that, the way some of the pastoralist's houses are made and then you look at some of the, stock hands that the pastoralists used who were the tribal mob from that country, some of their lean-to[7] was used and tied together with wire.

GF: You know, that's all they knew was wire. To, you know, like, but rope to tie things up and it just seen as a stronger rope.

In this conversation, Fourmile illustrates how Indigenous technologies were merged and utilised in non-Indigenous housing and construction for mutual benefit, particularly in circumstances where resources were limited and people improvised with the materials and knowledge at hand. The authors believe that this would have been the case in the early days of Aboriginal missions and reserves in Australia.

In many parts of Australia, there is a localised amnesia about the histories of Aboriginal and Islander peoples and cultures. The non-Indigenous history of the area around Cairns in far north Queensland is approximately 140 years old. Fourmile argues that Indigenous building techniques and technologies, such as those used in building dwellings and fish traps,[8] were appropriated, and then the origins erased so that they seem to be colonial, but may have Indigenous origins. The accompanying cultural re-assignment of that knowledge has become useful in contemporary agriculture, building and commerce. Both authors agree that for non-Indigenous people it may be easier not to talk about local colonial history and sharing of resources and knowledge, because the history is marred with violence and racism, and which can elicit guilty reactions. Fourmile's great-grandfather was given a King Plate[9] denoting his leadership in the Cairns area, and generations of oral histories have been passed down and remembered in Fourmile's family, but is relatively unknown to the non-Indigenous population. It has only been recently that the local settler population has begun to revisit the impact of the frontier killings and massacres between 1850 and 1910 in far north Queensland (Bottoms 2013). These events had been concealed and slowly erased from local European memory

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[7]A lean-to is a traditional Aboriginal dwelling, made of bark, leaning on an angle and propped up on one edge, to create a triangular-prism-shaped space.

[8]A fish trap is a tool used by Aboriginal people to herd and trap fish. Fish traps come in many forms. In this instance, the reference is to fish traps made from cane, woven grasses or palm leaves.

[9]In the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Australia, certain Aboriginal people who distinguished themselves to the non-Aboriginal population were presented with an inscribed metal 'king' or 'breast' plaques (or gorgets). For more information about gorgets, see National Museum of Australia (2017).

as Aboriginal people were forced into reserves. Fourmile believes that the cultural appropriation of technology and design has also been erased.

Continuous Ethno-Architecture

Fourmile's initial description of Indigenous architecture starts with ethno-architectural types, forms and materials from the rainforest, from his culture and land. He speaks of the lost history of architecture in far north Queensland and references to it in the historical record from the late 1800s. Below are some descriptions from Memmott (2007) and Ferrier (2015) of the rainforest ethno-architecture that are similar to Fourmile's descriptions.

> In 1876, gold prospector James Mulligan described, for the first time, large clusters of huts located in open eucalypt pockets on the north-western fringe of the rainforest on the Atherton Tableland, which he referred to as 'townships'. At each campsite many wide and open tracks met, some of which his party followed for many kilometres, skirting around the edge of the rainforest:

> There are roads off the main track to each of their townships, which consist of well-thatched gunyahs [huts], big enough to hold five or six people. We counted eleven townships since we came to the edge of the scrub (Mulligan 1877: 401 quoted in Ferrier 2015: 19).

In *Gunyah, Goondie + Wurley*, Memmott (2007) focuses on the 'village' architecture of the north-eastern rainforest, stating (Fig. 17.1):

Fig. 17.1 'Aborigines': Mulgrave River, north Queensland, 1905 (*Photograph* State Library of Queensland) (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. Catalogue No. 23908)

> A dominant seasonal pattern was the occupation of large semi-permanent camps or villages in the wet season (December to March), combined with a more mobile lifestyle in the dry season. The more elaborate and permanent villages used thatched, waterproof, domed huts which were constructed (or re-constructed) at the beginning of the wet season (Memmott 2007: 86).

> The clearings around such relatively sedentary base camps were well maintained, in order to allow the access of sunshine, to minimise dripping water from the canopy, and to avoid the danger of falling branches. Some (if not all) village clearings or 'pockets' had important social functions, and have come to be locally named 'bora grounds'. These forest settlements appeared sufficiently permanent to be classified as 'towns' (Memmott 2007: 89).

In their conversations, Fourmile gave descriptions of the use of lawyer cane (*Calamas Australis*) for the construction of dome shelters and houses and the use of different materials for roof thatching. When Fantin raised the topic of contemporary (rather than traditional) Indigenous architecture, Fourmile returned to examples of ethno-architecture from the 1980s on the Atherton Tablelands west of Cairns. Fantin was slightly confused, but for Fourmile, ethno-architecture or traditional architecture is not something of the past; it has contemporary forms and a contemporary presence, and it is anchored in its materiality. In the conversation below, Fourmile describes how a senior man uses lawyer cane to plumb rainwater into his *Bulmba* (Yidinji word for shelter or house), to create a comfortable structure in the 1980s.

> SF: I wanted to ask you if there are any projects you've seen, or worked on yourself that you think might be examples of contemporary Indigenous architecture.

> GF: Okay. One design that I did see done and it was made out of lawyer cane and it was actually in the rainforest but it utilised live lawyer cane as well as cut lawyer cane to make up a *Bulmba*. It was utilised because of the way live lawyer cane actually goes to the top of the trees and actually utilises the condensation of water. So the live one [cane strand] went up but it was actually utilised into the design of the house. It was done to provide water into the camp.

> SF: So it was a live lawyer cane? I'm just trying to imagine it.

> GF: Yeah, and it actually bought water into the house.

> SF: Through the inside of the lawyer cane or on the outside?

> GF: On the outside.

> SF: Oh, right, okay, wow. Like a plumbing vine.

> GF: Yeah. I've seen it. It was back in the 80s. It was made just to utilise the water coming into the *Bulmba*. It dripped into a bucket and the water was caught, so, like a house with internal plumbing.

Here, Fourmile was not thinking of Indigenous architecture as a new built form conceived of steel, timber, clay or concrete. He is imagining it from Aboriginal known and named materials such as lawyer cane, black palm and thatch. Many of the first dwellings at Yarrabah (south of Cairns) where Fourmile lived until 1970 had thatched roofs (Denigan 2008). Denigan's book contains images that show thatched roofs in Yarrabah as recently as the 1950s and older photographs from 1912 such as that shown in Fig. 17.2.

Fig. 17.2 Houses at Yarrabah circa 1912 (*Photograph* State Library of Queensland) (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. Catalogue No. 57749)

Fourmile noted that the floors of such houses were often made of black palm (*Normanya normanbyi*), and the roofs were made of swamp rushes (*Bunda*) sourced from nearby wetlands at Trinity Inlet. Black palm was traditionally used for tools (spears) and basket making (twine) and was also used in building construction in remote communities until the 1950s.

There has been a steady decline in the use of Indigenous materials (other than native timber) in building construction in Queensland since uniform building regulations were introduced in the early 1970s (Australian Government 2016). The next section explores how Indigenous cultural values in building technologies and materials have been marginalised by building regulation in Australia.

Building Regulation: One Nemesis of Indigenous Ethno-Architecture

When Fantin first began working with Indigenous Australians on architecture and placemaking in the early 1990s, she was consumed with her emergent understandings of Indigenous world views and the associated social and spatial rules and spiritual laws. Much time was spent on developing and refining cross-cultural

communication tools and methods: learning how to behave, listen and understand, so that a design brief could be accurately established and worked through collaboratively with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Fantin then focused on design communication and participatory design processes. Once a technical design brief had been developed, tested and agreed upon, work could begin on other aspects that would bring an Indigenous place into being. These would include social issues (responding to kinship and cultural spatial protocols in design), spiritual aspects (responding to connections to place and country and spirituality in the meaning/function and naming of the building) and artistic ideas (including specifically design cultural elements within the building design). However, in all of this work, there had remained an assumption by the funder and the design team that the buildings would be constructed from non-Indigenous materials and technologies rather than from Indigenous materials sourced locally. This assumption decreased the likelihood that a connection would grow between the architecture and the people using it.

Australian Architecture is governed by regulation and legislation encompassed in the National Construction Code (NCC) (Commonwealth of Australia 2016) and Australian Standards.[10] The standards exist to ensure that the regulation of building construction is consistent across Australia and that each state and territory has standards relevant to its climatic and geographic needs. To be certified and insurable, a building must meet the requirements of the NCC (Commonwealth of Australia 2016).

The NCC does not contain sections relating to thatched roofing technology, using stringybark as a walling material, the use of lawyer cane as a structural element or structural tie-downs created with twine or fencing wire. To achieve building certification for such technologies would require an expensive and rigorous design and testing process. This means that making contemporary Indigenous architecture that pays respect to traditional materials and construction techniques can be difficult. The prevalent materials and dominant construction techniques in Australia are post-colonial, highly refined, processed and generally inhibit the creation of NCC-compliant Indigenous architecture from local resources.

There have been exceptions using rammed earth and bricks made from local earth. It is important to note that such examples use local materials, but with non-Indigenous and commercial technologies to create bricks or blocks. In Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory during the early 2000s, Fantin found that many resources and materials used to build ethno-architecture form part of Indigenous ancestral histories have names and qualitative characteristics associated with them (Memmott 2007: 243). To use a particular material or resource is to imbue the thing one is building, or creating, with the stories and qualities that the resource contains in ancestral law. For example, stringybark (*Eucalyptus tetrodonta*) for Yolngu

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[10]http://www.standards.org.au/Pages/default.aspx.

people has a moiety[11] (*Dhuwa*) that links to a number of important ancestral histories associated with ethno-architecture from Arnhem Land. A building or structure made from stringybark has, therefore, an identity anchored in the Dhuwa moiety. Metal or steel products have been categorised by the Yolngu under the opposite moiety (*Yirritja*) and are associated with a different set of stories, many originating with the Macassan history of northern Australia. The elderly women with whom Fantin worked at Ramingining advised that for a new building to be harmonious it should have a balance of materials from both moieties.

A more recent example of the application of Indigenous identity in materiality can be found in the Garma Cultural Knowledge Centre in north-east Arnhem Land, which was reviewed by Elizabeth Grant in 2015. It is notable that Grant (2015: 5–6) refers to the moieties represented within the building form and applied colours, but not in the materials themselves. Fantin believes that further research on the material selection would show an ancestral affiliation and logic behind each material chosen and its use. The Garma Cultural Knowledge Centre is made predominantly from steel and metal, with timber flooring and posts, aligning the building with *Yirritja* moiety law, history and the identity of the clan (*Gumatj*) who developed the building. Fantin further postulates that if the building were to have been created by a *Dhuwa* clan on *Dhuwa* land, from predominantly *Dhuwa* materials, then it would contain considerably less steel.

In the making of modern Indigenous architecture in Australia, Fourmile's vision is for the materiality of buildings to contain more inherent connection to Indigenous people and place, as in the examples above from Arnhem Land and Yarrabah. Fourmile asserts that connecting people with local resources and technologies and demonstrating this in contemporary architecture reinforces their cultural knowledge and identity. However, due to colonisation, the detail environmental and spiritual knowledge that connects material resources, places, architecture and Indigenous law is fragmented in many urbanised areas of Australia. The barriers to including Indigenous materials and technology in building construction are compounded by the constraints of building legislation in Australia. And because Indigenous ethno-architecture is not yet sufficiently understood or valued by many architects, practitioners are not pursuing the inclusion of traditional materials or technologies in design.

Case Study: Synapse, Supported Accommodation Innovation Fund (SAIF), Cairns

The second part to this chapter examines a project on which the authors worked between 2011 and 2017 and aims to demonstrate an intercultural design process in a real-life project. The authors wrote a reflective paper in 2014 discussing the

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[11]In this context of anthropology, a moiety is one of two halves of a social or ritual group into which people are divided. In Arnhem Land, people are divided into two moieties: *Dhuwa* and *Yirritja*.

background and initial stages of the project, which is a supported accommodation facility for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with acquired brain injury. The client is Synapse (formerly, the Brain Injury Association of Queensland), and the funding was sourced through a grant application process to the Supported Accommodation Innovation Fund (SAIF), an initiative of the Australian Government. At the time of writing, the project was under construction and was then completed in April 2017 in Cairns, Queensland.

The overall purpose of the facility is to provide supported accommodation for Indigenous people with an acquired brain injury in a non-institutional setting, designed to support Indigenous living practices and belief systems. This is important because research into acquired brain injury indicates that for rehabilitation to be successful a person should feel comfortable in the therapeutic environment (Malia et al. 2004). The majority of accommodation available to Indigenous people with disability in Australia has not been designed to consider Indigenous culture or beliefs nor been designed with the aim of creating comfort for Indigenous people.

The term 'brain injury' includes a number of conditions and brain disorders that result in neurocognitive impairment and is different from an intellectual disability. Acquired brain injury (ABI) generally refers to injuries sustained after birth, such as through stroke, near drowning, motor vehicle accidents, falls, sporting injuries and assault. Injury to the brain can also occur through degenerative disorders such as Alzheimer's disease, Parkinson's disease, brain tumours or infections. ABI affects up to 1 in 45 Australians (Synapse 2017). Synapse is a not-for-profit organisation that offers support services to individuals with ABI and their families, and services include supported accommodation and service coordination. The supported accommodation facility in Cairns is envisaged as transitional accommodation for up to eight residents with ABI for a period of eighteen months per resident. The intention is that the residents come to the facility for rehabilitation and healing, and when they progress to a level of wellness and independence defined by the service provider, they can be transitioned into more independent accommodation.

An Overview of the Design Process

To describe a seven-year design and engagement process for a multimillion dollar project in a chapter section felt almost impossible for the authors. Architecture projects of this size typically include many thousands of hours of work by a diverse project team, and to capture every discussion, every point on contention that required agency and resolution would require more space than is available. What is described below is a summary and flavour of the design process that transpired on the Synapse SAIF project.

In 2011, Fourmile asked Fantin to attend a meeting about a potential project for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with acquired brain injury. The authors understand each other's skills in architecture, design and building. They agreed that

the project would be both interesting to work on and was likely to produce social outcomes they were interested in. This was an opportunity for intercultural design practice and cultural and social agency in design. At the initial meeting with the client, discussions were about acquired brain injury, culturally appropriate design, mental illness, caring for others, Indigenous incarceration, disability, models of rehabilitation and the importance of cultural and social support in a non-institutional setting. This meeting was emotional and moving. It enabled the authors to understand the aim and philosophy behind the project and solidified their emotional, personal and professional commitment to the project.

Fourmile and his team, Fantin and Synapse, prepared a concept design and feasibility for the project. The grant application for the project was successful.

To begin the SAIF project, the team found like-minded colleagues with a range of skills. Indigenous people provided approximately half of the professional services on the project (architects: Indij Design; ecologists: Abriculture; design managers and trainers, Indigenous Training and Construction Company: ICTC 2011–13). The project also had a Traditional Owner and Traditional Ecologist stakeholder group, with whom the team met at early stages to inform and support the concept building and landscape design process. The client had already engaged some project stakeholders, who had limited experience working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. One of the first tasks was to bring everyone into the intercultural design space. This drive for inclusion and respect of Indigenous culture on the project came from many team members, but was led and reinforced by Jennifer Cullen the Chief Executive Officer of Synapse, a strong Indigenous woman with a profound commitment to improving the lives of Indigenous people and people living with disability.

Inclusion and respect of Indigenous people might be commonplace expectations and protocols on academic projects or projects in more urban areas of Australia, but on building projects in far north Queensland such concepts are often lacking. As mentioned in the first part of the chapter, far north Queensland has a young and bloody frontier history where race relations between non-Indigenous colonisers and local Indigenous groups are concerned. This sometimes results in underlying tensions and misunderstandings about why acknowledging and respecting Indigenous culture and people is important.

The design methodology was not explicitly discussed when the project started. What was discussed was how the project was to be managed, by whom, with which stakeholders and how, and what communication protocols should be followed. From the beginning, Indigenous project stakeholders (Fourmile and Cullen) were trying to incorporate Indigenous ways of doing business into the project management methodology. This was characterised by requiring a point of recognition and respect for Elders and representatives of the Traditional Owners and for Indigenous people currently in institutional care who are to be the end-users of the project. This approach manifested in a number of activities and practices, which initially challenged some of the parties on the project, but eventually became incorporated into the project process.

Principles and Practices Adhered to Included

- A verbal practice of acknowledgement of country[12] and Traditional Owners at every meeting.
- A verbal practice of acknowledgement of people living with disability in Australia.
- Communication protocols that gave Indigenous voice and veto over design decisions.
- Allowance in project time frames for meetings with Traditional Owner design and ecology groups and for cultural family business such as 'sorry business'[13] and caring for others.
- Being respectful during meetings and allowing everyone space and time to talk without being interrupted or spoken over.
- Allowing time for discussion of complex topics so that stakeholders understood each other's perspectives.
- Seeking advice and collaboration on appropriate engagement strategies with other Indigenous stakeholders.

Such practices are not commonplace on architectural projects in Queensland. Fantin has been working on Indigenous projects mainly in remote and regional Australia since 1995, and this is the first project the authors have experienced where the practices were mostly respected and followed. The value of acknowledgement at the commencement of meetings and events has become a topic of academic discussion. What is its purpose? Is it really necessary? Is it just rhetoric with no substance? In the context of the Synapse project, acknowledgement at each meeting was a reminder about the foundations and owners of the project: to create a place for Indigenous people with disability that will be managed by Indigenous people. And that this purpose was to be put before other concerns of a personal or professional nature. Having an acknowledgement of people and country at the commencement of each meeting helped create a behavioural barometer that needed to be maintained during meetings.

Everyone came to the project with preconceived notions of culture, design, education and business. In the early project meetings, different stakeholders were challenged on their preconceptions of management, design process, knowledge ownership and communication styles. Fourmile and Cullen were advocates for establishing Indigenous protocols and methods for opening and structuring project meetings, but this was perplexing for the original project manager who had a strong Western focus and an aggressive project management style. In design meetings, there were conversations about the technical elements of the design, but also about

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[12]An Acknowledgement of Country is one method of opening a meeting in Australia that acknowledges and recognises the Indigenous Traditional Owners of the land where the meeting is being held. It aims to pay respect to the Elders of the land, past, present and future.

[13]'Sorry business' is associated with death in the near or extended family and includes the practice of taking sufficient time associated with preparing, attending and supporting others in Indigenous funerary customs.

land tenure, leases and the unresolved Native Title status of the site. These are complex issues requiring knowledge of Australian land tenure and Native Title processes. The site for the SAIF project is owned by Queensland Health,[14] leased to Synapse and affected by an ongoing Native Title claim. Securing the land for the project required approval from Commonwealth, State and Local levels of Government, and verbal support from both Native Title claimants. The process, separate to the design of the facility, took a number of years to complete.

During the project, when Indigenous stakeholders thought a process or meeting intent was not respectful of the original direction, a subgroup of the overall team would meet to resolve the issue. At these times, the architects brokered relations between the project management team and the Traditional Owner representatives. In other scenarios, non-Indigenous team members would be questioned by Fourmile or Cullen on assumptions and be provided with guidance on a different way of running the project that was more inclusive and less linear. This method of working was about challenging typical practices in design and project management. It was continuous and iterative: about listening, questioning and learning.

Creating an Indigenous-led design and management process was part of the intended methodology, but pragmatically it was hard to achieve given that the funder was a Government department with a non-Indigenous project management methodology including Gantt charts, conference room settings and delivery milestones and time frames. The process that resulted was flexible and discursive, but it was still a non-Indigenous framework in which the Indigenous design team manoeuvred and negotiated to be able to apply a more iterative process in parallel. Fourmile describes the design process as being non-Indigenous architectural traditions injected or affected by Indigenous beliefs and practices.

For example, the final site had a sod turning before construction commenced that was opened and blessed by Indigenous Traditional Owner groups. At completion, the project had a building opening that included Indigenous dancers, sharing of painted hand prints and a cleansing ceremony. Throughout the design and documentation process, there were a series of meetings and workshops with a range of Indigenous stakeholders to cross-check the status of the design and project.

The authors were fortunate to work with a team who openly engaged on all matters. Productive two-way communication requires certain conditions to flourish: respect for existing practices and beliefs; understanding and recognition of existing traditions, history and experience; and a willingness to work together, to listen, challenge, apply and refine the thinking and the work as it progresses. This approach can be fraught with difficulties. Most people do not like to be challenged on their expertise, knowledge and methods. We are all products of and reliant upon the cultural and social paradigm in which we were raised and in which we live. By the way of example, the site was low-lying and swampy and stormwater flow and movement across the site had to be managed very carefully. Some of the engineers

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[14]Queensland Health is the state government statutory body that provides health services in Queensland.

in the design team found that their understanding of civil and water engineering design was questioned by Indigenous traditional knowledge of hydrology, water courses and local ecology. This level of scrutiny and discussion was also applied to the architects by the Traditional Owner Reference Group, who questioned the inclusion of conventional building construction and rectilinear forms in design, which were seen as representative of the dominant cultural paradigm.

The speaking up of the Indigenous stakeholders is worthy of noting because on Indigenous projects in remote areas of Australia Aboriginal people will often avoid conflict and will not make their individual or group opinion known in an overt way. Many projects in Australia have proceeded on the basis that silence of Indigenous people is agreement or permission, when in reality it might be disdain, disinterest or protest. The Indigenous stakeholders on the Synapse project were assertive and considered, which made the design process easier to navigate than if they had been reticent.

Throughout the Synapse project, there were times of frustration, accidental offence through misunderstanding, annoyance and disengagement of parties masked as polite agreement, inter Indigenous conflict (black politics), white politics and leverage of non-Indigenous guilt, conversations about what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, and whether *culture* had been applied as a veil to create confusion or increase power in project meetings and processes. These are complex issues to discuss, resolve and move past in the project's journey. But they are common on projects in Australia with intercultural teams, and to acknowledge that they are part of the scope of making Indigenous architecture begins to illuminate how complex the process can be.

During the early phases of the project, there were approximately five design workshops with the Traditional Owner Reference Group and the client, and many project meetings before the final concept design was approved. The design workshops and meetings were generally attended by the architects, engineers, landscape designers, project manager and quantity surveyor and Traditional Owner representatives and were a cross-cultural learning environment. The client attended the early meetings and was later linked in by phone or video conferencing. The client was then issued with design options for review and feedback (via the project manager) (Fig. 17.3).

To develop appropriate design ideas that responded to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander socio-spatial rules, belief systems, the site and local history, the Indigenous team members shared their expertise, history and understanding of local ethno-architecture, daily practices of families living with disability and beliefs around Indigenous identity and well-being. To understand how buildings are designed, documented and constructed, the architects and engineers shared their knowledge and experiences of sustainable and responsive design and construction for the tropics with the team members less familiar with construction and detailing. For example, there was much discussion among the team about the curved walls and roof during the concept design phase and what value it might bring to the facility versus its possible cost and construction complexity. The interest and request for curves in the roof form came from discussions on local Indigenous ethno-architecture and

Fig. 17.3 Synapse SAIF view of accommodation units (*Photograph* Michael Marzik)

references to rainforest dome structures initiated by the Traditional Owner Reference Group. Curved walls and limiting corners arose from conversations about Indigenous beliefs in malevolent spirits residing in corners and concealed spaces and making people afraid or unwell. These ideas emerged after lengthy discussions about various ways of creating Indigenous identity in architecture. The architect's presented examples and case studies of Indigenous architecture from Australia and the world for discussion. The Traditional Owner Reference Group, with support from the architects, explored the case studies, their own ancestral histories, local politics and cultural symbols. The authors believe they understood the sensitivities around the formal aesthetic choices they were making.

Design Approach to the Model of Care, Planning and Building Code Constraints

The Synapse SAIF project has been designed with careful consideration for the philosophy and model of care planned by the client, which is to provide transitional care for people with acquired brain injury in an environment that is supportive, but that also encourages independence and rehabilitation specific to the needs of each person. SAIF consists of eight living units, one central building, surrounded by gardens and landscaped outdoor spaces. The majority of clients are expected to be of Indigenous descent.

The buildings are arranged on the site within a predominantly native rehabilitative garden, which has been designed with Indigenous ecological advice. The gardens will include vegetable gardens, bush foods, Indigenous plants for manufacturing and a seasonal plant avenue.[15] The avenue is a screen of Indigenous seasonal plants that flower and fruit which provides orthographic cues to the Indigenous residents.

The design of the landscape is a result of work between Fourmile and his colleague, Jenny Lynch (Abriculture) and reflects Fourmile's first-hand experience of living with brain trauma. The design encourages contact between the users and the garden and landscape to develop fine and gross motor skills and aid memory retrieval. The pool (which will not form part of the initial construction stage) will be adjacent to the central facility and fully accessible. The maintenance and use of the gardens will be integrated into the rehabilitation programme. For example, rather than using traditional physiotherapy tools the landscape could be used as the basis of occupational therapy and physiotherapy. The clients will be able to sort lilly pilly (*Syzygium luehmannii*) fruit, or pick herbs from the garden or strip *yakal* (pandanus) leaves to weave with. Through these activities, it is hoped that the residents will be reminded of home and country and increase their cultural knowledge, reinforce Indigenous identity and improve general well-being.

The central facility has been designed with a domestic scale to be welcoming and non-institutional in style. Many Indigenous people with disability in Australia are either cared for at home or placed in institutions such as mental health facilities or hospitals. Creating a place that was non-institutional was a critical part of the design brief. A number of spaces within the central building open onto large verandahs to maximise connections with the gardens, promote natural ventilation and visual surveillance of the external environment. All the accommodation units are within 30 metres (98.4 feet) of the central building with the high dependency units within 10 metres (32 feet).[16]

All buildings have been designed and arranged to passive climatic design principles for the tropics. They capture the local breezes, shield from the storms and have insulation, shading and overhangs to protect from the sun. The centre has been classified as a 9a Health Care Building under the *National Construction Code*. It exceeds the *Australian Standard 1428: Design for Access and Mobility* (2010), and 90% of the complex meets the platinum level of the *Liveable Housing Design Guidelines* (2015). The building has also been designed to achieve a six star commercial energy assessment rating under the National Construction Code. These characteristics are driven by legislation and regulation in Australia, and it is often

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[15]A seasonal plant avenue is an avenue of plant species selected to bloom and fruit in succession at different times of the year. Through this successive blooming, it will act as a pneumonic device for some of the residents to reconnect them with the natural environment.

[16]This was a requirement to enable staff to have a line of sight to each unit.

these factors that are the key influences on design decisions made by architects and engineers. In the SAIF project, these were compulsory, but secondary to the health and Indigenous design brief.

A Summary of Indigenous Imperatives in the Synapse SAIF Project

Site and Master plan: The orientation and layout of the facility responds to the cultural and scenic views of the site and socio-spatial needs of different residents. The Whitfield Range (*Bunda Djumban*) is easily seen to the north and west and is an important story place[17] for the Indigenous people of the Cairns area. The site contained a variety of mature native trees, some of which create a screen to the street on the north and some that create pockets of vegetation across the site. The master plan for the facility is designed to retain as many of the pockets of existing vegetation as possible.

The master plan for the arrangement of the buildings is different to dominant models for supported accommodation. It is not linear and attached, or internalised; it is purposefully non-institutional and decentralised. The buildings are detached, single storey and clustered around a central facility in a garden landscape. This was a purposeful choice to enable the connection of the residents with the outside areas to observe the natural environment and create a comfortable setting for Indigenous families and visitors. Each of the unit duplexes is offset to avoid overlooking of verandahs for privacy. The practice of sitting outside or on verandahs to observe and enjoy the natural environment is common among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, particularly in remote and regional towns. A cluster of buildings with verandahs and outdoor social spaces helps support this preference (Figs. 17.4, 17.5, 17.6 and 17.7).

Building Form: The roof form for each accommodation living unit was inspired by traditional Aboriginal rainforest architecture of the region. This form was generated out of numerous design meetings between the design team and Traditional Owner Reference Group. The Indigenous people of Cairns and surrounds are rainforest people, who have specific ethno-architecture and ancestral histories. Meetings with the Reference Group held discussions about what the architecture of the facility should imbue; what its character could be and what it could feel like without causing offence to Indigenous residents and visitors from other areas. The Reference Group agreed that it should not contain direct references to any specific Indigenous ancestors or spirit beings and that it should be organic in form and supportive, nurturing and domestic. The reference group repeatedly rejected highly rectilinear and modernist forms as being too harsh for people who needed to get well.

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[17]A story place refers to a place in the natural landscape where an Indigenous Spiritual Ancestor and their history reside.

Fig. 17.4 Synapse SAIF, master plan (*Drawing* People Oriented Design)

The units have curved internal corners to minimise places for malevolent spirits to harbour, a feature which was specifically requested by the Indigenous Reference Group. Each unit has verandahs to the north and south for offering variety in shelter and aspect during the day.

The roof of the central facility has a number of different angled planes; the largest plane has a slight twist along its horizontal axis. This is a subtle reference to falling leaves and traditional water carriers from the region. The central facility has
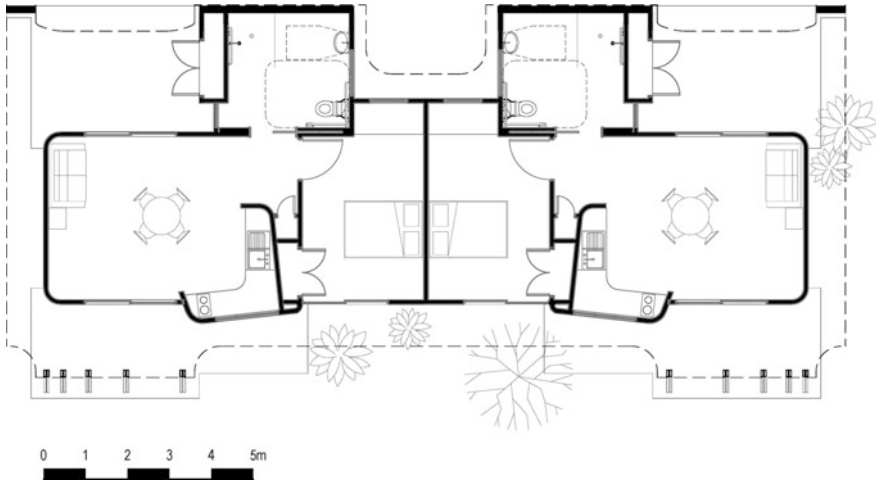
Fig. 17.5 Plan of accommodation units (*Drawing* People Oriented Design)
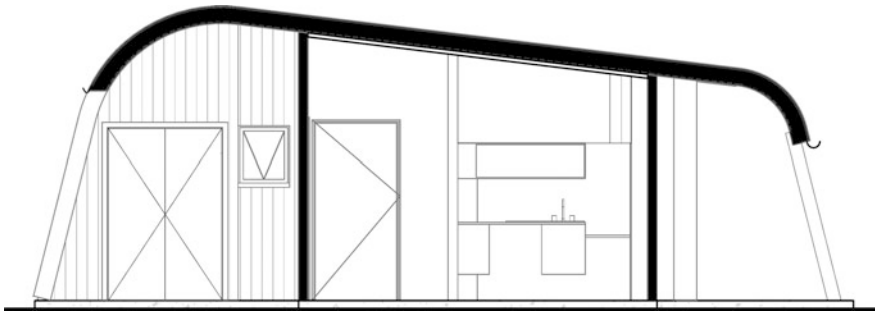
Fig. 17.6 Section of accommodation units (*Drawing* People Oriented Design)

rectilinear rooms with square corners, but makes reference to the units in its entry roof, which has the same profile curve. This element begins to tie the cluster of buildings together. The spatial layout of the central facility was driven more directly by the health programme requirements of the brief than the units. It needed to contain a number of specific areas: administration, dining/meeting room, kitchen, laundry, bathrooms, consult room and staff administration area with the capacity for overnight stays and a lounge for socialising and informal meetings (Fig. 17.8).

Building Materials and Colour: Indigenous designer, Francoise Lane (Indij Design) developed the interior design and external colour selection for each unit. Some colours relate to local Indigenous bush foods, while others refer back to coastal environments for Torres Strait Islander people. There are four unit colour themes inspired by local resources, places and plants such as the blue of the Quandong fruit, the turquoise of the Coral Sea, the yellow of frangipani flowers and

Fig. 17.7 Synapse SAIF, side view of accommodation units (*Photograph* Michael Marzik)

Fig. 17.8 Interior of accommodation units (*Photograph* Michael Marzik)

the lime green of foliage in the tropics. The colour and material selection has cultural associations and is uplifting and refreshing, serving also as a wayfinding tool particularly for residents who may have a visual impairment.

All external verandahs and paths have been treated in concrete and are wheelchair accessible with a consistent single level to enable universal accessibility. The units have a timber and steel structure, clad externally with steel and plywood, for durability and low maintenance. Internally, the units are lined with plasterboard and fibre cement sheet and are fitted with seamless floor vinyl in fresh colours. The central facility includes a masonry core for the kitchen, laundry and bathrooms, and steel and timber construction for the remainder of the spaces. There are no specifically local Indigenous materials used in the facility. This is primarily a result of material selection based on durability and low maintenance and budget constraints and also as a result of the issues related to mandatory building regulations mentioned previously in the chapter.

Spatial Organisation: The spatial organisation of the buildings, and rooms within buildings, provides privacy but also enables avoidance practices[18] (Fantin 2003a, b). Most spaces have multiple entries and egresses so that people can move subtly away from another person in the practice of avoidance norms. There are also options for small outdoor gatherings so that visiting family members can sit

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[18]Indigenous avoidance practices relate to specific behaviours or respect between particular kin. Some kinship relationships require people to not see or speak to one another and to not be within close proximity.

together, but not necessarily share space with other families, should they require greater privacy.

Each unit contains a bedroom, bathroom, lounge and kitchenette and two verandahs. Each bathroom is accessible to the living space and the bedroom to provide access to residents and visitors. The living units are oriented to enable privacy on the verandahs and to avoid visual surveillance from adjacent units. The central facility is a cluster of spaces open to the environment and located under one roof. The dining/meeting space opens to a verandah, which is also close to the kitchen and staff offices. The central verandah aims to function as an informal lounge and health support area where training and information sharing can occur. The entrance to the central facility is unimposing and domestic in nature. All the units can be discreetly observed from the staff office in the central facility.

Landscape Design: The final landscape design is extensive and intricate and will include native bush food and Indigenous medicinal plants, vegetable gardens, fruit trees, private gardens for each unit and a native seasonal plant avenue. The landscape provided for building completion in the photographs within this chapter is not the final landscape. Synapse is working with Abriculture over an extended period to develop the preferred landscape with the residents. This removed achieving the landscape intent from the compressed project management time frame and budget. It will include different garden types (dry inland bush, elevated rainforest, coastal rainforest and others) that are cardinally organised on the site to pay respect to Indigenous residents from other areas using the facility (Malia et al. 2004: 32–39). The seasonal plant avenue at the north of the facility includes a selection of tree species that flower and/or fruit at different times of the year which allow clients to connect with environmental triggers in the surrounding landscape and to remind them of home. For example, when various plants flower or fruit, it is a signal for other environmental and Indigenous resources being available.

The Synapse SAIF project is being closely followed by a number of educational institutions and health service providers in Australia that are ready to evaluate the completed project. Key elements to be evaluated may include the technical, social and health performance of the building compared with original design brief; the experiences of the residents and staff in terms of the building function and alignment with the care model; the operational and repairs and maintenance costs of the facility; and any health outcomes for the residents that can be linked back to the built environment.

Conclusion

The development of this chapter has been an exploration of the meaning of intercultural design practice and of Indigenous architecture in the context of far north Queensland in Australia. The first part of the chapter used semi-structured interviews as a method for illustrating how the authors often communicate and discuss Indigenous architecture. It shows how fluid and tangential the discussions can be,

while simultaneously being pointed and political. Fantin believes that conversations such as these are an essential part of intercultural design practice. In each conversation about design and architecture, the authors begin to unravel more about how new Indigenous places can be made and how each perceives Indigenous architecture and the conditions required for effective intercultural design to occur.

Applying an intercultural design practice and methodology has been a conscious aim of the authors' work, rather than a by-product of two people from different cultural backgrounds working together in ostensibly the same culture. This is important to differentiate because many project teams include people of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds, but may still apply an overarching process rooted in Western knowledge and philosophy. Applying a conscious intercultural design method means acknowledging and respecting each person's cultural background, actively discussing how culture affects the perceptions and expectations of each team member and deciding which methods to apply, which are appropriate for the project and also recognising cultural influences on the design process.

Fantin believes that applying intercultural design occurs at the moment where one recognises and respects the social and cultural history of each member of the design team and the end-users, so as to work together for mutual understanding and benefit. It requires an awareness of the potential for unconscious bias and each person's individual enculturation. This approach is defined by respect, mutual benefit and interest and capacity to engage. It can also result in situations which are challenging and uncomfortable because the foundations of each person's belief system are open for discussion.

The work on the Synapse project can be described as cultural and social agency in design. Findley (2005) and McGaw and Pieris (2014) discuss the role of architects in cultural and political agency, and in their work, they explore the history and theory associated with power, space and building. The authors have also written and spoken of the importance of Indigenous naming, ownership, participation and activism of buildings and places to create Indigenous places and have a keen social and political awareness of the possible impact of the work being undertaken (Fantin 2003a, b; Fantin and Fourmile 2013; Greenop 2010).

> Architecture, like no other form of cultural production, can manifest renewed cultural agency by making it spatial, material, present and, in that sense undeniable. This is a sobering responsibility (Findley 2005: xiii).

As Findley states above, non-Indigenous architects and designers have a sobering responsibility particularly when working with Indigenous people in an intercultural space. At times, the responsibility can be overwhelming. However, Fantin believes that architects are not the sole instigators of successful placemaking. They do not control how people use, own and occupy space and place. Architects can make places that encourage certain behaviours and prohibit others and through the creation of comfortable and supportive places can contribute to reducing the stress levels of users. However, architects and designers do not directly control changes in Government policy and funding, models of care or repairs and maintenance regimes. In the case of the Synapse project, the architecture and

post-occupancy research of the project can influence these things and support new ways of providing care for Indigenous people, but it is reliant on service providers, the changing of cultural paradigms, human behaviour patterns and continuity of use over time to demonstrate that different kinds of places can be created that will be supportive and effective for Indigenous people.

Fourmile asserts that the architecture in the Synapse project is not wholly Indigenous, because of its non-Indigenous building technologies, materials, land tenure, building regulation and methods for managing the design and building process. These parameters are constrained by the dominant cultural paradigm within which Australian architecture sits. The authors do agree that the work is not completely non-Indigenous because the project applied Indigenous communication protocols to the design process, was guided on an Indigenous model of care by the health provider, contained Indigenous leadership, unearthed the preferences of the local Indigenous groups in building form and spatial experience and worked closely with Indigenous designers to create an intercultural design solution.

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Authors' Biographies

Dr Shaneen Fantin is a designer, writer and innovator. She has specialist expertise in Indigenous housing and health projects, community engagement and design participation. Shaneen is a Director of People Oriented Design (a multidisciplinary design, engagement and research practice in Cairns, Queensland), and an Adjunct Associate Professor at the University of Queensland and James Cook University. She holds a PhD from the University of Queensland on the relationship between design and culture in Aboriginal housing and has applied this research knowledge to Indigenous housing and health projects since 1995 across Australia and in Canada. She is a regular contributor to a range of architectural journals and is the author of many articles and chapters relating to Indigenous architecture, housing and tropical design.

Mr Gudju Gudju Fourmile is a respected Gimuy Walubara Yidinji Elder from far north Queensland and a director of Abriculture, an ecology, land management and design practice in Cairns. He is a ceremonial leader, artist, educator, project manager and retired electrician. He has been learning the traditional ways of his people from the day he could walk. His mother taught him the Kunghanji ways and his father and grandparents taught him the ways of the Yidinji people, and he applies these learnings to all aspects of his life and in the teaching of others. He has been involved in research and publications on intercultural design practice through James Cook University (2014) and evolutionary genomics through Griffith University (published in world-leading journal, Nature in September 2016).

Chapter 18
Enough Is Enough: Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Living Heritage and the (Re) Shaping of Built Environment Design Education in Australia

Grant Revell, Scott Heyes, David Jones, Darryl Low Choy, Richard Tucker and Susan Bird

> The taproot is the root of the tree that goes the deepest. In my family taproots are really important because, as my mother always says, 'We didn't get here by ourselves. We have others to thank for that and we should acknowledge it'. Those family members that make up the taproots are still very much alive and living with us today, and this reinforces a sense of self, belonging, and place. Never forget your taproots because they'll never forget you (Tjalaminu Mia 2007: 208).

Introduction

This chapter explores the critical importance of ethical Indigenous knowledge engagement in the knowing of living heritage landscapes and their associated built environment education, and professional practices across Australia. Recent peda-

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gogical research undertaken by the authors across all Australian universities that teach the built environment disciplines of architecture, planning and landscape architecture has revealed a lack of understanding of Indigenous knowledges in these professionally accredited courses (Jones et al. 2013, 2017; Tucker et al. 2016). We argue that the ethical incorporation of Indigenous knowledge systems, through teaching strategies that are developed in partnership with Indigenous stakeholders, will contribute to scaffolding a transformation in intercultural built environment education in Australia, along with prospective changes to professional institute education policies (AACA/AIA 2012; AILA 2016; PIA 2016). Such genuine collaboration with Indigenous partners is necessary to ensure that Indigenous perspectives of 'Country'[1] and living heritage are clearly understood and experienced by built environment students at the formal academic and professional career-building stages of their lifelong learning. Critically, this paper presents new ways of approaching Australian built environment education and practice, using relevant environmental design exemplars that can elevate and progress *Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing*. This research and associated applied practice contributes to a growing body of international literature indicating the potential of Indigenous pedagogy and epistemologies in the tertiary education and professional practice context.

Prologue

To begin, we would like to acknowledge the Indigenous Elders, past and present, on the lands and waters in which we live and work across Australia, and other parts of the world.

We pay our respects to these rightful owners of the cultural protocols and knowledge systems that inform our work; our diverse and shared world views that seek the ongoing beginnings of a new order in re-shaping architecture, landscape architecture and planning education in Australia, in particular.

We sincerely acknowledge and thank our Indigenous colleagues who have reminded us of both the local and global implications of our collective work and the urgency of its co-development, communication and application.

In keeping with Indigenous ways of transmitting knowledge, we would also like to start this paper with a story. In this story, we visit the wisdom of Hawaiʻian geographer, Doug Herman and his liberating writings and cultural programs as a

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[1]"In Aboriginal English, the term 'Country' is both a common and proper noun. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples talk about Country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to Country, sing to Country, visit Country, worry about Country, grieve for Country and long for Country. People say that Country knows, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, and feels sorry or happy. Country is a living entity with a yesterday, a today and tomorrow, with consciousness, action, and a will toward life. Because of this richness of meaning, Country is home and peace: nourishment for body, mind and spirit; and heart's ease" (Rose 1996: 7).

Senior Curator at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC. Herman argues for a first-hand participatory cultural inquiry that debunks the persistent ideologies of Western science and its knowings of postmodern landscape heritage—its values, resources, management and overriding education systems. Herman's story is a resounding one for those who appreciate that we are on this planet earth with finite resources, where we all need to re-think and live together in harmony with each other and with our surroundings, and where carefully designed Indigenous-led partnerships can provide us all with the knowledge-sharing lessons and practices on why and how this can be done (Nader 1996; Scott 1996).

Herman notes that the:

> … failure of modern industrial society to engage with the world as a meaningful place results in a sort of philosophical hydroponics wherein people search for meaning in the detached sphere of ungrounded ideas, while the physical world is treated carelessly as a meaningless container for human life (Herman 2008: 75).

This term 'philosophical hydroponics' and its relevance to understanding Indigenous knowledge of landscape heritage, past/present/future, would be apt, we believe, to the histories of most, if not all, built environment education programs across Australia.

Doug Herman, a non-Indigenous geographer at the National Museum of the American Indian, highlights the urgencies of experiencing Indigenous wisdom in place with the sharing of a number of beautiful and pertinent stories for the fields of an environmental design becoming. These cultural heritage stories provide a social and cultural knowledge and guidance for our most recent work.

We have chosen the 'storied-place' of Micronesian Carlos Andrade who speaks of stories about 'how to live':

> In this story, there is a large cave and a lot of people living in it. At the time, these people had just brought in a large catch of fish, and are cooking them. [The goddess] Pele is wandering down the coast and seeing them, goes into the cave and asks them for some fish to eat. But they deny her the fish. As she's walking away from them, on the outskirts of the cave itself there's an old man and he's cooking fish for himself and his grandchild. And as Pele walks by, he calls her to come and eat with them. His invitation is the most *pono* [proper] Hawaiian behaviour: whenever you see someone pass by, you call to them to come and eat, and even if they don't respond or say "no, no thanks," it is your obligation as a host in Hawaiian culture to invite a stranger to come and eat with you. And so he calls her to eat, and they share the little fish that he has with her. Then before he leaves, Pele tells them not to stay in the cave that night—to go somewhere else. And later that night, when all the people are all satisfied, fat and sleepy from their big meal, the cave collapses and kills them, all of them [sic.] (Carlos Andrade quoted in Herman 2008: 83).

Such a story of ancestral resonance suggests a communal knowledge economy beyond the short-term ills of Western capitalism to a time when place, story and their integral relationships mattered to situations of simple human survival. Closer to home, Herman reminds us that metaphorically the goddess Pele could well be the embodiment of our 50 000-year-old Indigenous environmental design knowledge base and to ignore its ethical presence, meaning and reciprocity could well mean a significant loss to all, especially to our diverse understandings of the health and

well-being of our collective earth and their place-worlds. The disastrous consequences are obvious to those who seek a definitive wisdom in Herman's humanistic geographies. For others, the story has already been played out. Yet for many Australian environmental design students, this quest for embodied Indigenous landscape knowledge is no longer cursory, but occupies an essential vortex to their Australian becoming. Their local, regional and international reputations for embracing an enviable set of landscape-based relationships are unquestionable. Such is this very groundswell of living heritage, storytelling and knowledge sharing that remains on offer to the education and practice of a new Australian environmental design—architecture, planning and landscape architecture (Crosby et al. 2015).

Herman, along with Indigenous cartographers such as Louis (2007) and Johnson (2010), and other researchers Coombes (2012), and Larsen and Johnson (2012), have, in the last decade, advocated for and advanced the practice of Indigenous geography, a way of thinking and knowing land that would seem perhaps more attractive to an environmental design audience than to their fellow human and cultural geographers. The case made by these researchers for the adoption of an Indigenous geography paradigm in land and environmental studies is indeed strong and warranted.

We reflect on that fact that our own built environment academic training, a set of disciplines that seeks to advance Western-informed stewardship responsibilities through design, planning and management interventions and strategies of two to three decades ago did not focus on this way of looking at the land. Rather, our grounding in landscape studies emerged from exposure to place-identity and environmental psychology works by Barker (1968), Tuan (1974, 1979), Relph (1976), Rapoport (1976, 2005), Zube (1976, 1980), Meinig (1979), Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980), Seddon (1972, 1997), Julius Gy Fabos (1985), and Kaplan and Kaplan (1989; Kaplan et al. 1998). Some of these scholars came and gave classes and public lectures in Australia focusing on the aesthetic phenomena of essentially 'foreign' landscapes. Relph and Rapoport were notable exceptions. Whether intentional or not, our theoretical understandings of landscape, in the main, were derived from such literature, tuition and practice that generally lacked an Indigenous perspective or approach. Accordingly, while we learned how to creatively integrate and connect human and nature relationships in the absence of this way of knowing, our Indigenous hosts and colleagues—the grand knowledge-holders of lands and seas in Australia—waited patiently for us to engage with them and learn from them.

Interestingly, this Indigenous knowledge engagement is becoming a hallmark of many of universities around the world, as they contest a meaningful relationship with the higher education principles that embrace high standards in both local and global cultural competency (Liddle 2012). In turn, their Indigenous hosts are becoming essential members of their chancellery and learning and teaching faculty. Yet for many others, the resilient patience of their Indigenous hosts and collaborators, nonetheless, we feel, is fast running out. At this moment of time, we take heed from the ethical cultural commentary of Trinh Minh-ha:

> A responsible work today seems to me above all to be one that shows, on the one hand, a political commitment and an ideological lucidity, that is, on the other hand interrogative by nature, instead of being merely prescriptive. In other words, a work that involves a story in history; a work that acknowledges the difference between lived experience and representation; a work that is careful not to turn a struggle into an object of consumption, and requires that responsibility be assumed by the maker as well as the audience; without whose participation no solution emerges, for no solution exists as given (Minh-ha 1991: 147–148).

Context

In a recent Melbourne newspaper article, Indigenous architect and educator, Rueben Berg (2014), co-founder and Director of the Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria (IADV), an umbrella organisation of Indigenous designers that aims to strengthen Indigenous design and cultural heritage, stated that:

> Aboriginality was an untapped area for architects to be inspired for any new project in the built environment [and] …that there is so much out there in terms of how Aboriginality is represented culturally, which can then be used as a framework for any new project, whether it is by the Indigenous community or by any architects. Aboriginality is more than people typically perceive it to be, such as associations with Alice Springs, the desert and Kakadu. There is so much more going on that can inspire exciting new designs (Edgar 2016).

It is critical to reflect on Berg's words. Further, the IADV's initiatives to support the training and development of Indigenous designers across Victoria and the rest of Australia are nothing short of phenomenal. While their work is obviously place-specific, their support programs are nationally and globally significant, and their affirmative rights of enabling and supporting the training of Indigenous designers to be the custodians of their Indigenous design knowledge and living heritage must be respected. Through Indigenous leadership, governance and a growing body of senior Indigenous academics and professional staff, the IADV provides a collective Indigenous voice that is able to be sustained over the long term and embodies the principles of cultural safety, guidance, self-determination and cultural capacity building for the design academies of Victoria. Above all, their work recognises that Indigenous intellectual property remains with the Indigenous owners.

It is worth noting that Berg and his fellow Indigenous design collaborators are situating a set of collective 'Indigenous voices' to the built environment academies and their professions. They have recently co-authored and been intrinsically involved in some key texts and associated research projects devoted to *knowing* Indigenous placemaking across Australia and cultural centre/place design in Melbourne, Victoria. Australia and the world have much to learn from these important works (Jones et al. 2016; McGaw et al. 2014; Pieris et al. 2014).

It is, therefore, timely that the current national learning and teaching research appraisal being undertaken by the authors of this paper—researchers and experienced intercultural planners and designers entrusted to undertake a feasibility study of the needs to 'Indigenise' built environment education curricula across Australia —listen carefully to the work of the IADV and develop stronger partnerships in

how our work is collectively Indigenous-led. The Indigenous self-determination, capacity building and overriding 'Aboriginal voice' are absolutely central to this research, and there is a clear need for more Indigenous teachers in the studios, interdisciplinary classrooms and community settings of planning and design faculties across Australia. Importantly, this argument heeds the same message put forward by designers Jillian Walliss and Elizabeth Grant some eighteen years ago (Walliss and Grant 2000). In this paper, we underline the overriding importance of Indigenous self-determination and capacity building in meeting the needs of Australian environmental design research and education.

As we have learnt from the research outcomes of the Commonwealth of Australia's Office of Learning and Teaching (OLT)-funded project (Jones et al. 2013, 2016, 2017; Tucker et al. 2016), and through teaching evaluations of projects that have been undertaken with Indigenous partners, it is clear that architecture, landscape architecture and planning students are deeply interested in understanding Indigenous ways of learning from Indigenous peoples (Jones et al. 2016, 2017). As identified by Indigenous educator, Karen Martin, the cultural safety of a partnering Indigenous voice in or out of the classroom—*Please knock before you enter* (2008)—is important to the lived sovereignty and identity of Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing—both in historical and contemporary terms (Martin and Mirraboopa 2003; Martin 2008). The current academic commitments to these Indigenous staffing shortfalls, however, are surprisingly low, and a sense of misplaced multi-culturalism in design and planning education has been deferred to address the sheer numbers and service needs the sheer numbers and service needs of visiting international students. For many parts of urban and non-urban Australia, the rights of Indigenous designers and their associated knowledge and stewardship of land and place-based design theories and practices has often been neglected. While the training of environmental planners and designers are intentionally global as expressed in generic Australian university learning outcome objectives, the substantive and affirmative human rights of their built environment education should focus arguably on the local.

Nonetheless, if we take a broader perspective on the needs of global Indigenous rights and their local application, and therefore pay attention to the inclusive Indigenous education needs of, say, visiting international students, then there is a clear educational address that all planning and design students should take. For example, the visiting Indonesian design student should be able to understand the rights and priorities of their own local Indigenous communities (e.g. *Minahasa* (Wuisang 2014; Wuisang and Jones 2014), *Bali Aga* (Ni Made Yudantini 2016; Ni Made Yudantini and Jones 2015) by studying in Australia.

To help us with these affirmative cultural rights of planning and design education, we should look to the United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007), to clarify these matters of local and global heritage significance. That is, in seeking to develop, enhance and promote the teaching and learning of Indigenous knowledge, Australian planning and design schools and their respective professions should affirm the following educational, cultural and self-determination principles of the UN *Declaration* and seek to incorporate and prioritise these principles in their future teaching, research and professional practice policies:

Article 3

Indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

Article 15

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.

Article 31

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions (United Nations 2007).

Looking Back, Looking Forward: Towards a Living Heritage of Shared Indigeneity

Australian land use planners, landscape architects, environmental designers and land managers are beginning to embrace an informed and shared practice of knowing Aboriginal notions of Country and in turn an understanding of what that means to land and water stewardship education systems and practices across Australia. These are extremely important and challenging times for Australian land planning systems and their educators and practitioners.

Non-Indigenous scholar, Deborah Bird Rose's seminal study, *Nourishing Terrains* (1996), originated from the Australian Heritage Commission's urgent and poignant inquiries into the assessment and quantification of cultural landscape values and their associated land and water attributes across Australia. As an ethno-ecologist, Rose was influenced by the seminal research of fellow anthropologists and cultural historians studying Indigenous peoples' relationships to land, including the works of

Elkin (1954 [1938s]), Strehlow (1965), Tindale (1974), Stanner (1979), Myers (1982), Jones (1985), Neidjie et al. (1985), Mowaljarlai and Malnic (1993), Sutton (1995) (to name just a few). Rose was specifically commissioned to "explore Indigenous views of landscape and their relationships with the land" (Rose 1996: v). Knowing about 'wilderness' and how such a classification of land was to contribute to the Australian National Estate was a hot topic. It opened up an informed cultural land planning and management conversation with Aboriginal Australia. Rose noted 'culture and landscape' were to be inclusive of Aboriginal knowledge systems of sustaining environmental values and their associated obligations and cultural rights for 'being'. The commission was overawed by Rose's findings of the transformative understandings of the Australian environment, landscape (wilderness or otherwise), and how Country opened up a deeper discourse about Australian 'space' and what could be shared and learnt about Aboriginal relationships and associations with Australian cultural landscape systems.

Fortunately, Rose was able to evocatively to reveal to mainstream Australia how in Aboriginal knowledge systems, everything is alive and everything is in relationships; past, present and future are one, where both the physical and spiritual worlds of Country interact. The *Dreaming*[2] is an ongoing celebration and reverence for past events: the creation of the land, the creation of law and the creation of people. Stories are given to Aboriginal peoples from the *Dreaming*, everything comes into being through story, and the *Dreaming* is the ancestors. All things exist eternally in the *Dreaming*; the *Dreaming* is alive. The individual is born to Country, not just in Country, but also from Country, and their identity is inextricably and eternally linked to the *Dreaming* (Milroy and Revell 2013: 1–2).

To expand further, Rose (1996: 7) suggests,

> In Aboriginal English, the word 'Country' is both a common noun and a proper noun. People talk about Country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to Country, sing to Country, visit Country, worry about Country, grieve for Country and long for Country. People say that Country knows, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, and feels sorry or happy. Country is a living entity with a yesterday, a today and tomorrow, with consciousness, action, and a will toward life. Because of this richness of meaning, Country is home and peace: nourishment for body, mind and spirit; and heart's ease.

As also noted by Milroy and Revell (2013), Australian space is not emptiness, *terra nullius*, a void to be filled, or a neutral place for action. Rather, space is imagined—*called into being*—by individuals, families and the cultures of which they are a part. Yet we experience a spatial double jeopardy in Australia, which is

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[2]Christine Nicholls states "Dreamings, founded upon the actions of Dreaming Ancestors, Creator Beings believed responsible for bringing-into-being localised geographical features, land forms such as waterholes and springs, differ across the length and breadth of Australia. The universal translation of these terms as "Dreaming" needs to be questioned. If Australia is to grow as a nation, to make right the relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, it's time to start using the original terminology from Indigenous languages, to learn how to pronounce the words, and to talk about the Manguy, Jukurrpa, or Ngarrankarni, in place of the catch-all 'Dreaming'" (Nicholls 2014).

arguably the oldest intact environment (120 000 years) in the world, and the oldest Indigenous culture in the world (50 000+ years). These spatial qualities negate uniformity and featurelessness within 'country'. They also allow Country to speak for itself. Indigenous peoples *humanise* their environments because of their (non-material) Country relations and their in-built abilities to sense the resources of Country itself Milroy and Revell (2013: 6).

Importantly, *Nourishing Terrains'* (1996) now indelible mantra '*If you are good to Country*, *then Country is good to you*' eventually became revelatory to the planning and design academies and professional institutions of Australia, and elsewhere. This came at a critical time for Australian planners where the study of both ancient and contemporary biophysical and human ecological systems were overtly staring at one another, desperately seeking to understand the specificity of reciprocal environmental and social meanings and their associated ecological relationships, as explained above.

Above all, 50 000+ years of Aboriginal caring for Country was beginning to make sense to Australian planners and landscape architects, and the professional inquiries and relationships Rose helped to build were to change bicultural Australian land use planning practices forever. The cogent fact that *Nourishing Terrains* (1996) arrived in Australia only 22 years ago in the 'Nations' collective 50 000 year history should be extremely significant to Australia's planning and design institutions, and might we say unconscionable to Australia, overall.

Today, despite some isolated regional achievements, Australian bicultural built environment and land use planning practices have much to learn from other First Nation groups across the globe. Notably, Canadian and Aotearoa New Zealand institutions (Walker et al. 2013; Stuart and Thompson-Fawcett 2010) have well advanced, culturally inspired educational programs, professional policies and accountable practices run by Indigenous professionals and their communities for the betterment of bicultural (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) communities. The Indigenous universities of Canada, USA and Aotearoa New Zealand are obvious exemplars.[3] Matters of professional cultural protocols, ethics and respectful ways of working and engaging with 'Indigenous ways' are paramount to these successful bicultural built environment and land use planning systems.

Professional (and everyday) matters of cultural competency, inclusiveness, respect and equity are important, yet they somewhat pale against a greater de-colonised understanding of Indigenous ways of knowing, environmental design, land use planning and the managing of land and community. Matters of cultural sustainability, endurance of stewardship and custodial care, and generative practices of creative land, water and sky planning and design are significant primarily because they are understood as a set of overdue de-colonised *processes* rather than necessarily any collection of re-colonised *product*. Planning and design 'outcomes',

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[3]Examples include the World Indigenous Nations University (WINU), Aotearoa New Zealand; First Nations University of Canada, Saskatchewan, Canada; and the multitude of Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) located predominantly in the mid and south-west of the USA.

physically tangible, 'real', or manifested otherwise, are important yet they are not to be sacrificed by short-cutting or ignoring 'proper' cultural ways, socialisations and associated rights of engaging with living ancient and contemporary cultural obligations and custodial practices among family, community, land, water and sky. Landscape architects and land use planners are finally learning that there are only certain people who can speak and work for certain Country and that, at times, these rights cannot be shared in a bicultural planning or design realm. Here lies the difference between trans-disciplinary and interdisciplinary practices where they move beyond the discipline of a university and interact with Indigenous knowledge in ways that the university (or indeed the professions) may not understand (Christie 2006).

Indigenous Canadian cultural theorist, Kovach (2009), and Fijian researcher Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (2006) have heralded decolonising research practices where epistemological planning and design research, mapping methodologies and project implementation initiatives are designed as ongoing Indigenous-led conciliatory ceremonies in their own right. They are determined by intercultural protocols, ethics and customs of knowledge inquiry, development and keeping. This involves building 'two-way' relationships and the dialogical spaces in which they develop, perform and celebrate being essential 'ceremonies' in the project design process and are foremost in improving any landscape. Senses of community need and site specificity are bound up with different ways of knowing, decolonising theory itself, story as method, cultural protocol and ethical responsibility.

Meanwhile, Rose (2014) continued Indigenous-led research and community engagement work by taking a reciprocal and perhaps preliminary *Nourishing Terrains* (1996)-based understanding of landscape heritage to one of a complex non-anthropocentric understanding of cultural ecological flows. Here, a multiple of living landscape heritage values and associated sources are entwined, leading to an understanding that ecological values are relationship-based; they flow and form patterns between one another, sustaining each other's ethics, poetry, health and well-being. These non-anthropocentric landscape heritage values call in ethical relationships with other ancestral beings and stories of the *Dreaming*, for example, and embody reason and intrinsic values that are informed by a possible 'Zero-Nature', or pre-Mother Earth world view. Not first, second or third but zero. It is time we shared this with eminent landscape historian Hunt (2000) who has classified European responses to nature in first, second and third dimensions depending on their cultural influences and in the knowing of the impossibilities of wilderness.

Hence, the designed processes of Indigenous well-knowing, well-being and well-doing of creative place are determined by their own situated relatedness back to zero. Rose suggests that the interrelational ecological patterns and performances of place are less configured by pauses but more so by returns. These human traces "can be thought of as both memory and promise—a memory of former presence, and a promise of future return. This is the ethics of the pulse: every departure promises a return, and every return is a moral action, a promise fulfilled" (Rose 2014: 435).

We now return to the pedagogical investigations of our recent research in an attempt to appreciate the current Indigenous knowledge learning in Australian built environment curricula.

The Pedagogical Research: Preliminary Findings

Recent pedagogical research undertaken by the authors demonstrated a lack of understanding of Indigenous knowledge of those engaged in the professionally accredited courses in architecture, planning and landscape architecture in Australian universities (Jones et al. 2016, 2017). The Commonwealth's Office of Learning and Teaching (OLT)-funded research included a desktop survey of Australian built environment curricula; workshops with tertiary providers and students, professional practitioners and representatives of three built environment professional institutes; and online surveys of Australian built environment students (Jones et al. 2016, 2017; Tucker et al. 2016). The entry and exit surveys, and continuing student workshops, attempted to quantify students' understanding of Indigenous knowledge before and after their study programs. In this chapter, the method and results of these student questionnaire surveys will be discussed.

Method and Participants

Questionnaires were given to students enrolled in degrees within the built environment disciplines at three universities that taught Indigenous knowledge and protocols. Students completed entry and exit questionnaires, at the beginning and end of their units/subjects (meaning a unit of study as distinct from a course/degree), to determine what they perceived they had learned in their studies. Some 102 completed questionnaires (total of exit plus entry) were analysed from: 18 students studying architecture, 34 studying landscape architecture and 50 studying urban and regional planning. Students were enrolled in 1 of 3 units/subjects focused on the teaching of Indigenous protocols, a fourth- and fifth-year postgraduate unit/subject on 'Indigenous Narratives and Processes' (6 architects, 20 landscape architects and 1 planner), an undergraduate fourth-year studio-based unit/subject (12 architects, 14 landscape architects and 3 planners) and an undergraduate third-year planning unit/subject for an Indigenous communities course (46 planners).

A 28-item Indigenous knowledge questionnaire was divided into two parts. In the first 15-item part—perceived Indigenous Knowledge—students were asked to rate (on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = very poor, 5 = very good)) their understanding of 15 topics (see Table 18.1).

The first question was an umbrella question that sought to measure general understanding of Indigenous knowledge. The following 14 questions rated understandings of the topics that academics felt made up required Indigenous knowledge for the three disciplines. The questionnaire was designed to determine which topics

	Survey questions and related topics
Table 18.1 Indigenous knowledge areas and topics covered in the survey questionnaire to students	1. Indigenous knowledge
	2. Welcome to country
	3. Traditional ways of life for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island (ATSI) Australians
	4. The history of European contact (invasion) in Australia
	5. Native title legislation
	6. Intra-state differences in legislation and policies related to ATSI people
	7. The complexities of ATSI historical and cultural relationships to specific localities
	8. Key principles and philosophies that underpin contemporary approach(es) to Indigenous environmental resource use and management
	9. Current land use planning/design challenges confronting Indigenous communities globally
	10. Current land use planning/design challenges confronting ATSI communities in Australia
	11. Current land use planning/design challenges confronting the ATSI communities for the area you live in
	12. Protocols for engaging with Indigenous communities
	13. Intellectual property protocols for working with Indigenous people
	14. Indigenous resources/information provided by the Planning Institute of Australia (PIA) or the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects (AILA) or the Australian Institute of Architects (AIA)
	15. The way Indigenous issues influence professional practice in your discipline

students correlated more closely with their general understanding of the term Indigenous knowledge, and whether this perception changed as a result of their studies. Experts from different areas of specialisation, including built environment and Indigenous educators, examined the questionnaire for both content and face validity; checking the content and clarity of the items. When tested for internal consistency reliability, the perceived Indigenous knowledge scale was shown to have good internal consistency.[4]

In the second section of the questionnaire, a 13-item test—actual Indigenous knowledge—aimed to ascertain the students' actual knowledge, for example, 'what protocols should you observe when engaging with an Indigenous community?'

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[4]The internal consistency is a measure of how well a set of variables (in this case questions 2–15 in the scale), measure a single, one-dimensional construct (in this, Indigenous Knowledge i.e. question 1). Internal Consistency is usually measured with Cronbach's alpha (α), a statistic calculated from the pairwise correlations between items. Our scale had a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.92. It is commonly accepted that $\alpha \geq 0.9$ indicates 'excellent' internal consistency. There are four lower levels Internal Consistency: Good, Acceptable, Questionable, Poor and Unacceptable.

The intention here was to compare what students felt they knew with what they actually knew.

Results and Discussion

Firstly, correlations for the 15 topic questions compared architecture students' before and after understandings to those of planning and landscape architecture students (see Table 18.2). Here, we can see some striking disciplinary differences. When architecture students self-rated their understanding of the 15 areas, there were significant correlations between overall self-ratings of Indigenous knowledge and only two topics: traditional ways of life and Native Title[5] legislation. In other words, prior to their studies, architecture students had a very narrow understanding of what Indigenous knowledge is. In comparison, prior to their studies, planning and landscape architecture students identified their overall knowledge with all 14 topics. While this might be seen perhaps as a less precise understanding, it is nevertheless more open to the many areas it might be hoped that students would engage with. In the entry data, there was no correlation for architecture students between self-ratings of overall knowledge and test scores of actual knowledge. In other words, prior to their studies, there was no relationship between how much the students thought they knew and what they actually knew, suggesting a poor understandings of the subject areas. At this time, knowledge of both the history of European settlement, and traditional ways of life could be considered strengths in actual knowledge compared to weakness in all other areas; a finding reflecting the subjects more commonly taught in Australian secondary and tertiary schools. It should be acknowledged, however, that with the possible ambiguity and limitations of the term 'traditional', as opposed to say 'local ways of life', there is clearly a need for further work to be undertaken in this area of the survey analyses.

The exit questionnaire revealed that architecture students' understanding had refined little, for as well as traditional ways of life, they now correlated only one other area of knowledge with an overall understanding of Indigenous knowledge; protocols for engaging with Indigenous communities. While it is reassuring to see architecture students after their studies recognising the importance of these protocols, these understandings still represent a very narrow focus when compared to

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[5]As defined by Australia's National Native Title Tribunal: "Native title is the recognition in Australian law that some Indigenous people continue to hold rights to their land and waters, which come from their traditional laws and customs. The following conditions must be met:

- the rights and interests are possessed under the traditional laws currently acknowledged and the traditional customs currently observed by the relevant Indigenous people;
- those Indigenous people have a 'connection' with the area in question by those traditional laws and customs;
- the rights and interests are recognised by the common law of Australia" (Commonwealth of Australia 2010).

Table 18.2 Entry and exit correlations between self-rating of 'Indigenous knowledge' and the 14 knowledge areas. Shaded areas show significant correlations

Entry: Architecture		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15
Q1	Pearson Correlation	1	-.067	.688**	.555*	.776**	.314	.459	.035	.485	-.187	.182	.209	.115	.214	.261
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.819	.005	.032	.001	.254	.085	.903	.067	.504	.517	.454	.684	.462	.347
	N	15	14	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	14	15
Entry: Planning & Landscape		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15
Q1	Pearson Correlation	1	.461**	.591**	.537**	.369**	.495**	.578**	.512**	.546**	.615**	.497**	.619**	.448**	.398**	.408**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	84	81	84	84	82	82	84	84	84	83	83	83	84	84	83
Exit: Architecture		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15
Q1	Pearson Correlation	1	.250	1.000**	.791	-1.00**	-1.00**	.612	.000	-.408	-.250	-.535	.913*	.535	.408	.791
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.685	.000	.111	.000	.000	.272	1.000	.495	.685	.353	.030	.353	.495	.111
	N	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Exit: Planning & Landscape		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15
Q1	Pearson Correlation	1	.367**	.505**	.307*	.213	.236	.233	.082	-.080	.047	.147	.299*	.316*	.168	.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.005	.000	.023	.115	.082	.086	.547	.556	.731	.283	.025	.018	.222	.621
	N	56	56	56	55	56	55	55	56	56	56	55	56	56	55	55

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

landscape architecture and planning students. These cohorts had refined their understandings of Indigenous knowledge to correlate with: *'Welcome to Country', traditional ways of life, history of European contact (invasion) in Australia, protocols for engaging with Indigenous communities, and intellectual property protocols for working with Indigenous people.*

After the students had completed their studies, there were also significant disciplinary differences. In particular, planning students tended to self-rate their knowledge much higher than architecture students. Before we leave the surveys, a finding reassuring for teachers at the three universities surveyed was that there were significant increases from entry to the exit in certain areas. These areas are students' self-ratings of their overall Indigenous knowledge; students' self-ratings of their Indigenous knowledge in all fourteen of the knowledge areas; and students' actual knowledge (as measured by the test scores) (see Table 18.3).

Within courses, there is a significance difference between entry knowledge test scores: $F(98) = 5.038$, $p < 0.05$, with Bachelor of Landscape Architecture students coming to their fourth and fifth year programs with the most amount of knowledge of Indigenous issues and architecture students the least. However, commencing at this higher base, landscape architecture students made the least improvement, while architecture students made the most.

While the above analyses of our research are not inclusive of all of its outcomes, it is worthy to note that those students undertaking courses specifically teaching

Table 18.3 Changes between entry and exit test scores
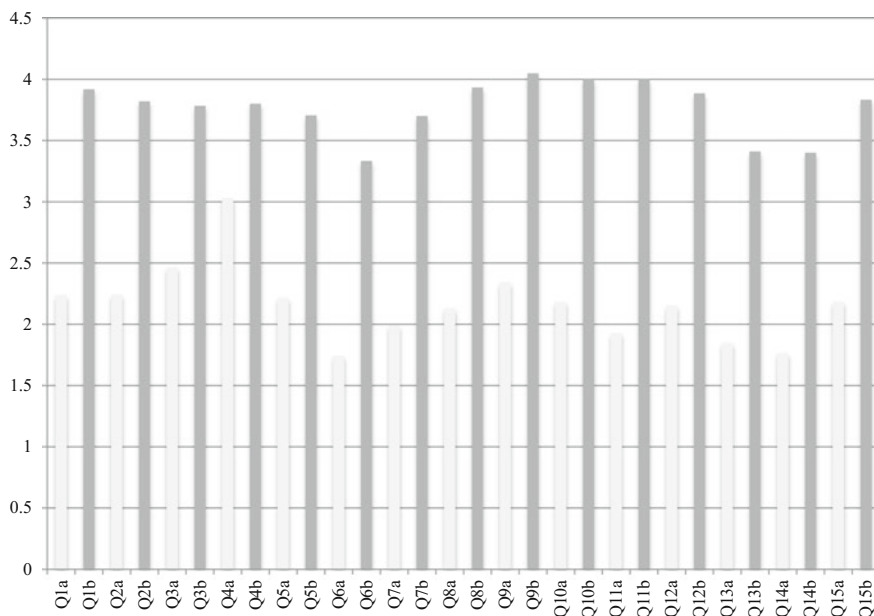
Indigenous knowledge and protocols indicate significant improvements in their knowledge base. To highlight these achievements, the following section discusses three related case studies where Indigenous knowledge exchange and partnership is brought into the teaching of select built environment curricula in three universities working closely with Indigenous communities. While limited in their frequency and geographical coverage, they serve to explain a series of place-specific interdisciplinary principles that are now published and widely available to other built environment curriculum (and professional practices) of those learning and teaching institutions and their associations (Revell and Gartlett 2003; Revell 2001, 2004, 2012, 2014; Milroy and Revell 2013; Heyes et al. 2015; Collard and Revell 2015). All three case studies have helped produce graduates now practising around the world.

Case Study 1: Nyungar Ways of Knowing and Practising Living Landscape Heritage

Nyungar is an Aboriginal Nation with associated country in south-west Western Australia. In practice, an exemplary model of bicultural collaboration can be found in the south-western Western Australian planning studies of Len Collard and David

Palmer (2000 in Revell 2001: 14–19; Collard and Revell 2015). Nyungar Elder, Professor Collard directed the development of a set of nine meta-narratives that have become specific operational principles to undertake planning and design studies on Nyungar lands. They offer planners and designers a way of working in 'Nyungar Ways' and are intentionally broad ranging and holistic in their understandings of Nyungar peoples, country and ways of working. These meta-narratives of working 'both-ways'[6]—in Indigenous and non-Indigenous worlds—focus on the Nyungar trilogy of ways of knowing and becoming, where the interrelationships of knowing *Boodjar* (Country), *Kaitijin* (knowledge), and *Moort* (family) are the guiding principles for designers and planners to work in Nyungar lands and waters.

For this chapter, these principles are worthy of discussion as they provide a challenge to the future educational curricula and professional practice of planning throughout Australia.

Of course, and most importantly, these principles would need to be specific to the Aboriginal Nation to which they belong:

1. '*Windja Noonook Koorliny* or where are you going (interrogating the planners' motivation and desire): The first step in any process of recognising the importance of Nyungar systems of land use ought to involve planner and design workers interrogating their own desire—asking the question: where am I going and what motivates my work?

2. *Nidja Nyungar Boodjar* or this is Aboriginal land (Land & Place): Planning and design work ought to begin with a recognition that the south-west of Western Australia is Nyungar *Boodjar* or Nyungar country. This means that a principal theme that needs to run through planning work ought to be the recognition of Nyungar people's knowledge of legal, cultural, linguistic and custodial obligations and rights to Country. Designers must be mindful of their legal and moral obligations to recognise and respect the prior ownership of Nyungar cultural custodians. In practice this includes planners and designers understanding their obligations under federal and state Aboriginal heritage legislation, researching Native Title claims and perhaps negotiated native title agreements, and establishing sensitive plans which incorporate Nyungar protocols for Nyungar involvement;

3. *Moorditch Boordier* or strong path-makers (strength and leadership): It is a mistake to assume that Nyungar peoples have, as yet, had little influences on the way that other Australians use and engage with land. Design work should regularly draw out the point that Nyungar peoples have often acted in leadership roles, influencing, directing and shaping economic, cultural and social life for other Australians growing up in the south-west. Designers need to shift their thinking to emphasise the strength and resilience of Nyungar peoples and

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[6]The term 'both-ways' or 'two-ways' learning can be attributed to *Yolgnu* (alt. spelling *Yolŋu*) bicultural initiatives in northeast Arnhem Land. These recognised a more systematic integration of *Yolgnu* knowledge and Indigenous ways of teaching and learning into the educational curricula (Tamisari and Milmilany 2003).

cultures. Nyungar peoples have, in different historical moments, been instrumental in influencing the way other Australians use and interpret Country;

4. *Kura, Yeye Boorda* or the past, today and in the future (continuity): It is a mistake to assume that Nyungar culture and land use, while once being important, is no longer powerful. Planners and designers ought to be mindful of the need to include a balance in the design between 'old stories' and contemporary stories and that Nyungar land use has always been dynamic. In other words, designers should try and find ways to show continuity in Nyungar influence on land use and landscape design, culture and access to the south-west by seeking out examples of continuity between past land use with present land use;

5. *Wangkiny* or speaking (language): It is also a mistake to think that Nyungar language is dead. It is very much alive, particularly so in the names that are often still used to describe places. Nyungar Wangkin or language has been critical, particularly in relation to nomenclature. Planners and designers who begin to learn and appreciate language will have keys to understanding Nyungar land use in particular sites;

6. *Boola Wam* or lots of strangeness (shared difference and diversity): It is a mistake to assume that Aboriginal culture is homogenous. In any design process, there should be an emphasis on how Nyungar peoples, lives and histories are distinct and how aspects of Nyungar life are a shared experience similar to other Australians. In other words, planners and designers should look at different as well as shared cultural experiences. At the same time, design projects ought to show the diversity of Nyungar life and experiences.

7. *Nyungar Karnya* or shame and respect (culturally sensitive): Planners and designers must be sensitive to Nyungar protocols, learning modes and ways of doing things. Many of these values include: respect for Elders, the importance of maintaining Nyungar family connections, the central nexus between country and family, taking pride in community, care for the environment, encouraging creativity, regard for the views of others, emphasising active and personal learning, placing emphasis on learning through listening and observing.

8. *Ngulluckiny Koorliny Nyungar Wedjela* or we travel together (interaction and collaboration): Planners and designers should find ways to make and maintain contact and dialogue with Nyungar peoples in the communities where they are working. People need to make opportunities to meet, interact and consult with a variety of Nyungar peoples. Designers, particularly non-Aboriginal people, must begin to understand the value of shared exchanges and reciprocal learning. The knowledge, practices and information of Nyungars are gaining in value in the market place. Planners and designers must plan to have contributions of Nyungar peoples recognised in practical ways; and

9. *Boola Katitjin Koorliny Nitjar Boodjar* or with much informed thinking and moving in the land (thinking and using land in many ways): Within many Nyungar accounts and histories, we find the idea that country is relational and land use is multiple and contextual. For Nyungar peoples, particular places are interrelated to others and it is meaningless to talk about one place in isolation. This is in contrast to many Western concepts about specific land being allocated

to one activity (often one person) and fixed over time. Planners and designers must begin to understand Nyungar ideas about spatiality and how Nyungar use of space is much more contextual and interrelational than standard Western ideas about land use and mapping space.

Revell, Milroy and design colleagues from The University of Western Australia have employed the above guiding principles in a number of trans-disciplinary landscape architectural design studios sustained across Western Australia since 1995 (Milroy and Revell 2013). These have become important cultural benchmarks and 'guide-posts' for students' self-evaluation and offer useful means of engagement and dialogue with Indigenous community members playing a vital role in the reflective and experiential learning and teaching environments. The following illustrated works of students Bindi House and Renee Romyn now sit within a much broader body of intercultural knowledge and confidence of embedding Indigenous values into community-based environmental design projects throughout Western Australia. Their implementation is an exemplar of the ways environmental design projects can be realised and experienced within the shared living heritage of Indigenous landscapes (Figs. 18.1 and 18.2).
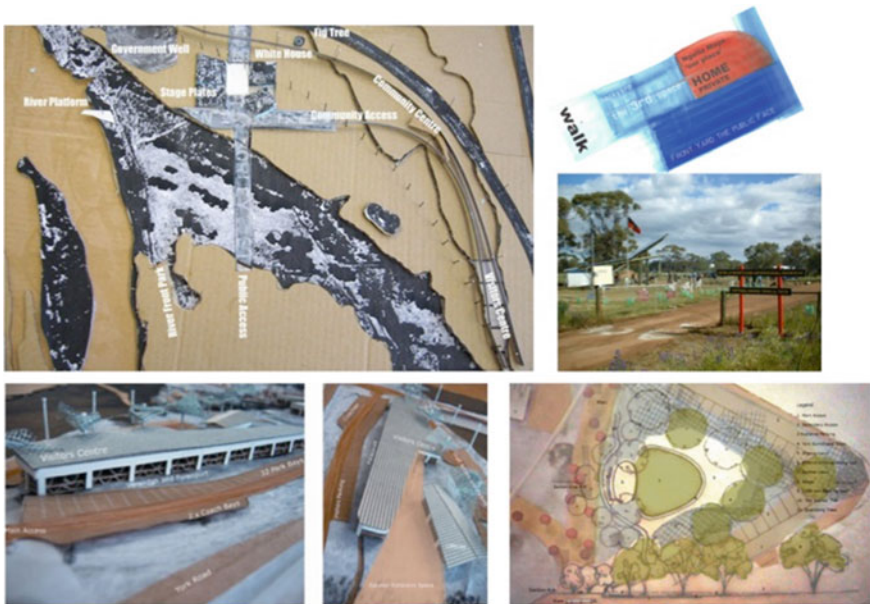
Fig. 18.1 The University of Western Australia *Bachelor of Landscape Architecture* student, Bindi House's honours project with the Mulark Aboriginal Corporation, Northam, Western Australia, 2003. This work was instrumental in gaining the City of Northam Council's approval to allow the Mulark community's independent use of their Aboriginal Reserve Lands (*Images* Bindi House and Grant Revell)
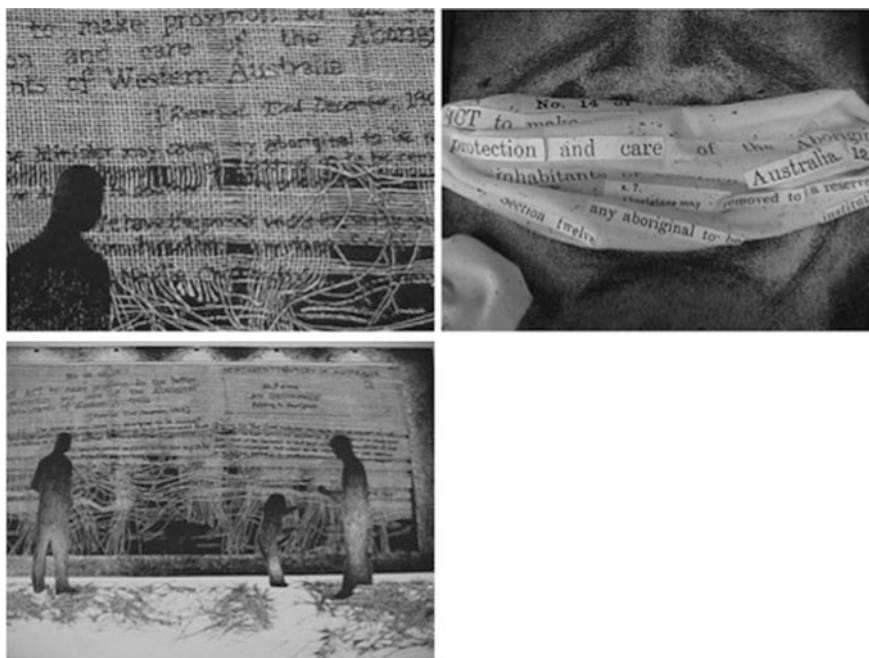
Fig. 18.2 The University of Western Australia's *Bachelor of Landscape Architecture* student Renee Romyn winning proposal (with Gladys Milroy) for the Stolen Generations National Memorial Design Competition 2001. The project was redeveloped in 2015 as the 'Story Threads' with the south-west Koolbardies Women's Talking Circle. The project was later redeveloped in 2015 as the 'Story Threads' with the south-west Koolbardies Women's Talking Circle (See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZTqn_GdjJo; and http://www.ourknowledgeourland.com.au/gallery/art-collection/) (*Images* Renee Barton (née Romyn))

Case Study 2: Ways of Knowing and Doing Through the Three-Message Stick Approach

A series of landscape architectural design studio projects conducted between the South East Aboriginal Focus Group (SEAFG) in South Australia, and the University of Canberra in 2011, 2013 and 2014, were developed on the basis of an Indigenous knowledge framework (Heyes and Tuiteci 2013; Heyes et al. 2014, 2015). The undertaking of design and mapping projects in the south east region of South Australia, including a counter-mapping exercise, conservation park plan and coastal access plan, were designed and carried out according to *Three-Message Stick* principles that were developed by the SEAFG. Generated largely for cultural governance and decision-making purposes, the message stick principles were applied to the design and mapping initiatives and guided the student's approach to design thinking.

The three principles, drawn from time-honoured ways of doing and knowing among the South East Aboriginal people, are:

1. *Ceremony and Talk (Plan)*. People come together out of respect to talk about whom, how and what. This is the time for acknowledging the ancestors, recognising differences and developing agreed pathways that can be progressed. If an agreement is not made you do not progress to the next stage, but work through the issues until people are on the same page and clear about expectations and responsibilities;

2. *Hunt and Gather (Do)*. People have agreed expectations and responsibilities from the 'ceremony and talk'. Everyone knows and undertakes what they have agreed on. If people are unsuccessful with achieving this stage, they come back together as a group and return to 'ceremony and talk'. This process is repeated until 'hunt and gather' is successful. Once the 'hunt and gather' is successful, there is a brief return to 'ceremony and talk' to plan for 'song and dance'.

3. *Song and Dance (Review)*. People can only achieve this stage once they have been successful with the first two stages. 'Song and dance' is about celebrating the success of working together as a community in achieving the desired and agreed on outcome. It is a time for learning from successes and paying cultural/spiritual respects to Ancestors, songlines and totems.

These three ways of knowing, specific to the SEAFG and the regions they represent, offered the students an insight into a different way of engaging with and approaching a design problem. It provided them with a new perspective on how to develop a design brief; and one that was richly connected to people and places, and a process that was about sharing, effective knowledge transmission and respect for the spirit of the land. By following the meaning and intent of each principle, the students gained an understanding of how design projects and outcomes can genuinely emerge from Indigenous ways of knowing. A departure from their typical way of developing a design outcome, the process caused students to consider the benefits of adopting a design paradigm that comes from Indigenous peoples for the sake of bringing people together and to make the land a better place for all. The success of the process served to highlight how important it is to consider ways in which to Indigenise design curricula where possible, and for design educators to allow students to explore different ways of doing and making, and which are outside the bounds of environmental design traditions. Indeed, the positive (and enduring) collaboration that ensued between the SEAFG and the students suggest that new landscape architectural methods based on Indigenous paradigms should be explored across Australia (Fig. 18.3).

Fig. 18.3 The University of Canberra's *Bachelor of Landscape Architecture* students undertaking the 'ceremony and talk' phase of a design project involving the South East Aboriginal Focus Group. With discussions taking place on the land, a shearing shed served as an ideal gathering place for this planning phase (*Image* Scott Heyes)

Case Study 3: Undertaking a Studio Project in Fiji Following the Practice of *Talanoa*

We have demonstrated in the previous two case studies involving Indigenous Australian communities that there are indeed protocols that should be observed when generating and undertaking design studio projects.

Likewise, a studio project that was carried out in 2014 by the University of Canberra in Fiji also observed the local Indigenous customs and protocols with respect to good ethical research practice. The project focused on the development of an 'eco-library' on the school grounds in a village on the Island of Taveuni. The eco-library concept, developed by the villagers themselves, involved the University of Canberra students advancing the proposal by providing design ideas and programs. Envisaged as a cultural centre and document-resource facility, the eco-library is intended to serve the local Fijian community and schoolchildren, and to provide a setting for tourists to learn about the rich cultural history and land-based knowledge held by the Taveuni people.

Developing a design project (or any project for that matter) in Fiji requires those involved to engage in a number of formal processes with villagers. The first of which is known as a *sevusevu* ceremony. This is a formal greeting ceremony and involves

Fig. 18.4 The University of Canberra students meet with Fijian villagers to learn about the land and to consider how this land knowledge can be incorporated into a proposed 'eco-library' for the village of Vuna on Taveuni Island (*Image* Scott Heyes)

meeting with the Chief of the village concerned, with absolute silence observed by the guests during the proceedings (along with specific seating arrangements and dress codes). An appointed village spokesperson speaks to the Chief on behalf of the guests, announcing the intentions of the visitors. As a gesture of goodwill and following traditional custom, a *yaqona* (or bundle of kava roots) is then presented to the Chief, after which the Chief speaks directly to the leader of the visiting group to announce whether he accepts the intentions of the visiting party. This protocol was followed for the 'eco-library' project and endorsed by both the provincial (Tui Cakau) and local (Tui Vuna) village Chiefs. They gave permission to undertake the project and come and go as we pleased. The purpose of the visit was documented by the Chief and announced to the villagers through the Headman (*Turaga ni koro*).

The project team was accompanied on the studio trip to Fiji by a Fijian architect who was familiar with the protocols and who was also studying at the University of Canberra at the time. Thus, the team learnt that the next important step in being accepted by the villagers was to participate in *talanoa* (Aporosa 2015; Nabobo-Baba 2006; Otsuka 2006). In Fijian, this roughly translates as 'storytelling', 'conversation' or 'dialogue'. *Talanoa* is conducted so that guests and hosts can learn about each other, and that a level of trust is secured before undertaking a joint project. It is largely an informal process, but one that centres on the formalities

of drinking kava from the *tanoa*, a large wooden bowl made from a *vesi* tree. While these practices and protocols can seem overwhelming and difficult to discern as a newcomer to the village, these are becoming well understood and observed.

Involving a group of design studio students to this international setting in an Indigenous community ultimately raised their awareness about the sensitivities that must be observed when undertaking collaborative projects. While the students were accepted by the villagers (*talanoa* was successful) and had an opportunity to develop fruitful dialogue with them on the eco-library concept, the students took away from this experience that true design collaboration with Indigenous partners is not a straightforward process; at least in Fiji, where design is about the mutual exchange of knowledge and the sharing of ideas and practices (Fig. 18.4).

Conclusions

As we go about improving the educational policies directed at the collaborative Indigenising of planning and design curricula throughout Australia, we are reminded of the tireless and revelatory work of Australian Indigenous activists and educators such as Noel Pearson and Marcia Langton who see the knowing of Australian landscape heritage and its teaching in a very different light. These insights are worthy of summary.

Pearson is committed to the decent, fair and just ideologies of sovereign Indigenous peoples complete with rights and recognition to seek a living heritage of what he perceives to be a more 'complete Commonwealth' (2014: 5). He avoids the simplistic 'closing the gap' on Indigenous disadvantage and attends to more fundamental issues such as whether Indigenous peoples will find a place in the nation so that they may live long on the earth.

Similarly, Langton asks:

> …what do we want Indigenous Australia to look like in 20, 30, or 50 years? I think most decent Australians do not want our cultures, our languages and those distinctive things that pre-date British annexation to disappear, or to contribute in any way to their disappearance or demise. Most decent Australians want these cultural treasures to survive in a modern Australia, but how do we do that? We should think about a future in which indigenous Australians, in all socioeconomic aspects, have the same opportunities as other Australians. Indigenous people should be economic citizens and have the same economic opportunities as everybody else, but we should be able to retain our distinctive cultural heritage, including languages; song and dance performances; relationships with our land; religious beliefs, protection of places; and other important aspects of our cultural heritage (2015: 19).

So what does this really mean for the Indigenous heritage values of planning and design academics and their transformative visions for their respective learning, teaching and research programs across Australia?

Firstly, living Indigenous Australian heritages will undoubtedly need the direction and empowerment of Indigenous educators in our higher education programs. At the very beginning of these realisations, however, we have clearly

situated Indigenous knowledges, belief systems and practices within the power and control of the Australian essentialist education system until now. And so the Indigenous voice is once again marginalised, poorly resourced and problematised around (pre-, post- and neo-) colonial practices often focusing on the weaknesses, inabilities and incapacities of Indigenous peoples and their communities. Western land use planning and design pedagogies and epistemologies have a long history of thinking that they know better. Proper cultural engagement processes are often regarded as just too difficult and political for the planning and design academies to embrace centrally within curricula, simply ignoring and disallowing respectful relationships and trust to develop around the sharing of Indigenous knowledges (Sweet et al. 2014: 626–627).

Planning and design faculties across Australia should seek out a relationship with their respective Indigenous education centres or schools. Typically, such relationships are through the Indigenous leadership and governance within their own university systems that provide a collective authoritative Indigenous voice, able to be sustained over the long term and embodying the principle of self-determination even within their own university communities.

Notwithstanding the above difficulties, some universities are beginning to develop their own equivalent university-wide 'frameworks of Indigenous engagement'. Led by the Indigenous centres or schools themselves, there is a clear commitment to maintaining strong and effective Indigenous voices across all university activities, providing workable guidelines both within and beyond the university community to convene and oversee teaching and research partnerships with Indigenous communities. Some Indigenous schools are focusing on the disciplines and professional fields of rural health, social history, environmental planning and design, architecture, engineering, business and social impact. Others are involved in the areas of education, rural health and ageing, 'Caring for Country', and heritage and cultural management planning.

Noted, there are growing exceptions rather than rules of disengagement with Indigenous scholars, their schools and their communities. And, perhaps, there lies the challenge to the educators of landscape/Country heritage in Australia. Let the planning and design disciplines and professions continue to communicate and celebrate the success stories of university students and staff working with Indigenous peoples and in particular give ground to Indigenous educators to share where possible more of their ancient–modern practices of teaching planning and design curricula. Their sustainable encouragement, wholesome recognition and ongoing support will be key to a stronger Indigenous Australia to the benefit of all.

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Chapter 19
Indigenous Courthouse and Courtroom Design in Australia: Case Studies, Design Paradigms and the Issue of Cultural Agency

Julian R. Murphy, Elizabeth Grant and Thalia Anthony

Introduction

If it is true that public buildings "…reflect the beliefs, priorities and aspirations of a people" (Powell 1995: ix), what do Australia's public buildings say about Australians? More specifically, what does the design of Australia's courthouses say about the beliefs, priorities, aspirations and agency of Australian people and in particular, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples? Around the world, the design of courthouses (and the courtrooms within them) has become a powerful medium through which to convey a vision of justice and cultural agency to Indigenous peoples. South Africa's Constitutional Court sits on the site of a prison that held activists during the apartheid, and its design symbolises South Africa's post-apartheid search for reconciliation. Communicating reconciliation and transparency were paramount in the design, and the courtroom incorporates windows to reinforce its theme of transparency, allowing passers-by to observe proceedings.

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In Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand, design of the exterior of the Supreme Courthouse references significant cultural icons for Māori (Beynon 2010: 59). The design of the courtroom is semi-spherical in shape and lined with a tessellation of 2,294 silver beech panels, the result evoking the cone of the Kauri tree, considered to be the chief of trees (Beynon 2010: 54–55) (Fig. 19.1).[1]

These symbolic architectural gestures derive from a belief in the communicative force of architecture, and from an understanding that the courthouse and courtroom are the canvas upon which societal priorities as to law and justice are writ large. These design precedents note the importance of correcting past wrongs and demonstrating respect for the Indigenous peoples of those countries.

In Australia, commissioning bodies and architects have been considering ways courthouses and courtrooms can be designed to: (1) symbolically and physically acknowledge Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the First Peoples of Australia; (2) rectify past wrongs in colonial designs; (3) allow Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to engage meaningfully with court processes; (4) reduce the stress felt by Indigenous users and (5) promote Indigenous 'ownership' of courthouses and courtrooms. This chapter examines the design outcomes for three Australian courthouse developments of national and international significance: Port Augusta (South Australia), Kununurra and Kalgoorlie court complexes (both in Western Australia).

Courthouse and Courtroom Architecture in Australia

Historically, the law of settler Australia operated to the detriment of Indigenous people and, accordingly, the symbolic and practical functions of the courthouse were not moulded to their benefit. Throughout Australia's European settlement history, Indigenous people have been excluded from meaningful mention in the Constitution (Behrendt et al. 2009: 257–265); denied franchise until the latter part of the twentieth century (Behrendt et al. 2009: 26–27); refused legal recognition of their land (see, for example, *Cooper v Stuart* (1889): 291–292; McNeil 1996) and disadvantaged before the criminal law (Behrendt et al. 2009: 45, 24–25, 113–136). Indigenous people were denied equal wages for equal work (Cunneen and Tauri 2016) and suffered myriad other systematic legal disadvantages (see Chesterman and Galligan 1997; Attwood and Markus 1999) (Fig. 19.2).

The significance of the foregoing is that, for Indigenous people, historically, the courthouse and the courtroom have been neither a symbol of a legitimate or desirable legal system nor a forum for enforcing one's rights. Inversely, courthouses are an unwelcome reminder of the law's indifference and outright hostility to Indigenous rights.

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[1]For more information on the Supreme Court of New Zealand, see Watson (2012).

Fig. 19.1 The Supreme Court of New Zealand complex in Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. Warren and Mahoney Architects wrapped the building in a complex eight-metre-high bronze screen referencing Rata and Pohutukawa trees in a design strongly influenced by Māori concepts. In the centre of the building is the orb-shaped courtroom finished in panels of silver beech timber (*Photographs* Warren and Mahoney Architects)

Historically, courthouses in the British Empire borrowed heavily from English architectural design with the effect of cementing an adversarial system (Spaulding 2012). Research has identified the alienating effect of courthouses and courtrooms on Indigenous Australians due to, *inter alia,* their colonial details (Mohr 2003: 180–195), their structural layering calculated to confer power to the (almost always non-Indigenous) judicial officer (Marchetti 2012: 111) and their imposition of a foreign structure on a local landscape (Grant, E 2009: 86–90; Anthony and Grant 2016). This can have an adverse effect on Indigenous peoples' confidence in the judicial process (Marchetti 2012), contribute to discomfort in courthouse and courtroom settings (Cunneen and Schwartz 2009: 725) and exacerbate experiences of disadvantage in the legal system.[2]

To the extent that Australia wants to apologise for, undo, redress and reverse the wrongs of the past, the courthouse and the courtroom offer an architectural and psychological terrain for symbolic and actual attempts at decolonisation (Murphy 2016: 280–285; Resnik and Curtis 2011: 372).

Many courthouses in towns and cities around Australia have attempted to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through the incorporation of artworks. There is often an uneasy juxtaposition between the courthouse architecture and artworks. The High Court of Australia is the ultimate court in the Australian court hierarchy. The building (completed 1980) is an example of late modern Brutalist architecture (architects Edwards Madigan Torzillo and Briggs (EMTB)). The monumental building featuring bold geometric shapes and raw massed concrete is home to an art collection that has been stated 'should reflect the traditions, symbolism and practice of the law' (High Court of Australia 2010a). Aankum woman, Rosella Namok from Cape York Peninsula, far north Queensland, won the 2003 High Court Centenary Art Prize. Her work entitled *Now we all got to*

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[2]The discrimination facing Indigenous people in the legal system has been identified in both its criminal (see, for example, Commonwealth of Australia 1991) and civil processes (Cunneen and Schwartz 2009: 726–727).

Fig. 19.2 'Judgement by his Peers' (1978) by Aboriginal artist Gordon Syron is a satirical comment on a white imperialistic system of justice branded onto Indigenous Australians. It is a system based on a lie: Australia never was terra nullius (empty land). The painting uses role reversal to highlight how legal systems can be unjust: the judge and jury are black but the accused is white. 'Judgement by his Peers' was painted by Gordon Syron in 1978 (oil on canvas) (75 × 105 cm) while serving a life sentence in Long Bay Gaol, Sydney. He stated: "This painting is my most meaningful work. It is the story of my life. This trial happened to me. I challenged the jury system of Australia. I asked that I be judged by my peers and your peers are your equals. I asked to have some Aboriginal people on my jury. One lawyer said that I wasn't black enough to be black and the other lawyer said that I wasn't white enough to be white. They then argued this point in front of me for some time. Both my parents were Aboriginal. It was such an insult to me and my family. I was judged by an all-white jury. (If you are a pink fella then according to British law and now Australian law you are entitled to have a pink person on the jury). I served a life sentence" (Syron 2017)

go by the same laws is a large nine-panel work depicting traditional law overlaid by contemporary law which hangs in the one of the public halls. Namok described her work (Fig. 19.3):

> When I look in the middle … it's hard, hard for me to think, to talk 'proper English'. Look inside middle … before time … then go look, go outside … that's Australia today. Inside middle … before time … there was strong law. People … they would know what way they belong … it was really strong those days … strong … tradition … culture … people … country … law. Strong and straight … everyone knew it … everyone followed it. Then other people came from all over the world … every place different … got own laws … own culture. Today now … we all got to go by same laws … but … that traditional law … it's still there underneath (Namok quoted in High Court of Australia 2010b).
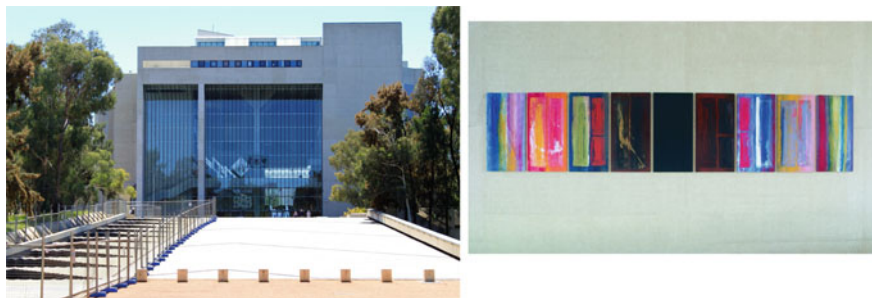
Fig. 19.3 High Court of Australia, Canberra (left), which displays Rosella Namok's work entitled: *Now we all got to go by the same laws* (right) (*Photograph* (Left) Elizabeth Grant, (Right) High Court of Australia)

Artworks displayed in other Australian courthouses are not so quick to provide messages about the need for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to observe and acquiesce to Western systems of law. Within the Northern Territory (where nearly 80 per cent of those appearing before courts identify as Indigenous (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017)), the Supreme Court is housed in a neo-colonial building designed by architects Peter Doig, Ron Findlay, Roger Linklater and Susie Cole[3] and contains an extensive collection of Indigenous artworks.[4] Courts administration and others have sought works that bring Indigenous perspectives into the courthouse, an act which in itself has not been without concern for Indigenous communities, as it might place Indigenous secret and/or sacred knowledge on public display.[5] Other artworks show Indigenous rights being asserted under Western law and illustrate legal battles fought in the Supreme Court. One such legal case *Milpurrurru v Indofurn Pty Ltd* (informally known as the *Carpets Case*) involved the work of Aboriginal artists which had been transferred without permission to carpets manufactured in Vietnam. The legal decision extended recognition of Aboriginal intellectual property rights in the creative arts, and one of the carpets, a reproduction of Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri's *Kooralia*, is on display (Bauman et al. 2006). While the inclusion of such artworks layers the

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[3]The design for Supreme Court building in Darwin included a mosaic for the forecourt designed by Warlpiri artist Norah Nelson Napaljarri in the first instance (Birnberg and Kreczmanski 2004: 209).

[4]A number of courthouses around Australia hold large collections of Aboriginal art and artefacts and could be seen as operating as informal Indigenous keeping houses (see Grant and Greenop 2018).

[5]The aforementioned 55 m^2 (592 ft^2) mosaic by Norah Nelson Napaljarri entitled *Yiwarra Jukurrpa* (Milky Way Dreaming) (1990–1) "became the subject of dispute [and traditional litigation] within the artist's community. Both its subject matter and innovative style caused some degree of discord amongst senior law men and women at Yuendumu" (Angel 2000: 12–13) which was in time, resolved. It is now displayed inside the building to allow viewing from above. Pedestrians are allowed to walk across the artwork. See a recent photo here: http://unprojects.org.au/un-extended/dear-un/beautiful-injustice/

courthouses with signs and symbols and signifies the presence of Indigenous peoples in the Australian legal landscape, the often odd juxtapositions of the artworks against the colonial architecture of courthouses does little from an architectural perspective to acknowledge Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as equal players in the Australian legal process.

The first formal architectural responses to designing courtroom to better accommodate the needs of Indigenous peoples came through the initiatives now known across Australia as Indigenous Sentencing Courts. Indigenous Sentencing Courts arose for the reasons outlined by Magistrate Chris Vass. He noted:

> … there was enormous dissatisfaction with the court system as it was. There was a lack of trust. A lot of frustration about not having their say in court … they felt lawyers were not putting their story across as they wanted (Vass quoted in Powell 2001).

Legislative changes were made to allow the establishment of the first Aboriginal (Nunga) courts in South Australia in 1999. There were minimal physical changes to the courtroom to accommodate Nunga Court in the early days. Magistrates guided by Aboriginal Elders sitting either side of them sat around the bar table with all of the parties. Kate Auty, who presided as a Magistrate over Indigenous Sentencing Courts in Victoria and Western Australia, further developed and facilitated a consultative and collaborative approach as the concept of Indigenous Sentencing Courts spread to other jurisdictions.

Alongside the jurisprudential methods was the practice of giving Indigenous participants the authority to change the physical configuration of existing courtrooms, thereby facilitating some Indigenous occupation and cultural agency of judicial spaces (Auty 2009: 49–50; see also Marchetti 2012: 111). Jones, paraphrasing Professor David Tait, noted that Indigenous Sentencing Courts may provide "a space which, through the creative use of symbolism, mediates between memory and tradition and anticipation of a future of hope" (Jones 2009: 58, 59).

Large numbers of Indigenous people come into contact with Australia's legal system, particularly as defendants or victims in the criminal context (see generally Commonwealth of Australia 1991; Anthony 2013; Blagg 2016). Beyond the Indigenous Sentencing Courts (which only deal with Indigenous people who have pleaded guilty to an offence), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' experiences are often marred by the physical environment of the courthouse. The Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity in their report entitled *The Path to Justice: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Experience of the Courts* described:

> …how intimidating it was for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women to arrive at court. [and] … the remote courts are often very small, and victims and perpetrators are often in close physical proximity for many hours. Stakeholders described overcrowded waiting rooms, people lined up standing in corridors and corners, sitting on the steps and outside areas. Women were frightened being so close to their partners [who were often perpetrators and who] sometimes arrived with family members who could behave in an intimidating fashion (2016: 26).

Stakeholders involved in that study noted that the courthouse and courtroom were terrifying for women and felt much could be done to 'humanise' these spaces (2013:

26). Cunneen et al. have stated methods of rendering these court engagements more productive and meaningful, and less oppressive and intimidating (2016: 144–146; Kirke 2009b: 49–50). The lived reality of the Australian experience is that Indigenous people disproportionately appear in courts on criminal and child protection matters. This is especially true of regional courts in Western Australia, South Australia, the Northern Territory and far north Queensland.

The question then becomes *how* courthouses and courtrooms in such places might be designed so as to incorporate and include Indigenous needs and aspirations with traditional court functions. The next part of this chapter discusses the emerging design principles and paradigms for courthouse and courtroom design for Indigenous people, drawing later from three projects at locations where Indigenous people constitute a significant proportion of court users.

Design Approaches and Paradigms

Courthouse complexes at Port Augusta, Kununurra and Kalgoorlie were designed against the backdrop of a growing body of research and practice from the fields of environmental psychology, architecture and placemaking, specific to an emerging contemporary architecture for, with and by Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. Each project has (consciously and/or unconsciously) drawn from certain design approaches, paradigms and precedents from contemporary Australian Indigenous architecture.

One common approach to designing for Indigenous users is to consider the 'fit' between the behaviours and environmental preferences. This approach focuses on the need for congruency between the environment and cultural behaviours and socio-spatial needs of the users. It is underpinned by environmental psychology, in particular, the stress paradigm, under which environments are seen to act as stress-modulating devices (see Evans 1984; Evans and McCoy 1998; Cohen et al. 2013). Preferences for particular environments can, thus, be interpreted in terms of stress reduction with poorly designed environments leading users to experience high degrees of stress with resultant impacts on their physical and psychological well-being. Gifford et al. state:

> The users' personal factors and cultural background and the physical aspects of the setting (stressors and amenities) are presumed to influence the way people think about certain environments… (2011: 451).

Indigenous people have differing and varying complex cultural, socio-spatial and environmental needs for built environments, and there is a growing amount of evidence-based research drawing from fields of housing, community, public and institutional architecture (see, for example, Memmott 1996; Keys 1996, 1997; Grant 2008, 2015; Memmott and Keys 2014, 2015, 2017; Grant and Greenop 2018). Understanding and translating the culturally specific responses have the capacity to produce environments which better 'fit' the needs of individuals and groups and minimise the adverse effects commonly caused by poorly designed

environments.[6] In addition to evidence-based research, further information regarding specific environmental needs of a particular group of Indigenous users and their preferences is often gleaned by architects (proficiently or otherwise) in consultation processes. Some projects have included an architectural anthropologist on the design team and/or the preparation of specific briefs outlining the Indigenous considerations for a specific project.

Another approach has come from the field of placemaking, a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public spaces. The knowledge that colonisation has involved the "…imposition of western spatiality and a denial of Indigenous spatial understandings" (Potter 2012: 134) has led to discourses on the importance of placemaking as a way of asserting Indigenous 'ownership' and reasserting Indigenous presence (see, for example, Pieris 2012, 2016; Pieris et al. 2014; McGaw and Pieris 2014, 2015). Memmott and Long describe the creation of an Indigenous place:

> A place can be partly or wholly created by enacting special types of behaviour at a particular piece of environment. … A place can also be created by the association of knowledge properties such as concepts, past events, legends, names, ideals, or memories (Memmott and Long 2002: 39).

Architects have often attempted to enculturate courthouses by incorporating Indigenous signs and symbols[7] through the inclusion of artwork or within the architecture or landscape architecture of a project (Anthony and Grant 2016), thereby reinforcing the value of Indigenous cultures and knowledge systems (Grant et al. 2015) and asserting or reasserting Indigenous peoples' presence. Approaches can be simple, such as hanging an Indigenous artwork and displaying Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flags in a courtroom,[8] or more complex, like the endeavours seen in the following case studies where Indigenous culture/s and identity form the basis of the architectural design.

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[6]This approach has been termed the cultural design paradigm in the housing setting. Go-Sam writes:

> The cultural design paradigm uses models of culturally distinct behaviour to inform definitions of Aboriginal housing needs. Its premise is that to competently design appropriate residential accommodation for Aboriginal people who have traditionally-oriented lifestyles, architects must understand the nature of those lifestyles (2008: 53).

[7]While there has been some debate about who is authorised to express Aboriginality through the incorporating of signs and symbols into architecture (see Lochert 1997; Dovey 2000) and there have been concerns about appropriate use (see Memmott and Reser 2000; Murphy 2016: 292–294), employing this approach is common.

[8]Judge Paul Grant, President of the Children's Court of Victoria notes that:

> [c]ourtrooms used for [Children's] Koori Courts have been adapted for the court's particular processes. Aboriginal artworks are on the walls and the Australian, Aboriginal and the Torres Strait Islander flags displayed (Grant, P 2009: 6).

Such a great number of projects from various genres have employed it that a contemporary architectural aesthetic/s for projects for Australian Indigenous users has/have been defined to some degree. The typologies tend to be (1) the use of natural materials and curvilinear forms employing colours from the surrounding natural landscape, or (2) designs at a domestic scale featuring lightweight materials, or (3) reflecting the landscape in the form of the building. Across all these typologies, aspects of the local Indigenous culture/s and oral histories may be referenced in the design, and the development of sympathetic landscape design using Indigenous planting is generally completed as part of the building. These typologies are accepted and embraced by many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people across Australia while rejected by others (Grant and Greenop 2018). In discussing each of the case studies, the application of these design approaches and paradigms becomes evident.

Case Study 1: The Port Augusta Court Complex

The first Australian courthouse designed predominantly for Indigenous users was constructed in Port Augusta, South Australia, in 2008 (Grant, E 2009). The former courthouse had been located on the main street, and Aboriginal peoples would gather on the street (kerbside consultations between lawyers and their clients were accepted as a matter of course) with larger groups congregating in a nearby public square. The lack of safe waiting spaces created the potential for conflict between the families of different parties to legal proceedings, especially victims and defendants. In planning for the new courthouse, a site was requisitioned from the railway yards, adjacent to the Port Augusta central business district (Grant, E 2009: 86).

The project architect, Denis Harrison, decided that any design for a new court complex needed to take into account: the regionally specific way Indigenous peoples gather and use public space, the complexities and importance of the place and the varied cultural and socio-spatial needs of different user groups and organisations. In order to achieve this, the design team (Department for Transport, Energy and Infrastructure (DTEI) with Project architect Denis Harrison; Project team, Paul Drabsch, Ian Abbott, Brian Carr; Interior designer, DesignInc; Landscape designer, Viesturs Cielens design) worked closely with Indigenous and non-Indigenous stakeholders (Grant, E 2009).

The location dictated the design. Grant said the site "… commands distant views of the culturally important Flinders Ranges with shorter views to the Minburie Ranges and Spencer Gulf" (Grant, E 2009: 87), and, accordingly, the building was oriented to emphasise those views. Ochres used in traditional ceremonies in the local area defined the colour palette for the building's exterior. The complex was constructed of a combination of lightweight materials to be non-intimidating, and large areas of glass were used to allow visual connection with the outdoors (see Fig. 19.4).

Fig. 19.4 Port Augusta Courthouse exterior (*Photograph* Georgie Sharp)

The axis of the building lies along the street frontage with consideration given to the manner in which Indigenous people use and perceive space. A series of long, low sand dunes were formed around the building to reflect the local landscapes. Between the mounds, mass plantings direct visitors along pathways, while allowing privacy and views under the canopy zones. An open shelter has been erected adjacent to the court waiting area. It is a multifunctional structure intended to be used as an outdoor court space, a consultation and/or waiting area. Seats in the shelter and around the exterior of the site are three-dimensional translations of the Indigenous depictions of *yuus* (Pitjantjatjara: windbreaks) and *wurlies* (Pitjantjatjara: shelters). The seating allows two or three people to sit as a group; however, where people are located in different seats, the layout also permits the practice of socio-spatial behaviours (i.e. the avoidance of eye contact, necessary in Western Desert and Central Australian Aboriginal cultures) (see Fig. 19.5).

The approach to the building is unique in its incorporation of Indigenous law (lore) for wayfinding (orientation) purposes. As has been described elsewhere:

> Visitors arriving at the street frontage are led along the main pathway where a depiction of Arkurru, the powerful and feared bearded Spirit Serpent of the Flinders Ranges Dreaming lies. Arkurru's head sits under the front verandah with his beard protruding as geometric shapes from under the verandah screens. His elliptical eye appears as a pattern in the cement and nearby a high cone shape symbolises his tail breaking the ground outside the building. The presence of Arkurru acts a symbol and as a guide which leads people to the main entrance (Grant, E 2009: 89).

Fig. 19.5 Port Augusta Courthouse, internal and external waiting areas. The external waiting area has the capacity to function as an outdoor courtroom but has not been used for that purpose (*Photographs* Georgie Sharp)

At the entrance to the court complex, another path allows users to deviate from the main route, should they sense conflict in the public or entrance areas or wish to collect their thoughts or wait outside. The entrance directs visitors into a double-height circular foyer with extensive glazing offering long-range views and continuing the strong relationship between the interior and exterior of the building (see Fig. 19.5). The design employs a legible organisational system and numerous wayfinding mechanisms such as depictions of Arkurru's path and other images denoting his path pointing to the doors of each of the courtrooms (see Fig. 19.6).

The complex has three courtrooms opening from the (circular) foyer: a jury courtroom, a Magistrates Aboriginal Courtroom and a multi-purpose courtroom. Each courtroom has an adjacent courtyard developed to provide visual relief and to allow people to stay connected to the external environment. The Magistrates Aboriginal Courtroom also doubles as an Aboriginal Sentencing or Conferencing Courtroom. Parties meet around a central table to discuss the offence, offender and sentence. The design of the Aboriginal Courtroom at Port Augusta—with windows, retractable screens[9] and a round table—departs from the conventional rectangular courtroom layout (see Fig. 19.7).[10] Five slump glass panels framing one window depict the story of Seven Sisters Dreaming—an Indigenous legend with messages about observance of moral and social codes (Grant 2011: 35). Signs and symbols are used to imbue and enculturate the courthouse with Indigenous culture and to impart Indigenous meanings to the judicial system.

The Port Augusta development was the first Australian project designed to incorporate the needs of Indigenous users across the entire courthouse complex. The connections between the interior and exterior of the building are strong and allow users to stay (in part) connected with Country. Views to the exterior are

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[9]The retractable screens are a technological solution to conceal the dock, the bench, the witness box/remote screen and other accoutrements of the traditional court (Grant et al. 2011).

[10]Note: the Magistrates Aboriginal Courtroom at Port Augusta contains a dock, despite architects attempting to negotiate for its exclusion (Harrison 2002).
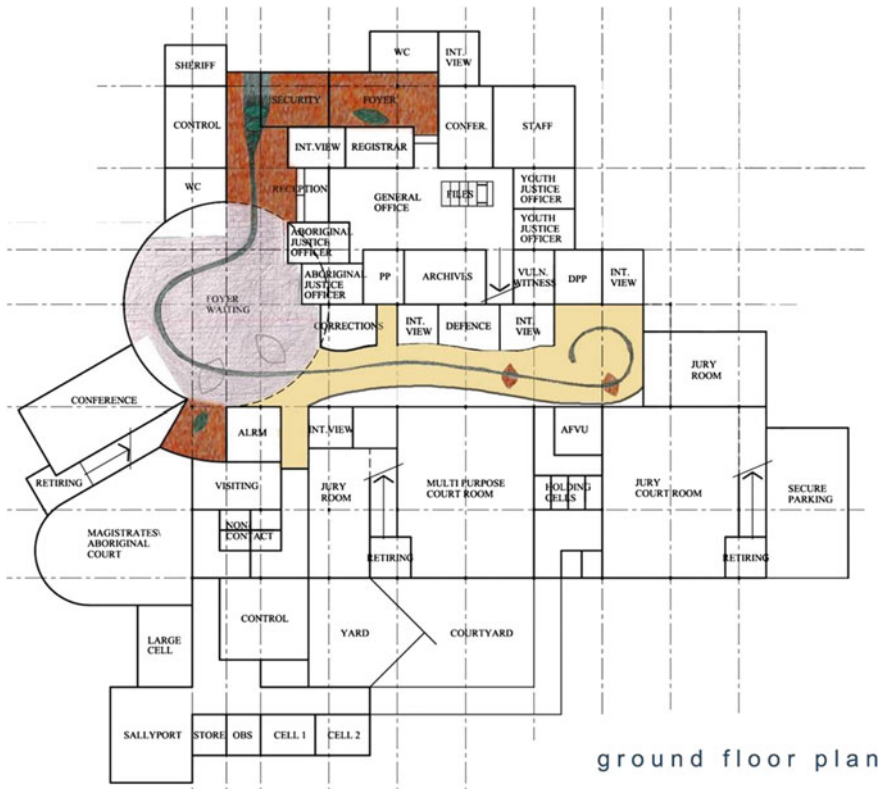
Fig. 19.6 Port Augusta Courthouse plan. The presence of Arkurra, the Spirit Serpent of the Flinders Ranges Dreaming, acts as a wayfinding mechanism to lead people to the main entrance and through the building (Drawing: Denis Harrison)

possible from most internal spaces. Individuals and groups can choose to wait outside in different spaces, large and scattered enough to allow the continuation of Aboriginal avoidance practices[11] and to let people escape from possible conflictual situations and maintain one's safety and dignity. People outside can be clearly observed by staff and can also see into the waiting area. Grant et al. (2011) made observations of Indigenous family groups from remote areas and noted that one or two people from larger groups attended the hearing while the remainder of the group waited outside as support. The visual connections between the waiting area and the outside shelter allowed people to observe what was occurring from a distance.

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[11]Aboriginal avoidance practices refer to those relationships in traditional Aboriginal societies where certain people are required to avoid others in their family or clan as a mark of respect.
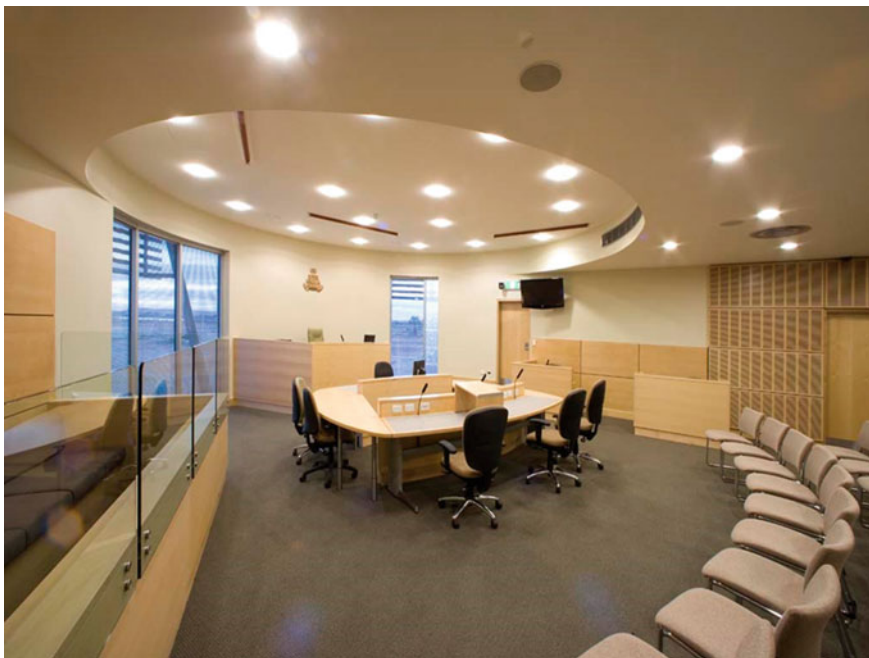
Fig. 19.7 Port Augusta Courthouse: Aboriginal Sentencing Court. Note the screens with motifs to enclose the space are not down in this image (*Photograph* Elizabeth Grant)

However, there are a number of impediments to Indigenous peoples' engagement with the space, especially in the Magistrates Aboriginal Courtroom, which may be construed to be genuflection to institutional priorities. For instance, there has been an obtrusive inclusion of technology on the oval table (see Fig. 19.7), which disrupts the openness of the roundtable discussion in Indigenous Sentencing Courts. There is also a cumbersome almost unusable pull-down lever to reveal the Indigenous artwork. Finally, there is a partially enclosed 'glass dock' in the courtroom, which was installed contrary to the original design. Some parties have reported that the presence of the dock in the courtroom conveys a negative message of the continuing disempowerment of Indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, there are anecdotal reports that the Indigenous courtroom may not function effectively due to the layout of the room, given the above issues as well as the compression of functional areas into one end, making circulation around the courtroom difficult. This contradicts the design principles underpinning Indigenous Sentencing Courts where all court participants sit around a table to deliberate on issues. Other shortcomings have emerged in the functional layout of the courthouse design, such as the position of the toilets, the lack of capacity to separate vulnerable people (e.g. children, witnesses and victims) and the absence of sightlines in the holding cells.

The design of the Port Augusta courthouse and courtrooms is worthy of further investigation in terms of how they are used as well as Indigenous users' perception of whether the complex meets their socio-spatial needs, responds to their beliefs as Indigenous people and is conducive to connecting court users to Country. This may not only inform the ways future courthouse design can respond to and respect Indigenous users, but may also provide a rationale for modifications to the existing Port Augusta courthouse.

Case Study 2: The Kalgoorlie Courts Project

The State Government of Western Australia set out to design a major contemporary court complex in Kalgoorlie in 2007. The project encompassed the renovation of the Kalgoorlie Warden's Court and Post Office, as well as an upgrade of the adjacent police lockup, and the construction of new buildings (architects Hassell; lead architect Philip Kirke in collaboration with Graham Brawn, Lin Kilpatrick and Kevin Palassis) (Kirke 2009a: 71). The ceremonial superior courtrooms were located in the old building to capitalise on its existing historical spaces, while the new building houses the Magistrates Court. In order to make it relevant to Indigenous users, one of the major design challenges was reconciling the physical and cultural requirements of a contemporary courthouse with the constraints of nineteenth-century colonial buildings (Kirke 2010: 28–29).

From the outset, the design of the courthouse sought to incorporate cultural expressions and accommodate the diverse needs of Indigenous users into its design, such needs being ascertained through consultation with the Indigenous Reference Group. The Reference Group suggested the inclusion of multiple access routes to facilitate Indigenous peoples' observation of avoidance practices, and to reduce contact between conflicting parties (Kirke 2009a: 71). The forecourt is accessible from two directions, and provides a central point from which both wings of the complex may be accessed.

In view of the need for Indigenous users to have close connections to exterior environments, such spaces assumed a critical role in the project. The design allows people to maintain a view of their social and outdoor environment (Kirke 2009a: 71) and is organised around a linear, landscaped courtyard spine. Tilt-up glass doors bordering the entire length of the public gallery of the new building visually and physically create an indoor–outdoor connection. The separation of the old and new buildings allows the greater part of the outdoor area to be a secure zone, defined and contained by the two parallel wings of the complex. The fully glazed elevated courtyard of the new building is accompanied by large folding wall panels, which enable both the public domain and the courtrooms to dissolve into landscaped outdoor areas. The complex features four courtrooms (with provision to expand to five when required) and mediation, registry and other support facilities (Anthony and Grant 2016).

Fig. 19.8 Kalgoorlie Courthouse: tilt-up glass doors allow connection to the exterior (*Photograph* Hassell)

The three courtrooms of the Magistrates Court are on ground level and accessible from the secure central courtyard. This allows a large number of people to wait immediately outside their scheduled courtroom in the enclosed public waiting area, or in the fresh air. The direct proximity of an outdoor waiting area to each court simplifies the process of locating and calling people scheduled to appear. It also obviates the problematic practice of announcing names over public address systems. Each of the courtrooms in the Magistrates Court is connected to a private courtyard to allow proceedings to take place with direct access to fresh air, light and visual connection to an autochthonous garden (Fig. 19.8).

Indigenous art has also been incorporated into the design. The interior colour scheme comprises colours reflecting the surrounding landscape. Artworks by Indigenous artists were incorporated providing insights on Indigenous life in the region. In the public waiting area, large sculptures have been installed, and in the central courtyard, a sculpture depicting a split circular form alludes to the fusion of old and new—a concept embodied by the courthouse itself (see Fig. 19.9).

The Kalgoorlie Community Court—an Indigenous Sentencing Court[12]—was established to promote "a sense of Aboriginal ownership of the justice process" (Aquilina et al. 2009: 1). According to one evaluation report, the Community Court provides a "courtroom sentencing experience and environment that is more relevant

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[12]In 2015, the Kalgoorlie-Boulder Indigenous Sentencing Community Court lost government funding; however, it continues to operate without a dedicated budget.

Fig. 19.9 Kalgoorlie Courthouse: Sculptural pieces in the forecourt (*Photograph* Hassell)

and less intimidating to Aboriginal people" through its provision of culturally relevant advice to Magistrates and by assisting the "accused in understanding court process" (Aquilina et al. 2009: 1). The newly designed complex allows Indigenous Elders to play their integral role of contributing cultural knowledge and understandings in the Community Court sentencing process. To facilitate the panel discussions, an Elders' meeting room associated with the Community Court is located off the judicial circulation route (Kirke 2009a: 71). The courtroom space itself has been designed to permit maximum flexibility in its modes of operation. A single elliptical table replaces the usual tables for legal counsel. While the table can still be used for traditional proceedings, it can also transform into a Community Court or conferencing table for mediation.

There were design changes that may have reduced the flexibility of the spaces and adversely affected users Anthony and Grant (2016: 52) noted that the "… community courtroom has a courtyard sufficiently large to allow proceedings to take place outside" and the area was to include an opening wall along the public gallery. However, when built, the area included a fixed wall, which may create issues in conducting a hearing in this area. It is likely that participants would not be actively engaged due to the constraints of the space. The architects also designed the holding cells purposefully with full-height windows overlooking onto native gardens. The State vetoed the installation of full-height windows, leaving the

holding cells, as in the other two case studies, without a sightline to the external environment. This raises concerns as to the cultural safety of Indigenous persons in custody.[13]

The design of the Kalgoorlie Court Complex raises a number of critical questions. One wonders whether layering new Indigenous meanings onto these buildings suppresses messages of colonial dominance and injustice. Can one make colonial architecture meet the cultural and socio-spatial needs of Indigenous users by opening up or providing external areas? Do external areas without long-range views provide Indigenous users with a connection to place that can redefine the court complex as an Indigenous place?

Case Study 3: Kununurra Courthouse

The third of the recent courthouse developments designed specifically with Indigenous court users in mind is situated in Kununurra in Western Australia (TAG Architects in association with Iredale Pedersen Hook Architects). A replacement court project was conceived because the original Kununurra courthouse was:

> … inadequate to discharge the volume of judicial work undertaken … during the many weeks of the year in which the Supreme and District Courts [were] using the only court room in the building, the magistrate … performed court business in other public buildings (Martin 2009: 7).

The inadequate accommodation at Kununurra made conducting court and court-related activities difficult. Vulnerable witnesses were forced to confront the accused person when arriving to give evidence due to poor circulation patterns in the building (Martin 2009). There was no office space for visiting judges and their staff. The courthouse is adjacent to the police station, where people may be remanded prior to appearing in court for their bail application to be heard. The Law Reform Commission of Western Australia had criticised the colocation of courthouses with police stations because it conveys to Indigenous users the message that the police and courts are part of the same hegemonic apparatus (Law Reform Commission of Western Australia 1999: 307). In this development, the proximity of the courthouse to the police station needs to be assessed on its own merits as they are both located (along with a shopping centre) along a route which delivers community services in a hub, thus increasing their accessibility.

An Indigenous Community Reference Group was established in 2011 to bring the views of the Indigenous community to the project and design team. Members

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[13]By contrast, the new courthouse in Coffs Harbour, New South Wales, (within the Coffs Harbour Justice Precinct; PTW Architects in collaboration with the National Aboriginal Design Agency) was designed with windows in the holding cells. These windows allowed for sight to the external environment. However, police raised risk mitigation issues that forced designers to increase the height of the window to above the height of juvenile offenders (see Rowden and Jones 2015: 16).

Fig. 19.10 Kununurra Courthouse exterior (*Photograph* Peter Bennetts)

gave input on various aspects of the building including public areas within the complex, internal design elements and public art. The design, colours and material finishes were chosen to reflect the local cultures and surrounding landscape. The two-storey courthouse, framed with steel and concrete, was opened in 2014. It is fabricated from a mixture of pre-cast concrete panels, stone and metal cladding, and covered by a metal roof (see Fig. 19.10).

TAG Architects in association with Iredale Pedersen Hook Architects designed the building to enable people to have strong connections to the external environment, to remain connected to place and to experience the external environment from inside the building. With the building oriented for maximum use of natural light, there is a reduced reliance on artificial lighting. The windows also permit a view to the horizon and distant ranges from the courtrooms, potentially subverting the traditionally isolating nature of courtrooms. The design profile of the roof mirrors the outline of the distant ranges and creates large volumes in the interior spaces. Natural materials such as timbers are used throughout the building to connect with the external stonework, which is interspersed with glass panels (Fig. 19.11).

Some socio-spatial needs of Indigenous people are reflected in the design of the courthouse. Waiting areas were informally planned to allow people to wait as individuals, as small family units or to congregate in larger groups. Screens were used to provide a degree of privacy to people waiting and to defuse potential conflict between users. A secure external courtyard was provided to allow people to wait outside before entering a courtroom.

Indigenous artists from the East Kimberley region of Western Australia were engaged to create artworks under the theme of 'law and culture'. The artworks take many forms, from sculpture and painting, to designs integrated into the fabric of the building to share knowledge about Country.[14] For example, a carved timber

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[14]'Country' is a place of belonging and connection for Indigenous Australians that extends beyond the meaning that non-Indigenous Australians attach to land.

Fig. 19.11 Kununurra Courthouse: The courthouse in context with adjacent landforms (*Photograph* Peter Bennetts)

handrail at the base of the stairs depicts two intertwined snakes, suggesting two systems of law, working harmoniously. In the enclosed courtyard, a sculpture alludes to principles of 'balance' underpinning the legal system. The artworks also depict the landscape and geological forms characteristic of the region to provide a sense of place; for example, the main entry houses a glass print design of *Nyamooli*, a bush soap that grows near water. Perforated aluminium screening along the western side of the exterior of the building provides shading and portrays a landscape scene of nearby Lake Argyle. However, artwork is not displayed in the courtrooms, where its impact on the court users' experience of the legal process might arguably be most required or most influential (Nield and Nield 2015).

The new Kununurra Courthouse is an imposing presence in the local landscape. Constructed of heavy materials (i.e. concrete, stone cladding and steel), there is a risk that the courthouse may be perceived by some Indigenous members of the community to be asserting (and reasserting) the dominance and inflexibility of the Anglo-Australian criminal justice system.

Emerging Cultural and Socio-spatial Principles for Courthouse Design for Indigenous Peoples

As previously outlined, a large body of literature reiterates the importance of acknowledging the diversity of Indigenous users and language groups. Architectural design needs to be responsive to the cultural and socio-spatial requirements of the users and the group/s. In addition, some of the practitioners for

these projects have a great deal of experience in working with and for Indigenous clients and users. For example, Iredale Pedersen Hook with TAG Architects have undertaken and completed multiple projects for Indigenous clients[15] and the willingness of the architects to engage is an indicator that they are keen observers of how Indigenous peoples use space and aspire to make places.

It is possible to extract from the literature and the precedents discussed, some emerging principles of courthouse design for Indigenous people. In the hope that these principles might provide a premise for recasting some of the assumptions behind orthodox courthouse design, what follows is an attempt to articulate these newly emergent principles. It must be remembered, however, that each and every project will require adaptation of the principles to ensure the design process is responsive to the spatial priorities of the local Indigenous community.

Provision for Heterogeneous Indigenous Groups and Spatial Avoidance Practices

Many Indigenous cultures require individuals to avoid contact or close proximity with other individuals. Kirke describes the real implications of these beliefs for courthouse design:

> Aboriginal cultures seem to have included an understanding of particular relationships that may be prone to tensions and are pre-emptively restricted by injunctions on contact. The most common of these is the relationship between son-in-law and mother-in-law. There are numerous instances of our courts system causing conflict in Aboriginal society, for example by unwittingly imposing upon a woman the necessity to testify as a witness in a case concerning a son-in-law. Even the matter of people (of a kinship type governed by avoidance relationships) having to sit in close proximity in waiting rooms will at the very least cause distress, if not trigger actual punishment under customary law to be reckoned with when they return to their respective communities (Kirke 2009a: 73).

Courthouses designed for Aboriginal peoples adhering to avoidance behaviours need spatially distinct waiting areas and courtroom galleries as well as separate entries to the courthouse and courtrooms, where possible. The Kalgoorlie, Port Augusta and Kununurra courthouses have, to various degrees, achieved these aims.

Recognising that Indigenous court users may wish to gather as distinct social groups, courthouse and courtroom designs must accommodate such preferences and avoid mandating one common meeting area. There should be sufficient spaces for physical separation to allow conflicting parties, victims, perpetrators and vulnerable witnesses to be located away and out of sight from each other with acoustic privacy.

This consideration should also apply to the organisation and placement of amenities, as well as public area access and egress. Any rooms, spaces or

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[15]See http://iredalepedersenhook.com/.

communal areas that are intended for the joint use of men and women must be planned with separate entry/exit points to allow for sustained avoidance behaviours where applicable. Apertures in doors can afford some transparency to occupants, allowing new entrants to be recognised prior to physical colocation upon entry or exit.

Interpenetration of Indoor and Outdoor Space

Kirke (2009a) uses the phrase 'inside-out architecture' to encapsulate this form of architectural thinking. He writes:

> At its heart, the design has inverted usual architectural thinking by making the outdoor spaces the central organising principle of the whole project. In making these outdoor spaces work appropriately and comfortably for traditionally orientated Aboriginal people … the built elements have derived their form and qualities.

This approach is based on research showing that most people are more relaxed and focused in naturally lit spaces with a direct relationship to the outdoors. One might imagine this may be particularly true for Indigenous people from remote communities (Memmott 2007: 295–301).

In the recent past, court design only went so far as to allow natural light into the courtroom, the fear being that it would be too distracting or impermissibly voyeuristic to allow noise, air, smells and views from outside into the courtroom. The architect of the Brisbane Supreme and District Court felt bound by this tradition in his design of that precinct, asserting:

> We knew from our research and from the expressed desire of judges that courtrooms with an external aspect and with natural light give better trial outcomes. People are more relaxed and are able to concentrate for longer periods of time in healthy, day-lit spaces with a direct relationship to the outside world. … [But] [i]t is simply not acceptable to have a courtroom where direct sunlight enters the court, where people outside can see into the court, or where external sound can enter the court. The inside-outside relationship is really a one-way relationship (Hockings 2009: 67).

This is no longer the consensus position, as commissioning bodies and architects begin to acknowledge the "need for *actual* and *perceptual* access to the outdoors and fresh air" (Brawn 2009: 40).[16] Innovative courtrooms are now being built in ways that erase traditional spatial hierarchies by physically melding indoor and outdoor spaces, preferring natural light, affording views of the surrounding landscape and allowing the sounds and smells of the outdoors into the courtroom itself.

The above-mentioned Kalgoorlie Courthouse was the most ambitious of all Australian courthouses in its melding of indoor and outdoor space. In the new building, each courtroom has an attached outdoor courtyard offering visual respite from the proceedings inside. Just as importantly, the holding cells for offenders in

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[16]Emphasis added by authors.

custody were to have access to this same landscaped courtyard. This design feature was included in response to requests from the local Indigenous legal service (Kirke 2009a: 75), but unfortunately this did not occur. The design anticipated that court proceedings might take place in the courtyard itself, and the adjoining wall of the courtroom was to be articulated to allow it to be folded up, so as to transform the court into a hybrid indoor–outdoor hearing space (Kirke 2009a: 74). Alas, again these design features did not eventuate. Equally radical was the design of Kununurra Court complex's outdoor court space. Essentially a paved area with a quadrilateral shade structure that is open to the elements on all four sides, the space represents perhaps the most complete sloughing off of the historical baggage of preconceived ideas about what a court ought to look like (Grant, E 2009: 90).

Visual Connection to Country

Another shared feature of courthouses designed for Indigenous court users is the pre-eminence afforded to views of the surrounding landscape. Historically, outlooks from the courtroom were prohibited, being thought to distract and detract from the intensity of the proceedings within. Accordingly, enclosed spaces in courts (including in waiting areas, courtrooms, jury rooms and holding cells) tend to prohibit sightlines to the external environment. However, such sightlines are essential to enabling Indigenous users to maintain cultural connections to Country.[17] The notion of Country is central to Indigenous ontology and epistemology, which is distinct from Western notions of land. Country informs Indigenous relationships between the individual and the group, as well as the broader world. Country is associated with knowledge such as Indigenous laws (lore), past events, legends and cultural ideals (Memmott and Long 2002: 39). Indigenous connection and reconnection with place has important implications for Indigenous self-governance, well-being and healing (Blagg 2016) and assists Indigenous people to reclaim and assert their relationships to Country. Therefore, maintaining sightlines to Country is more likely to improve Indigenous users' sense of safety and well-being.

In more recent times, windows in courtrooms are seen as important sources of visual relief and essential to making courts perceptually and psychologically accessible.[18] The importance of Country to many Indigenous people means that views of the outdoors take on a special significance in the design of courthouses and courtrooms. Where possible, the orientation of the building and its outdoor spaces should provide a view of the horizon to maximise users' access to the external natural environment and allow Indigenous users to feel the sun on their face if they

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[17] The importance of sightlines for Indigenous Australians is discussed in Reser (1992: 191), Grant and Memmott (2008: 644), Rowden and Jones (2015: 15).

[18] The Pine Rivers Courthouse, in Queensland, designed by Guymer Bailey Architects, provides an exemplary transparent court frontage (Beynon 2010: 40–43).

choose (Grant, E 2009). A number of writers and architects have noted the importance of establishing sightlines from courtrooms to the landscape and flora outside (see Grant and Anthony 2015; Anthony and Grant 2016). Kirke has written: "[t]he ultimate reference—the land itself—[should] be visible wherever possible, the silent and ever-present context of all the events of the court and of community" (Kirke 2009b: 68). As was mentioned above, the Kununurra Court complex was designed with the Indigenous connection to country in mind, with the result that the whole building and windows within it are orientated to afford views of the dramatic sandstone and conglomerate mountains in the distance (Grant and Anthony 2015).

Natural Light

Another priority shared by the small set of courthouses primarily catering for Indigenous users is the utilisation of natural light. Natural light, or 'sun ingress', has not always been privileged in courthouse design (see, for example, Hardenbergh et al. 1991: 47–49). Traditional Anglo-centric courthouse architecture employed muted lighting from multiple sources to evoke a solemn chiaroscuro effect reminiscent of candlelit churches. That position has changed and, with a growing appreciation of the benefits of natural light for well-being, particularly for Aboriginal people, windows and skylights often now feature in courtroom design. In a happy coincidence of practical and symbolic function, natural light is today also regarded as a desirable element in court architecture for the reason that it represents truth and transparency in the legal system. In Ipswich, Queensland, a city with a high rate of Indigenous contact with the police, the local police watch house, designed by ABM Architects in association with Cox Rayner has natural skylights (Beynon 2010: 25). The courthouse at Port Augusta, which received a collaborative design award for the architects' consultation with the local Indigenous community, includes large expanses of glazing which spread a diffuse natural light over the interior (Grant, E 2009: 90).

Ventilation: Sounds and Smells

Perhaps most innovative are the buildings beginning to permit sounds and smells from the outdoors into the previously insulated sanctum of the courtroom. The Neighbourhood Justice Precinct in Collingwood, Melbourne, not only allows for views into the courtroom but permits some outside noise to filter in (Jones 2009: 97). Lyons designed Parramatta Trial Courts Building in Sydney, New South Wales, utilises natural ventilation, as does the Billard Leece Partnership's upgrade to the Supreme Court of Victoria building and FMSA Architecture's Moorabbin Justice Centre, also in Victoria (Beynon 2010: 37, 61, 32–33). While the buildings just referred to were not designed exclusively for Indigenous users, they exhibit the

same intent to interweave indoor and outdoor spaces. These buildings might be seen as offering an innovative medium for connecting indoor courtrooms to the outdoor environment, an innovation which may be used more frequently in courthouse and courtroom design for Indigenous users into the future.

Security and Comfort for Indigenous Court Users

All spaces should allow Indigenous users an acceptable degree of personal control over their immediate environment with regard to natural ventilation, views, temperature, illumination and privacy. Sightlines should also be drawn to non-private internal spaces to maintain visual contact with others and public space. As courthouses and courtrooms frequently lack views to the outside world, the design of spaces (waiting and meeting rooms and courtrooms) with views to open spaces or to courtyards is a significant shift in design. This is in response to Indigenous preferences for adequate sightlines from all spaces in their day-to-day activity pattern. Access around and within the building should be facilitated through the continuous flow of spaces and a series of wayfinding/orientation mechanisms that are comprehensible to a range of users. Access to facilities, such as a telephone (to arrange pickup or to contact family) and hearing technology for Indigenous peoples with hearing problems, serves to enhance Indigenous peoples' sense of safety.

Accommodation of Indigenous Users Living with Disabilities and Chronic Health Conditions

A significant portion of court users will be living with pre-existing physical (especially hearing and vision) impairments, cognitive and psychosocial conditions and/or chronic diseases. Courthouses and courtrooms should incorporate design features that make them accessible for people living with disabilities and chronic health conditions. For instance, acoustic design should accommodate people with hearing difficulties, and private spaces should be available to relieve the stress of people with anxiety and other psychosocial or mental health issues. In addition, sheltered hubs for public transport and passenger drop-off points next to the entrance of the courthouse are optimal. Designated parking spaces, such as those found outside courthouses for police and law enforcement authorities, should also be available to Indigenous users for easy access and to convey respect of their (often difficult) experience in the court process (Grant, P 2009; Grant et al. 2011).

Engaging Indigenous Communities in the Design Process

Much of the literature on architecture for Indigenous communities discusses 'consultation', 'collaboration' and 'authorisation' as the basis of good design, but methodologies and definitions of what constitutes consultation are largely absent. Consultation is a generic term which is constrained in the design process by factors such as budget, time, expertise, location and planning regulations. Many court officials and architects will take up the challenge of facilitating or being involved in consultation for projects, without understanding that this is a specialist field.

Consultation is not simply a matter of form, it must be meaningful. Alison Page, founder of the National Aboriginal Design Agency, explains why it is undesirable that consultation occurs as a discrete act undertaken after the design phase; rather, Page suggests consultation is most meaningful when it occurs synchronously with design so that the knowledge gained from consultation can be incorporated effectively into the plans (Page 2000: 423). Kirke goes further, and he contends that consultation should precede design such that the seed of the design germinates in early community consultations. Kirke, preferring the phraseology of 'collaboration' to consultation, writes:

> The most successful projects only come out of full collaboration. In our experience, collaboration means that the very earliest definition of a project should take place with the community, not presented essentially defined with circumscribed areas for input (Kirke 2009b: 64).

Kirke explains how this may require the architects to consult with community members to discuss their desires for the building and continue this consultative conversation subsequently as the plans take shape (Kirke 2009b: 36). Undoubtedly, this level of consultation is an onerous obligation. One can anticipate objections that such efforts at consensus building would stymie the creativity of the architects themselves. In fact, the experience of architects who have adopted this process tends to the contrary. The development of relationships between architects and Indigenous communities often appears to lead to rewarding experiences for the architects involved, and buildings adapted to the particular needs of their users, although at present such assessments are largely anecdotal and would benefit from empirical confirmation.

It is paramount that the design process is developed in partnership with the appropriate Indigenous stakeholders. The location, orientation, form, layout, scale and the choices of materials and finishes of any courthouse construction or renovation project should be informed by local Indigenous preferences. Should cultural references, identity and ancestral histories be embodied in the building, and it is vital that consultation takes place to ascertain that these are appropriate. Representations of cultural identity, history and spirituality should provide connections between users, the place, Indigenous history and Country. Equally, the input of Indigenous design professionals and Indigenous people who have experiences using courthouses should be encouraged to ensure that the court's new facilities reflect Indigenous needs for access to justice and cultural safety.

Conclusion: Towards Cultural Agency

The design of site-specific courts for Indigenous Australians has the capacity to embody new conceptions of public space, law and justice, and shine light on the colonial subjectivity of historic courthouse design in Australia. Design paradigms and approaches to courthouse and courtroom architecture to meet the cultural, socio-spatial and environmental needs of the Indigenous users are emerging. Ways to honour and acknowledge Country and Indigenous histories and knowledge systems and to provide a tangible statement that Indigenous Australians will be treated in a fair and equitable manner within the post-colonial legal system are more problematic. Findley (2005) argues for architecture that reverses control over the economic, political and cultural aspirations of minority cultural groups and Indigenous peoples. Findley asks:

> How is it that the buildings we design can support the general trend toward more widespread cultural agency and spatial manifestation of peoples who have been systematically made invisible or excluded from representing themselves in the built world? (2005: 33).

Outcomes for courthouse and courtroom design that acknowledge Country, Indigenous Nations, Traditional Owners and Indigenous knowledge systems are largely to be determined by procedural and legal substance rather than space. In locations such as Aotearoa New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi has led to a bi-cultural country with the status of Māori enshrined in law. In South Africa, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was a court-like restorative justice body assembled after the abolition of apartheid. The changes in law led to courthouses and courtrooms which give Indigenous peoples cultural agency and ownership of the spaces and the procedures within them. Australian Indigenous peoples, however, have not yet had the benefit of such broad reaching legal reform. The landmark 1986 report by the Law Reform Commission into the recognition of Indigenous customary laws resulted, at best, in piecemeal reform. More recently, Australia has begun moving, albeit halt-ingly, towards constitutional recognition of Indigenous rights while simultaneously exploring options for a treaty or treaties with First Nations Peoples (Davis and Langton 2016; Referendum Council 2017). In a small but meaningful step, the Victorian Parliament passed legislation with an Indigenous language title and preamble [*Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act* 2017 (Vic)]. Despite these developments, however, Australian Indigenous peoples are still affected by a myriad of procedures and laws that disproportionately disadvantage them and the challenge of giving Indigenous Australians cultural agency in court-house and courtroom design remains problematic.

The sad irony of engaging Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in debates and discourses about courthouse and courtroom architecture must be acknowledged. Courts are the very institutions that have sanctioned the control of every aspect of Australian Indigenous people's lives since colonisation and continue to do so. The brutalities inflicted on Indigenous people by settlers and

colonial officials, the theft of land and children, and the imposition of Aboriginal Protection Acts that managed Indigenous lives through networks of 'protectors' was sanctioned by the courts. In the rare instance where injustices against Indigenous people came before courts, more often than not the legalisation of discrimination and dispossession meant the courts would not hear matters. Although Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have had some of their rights restored through courts, one wonders about the ethics of attempting to co-opt Indigenous people into the architectural façade of what remains an essentially colonial legal system. Grant in conversation with an Aboriginal Elder asked about how he thought the courthouse and courtroom architecture in Australia might be improved, he suggested: 'why don't you just send them some matches to burn those places down?' Quite rightly, many Australian Aboriginal and Torres Islander peoples continue to see courthouses and courtrooms as Western institutions of power that need to be disassembled.

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Professor Elizabeth Grant is an architectural anthropologist, criminologist and academic with a distinguished record in the field of Indigenous architecture. From 2000–2017, Elizabeth was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide. Elizabeth holds an adjunct Professorship at the University of Canberra and Associate Professorship at the University of Queensland and has published three books and over 70 papers. Elizabeth is a Churchill Fellow, a member of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), and has been honoured with the International Prison and Correctional Association (ICPA) Excellence in Research Award for her pioneering work on the design of (non)custodial environments for Indigenous peoples. She worked on numerous Indigenous projects, prepared submissions and acted as an expert witness for Government Inquiries, coronial inquests and Royal Commissions.

Dr Thalia Anthony is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney. Her research focuses on the criminal (in)justice system as it relates to Indigenous peoples. She explores the intimate relationship between colonisation and the governance and punishment of Indigenous peoples. Her monograph, *Indigenous People, Crime and Punishment* was published by Routledge in 2013. She currently holds three Australian Research Council grants relating to Indigenous-owned safety initiatives, sentencing of Indigenous women and the criminalisation of homeless people.

Chapter 20
Before Architecture Comes Place, Before Place Come People: Contemporary Indigenous Places in Urban Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

Kelly Greenop

Introduction

This chapter examines placemaking and the creation and maintenance of place significance in the urban Indigenous community of Inala, a suburb in Brisbane's outer south-west in Queensland, Australia, during the period between 2006 and 2009. Specifically, the research addresses the ways in which place meaning, attachment and identity have been constructed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Inala, processes which have resulted in Inala becoming a significant Indigenous place since it was established as a suburb over sixty years ago. Places outside Inala, especially peoples' home Countries, continued to have importance for Indigenous people living in the Inala community. Additionally, Inala itself has become a meaningful place for many of its Indigenous residents, not only as a home, but as a place of memories and traditions which have been acumulated over the decades of modern Indigenous inhabitation of Inala. The suburb has become a holder for unique personal, group and community sets of places which have importance for Indigenous people. Some places also have significance for other cultural groups that also have large populations and traditions in the area, for example, Vietnamese people. The diversity of opinions and attachments to places for Inala Indigenous people indicates that just as there is no one singular

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Inala Indigenous identity nor a singular Indigenous community in Inala, Indigenous peoples' relationships to place reflect a dynamic and personal set of associations which link individuals and groups with places based on historical and personal events and associations. Indigenous people who have traditional place links outside Inala have also established place significances within Inala, creating a complex personal cultural landscape which reflects people's desire to be rooted in place, similar to traditional Indigenous relationships to land and Country.

Place attachment and the significance of place are well documented in remote and rural Indigenous Australian communities. Indeed, it has become something of a cliché to state how attached Indigenous people are to land (a concept referred to as Country in Indigenous Australia). Very little has been documented of how urban Indigenous people from place attachments, despite the majority of Indigenous people living in urbanised areas of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017). This chapter will employ a model of place concepts to examine the meanings, attachments and identities created through place by people in the Inala Indigenous community. Examples from fieldwork in the Indigenous community of Inala in Brisbane's outer south-west will be used to demonstrate the importance and role of place within this community. The work answers the calls for a decolonising approach to Indigenous geography (Howitt and Stevens 2005) in Australia and reveals some of the multiplicitous ways in which place can be understood in a rich intercultural environment, found in contemporary Australian cities.

The chapter examines places and the concept of place, not as alternative to architecture, but in acknowledgement of the importance of places, and their significance, for Indigenous peoples, in Inala, but also across many parts of Australia, city and remote. As the title suggests, the chapter puts forward the notion that Indigenous place understanding, which relies on Indigenous peoples' experiences and beliefs, is the foundation of Indigenous architecture. To further Indigenous architecture we must better understand the perspectives of Indigenous people themselves. This chapter sets out to explore and examine the place concepts of Inala's Indigenous communities which call for, in turn, a re-conceptualising of an architecture for Indigenous peoples, within urban settings in Australia as part of placemaking and community building for Indigenous peoples.

Place concepts

Place is an area of persisting interest for cultural geographers and anthropologists and has a particularly important role in the discussion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures in the light of Native Title laws in Australia. Yet concepts of place are often ill-defined and generalisations and slippages between terms used to discuss place make them difficult to grasp or analyse with rigour. The author has developed five key concepts of place, based on place studies literature (Greenop 2012), and of those, three are used to analyse place in this chapter. These concepts are related and sometimes overlap in meaning, but can be seen as forming a hierarchy in terms of scale and power (see Fig. 20.1). The five concepts are:

Fig. 20.1 Dimensions of place concepts used in this analysis (*Diagram* Kelly Greenop)
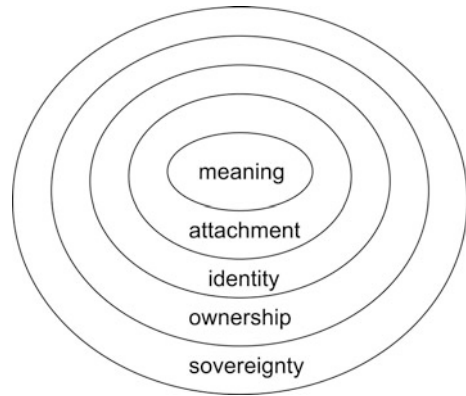
1. place meaning
2. place attachment
3. place identity
4. place ownership
5. sovereignty of place

These concepts of place, which are made manifest through place use, associated behaviours, memories, knowledge and so on, are referred to as place associations. A place association can be linked within one or more of the place concepts within the model. As an example, historical events, such as Indigenous seasonal gatherings to share in abundant resources at the Bunya Festivals of South East Queensland held in the Bunya Mountains in the Sunshine Coast hinterland (Petrie 1992 [1904]: 11), had multiple concepts of place associated with the activities. The place where people gathered would have had a particular meaning, specific for the different groups and even the different individuals who had attended the event. Those who owned or were highly associated with the place would have had a sense of attachment to that place that visitors may not have. For the Traditional Owners of the area, the place formed part of their identity; their family links with the place were such that who they are was bound up with that place (Petrie 1992 [1904]: Cf. Sutton 2003: 22). The feasting site was owned by the hosts, among a wider system of places within their territory, they were the custodians and keepers of the place, whereas others could not have made that claim (Petrie 1992 [1904]: 16) and would not have had the same responsibilities to the place. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that such a place would have been part of a broader set of laws and values, dependent upon the concomitant rights of others in neighbouring territories, which represented a system of sovereignty. The place and its network of connected places with rights, responsibilities and meanings formed a complex legal structure which represented ownership over a nation (Sutton 1996: 23; Moreton-Robinson 2007).

For many contemporary places or events, place concepts can be applied in a similar way, but not all of these five concepts of place would be applicable for each location or activity. For some people, there will be no personal relationship of

sovereignty or ownership, as the place may be outside that person's territory, yet they may still have a meaning and attachment associated with it, and may also acknowledge the ownership and sovereignty of others.

These concepts of place build upon each other such that sovereignty of place can be described as the ultimate power-in-place, whereas place meaning can be attributed by any person to any place, even if they have no attachment, identity, ownership or sovereignty over that place. In fact, there are many meanings of place that exist for people who have never even visited a particular place. Uluru (formerly Ayers Rock), for example, holds a particular meaning in Australian national symbolism, yet many Australians have not visited it, and those who do may have a very different set of values attached to it than the Anangu[1] Traditional Owners (Hueneke and Baker 2009). However, it is important to stress that each concept of place relates to and sometimes encompasses aspects of the previous concept of place in order to operate; for example, place meaning is inherent in sovereignty of place and is essential in enabling sovereignty to exist and operate.

Place concepts are interrelated and contribute to one another, making the distinctions between them sometimes blurred. Sub-categories could also be defined within each concept, to draw out finer-grained distinctions and elaborate critical points of understanding, which are required for place to have meanings in the real world.

Place Meaning

Many anthropological and geographical studies have carefully recorded and described the place meanings formed by Indigenous communities, but there has been less examination of the theoretical underpinnings or processes through which place meanings themselves are established and why these are important to contemporary Indigenous societies. Philosophers also attempt to describe how places become meaningful and how the large concept of place can be understood. Heidegger (1962: 78–82) describes being-in-the-world as a fundamental aspect of being human, while geographer Relph states that "[t]o be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and know your place" (1976: 1). Concepts of Indigenous place in Australia were not defined in Australian Law introduced by settlers until the legal case, *Mabo v Queensland* overturned the concept of *terra nullius*. This, in effect, had stated that the Indigenous landscape was devoid of places, and that it was literally an unoccupied, empty land. Australian philosopher Malpas (1999: 12) points out that for an understanding of the self, one must have an understanding, and hence a meaning, for the place where one is, hence *terra nullius* is both a legal and a place fiction. Just as all people have culture, all cultures have places.

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[1]Anangu is used as an Aboriginal endonym used by the Western Desert language peoples to refer to people from the Western Desert. It is rarely applied to non-Aboriginal people.

Place meanings are culturally dependent and highly significant, as they affect how places are valued, used and conceived of within a society. Places are given meaning through many possible modes (Tuan 1975: 152); key among these is the experience of place, but can also include the inheritance of place meanings from one's family, as particular significance of place is passed down through generations, via storytelling, associations with particular people or residence or remembrance of particular places (Cresswell 2004). Family histories including remaining in, visiting or memorialising particular places are powerful in creating place meanings (Read 1996, 2000). Place meanings are also constructed through personal actions, with activity being a major factor in creating place meaning and fundamental to the creation of place itself (Memmott and Long 2002).

In this chapter, place meaning is conceived as being more than the function of the place, and analysis will show how place meaning is also created through the social associations and affiliations, which become linked to a place. Meanings may be personally held, but they can be formed socially and establish a socially constructed meaning for a place; this meaning can then be passed on through families and social groups creating a tradition of place (Greenop 2009a).

Place meanings are, importantly, dynamic and change both over time and through experiences in place. The meanings vary among individuals and between social groups who may ascribe diverse, and even contradictory, meanings to places that share the same location (Lynch 1972). The unsettled, flux nature of place aligns with the arguments of Harvey who asserts that place is deeply ambiguous (Cresswell 2004: 62) and that they are the "contested terrain of competing definitions" (Harvey 1996: 309). The diversity of different groups with interests in place in Australia leads to ambiguity of place meaning, multiple meanings and the impossibility of one essential meaning for any place. Place in Indigenous Australia is therefore much more complex and contingent in meaning than is typically explored (Gelder and Jacobs 1998), particularly in the multicultural suburban setting. A post-colonial or decolonising approach to place aims to reveal the complexity of historical and contemporary Indigenous place meanings, and the intercultural meanings which are also evident through decades of shared experience and history. Geographers, Howitt and Stevens differentiate between a post-colonial approach, which seeks to redress the errors of colonial approaches embedded within the history of a discipline, such as within Native Title legislation and decisions (Hepburn 2006: 178); and a decolonising approach, which Howitt and Stevens argue goes further and seeks to:

> …use the research process and research findings to break down the cross-cultural discourses, asymmetrical power relationships, representations, and political, economic, and social structures through which colonialism and neo-colonialism are constructed and maintained (2005: 32).

Place analysis that is decolonising should therefore proceed on the basis of searching for and assuming that connections to place are not based on essentialised notions of bloodlines, racial purity or the privileging of cultural continuity over cultural revival. Rather, it should be assumed that Indigenous people in Australia

will establish concepts of place wherever they are, and that these places share importance with and links to traditional lands, while being valuable despite the sometimes relatively recent formation of such connections.

Place Attachment

Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, a founder of contemporary human geography discourse, described the attachment to place as 'topophilia' which could be induced by familiarity, a sense of history, spiritual or political associations (Tuan 1974: 93–102). Environmental psychologists Hidalgo and Hernández attempt a precise definition of place attachment as:

> …a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001: 274).

This definition of place attachment is distinguished from other place concepts which have in the past have sometimes overlapped or been synonymous with community attachment, sense of community, place identity, sense of place and other concepts (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001: 273). Hidalgo and Hernández regard these concepts as supplementary and separate to place attachment.

Indigenous place attachment in Australia has become, to a certain extent, equated with religious and social links, and more recently with Native Title claims (Sutton 2003: xv). As Sutton points out, these legally constructed models to not fully explain the extent to which land and places are important to Indigenous people (Sutton 2003: xv–xvi). There have been far fewer investigations of the significance of contemporary Indigenous places (see, for example, Anderson 1999; Jacobs 1996), especially where there is no possibility of Native Title claims, which have become a necessary focus of discussion and debate. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have been conceptualised as groups with particular traits popularly believed to be attributable to them, and by extension not attributable to non-Aboriginal people (Read 2000). One of these key concepts is belonging to land, or as I am terming it here more specifically, place attachment. While Indigenous belonging is acknowledged by the general Australian public, it has long been seen in very prescribed and specific terms (Langton 1981; Gelder and Jacobs 2004; Strelein 2005); alterations induced by time, forced or chosen cultural changes or relocation to new places, are not validated by recognition through Native Title laws which deny the possibility of a continuing Indigenous sovereignty (Keen 2001; Strelein 2005; Reynolds 2006; Moreton-Robinson 2007). The powerful othering of Indigenous peoples and their values not only appears to separate them from contemporary life, but also posits them as frozen in time (Shaw 2007). It imagines an essentialised set of unbreakable relationships to land, which reifies Indigenous culture (Byrne 1996; Moreton-Robinson 2007).

This prompts the question: what of the contemporary Aboriginal people for whom that sense of attachment to a home Country is not there? There are cases where a person's home Country is now not a pristine 'wilderness', a desert or even a farm, but a working-class, grid of suburban houses. Land claims through Native Title legislation are usually only possible outside the freehold sites of cities and far away, both physically and conceptually, from the urban landscape. This chapter argues that an Indigenous person *can* belong to an urbanised Country and examines the forms such belongings take. The rare occasions where urban Native Title has been granted (see, for example, *Bodney v Bennell* 2008) (a Noongar Native Title claim over the south-western area of Western Australia) (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner 2009: 53–58) these have been subject to more scrutiny and judicial appeal than Native Title applications lodged for areas in rural and remote Australia. This chapter will examine how place attachment in Inala has moved beyond stereotypes of distant temporal or physical locations and developed contemporary bonds in the urban context and what this may mean for older or more traditional affiliations to place.

Place Identity

Place identity is the interaction between a person and a place such that the identity of both becomes entangled and mutually constitutive. It is not just the identity of a place that is important, but also the identity that a person or group has with that place in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or an outsider (Relph 1976: 45).

Proshansky discusses the emotional basis of place, defining it as:

> those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment (1978: 155).

This kind of identification with place goes beyond feelings of place attachment, into the realm of what Tuan describes as the "strong visceral feelings…and an emotional commitment to… [place] that are increasingly rare" (Tuan 1975: 152). It is distinct from the concept of place attachment, which is of a lesser strength and does not always connect to personal or social identity.

While place identity in Indigenous Australia is often bound up with Native Title claims and traditional ownership, other processes also operate, such as historical ownership, and the connections which long-term residents feel they have to a place, whether they have ownership rights or not. In Inala, there are some families who have strong local place identity links, while other people have ties that are more firmly connected to traditional Countries, which can be physically distant. Others have very few place identity links at all, but remain positive about the possibility of such links being re-established for future generations who grow up in a community

with a strong Indigenous identity, and to which future generations will be able to claim a legitimate affiliation.

The History of Inala

Inala is an outer south-western suburb of Brisbane in Queensland, a city which, at the time of research, had just 1.4% of the population being Indigenous Australians, compared to a 7.3% Indigenous population in its suburb Inala (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006).[2] Inala is hub of Indigenous residence within a belt of suburbs which share a high level of Indigenous population density, running from the city of Ipswich, 30 km (18.8 m) to the west of Brisbane and south-east to Logan, a city 25 km (15.5 m) south of Brisbane's Central Business District, but contiguous with its southern suburbs. Ipswich, Inala, Logan and suburbs in between have a set of similar features including a high Indigenous population (see Fig. 20.2), a high recent migrant population and higher than average levels of financial disadvantage. They are sometimes characterised by negative associations among Brisbane's wider population, for example, in a recent television series which planned to examine Inala people's lives entitled "Struggle Street" (see Bond 2016) but which was refused permission after local politicians intervened (Australian Broadcasting Commission 2016). Yet internally Inala is a characterised by a strong sense of positive identification with place, community pride and "battler" spirit (Peel 2003; Bond 2007, 2016).

Prior to European settlement, Inala was part of the territory of the Yuggerah language group, whose lands "stretched from Cleveland westwards, towards what is now known as the Brisbane Valley to Gatton and Esk" (Kaeys 2006). A number of families within Inala are recognised as Traditional Owners of the Country. The Inala district was used as grazing and farming land, known as Woogaroo in the colonial period. It was developed as a suburb in the post-Second World War era initially as a returned soldier's housing estate named Serviceton, later taken over by the State due to financial difficulties and the housing built as public housing stock for low income families (Kaeys 2006). The name Inala was coined in 1953 and is said to mean 'a peaceful place' in an unknown Aboriginal language (Kaeys 2006). The initial development of the modern suburb of Inala occurred in what is now the Biota Street area, with bushland remaining for several decades in parts of Inala that have now been developed into housing and commercial areas. Housing proceeded in stages, or estates, including local shops, schools and parks so that each community area had local facilities within walking distance. During the 1980s, Inala

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[2]The data from the 2006 Australian Census are the most relevant to the research period, which was conducted closest to that census date. More recent census data from 2011 to 2016 show the Indigenous population of Inala reducing to 6.2% and 4.8%, respectively (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, 2017). This apparent decline in Indigenous population would be a fertile area for further research on the gentrification of the suburb.
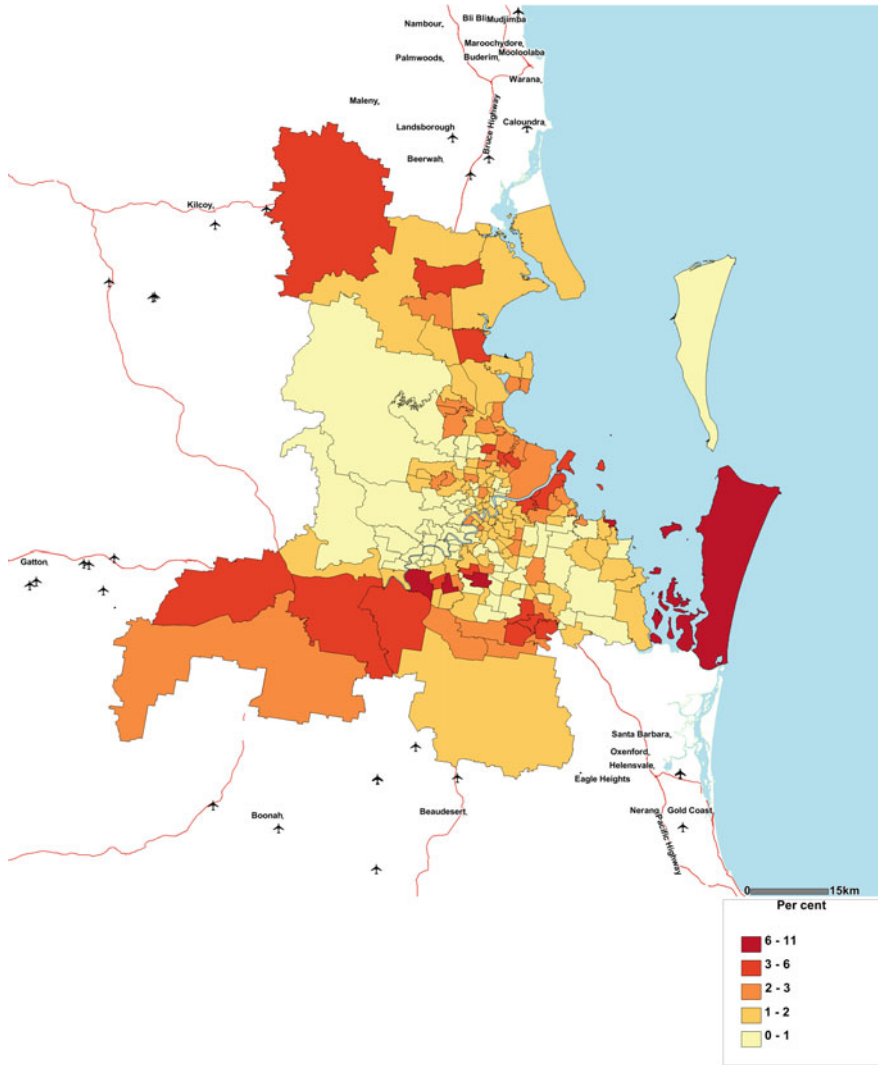
Fig. 20.2 Indigenous population distribution in greater Brisbane during the time of research. Inala is located in the cluster of high Indigenous population locations south-west of the city (*Source* Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006)

Plaza shopping centre was developed, expanding upon an existing set of local shops, to provide a large central shopping and civic facility for the growing suburb, including a library, banks, government services, supermarkets and other retailers.

Indigenous people were among the first people to settle into the state government housing in Inala in the mid-1950s, which also included post-war refugee families from Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia and elsewhere in Europe. According to

Indigenous residents who were children in the suburb during that time, there was great mixing of people of many nationalities, and a sense of acceptance between people of diverse cultures. Despite this mixing of diverse social groups, there was still a strong Indigenous community and identification during this early period. Many people had a shared history of difficult mission life from locations relatively near to Brisbane. The period of release from mission control coincided with the creation of Inala as a state government housing scheme which attracted many Indigenous families in the foundation years from Cherbourg Mission north of Brisbane, Myora Mission on Stradbroke Island (Minjerribah) and Purga Mission, near the city of Ipswich. These places were common links in the history of Indigenous people moving to Inala at that time, so that despite disparate home Country areas prior to the mission era, a shared knowledge of mission life and attachment to those mission places was a uniting factor (Huggins and Huggins 1994; Hegarty 1999; Holt 2001). Some people now recall that era as one of connectedness and solidarity for the Indigenous community in Inala. There is a perception that there were 'two or three Murri[3] families on every street'. This is a contrast to the contemporary situation with greater overall populations' numbers and a more distributed pattern of Indigenous people, which some feel has resulted in a less connected Indigenous community.

People–Place Relationships in Indigenous Inala

Development that began as discrete pockets of neighbourhood housing in Inala coalesced into a connected suburban landscape. A strong attachment to place also developed, including the development of place identity systems for some people in Inala. This chapter will examine a number of the types and scales of people–place relationships which exist in the Inala Indigenous community, using a place example which illustrates contemporary and historical examples of place meaning, place attachment and place ownership. The case study focuses on the Biota Street neighbourhood within Inala and places of importance within it: a park, a school (which had recently closed, see Fig. 20.3) and a set of shops which are the community focus for a neighbourhood. These examples illustrate the importance of natural outdoor places, institutions and community infrastructure in Inala. While there are many other types and scales of place meaning and attachment for Indigenous people in Inala, such as suburb affiliation (Greenop 2009a), private places such as Indigenous people's individual houses (Greenop 2009b), places outside Inala and places of traditional sacred and religious significance, these are beyond the scope of this chapter which deals primarily with the public, contemporary and the secular. These current examples from a concentrated geographical area demonstrate how over a number of decades, place meaning and significance

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[3]'Murri' is the self-ascribed term for Aboriginal people in some areas of Queensland.

Fig. 20.3 Inala West State School sign, protesting its closure, 2008 (*Photograph* Kelly Greenop)

has grown and become embedded, made 'traditional' and begun to form part of personal identity systems for those outside the Traditional Ownership groups.

Within Inala, specific place identity terms are used such as claiming identity as an 'Inala Boy' or 'Inala Girl' which has a specific meaning of being associated with the suburb from birth or early childhood. A further distinction is recently being made where 'Original Inala Boys', also expressed as OIB, distinguish themselves based on their family's history within the suburb, reaching back several generations into Inala's formative years, establishing a provenance and authority to claim a stronger relationship to the place. These terms are used in social networks and expressed through t-shirts, graffiti, tattooing and verbally. From fieldwork observation and interviews, differences in place relationships have emerged over generations and between different family groups, demonstrating the diversity of Indigenous place experience in the complex urban environment.

Kev Hooper Park: 'That's My Park!'

Inala's public open spaces include large parks, natural watercourses and culverts, which were former creeks, which have changed over the history of the suburb. Kevin Hooper Park, usually referred to as 'Kev Hooper', was part of the original

Fig. 20.4 1952, Inala's original Housing Commission residences in the Biota Street area (*Photograph* State Library of Queensland) (State Library of Queensland, John Oxley Library, Catalogue No. hch00005)

bushland area which remained intact following Inala's initial development as a suburb in the 1950s. Inala's development sites were carved out of eucalypt bushland, the remaining areas of which changed over the years from a bushland to a suburban park. Once acting as a buffer to the edge of Inala's first developed area of housing, the bushland gradually shrank as development increased, giving way to housing. As the original wave of residents moved in to modern Inala in the 1950s and 1960s, children developed places of importance in bushland and surrounding market gardens. The bushland to the south, which is now a developer-created suburb complete with artificial lake, then provided an area of free play in an abandoned Second World War Army base which was 'like a ghost town to play in'. Residents who were children at the time remember enjoying grapes and other fruit from the nearby market gardens and valued the time away from the suburban life of Inala's neat new town streets (see Fig. 20.4).

The same places, which changed and shrank, became less like bushland and more park-like, were also valued by the next generation of children. Undeveloped land with natural features such as creeks, swimming holes and bushland is remembered by the generation who grew up there in the 1970s, who are now in their 40s, who recall fondly that 'Every Murri kid from Inala used to hang out there'. The initial Biota Street housing area was also adjacent to other bushland east of Rosemary Street into the 1970s, where some people rode horses, others played bush games, and swimming in creeks and waterholes was common. Groups of teenagers sought refuge from police and authority figures in the urban bushland and formed strong alliances, which remain as social constructs in the community today. Some Inala residents remember the days of fighting 'gangs' from across the creek and defending the territory of the park from adolescents from other parts of Inala, and also further afield such as Brisbane city or Fortitude Valley. The park was their park, and no one else's, they recall. These places offered recreation and community gathering in age-based groups during an era in which poverty, racism and control by authorities were common experiences for urban Indigenous young people. Illicit drinking, teenage socialising and sexual experimentation were among the activities within the park. Over time, lasting social relationships were also formed and an identity which has transformed for some into a supportive and positive aspect of their lives. This type of shared childhood and adolescent experience is well known

as a significant generator of place attachment among many social groups (Hart 1979; Chawla 1992; Marcus 1992).

The social identity systems which formed help to strengthen and define particular sections of the Indigenous community in Inala. The park has become synonymous with particular people and social groups, who similarly construct their personal and social identity using the park area as a reference. As an example, the 'Inala Parkies' and the 'Biota Street Boys', each of which put forward a football team at the annual Inala Family Touch-Football day during the time of the research, demonstrate a social significance and identity created by the park and the Biota Street territory to the north.

For some people, the association with the park moves beyond a social attachment and group identity and into the significance of personal identification with place. As one resident states: 'That's my park!' and her sense of local and personal identity is bound up with affiliations not only to people associated with the park, such her deceased brother who was 'King of the Parkies', but to the park itself as a place. For her, it holds an almost magical power, a spiritual presence. She states 'it's my sacred place' which gives her meaning and energy through visiting it, now with her grandchildren who also are taught that it's 'Nana's park'. The depth of meaning can be shown through her statement that the park and the nearby shops where teenage fights between neighbouring groups would be arranged and carried out were probably traditional gathering and fighting places, respectively. While the historic basis of this statement is unclear, what is important is that this resident feels that her Aboriginality, history and identity are bound up with the traditions of this place, and that there is a connection to a deeper history because of the strength of feeling generated by the place.

Similarly, Redfern, in inner Sydney, has a contested set of truths about its Aboriginal history and the associations that the wider community have (Anderson 1994, 1999; Shaw 2007). Aboriginal people have struggled to put forward their version of Redfern and assert their right to claim affiliation with and retain control over the place (Spark 2010). In Inala, this woman states that she would not move away from the neighbourhood surrounding the park and has been living within the same neighbourhood for thirty years. If she was able to she would move closer to the park, back to her family childhood home (which was lost to her following the deaths of her parents) which is very close to the Biota Street shops and park. This demonstrates the attachment criteria of a desire to be close and not move away from a site of place attachment.

For the generation of people in their twenties at the time of research in their at the time of research, parks have retained a significance for the social associations they hold. Gatherings of extended family at parks and other local outdoor locations had helped to give an intergenerational history to parks. Gathering for family barbecues may seem a fairly standard event, but for many Indigenous families who had been separated from family by governmental policies, or who live far from their traditional homelands, visiting relatives and social gathering is of deep significance. As the diversity of the Inala suburb has increased, there has been a move by Indigenous young people to mark out their territories through territorial behaviours,

Fig. 20.5 Graffiti within Kev Hooper Park Inala, 2008 (*Photographs* Kelly Greenop)

Fig. 20.6 Dance circle with edge markers within Kev Hooper Park, Inala, 2008 (*Photograph* Kelly Greenop)

graffiti (see Fig. 20.5) and more formal channels such as public art projects (see Figs. 20.6 and 20.7).

Within the park, a joint local government and community project created an Indigenous dance circle constructed by Brisbane City Council; local young people decorated the posts which mark out the edge of the circle (see Fig. 20.6). A mural on the old library building within the park, which is now a community hall,

Fig. 20.7 The Old LibraryLibrary, Kev Hooper Park, Inala, featuring murals on all sides of the building, 2008 (*Photograph* Kelly Greenop)

expresses a shared, intercultural identity for the park, allowing multiple ethnicities to claim it as their domain, but nevertheless expressing the importance of Indigenous identification with the park (see Fig. 20.7) (Fantin and Greenop 2009).

Thus, identity is linked with Kev Hooper Park in a number of ways and at a number of levels. Stories, associations and both shared and personal histories of the park create individual and group meanings for the park. These associations and histories, for some people, have developed into a deeper relationship with place: place attachment. For some, place has indeed become so significant that a place identity relationship has formed, with the park becoming bound up with the identification of individuals and social groups, and with their sense of well-being.

Biota Street Boys: Place Meaning, Attachment and Identity

The urban design of Inala has remained walkable and locally focused, despite diminishing local facilities in many other parts of Brisbane. This characteristic adds significantly to local places being used and valued by the local community and relies on neighbourhood support for its continued viability. An example is the Biota Street area, which has a significantly higher proportion of Indigenous residents than

other parts of Brisbane and was at the upper end of Indigenous population density within Inala (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006). It should be noted that areas of lower Indigenous population density in the Biota Street area have been subject to housing upgrades known as 'Urban Renewal', which has, anecdotally, reduced the Indigenous population in that area through increased housing costs, a claim supported by population data. The Biota Street neighbourhood is also associated with Kev Hooper Park, which borders the Biota Street area.

This area's local shopping precinct, entitled Biota Street Village by Brisbane City Council urban renewal signage (see Figs. 20.8 and 20.9), has remained an important gathering, shopping and socialising place for Inala Indigenous and non-Indigenous people for decades. It was the first set of shops developed in Inala and has historical social and contemporary associations for local people.

The shops still featured banking facilities, a post office, a doctor's surgery and chemist, hairdresser, a small supermarket and a number of local food shops including Islander, Vietnamese and takeaway food shops. There is also a church, and 300 metres (984 feet) down the street was the recently closed Inala West State School. This precinct may not be viable in other suburbs where a reliance on cars and branded supermarkets has become extreme, but for many in Inala local loyalty to place and people associated with place took precedence. Some residents report that the area has drawn them back after time away following childhood there, sometimes to return to a family home. For one resident the Biota Street shops 'are

Fig. 20.8 Biota Street Village urban renewal signage 2009 (*Photograph* Kelly Greenop)

Fig. 20.9 Biota street shops 2009 (*Photograph* Kelly Greenop)

still the same' as they were during her childhood, and she refused to use the other larger shops in the main shopping centre of Inala, on the basis of supporting the Biota Street shops, and remaining with her own neighbourhood. Equally, some people used the shops as a place to socialise and catch up on local news, stating that

it was a socially important feature of their week to shop and catch up with the news at Biota Street each week.

In 2008 a project with Brisbane City Council developed local songs with a choir of Indigenous Elders teaming up with older people from other ethnicities to celebrate their suburb. They developed a song called The Biota Street Song which features lyrics:

> Everybody knows Inala
> But do you know Biota Street?
> Fish and Chips at Tony's
> Chandlers for the first TV
> Pinball machines and fish cakes
> Still put a smile on my face
> Jumble sales and street stalls
> Cruisin' at an easy pace
> Down Biota Street…
> Baby cryin' in the pram,
> Frangipanis, kickin' cans,
> the TABS long gone now,
> I used to have a hole in the wall.
> Down Biota Street… (Bellingham et al. 2008).

In addition to this more formalised recognition, threats to the precinct have gathered people together. In April 2009, a fire at the Biota Street shops late one evening elicited a huge crowd of locals watching in horror as their beloved shops were engulfed in flames. I received a phone call late that night from an Inala friend and research participant upset by the fire, which destroyed five of the 26 businesses. Fortunately no one was injured, and the fire did not damage a popular takeaway restaurant frequented by the Indigenous community.

The importance of the Biota Street shops lies in its function as a community centre for a group that deeply identifies with the local Biota Street territory. The mutually supporting nature of the relationship is such that Biota Street had formed part of the place identity for individuals and groups. Specific design approaches help to sustain the place, such as street seating and planting creating shady footpaths and including a local community noticeboard, and the co-location of both social and business enterprises. The walkability and localness of Inala are important for people, with many people in Inala having reduced access to cars or other transport, particularly young mothers who may otherwise be very isolated. The amalgamation of schools reduced the walkable amenity of the suburb, which has supported and been maintained by contemporary Indigenous lifestyles and behaviours. The viability of facilities such as shops, schools and medical centres starts to unravel once one must get into a car to take children to and from school.

Places like the Biota Street shops seemed equally important to young people as to older generations and for similar reasons of sociability, access to services and historical association with friends and family. This was emphasised by the perception of Inala as a safe haven for its residents, as a place of acceptance and being known by your community members. The perception of community as a haven

ranges in scale from the suburb, with some residents stating that 'they never leave the roundabouts' which marked the older boundaries of Inala prior to adjacent development, to more localised territories within Inala, such as the Biota Street area. In addition to Biota Street, there are local shops and centres in other parts of Inala which have a similar walkable location, proximity to schools and other facilities, and which engendered similar loyalties, such as Skylark Street in the South of Inala, Coconut Grove (named after a now derelict cinema which operated as an important social location in the 1960s and 70s) which was particularly significant to Pacific Islander peoples, and the larger Civic Centre which was a more shared, but still a significant social location within Inala.

The Biota Street Boys formed in the 1970s as a group of social affiliates who grew up as teenagers in the Biota Street area and whose play and later 'gang' territory encompassed Kev Hooper Park. Graffiti by the Original Inala Boys, who are a contemporary version of the Biota Street Boys, and the location of this graffiti seems to mark out their territory and the Biota Street neighbourhood. The entry to the neighbourhood near to Kev Hooper Park was, at the time of the research, marked with graffiti tags on prominent corners, visible from the main road which is a transport artery for Inala. These graffiti then intensified and reached a peak near to the shops where a constant battle to claim the territory through graffiti tagging developed, with the 'OIB' and 'Inala Boys' tags attempting to dominate over the competing tags of 'SSB' and '77' which possibly represented Pacific Islander groups. There was also the assertion of identity by 'Inala Girls' who also incorporated the stylised Aboriginal flag into their tags, who seemed intent on making their presence felt in the male-dominated graffiti battles. This territory was intimately linked to the social identity of these groups in which their place identity has been formed.

Other representations of identity within this group include tattooing with place names such as Inala in large letters emblazoned across the back, or 'Ellafelani' (Inala Fella spelled backwards) down the forearms which can be viewed easily by oncoming players in Rugby League matches. This tattooing is a literal integration of place and body, place identity at its most visible. Many cultures, such as the Māori, have used tattooing to signify identity, often indicating membership of various groups, families or followers of particular pursuits (Edgerton and Dingman 1963: 144). For the Māori, *ta moko* (tattooing) signifies the individual's distinction of rank, position in life, marriage partners, tribal and family identity (Simmons 1999: 131). Since colonisation, it could be argued that the *moko* additionally identifies the wearer as being distinctly Māori, or at least originating or connecting with Aoteoroa, much as the Inala tattoos signify and locate people as 'Inala people', although the definitiveness of such distinctions is critiqued by Pritchard (2001). As Inala Indigenous people proceed into parenthood, some were naming their children after the suburb or streets of significance to their family history, in the most extreme case of place identity where a person's family given, name identity becomes the manifestation of place and identity, in the contemporary setting.

Conclusions

Place is always significant for Indigenous Australians, and urban Indigenous Australians are no different. While many Inala Indigenous people share strong links to their traditional Countries, both outside and inside Inala, significance is also created in a contemporary placemaking tradition. The motivations in establishing place relationships, I argue are linked to the importance of place meaning, attachment and identity, which has key elements of traditional Country affiliations. Contemporary Indigenous people who may live far from their home Countries or for whom home Countries do not hold any direct experience or memory still feel the need to be rooted in place, a strong cultural value within Indigenous Australia. This desire to be known and identified with a place is a strong tradition for Indigenous communities in Australia, and can be achieved in the urban setting by acknowledging existing Indigenous social networks and communities or creating new ones. These communities, and the places within which they grow, support Indigenous people in their desire to maintain their identities and develop community strength within an intercultural setting.

Contrary to versions of Indigenous identity which stress links to traditional Countries alone, research in Inala has shown that while for many traditional Country links remain strong (Greenop 2009a, 2012), for others, particularly those whose families were forced into missions or reserves and were disrupted in their normal relationships to place, contemporary place attachment and identity in new places have become important. Colonisation attempted to silence or erase Indigenous places, with urban areas the first and most seriously affected by their lengthy histories of place destruction. This research hopes to assist a decolonising approach to contemporary urban geographies in Australian cities, which is valid for both traditional and contemporary places. Many Inala Indigenous people who participated in this research assert a dual identity, the emphasis of which is altered depending on social circumstances, such that both home Country and Inala become important. What is important to stress is that for some Inala people these contemporary links to an urban place represent not a break from traditions, but a continuation, an evolution of place meaning, attachment and identity, in a traditional process of linking to place alongside affiliates from an Indigenous community, adding to, rather than depleting their Indigeneity.

While it is possible to imagine similar place identification for non-Indigenous people within Inala, I would argue that the particular importance of place is still specific to the Inala Indigenous community. Their place meaning, attachment and identification are rooted in an Indigenous perspective, where Indigenous sociality is necessary in order to feel at home in the world, where significance must be shared with those with whom one shares kin links and shared experiences of Indigeneity. The visibility of the Indigenous community in Inala with its many festivals and community organisations facilitates a wide acceptance of an active and engaged Indigenous community which, in turn, facilitates placemaking on a more personal level, as the suburb becomes associated with known and acknowledged Indigenous

groups and people. Perhaps most importantly, there is an active and respected Traditional Owner group who claim sovereignty over their Country and legitimise the formal Indigenous activities that take place within Inala. This Traditional Owner group are supported and valued by many members of the wider Indigenous community including historical people whose links to place are not solely based on the attachments formed through time passing, but demonstrate a contemporary Indigenous connection to place, based on Indigenous values in an urban setting.

Architectural interventions within Inala, or indeed within any contemporary setting with important Indigenous associations, should engage with Indigenous place values and their ramifications for design. The location of schools, shops and facilities, and the design of both public spaces and public housing should account for the long-term Indigenous communities within which these developments occur. To do so can strengthen and acknowledge Indigenous communities within city areas and counter some of the gentrifying forces that have reduced Inala's Indigenous populations since the time of this original research.

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Chapter 21
A Treaty Needs a House: Emplacing First Peoples' A Priori Rights in Wurundjeri Country, Metropolitan Melbourne

Anoma Pieris and Gary Murray

Introduction

Charged with the tasks of giving unique and diverse cultural visibility to, creating political awareness about and economically empowering First Peoples communities, models for First Peoples cultural centres have morphed across numerous programmes in recent decades. Their transformation coincides with international attention to First Peoples rights and the creation of national First Peoples networks. Architecture is used to emplace these changing needs. This chapter examines how debates on Treaty in Victoria inform the nascent vision of a cultural, social and political institution for First Peoples communities and discusses the consultative processes and programmatic aspirations surrounding the facility. Central to this discussion are a priori rights and the host–guest relationship.

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Welcome to Country

The 'Welcome to Country'[1] (WTC)—a symbolic and political practice that often precedes official functions in Australia—is performed by representatives of the Traditional Owner group on whose land the function is held and may involve a statement, a speech or a ceremony. The practice is based on long-standing protocols established between First Peoples for recognising and maintaining boundaries, granting entry, protection and safe passage, and hosting visitors; protocols integral to the spatial understanding of the communities concerned (for more detail, see, for example, Reconciliation Australia u.d.).[2] Wurundjeri Elder Joy Murphy Wandin observes:

> Every time a formal Welcome to Country is given it continues a tradition that has always been a part of Australian culture–except for a recent lapse of about 200 years. It was always given by way of welcome when permission was granted to visit a different tribal area. […] It's a very important way of giving Aboriginal people back their place in society, and an opportunity for us to say: We are real, we are here, and today we welcome you to our land (Wandin quoted in Winkler u.d.).

However, the significance of the practice is often incomprehensible to metropolitan audiences whose sense of social and spatial entitlement has long precluded First Peoples' presence or participation in these events, particularly when practised off Country in urban areas where First Peoples populations are few or marginalised. Australian identity is predominantly shaped by Anglo-Australian settler generations who by dispossessing First Peoples and colonising the continent established their cultural imprint as normative. Retroactive recognition of First Peoples' custodianship and connection with lands expropriated by colonisation underscores the ironies of dispossession within contemporary race relations. On the surface, the practice appears to replicate historic First Peoples tribal or clan group

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[1]Within Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies, each Indigenous language group has a defined area of land or *Country* that each group is connected to, both geographically and spiritually. A group's (or person's) land, sea, sky, rivers, sites, seasons, plants and animals; place of heritage, belonging and spirituality; constitute their 'Country' with connections to Country seen as a fundamental pillar of Aboriginality (Liddle 2015).

[2]The Reconciliation Australia fact sheet differentiates between the 'Welcome' and the 'Acknowledgement' as follows: the 'Welcome to Country' adapts protocols historically extant among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures for requesting permission and entering another group's Country across established boundaries. When permission was granted, the hosting group welcomed visitors and offered them safe passage and protection of their spiritual being during the journey. The contemporary practice of a 'Welcome to Country' occurs at the beginning of a formal event and is delivered by Traditional Owners or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have been given permission from Traditional Owners to welcome visitors to their Country. An 'Acknowledgement of Country', in contrast, can be given by both non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and is an opportunity for anyone to show respect for Traditional Owners and the continuing connection of Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander people to country. This usually takes the form of a statement made at the beginning of an event or formal occasion and includes an acknowledgement of the Traditional Owners of the land on which the event is held and pays respect to elders past.

host–guest relations as they were negotiated across geocultural boundaries for thousands of generations. Such ritual protocols associated with resource sharing are central to the a priori status of First Peoples rights related to cultural sovereignty, Treaty, land justice, cultural heritage, Native Title[3] and economic development claims. Traditional practices of welcome between First Peoples honour territorial boundaries offer mutual respect and strengthen intergroup relationships. But when reduced to a relationship of auxiliary authorisation of spaces in which First Peoples no longer have involvement, they expose the entrenched socio-spatial inequities of the host–guest or invader relationship.

There has been considerable debate on the 'Welcome to Country' after its adoption by the Australian Parliament in 2008, and calls for its discontinuation in 2010 (House of Representatives 2010; Australian Broadcasting Commission 2010).[4] The practice varies within what Pelizzon and Kennedy (2012: 59) describe as 'recognition of Country' and 'the event of engaging with the concept of Country' depending on who is giving the Welcome, whether a traditional Elder is welcoming people not of that Country onto his/her ancestral Country or those who are not traditional custodians of that Country publicly acknowledging the traditional custodians of the Country. The formal adoption and proliferation of this practice across three decades, supposedly dating from the mid-1980s land rights movements (2012: 59), has raised the contemporary tradition as a norm, politically significant where histories of dispossession are most acute. Everett (2009: 56) points out that the 'Welcome' has diversified to include speeches, music and dancing, often in Australian Indigenous languages and English. Whatever the format, she observes: "it always involves a claim to prior ownership of, and continuing authority over, the land on which the ceremony is convened" (2009: 56). A claim made in a particular First Peoples language 'contests other claims to the land including *all* other claims' (2009: 58). But moral and symbolic claims based on precolonial recognition are not always reconciled with contemporary practice. Pelizzon and Kennedy argue that the denial of prior First Peoples ownership and the cultural differences that underscore this denial are often integral to the performative tensions of the act (2012: 60). Any act of recognition of Country 'contains the seeds of unresolved political issues' regarding conflicting and multiple ownership of sovereign lands (2012: 61). Such ceremonies are often conducted by the descendants of peoples dispossessed, dispersed and deculturalised by colonisation, whose continued claims to self-determination potentially politicise the Welcome. It is by stripping these

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[3]In Australia, the common law doctrine of Aboriginal title is referred to as Native Title, which is the recognition that "Indigenous people continue to hold rights to their land and waters, which come from their traditional laws and customs" (National Native Title Tribunal 2010: 4).

[4]Following the first 'Welcome to Country' (conducted by Matilda House at the opening of the 42nd Federal Parliament on 12 February 2008) (see Australian Broadcasting Commission 2008), the then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made an argument for its general adoption, and it was adopted thereafter. In 2010, Liberal Senator Julian McGauran asked for it to be dropped, a position supported by Leader of the Opposition Tony Abbott who described it as out-of-place tokenism, prompting heated discussions on this issue.

associations of their political potency—through legal restrictions to the recognition of Native Title—that the Welcome becomes palatable to many non-Indigenous participants. Its reduction to a token acknowledgement is the point of debate. As observed by Emma Kowal:

> The neutered statement of Indigenous ownership that a WTC represents means non-Indigenous people can enjoy Indigenous culture and presence without feeling threatened by Indigenous sovereignty. This might explain why WTCs are most common in urban Australia, where native title claims are both most unsettling …and most unlikely to succeed (2010: 16).

The terms of First Peoples' sovereignty, as it is disputed in the south-eastern states disturb the equilibrium of these and other practices for preserving social cohesion by suppressing culturally differentiated claims. While Indigenous enfranchisement following the 1967 Referendum produced policies for self-determination (see Attwood and Markus 1999), Aboriginal representatives argue that they were self-determining before the creation of the state and have primary rights before any other stakeholders; rights that are related to notions of cultural sovereignty based on deep connections with and duties and obligations to Country and People.[5] Australian Aboriginal identification as 'First Peoples' and 'First Nations' is based on these a priori rights. Arguments for a Treaty, after a decade of reconciliation (1990s), pointed out the continuing failure of the modern state to recognise and respect First Peoples' sovereignty and to protect the rights of First Nations Peoples (Read et al. 2013). They have developed alongside a powerful lobby for constitutional recognition—in public law and public institutions—which has been discussed at a federal level since 2010 (Law Council of Australia 2011; Commonwealth of Australia 2015; Davis 2008). However, many Victorian First Peoples representatives are sceptical of constitutional reform, but in favour of local, state and federal government treaties.[6] Some are resistant to being incorporated through legislative processes preferring a contract between the state and Indigenous peoples within which rights, reparation and compensation might be sought. Others ask for the parallel pursuit of both forms of recognition of the substantive rights of Indigenous peoples and of state-level treaties which arguably have related goals (see Reconciliation Victoria 2016). The Government of Victoria committed to

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[5]Gary Murray and Lidia Thorpe, 'Clans, First Nations and Language Groups', presentation for VTOLJG on 3 August 2016.

[6]Constitutional change has been overtaken by a focus on Treaties particularly in Victoria and South Australia where First Peoples welcome the dialogues supported by their State Governments. The key issues for constitutional change to be sought through a referendum include symbolic recognition, prohibition of racial discrimination and the power to make laws with respect to the Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander peoples, but not so as to discriminate against them. The push for a Treaty is gathering momentum, and many Nations and clans are seriously questioning the Referendum process and the failure to scope the question or questions. There is strong support for a Treaty-based referendum question such as 'Do you approve the Australian Parliament entering into a Treaty with the First Peoples?'. Subsequently, if Treaty is our business then it will need a facility to house it.

discussions regarding a Treaty, the first with First Nations Peoples in Australia, in February 2016, followed in December by the South Australia Government (Government of Victoria & Aboriginal Treaty Interim Working Group 2016). The Northern Territory Government indicated similar interest.

This essay approaches ongoing discussions of a Treaty between the Victorian State Government and First Peoples stakeholders from the viewpoint of architecture, a practice for emplacing and substantiating cultural presence and containing its dynamism in formal physical structures. Architecture's efficacy at imprinting alien cultural norms on occupied territories is apparent in histories of colonisation which permanently altered and sedentarised dynamic social and spatial relationships. Architecture was also used to raise European cultures as civilised and distinguishable from those cultures perceived as 'primitive', 'savage' or 'nomadic'. The symbolic role of alien architectures in claiming space, marking territory and impressing authority on subject populations was most damaging in cultures on which it was forced. This chapter asks how, given this prejudiced history, Aboriginal cultural groups seeking self-determination who were both subjected to and objectified by colonial processes might deploy both architecture's functional capacities and semiotic material practices. As represented in the above introduction, such appropriations require structural inversions of host–guest relations, which can potentially be built into First Peoples cultural programmes. The limits and possibilities of these programmes are discussed using the case of Victoria and the vision for a multifunctional facility to house Treaty negotiations as voiced by Gary Murray, the current Dhudhuroa Member on the Victorian Traditional Owners Land Justice Group (VTOLJG).[7] The Treaty House proposed as a physical facility located on the edge of the original city grid embodies the socio-spatial boundary-making practices implicit in the 'Welcome to Country'. It confronts and addresses its latent historic tensions and creates space for internal negotiations of sovereignty. The Treaty House pushes the now familiar architectural programme of the Indigenous cultural centre across a political boundary.

A Treaty House is not simply the location where a Treaty is signed, such as the heritage-listed former house of the British resident, James Busby at Waitangi in Northland, Aotearoa New Zealand, where the historic Treaty of 1840 between representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs is commemorated. The Marae Atea at Ratana Pa, although specific to the Ratana movement and church, is a closer representation of the envisioned inclusive and political space. What is imagined for Victoria is a collective social space for advancing political claims and cultivating the forms of cultural recognition that are negotiated by the Treaty. While a Treaty is familiarly understood as an international agreement between sovereign states, it is historically associated with legal contracts on land sharing—for colonial settlement and resource extraction—between colonial governments and First

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[7]The VTOLJG is a clan-based organisation of First Peoples Nations and clans in Victoria and southern New South Wales.

Peoples exemplified by the case of Canada (Hamley 1995: 77–78).[8] Failures in respecting these boundaries, recognising native rights and title or excessive resource exploitation, bring these processes into question, but they remain foundational in the pursuit of First Peoples land claims. Aotearoa New Zealand's Bicultural Policy, based on the Treaty of Waitangi (Kawharu 1989), is a belated political effort at constructing an administrative infrastructure for accommodating two cultures. However, the most successful models of First Peoples sovereignty are expressed in the Sámi Parliaments of Scandinavia, where historic border treaties governing the pastoral rights of the Sámi population have generated distinct political and cultural architectures (Nickul 1977: 53).[9]

In exploring the political capacity of the 'cultural centre' model, this essay reconsiders the original guiding objectives, findings and outcomes of a collaborative research project on architectural placemaking related to First Peoples' cultural initiatives in the lead up to the proposed facility. Initiated by Gary Murray, the three-year research partnership (2010–2013) explored this proposal through public forums, creative works, publications and design studios.[10] A lengthy process involving discussions with architects, administrators and stakeholder groups was used to document over 150 First Peoples places and placemaking practices and 35 Australian and 13 international centres (see Pieris et al. 2014; McGaw and Pieris 2015; Pieris 2016). The authors of this essay were intimately involved: Gary Murray in conceiving of the proposal and guiding aspects of its dissemination to various stakeholder organisations and Anoma Pieris in researching the background to the architectural commissions for Indigenous museums and cultural centres.[11] Both of us participated in design studio activities where students interpreted and projected Murray's vision onto a range of urban sites (McGaw et al. 2014). Other First Nations stakeholders were invited to give feedback at different stages of the design process, and Indigenous artists gave insights regarding conceptual development. First Peoples architects were involved as studio leaders and critics for the studios.

The challenge for these students, apart from understanding and interpreting the cultural brief, was in integrating these programmes into the fabric of the city. Unlike the many previous, award-winning stand-alone *On Country* facilities feted in publications, the students' proposals addressed the pressures of inserting First

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[8]Some examples are the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and eleven numbered Treaties of Canada dated from 1871 to 1877.

[9]The Treaty of Strömstad (1751) had a codicil dealing with the rights of the Lapps to move their reindeer across borders.

[10]This study was integral to a broader Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage Project entitled *Indigenous Place-making in Central Melbourne: Representations, Practices and Creative Research* (2010–2012) conducted by a team of researchers from the University of Melbourne's Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, led by Janet McGaw with Anoma Pieris and Graham Brawn, and Emily Potter from Deakin University's School of Communication and Creative Arts. Partner organisations were the Victorian Traditional Owners Land Justice Group, the Melbourne City Council and Reconciliation Victoria.

[11]The cultural centres described in this essay were studied in greater detail in dedicated chapters in these previous publications as indicated.

Fig. 21.1 Eleanor Fenton, Possum Skin Cloak, Enterprize Park, Melbourne. Each language group is allocated a fragment of the facade, like a possum skin, which a representative artist would design to represent their group (*Image* The University of Melbourne)

Peoples programmes into a predominantly Anglo-Australian and immigrant cultural context with limited cross-cultural social contact. They 'engaged with the concept of Country' in a place that had been stripped of those associations and a society largely unsettled by First Peoples political agency. Like the Welcome that inserted 'other' social memories into settler institutions, these designs coexisted with settler structures and histories. And, unlike many of the ephemeral urban practices that preceded them, their scale, distribution and formal configuration emphasised First Peoples claims (see Figs. 21.1, 21.2, 21.3 and 21.4).

The spatial politics of the design interventions and the cross-cultural programmes proposed took precedence over the student's choice of aesthetic. In fact, the diversity of student approaches reflected the irreducibility of purpose-designed, First Peoples cultural centres to a specific design formula. These explorations preceded and so could not respond to the proposal for a Treaty.

Hospitality and Tolerance

Treaties, such as the fraudulent Batman's Treaty (1835) for Port Phillip (a part of present-day Melbourne), were contracts between the Woiwurrung First Peoples and subsequent colonists that confirmed the a priori rights of First Nations as traditional
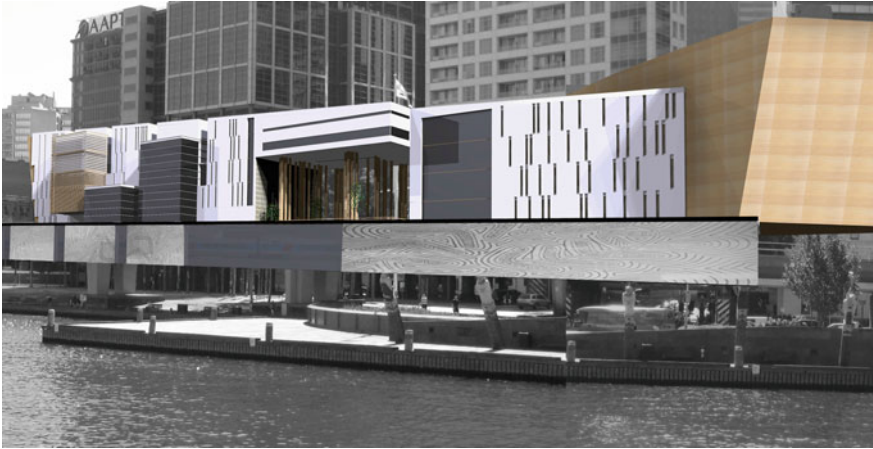
Fig. 21.2 Katelin Butler, Saltwater Basin, Enterprize Park, Melbourne. The building is aligned to the natural flow of the river (which has been changed several times) and the history of the site as a saltwater basin, thus reinforcing the relationship of the building with the site (*Image* The University of Melbourne)

Fig. 21.3 Iylia Dhamiri Zakaria, Natural Archaeology, Flinders Street, Melbourne. The design inspired by the role of archaeology in uncovering Indigenous traces explores Natural Archaeology, processes of weathering and erosion, to uncover Williams Creek, a waterway under Elizabeth Street (*Image* The University of Melbourne)
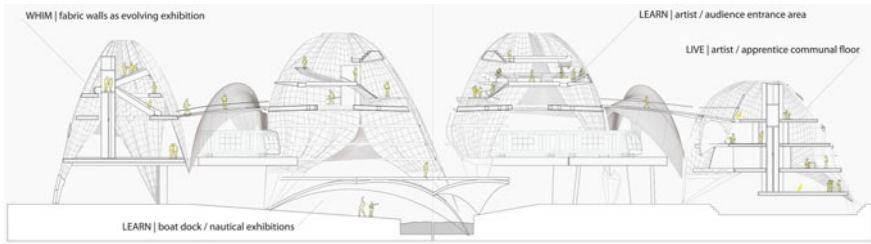
Fig. 21.4 Giacomo Tinari, Bridging cultures, Birrarung Marr, Melbourne, used the flexibility of the possum skin cloak to create a series of habitable spaces that are positioned along the banks of the river (*Image* The University of Melbourne)

owners and hosts in the Australian context.[12] While furthering the cause of land acquisition under the British sovereign, they laid out the obligations of the state to the First Peoples impacted by that process. Contingent expressions of 'hospitality' and 'tolerance' and the deceptive politics of settler/host–guest relation underscored such transactions. Their polemical social relations continuously shaped First Peoples cultural positions in Australia, particularly in the populous south-eastern states where colonisation was most damaging. Structural racism was reinforced by the 'White Australia Policy' that restricted non-Caucasian immigrants until the 1970s.[13]

The legacy of intolerance towards Australia's original inhabitants preceded other scenarios of selective accommodation of specific migrant and refugee populations, suggesting a broader application of host–guest relations. Each circle of inclusion or exclusion determined the limits of settler hospitality. However, First Peoples and non-First Peoples relations were contingent on historic spatial prohibitions through which colonial property was demarcated and preserved (Boyce 2012; Attwood 2009). Unlike these other 'multicultural' bordering practices, the exclusion of First Peoples involved violent forms of cultural effacement including material destruction, expropriation of territory and genocide. While subsequent non-Caucasian/non-Christian migrants were assimilated into Australia through diverse economic and institutional structures, their structural subordination was often seen as temporary. This was in contrast to the ongoing status of First Peoples who bore historic stigmas and encountered societal resistance based on entrenched prejudices. Encounters between descendants of early settler populations, subsequent migrants and First Peoples in Victoria's urban centres are fraught with tensions that realign and overdetermine these intercultural relationships.

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[12]The Treaty between John Batman and a group of Wurundjeri Elders was declared void later that year (see, for example, Attwood 2009 for further detail, and authors such as Kenny 2008 for alternate views of the relationship between the two parties).

[13]The White Australia Policy was a series of policies which were formalised soon after Federation through the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 (Cth) and the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901 (Cth), and remained in place to exclude Asiatic and Pacific Islander immigrants until the Migration Act 1966 (Cth). The policy was abandoned in 1973.

Host–guest relations are typically theorised in relation to voluntary and obligatory mobilities and the ethical dimensions of social encounters between host and guest (Molz and Gibson 2007: 6). The ethics of absolute hospitality and its conditional politics, described by Jacques Derrida in relation to cosmopolitanism, has been linked to forms of migration and multiculturalism that remain subordinate to sovereignty (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000; Derrida 1999), for example the distinction between colonial and subsequent migrant populations in Australia. Australian constructions of normative citizenship are based on specific exclusions, internally of First Peoples populations and externally of 'illegal migrants and refugees'. The limits of 'sovereign hospitalities' are evident in successive immigration, refugee (Schlunke 2002) and multicultural policies (Koleth 2010).

As discussed by Valene Smith, in her book *Hosts and Guests* (1989), the politics of difference is practised across a spectrum of social encounters including unequal cultural and economic relations within tourism. The guest's encounter, however brief, has an ongoing impact on the host's environment and culture, particularly where the global tourist has an economic advantage over the recipient culture. This asymmetry is evident in the spaces designed to represent and convey local cultures to tourists, which modify and curate material with short-term visitors in mind. Revenue-dependent facilities often subscribe to the tolerance levels of audiences, or as argued by Turgeon and Dubuc (2002: 19) for the case of ethnology museums, they measure majoritarian tolerance of minority cultures. Levels of tolerance are likewise impacted by state perceptions of minorities, for example, in Australia, in the tensions surrounding border security. However, settler relations with First Peoples communities are seldom examined on these relational terms.

According to Jacques Derrida, interpretations of hospitality and tolerance are deeply inflected with notions of Christian charity and, as discussed by Giovanna Borradori (2013: 16), determine the threshold of tolerance for a given ethno-construct. Derrida places hospitality as a unique obligation, unconditionally extended "to someone who is neither expected nor invited…, in short, wholly other" (Borradori 2013: 17). In comparison with Derrida's model of open invitation, Jurgen Habermas emphasises participatory democracy where "nobody possesses the privilege of setting the boundaries of tolerance from the viewpoint of their own preferences and value orientations" (Habermas cited in Borradori 2013: 18). His observations are anchored in the enlightenment values of social equity within modernity. While such definitions resonate with the liberal democratic ideals of the Australian nation state, the racist legacies of its colonial foundation have subverted traditional host–guest relations. Indigenous hosts stripped of their natural entitlements are treated as unwelcome and unequal strangers. These processes of alienation and dispossession are interwoven with the history of the settlement of Melbourne in Wurundjeri Country.

Episodes of initial First Peoples hospitality and increasing intercultural violence occur throughout the story of the growing colonial settlement around Port Phillip and the Yarra Valley, as with many recorded histories of the south-eastern states. In his book *First People*, Gary Presland describes the congregation of four to five hundred First Nations clans who gathered to welcome the newly arrived Chief

Protector of Aborigines, George Augustus Robinson, to Melbourne in 1839 (2010: 11). In the early years of settlement, First Peoples were attracted to the city and continued to use it for familiar activities, camping in traditional sites across the growing settlement. Richard Broome writes that after an earlier period of affability, settlement expansion led to resource loss and increasing First Peoples dependence on European provisions, while conflict over land and resources saw violent encounters (2005: 17–22). In September 1840, orders were issued to expel First Peoples from Melbourne, with mass arrests occurring a month later (2005: 31–32). Outside the city, pastoralism underpinned frontier violence, compounded by other forms of competition over sheep, women and goods (2005: 70). Whereas Europeans looked upon Aboriginal populations through the prejudiced lens of colonial racism, Aboriginal peoples saw the colonial trespassers within the framework of Indigenous epistemology of the time, observes Broome (2005: 72).

Aboriginal language groups had clear notions of both territorial and social boundaries and upheld laws and beliefs related to their observance, while transgressions of these laws were duly punished. These protocols were incorporated into specific ceremonies and determined interclan trade, including reciprocal arrangements of resource distribution. When contextualised within highly structured host–guest protocols with regard to exogamous marriage, intertribal relations and corroborees—where the sanctity of messengers, behaviour of visitors and role of intermediaries are paramount—we see how colonisation violated fundamental First Peoples values (Smyth 1878: 133–136, 180–182). Their customs were neither regarded nor respected by European colonists, who treated Aboriginals as a sub-human population and saw Australia as a land to be exploited for their own ends.

Broome documents how disease, conflict and the disruption of food sources and cultural habits resulted in the drastic depopulation of Aboriginals, so that in the first two decades of white settlement their population had declined by approximately 8,000 or 80% (2005: 91). Driven from their seasonal gathering places, the clans sought forms of sedentarisation in reserves around 25 km (15.5 mi) from the township of Melbourne (2005: 107). By the 1850s, Aboriginal people were being hired as labourers or servants for low wages (2005: 111–113). This was the era of the Aboriginal Protectorate's civilising institutions and government missions. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, Christianisation and paternalism governed black–white relations. The six Aboriginal reserves in Victoria created during the 1860s were prescribed as places where Aboriginals might live (2005: 131).[14] Between 1886 and 1890, a series of legislative acts imposed increasing levels of control over all aspects of Aboriginal life, limiting their freedom. The regulation of half-castes and removal of children became part of a broader policy of assimilation culminating in the closure of many reserves (2005: 193). Aboriginal peoples were dispersed between Lake Tyers, the remnants of reserves, or camps close to them, or at traditional camping places typically adjacent to river banks. The campers or

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[14]The six reserves were Ebenezer, Lake Tyers, Coranderrk, Cummeragunja, Framlingham and Lake Condah.

'fringe dwellers' were impoverished populations who lived on the edge of white society, often supplying farmers with day labour or seasonal labour (2005: 258). By 1927 the population in Victoria had been decimated to 514 Aboriginal people—55 'full bloods' and 459 people of 'mixed descent' (2005: 194).

As described for the Victorian case, violent occupation of the Australian geography through First Peoples dispossession and genocide denied original inhabitants their rights as hosts, destroying the cultural practices and protocols associated with place-based identification and management of territory. Cadastral surveys imposed colonial boundaries unintelligible to Traditional Owners and their clans (Byrne 2003: 169). Colonial expropriation of their lands, punitive expeditions, proselytisation and assimilation were institutionalised through policies that were deeply patronising and were greeted with varied degrees of resistance, antagonism and despair (Australian Law Reform Commission 1986: 18–21). This turbulent politics of host–guest relations marked the limits of both 'Black' and 'White' Australian tolerance for one another in intimate everyday associations and through protracted historic struggles over land. Aboriginal populations were depleted, deculturalised and impoverished. Under adverse circumstances, such as these, the First Peoples whose Country was in Victoria struggled to maintain community and autonomy and, from the late 1920s onwards, some of those formerly from the area began to return to Melbourne.

Twentieth-century First Peoples presence in the colonial city was markedly different from the earlier period, since depopulation and dispersal had fragmented cultural groups. Diverse language or clan groups had likewise converged on mission stations and reserves producing a more complex society. Miscegenation and intercultural marriage with Caucasian Australians had produced several generations with mixed parentage. In short, the highly complex cultural boundary-making practices that were related to traditional lands and distinct stakeholder identities had become blurred. The boundaries encountered by twentieth-century Aboriginals were created by the legal restrictions, societal prejudices and cultural hostilities of colonial racism. They were spatialised through the concentration of First Peoples as fringe dwellers, in depressed inner-city suburbs or in the 1950s, following government slum clearance programmes, around social housing environments.

With the gradual increase in the city's First Peoples population, the impoverished inner-city suburb of Fitzroy in Melbourne became the source of a vibrant Aboriginal social life where social institutions such as clubs, sporting activities and religious institutions were important precursors to representative political organisations such as the Victorian Aboriginal Advancement League (VAAL) (founded in 1957) (Broome 2005: 339–397).[15] Civil rights activism advanced through such

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[15]Following a 1981 freehold land grant for a site in Thornbury (the first land grant to an Aboriginal group in Victoria) and another for the adjacent Sir Douglas Nicholls Reserve in 1989, the VAAL established its offices at Thornbury and in 1999 the Victorian Government funded the renovation of the Leagues offices to include a range of community facilities. Its creation would lead subsequent efforts at recognising and marking places and institutions that were created and used by Victoria's Aboriginal communities.

organisations reached their peak in the Australia-wide land rights struggles of the 1970s. First Peoples community and service organisations that emerged in Melbourne from 1973 onwards provided health, education, legal and housing services, among others, and gave employment opportunities outside mainstream society (2005: 351). They initially operated out of shopfronts in Gertrude, Brunswick and Smith streets, expanding across Melbourne and spreading to regional centres by the 1990s (2005: 352–353). A critical shift in these organisations was the move from welfare to community development programmes, some of them accessible to the wider community. But by the 1980s and 1990s gentrification in Fitzroy had pushed out many of these organisations and their members. A rapidly expanding First Peoples population in the northern suburbs around Preston, Reservoir, Thomastown, Lalor, and Whittlesea added to the pressure for service organisations to move out of Fitzroy.[16]

The growing discourses of multiculturalism from mid-1980s onwards brought a different kind of focus to Aboriginal organisations, resulting in the emergence of Indigenous cultural centres as one of many minority cultural facilities. This approach was evident in the Labor Government's National Agenda of 1989 and in the incorporation of Indigenous, multicultural and immigrant affairs into a single department in 2001 (Koleth 2010: 9–11).[17] The political climate during this period was intolerant of affirmative action, but receptive to de-politicised cultural expression. The dispossessed Aboriginal hosts and the descendants of the colonial guests who were forced upon them were asked to forge a new relationship. The resultant Indigenous cultural facilities remained secondary to normative Anglo-Australian institutions. New immigrants too were educated into this settler legacy and identified as subsequent arrivals. The political capacities of such facilities were limited to occupation and physical demarcation of property boundaries and development of distinct architectures associated with cultural programmes. These programmes were often compromised by tourism agendas. The new terms of hospitality extended to the surrounding settler community were underwritten by economic dependence and political entanglements.

Educating and managing larger settler audiences through hospitality programmes are important survival strategies for Aboriginal communities, forced to navigate an often unhospitable social terrain. The cultural centre is the recognised space for this asymmetrical encounter. So far, many of these spaces have adopted muted expressions of physical presence and aesthetics without articulating the more

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[16]Although no longer populated by the community or many of their former organisations, these places are still recognised by the Yarra City council's markers along the Fitzroy Aboriginal Heritage Walking Trail.

[17]The government under John Howard officially dropped the term 'multicultural' from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs in 2007 and replaced it with the title Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Subsequent Federal Governments did not prioritise its resumption although State Governments have had independent multicultural policies. These concerns returned to centre stage with a new multicultural policy announced by the then Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Chris Bowen in 2011.

confronting political and social needs of disenfranchised Traditional Owner groups. Political and cultural briefs have been divided into separate organisational models related to community welfare and tourism with few efforts at combining both briefs. Where combined they tend to serve local rather than national- or state-level politics. The Treaty potentially bridges this division across social and cultural boundaries.

A House for the Treaty

A clan's a priori *rights* or first rights can be viewed as the keystone of any treaty negotiations which addresses past, present and future injustices and solutions. Murray's vision for the Treaty House encompasses these attributes. He observes:

> The Vision of the Facility must recognise our a priori rights and showcase our Ancestors and Descendants, language, landscapes and waterscapes, totems, diverse cultures, traditions, customs, music, art, and craft. The Vision must be culturally and economically viable and sustainable with respect to funding and First Peoples ownership and management.[18]

The desire for a unique First Nations-owned facility that could potentially house the Treaty Commission was broached in a letter to the Victorian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, by representatives of the Victorian Traditional Owners Land Justice Group (VTOLJG) in July 2016, a period of heated discussions on both Treaty and constitutional recognition in Victoria.[19] Support for the Treaty by the Andrews Government (under Victorian Australian Labor Party leader Daniel Andrews) localised this discourse, with a model adopted in other settler nations like Aotearoa New Zealand and Canada. First Peoples clans' ownership and management of a major multifaceted economic and cultural project would, in the argument of the VTOLJG, go far in substantiating a priori rights. Described as a 'Victorian First Peoples Multifunctional Knowledge and Cultural Facility', the stand-alone building complex in metropolitan Melbourne would potentially showcase First Peoples culture heritage, boost First Peoples employment and training opportunities and accommodate specialist Aboriginal organisations, in a brief that combined civic functions, community services and cultural programmes. In these, among many other respects, it would be the first state-level facility of its kind in Australia, offering centralised and strategic support for First Nation's Peoples living in Greater Melbourne. It would also act as a gateway to satellite First Peoples economic and cultural facilities *On Country* arising from Native Title and land justice outcomes. The fiscal model for the operation of the facility linked the Treaty to this proposal, where a percentage of a Treaty Futures Fund may be allocated to enhance the revenue

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[18]Gary Murray, 'First Peoples Multifunctional Economic and Cultural Facility', presentation on 24 July 2016.

[19]The letter written on 24 July 2016 by the VTOLJG Co-Chairs, Robert Nicholls and Annette Xiberras, was sent to Hon. Natalie Hutchins MP, the Victorian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs in 2016.

streams in the facility. Revenue streams included showcasing Aboriginal cultural heritage, leasing office and programme space, car parking, accommodation, hospitality, entertainment and tourism, research and development, university and training services and commercial accommodation. The letter to the Minister included the proposition of a feasibility study and a business case to review these ideas.

Whereas when the proposal for the facility was first broached, our studies drew on the many *On Country* Indigenous facilities that responded to decades long policies for self-determination, the political climate in 2016 has transformed radically. The proposed Treaty House appeared to serve as a model for differentiating and politicising Aboriginal cultural institutions outside universalising market-driven models of cosmopolitanism. More importantly, it would centralise and make visible dispersed and fragmented Aboriginal communities both *On Country* and *Off Country*, challenging deep social divisions and entrenched cultural stereotypes. Additionally, an important feature of state-level First Peoples clans' politicisation would be their differentiation from other cultural minorities who were being codified and subordinated in a temporal hierarchy of migration histories.

The very personal story behind the vision for the facility mirrored the fragmented place associations of many Victorian Aboriginal persons as embodied in Gary Murray's life experience. Murray recounts:

> …It's a long story probably sixty-five years in the making. It is personal and involves racism and discrimination. It involves poverty and all the negative impacts on our Clans and Nations. It also involves a little bit of hope and a light out of the darkness of our invaded Country.

> As a Glenroy High Student I was able to get school holiday jobs at the Aborigines Advancement League as a cleaner or gardener and, later at the Victorian Government's Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs headed by firstly Reg Worthy then Peter Renkin. The first office was at the Parliamentary Offices in Spring Street and the second was at 105 King Street in the CBD. The Victorian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Women's Council were on the ground floor, the Ministry on the first floor. At the latter, I was involved in filing social workers case files, clerical work and, as a Group Leader on the first race relations camps at Lake Tyers in Gunaikurnai Country. In one of these holiday stints I was doodling a concept where all Aboriginal organisations were under the one roof. I could see the advantages in this concept from the Clients' and organisational perspective.

> Lake Tyers Boys Adventure Camps were enlightening in terms of a dignified and remote First Peoples community in Eastern Victoria and the race relation, cultural and recreational goals for the government run camp that brought together some 100 First Peoples and non-Indigenous Peoples for a cultural education program. I worked for the Ministry on and off from 1968 to 1972. The Lake Tyers camps impacted me greatly then and now as did Lake Tyers and its People.

> On one camp in 1970, the State handed over the land title to Lake Tyers to esteemed Elder Charlie Carter the chair of the Lake Tyers Trust. This title was hard fought for from the early 1960s when the State threatened to sell it or break it up into soldier settlements like they did to other reserves like Framlingham, Ebenezer Mission, Lake Boga Mission, and Coranderrk. Lake Tyers Elders teamed up with my grandfather Pastor Doug Nicholls and his networks, and physically protested several times during the 1960s, in the CBD and at Parliament House, voicing their objections to any possible sale of the land and the conditions at Lake Tyers (see Figs. 21.5 and 21.6).

Fig. 21.5 Pastor Doug Nicholls, Eric Onus, Laurie Moffat and Joe McGinness lead 40 Aboriginal men and women protesting the government's plans to close Lake Tyers in the Melbourne Central Business District in 1963, National Museum of Australia (*Photograph* Ian Spalding)

Fig. 21.6 Left Charlie Carter and Alf Connelly, Lake Tyers Elders. Right Gary Murray and Lake Tyers children on the old jetty during the Lake Tyers Adventure Camp, Victoria, 1970 (*Photographs* Gary Murray Collection)

The Ministry in the mid-1970s then acquired 57 ha of land in the Rubicon Valley near Thornton in Taungurung Country and established Camp Jungai, the race relations, cultural and recreational centre focussed on schools and community groups. Camp Jungai

reinforced my belief that First Peoples needed land and facility, concepts that showcased our culture and Peoples. I ended up living in the Rubicon Valley with my young Family and being the first Administrator of the Camp Jungai Cooperative Limited.

When Camp Jungai too was threatened by the State to be sold off the Community established the Camp Jungai Cooperative Limited. The property was secured and though threatened by leases to non-Aboriginal groups currently, the property will be secured through the Taungurung land justice settlement under the Traditional Owner Settlement Act 2010 (Vic) in 2016/2017.

Another event was the Commonwealth Aboriginal Overseas Study Award in the early 1980s to study USA Native North American reservation properties and community aspirations. This was a six week tour for two of us from the Victorian Aboriginal Economic Development Association. I was particularly impressed by the Warm Springs Reservation near Portland in Oregon. Warm Springs confirmed my beliefs in concepts of land and culture in a modern-day world that could change First Peoples quality of life and address many injustices. Warm Springs showcased culture, was around one million acres, had its own Hydro Scheme, town, police, services, manufacturing plant, and a five-star resort shaped like an arrow head for tourists and backpackers.

These experiences are etched in my spirit and intellect. I know the value of land and People, their relationship and the impacts on the wider community. I also know the pain and suffering when land and People are lost over generations. I know the pain and suffering also when this dispossession, dispersal and deculturalisation is not addressed and resolved. It is ongoing and akin to post-traumatic stress inherited from your dispossessed, dispersed and deculturalised forebears. It is what drives First Peoples to struggle for their a priori rights, to not give up and to hand the struggle to the next generations.

In more contemporary times the First Peoples multifunctional facility in the CBD and its networked satellites is an extended modern multifaceted concept of the Lake Tyers camps and the Camp Jungai facility. It will bring all People together, showcase our culture and be a positive socio-economic force in Melbourne. It will address that question—Where do you see First Peoples in the Melbourne Central Business District? Further, the proposal provides an opportunity to stimulate investment, the economy and culture of First Peoples as well as wider Victoria.

The user groups envisioned for the new facility are marked by similar histories of negotiating institutions and processes widely dispersed by histories of dispossession, dispersal, displacement and genocide that fragmented Aboriginal communities across Victoria, whereas the facilities encountered by Murray were largely *On Country*. These were clearly identified either by historically emplaced language groups who could establish custodianship through Native Title claims where Country encompasses the specific territory, language, ancestors, traditions and customs, arts and crafts, and cultural heritage of a clan or language group or Nation, or of former colonial period missions reserves and stations that reflect the imposition of smaller boundaries and Aboriginal dispersal as clans *Off Country*.

Claims related to *On Country* locations were often resolved through negotiated agreements rather than litigation, agreements including funds for facilities and programmes in relation to cultural and natural resource management *On Country*. Pragmatic regional facilities for educational, health, legal or other social services have proved more useful, but are often socially insulated as a means for protecting community interests and politics. Examples of purpose-built facilities of this nature in Victoria include Aboriginal medical clinics and health centres at Lake Tyers,

Portland, Shepparton, and educational institutions such as the Kangan Institute at Broadmeadows, or the Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin University in Geelong.

Indigenous Cultural Facilities

Cultural facilities designed for tourism revenue are fundamentally different from the above examples, as they cross highly racialised cultural boundaries and expose local Indigenous communities to non-Indigenous visitors. The conciliatory ethic underlying such facilities demands lengthy consultation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous representatives and community resilience and perseverance. The most prominent among these for Victoria, the State Government-owned Brambuk Cultural Centre at Halls Gap in Gariwerd (The Grampians National Park, Victoria), was developed over a ten-year period by a steering committee comprising of five Indigenous communities from the western district, and state and tourism bodies (see Pieris 2016: 48–54) (see Fig. 21.7).[20] Murray was also involved in this project in the early 1980s as the Administrator of the Lake Condah and District Aboriginal Cooperative Limited based at Heywood. The design has been interpreted as employing overt zoomorphic representations of elements that derive from the community's individual totems such as the Eel (ramp), the Whale (ridge-spine), the Eagle (roof forms), Stone (base, fireplace and floor) and Tree (posts), but preference for these semiotic interpretations of Aboriginal cultural content overlooks the deeper social and cultural meanings attributed to the facility. The building's architect, Gregory Burgess, cites an intense twelve-month 'hands-on' collaboration with community Elders, where their dormant spiritual sensitivity to the land and pride in the then recently discovered 8 000-year-old stone dwellings and sophisticated weir systems in the Lake Condah region guided the evolution of his design (architect's notes). These structures are significant for emplacing the region's Aboriginal communities through a permanent architectural tradition, one that was ignored by colonial pastoralists who expropriated their lands (Lane 2009).

The difficulties of sustaining tourism-oriented cultural facilities are evident in many examples in Victoria, particularly at Healesville where the Galeena Beek Living Cultural Centre designed by Anthony Styant-Browne Architect and operated by the Coranderrk Koori Co-operative closed down after four years of operation due to financial difficulties (Pieris 2016: 73–77). Although the formal client and

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[20]These included the Framlingham Aboriginal Trust, the Goolum-Goolum Aboriginal Co-operative (Horsham), the Gunditjmara Aboriginal Co-operative (Warrnambool), the Lake Condah and District Aboriginal Cooperative Limited and the Kerrup-Jmara Aboriginal Elders Corporation (Lake Condah) and the Warrnambool, Portland, Hamilton, and Heywood Communities, as well as representatives from the Victorian Archaeological Survey, the Department of Conservation, Forests and Lands, the Ministry for Planning and Environment, the Aboriginal Development Commission and the Victorian Tourism Commission.

Fig. 21.7 Brambuk Cultural Centre, Halls Gap, Victoria, in its setting (*Photograph* courtesy Trevor Mein)

funding body for the project were Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, the actual client with whom the architect engaged was the Coranderrk Koori Co-operative. Designed as part of a larger master plan to develop a 35-ha [86.5-acre] bushland site, the cultural

centre's brief was "…to nourish and service the community activities of the local Coranderrk Koori community, and to create, display and sell Aboriginal culture to visitors" (Dovey 1996). Galina Beek Living Cultural Centre was designed with workshop and exhibition spaces to enable community cultural and economic development and additionally attract visitors en route to the adjacent Healesville Sanctuary. The central gathering space displayed the story of Coranderrk Station. These spaces and the subsequent phases of the master plan for developing a child care centre and conference centre with accommodation and interpretation trails were never realised. It was leased to a commercial operator and functioned for a while as the Platypus Restaurant before abandoning Indigenous themes. It has been shut down for many years. It is now the subject of discussions with the Wurundjeri First Peoples who are negotiating a claim under the Traditional Owner Settlement Act 2010 (Vic).

Reliant on funding cycles and a fluctuating tourist economy, the long-term upkeep and community sustainability of such ventures cannot be supported by the relatively small Indigenous communities they represent. These communities, moreover, often struggle with everyday survival and lack the capacity to maintain such a facility without broad-based community participation. Regional specificity related to individual Native Title claims has eroded the possibility of a broader network of Aboriginal institutions. In comparison, urban cultural centres which are unrelated to Native Title claims have a broader cultural focus, but are more vulnerable to non-Indigenous societal pressures. As described for the case of Fitzroy's Aboriginal organisations, they frequently rent or repurpose existing buildings. For example, the most prominent Aboriginal cultural institution in Melbourne, the Koorie Heritage Trust (KHT), occupied a number of facilities as it tried to establish a place in the city.

The KHT with its substantial archives, display galleries, library and cultural awareness programmes was initially housed at the Museum of Victoria from 1985 to 1999 and was preparing to move to a new facility designed by Gregory Burgess Architects in Lonsdale Street, when the building was destroyed by fire (Pieris 2016: 99–107). Following a period in temporary premises on Flinders Lane, the KHT bought a three-storey brick building on King Street, formerly used by the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, and renovated by Gregory Burgess Architects for the Trust. The KHT's events and activities were important for local Indigenous visitors or those who travelled into the city from elsewhere in Victoria and provided First Peoples with opportunities for working with Aboriginal stories and artefacts. The proposed development of the Docklands area at that time was not fully realised, and the insalubrious former surrounds (next to bars and nightclubs) were detrimental to the Trust's fiscal viability and ability to attract tourists. The need to move the location became evident around 2009, and alternative premises were discussed. The building was sold in 2013, and the Trust relocated to the Yarra Building at the city's most prominent urban complex, Federation Square. Tom Mosby, the CEO of KHT, describes this move as both literal and figurative, necessary for acknowledging Victorian Aboriginal peoples as central to the city by placing the Trust at its heart. Federation Square had already grown to be Melbourne's meeting place, and

proclaiming the importance of First Peoples there was politic.[21] The refurbishment of the building interior to accommodate an Aboriginal programme saw the collaboration of Lyons Architecture with Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria (IADV), a young team of Indigenous practitioners appointed as cultural and design consultants (see Fig. 21.8). A major part of their design concept was to connect the facility to the traditional lands of the Wurundjeri on the banks of the *Birrarung* or 'River of Mists' (Yarra River) which was visually blocked by the structures on the Square. The city's chronic neglect of its marshlands and creeks, their ecological erasure through land reclamation, urban expansion, and complete disregard of prior cultural significance are symptomatic of the violence of colonial expropriation that often underlies architectural choices. By December 2017, however, the KHT was again facing relocation following plans to demolish the Yarra building to make way for the Apple flagship store.

Whereas many of these examples are directly connected to established Victorian communities, the proposed Treaty House has a broader vision that connects *On Country* and *Off Country* facilities. Murray notes:

> Our multifunctional and unique Facility actually maps First Peoples in Victoria and satellites onto the Country of forty Nations or language groups. Nor does it parallel state boundaries as many of our First Peoples are cross border Nations or from Interstate. Around 25,000 First Peoples reside in Greater Melbourne and this too is a consideration given that the majority will receive no cultural, social or economic benefits from their diverse range of Nations from Native Title or land justice outcomes.

The recognition of some groups based on Native Title claims reduces knowledge of Aboriginal peoples to these visible cultural markers, thereby neglecting to recognise the cultural impacts of colonisation, argues Murray:

> Facilities are required across all Nations as they address the issue of genocide or the disappearing of Clans and Nations. South East Australia on the historical cultural record is made up of some 300 plus Clans with distinct territory, language, Ancestors, Descendants, traditions, customs and cultural heritage. There are around forty language groups and two hundred contemporary service organisations for around 50,000 First Peoples. All facilities should be linked to showcase our diversities and First Peoples identity.

Murray describes the metropolitan facility as a gateway to the satellites and vice versa, where its location in Melbourne's Central Business District increases the facility's viability, sustainability, investment, capital and opportunity. Its symbiosis with *On Country* facilities typically isolated from the city effectively networks socially diverse Aboriginal communities across Victoria. Their equitable representation and collaboration will pose early challenges for this facility as will the cultural dynamism and changing structures and identities of the groups and organisations involved. The social complexity of First Peoples and each clan's diverse population and stories are mirrored in their complex place associations across history.

This network, Murray argues, will be mutually beneficial for the long-term sustainability of facilities, preventing untimely failures. However, the most important

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[21]Personal communication, June 2017.

Fig. 21.8 Koorie Heritage Trust at Federation Square, Melbourne, in 2015 (*Photograph* Peter Bennetts, courtesy of Lyons Architecture and Koorie Heritage Trust)

Fig. 21.9 Sámi Parliament, Inari, Finland, exterior view (*Photograph* Mika Huisman, courtesy of HALO Architects)

feature of these new relationships is their politicisation. In this respect, the proposed Treaty House has its closest antecedent outside Australia, in the parliament designed for the Sámi population at Sajos, Inari, in Finland, by HALO Architects (see Fig. 21.9). Only there (from among the many international examples we have studied) do diverse cultural centre programmes, including welfare provision and civic spaces, combine in a unified national building complex with an explicitly Indigenous motif.

But the Sámi parliaments of Finland, Norway and Sweden, which remain independent of national parliaments, are primarily political organisations with publicly elected representatives and plenary assemblies. A transnational community

that spreads across Scandinavia and Russia, the Sámi are leading international advocates for Indigenous rights. The relationships forged between Indigenous parliaments and their respective national parliaments govern issues of ancestral and customary land rights, titling of territories and communities and election of representatives. The circular *lávvu* tent form adopted by these structures lends itself to the civic assembly space anticipated in the parliament brief. The Finnish Sámi Parliament complex houses ten Sámi organisations, and the circular Parliament hall and auditorium in a multifunctional cultural complex including a film centre, education centre, music centre, library, multi-purpose hall, restaurant, and several support spaces such as recording and video-editing studios, classrooms, archive spaces, offices and conference rooms (see Pieris 2016: 236–238; Laukka 2013). The dominant circular assembly spaces, and the finishing of the chambers—rough outside and smooth within—influenced by the shapes of Sámi *duodji* or handcraft, give the building its curvilinear form. The auditorium's oval shape is derived from a traditional *kiisa* or wooden chest, while the assembly hall resembles a *risku*, a rounded piece of jewellery, both artefacts shaped by the human hand to be easily carried in the Sámi nomadic tradition. The circulation routes on the exterior of the chambers reiterate these associations of journeys between precipice and landscape (Louekari u.d.).

Since all parliaments are symbolic expressions of the cultural traditions that produce them, and the European democratic tradition is likewise steeped in history, the de-politicisation of Indigenous cultural centres by confining them to minority cultural programmes imposes a false separation from politics. For minority constituents with inadequate representation in enumerated democracies the cultural centre is a political space. Like the 'Welcome to Country', when conceived and operated by descendents of dispossessed Aboriginal peoples, the presence of a centre signifies prior ownership of and continuing cultural authority over traditional lands. But the operation of these buildings is adversely impacted by the varying degrees of social agency of the associated communities.

The Architectural Vision

Indigenous cultural centre programmes, such as those examined in our study, are precariously aligned with changing government policies across a shifting bureaucratic landscape of welfare and business models that position Indigenous cultural needs within fiscal frameworks. General disillusionment with the de-politicised multicultural programmes of the late 1990s has impacted their long-term sustainability. This was strongly evident in the uncertainty surrounding the Victorian projects we examined, many of which depended on government funding cycles to supplement tourism income. Several of these facilities changed hands during our research period, due to financial difficulties, so that the social provenance of the original centre became blurred. While *On Country* cultural centres made powerful political statements of land rights and land claims, and many of their designs either

Fig. 21.10 Aboriginal Tent Embassy, Sacred Fire on the Land Axis with view towards the Australian War Memorial, Canberra (*Photograph* Anoma Pieris)

formally or aesthetically integrated stories of dispossession, the remoteness of these facilities and few visitor numbers perpetuated asymmetrical institutionalised dependencies damaging to the cultural dignity of associated communities. The economic pressure to dilute their political potency through integration with broader economic models was equally evident. We were confronted with many challenges of Indigenous custodianship, whether of land, resources or facilities and, in a few extreme circumstances, were alerted to the deliberate vandalism of Aboriginal creative works. The fates of many of these facilities mirrored the struggles of the only national-level political institution associated with First Nation's land justice—the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra (see Fig. 21.10), which has waxed and waned against governmental pressure and is maintained by a resilient but often exhausted group of committed activists. The Embassy is an early attempt at addressing host–guest relations through a confronting urban presence.

Indigenous cultural facilities are well positioned to spatialise First Nations' politics by giving Australian histories of dispossession formal and aesthetic expression. This is achieved partly through displays that feature community histories, but largely by creating opportunities for emplaced community activities. However, such attributes may not be appreciated by the wider settler community and, consequently, many of these centres struggle to maintain distinct Aboriginal identities against the forms of commoditisation and compromise demanded by tourism markets. In the best among these models, social service provision is

integrated with cultural programmes. However, their sustainability requires balancing both these functions and their associated streams of revenue.

The relationship of the architect to the design and to the community is another cause for concern. Due to the small number of registered Aboriginal architects in Australia,[22] the buildings commissioned by Indigenous clients and associated with their cultures are often designed by non-Indigenous practitioners. Whereas only the client group can 'Welcome' visitors, architects often find themselves mediating 'Acknowledgement' through the design of the cultural centre. However, the role of architects or aesthetics is minor, when contrasted with the protracted struggles over acquiring land, collecting funds or earning the good will of the local Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members that underwrite many of these projects. Architectural discourses on these facilities while debating their aesthetic representations skirt the deeply unsettling histories of specific sites or communities. These stories, moreover, are best told by Indigenous practitioners.

Indigenous cultures have a much broader influence beyond singular artefacts commissioned for specific programmes. The ongoing struggle over land justice and related legal processes form its deeper structural context, wherein territorial sensibilities and place identities entwine. Although many architectural representations are insulated from politics they are extraordinary embodiments of cultural value, reflective of the dynamism and changeability of cultural interpretation and the unsettling political tensions of their time. The balance of cultural tolerance swings in both directions across lines of political agency and commoditisation for tourism economies. The hospitality that the centre extends is constrained by these many pressures and continuing realities of denial and dispossession that underscore decolonisation. Debates on Treaty in Victoria, read against Indigenous recognition in the Australian Constitution, position these buildings as important discursive texts.

We might regard the VTOLJG's proposal for a Treaty House as the next step in cultural reparation made manifest in built form. On the one hand, the building has a function to provide First Peoples with the facilities and services unavailable to them in a populous metropolitan context where they must otherwise lease, provisionally occupy or share institutional space. The resultant safety and security would enable an ambitious programme of activities and opportunities steeped in the forms of cultural recognition and social and spatial protocols that give dignity to First Peoples stakeholder groups. The facility will be one among a number of high-profile cultural institutions and will both benefit from and need to compete for visibility and audiences. Beyond these immediate desires and challenges is a broader and far more inclusive vision than that provided so far. Murray voices it in cosmopolitan terms as 'A Global Facility for Global Peoples' that encompasses hosts and guests, First Peoples including those employed as staff to run the various services and programmes, university students and staff, tourists and visitors. By

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[22]There are currently believed to be thirteen Indigenous architects or architectural graduates in Australia, according to the Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria (IADV u.d.).

inverting the city's historic narrative of colonial occupation, First Peoples stakeholders are repositioned as hosts. Murray observes, "It is the difference between a lecturer in a suit or a lecturer in a Ngatuk aka Possum Skin Cloak lecturing on First Peoples' culture". The comment is neither a desire to revive a parochial tradition nor a commentary on the formal or aesthetic representation of the building. The intention is of decolonising cultural institutions by Indigenising their aesthetics. A Treaty House that repositions Aboriginal peoples as the rightful hosts of Melbourne and of Victoria must, in Murray's view, manifest this political transformation—ideally, with the involvement of First Peoples architects.

The multifunctional facility envisioned for Melbourne hopes to manage multiple cultural boundaries, of race, class, economics, institutional and political cultures in reinstating Aboriginal peoples centrally in the city. However, recognition of their a priori rights as 'First Peoples' and 'First Nations' requires a reassessment of fundamental societal values. On the one hand, the creation of the Treaty House suggests the society's willingness to address historical inequities through spatial accommodation. But its First Peoples custodians may need to manage resultant non-Indigenous paternalism, ignorance and hostility. Faced with such a facility at a prominent location, generations of settlers will be forced to question taken-for-granted entitlements, questions prompted by the insertion of such facilities in their midst. While the centrality of an Aboriginal political space may seem provocative to many residents, it is a long overdue stage in the decolonisation process, inadequately addressed in the cultural institutions that surround them. The Treaty House is a political gateway that opens both ways. Its long-awaited presence asks Melbourne's non-Indigenous citizenry to honour the Welcome to Country and wrap themselves in the culture of the First Peoples.

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Authors' Biographies

Anoma Pieris is an Associate Professor at the Melbourne School of Design at the University of Melbourne. She has degrees from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Melbourne and has authored design monographs and research publications in architecture and the spatial disciplines. She is co-author (with Janet McGaw) of *Assembling the Centre: Architecture for Indigenous Cultures* (Routledge 2015) and *Indigenous Place: Contemporary buildings, landmarks and places of significance in South East Australia and beyond* (Melbourne School of Design 2014) with four co-authors. Her most recent publication is *Indigenous cultural centers and museums: An illustrated international survey* (Rowman and Littlefield 2016).

Gary Murray is a Clan-based Treaty Activist and law student at Victoria University, Australia. He exerts multi-clanned rights across the *Wiradjeri*, *Dhudhuroa*, *Yorta Yorta*, *Barapa Barapa*, *Wamba Wamba*, *Dja Dja Wurrung* and *Wergaia* Nations and related clans. He is a Native Title Holder in the Wimmera 2005 Native Title Determination and has lodged an application across two Native Title applications in north-west Victoria. He has five decades of experience working in First Peoples community organisations, State and Commonwealth Government agencies and in delivering services in education, youth, recreation and sport, social security, cultural heritage, repatriation, economic development, employment and skills development, Native Title and land justice, and legal services.

Chapter 22
Indigenous Placemaking in Urban Melbourne: A Dialogue Between a Wurundjeri Elder and a Non-Indigenous Architect and Academic

Aunty Margaret Gardiner and Janet McGaw

Introduction

This chapter explores the particularities of placemaking in the south-eastern Australian capital city, Melbourne. The Wurundjeri peoples have occupied the place for time immemorial. Since colonisation by the English in 1834 Wurundjeri's placemaking practices have been shaped by the histories of colonisation, and ongoing political, economic and legal contingencies, as much as they have by precolonial traditions. Wurundjeri, like most Indigenous peoples around the world, suffer economic and political marginalisation (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013; Australian Government Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet 2016) and consequently have limited capacity to use architecture as a means of staking out territory or expressing contemporary social identity. Instead they have used varied contemporary Indigenous placemaking approaches to reclaim place in the city, some that have emerged from traditional Indigenous practices, and others that have developed through encounters with (and in reaction to) colonising forces.

This chapter tackles the issue of contemporary Indigenous placemaking from two perspectives: Aunty Margaret Gardiner, an Elder of the Wurundjeri, a clan of the Woiwurrung language group whose land includes Melbourne and its northern,

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A.M. Gardiner—In many Indigenous communities across Australia, the title 'Aunty' (or 'Uncle') is given to Elders as a mark of respect.

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Fig. 22.1 Map of Aboriginal languages in Victoria 2016 (*Source* Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages. This map was produced from information available at the time of printing and is not suitable for Native Title claims)
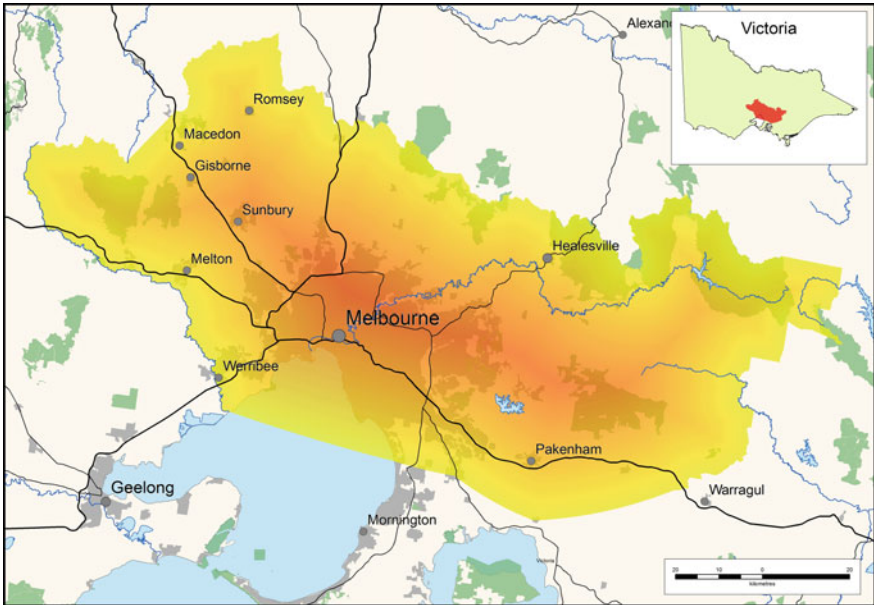
Fig. 22.2 Map of historic areas of interest for Wurundjeri (*Source* Authors)

eastern and western peri-urban regions (see Figs. 22.1 and 22.2), and Janet McGaw, an architect and academic, based in Melbourne. Aunty Margaret tells the story of Wurundjeri's experiences of de-territorialisation from the beginning of colonial settlement up to the early twentieth century and their subsequent attempts to re-territorialise place in Melbourne from the 1980s to the present day. Janet McGaw reflects on and elaborates Aunty Margaret's story with reference to a range of other textual sources. She considers the legal, political and economic constraints surrounding Indigenous placemaking and practices in Melbourne. Janet is a fifth-generation Australian with Anglo-Celtic heritage. Her husband and children have Anglo-Celtic and Victorian Aboriginal heritage. Although non-Indigenous, her social identity is shaped by her intimate relations with Indigenous cultures and a desire to critically reflect on her complicity with practices that continue to deny Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people opportunities to 'make place' in urban Australia. The chapter has been jointly conceived and developed. To make apparent the dialogic relationship between the authors, Aunty Margaret's words, which were recorded during three conversations between the authors in September 2016 and transcribed by Janet, are indented. Janet's writing is in plain font. Aunty Margaret has reviewed and edited the chapter.

The collaboration between the authors began in 2008. Janet ran a Masters of Architecture Design studio with Uncle Gary Murray, a multi-clan Victorian Aboriginal activist who had written a brief for a Victorian Indigenous Cultural Knowledge and Education Centre for Melbourne. He invited Aunty Margaret to be a guest critic of the students' work. At the end of the semester, Uncle Gary invited Janet to join a working group to advance the concept of the cultural centre to the next stage. Since then both authors have worked together on multiple fronts with a number of other collaborators to think through the question of how to make contemporary Indigenous place in Melbourne. An Australian Research Council Linkage Grant funded a symposium which gathered together Indigenous leaders, architects and theorists; a statewide creative engagement project on possum skin; ephemeral works to provoke public discourse; a number of publications and student designs that tested a number of sites in Melbourne and building typologies (McGaw et al. 2011; Pieris 2012; Pieris et al. 2014; McGaw 2014; McGaw and Pieris 2015; McGaw and Tootell 2015; Revell 2016). But the architecture remains hypothetical as there is no land or funds for building. When considering contemporary Indigenous architecture, the issue of land ownership is often the 'elephant in the room'.

Contemporary Indigenous placemaking practices have taken a variety of forms: sometimes durable architecture, but often ephemeral practices. To some extent, transitory placemaking practices reflect traditional Indigenous practices of moving through Country, the term used to describe a person's ancestral lands. But they are also a product of unequal power relations between Indigenous and settler societies. De Certeau's (1984) theories of power relations will be used to understand the spatial relationships Indigenous groups and the State that Aunty Margaret describes. Manuel DeLanda's (2006) neo-assemblage theory will also be referred to as a way of understanding changing place values for the Wurundjeri. In the end, transitory placemaking practices are unsatisfying for Aunty Margaret, who yearns for the

economic benefits that durable tenure to place would afford her people. Wurundjeri faces seemingly insurmountable economic and legal hurdles. There are glimmers of hope, however. The Wurundjeri have demonstrated extraordinary resilience since the early days of colonisation and continue to find ways to 'make place' in Melbourne despite owning no property in the city. Changes in governmental policy have been significant over the past half-century, and negotiations continue between Indigenous groups for a treaty. It is hoped that one outcome will be land and funds for an Indigenous cultural centre and gathering place in Melbourne.

Wurundjeri De-territorialisation from 'Place': 1834–Early 1900s

Aunty Margaret's story begins with the processes of de-territorialisation of her people during the formation of the settler coloniser nation during which the State incarcerated Indigenous people in missions and reserves; passed laws and statutes that controlled their movement, disrupted families and caused ill-health and transformed 'Country'—land that was defined through relationship (Langton 2004: 135)—into 'property'—land that could be exchanged for money (Byrne 2010: 106).

Prior to the colonisation of Melbourne in 1834, almost 50 years after the first settlement in Australia in Botany Bay, Wurundjeri fully occupied the site where Melbourne city now is. For obvious reasons the new colony did not want the Wurundjeri too close to what was going to be the new economic centre of Victoria–you don't want the people you've usurped able to make a claim, through inhabitation, to an area you want–so they sent us out to the countryside to be out of sight and eventually out of mind.

We were originally sent up to the Acheron, where they had established a station but they noticed people were dying reasonably quickly from lung disease. Well, it was very cold weather! We might have once travelled through the area but we wouldn't stay there for extended periods. So they moved us down to Healesville where there was also a land grant, so people could be lumped together and kept together. This became the Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve.

The rations that were apportioned by the Port Philip Protectorate were not sufficient to feed everybody, so people started growing their own vegetables, farming stock and created some good quality hops, which were sent to the Adelaide Hills where a new wine region was being established. For a period, it was more or less successful because we were able to be self-sustaining. The keen ones learned to read and write. With education comes knowledge and with knowledge comes power. We could start to look after ourselves. If we could get enough money we could go off and buy some land–which was a difficult concept to grasp when the land was ours in the first place and we had had the freedom to come and go and wander freely around all our Country because of our connection to it! Those that could began writing letters and making life a little bit uneasy for the people who were the mission managers and the Aborigines Protectorate who had control and authority over us. And so they brought in the 'half-caste' Act (in 1886) to separate children with mixed racial heritages from their families to keep control over the Aboriginal population. By the early 1900s there were only about 70 of us left so they closed down Coranderrk and moved everyone bar a couple of older residents to Lake Tyers Mission. A guest house, Summerleigh Lodge, was built there (at Coranderrk) in 1920. After the Second World War some of the land was allocated as soldier resettlements. None was available for returned Aboriginal soldiers.

'Country' is an Australian Indigenous term that denotes a person's ancestral lands (Strehlow 1971; Benterrak et al. 1984; Berndt and Berndt 1989; Sutton 1995; Mowaljarlai and Malnic 2001; Langton 2002, 2004; Pascoe 2007; Watson 2009). It describes the earth, but also the water that runs through it, the sky that is above it, and the plants and animals it supports, and ancestral creator beings that remain emplaced within it. Country is believed to have been 'sung' into being by the ancestral spirits and their descendants have a sacred duty to Country to keep the songs alive by retracing the path that the creation spirits took, performing their songs. These journeys are sometimes called 'songlines'.[1] The relationship between a person and his or her Country, therefore, is holistic and relational. It was also personal. Individuals became custodians of particular 'songs' or *Stories*, as Marcia Langton prefers, at initiation. Langton explains that they are the basis of Indigenous ontology: 'to be' is to know one's *Story* and to enact it in 'on Country' (Langton 2002: 254). The concept of 'Caring for Country' (Altman 2001) is one of mutual belonging: Country provides for its people, and its people manage its ecology and honour its spirituality through the responsibility of *Story* maintenance.

Prior to colonisation most groups moved through their Country along cyclic paths staying in the same campsites for anything between a few days and six weeks, depending on the availability of food and the climate. Sedentary settlements were rare, according to architectural anthropologist, Memmott (2007: 13). Indigenous place was practised through this pulsating rhythm of mobility and stasis. The abrupt and complete relocation of Wurundjeri, first from the mouth of the Yarra (*Birrarung*) River where the new colonial settlement of Melbourne had begun, to a permanent reserve in Healesville, and then to the Lake Tyers mission in Gippsland and Maloga Mission Reserve hundreds of kilometres away when populations dwindled, had profound consequences. Not only did Wurundjeri suffer from the weather, as Aunty Margaret describes, they were unable to meet their cultural responsibilities to Country.

Despite her quiet and justifiable outrage that Wurundjeri had been usurped of their rightful freedoms, Aunty Margaret's story focuses instead on the extraordinary resilience of her people. Her story shifts quickly to focus on the speed with which the Wurundjeri learned Western horticultural and agricultural skills to cultivate the reserve with introduced crops and the financial nous they demonstrated in capitalising on their produce. She also describes an eagerness of some to learn the language of the colonisers and use it in argument to petition the new government. In the face of traumatic dispossession, Wurundjeri demonstrated shrewd tactics to survive.

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[1]For a brief summary of songlines, see NAIDOC (2016). For a more detailed and specific discussion, see Benterrak and Muecke's collaboration with Goolarabooloo. Elder, Paddy Roe, (Benterrak et al. 1984) and Watson and Chambers collaboration with Yolgnu (*alt. sp.* Yolŋu, Yuulngu) peoples (Watson et al. 1989).

Colonial authorities responded with new laws. Ostensibly to protect a disappearing race (Parliament of Victoria 1869, 1886), they instead further disrupted their kinship networks and created greater dependency on the settler nation. Patton (2010: 114) argues that law was the primary 'instrument of capture' of Indigenous peoples. First, the Doctrine of Discovery, a concept of international law gave colonial powers a right to claim land in newly discovered territories (Patton 2000: 125). Second, the cadastral survey (Byrne 2010: 106) redefined land as property and these land acts facilitated settler occupation. Similarly, Aboriginal Protection Acts first limited Aboriginal movement and subsequently empowered the Governor to remove children of mixed Indigenous—settler descent from missions. Progressively, populations of Wurundjeri were decimated across their ancestral lands and then within missions and reserves, eventually leading to their closure. As Aunty Margaret recounts, Wurundjeri Country was utterly transformed during this century (see Figs. 22.3 and 22.4).

Fig. 22.3 Squatting map of Victoria (Port Phillip District, New South Wales), held by the National Library of Australia, indicates the extent of private property ownership around Melbourne less than twenty years after colonial settlement. Acheron, where Wurundjeri were later relocated, is shown in the top right-hand corner (*Map* Thomas Hamm 1851). The red box indicates the approximate area of Fig. 22.4 (colour figure online)
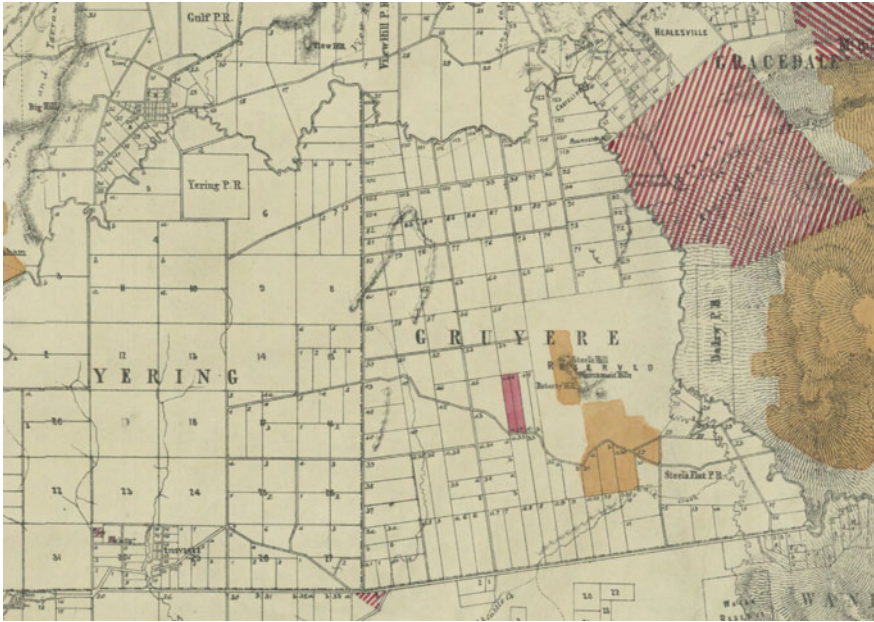
Fig. 22.4 The Aboriginal Reserve in Healesville, known as Coranderrk, where Wurundjeri were confined, is indicated in red hatching. Private property has extended to its edges. Part of Crown Lands Office Map of Evelyn, Lithographed by H.E. Ward, 1868 (*Source* State of Victoria, Public Records Office)

Wurundjeri Peoples' Struggles to Reclaim 'Place': 1980s and 1990s

Aunty Margaret skips over the century that followed, taking up the story of Indigenous placemaking in Melbourne, when she became a key player. In 1985, the Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council was formed. Aunty Margaret describes the process of searching for land and support for a cultural village through the late 1980s. In many ways, it was a long and unsatisfying journey. Land was granted by the government, but on terms that denied real opportunity. The sites offered were either toxic, isolated from tourists' paths, or bound up with caveats and could not be used for any viable development. Her sense of injustice is paramount. She longs for equality and an opportunity to 'build visibility', as Lisa Findley writes, through architecture (Findley 2005).

> In the late 1980s we were very keen to try to establish a cultural village so we lobbied state government (which was Labor at the time) to try and secure some land upon which to build a cultural village. We had a landscape architect, actually, and he did us up a concept proposal. We were coming up to an election so the government were keen to show support but we couldn't secure suitable land. We were offered a site in Burnley Richmond but we discovered it was a contaminated site because there had been a tanning factory there.

The Liberal (Conservative) government was elected to power so we lobbied the new Premier, Jeff Kennett, and had a meeting with him at parliament house and showed him our concept proposal for our cultural village which had been relocated to a different site in Burnley not too far from the Corroboree Tree at Park St. We were going to incorporate the Corroboree tree into an eco-tourism venture that we thought could be a money maker because, back then, you had to have financial viability pretty quickly and we thought tourism around Burnley with the sites like the Corroboree Tree, Herring Island and tours along the river would be appealing to visitors. At that stage, unbeknown to us, the government had a vision to rebuild the Museum and include an Indigenous space, which is what they ended up doing. Next thing our concept seems to be transposed into what is now Bunjilaka (the Indigenous Centre at The Melbourne Museum). So I was amazed when he engaged Wurundjeri to bless the corner stone. What a miserable day that was. It was windy and rainy and boy was there a lot of smoke. And he advised us he was asthmatic and then had to sit through it! I was a little amused to watch him experience it. So that was one failed attempt. I personally felt betrayed.

Bunjilaka is a good thing for the state and maybe for the broader Aboriginal community, but why couldn't we do it in our centre? One that is run by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal people without some non-Aboriginal board overseeing it and not having to worry about being part of this ancient institution that is still in the prehistoric age as far as attitudes where everything is important as long as it is old and dusty and hidden away. We were looking for a living, breathing place. I am not saying that Bunjilaka isn't, it's just that it is simply an Aboriginal person running it but it is not a Wurundjeri project. So you know we were looking to become financially independent (through the Wurundjeri Cultural Village). We weren't looking for Government funds to operate and we don't now, either. We self-generate our revenue. We have land but it is so far out of Melbourne that to make any kind of economic benefit was impossible. It all comes down to viability.

At that point we didn't have the army school up at Healesville. We might have had the cemetery, but you can't build there. The Commonwealth Government handed over the (army school) land because Aunty Winnie died while she was meeting with Gerry Hand, the federal minister (for Aboriginal Affairs) at the time, so I suppose it was a sympathy thing. Aunty Winnie had gone up to Worowa College to meet with Gerry Hand and the school council about the survival of the school and also a land grant so we could build a Cultural Village to start looking after ourselves economically, because that kind of venture brings benefit to the local community, not just Wurundjeri. So she was waiting to meet him and she had a stroke and had to be transported to hospital where she lasted a few hours so her kids and grandkids could turn up and then they turned the machine off and that was it.

That whole area was originally part of Coranderrk reserve, which was private land used for agricultural farming. The Indigenous Land Corporation (ILC) bought it and handed it over (to us). But the army school came before that by a good 10 years. The army school was a former defence site where they used to do all the medical dental and allied health training for WW2, and then they stopped using it. The big existing building called Summerleigh Lodge was used for events and things. Aunty Wincha and others used to go up there and do cooking and be a domestic.

Any land we get–even now–unless you buy it freehold is tied up with caveats, either state or federal. We can't sell it. We can't subdivide. It can't be used for commercial sale. So we've got to use it passively. We could have leased part of it, which we were considering doing (and had interested parties). We could have refurbished Summerleigh Lodge and run it as an event space, which we also thought about doing. But we could never get our hands on the money. Getting interested partners back then was impossible for any period under twenty or twenty-five years. Box Hill TAFE was interested for a while, but we wanted to retain a few acres for ourselves for economic and for cultural purposes so it was a bit

difficult. So it's not always easy. Especially when we'd like to have a particular piece of land because of its historical significance for the Aboriginal Community.

The quick and pragmatic adoption of Western practices in the early years of the mission is echoed a century later in the tactics Wurundjeri adopted for the purposes of negotiating with the government for land. In order to reclaim Country for its cultural significance, Wurundjeri had little alternative but to accept its new Western framing as 'property', and were astute in their political negotiations.

DeLanda (2006: 12) describes the process of transformation by cultural groups through their encounters with a dominant culture as a 'synthetic assemblage'. Assemblages, he argues, are configured equally by materialities and expressions that are interior to a cultural group (such as customs, beliefs and governance), and the exterior colonising force that competes for territory, and introduces new material and expressive practices. By the 1980s, Wurundjeri's placemaking practices became a complex assemblage of both Indigenous cultural concepts of Country and the necessity of operating within the shifting political landscape of settler colonial Australia. As Australian Aboriginal[2] architect and academic, Carroll Go-Sam has observed of Aboriginal groups she has worked with on architectural projects in other contexts:

> Minority groups use opportunities to strategically position themselves ambiguously neither with the mainstream culture nor in opposition to it, transforming outcomes for their own cultural purposes. …What has been found in practice is persistent beliefs and dogma coexisting and merging with new technologies adapted from the worldview of the recipient culture (2011: 12–13).

Although traditional placemaking practices were configured around movement through extensive ancestral lands, the economic imperatives of land ownership on which to build an architecturally designed cultural village became increasingly important.

Indigenous Placemaking Tactics in Melbourne: Late 1990s–2006

In the absence of rights to land in the city centre, Aunty Margaret describes a range of ephemeral or performative practices that Indigenous people in Melbourne used to make claims over place during the subsequent decade. While they were important for Indigenous pride, they have not accorded her people the security of land tenure.

> When the Commonwealth Games were staged in Melbourne in 2006 there was a 'sit- in' in what's known as the Kings Domain (it was referred to as Camp Sovereignty). It was peaceful. People were just enjoying their Aboriginality and there was nowhere else for people to freely congregate. The State Library forecourt was another area where people

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[2]Go-Sam has Dyirbal heritage from far north Queensland.

Fig. 22.5 Tanderrum, Melbourne Festival 2014, facilitated by ILBIJERRI Theatre Company (*Photograph* Steven Rhall)

have 'made place'. The mural outside the Aboriginal Advancement League has become iconic. Any time you are travelling along St Georges Road you are quite proud to see it but it's not in the city centre and unless you know it is there you wouldn't go to have a look. There was a laneway art project that the city of Melbourne sponsored (in 2011 Wurundjeri artists participated in the collaborative painting Melbourne: Two Worlds) but that is hidden away too. Events like the Tanderrum (an annual meeting of the five clans of the Kulin nation–Wurundjeri, Boon Wurrung, Taungurung, Dja Wurrung and Wathaurung) are an annual thing [see Fig. 22.5]. It is held in Federation Square, which is everybody's place. It could be held anywhere but there is no set place that it could be held that is Aboriginal owned and run. Wouldn't it be nice to have a designated Aboriginal area where we don't have to get permission because we own and manage and control it? There's absolutely nothing that is ours.

The turn of the millennium was a significant moment in Australia's post-colonial history. Sydney staged the Olympic Games in the year 2000 with an opening ceremony that ostensibly celebrated Aboriginal culture culminating in Indigenous runner, Cathy Freeman, lighting the Olympic flame and going on to win gold (see Fig. 22.6). But for some, the displays were tokenistic (Kerr and Schwarz 2006). The millions of dollars allocated to Indigenous people made little real change to address Indigenous disadvantage. Six years later when Melbourne hosted the Commonwealth Games, the Indigenous community responded with a number of fluid and mobile Indigenous placemaking practices that coalesced around three identifiably different agendas. One was a tactical claim on place aimed at advancing the process of gaining a strategic foothold in the urban fabric through activism. The second was a cultural reclamation

Fig. 22.6 Cathy Freeman runs a lap of honour, carrying Australian and Aboriginal flags after winning the gold medal in the women's 400-m final at the 2000 Sydney Olympics (*Photograph* Dean Lewins, AAP)

project aimed at building cultural capacity, pride and agency among Aboriginal people. A third type had cross-cultural engagement with non-Indigenous people in pursuit of reconciliation as its primary objective.

The occupation at Melbourne's Kings Domain, to which Aunty Margaret referred, was known as Camp Sovereignty. It sprung out of the Black GST movement—an acronym meaning to end 'genocide', assert 'sovereignty' and secure a 'treaty'. The camp began on 12 March 2006 with the lighting of a ceremonial fire on the Kings Domain, a public park in Melbourne, evoking a traditional Aboriginal campsite (Fig. 22.7). It remained in place for almost two months protesting against the Commonwealth Games, or 'Stolenwealth', as the Black GST preferred.[3] This temporal claim on place was what de Certeau would describe as a 'tactic' (de Certeau 1984: xix).

De Certeau argued that place is negotiated through different types of power: 'strategies', which he defines as elements that 'own' space and maintain it through static boundaries; and 'tactics', defined as seemingly disempowered entities that can usurp the space of a strategy through movement and timing. Colonial material and expressive regimes including fences, property ownership, the building of permanent

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[3]The camp was recorded by participants in the form of a blog which can be found at: https://campsovereignty.wordpress.com/. More information about the Black GST can be found at Robbie Thorpe's website, Treaty Republic, http://treatyrepublic.net/.

Fig. 22.7 Camp Sovereignty, Kings Domain, Melbourne, 7 April 2006 (*Photograph* Craig Abraham, Fairfax Syndication)

infrastructure and introduction of trespassing laws, among others, are strategies that deny Indigenous people access to Country. While there are distinct differences between the strategies and tactics that de Certeau observed in Europe and those evident in Australia, which has been explored by one of the authors elsewhere (McGaw and Pieris 2015: 8–14), this concept is useful in understanding the often unrecognised power that Indigenous groups possess. Occupations, such as Camp Sovereignty, followed in a long line of Australian activist placemaking histories of walking and camping: the delivery of the Yirrkala Bark petition to Parliament House (Commonwealth of Australia: Museum of Australian Democracy 2011), Canberra, in 1963, the 'Freedom Rides' of 1965 (AIATSIS 2014), the Gurindji walk-off at Wave Hill (Commonwealth of Australia: National Archives 2017), and the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, Canberra. The latter appeared first as a beach umbrella on the lawn of the Old Parliament House in January 1972 and continues to this day. Although it has endured for over 40 years, it has had many ephemeral material guises, as has been explored in a range of texts (Vernon 2002; Strakosch 2009; Pieris 2012; Foley et al. 2014). The Prime Minister, John Howard, was quick to draw associations between Camp Sovereignty and the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, stating that it 'should be dealt with quickly. If it's left—and the Canberra experience is instructive—it stays' (AAP 2006). Camp Sovereignty was a tactical manoeuvre timed to capture the attention of the international press who had arrived to report on the Games. It also created embarrassment for the government, which

welcomed the Queen and many other dignitaries from Commonwealth nations. Camp Sovereignty residents had planned to pack up at the conclusion of the Games on the 25 March 2006, but changed tack at the last minute, declaring the fire 'sacred'. A legal stoush developed, and eventually, the fire was quenched, but has re-emerged in other places—Redfern, Sydney, Framlingham in Western Victoria, the site of a former Aboriginal reserve, and the Dandenong Police Paddocks, the former Native Police Corps site.

Coinciding with the Commonwealth Games from 17 March to 2 April 2006 was a second type of temporal placemaking practice which had cross-cultural engagement as its primary aim (Rule 2006). Ilbijerri Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Theatre Company staged an urban place-based performance called the Dirty Mile (see Fig. 22.8). Moving from Carlton Gardens, up Gertrude Street Fitzroy, otherwise known as 'Dirty Gertie', in and out of alleys and along footpaths to Charcoal Lane, the performance echoed the journeying of traditional culture, but also the shuffling and relocating of Indigenous people through the colonial era (Ilbijerri 2010–2012). During the 1950s, Fitzroy became a gathering place and home for Melbourne's Indigenous community and Aboriginal organisations including The Aboriginal Health Centre, Aboriginal Hostels Ltd., The Koori Information Centre and the Aboriginal Legal Service, and later the Aboriginal Housing Board of Victoria, among others. Powerful, and at times didactic, the performance opened with three figures dressed in possum skin cloaks introducing themselves as the Woiwurrung people and then took their audience on a journey, encountering characters such as Aboriginal factory workers during the war, bootleggers, protesters, sports stars and church leaders. Artistic Director, Kylie Belling, claimed that the purpose was 'reconciliation' through 'raising awareness of Aboriginal history in the broader community' (Belling 2007). The performance was restaged two years later with performances on weekends from the 21 February to the 16 March 2008.

In parallel but at odds with the activism, was a third kind of placemaking project aimed at healing. Reclaiming a lost traditional Aboriginal craft practice, artists Vicki Couzens, Debra Couzens, Treahna Hamm and Lee Darroch worked with Traditional Owner groups around the State of Victoria to produce possum skin cloaks for 35 Elders to wear at the opening ceremony for the Commonwealth Games (Reynolds 2005). Prior to colonisation, many of the clans in the colder regions of south-eastern Australia made cloaks stitched from possum skins, a small furry Australian marsupial. The skin side was etched and painted with the place–stories of the wearer, the images and lines revealing sacral nodes, important topographic features and provisions of one's Country. Only eight cloaks from precolonial times have survived, two of which are held in the Melbourne Museum. These cloaks represent a re-mapping of Victoria through an Indigenous lens (McGaw 2014; McGaw and Tootell 2015). The inscription of Country on skin reconnected *Stories*, place and the body. They are an important demonstration of the number and variety of Traditional Owner groups in Victoria and their ancient and ongoing connection to place (see Figs. 22.9 and 22.10).

There is a Victorian resurgence in the practice, which Aunty Margaret says continues to be important for identity
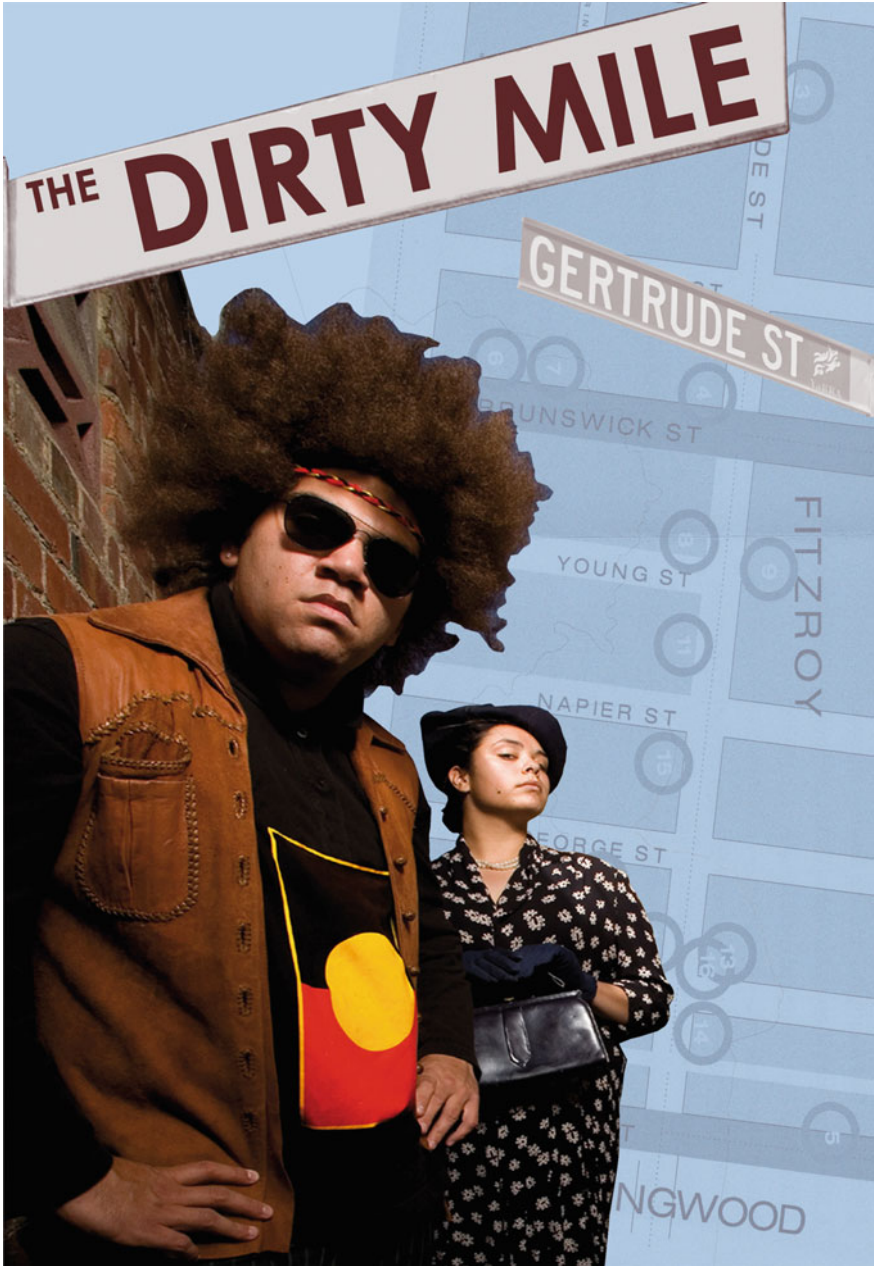
Fig. 22.8 Ilbijerri Theatre's urban performance, The Dirty Mile (*Source* ILBIJERRI Theatre Company, Image by Alison McColl Bullock, 2008)

Fig. 22.9 35 Elders in possum skin cloaks at the Commonwealth Games representing the different language groups in the State of Victoria, March 2006 (*Photograph* Mick Harding)

Fig. 22.10 Details of etching on a possum skin cloak made by Wurundjeri artist, Mandy Nicholson. This cloak is worn by Elders at official events at the University of Melbourne. Gifted by the Medical School on behalf of Wurundjeri to the University of Melbourne (*Photograph* Casemento Photography)

[Learning possum skin cloak making] can reinforce your identity and your awareness, and sense of self and sense of how you are privileged to be a part of something that is ancient and you know that's enough to raise anybody's spirit, to give them to the strength to carry on keep going and get very good at this and teaching others and share it… if we don't have

the people with those skills we are not really who we think we are. Because it all comes down to your spirit and your knowledge of who you are and where you fit in the scheme of things as an Aboriginal person…. If you're a Torres Strait Islander, you have your own ways of doing things and your own art making and place making so unless you are there up on the Islands you don't get the opportunity to do that… Even when it comes to fishing, you know what sort of fish you catch to stay strong and healthy and which don't you catch etc. etc. It's likely that they had one type of fish that at one time of the year you don't catch… Certain times certain people won't be able to fish for certain things and eat it because it's your 'brother' or 'sister'…There was a system in place, traditionally, that made sure there was enough food and resources for everyone cause to me that's what the totemic stuff is about. If you couldn't eat kangaroo for a period of your life, that's to make sure there is enough kangaroo for someone else to eat it. Its common sense really… It's been taught and accepted as spiritual. There's more of us now who, by questioning things, are trying to logically work out why it is that way.

Architect and theorist Jane Rendell has described temporal placemaking tactics like these 'critical spatial practices', neither art nor architecture but something in between (Rendell 2006: 17). They are each profoundly symbolic markers and makers of place, yet unlike architecture they are impermanent insertions in the physical fabric of the city, or in the case of the possum skin cloaks, a challenge to Western architectural representations of site. Their social dimension and their contingency on the events that surrounded them distinguish them from traditional public art practices. Placemaking practices such as these make claims on urban space in the absence of land ownership. Arguably, they also begin a process of collective imagining that is a necessary prequel to making architecture.

Over the latter decades of the twentieth century tactics of marching, debate and occupation led to increased awareness of the plight of Indigenous peoples and significant shifts in public policy and law around the world followed. The Year of the World's Indigenous People was declared in 1993. In the same year, the United Nations convened a world conference on human rights where the creation of a permanent forum for Indigenous peoples was discussed and agreed upon. A Decade for the World's Indigenous Peoples followed from 1995 to 2004. In Australia, there have been Royal Commissions that examined Aboriginal deaths in custody and the Stolen Generation, public laments, and commitment to reconciliation by political leaders, and increasing presence of Aboriginal people in higher education and the public service. In 2007, the United Nations signed the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Twenty-five years in the making, the declaration affirms the right to equality, but also to difference (United Nations 2008). The following year, the then Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd made a public apology to Indigenous Australians (Parliament of Australia 2008). Despite these advances, which have precipitated transformations to national policies in a range of nations, there has not been an obvious flow of rights to place. It seems that 'the right to difference' has been more readily supported than the 'right to equality', and indeed, the 'right to the city' (McGaw et al. 2011).

On the whole, these examples of ephemeral and performative Indigenous placemaking practices are minor victories within a long context of struggle for something more durable. While they have made Wurundjeri visible within

Melbourne's urban and political landscape and nurtured cultural skills and knowledge for Aunty Margaret's people, they have not afforded ongoing opportunities for Wurundjeri to gather in Melbourne.

Indigenous Placemaking Collaborative Research in Melbourne: 2008–2014

We need some iconic building that is permanent where tourists can visit. Wurundjeri get asked all the time 'where can I go to find out about Aboriginal culture? Where can I go to buy art etc.? There's nowhere to go except the bloody museum or the Koori Heritage Trust, which is not in an obvious location and only has one Aboriginal person on the board. Let us do it our way. Don't come aboard the train and come for the ride and tell us how to do it! Because things they've come up with over the years are not working. That is half of why 'place' is needed.

There are a few Aboriginal architects around but they are not plentiful. Service delivery comes first, in terms of government support, to make sure we all stay alive – whether or not we are happy or comfortable–the better health stuff seems to be most important. There's no place for architects. You've got to be like everybody else and set up your own business and then need to find clients who want what you do. You know, we've got to get Aboriginal people into the workforce. We are creating people who can be permanent students or work in the public service, but not enabling them to set up their own businesses or become economically independent.

At the base of it is probably a problem with architecture itself. All of our stuff, which is fairly basic to culture and tradition and Lore/law … are a constant acceptance and recognition of a spiritual connection to land because of an activity that is carried out there. But all that doesn't equate to Westernised placemaking. You've got St Pauls cathedral in the city and everyone knows it is where you go to worship and pray. As far as the Westernised world goes everything has to have a specialised purpose. There are basic differences in what's important to everyone. That's fundamental. That's at the base of it all. Things were never permanent traditionally. You'd 'up sticks' and move. If you had any kind of dwelling or shelter it had to be completely portable or could be stored somewhere. You followed (the seasons, the Songlines) the food sources or some places in winter you'd be eating nothing. There were those practicalities. But that doesn't have to transpose to today. We want permanent places.

Native title legislation (Parliament of Australia 1993), which was developed to offer greater equity for Indigenous people in Australia, has been largely ineffective in urban contexts, particularly in the south-eastern states.[4] In order to claim Native Title, applicant/s must prove historic and ongoing connection to Country. This is almost impossible in Victoria, given the practices of dispossession during the colonial era. In Victoria, Native Title claims are restricted to Crown land and, if

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[4]The Act recognises Indigenous Australians' right to practise traditional culture on their customary lands. But it also extinguishes those rights where they are inconsistent with other laws, such as freehold and leasehold title (Parliament of Australia 1993).

awarded, afford little in the way of extra rights to access or use over and above that of any citizen (Native Title Services Victoria 2014). The key benefit is economic, as monetary settlements typically follow. Settlements to date have been modest lump sum payments conditional on waiving any future rights for further compensation. In Perth, Western Australia, the South West Land and Sea Council, representing six Noongar groups, signed an historic deal with the State Government in 2015 to trade Native Title rights in perpetuity for 320 000 acres (129 500 ha) of Crown Land and AUD $50 million per year for twelve years (De Poloni 2015). It has since been overturned by the Federal Court as some of the claimants had refused to sign the deal (Trigger and Hamlyn 2017). While figures in excess of a billion dollars sound substantial, there were some who were unwilling to extinguish native title for future generations. As Mervyn Eades said: 'Our Sovereignty cannot be bought for no amount of money' (Eades quoted in Trigger and Hamlyn 2017). Opinions in Melbourne are similarly divided on the matter.

In recognition of the difficulties of acquiring land through Native Title in Victoria, two State laws have been developed: The Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Act (Parliament of Victoria 2006) and Traditional Owner Settlement Act (Parliament of Victoria 2010). Under the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Act, registered Aboriginal parties have the responsibility to protect and manage Aboriginal cultural heritage on identified sites. Cultural heritage management plans are a means through which urban Aboriginal groups, like Wurundjeri, can capitalise on tangible as well as intangible cultural heritage while they wait for land justice. Aunty Margaret says Wurundjeri have also considered trading other kinds of place knowledge for a fee, such as language names, but there is little acceptance for this.

> Wurundjeri has been charging Cultural Heritage Advisers to come along and have a meeting about a proposed cultural heritage management plan. It is all discussed and negotiated– 'this is what you can and can't do'–and we come to an agreement and then they have to pay a fee for that. And they are quite happy to do it. Because that is what they have to do in the big wide world.

> There are a lot of things that aren't cultural heritage related or aren't related to an existing act such as the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Act. I've been saying for some time we should be licencing our use of our language, say for naming for something or other for so many years with a language word. If they want to alter it or re-use it, they should reapply and the purpose gets reviewed making it a proper contractual type of arrangement. Everyone else does it so why don't we? Whereas with our language and history, people think it's got to be free. Once you start talking about money, no one wants to talk about it. If you want (another kind of) a place name you need to register it and so forth, and you pay a fee, so why is it so unusual for Aboriginal people to be part of that system? No one seems to be ready to treat Aboriginal people in the same way that you would treat a corporation that you would pay a fee to. Even if you register a private company or business you pay a fee. That's just the registering. Don't worry about the name. Then you need an ABN and you are up for all kinds of costs. And that is just the norm. But if we want to charge the use to cover those costs (people say) 'oh what are you talking about? I don't want to pay for that'! It's the mindset we've got to change.

There is an emerging demand for sensorially engaged cultural and eco-tourism, even in urban contexts, which Wurundjeri are also considering capitalising on.

Melbourne's Botanic Gardens hosts Indigenous tours, the Koorie Heritage Trust delivers a cultural walking tour, 'Walk'n Birrarung', along Melbourne's Yarra River and Wurundjeri are in the preliminary stages of working on a digital tourism initiative. It has precedents in interactive digital gaming projects based within the digitally constructed environments that represent Indigenous Sydney and Brisbane by Brett Leavy that re-imagine these city's dormant ecologies (Leavy et al. 2008). They are innovative examples of contemporary placemaking projects that explore ecological and cultural difference between settler and Indigenous place. Aunty Margaret says:

> I think the majority of the population is actually interested; they do want to learn things like 'what's that bush tucker there for? What's that medicinal plant for, how do you use it and prepare it… which is all of value, going back to the more holistic herbal type remedies… there's a lot of people adopting that now. It's a lot safer as long as you know what you are doing … But we don't have anywhere we can really do that other than riding up the back of the government in a state park … Our people can communicate quite well; can hold their own in a high flying executive meeting and provide information … [It will] take a bit of work to get the young ones knowledgeable and experienced to handle that as some of us are getting older…

> You see a lot of the early drawings, paintings, sketches and things that the early settlers did showing a completely different view of Melbourne village compared to the CBD now. …. Nearly everywhere you go our landmarks just aren't there anymore. It's completely different. In fact, you cannot imagine what it was like without seeing those images, so a digital walking trail that shows (what it was like) … is going to be quite useful for kids because they can see how things have changed quite rapidly and that might give them a sense of … gee whizz we might have to be careful about what we are doing in our adult life. It would shock some adults too, mind you.

Melbourne's urban landscape has been transformed over the past decade by a proliferation of urban apartment buildings. Australia entered into the global education market in the mid-1980s, and education is now the largest service export for the nation accounting for AUD $18.2 billion (Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2015). Purpose-built student accommodation provides 16,000 beds for international students with another 6,800 planned (LaSalle 2015). The newest and most visible presence of Aboriginal place in Melbourne is the William Barak building, a 32-storey investor-owned apartment building inscribed with the face of the Wurundjeri *ngurungaeta* (headman) financed by the developer, Grocon. A spokesperson for Grocon is reported as saying the building was 'designed to raise the profile of the Wurundjeri people and culture'. Architects Ashton Raggat McDougall and developer Grocon ostensibly consulted with Wurundjeri about the use of an image of William Barak's, face on the building façade, but there has been considerable debate over the process and outcome within and beyond the Indigenous community[5] (Dow 2015; Hansen 2015; McGaw and Tootell 2015).

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[5]There was a conversation, Contextualising the William Barak Apartment Building, hosted by the Koorie Heritage Trust held at Deakin Edge, Federation Square on 24 March 2015. The speakers included Aunty Joy Wandin Murphy (Wurundjeri Senior Elder), Linda Kennedy (Dharawal woman studying Masters of Architecture at the University of Melbourne), Jefa Greenaway.

Notably, not one of the 530 apartments is owned or occupied by Wurundjeri people (Hansen 2015). Grand architectural gestures such as these on strategic surfaces of Melbourne's urban fabric are somewhat deceptive. They might 'mark' or acknowledge Indigenous place, but they do not 'make' place if Indigenous people cannot use it.

Aunty Margaret believes that despite the transformations to Indigenous place in cities, Country has a way of rising up:

> If you are down near Dandenong Creek, the police paddock in a certain area, you can't hear the freeway and its only, oh, 2000 yards away, not far at all. All you can hear is the water and the birds and no cars. No cars! And the tree growth is not that dense. It is just a place for silence. You don't hear the birds very much; you might hear the water trickling; that is about it. You can hear yourself breathing because we think there is actually a cemetery where there's blackfellas there. Well I think that's probably where it is. Either that or it is a very important place for ceremony or something. I could find it again even though its changed again down there because they've redirected the creek. I could find the area because of its silence. That's just one example. There're still places like that in Melbourne. The Corroborree tree is right near the freeway in Burnley but if you sit there and immerse yourself and just think about the tree, the silence overtakes you. Certain places will emit certain things and will then produce in you a change of state so you are not thinking about where you are going to be in half an hour or where you just came from. You are just thinking about where you are right now. Some people say you just get into the zone. I find that all a bit airy fairy, depending on which terminology you use, but it means something else to me. If you sit out in the bush somewhere and you've got a fire going and you look into the flames you just drift off into, well, nowhere. You are not thinking much; you're looking into the flames. It changes your mental state. It's like meditation. I suppose, you can almost hypnotise yourself... How often do people just sit?

> I firmly believe that sight (vision) for instance is not the primary sense. The primary sense is hearing. People who live in cities end up with not very good hearing, people who grow up in the country people can isolate the sound in the mind and know exactly what it is and even how far away it is. If you grow up in the city and see two or three fire trucks it is hard to isolate which has its engine going. There is an expression 'it's so quiet you can hear a pin drop' – a lot of people can't hear the pin drop. You know it's metaphorical, but it's also true - they can't hear anything. There is too much sensory stimulation from the eyes. People don't think about it enough. Therefore, they are not connecting with anything other than where their mind is taking them, which is usually something to do with materialistic life. Which is sad.

In May 2016, the Victorian State Government and representatives from disparate Aboriginal organisations met to discuss a way forward (Victorian Government

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(Wailwan/Gamillaraay man and only registered Aboriginal architect in Victoria), Carey Lyon from Lyons and Howard Raggatt of Ashton Raggatt MacDougall. The panel was moderated by Andrew Mackenzie, former editor of *Architectural Review*. The recording is available at http://www.fedsquare.com/news/contextualising-the-william-barak-apartment-building. Carroll Go-Sam, speaking at a summit in the State Library of Queensland concurs, warning that although the William Barak building is a provocative and political statement that reinforces Wurundjeri ownership of Country, it does not fix the lack of Indigenous place in Melbourne. She advocates a holistic approach that focuses on a building's function not just its appearance (Malo 2017).

Department of Premier and Cabinet 2016). The new budget reflects commitments made during this meeting promising AUD \$100 million to work with Aboriginal Victorians towards self-determination (Department of Treasury and Finance 2017: 34). Two-thirds of the funds are earmarked for the first-ever treaty negotiations in Australia, and an 'Aboriginal Community Infrastructure Fund for significant, innovative community infrastructure projects'. Gary Murray prefers the term 'Treaty House',[6] which would be a place for Indigenous culture to be practised, knowledge to be collected and shared and visitors to be educated about alternative ways of knowing place. It would also be a gateway for other Indigenous tourism enterprises in urban and regional centres around the state.

Conclusion

Slipping between recounts and reflections on Wurundjeri's experiences of making place and recourses to theories and precedents, this chapter has considered the challenges and prospects for placemaking this century. These story threads reveal the diverse terrain of Indigenous placemaking in Melbourne since colonisation. Although place-specific, they have their parallels in other colonised nations around the world: the cycles of de-territorialisation of Indigenous peoples and re-territorialisation by settler societies; the fleeting occupations and installations by contemporary Indigenous placemakers; the contrasts in meaning-making between precolonial Indigenous and Western architectural traditions and the ongoing challenge for reclaiming rights to land. Placemaking scholarship has described the wholly different epistemologies of place between traditional Indigenous societies and settler societies but has cautioned that contemporary Indigenous place values are not held in a precolonial moment. Place values are assembled through a complex interplay between both the interiorities of traditional and contemporary Indigenous cultural practices and the exteriorities of Western value systems that vary enormously across nations and between individuals. A key challenge for contemporary Indigenous placemaking is negotiating the barriers to land tenure. In the absence of land ownership, Indigenous groups in urban contexts have limited options available. Often temporary and performative practices are the only effective means for claiming place. Three types are considered: tactical occupations of public land, place-based cultural reclamation practices and performances orientated around education and reconciliation. Poetic and political though they are, temporary gestures such as these are ultimately unsatisfying for Aunty Margaret. She wants a permanent place for her people. Since the 1980s, significant changes have taken place in the political landscape in Australia and beyond. Negotiations for a treaty between the State Government and Aboriginal Victorians are unfolding at the time

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[6]This is discussed in more detail in the chapter by Anoma Pieris and Gary Murray within this book.

of writing. It is still too early to see what the outcome of these will be, but there is a strong sense of hope that place might finally be handed over in Melbourne and Indigenous people in Australia will be able to exercise their 'right to the city'.

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Authors' Biographies

Aunty Margaret Gardiner is an Elder of the Wurundjeri Willam Clan of the Woiwurrung Nation, whose land includes Greater Melbourne and its northern, eastern and western peri-urban regions. She sits on the Elders Council of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council Incorporated and has been closely involved in land justice, Native Title, cultural heritage, water rights and the history of placemaking for her people since the 1980s. She was a Senior Officer of Mirimbiak Nations Aboriginal Corporation, a Native Title representative body for Victoria from 1997 to 2004 and the Chair of the Dandenong and District Aboriginal Cooperative Limited in outer Melbourne for a number of years.

Dr Janet McGaw was awarded her PhD by creative works in architecture from the University of Melbourne. Her research practice has included explorations of contemporary Indigenous placemaking practices and tactics for decolonising architectural practice, with a focus on south-eastern Australia. She led an Australian Research Council grant from 2010 to 2014 entitled: *Indigenous Placemaking in Melbourne: Representations, Practices and Creative Research*. The outcomes of the project have included a creative collaboration with Victorian Traditional Owners re-mapping the state from the perspective of its First Peoples by representing 'place' on possum skin, a book (with Anoma Pieris) titled *Assembling the centre: Architecture for Indigenous cultures, Australia and beyond* (Routledge 2015) and numerous papers and reports.

Chapter 23
Beyond Futuna: John Scott, Modern Architecture and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

Julia Gatley and Bill McKay

Introduction: The Futuna Effect

John Scott was the first person of Māori heritage to reach the forefront of the architectural profession in Aotearoa New Zealand, earning a national reputation, an enduring place in the published record and two New Zealand Institute of Architects (NZIA) Gold Medals.[1] The earlier of these medals was for his best known building, Futuna Chapel in Wellington (1958–61), in 1968; the second was an individual or personal recognition, awarded posthumously in 1999. His work continues to be much admired today, by a constituency extending well beyond those for whom Māori art and architecture are express interests: John Scott was a very talented and creative architect by any standard—certainly one of the best that Aotearoa New Zealand has

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[1]Aotearoa New Zealand had several centuries of Indigenous Māori architecture and building before European settlers arrived. While Scott was the first New Zealand architect of Māori heritage to reach the forefront of the profession, he was not the first to practise as an architect in Aotearoa New Zealand, nor was he the first to graduate in architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand. Brown (2009: 136) believes that William Bloomfield was the former, and Wiremu (Bill) Royal the latter. Bloomfield graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and practised in Aotearoa New Zealand from 1925 to 1960. Royal, who was seven years younger than Scott, completed his Diploma in Architecture at Auckland University College in 1960. He worked for well-known Christchurch firm Warren and Mahoney until 1968, when he started his own practice, also in Christchurch. His work on his own account was influenced by that of Warren and Mahoney, while also including a large number of projects for Māori clients, incorporating Māori symbolism. Mane-Wheoki (1990: 31) describes Royal as "a trailblazer in his attempts to reconcile and integrate cultures and traditions which function in two completely different conceptual frameworks".

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produced—with a career spanning the emergence of biculturalism, first as an ideology and later as a national aspiration.

Much of the interpretation of Scott's work follows and accords with Russell Walden's 1987 monograph on Futuna Chapel, *Voices of Silence*. Walden wrote with conviction and passion. His prose is highly quotable. He saw in Futuna a building that symbolised "an integration of European and Polynesian culture" (1987: 66). He writes: "We realise, perhaps for the first time, that here is New Zealand architecture; here is a rich characterisation of Maori and Pakeha values in a natural setting; here is a quietly assertive architecture which speaks of the joy of New Zealanders working together" (1987: 133).[2] Furthermore, at Futuna, "we can clearly see that the marriage of Maori and Pakeha is legitimate" (1987: 147).

Walden did not use the word 'bicultural' in *Voices of Silence* (McCarthy 2009: 31), but he did use it in an article the following year: "Today, we can see it [Futuna] as a vital expression of New Zealand's bi-cultural identity" (1988: 95). He used it again in his tribute after Scott's death in 1992, expanding its application from the building to the person: "John was singularly alone as a bicultural architect. He had no peers. He was unique in being able to combine the Maori and Pakeha traditions in architecture, and his work bears the imprint of new intentions. This very special creative gift made him the soul of New Zealand architecture" (Walden in Tributes 1992: 14–15).

To support his claims about the marriage of Māori and Pākehā at Futuna, Walden quoted Scott (cited in Grover 1973: 290–291) in recognising Māori meeting houses and rural woolsheds as key building types in Aotearoa New Zealand's architectural history. A meeting house is the main building of a *marae* (Māori building complex, traditionally tribal and communal). Typically, it has a rectilinear form and a gabled roof, with the front façade, porch and main entry under one of the gable ends. Meeting houses were built by individual Māori tribes on ancestral land and represent the body of the particular tribe's ancestors. The ridge is the spine, the rafters are the ribs, an interior post is the heart-pole, and so on. The second building tradition cited by Scott, the woolshed, stems from Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial past, and more particularly its nineteenth-century sheep-farming industry. The woolshed was the building in which sheep were shorn of their winter wool and that wool was sorted and stored, pending transportation. Woolsheds are often large timber-framed buildings, with their timber structure exposed internally and timber also used for walls, floors and ceilings (Figs. 23.1 and 23.2).

In his book on Futuna Chapel, Walden extrapolated Scott's 1973 comments about meeting houses and woolsheds, drawing comparison between the siting of the chapel, which has an open lawn to its north, and a *marae ātea* (the piece of land in front of a meeting house where hosts welcome visitors) (1987: 60). In the chapel itself, Walden saw the eaves, dipping low to the ground, as being like the *maihi* (bargeboards) of a meeting house; he suggested that the main building material, concrete, was of the ground, relevant because the ground—the land—is of fundamental importance to Māori; he stated that Futuna's central timber post was like the

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[2]'Pākehā' is the Māori word for person of British or European descent.
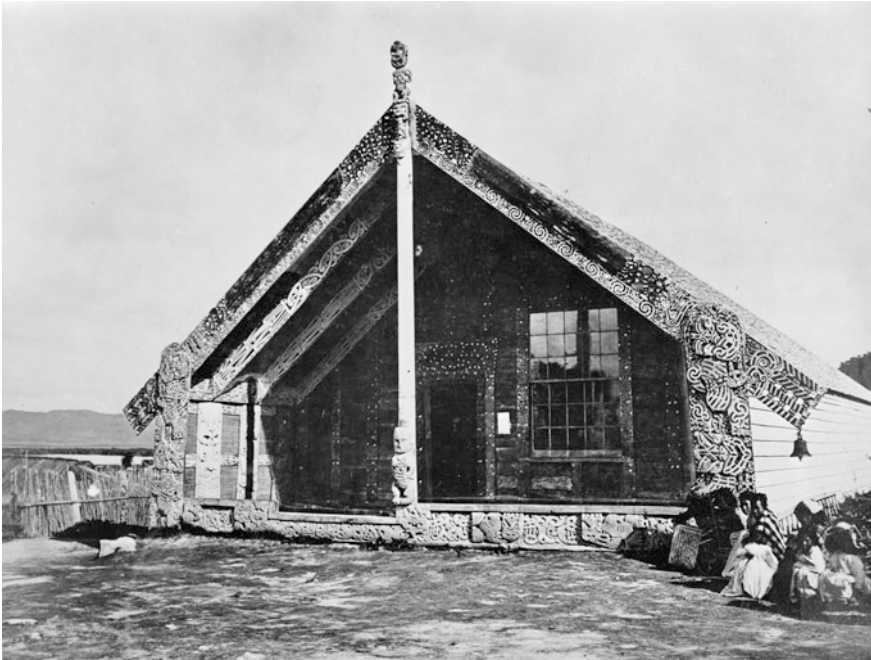
Fig. 23.1 Front façade of Tamatekapua Meeting House, Ōhinemutu, showing the porch and main entry under one of the gable ends (*Photograph* Alexander Turnbull Library) (Catalogue No. 1/ 1-002723-F: http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22905486)

interior post of a meeting house (1987: 66). From Aotearoa New Zealand's woolshed tradition, Walden suggested that Scott took simplicity, directness, sophistication and integrity (1987: 149). He also saw in the building both the tradition of the Gothic Revival—luminosity, verticality and the honest expression of structure and materials—and influences from Western modernism, in particular, Henri Matisse's Chapel of the Rosary (Chapelle du Rosaire) in Vence, in the south of France (1949–51), with its L-shaped plan accommodating two banks of pews at right angles to each other, facing towards a diagonally positioned altar, and Le Corbusier's Chapel of Notre Dame du Haut in Ronchamp, also in France (1950–55), renowned for its sculptural form, its rejection of architectural convention, its raw concrete construction and sense of mass, and its slot-like windows and resulting mysterious luminosity (Fig. 23.3).

Like the chapel itself, Walden's book on Futuna earned an NZIA National Award. Thirty years after publication, it remains the only book to have been lauded in this way, with all other national architecture awards given to buildings or projects. The book has served as a touchstone for many. For example, in 1990, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki agreed that Scott's work "blend[s] Indigenous and International Modern ingredients" (1990: 31). Deidre Brown, author of the first comprehensive book on Māori architecture (2009), also describes Futuna as being like a meeting house (2005: 11). She echoes Walden in reading its exposed rafters,
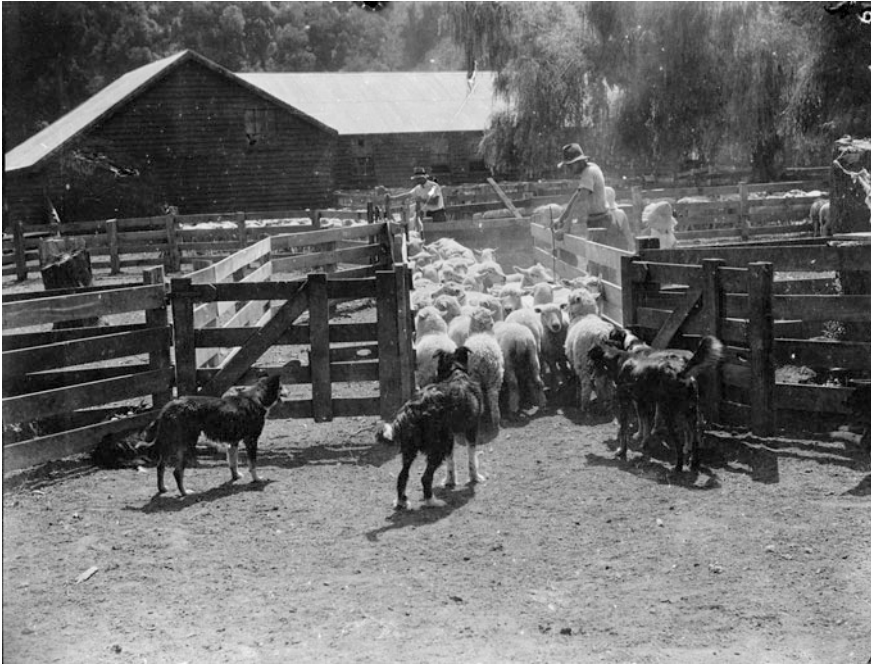
Fig. 23.2 Drafting sheep at a North Island woolshed, Mangamahu (*Photograph* Robert E. Wells, Alexander Turnbull Library) (Reference no. 1/4-110341-F. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22743968)

central post and low eaves as being "reminiscent of the anthropomorphic structure of a Maori meeting house" (2005: 9), and states that the bringing together of Māori and Pākehā cultures "could be described as having a bicultural purpose" (2005: 11).

Though Walden's main thesis is widely accepted, it has not been without its critics. Ross Jenner, in his 1989 review of the book, anticipated the criticisms by questioning the primacy that Walden had given the building: "in doing so, he plays down the splits which are the irreducible and irreconcilable differences between cultures" (1989: 59). Vanya Steiner was more explicit in suggesting that Walden placed too much emphasis on the "creation of a unified, coherent and expressively harmonious synthesis" (1995: 5). Within this synthesis, "Maori elements are blended away, subtly integrated, or reduced to a blur of indistinguishableness" (1995: 6). She suggests that the extent of the blending is such that much of Scott's work can actually "be interpreted or understood without any reference to Maori traditions" (1995: 6). She finds Scott's most overtly Māori building—the Māori Battalion Memorial Hall in Palmerston North (1954–64)—to also be his most non-Māori building, because it demonstrates most overtly his debt to Japanese Brutalism (1995: 6). And given Scott's various overseas influences, Steiner struggles with Walden's claim that Scott "felt alienated by a profession which ripped its integrity apart by wholesale cribbing from foreign magazines", noting that this is to deny the possibility that Scott did exactly the same thing (1995: 6).

Fig. 23.3 Exterior of Futuna Chapel, Wellington (1958–61), with its eaves dipping low to the ground and open space in front of the main porch and entry. *Photograph* Gavin Woodward, Copyright Victoria University of Wellington, Courtesy of J. C. Beaglehole Room (Reference A2014.035)

One of this chapter's co-authors (McKay 2005, 2006) has continued Steiner's enquiry into the synthesis of Māori and modernist elements at Futuna Chapel compared with the Māori Battalion Memorial Hall. His conclusion is that Futuna as a metaphor of integration is consistent with period desires for the assimilation of Māori people, culture and practices into the dominant Pākehā mainstream, whereas the

Māori Battalion Memorial Hall gives direct expression to both its Māori elements and its Western influences, making it more of a bicultural building than an assimilationist one—but also a more awkward building, and certainly one that has been less admired by Aotearoa New Zealand's architectural community. He recalls the derogatory term 'half-caste', commonly applied to people of mixed heritage for much of the period in which Scott lived and worked.[3] He suggests that in the 1960s, Pākehā are likely to have seen the Māori Battalion Memorial Hall as a 'half-caste' building.

Wood (2009) has pursued Steiner's other main concern: Walden's isolation of Scott from the rest of the Aotearoa New Zealand architectural profession, and his connection of him to genius—to Matisse and Le Corbusier, as mentioned above, and to Frank Lloyd Wright and Alvar Aalto elsewhere in *Voices of Silence*. Wood challenges Walden's claims by presenting lesser known buildings that bear similarities to some of Scott's work, buildings Scott might have known by virtue of their publication in books and journals that were available in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time, including *New Buildings in the Commonwealth*, in which one of his schools was published (Richards 1961: 56). Wood concludes that there are many possible influences at play in Scott's work, both local and international, and that Walden's limited acknowledgement of the lesser known sources maintains, in Scott, "a Romantic myth of unique creative vision" (2009: 14).

While much of the writing on Scott has focused on Futuna Chapel, this chapter is concerned with his work more broadly. It takes the contentious issues identified above and considers them with reference to a range of building projects dating from the early 1950s to Scott's death in the early 1990s, from churches and schools to houses and visitor centres. It locates the work within the contexts of race relations, cultural development, Aotearoa New Zealand's concern with national identity and its burgeoning regional modernism.

The chapter presents a body of work that is rich in ideas, references, spatial quality, materials, textures, geometry and luminosity. Because of Scott's Māori heritage, many commentators have read Māori references into his buildings, but Scott himself always emphasised his dual heritage, extended into his identification of both Māori *whare* (houses/buildings) and Pākehā woolsheds as important building types in Aotearoa New Zealand's architectural history. They become precedents for his own work. This chapter reveals a fixation among scholars and commentators as to whether or not Scott should be described as a 'Māori architect'. It concludes that the standard of Scott's work surpasses the need for any such qualifier, but at the same time it remains valuable to be able to describe him in this way, recognising his fundamental importance within Māori architecture and therefore helping to give profile, history and a lineage to Māori architecture and architects more generally.

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[3]McKay notes that Scott would have been seen as 'half-caste'. Consistent with this, *Te Ao Hou* recorded that Scott's father was "half Maori and half Scottish", while his mother was "of quarter-Maori descent" (Maori Battalion Memorial 1964: 33). Similarly, the *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* commented that Wiremu (Bill) Royal was "the first full-blooded Maori to qualify as an architect" (First Maori Member 1965: 7).

Māori in Second World War Aotearoa New Zealand

Historically, Māori lived tribally and communally in rural villages, but the Second World War triggered rapid urbanisation—or more rightly, suburbanisation—from rural tribal communities to towns and cities, in search of employment, better housing conditions, education and the other opportunities that cities afforded. Tribal identity had been paramount, but post-war urbanisation led to an increased pan-tribal sense of Māori identity. This was enhanced by organisations such as Ratana and the Māori Women's Welfare League. Ratana operated as a church, but with political interests and ambitions, aligned with the Labour Party; the Māori Women's Welfare League concentrated on communities and welfare. Māori fought in both world wars, with the Māori Battalion earning much respect, particularly during the Second World War (King 1992: 285–307). Māori Elder and politician Sir Apirana Ngata (1943) referred to participation in war as 'the price of citizenship'.

In day-to-day post-war life, however, Māori were discriminated against in numerous ways, particularly employment and housing. It was assumed that they would integrate and then assimilate into the country's dominant Pākehā society over time. This was articulated in a 1961 governmental report, the Hunn Report, on the current and future state of Māori. It advocated education and housing as the two means by which Māori living standards would be raised. These were also the means by which Māori would be more thoroughly assimilated into one cohesive New Zealand society. For example, the government assisted Māori by making housing loans available to them through the State Advances Corporation and the Department of Māori Affairs, but made no concession to cultural practices, such as extended family living or separating spaces considered to be *tapu* (sacred, or of restricted access, including ablutions facilities) from those considered to be *noa* (not *tapu* and therefore available for anyone to use, including kitchens). Indeed, a government circular of 1960 stated that Māori applicants would be guided by the Department of Māori Affairs to "become accustomed to live in a European fashion" (Ferguson 1994: 219).

Attitudes began to change in the 1960s, when there was increased expression of Māori identity both within and beyond politics. The Labour Party tended to hold the Māori seats of parliament, and as a counterpoint to this, the National Government established the New Zealand Māori Council in 1962. It was explained as a body that would give quasi-governmental representation to Māori, but was also interpreted as a way of weakening their tribal voices. Young Māori established their own groups, ranging from the Māori Students Association and the Māori Graduates Association through to more rebellious collectives or gangs such as Black Power and the Mongrel Mob, and later, in the 1970s, Nga Tamatoa, which campaigned against racial discrimination. By the end of the 1960s, most Māori lived in towns and cities (King 1992: 289), and the Minister of Māori Affairs, Duncan McIntyre, was starting to use the term biculturalism (Sorrenson 1990: 343).

While this resurgent cultural identity was closely linked to urbanisation, in the arts and architecture, it was also linked to the development of modernism. Apirana Ngata had established a School of Māori Arts and Crafts in Rotorua in 1926,

encouraging a 'renaissance' in customary arts and the construction of carved meeting houses and churches (Brown 2009: 84–95). The Hunn Report recommended that the traditional Māori arts be preserved and maintained. However, Māori themselves were already exploring contemporary ways of asserting and expressing themselves creatively. Gordon Tovey, Superintendent of Arts and Crafts in the Department of Education from 1946 to 1966, encouraged this, influencing the way that art was taught in schools and promoting contemporary Māori artists in his books. The quarterly journal *Te Ao Hou: The New World*, published by the Department of Māori Affairs from 1952 to 1975, also reported on developments in Māori art and architecture that embraced a combination of the customary and contemporary modernism, for a general Māori readership.

The 1989 competition for Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, to be built in the national capital of Wellington, demonstrates the extent to which attitudes had changed by the latter stages of Scott's life. Plans to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the country's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, were underway at the same time, and for the national museum, the government called explicitly for designs that would give architectural expression to Aotearoa New Zealand's by then widely accepted bicultural status.

John Colin Scott (1924–1992)

John Scott was born and grew up in Haumoana, a small Hawkes Bay town near the larger centres of Napier and Hastings on the east coast of Aotearoa New Zealand's North Island. He was the third of seven children to Kathleen Hirani Blake, who was of English, Irish and Taranaki ancestry, and husband Charles Hudson Scott, who was of Scots and Te Arawa descent. He attended the local primary school in Haumoana and the Catholic secondary school, St John's College, in Hastings, where he captained the First XV rugby team and, in his final year, served as head prefect. After the completion of his schooling, he worked as a shepherd in 1944 and considered becoming a priest. In the latter stages of the Second World War, he volunteered for the air force. After the war, in 1946, he enrolled in architecture at Auckland University College (Walden 1987: 47–53; 2000).

Scott did not complete his architecture diploma, but during his time at the School of Architecture was influenced by his charismatic lecturer Vernon Brown and equally charismatic fellow student Bill Wilson. Brown maintained friendships with New Zealand's nationalist writers and practised and encouraged the development of a nationalist or New Zealand modernism in architecture. Wilson, who was one year ahead of Scott in the school, was important in the uptake of this idea, initially through the formation of the Architectural Group in 1946. Under this banner, he and various second-year classmates wrote a constitution and published a manifesto and the first issue of a magazine, *Planning*. They called for a specifically local or Aotearoa New Zealand architecture: "overseas solutions will not do. New Zealand must have its own architecture, its own sense of what is beautiful and appropriate to

our climate and conditions" (Architectural Group 1946). They reformed as the Group Construction Company in 1949, in what should have been their thesis year, and by 1951 had enough work that they could hang up their building tools and start practising as Group Architects (Gatley 2010b: 6–19). Wilson had married Phyllis Moffatt in the 1940s. In 1951, Scott married Phyl's sister, Joan Moffatt, with whom he would have six children. He worked in Auckland with a young design-and-build collective called Structural Developments—friends of the Group—for some 18 months, and then with the Group for a short time late in 1952, before returning to Hawkes Bay (Walden 1987: 53–58, 2000).

The couple settled in Haumoana, where they lived in, and Scott practised from, the family home, 'The Grange', where he had grown up. He was soon designing buildings, particularly houses, in and around the nearby towns of Hastings and Havelock North. The earliest projects on his own account include the Savage and Falls Houses, both in Havelock North, and both designed and built in 1952–53. His alma mater then commissioned a more substantial project: St John's College and Chapel in Hastings (1953–56). The school's accommodation had proven too small, and Scott was asked to design new school buildings on a fresh site (Walden 2000; Gatley 2009b).

St John's College and Chapel was important both as Scott's first major non-residential work, and because it led directly to his 1958 invitation to design Futuna Chapel, a retreat chapel for Marist brothers in the Wellington suburb of Karori (Walden 2000). Futuna was opened in 1961. The Catholic Church remained an important client for much of Scott's career, commissioning further churches and school buildings. His churches are particularly admired: a recent history of Aotearoa New Zealand church buildings (McKay 2015) includes more churches by Scott than any other twentieth-century architect. Of these, Our Lady of Lourdes in Havelock North (1959–60) was built concurrent with Futuna. In addition to the Catholic schools and churches, he designed a community hall that can be thought of as one of the country's first urban *marae*, two visitor centres, numerous houses, a new town centre and a number of premises for local community groups, clubs and businesses. Like the schools, the community facilities are mostly in and around Hawkes Bay and are not well known nationally. The churches, visitor centres and urban *marae*, on the other hand, are well known. They appear throughout the North Island, with one church in the South Island. This geographic spread confirms Scott's national reputation and significance. He worked on a project outside Aotearoa New Zealand on at least one occasion: the Rarotongan Hotel in the Cook Islands (1975–77), in collaboration with the Auckland firm, JASMaD.

From 1965 into the 1970s, Scott was in partnership with fellow Hawkes Bay architect Len Hoogerbrug. However, buildings produced by the office tend to be attributed to one or other of them singularly, rather than to the partnership jointly. This is not to deny the possibility of discussion and debate between them, and Peter Wood (2008: 85) suggests that the Firth Concrete Offices in Hastings (1957–58), designed by Hoogerbrug and Maurice K. Smith, "should be recognised as an important influence on Scott's Futuna Chapel". Of note too, Scott was awarded a Winston Churchill Memorial Trust Award, with which he travelled to Japan in 1969 (Churchill Award 1969).

Scott earned a reputation for working at his own pace rather than to others' deadlines. He even admitted to this: "I will hold up jobs deliberately—put my clients through hell, if they don't come to the party" (Scott in Walden 1987: 49). Part of his reasoning was that any one client would only experience their building for a comparatively short period of its life—it would endure beyond them, so had to be right, beyond them (Grover 1973: 294). Individual clients have elaborated on their experience of this. Pattison (2007) and Martin (2007) have both said, independently of each other, that projects only went slowly when the client wanted something different from what Scott wanted and that when architect and client agreed on what they wanted, work proceeded quickly and smoothly (Fig. 23.4).

Following Scott's death in 1992, friends remembered his huge talent as an architect, his warmth and humanity as a person, his casual dress and bare feet, his humility, his spirituality and his "cultivated patriotism", which "rejoiced in its bicultural roots" (Tributes to John Scott 1992: 14–15).

Key Works

Futuna Chapel is Aotearoa New Zealand's most celebrated building. In addition to its 1968 NZIA Gold Medal, it earned the Institute's national 25-Year Award in 1986. It is the subject of two monographs: Walden's *Voices of Silence* (1987), and a recent edited collection, *Futuna: Life of a Building* (O'Brien and Bevin, 2016). It is one of eight Aotearoa New Zealand buildings published in Phaidon's atlas of *20th Century World Architecture* (Terragni and Thomas, 2012: 43), is included on the DOCOMOMO New Zealand[4] list of the country's 'Top 20' modern buildings, and is listed by Heritage New Zealand as a category 1 historic place.

Futuna is special in many ways. It uses geometry to provide order. A square plan is quartered, with much of one quarter given over to entry and establishing the diagonal axis that leads to the altar, in the opposite corner. The roof appears complex by combining alternating half-hips and half-gables. Walls are roughcast. Their heavily textured surface is animated by coloured light that falls from above and is ever-changing, depending on the seasons, the weather and the time of day. Unusually for a church, it has a wooden post at its centre, with wooden struts fanning out to the rafters above. Rangiātea Church in Ōtaki (1848–51), which drew from both Gothic Revival sources and Māori traditions, is one possible precedent: Scott's maternal grandmother had links to the place and family recall that he knew it. His collaboration with sculptor Jim Allen also warrants mention. Allen designed the light modulators above the entry, the fourteen abstract Stations of the Cross and

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[4]DOCOMOMO is the international working party for the DOcumentation and COnservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the MOdern MOvement. DOCOMOMO New Zealand is its local branch.

Fig. 23.4 John Scott outside his Haumoana home in 1988 (*Photograph* Julia Gatley)

the gridded pattern of the coloured acrylic that is used in place of stained glass. He also carved the building's wooden crucifix (Fig. 23.5).

Like Futuna, Our Lady of Lourdes, Havelock North (1959–60), has an approximately square plan, with entry and altar at opposite ends of a diagonal axis that forms the main aisle. The material palette of the two buildings is also similar, with monumental, roughcast walls contrasted by timber, including an exposed timber roof structure and sarking, all illuminated by coloured acrylic windows. Our Lady of Lourdes differs from Futuna in its roof design, which comprises a high ridge above the building's diagonal axis/aisle and drops low at the other two

Fig. 23.5 Interior of Futuna, showing its central post, textured surfaces and ever-changing light. *Photograph* Gavin Woodward, Copyright Victoria University of Wellington, Courtesy of J. C. Beaglehole Room (Reference A2014.035)

corners. Internally, windows alternate with wood panelling, like the *tukutuku* (lattice wall panels) and *poupou* (carved wall panels) in a meeting house, and pews wrap around the top-lit altar as if it was a hearth (McKay 2008f, 2015: 90–91; Gatley 2009b). The NZIA's statement publicising Scott's 1999 Gold Medal identified Our Lady of Lourdes as the building that "demonstrates the unique synthesis

of Pakeha and Maori heritage, overlaid with modernism, that guided Scott's architectural vision" (Gold Medal 1999). This is in contrast to the usual privileging of Futuna. Scott also designed the presbytery adjacent to Our Lady of Lourdes, comprising a cluster of small spaces, each one square in plan with its own pyramidal roof. Scott explained this strategy with reference to community: "I felt it [multiple pyramidal roofs] would give the church a sense of community in a rural parish" (Our Lady of Lourdes 1973: 12) (Fig. 23.6).

St Joseph the Worker, Turangi (1965), in the central North Island, St Mary's Church, Greenmeadows, Napier (1972–75), and St Canice's Church, Westport (1976), on the west coast of the South Island, employ different geometries. The main bulk of St Joseph the Worker sits under an asymmetric gabled roof, one side of which is dropped to allow a clerestorey at the ridge (a roof type sometimes described as a slipped gable or a split skillion). The two end walls are then stepped or staggered back from the main axis on either side, giving the appearance of a series of boxes. Two quite different precedents have been suggested for this stepping. Brown (2005: 10) writes that it is "most likely based on the poutama stitching design of tukutuku (Maori lattice wall panels) that, suitably for a church building, describe the ascent to heaven and the enlightenment". Wood (2009: 10), on the other hand, comments that the stepped façade resembles and possibly follows that

Fig. 23.6 Our Lady of Lourdes, Havelock North, designed concurrent with Futuna (*Photograph* Bill McKay)

at the Church of Notre Dame de Bel Amour in Montreal (1955), a building that Scott might have known as a result of its publication in *New Buildings in the Commonwealth*.

St Mary's in Greenmeadows is dominated by a curving, windowless roughcast wall facing west towards the street. It is tall at the north-west end, above the altar, and low at the far end of the nave. A journey around the curved wall, into a courtyard, leads to the entry (McKay 2015: 44–47). Again, the curved wall has been interpreted in two ways. Brown (2005: 10) sees it both as part of a *koru* (the spiral of an unfurling frond from a native fern, often used in Māori arts and crafts) and as a return to the "organic shapes" of Ronchamp. Certainly the journey to the entry is in the tradition of the Corbusian *promenade architecturale* (Gatley 2009b: 2). At St Canice's in Westport, the triangle dominates, with the floor plan comprising four triangles of decreasing size, all fanning out from the altar. Each of these is expressed spatially and in the building's three-dimensional form, with the biggest triangle having the highest ceiling, and each consecutive one decreasing incrementally from there. Each drop in ceiling height becomes a coloured clerestorey (Gatley 2008b: 207).

St Joseph the Worker, St Mary's and St Canice's have similar material palettes, with concrete, concrete block or roughcast walls used in combination with timber, for contrast. Luminosity is fundamental to all three buildings too, with coloured acrylic or glazing animating and warming the interiors, the materials and the textures, notably in orange and yellow at St Mary's, and red and blue at St Canice's.

In addition to materiality, textures and luminosity, a concern with geometry underscores all of Scott's Catholic Churches. It allowed for experimentation with the positioning of the altar, including at a diagonal to the building walls and the pews. Proximity between altar and pews, and more generally the sense of informality that is apparent in these buildings, was consistent with the intentions of Vatican II, which was being discussed during the 1950s and was formalised between 1962 and 1965.

St John's College and Chapel, Hastings (1953–56), Scott's first Catholic school complex, includes first-floor classrooms that are raised on pilotis and accessed via a large ramp. Under the classrooms, an open-air area is sheltered from sun and rain. Building surfaces are roughcast. The school chapel has an octagonal plan (Gatley 2009b). Of subsequent school projects, the Catholic Primary School in Marewa, Napier (1958), which was published in *New Buildings of the Commonwealth* (Richards 1961: 56), was again partly raised on pilotis and shows experimentation with roof form just as Scott was starting to design Futuna Chapel. He gave this linear building a regular bay structure, and each bay a mono-pitched or skillion roof, with the direction of the roof fall alternating from one bay to the next. St Joseph's Catholic Primary School, Waipukurau (1965), was a contemporary take on the cloistered quadrangular courtyard typology, while St Columba's Convent School, Waipāwa (1969), like the presbytery at Our Lady of Lourdes, is broken into a series of pavilions, each with its own pyramidal roof. The four are separated from each other to create a central courtyard between them. The arrangement recalls

Louis Kahn's Trenton Bathhouse project in New Jersey, of 1955–59, although with Scott's characteristic slipping and sliding of forms (Gatley 2009b: 2).

Beyond Scott's work for the Catholic Church, the Māori Battalion Memorial Hall in Palmerston North (1954–64), on the North Island's west side, is another of his earlier buildings of key significance. It is his most urban building and is unusually frontal for a building on a corner site. The brief stipulated that it "should be a harmonious combination of Maori and Pakeha architectural traditions" (Maori Battalion Memorial 1964: 32). Thus, the front façade combines the fair-faced concrete construction of Brutalist architecture with a regular series of traditional wooden Māori carvings by Kelly Kereama at first-floor level. The Māori carvings allow comparison to a meeting house, reinforced by the inclusion in the design of street-level seating that recalls *pae pae* (where Elders or orators would sit), at the threshold of a meeting house porch. The interior comprises a large double-height hall, some sleeping areas and a caretaker's flat. It retains a roll of honour for the local D Company of the 28th (Maori) Battalion that served during the Second World War (McKay 2008c). The building's Brutalism is generally considered to follow Japanese precedents. Steiner (1995: 3) suggests Kenzo Tange's 1956 Community Centre in particular, the pair sharing frontality, symmetry and concrete framing with a central entrance (Fig. 23.7).

Fig. 23.7 Māori Battalion Memorial Hall, Palmerston North (1954–64): Māori carvings meet Brutalist fair-faced concrete (*Photograph* Julia Gatley)

Scott designed two visitor centres for sites of national significance: the Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre at Lake Waikaremoana in Te Urewera (1973–76), north of Hawkes Bay; and the Waitangi Visitor Centre in the Bay of Islands, Northland (1981). Āniwaniwa, sadly demolished by the Department of Conservation in 2016, provided a comparatively small exhibition and museum facility, deep within an isolated area of dense native bush. Rather than celebrating the vista and the natural beauty, the building had a strong sense of interiority and encouraged introspection. It also epitomised the concept of an architectural journey or promenade. The approach started with a free-standing *waharoa* (gateway) and continued through a series of platforms rising up into the forest canopy and leading to the entry at the rear of the building. The interior then stepped up and down through various spaces, with small windows providing specific views and controlled natural lighting. Colin McCahon, arguably Aotearoa New Zealand's best known artist of the period, was commissioned to paint the *Urewera Mural* for the building. Scott also designed the visitor accommodation located a short distance away, in the form of small pyramidal chalets with tiny mezzanines (McKay 2008a) (Fig. 23.8).

The slightly later Waitangi Visitor Centre pursues some similar strategies, including a floating walkway through bush, although its entry sequence differs by virtue of being more frontal and direct, and its interior was substantially opened up in 2016, creating one large space. The building's porch and entry sit under a gable

Fig. 23.8 Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre at Lake Waikaremoana in Te Urewera (1973–76), demolished in 2016 despite a category 1 heritage listing and a campaign to save it (*Photograph* Julia Gatley)

end and it is easy to read the meeting house into the arrangement, appropriate given its location near the Treaty House, where Aotearoa New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was first signed by Māori chiefs in 1840. Scott admired the Treaty House, a Georgian building dating from the 1830s, for its 'dignity' and its straightforwardness: "there was good use of timber" (Scott in Grover 1973: 299). A meeting house was built to the north of the Treaty House in 1940, on the occasion of Aotearoa New Zealand's centenary.

Scott collaborated with JASMaD on the design of the Rarotongan Hotel, in the Cook Islands (1975–77), a joint initiative between the Cook Islands Government, Air New Zealand and the Aotearoa New Zealand Government's Tourist Hotel Corporation (THC), which built hotels in scenic destinations throughout the country and in its dependencies, to encourage tourism (Mountier 1977: 27–40; Crocombe 1992). The Rarotongan makes reference to traditional Pacific Island architecture, notably in exposed timber posts, rafters and purlins. The complex has an informal arrangement of buildings, including a reception area, shops and offices, a restaurant and bar alongside a swimming pool, and bedroom wings. Scott was credited with "provid[ing] the initial concept for the bedroom block" (Mountier 1977: 29), some of which utilises his penchant for multiple small square buildings with pyramidal roofs.

Finally, Scott designed a large number of wonderful houses, many of them in and around Hawkes Bay. They tend to employ rectilinear geometries, with some spaces projecting and others receding externally. The projections and recessions reflect the arrangement of spaces internally, as one space will be slipped, sliding or staggered in relation to the next. This also means that circulation between spaces is often at an angle—the diagonal—rather than simply linear or orthogonal. Roof forms are varied, including skillions, gables, asymmetric or slipped gables with a clerestorey at the ridge, and pyramids. Material palettes include concrete block for walls in combination with exposed timber roof structures, raked ceilings, timber joinery and on occasion some fibre–cement sheeting.

The best of Scott's houses include The Brow (also known as the first Pattison House), Waipāwa (1966–67), the Martin House at Bridge Pā (1968–70) and Ngamatea Homestead in the Kaweka Ranges (1981–84), all in greater Hawkes Bay. The Brow replaced an earlier homestead that was destroyed by fire. The replacement building's slipped gable roof is important in giving a sense of the fracture, or fissure, occasioned by the fire, doubly relevant in a province impacted by a severe earthquake some 35 years earlier. The dominance of the gabled roof and porch is such that it can be read as a reference to a meeting house. The Brow is more spacious than some of Scott's other houses, but with a tight spiral staircase at the centre (Stacpoole and Beaven 1972: 91; McKay 2008b). The Martin House comprises four component parts, arranged to form a loose courtyard. Each of the four is compact, with one tall wall giving height to the skillion roofs that are steep enough to appear as half-gables. Narrow windows frame specific views. The design and construction of this house spanned Scott's 1969 visit to Japan, which was of particular relevance to these clients, Bruce and Estelle Martin, both of them potters who used Japanese techniques in their work (Shaw 2004; Walsh 2007; McKay 2008d). Ngamatea Homestead is a different proposition. It is a spacious house hunkering down under a pyramidal roof

Fig. 23.9 The Brow (also known as the first Pattison House), Waipāwa (1966–67), looking out over its private lawn (*Photograph* Julia Gatley)

in the rolling tussock of an inland mountain range. Its square plan is cut away to produce a crab-like footprint, with pincers sheltering a narrow courtyard from most winds. This again results in diagonal circulation internally. A mezzanine sleeping loft above the living spaces accommodates family, friends or farm workers communally (Shanahan 1991; Stewart 1995; McKay 2008e). The house was built for a family of Māori heritage, and Brown (2005: 11) interprets this arrangement as sleeping "marae-style" (Figs. 23.9 and 23.10).

In sum, Scott's work demonstrates ongoing experimentation with geometry, notably the square as well as the octagon and the triangle, continued into varied roof forms, particularly slipped gables and pyramids. The buildings with gables and porches are those that most closely recall meeting houses, while those with multiple small pavilions under pyramidal roofs were designed to express a sense of community. Individual spaces within buildings, and individual pavilions within building complexes, are often staggered in relation to each other and utilise diagonal circulation. The staggering also provided opportunities for the creation of private outdoor spaces, sheltered from prevailing winds and often open on the north or north-west for sun. On sloping sites, Scott extended these devices by introducing changes in floor level. He used varied material palettes, but particularly concrete and concrete block—both fair-faced and roughcast—in conjunction with exposed timbers. Luminosity contributed to the spirituality of his church buildings, with

Fig. 23.10 The Martin House at Bridge Pā (1968–70), comprising a series of small pavilions (*Photograph* Julia Gatley)

coloured light moving across textured surfaces, while in other building types, Scott took care with window placement to frame particular views.

In Scott's Own Words

Scott did not write about his own work at any length, but various magazine articles record statements made by him in interviews. Writers and interviewers tended to probe him about his ethnicity and its implications for the design of his buildings.

One of the earlier such articles, published in 1959, focused on housing. On this topic, Scott said his aim was "to give [his clients] the most for the money" (Scott in Johnson 1959: 36). On the subject of 'Māori influences', he was reported to have said that "he has not often used Maori decoration for interior panelling, but on several occasions he has found the Maori features useful and has adapted them to the European requirements" (1959: 38). He advised he had built only one house for a Māori client and concluded that: "I'm the wrong person to ask about Maori housing…. In fact, I don't think that there is a right person to ask such questions of. It's assuming, after all, that all people of one race want to live in the same sort of house and that just isn't true" (1959: 38).

In a more substantial interview conducted in 1973, Scott discussed his ethnicity and the value that he saw in Māori meeting houses and rural woolsheds. He used the Māori word *whare*, which translates as 'house' but refers quite generally to Māori architecture, from individual buildings and houses through to meeting houses. This interview underpins the reputation that Scott developed for combining references to *whare* and woolsheds in his work.

Interviewer Ray Grover was overt in asking Scott: "has your Maori descent affected your work and outlook? Do you overall see yourself as Maori or Pakeha?" Scott answered directly:

> Neither. I am just an architect sorting out problems and trying to say what seems to be relevant to our time. Perhaps there are certain hereditary traits, but for me it could be Irish, Scottish, English as well as Maori. I am a bit of each. Because of colour—mine—it is easier to be identified as a Maori (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 290).

Clearly, Scott did not seek recognition as a 'Māori architect'. On the contrary, he acknowledged both sides of his ancestry, and this informed his admiration for both *whare* and woolsheds. Of the former, he said:

> It's not the building, but what the people are about, that's important. The *whare* or meeting house represents this group; it is set in the countryside in this particular gabled form – it does not matter how dilapidated it is, or whether it's new or old – and its form speaks for those people as a kind of symbol (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 291).

From the *whare*, it was a quick sidestep to the woolshed:

> And this is where we get on to the woolshed which acts as a symbol for all New Zealanders. It is the only building that we've all had a hand in – that's grown out of our needs, our requirements, or kind of way of living…. [I]t represents our total income, yours and mine, whether or not we're involved in farming. It's important because it was generated here. But I don't say we go and build woolsheds….
>
> I say we build buildings with the same intention (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 291).

Scott made further observations about the differences between Māori and Pākehā, describing Pākehā as a people who train their children to be individuals, with each growing up in his or her own room and thus being isolated from the family unit:

> We automatically train our kids from scratch to be individuals occupying separate units…. In contrast to the Maori, who doesn't. They'll probably live in one room, probably all sleep in the sitting-room, share each other's beds—things like this (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 301).

Scott refers to Pākehā as 'us' and to Māori as 'them'. In doing this, he was perhaps identifying with, or appealing to, the likely readers of the journal in which the interview was published.

To revisit the interview is to be reminded that Scott repeatedly asserts a third line of influence, beyond *whare* and woolsheds; that of Bill Wilson and Group Architects—his near peers from the Auckland School of Architecture—and their favourite lecturer, Vernon Brown. He comments that he and his peers were lucky to

have been taught by Brown, after the war when there were restrictions on the amount of material that could be used in building, and efficiency in planning and material usage became paramount: "Vernon paved the way for all those students of that time" (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 300). Group Architects, under Bill Wilson's leadership, pushed this further. Wilson had been a school teacher before the war and continued to play the role of a teacher after the war, for his fellow architecture students, who were generally six or seven years younger than he was. Scott recalls:

> This talk of Bill's made me more aware of the importance of people like Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier and all the others, than any lectures did…. There was this sort of faith – not so much faith – but we knew we could rely on his judgement…. Bill didn't produce much in terms of buildings, but I think he produced people like ourselves. He set us going (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 300).

Scott also acknowledged that Group Architects' houses had the 'sort of flavour' of woolsheds: "It was important because it was a complete break from what a house was thought to represent and it made architects start thinking about the problems we face; it made us look and start afresh" (Scott quoted in Grover 1973: 291).

Throughout his life, Scott continued to resist the description of 'Māori architect'. It was a period in which mainstream society valued Māori culture less than it does today, and his position might reflect a desire to be accepted as an architect, rather than sidelined as Māori. That said, he also looked beyond cultural difference, to recognise the common ground that existed between peoples, commenting in a 1989 interview: "Maoris have taken on those things that have come from the most powerful influence, the majority of people. There might be inflections that come out of our background or landscape. But if there is anything distinctly New Zealand in world terms, I haven't seen it yet" (Scott in Hayward 1989: 88).

Māori in Regional Modernism

Scott was not the first Aotearoa New Zealand architect to speak favourably of Māori *whare*. Christchurch architect Paul Pascoe had done so in his centennial survey of Aotearoa New Zealand houses, published in the government's *Making New Zealand* series of 1940 (1940: 2–3, 10–15). Aucklanders, James Garrett and Group Architects followed suit in the 1950s and 60s. It was a period in which the general public perceived *whare* as mere shacks, but these Māori buildings, with their gabled roofs and porches, became important points of reference for the post-war Aotearoa New Zealand architects who had a nationalist agenda, and whose interest was the development and promotion of a specifically Aotearoa New Zealand modernism. Such an architecture demanded local precedents.

The Group produced their most *whare*-like building, their Second House in the Auckland suburb of Takapuna, in 1950–51. Its front façade is notable for the projecting gable that shelters a porch that is enclosed on either side and was intended for both entry and outdoor living (Gatley and McKay 2010: 42–46). In response to this porch, neighbours nicknamed the house the 'Maori House'. The Group responded by calling it 'Pakeha House' (Shaw 1991: 125), as all of them— the young designer–builders—were Pākehā and, as the house was built speculatively, they might also have assumed that the purchasers too would be white. But the Group were specific in citing Māori precedents for their work: "The Maoris lived here for hundreds of years … they evolved a style of house suited to the climate, and that is exactly what we are doing" (Novel Building Venture 1950: 11). *Whare*-like porches soon appeared in the work of other architects, such as Pascoe's Arthur's Pass Chapel of 1953–56, in the central South Island (Wilson 2008: 73), and Auckland architect Richard Toy's All Saints' Church, Ponsonby (1956), and addition to Holy Trinity Cathedral, Parnell (1977–95) (McKay 1998).

Scott's debt to Bill Wilson and Group Architects warrants further consideration here, because he admired their ideas and their buildings, worked for them and located their work in the woolshed tradition that he privileged. That his work grew from theirs is concretely demonstrated by his 1957 design for Trimley Presbyterian Hall (Walden 1987: 48), which, with its post-and-beam structure and broad gable sheltering the porch and main entry, looks very much like a large version of the Group's Second House.

The Group's best known buildings were houses, not grand houses for wealthy clients, but small, efficiently planned houses for ordinary Aotearoa New Zealand families. It was in their first few of these that they reintroduced the gabled roof of Aotearoa New Zealand's nineteenth-century shelters and Māori *whare* back into Aotearoa New Zealand architecture, reinvigorating the historical form by placing the ridge parallel with the short end walls, meaning gable ends sit above long façades and are broad and shallow. The Group also experimented with pyramidal roofs from 1951 and slipped gables with clerestoreys from 1954. They rejected suspended ceilings, favouring raked timber ceilings that took the form of the roof above. They sought to create informality, dropping floor levels close to the ground, dispensing with formal foyers and hallways, and opening up living spaces to dining areas and to outdoor living. They designed a house with a mezzanine sleeping loft; experimented with simple geometric shapes from the square and the circle to the triangle and the octagon; they used courtyards, enclosed on four sides and three. Like their floor planning, their material usage was efficient, with minimum-sized structural members at maximum spacings from one to the next. They used timber extensively, for posts, beams and rafters, and for floors and wall and ceiling linings. Brick or stone provided contrast internally, particularly for fireplaces and chimneys. In addition, they built houses of concrete block, leaving it fair-faced inside and out (Gatley 2010a). Their houses were very influential locally and certainly informed Scott's work.

While various post-war architects recognised the architectural quality of the *whare*, few were interested in pursuing low-cost Māori housing commissions from

the government, known at the time as 'Māori welfare housing'. Bill Wilson was one of those who was interested—not only in Māori housing but in the people and culture more generally (Gatley and McKay 2010: 43)—and he actively tried to collaborate with Scott to produce Māori welfare housing. This is documented in a series of letters between the two, dating from 1953. They show that Wilson was enthusiastic, while Scott procrastinated. Wilson drafted up a three-page report, titled "Suggestions for consideration by Maori representatives" (Maori Welfare Housing File 30 April 1953). It set out their credentials and their thoughts on a process, which would include consultation with Māori. Wilson wrote:

> We are quite convinced that the normal house (e.g. State house)[5] takes very little account of the real family needs of the ordinary Pakeha family let alone of Maori family needs and manner of living. And we are equally convinced that there are elements visible in the life of the Maori family and community which are lost in the normal N.Z. house and which preserved for the Maori and recaptured for the Pakeha would greatly enrich and ease our daily lives (Maori Welfare Housing File 30 April 1953).

Scott made reference to "working on some basic plan types" (Letter on Maori Welfare Housing File, date obscured 1953) and is believed to have reworked Wilson's draft report and to have submitted it to the government, but archival records suggest that nothing came of this initiative (Gatley 2010a; McKay 2011). The archives also suggest that Scott did little further work on Māori welfare housing. The University of Auckland's archive of his drawings includes one sheet labelled 'Proposal for Types/Maori Affairs/1960', but the labelling is not from Scott's own hand, so it is difficult to be certain of the drawing's provenance. It shows a basic house design, with variations to adapt it for a range of sites and family groupings. It is less accommodating of Māori cultural differences than designs produced by other architects in the 1950s and 1960s, notably Max Rosenfeld, Gerhard Rosenberg, Don McRae and Bill Wilson. For these four architects, it was floor planning rather than a *whare*-like form that was the central concern for Māori housing, with a view to accommodating communal or extended family living and separating *tapu* facilities from those considered to be *noa* (McKay 2011).

Conclusions: A Māori Architect, or an Architect Who Was Māori?

While Scott did not seek recognition as a Māori architect, others have focused on his Māori heritage and looked for Māori elements in his work. The ground is contested. Scott's ethnicity included Māori heritage—but it also included English, Irish and Scottish heritage. It is possible to see Māori elements in his work—but it

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[5]'State house' is the Aotearoa New Zealand term for rental houses built and owned by central government. Thousands were built throughout the country from 1937 onwards.

is equally possible to deny these references and to focus instead on other architects and buildings as precedents and influences. He sits within the realm of Aotearoa New Zealand's regional modernism—but like other regionalists, he was interested in and open to international influences. Different commentators have read, and will continue to read, Scott's buildings and projects in a range of ways, bringing their own interests and biases to bear on their individual interpretations.

Art critic and cultural historian Keith Stewart (1999: 45) is one who has attempted to answer explicitly the question of whether or not Scott should be described as a Māori architect. He identified some of Scott's attributes as consistent with a caricature of Māori: "the barefoot joker with a bucket of pipis and a huge smile. Natural, eh. Happy-go-lucky, disorganised, never delivered plans on time, never did plans, eh". But Stewart was quick to add that the work surpassed any such easy judgement and concluded that Scott was:

> Not a Maori architect, or a New Zealand architect by virtue of being Maori or a New Zealander, but an artist, a practitioner who addresses culture in its fundamental sense – the things we do – and so becomes a representative of that culture. Maori, farming, family, pride in utility, individuality, humanism, Romanticism, and a particularly physical spiri-tuality (1999: 52).

Māori architecture academics Jonathan Mane-Wheoki (1990), Deidre Brown (2005, 2009) and Rau Hoskins (*Whare Māori* 2011), on the other hand, have continued to discuss Scott within the context of Māori architecture. Hoskins was asked only recently whether he thought Scott should be described as a Māori architect or an architect who just happened to be Māori. His reply was that: "The way his houses were designed, they definitely did respond to Māori drivers, in an attempt to make an architecture of this place… I really respect what John did, being someone who brought his culture to the design" (*The New Zealand Home* 2016).

Similarly, Brown (2005, 2009) sees more references to Māori architecture, art and culture in Scott's work than other commentators have done. Many of these have been mentioned above. In addition, as general principles common to both Māori architecture in general and Scott's work in particular, she emphasises the impor-tance of the porch and main entrance to each design, and the attention to community and communal living. She explains that in Māori meeting houses, the *pare* (large lintel) above the front door is significant in marking the transition between inside and out, meaning that for Scott main entrances were important as places of both welcome and farewell or departure. Thus, he would group spaces around main entries (2005: 9). Elaborating upon the theme of community and communal living, Brown gives the example of the *whare kai* (dining areas) of Māori *marae* being used for informal meetings. Translated into domestic architecture, informal kitchen tables, not formal dining or living rooms, are often important social spaces in Māori homes. She cites Ngamatea Homestead as one of Scott's houses where this was the case (2005: 11).

In claiming Scott as a Māori architect, and recognising the importance of his career at a time when there were few such practitioners, these scholars have been conscious of building up the published record of Māori architecture in general, and

giving presence, profile and identity to individual Māori architects. More than simply making Māori architects and their buildings more visible, such work provides role models and points of reference for young Māori considering a career in architecture. This is important, given that Māori, and also Pacific Islanders, remain under-represented in the Aotearoa New Zealand architectural profession, even today.

Additionally, Scott recognised his dual heritage, and his buildings have significance and value beyond the context of Māori architecture. His wonderful body of work, resolved through the enjoyment of geometry, materiality and texture, and the exploration of light, sits within the Aotearoa New Zealand tradition of regional modernism, opened up by Vernon Brown and Group Architects and extended by Scott and other architects who were influenced by them. Reference to meeting houses, in *whare*-like porches under gable ends, was an important aspect of this broader tradition. For some, it led to an interest in Māori welfare housing, but Scott did not pursue this as actively as some of his Pākehā peers. This might seem surprising at first, but it is also quite plausible that in the post-war period, he might have thought such commissions might stereotype him as a Māori architect and thus limit his opportunities to work on a full range of building types. His decision is also consistent with his 1959 comment that not all Māori would want to live in a particular kind of house.

Futuna remains Scott's most celebrated building. It came under threat of demolition from 2001 when it was sold to developers. A charitable trust formed to fight for its retention and, after an extensive fund-raising programme, purchased it and restored it. It graces the cover of a recent history of Aotearoa New Zealand churches (McKay 2015) and is the subject of a new monograph, *Futuna: Life of a Building* (O'Brien and Bevin, 2016), which brings together the reflections and recollections of many of those associated with the building over time. In documenting the threat of demolition and the subsequent restoration, the book becomes a valuable counterpart to 1987's *Voices of Silence*, which was published at a time when the building's future as a Catholic retreat chapel had seemed so assured.

Interpretation of Futuna as a synthesis of Māori and Pākehā values continues, as do questions about the appropriateness of synthesis and integration as architectural expressions of biculturalism, given ongoing inequality, tensions and difficulties in Aotearoa New Zealand society. The 2016 demolition of the Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre epitomises these, located as it was in Te Urewera, the historic home of the Tūhoe people and, from 1954, a national park. In 2012–13, the Aotearoa New Zealand Government convicted Tūhoe activist Tama Iti and three others on weapons charges, following a major surveillance operation deep in the Urewera Ranges and accusations that they were planning terrorist attacks. The surveillance was found to have been illegal, and the more serious charges had to be dropped. In 2014, under the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process, the government acknowledged historical grievances against Tūhoe. As part of the settlement process, it disestablished the Urewera National Park and newly established Te Urewera Board to administer the land, with representation from both government and Tūhoe. In 2016, ignoring Heritage New Zealand's category 1 heritage listing and a public

campaign to save the building from demolition, Tūhoe sided with the Department of Conservation and supported demolition, interpreting the building not as a fine work by Aotearoa New Zealand's best known architect of Māori heritage, but as a symbol of colonialism, built in the days before the government acknowledged the tribe's claims to the land (Hill and McKay 2018). The Department of Conservation and Tūhoe have since built a new visitor centre, in place of Scott's building.

Of Scott's extant buildings, the Māori Battalion Memorial Hall remains the strongest statement of unresolved cultural difference. Here, with Māori carvings flanked by Brutalist fair-faced concrete, the meeting of cultures is awkward, uncomfortable. Rather than synthesis, the building signals the search for new forms of architecture to reflect the resurgent cultural and political identity of Māori after the Second World War. The Māori Battalion Memorial Hall is Scott's most overt expression of a bicultural architecture, remembering that in Aotearoa New Zealand, biculturalism is taken to mean Māori on the one hand and all others—our multi-cultural society—on the other. Such a reading does not exclude international influences. It embraces them, acknowledging that Indigenous people and cultures are part of the contemporary and increasingly globalised world.

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Bill McKay is an award winning architectural historian, critic and commentator based at the University of Auckland's School of Architecture and Planning. His recent publications include *Beyond the State: New Zealand State Houses from Modest to Modern* (Penguin 2014) (2014 New Zealand Post Book Awards finalist) and *Worship: A History of New Zealand Church Design* (Godwit 2015), and extensive contributions to *Long Live the Modern: New Zealand's New Architecture 1904−1984* (Auckland University Press 2008) and *Group Architects: Towards a New Zealand Architecture* (Auckland University Press 2010). He is currently working on several projects including his PhD on war memorial community centres and a website devoted to Pacific architecture.

Chapter 24
Contemporary Change in Sāmoan Indigenous Village Architecture: Sociocultural Dynamics and Implications

Micah Van der Ryn

Introduction

Part of viewing contemporary Indigenous architecture in the Pacific requires examining how people modify their Indigenous architectural forms, spaces, materials, building processes and spatial uses in the contemporary period. This chapter, drawing on ethnographic research conducted over four years in both American Sāmoa and Sāmoa, highlights some of the findings regarding the sociocultural dynamics and implications of architectural village changes from around 1940 (the earliest time frame the informants of the study could recall) through to 2006. Major impacts in the Sāmoan Islands during this period include the Second World War (during which many US marines were stationed throughout different areas of the Sāmoan Islands), Western Sāmoa's gaining of independence in 1962 and the increasing Sāmoan outmigration to the USA (predominantly people from American Sāmoa) and to Aotearoa New Zealand (predominantly people from Western Sāmoa). These events are associated with increasing economic dependence on remittances and an increased use of imported building materials. With greater economic, technological and social integration in a globalising modern world, Sāmoans have increasingly incorporated new building material types, construction techniques and ideological frameworks and practices into village building projects, thereby embodying sociocultural and economic changes into their villages. This chapter describes dynamics and implications involved with those changes during a half-century period of globalisation.

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Indigenous Sāmoan Village Social Structure, Physical Form and the Master Building Guilds

The Sāmoan archipelago consists of nine fertile volcanic islands whose total land area equals 3133 km^2—the third largest Polynesian archipelago, after Aotearoa New Zealand and Hawai'i. From west to east, they are comprised of Savai'i, Manono, Apolima, Upolu, Tutuila, Aunu'u and the three islands of the Manu'a group (Ta'ū, Ofu and Olosega). They were first settled by proto-Oceanic voyaging peoples, ancestral Sāmoans, who arrived in their double-hulled sailing canoes some three thousand years ago to become the 'cradle of Polynesia'. Over the millennia, a distinctive way of life developed in conjunction with particular architectural forms and settlement patterns. The sociopolitical structure became organised around politically autonomous territorial polities called *nu'u* stretching from Manu'a in the east to the large island of Savai'i in the west. As Sāmoan historian Malama Meleisea ([1987]: 1) writes: "What Sāmoa did have, more than most Polynesian groups—and vastly more than Melanesia—was a unified system of dispersed power". The Sāmoan word for country *atunu'u* contains a notion of Sāmoan political organisation. *Atu* refers to 'collection'. *Nu'u*, which is typically translated as 'village', is actually a territorial entity composed of land, settlement and an autonomous political organisation. Each *nu'u* has a territorial area that usually stretches from the top ridge or mountain inland of the village settlement to the reef offshore. The *nu'u* settlement lies somewhere on that inland to seaward axis, usually close to the coast which allows ease of fishing as well as farming on the lower gentle slopes of the valleys and lands extending inland.

Side by side with this system of confederated villages governed by village chiefly councils developed prestigious guilds of master craftsmen (*matuafaiva* or *tufuga*) responsible for the creating chiefly boats, tattoos and houses. Each trade had its own guild maintained along genealogical lines. The house building and boat building guilds are described in Sāmoan legend as descended directly from the progenitor God Tagaloaalagi. This helps explain the honorific term of address *agaiotupu* (companion of kings) used for these master artists. The parent name of the carpenter's guild is 'Āiga Sālemalama', from which a number of branches developed (e.g. Sao, Le Ifi, Moe, Logo and Solofuti), each associated with all the major districts and islands of the Sāmoan archipelago (Allen [1993]: 162–163; Buck [1930]: 84; Handy et al. [1924]: 15; Turner [1884]).

Every high-ranking village *matai* (chief)[1] required a large well-built guesthouse where he could receive guests, collect the extended members of his descent group together and meet with other *matai*. The need for these high-status structures

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[1]The English gloss 'chief' for '*matai*' denotes a respected position in Sāmoa, gained through a descent group's ancestral chiefly name. Each descent group typically holds several such names or titles, one of which is considered the highest ranking, and holds authority over the descent group's communal lands and properties and represents the descent group in the village council of *matai*. There are two main types of *matai*—*tulāfale* (orators) and *ali'i* (high chiefs).

spurred the development of a specialist-building guild and the refinement of Sāmoan architecture. The commissioning *matai* entered into contracts with the *agaiotupu* to commission the building of a new house. The prestige involved with the houses was high, and as a result, the contracting costs were also high. As Buck (1930: 84) reports, the *tufuga* held the upper hand. They held the right to abandon a half-completed house if they were not compensated well enough during the ritual payments at different phases of the construction or if any infraction occurred. They could also place a taboo on any other *matuafaiva* from completing the job.

At one point in the early twentieth century, the traditional Sāmoan building guilds noticed a decline in the number of house commissions. This was attributed to the high costs, particularly exacerbated by the incorporation of items purchased with money into the ritual payments to the carpenters (Handy et al. 1924: 17). The entire guild met to make collective decisions regarding how to re-stimulate the trade by lessening the costs, for example, reducing the number of feasts required. As a result, "families found themselves better able to bear the expense of building, and trade soon revived" (Handy et al. 1924: 17).

Village layouts follow a general pattern of an open central or front area of higher-ranking ceremonial public areas constituting the village's *malae* (a village's central open ceremonial grounds), bordered by the higher-ranking guesthouses, behind which are built the main chiefly houses supported to their rear by the smaller auxiliary structures primarily occupied by the lower-ranking members of the head *matai's* extended family household. This pattern follows the same radial front/rear (centre/periphery) ranking of space found within each family compound and within each individual structure, emphasising a collective centre to which people serve from the outer edges.

These features and principles, variously expressed in contemporary Sāmoan villages, are reflected in the French explorer, Jean Francois de La Pérouse's (the first European to come to Samoa's shores) description of Aasu Village (Tutuila Island) in 1788.[2]

> The houses were placed in the circumference of a circle, about 150 fathoms in diameter, the center of which formed a vast open place, with a grass-plate of the most beautiful verdure. …. I entered the handsomest of these huts, which probably belonged to the Chief, when how great was my surprise, to see a large room of lattice work, equally well executed with any of those about Paris. The best architect could not have given a more elegant curve to the extremities of the ellipsis that terminated this cabin; a range of columns at five feet distance from each other was placed all round it: these columns were made of trunks of trees wrought with great nicety, between which, fine mats [the Sāmoan *pola* blinds], artfully laid one on the other like the scales of a fish, were elevated or let down by cords like our Venetian blind (La Pérouse 1799: 130).

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[2]La Pérouse's visit in Sāmoa ended in a violent clash between the French and the Sāmoans. As a result, Europeans avoided coming to Sāmoa for the next 40 years until the first European missionary of Christianity to Sāmoa, John Williams, arrived in 1830, long after Christianity had been introduced to all the other major island groups of Polynesia.

This 1788 description helps to establish understanding about the high level of historical continuity in Sāmoan village built environments despite contact and interaction with European culture and colonialism over the last 180 years. Such a description would also fit many Sāmoan villages well into the 1960s and 1970s. The main added structures, would be the grand Romanesque churches also near the central *malae* area and some integration of corrugated iron roofing and some other introduced European forms here and there. The 'vast open' area at the centre of the village around which the houses were placed was the village *malae*, still an important feature of every Sāmoan village, though modern roads and other developments have affected their physical features. Village *malae* provide a central focus and front orientation to a village (Van der Ryn 2016). The aesthetically pleasing guesthouse on the edge of the *malae* in Aasu that la Pérouse describes is without doubt the quintessential *faletele*, the almost round structure, which would be used as the *faletalimālō* (guesthouse) or *falefono* (meeting house). It is also a named structure and holds an ancestral position in the village in association with the founding chief. Behind this structure away from the *malae* would be built the chiefly residence, typically a *faleāfolau*, a well built long oval structure, and behind that structure stood smaller *faleo'o* the other auxiliary household structures for sleeping and cooking. It is also an ancestral house associated with the title of the founder of one of the village's descent groups.

A number of unifying Indigenous Sāmoan principles inform the structure and spatiality of Sāmoan house forms, and village and household layout. The underlying Indigenous principles require open sides, no internal divisions, a straight middle section, round ends. These principles determine that each structure comprises only one room. Open sides allow cooling trade winds to enter the house, as well as light, but also have become symbolic for Sāmoan culture and its hospitality. The openness of the structure can also be seen to be part of traditional democratic and transparent principles in the political structure of the society. People are able to see and hear the chiefly meetings. Round ends are aerodynamic and give the structure additional strength against the destructive force of high winds during the hurricanes that periodically visit the islands.

The posts, visible from both interior and exterior space, not only support the dome-shaped roof, but also serve as back rests when sitting cross-legged in the *fale*. Sitting is on woven mats on the floor which is made of crushed corals or pebbles. Europeans introduced chairs, but more traditional Sāmoans still tend to prefer to sit on the mat even when chairs are available. During formal occasions, the post one sits at serves to signify one's rank and position in the society. The cultural formula prescribes that the orators (*tulāfale*) sit at the front posts of the straight middle section (*le itūiluma*). It is from these posts that the ceremonial speeches are made. The *ali'i* (high chiefs) sit at the posts in the round *tala* on each side of the middle *itū*. The highest ranking *ali'i* sits at the central posts situated at the apex of the round ends. The complementary between *tulāfale* and *ali'i* in the society is mirrored in the complementary parts of the single space of a Sāmoan house, between the

middle *itū* sections and the two round *tala*. Attendants to the gathering, including the preparers of the '*ava*, sit on the rear side of the structure.

When a *fale* is utilised for meetings of non-*matai* groups, such as the *aumaga* (untitled men), the *aualuma* (unmarried women) or *tausi ma faletua* (wives of *tulāfale* and *ali'i*), custom prescribes participants to sit according to the post where their *matai* (e.g. the spouse in the case of the *tausi* or *faletua*) would sit relative to the other people and their associated *matai* in that situation. In this manner, the social structure of the society is spatially demarcated. Front versus rear provides an axis for asymmetrical forms of rank, for example, between titled and untitled, or between guests and hosts, depending on the context. These socio-spatial practices are applied and adapted to different spatial and architectural contexts and apply to both individual structures and to entire villages.

The traditional *faletele*, the *fale lapotopoto* (or round house), consists of a narrow supporting central section (*itū*) of five to ten feet in length supported with one, two or three tall central posts. An ascending series of collar beams (*so'a*) stretched across these central posts from front to back to strengthen this middle section of the roof. On each side of the itū are attached the two half spheres of the round ends (*tala*), which comprise the majority of the house's volume. A convex sloping roof is also an important feature that gives the massive roof tensile strength, and a sense of expanding space, yet lightness.

Today, a variety of forms, including round, long oval and rectangular, are built as guesthouses/meeting houses. Consequently, the term *faletele* may refer to either the most important and/or largest house structure of a family (regardless of its shape), or to the round-shaped structure traditionally used as the guest or council house. The current study follows the second use, which is commonly used in the literature. The term *faletalimālō* refers to structures built as descent group and village guesthouses, some of which are designated village meeting houses.

Each village guesthouse is the gathering place for its associated descent group during life crisis events. Specific village guesthouses are designated for village council meetings or welcoming ceremonies, housing village guests and occasional village entertainments. In the past, one of the village guesthouses could be occupied and slept in by the village *taupou*, the high chief's titled daughter, together with her retinue of *aualuma* members. While the *aualuma* associations still exist in many villages, the institution and the use of a village guesthouse for the habitation have largely waned in the last hundred years. Guesthouses could be and still are also periodically used for the collective work of weaving by one of the women's associations. Additional more contemporary activities observed occurring in Sāmoan guesthouses include bingo games and voting stations during elections.

The second most important traditional Sāmoan architectural form is the *faleāfolau* (literally 'voyaging house' but referring to the longer oval-shape larger Sāmoan house), also built by master builders of the traditional Sāmoan building guilds (Buck 1930: 9). This structure, like the *faletele* (*lapotopoto*), has a straight middle section (*itū*) and two round ends. The difference lies in the lengthening of the *itū* section without any increase in roof height or width, giving the structure a long elliptical shape, reminiscent of their name sake, *faleāfolau*. The structures

historically built for storing the large doubled hulled Sāmoan voyaging canoes, which Sāmoans stopped building after European contact. Figures 24.1 and 24.2 illustrate the construction of both types, with the significance of the straight middle *itū* section and the two round *tala* on each side.

To technically accommodate the increased length of the *itū*, the internal posts are arranged in two parallel lines down the length of the *itū* section with tie beams (*utupoto*) connecting each pair of posts at their top. The use of *utupoto* as opposed to *so'a* (collar beams), as used in the *faletele,* gives rise to the *faleāfolau's* alternate name of *faleutupoto*. The *faleāfolau's* floor area can be expanded simply by lengthening the middle *itū* section with the addition of more internal posts. Roof height and house width may remain the same. In contrast, the *faletele* floor area and the number of sitting posts are only increased through a heightening of the roof, so the round proportions of the structure are not changed. Related to this point is the way a traditional builder determined the size of structure desired by a commissioning *matai*. If it were to be a *faletele*, he would ask how many *so'a* (collar beams) were desired. If it were to be a *faleāfolau*, he would ask how many *poutū* (internal posts) were desired.

Within the domestic sphere, the *faleāfolau* appears to have been most commonly utilised in the past for chiefly residences (*faletōfā*). This information is based on both the interviews conducted for the current research and reviewing numerous historical photographs from the first half of the twentieth century taken in many villages of both American Sāmoa and Western Sāmoa. The round *faletele* were observed exclusively situated on the *malae's* edge, indicating their function as guest and meeting houses. *Faleāfolau* are typically visible some 20–50 yards (18–45 metres) to the rear of the guesthouses (further away from the central *malae*), typically set among a family's grove of shady breadfruit trees. (These provide source and staple for food and a source of timber for building.) Buck (1930: 19) reports that while the round *faletele* was considered the proper guest or council house, occasionally *faleāfolau* were built as guesthouses. Of the few traditionally constructed Sāmoan guesthouses observed in 2004, the numbers of *faletele* and *faleāfolau* appeared about equal.

Smaller auxiliary structures (*faleo'o*) of the *matai's* extended household are built on the family compound behind the main residential structure. Though more crudely built by the young men of the family, they replicate the same basic form of the more prestigious *faletele* and *faleāfolau*—straight middle section, round ends and open sides, which in bad weather can be closed with the draw of string that drops the *pola sisi* (blinds). These structures are the abodes of the serving members of the household, particularly the single untitled men, and young couples. Single women of the family, as well as young children, generally sleep in the *matai's* main residential structure built in front portion of the compound.
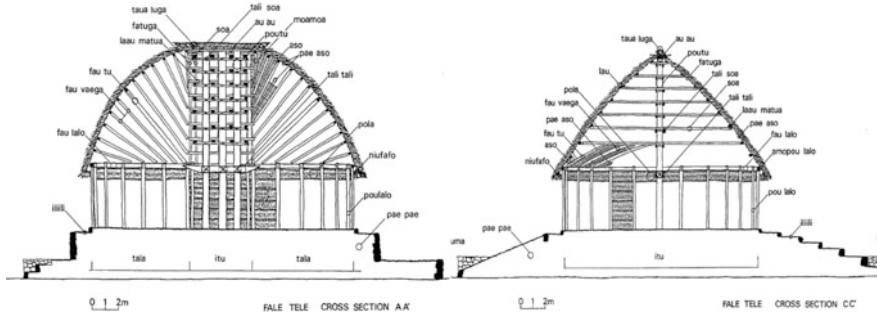
Fig. 24.1 *Faletele* cross sections: (Left) Cross-sectional view end-to-end, showing middle *itū* section with three central posts and round *tala* (ends) on each side. (Right) Cross section at the *itū* showing the *so'a* (collar beams) stretching front to rear across the central columns of the *itū* (Drawings: Courtesy of UNESCO Office for the Pacific States copyright 1992)
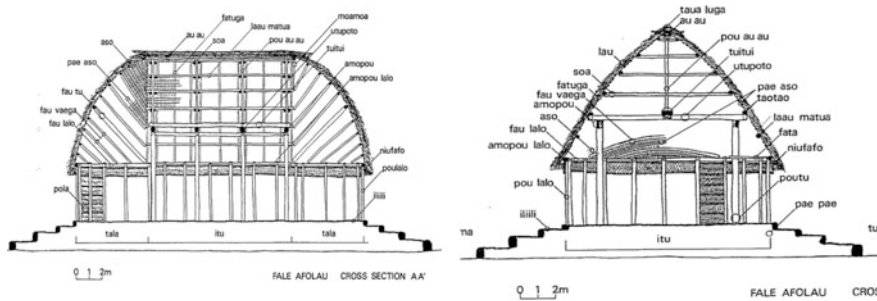
Fig. 24.2 *Faleāfolau* cross sections: (Left) Cross-sectional end-to-end, showing the elongated middle *itū* section. (Right) Cross section at the *itū*, showing the use of paired internal posts with *utupoto* (tie beams) connecting them at the top (Drawings: Courtesy of UNESCO Office for the Pacific States 1992)

Contemporary Sāmoan Communities: Societal and Architectural Change

What constitutes Sāmoan traditions or 'traditional' architecture is contested because what is 'traditional' evolves and develops over time weighted with political overtones and uses. Yet evidence does exist to show a high level of architectural and cultural continuity in the Sāmoan Islands, lacking any major social breakdown has occurred in some other Indigenous cultures under extreme cultural contact situations. Some Sāmoans apply the proverb, '*e sui faiga, ae tumau le fa'avae*' ('change practices, but keep firm the foundation') when discussing change. The proverb addresses how new practices are incorporated into their working definition and expression of the *fa'asāmoa* (Sāmoa way) and *agānu'u Sāmoa* (Sāmoan custom). The 'foundation' is seen in structure and

principles, not necessarily in physical objects. This concept holds theoretical importance in the current study's examination of architectural change. When new objects or institutions are integrated using Sāmoan principles in the *fa'asāmoa,* they become identifiable as Sāmoan and part of Sāmoan culture. After a number of decades, they then become 'tradition'.

The increasing importance over the last 60 years of a cash and wage-based economy for much of the population has brought new types of building materials, technologies, ways of accruing social status, ideas about property, space and privacy; and new types of material possessions. This has all affected the types of buildings people build or wish to build, and how they are built (e.g. materials, technologies and social relationships enacted). In terms of the built forms found on village family compounds (which typically consist of a multitude of structures), there has been a noticeable increase in structures with solid exterior (and sometimes interior) walls, at least in part of the structure, and an increase in the use of straight (rather than round) ends, and thus the addition of corners. At the same time, construction and material changes have caused a decrease in roof height and slant with a loss of the graceful convex roof slope.

Change is neither uniform nor unidirectional. Instead, a great mix of traditional features and principles combined in a variety of ways is found. Under a variety of economic, social, spatial and political constraints, house owners and builders, choose and combine various features, layouts and materials, as suitable to the particular needs and functions of the desired structure. Yet, the average decreased level and frequency of architectural openness in Sāmoan villages, particularly in American Sāmoa, are of special interest for investigation of sociocultural dynamics and implications.

Large Sāmoan communities have developed over the last half-century in metropolitan areas of the USA, Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. Yet, Sāmoan villages in the 'home' islands offer the core context, heart and reason for the practice of the *fa'asāmoa* as an evolving system of Sāmoan ideas and practices. These practices and ideas are generally understood as culturally specific precepts, regardless of material types of changes. The organisation of *nu'u,* internally and externally in relation to each other villages, provides the basic sociopolitical context for understanding the historical and ongoing development of Sāmoan architecture.

The contemporary architectural landscapes of villages and family compounds in both independent Sāmoa and American Sāmoa reflect an ever-changing mixture of architectural forms and principles that combine newer and older materials and design elements in a variety of ways. These architectural and spatial configurations both reflect and shape the ongoing social and cultural developments occurring in the society in a variety of ways that this chapter explores.

Generative Principles in Sāmoan Indigenous House Forms

In order to examine the sociocultural dynamics of changing Sāmoan architecture, I developed a theoretical framework by which to identify the significant tangible features of Indigenous Sāmoan architecture that are generative of intangible features of Sāmoan culture, as expressed in, for example, socio-spatial practices, values and more generally a 'way of being in' or inhabiting the physical and social world. Identifying such features and how they link to the intangible cultural dimensions thereby became an important part of my work. This framework was developed with a number of theoretical influences, including habitus (Mauss 1934; Bourdieu 1985, 2002); environmental behaviour relations (Rapoport 1990, 1994, 2001); house society (Lévi-Strauss 1991; Blach 1995; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Fox 1993; Janowski 1995; Howell 1995; Joyce and Gillespie 2000); materiality and agency (Buchli 2002, 2006; Gell 1998; Knappett 2005; Miller 1998, 2005; Tilley et al. 2005; Vellinga 2007); and the emergent Indigenous Pacific *Tā-Vā* Theory (Māhina 2002, 2008; Ka'ili 2008; Potauaine 2009).

Examining buildings as habitus helps us to understand their role in mediating cultural reproduction and transformation over time. Seeing their materiality and agency also helps link architecture as tangible culture to intangible cultural dimensions, such as socio-spatial practices. My focus on generative features (or principles) of architecture initially developed out of Neich's (1985: 19) discussion of three traditional features of Sāmoan architectural design: (1) rounded ends, (2) open sides and (3) a single room under each roof. Neich describes these features as 'generative principles' (or as a 'generative grammar') that Sāmoan designer/builders use unconsciously when creating buildings. The extent to which the builder uses all, or any, of these three 'generative principles' determines the level of 'traditional' by which Neich classified the village structures he surveyed in his 1983 study. My work further developed and expanded the application of this concept of generative principles. Rather than the generative principles informing only the mental process of the builder, I surmise they also inform and shape the cultural ways that people inhabit these spaces. My application of Neich's concept of generative principles goes beyond individual house features to examine entire village space and expands the number of generative principles three to nine. The six I have added are: (1) Sāmoan spatial ranking of space along a front/back (centre/periphery) axis; (2) a flexible temporally bracketed use of space; (3) the social symbolism of house posts; (4) the social structural significance of the *faletalimālō* (guesthouse); (5) the spatial significance of the *malae* (central village ceremonial village space); and (6) the convex slope of the roof.

These architectural and spatial features of Sāmoan buildings and village space provide the habitus and gestalt for Sāmoan cultural experience and being. It is also useful to view the interrelationship between different principles. For example, open sides also mean no internal divisions of a house structure. The implication is that if a family wishes to add 'rooms', they must build additional individual structures. The generative feature of the house 'posts' relates to their social symbolism

whereby the post a person sits at indicates his or her social status in that setting. Open sides accentuate the posts' visibility and thus help make public the social status assumed by people when they sit in the house. The round end principle goes hand in hand with the central straight middle section of the house called *itū*, which together comprises a tripartite structure. It is the middle *itū* that must be built first, and the round ends (*tala*) are then built onto it. This tripartite structure also represents both a twofold symmetry (Refiti 2004) and a twofold geometry. The two ends and the front and back of the house are symmetrical. Furthermore, this structure associates closely with Sāmoan social structure; *ali'i* (high chiefs) sit at posts in the rounded ends (*tala*), and *tulāfale (orators)* sit at the posts of the middle straight section (*itū i luma*). Their complementary relationship in the society demarcated by the complementary and joined relationship between the round ends and straight middle section of the fale. The ranking of space on the front–back axis is of special interest when the fronts and backs of houses are symmetrical. The answer is that spatial orientations in 'traditional' Sāmoa are not gained from house features themselves so much as from the external landscape from which bearings are made. The side closest to the prestigious *malae* (or the modern road) is the front; the opposite side, closer to the *umukuka* (cook hut), is the back. Again, here, the open sides play a role in being able to maintain these spatial orientations (Van der Ryn 2016).

The openness of Sāmoan *fale* is an important generative feature of the architecture. Sāmoan *fale* (buildings) perhaps represent the most open of vernacular forms in the world. Dome-shaped roofs give a sense of enclosure, and open sides allow natural light and cooling breezes to enter from all directions. Sāmoans say their houses without walls symbolise their hospitality. Openness extends to Sāmoan village landscapes and is most pronounced towards the nucleated centre of a village where the *malae* exists, as evidenced by the absence of fences.

Underlying the openness is Sāmoa's concept of space or *vā*, the physical, social and spiritual 'between' that both separates and binds identities through relationship to other entities (Shore 1982; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2009; Refiti 2004; Van der Ryn 2008, 2012). *Vā* is manifested in social relations, physical distances and the inhabited space between the heavens (*lagi*) and the earth (*lalolagi,* or 'under the heavens'). Sāmoan houses are metaphor of this cosmos; the dome-shaped roof symbolises the Sāmoan heaven propped above the earth, while open sides enable a 360° view out into the world, allowing inhabitants to experience and act on *vā* between interior and exterior spaces and between interior spaces of adjacent structures (Fig. 24.3).

The Sāmoan concept of boundaries, or *tuā'oi*, links closely with vā. Sāmoa's Head of State, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese (2009: 109) explains that in Sāmoa "conflict assumes when the *tuā'oi* or boundaries are transgressed or misunderstood". This is because boundaries in Sāmoa are understood to emerge from mutual understanding and trust in a relationship. This is the inverse of the container model of space dominant in Western culture in which space and relationships are only realised after boundaries are firmly established (Lehman and Herdrich 2002).

Fig. 24.3 Interior view of the roof of a *faletele* with three central posts, Leone, Tutuila and American Sāmoa (*Photograph* Micah Van der Ryn)

Thus, Sāmoans emphasise the need to maintain social harmony through action on the *vā*. Seamless, weed-less and well-kept village grounds indicate productive village harmony, but weeds at boundary areas suggest quarrels between neighbours. This idea is conveyed in the Sāmoan proverb, *o le fili vā i fale* (the enemy between the houses), in which the 'enemy' are the weeds (Schultz 1980: 31). Herein lies the reason why *tuā'oi* means both boundary and neighbour, and why fences or walls could be perceived as antisocial.

Architectural openness is integral to many important Sāmoan sociocultural and spatial practices performed to maintain productive social relationships. Take for example, '*teu le vā*' 'adorn the relationship' which gains expression in a myriad of ways in everyday life, from calling a passer-by to come and share a meal in a house to weeding the boundary area together with one's neighbour. During life crisis events (e.g. chieftain bestowals, house or church dedications, funerals or weddings) Sāmoans formally *teu le vā* between large kin groups through ritual gift and oratorical exchanges across wide open spaces. Smaller events may use the central open area of individual *fale*, but larger-scale events may require the *malae* (a village's central open ceremonial grounds). Members of different partaking kin groups will occupy various open houses around the *malae*'s perimeter. Today, with fewer houses without walls, open-sided tents may also be erected for the occasion.

Sāmoan cultural traditions developed over millennia with this open wall-less architecture, resulting in distinctive forms of sociality, social control and political transparency. Part of the research involved collecting Sāmoan insights and understanding about these aspects. The interviews showed that the relationship between house architecture/space and social order was clear to many Sāmoans. They also revealed how the Sāmoan *fale* was idealised to be an instrument of order or social harmony. The relationship between houses and social order was clear to Sāmoans themselves, and interviews collected revealed how the house was idealised to be an instrument of order or social harmony. This theme is also reflected in many Sāmoan proverbs. For example, "*so'o le fau*" (to tie together two pieces of *fau*, the house purlins), as a way to say "to pursue a goal with united effort" (Sutter 1984: 30); "*Ia ta'amilo pea ma tautala*", (the house can be turned—the lashings will hold), to mean "After mature reflection, it is safe to act"; or "*ua logo ese'ese fa'amea vilivili*" ("holes bored from opposite sides frequently do not meet"), stated of a meeting where differing opinions cannot be reconciled (Sutter 1971: 39).

Le Upega Ua Toe Timata (Repairing the Net)

In 2009, the American Sāmoan government embarked on a project funded by the US Department of the Interior to build a large traditionally built Sāmoan *faletele* for public use and traditional Sāmoan ceremonial *ava* ceremonies, especially in receiving overseas dignitaries (See Fig. 24.4). The project was called 'Le Upega Ua Toe Timata' (literally, 'Repairing the Net'), a reference to the need to 'repair' Sāmoan culture (metaphorically referenced as 'the net'). The stated vision of the project to have a 'succinct long-term vision for the project' was:

> To turn the new *faletele*, together with the eight existing faleo'os at Utulei Beach Park into a genuinely authentic Sāmoan village malae. …the hurricane of 1966 hit Sāmoa with such devastation that ninety present of our traditional styed Sāmoan *fale*s were laid to waste, never to be rebuilt. Their subsequent replacement by FEMA with western-styled concrete cement structures left only a melancholy memory of our nostalgic past. Moreover, this drastic alteration of our cultural fabric has had an alarming negative effect on our ethnic and cultural identity as Sāmoans. Generations of Sāmoans born after 1966 will never experience or observe the many sacred ceremonies and *fono-a-nu'u* (village meetings) held in the pristine surroundings of a village *malae*. Le Upega Ua Toe Timata project envisions the resurrection and restoration of Sāmoan village–*malaes*, and all that they conjure up, as an absolute necessity. Our children and grandchildren must not be denied the treasures of their inheritance by those of us who should know and can do better. The contemplated village *malae* will then be a precious part of our collective legacy handed down for our children and grandchildren and generations beyond.

This Sāmoan consciousness about their architecture further reinforces the agency 'traditional' Samoan house structures play in society. Discussions with Sāmoan consultants, as well as speeches heard at opening ceremonies for traditional Sāmoan guesthouses, describe the architecture of Sāmoan *fale* as an artistic articulation of

Fig. 24.4 'Le Maota o le Upega Ua Toe Timata' under construction (top two photographs) and in use for an 'ava ceremony welcoming a visiting group after completion (bottom two photographs) in 2009 at the *Malae o le Si'uga'ula a le Atuvasa* (Sacred ground of 'stringing together a necklace of the Oceanic countries') in Utulei, Tutuila, American Samoa

how the unity and harmony of social groups can only be achieved by all the members cooperatively working together, just as the various house timbers join to produce a unified beautiful and harmonious structure. An illustrative example is found in a Reverend's comment preceding his prayer following a Sāmoan 'ava welcoming ceremony that occurred in American Sāmoa's government's new guesthouse[3]:

> ….in admiration of the architectural greatness of the Sāmoan cultural symbol. As it stands it is called a Sāmoan council *fale*, an architectural work, and perceived as a work of art because it involved both the process and product of planning, designing and construction. This inside look at our view is the endoskeleton, an inside picture of various parts that form the support structure of the whole body of the *fale*. Notice how each part of the structure, from the tiniest of the Sāmoan rope called *'afa* to the biggest of the posts are bound, intertwined, and connected to one another. Each part plays a vital role to its durability, utility and beauty, each becoming an integral part of the whole *fale* (Reverend Timoteo Esekia, 30th April 2012).

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[3]The comments were made in English for the 80 delegates from the 23 members states of the Oceania Customs Organisation's 14th annual conference from whom this 'ava was presented to welcome them to American Sāmoa. This was the first time for American Sāmoa to host the event.

The Reverend's speech drew analogies to the human body with references to the Christian scripture of St. Paul in his letter to the Corinthians. Quoting scripture, the Reverend posed the question, "If the whole body was the sense of smell, where would the hearing be? If the whole body were hearing where would smell be? If the whole body were one member, where would the body be?" The human body consists of an organisation of various connected parts, each with their own identity. These operate well in their specific organisation in relation to other parts to produce the overall physical unity of the whole body—an idea which the Reverend explained was expressed artistically in the Sāmoan *fale* architecture.

The Reverend's comment reflects on how the aesthetic, structural and functional aspects of Sāmoan architecture are not thought of as separable aspects of a structure. Instead, the beauty of the architecture is in the fact that any feature or aspect of the structure holds important aesthetic, structural and functional importance and symbolic meaning. This is why there would be no decorative façades or ceilings that cover the internal framework of the structure from the inside. This is also why the Sāmoan house lacks decorative façades that cover the functional yet highly harmonious ways that the various house timbers of the roof are intricately joined in functional and beautiful ways. The aesthetic dimensions lie internally within the structural–functional dimensions of the structure and are not simply external dressings added on later.

Historical and Contemporary Events and Change in Sāmoan Architecture

A high level of architectural continuity is found during the first 100 years of European influence in the Sāmoan Islands up to the mid-1930s, despite important religious changes brought about by the introduction and Sāmoanization of Christianity. Impressively built Gothic or Romanesque style churches had become an important central feature of all Sāmoan villages. Archaeological records show that the architectural dwelling and meeting house form in Sāmoa has remained fairly constant for 2 000 years (Green 2002: 17). This point suggests a long-term co-evolution of Sāmoan society and its architecture in which the two came to reinforce and perpetuate each other. Figure 24.5 offers a series of images of Sāmoan *faletele* dating back to 1838 (the earliest visual illustration of Sāmoan architecture). Constructed of primarily organic decomposable materials with a limited lifespan in the warm, humid tropical climate means that the Sāmoan architectural form was historically reproduced repeatedly over many generations.

Both Sāmoan culture and the architecture are famous within Polynesia for their conservatism. For example, Krämer (1994: 397), who conducted his Sāmoan research from 1897 to 1901, stated:
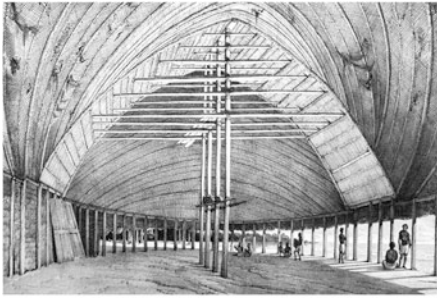
◄**Fig. 24.5** Sāmoan architectural continuity. Top row: Drawings from Dumont d'Urville's visit to Sāmoa in 1838; second row *fale* in the 1930s, third and fourth rows photographs taken in 2004. All reflect the round faletele form, though the modern materials and slight changes in the form occur in the last two rows

The Sāmoans still live in their own native houses, as their forefathers have from ancient times, whereas in most of the other South Sea archipelagos the native house is already in process of disappearing: or has almost completely disappeared, e.g. in Hawai'i and New Zealand.

Similarly, Handy et al. (1924: 3), who were in Sāmoa in the 1920s, assert:

Nowhere in Polynesia today is the opportunity for studying native house building better than in Sāmoa. With the same admirable tenacity shown in maintaining their own mode of social and political life, the natives of this island group continue to prefer their own form of dwelling, and wisely, for it combines perfect adaptation to environment with simplicity and beauty of craftsmanship.

Sāmoans resiliently maintained their architectural traditions along with many of their traditional social institutions, such as the *matai* system and communal land tenure system, throughout the colonial period into the post-colonial. During that time, Sāmoa saw and experienced a steady incursion of European and American beachcombers, whalers, missionaries, merchants and colonial administrators into their islands. The three foreign powers of Germany, the USA and Great Britain vied for colonial control over the fertile islands and their people, while also stirring up and embroiling themselves into the delicate and complex Sāmoan political order. Pacific Islands' historian Douglas Oliver (2002: 145) summed up the Sāmoan cultural stance in 1939:

The Sāmoans of 1939, sitting cross-legged on their fine mats and whisking flies off their muscular torsos, might well have smiled at the hundred years impasse they had constructed against the relatively puny outsiders. These indigenes of the islands of Savai'i, Upolu, Tutuila and Manu'a had driven powerful foreign nations almost to war, with one another; they had ruined many official reputations, forced planters and traders into bankruptcy, and divided Western settlers into hostile camps – all this just by remaining exquisitely Sāmoan. And in the process they had taken only what they needed and wanted from the intrusive Western civilisation, while retaining pride in the *fa'asāmoa* (the Sāmoan Way).

An important part of the research was collecting first-hand accounts from research participants about the architectural changes that they witnessed in their villages. These accounts included discussions about how social, historical, economic and cultural figured into those changes and the ways these architectural changes affected family and community life throughout the islands.

The earliest first-hand accounts begin around 1935. The first major accelerated changes in Sāmoan villages began only a few years later during Second World War when about 5,000 US marines were distributed through villages of both American Sāmoa and then Western Sāmoa, as a United National trustee under New Zealand.

The War brought many Sāmoans into close contact with US military personnel and culture as well as a cash economy, new technologies, infrastructure and ideas that would come to impact upon their Indigenous culture and architecture.

The next six decades show accelerated change through the development of more roads and communication infrastructure, increased integration of cash into village economies, Sāmoan migration and employment in urban centres and overseas, cyclones and rebuilding programs, and increased incorporation of new manufactured and imported building materials into the structures that Sāmoans build on their family compounds. These all introduced objective structures and agents of change within the Sāmoan 'traditional' *habitus*, affecting built forms of Sāmoan architecture and space.

Material Dynamics of Changing Architecture

Incorporating New Materials and Two Patterns of Change

Having more family members working overseas means fewer available family members at home to help procure the locally available building materials. This factor together with having more cash on hand from the remittances sent home from overseas family members provides the demand for purchase of imported building materials to substitute for the traditionally procured labour-intensive materials, like thatch, braided coconut husk sennit, hand-hewn timbers. Customary lifestyle, identity, traditional forms of status and pride of culture underline reasons for reproducing existing forms, while the need to reflect current change and new relationships to the wider world drive architectural changes. These forces play out in a myriad of ways in the dynamic patterns that emerged in Sāmoan architectural changes over the second half of the twentieth century into the twenty-first century.

Figure 24.6 illustrates dynamics of change along two themes resulting from the incorporation of new types of building materials. Column A pattern is the culturally more conservative one whereby new materials are substituted with a minimum change in form. Sāmoan guesthouses, where the more Sāmoan culturally identified activities occur and which also function as icons of Samoan culture in village landscapes, follow this more conservative pattern of change. Column B represents the culturally less conservative pattern and is more aligned to main residential structures. Note, these illustrations do not capture all types of structures and patterns of change that occurred, they do typify two core types of processes.

A primary reason for a greater level of architectural conservation in *faletalimālō* (as represented in Column A) than for residential structures (as represented in Column B) is because the activities that occur there are more associated with *fa'asāmoa* (the Sāmoan way), that is, communal life, extended family and ceremonial exchanges—in other words Sāmoan traditions. Maintaining a more traditional type of space is seen as more appropriate from an idealistic standpoint and

(a)

1

From *faletele* with all traditional materials to incorporating some imported materials: corrugated iron roofing at the top *(taualaga)* and for the added eave *(faatautau),* which gives extra protection to the house. Floor plan remains the same.

2

Change to full substitution of imported materials. Special skills developed to bend and cut roofing iron to fit the curvilin ear roof. Cement floors also added.

3

Change from traditional handcrafted and lashed purlins *(vaega fau)* to milled lumber rafter construction to produce a cone shaped roof *faletele*. Missing are the middle *itu* section, central posts, and convex sloping roof.

4

(b)

1

From traditional *faleāfolau* to a *faleapa*. Change of floor plan from oval to squared ends. Posts could be wood or cement. All other materials imported.

2

Furniture and personal possessions begin to accumulate in structure, being used as a residence.

3

As furniture and private possessions accumulate, the need for an enclosed extension develops, recreating the more traditionally less cluttered space in front to family activities, including meeting guests.

4

Fig. 24.6 Imported building materials. Column 2: A less conservative architectural transformation involving the development of a *faleapa* ('open European style' and extensions (Drawings: Henry Utoaluga and Micah Van der Ryn)

more functional in practical terms. Ceremonies require greater openness for entering and exiting and the movements of exchange valuables and require greater visibility of social action.

Because all structures represented in Column A retain 'round' floor plans and open sides, they remain classified as '*faletele*'. For the first three in the sequence, the construction and form remain almost the same. What changes is the increased amount of corrugated iron roofing, and the addition of the extended eaves (*fa'atautau*) made possible by the use of the corrugated iron. Cement is also another addition in the floor and posts. Metal roofing is bent and cut to conform to the traditional framework of the Sāmoan *faletele* roof. The last structure in Column A's sequence constitutes a more radical change. The tripartite dome-shaped traditional *faletele* roof is replaced with a rafter constructed cone-shaped roof built from straight milled lumber. This form, or some elaboration of it, is now the most commonly found *faletele* type in American Sāmoa.

Column B depicts more radical transformations largely driven by economic decisions shaped by changes in materials. The first structure is a traditional *faleāfolau*. The second structure represents a *faleapa*, an open rectangular posted structure with hip roof construction roofed in corrugated iron roofing (*apa*). Metal roofing requires a lower slope than thatch to produce the proper run-off of rain. Lowering the roof means fewer sheets of roofing are required. Making a rectangular structure also reduces waste, being that fewer sheets or iron roofing needs to be cut at different angles, nor is there need to bend the roofing to conform to the round and convex sloping traditional Sāmoan roof. In addition, to the reduced amount of corrugated roofing needed on a rectangular *faleapa* than using the same material to cover the same size Sāmoan *fale*, the rafter hip roof construction of the *faleapa* is much faster and easier to construct than the traditional oval form. In conclusion, the culturally less conservative choice thereby becomes also the more economically conservative one when thatch roofing is substituted with metal roofing. Round ends are lost, but open sides are retained. My count of house types in different villages found that the *faleapa* (see Fig. 24.5: column B, row 2) has increasingly become the most common form of guesthouse in independent Sāmoa and American Sāmoa, as well as the most common form of residence (see Fig. 24.6: Column B; Row 3) in villages of independent Sāmoa.

Neich (1985: 24) aptly attributes the increased popularity of the *faleapa* to its being "best-adapted to the Sāmoan style of life, combining the traditional virtues of cool, open-air circulation with the low maintenance, long-lasting qualities of modern materials". Its versatility is found through its range of uses, from the humblest dwelling to the most prestigious guesthouse. Maintaining the important openness also causes "least alteration to Sāmoan social practices" by allowing for the "clear access for serving participants at large ceremonial gatherings" (Neich 1985: 24).

The popularity of the *faleapa* is also due largely to economics. These structures are primarily built with imported and/or locally manufactured building materials (local timber), as are the enclosed *falepālagi*, but clearly use much fewer materials and thus cost much less in both materials and labour than a *falepālagi*. In contrast to a well-built traditional Sāmoan guesthouse (of either *faletele* or *faleāfolau* type), the

faleapa is considerably cheaper and faster to build. With the increased reliance on money and the increased availability of manufactured and imported building materials and technologies, building using these materials is faster and less labour intensive.

A well-built large traditional *faletele* or *faleāfolau* required a large amount of timbers for the massive and intricate roof structure, which required acquisition of those trees from the land, their transport to the building site and considerable amount of skilled labour shaping them into the final timbers. The production of the coconut husk sennit for the lashing of the structure often took a couple of years, depending on the number of people making it and how much of the time they spent on it. Typically, sennit making is an occupation of elderly men. With more family members engaged in wage labour either in Sāmoa or overseas, cash to purchase the materials has become more readily available than the labour to procure raw building materials from the land.

The third image (Row 3) in Column B in Fig. 24.6 depicts a *faleapa* with modern possessions in it, signifying its use as a residence as opposed to a guesthouse. As possessions start to accumulate in the open structure, the desire for a more enclosed and secure house grows, which can lead to the building of a *falepālagi*, or as the next illustration shows (Row 4), an enclosed extension on the rear of the *faleapa* in which to put possessions, which clears the open space in front for receiving guests. The same process of possessions building up and an extension being built also occurs with Sāmoan-style structures, such as *faleāfolau*, less often *faleoʻo*.

Reducing Buildings, Increasing Rooms in Household Structures

Figure 24.7 provides a bird's eye view of five different household compounds: A, B, C, D and E. In this diagram, a separate and unchanged traditional guesthouse in front (diagrammed with a circle) represents the more conservative dynamic at work with this functional type. The diagram depicts yet another set of transformations.

Plan 'A' reflects the most traditional Sāmoan household compound in which all structures are open-sided (no walls, only posts), with round-ended structures (no corners). Separate sleeping and working spaces are created by building additional smaller structures to the rear of the main residential structure. Kitchen functions occur in a separate space/structure (the *umukuka*) further to the rear, and generally furthest to the rear and of lowest rank space are the toilet facilities. Each structure has only one room. There are no external or internal permanent wall divisions. The main residential structure of the household is a *faleāfolau*. Plan 'B' shows that an enclosed extension has been added to the rear side of the main residential *faleāfolau* structure. This enclosed attached room to the open *faleāfolau* obviates the need for one of the *faleoʻo* to the rear. In plan 'C', the main residential house has been
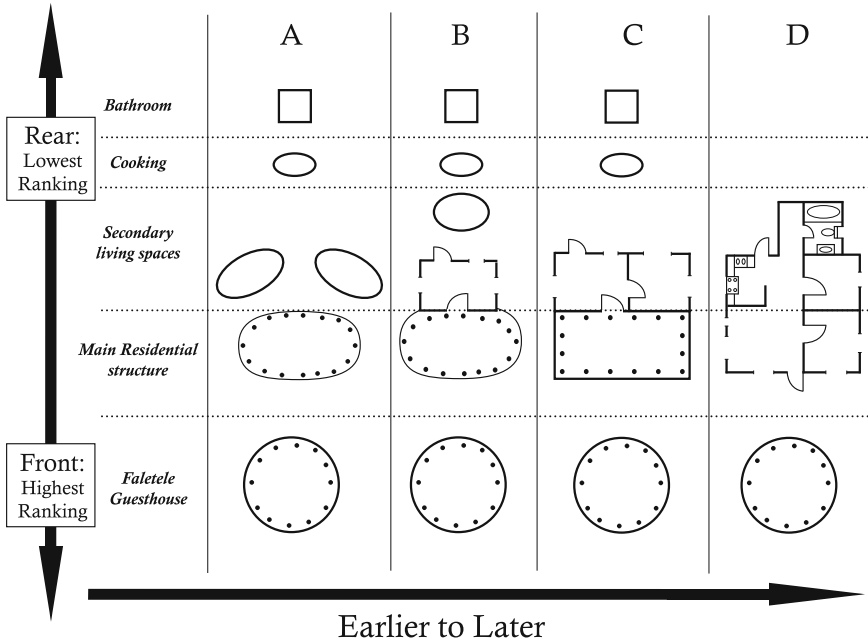
Fig. 24.7 Modelling of transformations in Sāmoan residential household space and structures, moving from 'A' (most traditional) to 'D' (least traditional and most Western) (Diagram: Micah Van der Ryn)

replaced as a *faleapa*. This gives it a longer straight back onto which to make a bigger extension, which is shown in this diagram to now be divided into different rooms. This step reflects a further departure from the Sāmoan principle of one room under one roof.

Finally, in plan 'D', the main residential structure is completely enclosed with walls and windows; that is, it is a *falepālagi*. It has a front main living room, plus two enclosed bedrooms (substituting for what were formerly two *faleo'o*). The kitchen and bathroom are also now also included in the single structure. Note that the sequence of extensions and additions could have also occurred starting with a single room *falepālagi*. The common modern Western architectural principle of designing all the functions of the household into a single structure has been incorporated, while the Sāmoan principle of multiple structures, each with only one room under one roof, and the separation of structures for cooking and toilet has been discarded. However, importantly, the Sāmoan principle of ranking the space from front to rear is maintained. Thus, the low-ranking space of a kitchen and cooking remains at the rear.

Eventually, the idea of adding rooms into a single structure as opposed to building additional structures within a household compound begins to gain traction within the Sāmoan habitus, though those new kinds of spaces still incorporate traditional

socio-spatial aspects. All the forms and household arrangements illustrated in Figs. 24.6 and 24.7 (and other variations on the same themes) exist in villages contemporary throughout the archipelago. However, as the quantitative data reveals, the D household plan plus the level 4 structures in Fig. 24.6 predominate in American Sāmoa, while in independent Sāmoa, household plans ranged more in the B and C types of Fig. 24.7, and structures in the 2 and 3 levels of Fig. 24.6.

As Neich (1985: 19) noted, the Sāmoan principle of a single room under each roof "determines that, in general, rooms are not subdivided and if further rooms are needed, a separate new house will be built rather than adding on to the existing one". Accordingly, a family could build a *falepālagi* on their family compound that adheres to the principle of one room under one roof, but departs from the other two principles of round ends, and open sides. Many such structures have been built, particularly in earlier years, such as the 1970s. However, once there are exterior walls, the way is paved for making interior walls, and the physical subdivision of interior space, which marks a change from the traditional Sāmoan architectural principle of one room per structure. The loss of one principle (open sides) leads to the loss of the second principle (no internal walls), which in turn leads to the phenomena of making extensions on open structures, as well as already enclosed structures. Decreasing strength of the Sāmoan principle of one room under one roof can result over time in a reduction in household structures.

Sociocultural Implications of Changing Sāmoan Built Forms/Spaces

Using participant observation, case studies and exploratory interviews, the research investigated what the recent decades of architectural change mean for those experiencing those changes, and how they impact upon culture, family and community life. Here, I highlight a few of the findings.

Structural Versus Phenomenological Interpretations

One day I was interviewing an elderly high-ranking *matai*, Mataʻu Pitoau in a rural village of Savaiʻi in his wall-less rectangular house (*faleapa*) that had one enclosed room in one corner. Trying to get at the point of difference walls make, I asked him if his house had walls how would that affect his social relationships (*vā*) with others in the community. At first, he replied that his social relationships would not be affected by the addition of walls. He backed this assertion up with examples of different kinds of well-known relationships in Sāmoan culture, such as *aliʻi* and *tulāfale*, or sisters and brothers. He stated that those relationships (including what they culturally symbolise, and the types of prescribed attitudes and behaviours they denote) should

not change just because one has changed from living in a house without walls to a house with walls. I classify this kind of interpretation to be a structural one, as it is based on structural ideas about what culture is and how it operates in the mind. In contrast to this structural perspective is the phenomenological perspective that focuses more on culture as constructed experience that uses all the senses (vision, auditory, touch, etc.). In order to get Mataʻu to consider my question from the phenomenological side, I rephrased the question to focus on how walls would affect his interactions in the relationships with others in the village. Immediately realising how walls do make a difference, Mataʻu replied, "Yes, the walls would make a difference", and pointing to the corner where the enclosed room of the house stood, he said if he sees someone coming he wishes to avoid, he can go hide in a room, which he would not be able to do if there was no enclosed room.

As fieldwork continued, informants shared their interpretations of the socio-cultural implications of changing architecture. These interpretations had two strands: one was more structural and the other more phenomenological. Structural interpretations focused on Sāmoan cultural ideology—how things in principle are supposed to work in Sāmoan culture. In contrast, phenomenological interpretations emphasized experience and the senses as part of culture and lifestyle. It is then no surprise that the structuralist interpretations deemphasized consequences on culture of changing house forms, while phenomenological interpretations were just the opposite. They emphasised the impact that changing architectural forms and spaces have on sociocultural life. A change from oval-shaped houses without walls to rectangular enclosed and subdivided house structures would be seen by the latter to have more major cultural consequences than the structuralists described. The question remains to what extent do the architectural changes represent a *sui faiga* (change in practices) or also a *sui faʻavae* (a change in the foundation)?

Nostalgia Versus 'Progress'

In January 2006, American Sāmoa's public library held an exhibition of paintings entitled '*Aufua Mai le Eleʻele*' ('Down to Earth')[4] by two art students of American Sāmoa Community College (ASCC). One painting entitled '*Mana o Talosaga*' ('Power of Prayer'), shown in Fig. 24.8, depicts a traditional ritual of a family gathering for vespers in their Sāmoan *fale*. The bottle lamp at the centre lights the Bible and the faces of the family, and shoots rays of light out into the darkness. The artist had painted an empty *faleapa* (the open rectangular Sāmoan structure) in the

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[4]Henry Utoaluga and A.J. Afano were both students of Ms. Reggie Meredith, a fine arts instructor at ASCC. By selling the paintings, they raised funds for their trip to visit museums and the art world of New York City.

Fig. 24.8 Mana o Talosaga (Power of Prayer) (Reproduction of painting by Henry Utoaluga, 2005)

background, which he explained represented the contemporary now. The lit house with people in it in the foreground represented the past.

ASCC Fine Arts instructor, Reggie Meredith, required students to visit the exhibit and write an essay about any painting that evoked an emotional response in them. Many students wrote about *Mana o Talosaga*. The paragraph below combines snippets of various different essays of the different student authors to highlight the collective interpretation of what the painting signified to them.

> This piece of art really hit me emotionally because it brings back memories of when I was young. I could feel my past as I was residing in an old *faleoʻo* with my parents. It just brings in lots of beautiful memories of how my family used to be together in evening and morning prayers… all families gathered together under one *faleʻo* with kerosene lamp in the middle. …Singing and praying are being heard in all the houses at the same time. Nowadays, a few villages are having curfew to have family members in their houses for evening prayers. …But not all families are doing the same thing, meaning the bells are rung for curfew but the parents aren't home. That's why there's so much crime and problems going on right now. I wish we could go back to the olden days where everything was fine.

These responses represent a nostalgic ideology that envisions a past associated with living in open Sāmoan *fale* as having greater social harmony and unity. Another interviewee reflecting on changes in her village conveyed the same idea:

Lifestyles have changed. There's too much influence from Western culture, and dependence on modern stuff. Nowadays, now even if you call the village people for a community task, only a few will come. …In prior days, if a person saw an elderly person carrying a load the younger person would always go and help him/her to carry the load. Not anymore. They just don't care and let them just go walk right on by (Palmer 2005).

Informants' statements and direct observations confirmed that architectural alterations, in particular, the insertion of walls (even with an abundance of windows) altered the processes of 'dwelling' in various ways. Most significantly, people commented on a generally different ethos and feeling to village life. For example, Anita Malepeai Soa commented:

Before, there was *feālofani* [a friendly relationship] between families. There were not so many quarrels. If you have no food, you can go ask the other family if they have prepared some food, and they say come and eat. Like that. That was *feālofani* in those days. [Boundaries] were not a big thing like now. Children go off and are raised up elsewhere then come back, but they don't have the knowledge of the village that their parents did. Perhaps, that's what is happening, and so they are really conscious about boundaries. They come back and see another family living there, and arguments start brewing (Soa 2004).

A contrasting discourse about cultural change emanates from the ideology of 'progress'. Here, the light of understanding illuminates from the future, and Western education and the adoption of more Westernised style of housing are viewed as 'natural' outcomes. For example, a man of about 50 years of age, who had recently returned to American Sāmoa with his family after serving in the US military and living in the USA for several years, also made statements reflecting this ideology:

The old Sāmoan *fale* …yeah, we can preserve that, but, you know, …I think it's an idea to educate our generation to come, in order for us to live in a better way and a better life, because if we live in the old Sāmoan ways, where we do go from there? Can you give me one reason (Man in Fagaʻitua Village 2004)?

The linked processes of sociocultural and architectural change in Sāmoa have not been smooth nor conflict free. For example, one woman from Upolu, living and working in Tutuila, reflected:

We thought we [the children] were doing the right thing for the 'development' of the family. We all went off and got good educations, so we could get 'good' jobs, so we had the money to build my grandmother a flash *pālagi* house in the village. But she will not even live in that house. And she is unhappy. Her idea of development was more that in her old age she would be living surrounded by her children and grandchildren, but they have all gone off to work at wage jobs in other places (Female interviewee: American Sāmoa 2005).

Similarly, an interview with elderly female village participant also expressed this sense of lost social harmony:

Before in our village, it was really good and nice, there was only one *faʻatonuga*, (system of planning). The *matai* made the plans, and everyone obeyed …Today it's not like that, there's no protection like that. It was really *mamalu* before (Soa 2004).

These themes and ideologies about cultural change, history and notions of 'progress' influence the building decisions Sāmoan families make about their family structures together with the economic factors.

The difference that the addition of solid exterior and interior walls has on sense of place and space, identity, social relations and customs, daily life activities and worldview are the types of key research questions investigated in the study. Through participant observation and interviews in many different Sāmoan households inhabiting a variety of architectural forms, layouts and number of buildings, and observing different types of social situations across different architectural types of settings (e.g. with walls/without walls, round ends/square ends), gather data about the sociocultural implications that changing Sāmoan village architecture was incurring.

The Difference Inserting Walls Makes

The shift from multiple, wall-less, single room structures towards single multiple room walled structures is the architectural change that appears to have the greatest sociocultural implications. Using a wall to divide a space into two rooms creates a very different social space than building two wall-less houses with a *vā* (relational space) between them. With multiple open-walled houses, each new structure maintains its separate identity in terms of relations with other structural entities in the landscape, a phenomenon that cannot occur through the use of internal wall divisions. One cannot sit in a room and sense and experience the *vā* with the space and social entities in the room on the other side of the solid wall that divides.

I investigated both ceremonial ritual uses of village architecture and space and everyday household life. I found open-sided structures are highly valued for the public life of Sāmoan ceremony and exchanges of chiefs and their respective descent groups, and it is easy to see why. In smaller events, host and guest groups sit on the front and backs of the houses. Gifts flow from outside through the open sides across and back out the other side. People on the exterior watch what is occurring on the inside, and the leaders on the inside call out directions to their constituents on the outside for such things as bringing the ceremonial gifts of fine mats, food, etc. There is a finely tuned spatial practice in which the wall-less house plays a key role. In larger-scale exchanges groups may sit in different open houses and exchanges may occur across the space between houses. In American Sāmoa, temporary open-air tents are rented and set up for these ceremonial events to create different areas for visiting groups to sit with a space between them.

Sāmoans have a tradition of calling out to any passer-by to come and eat at the time a meal is being shared in a house. Clearly, walls alter the ability to practise this custom. Calling people to come and share a meal or exchanging food with neighbors are examples of *teu le vā* (adorning the relationship of 'between-ness) or *tausi vā* (tending the relationship). With walls, this custom is more difficult to practise. As illustrated in Fig. 24.9, walls make it possible to be obvious to, or
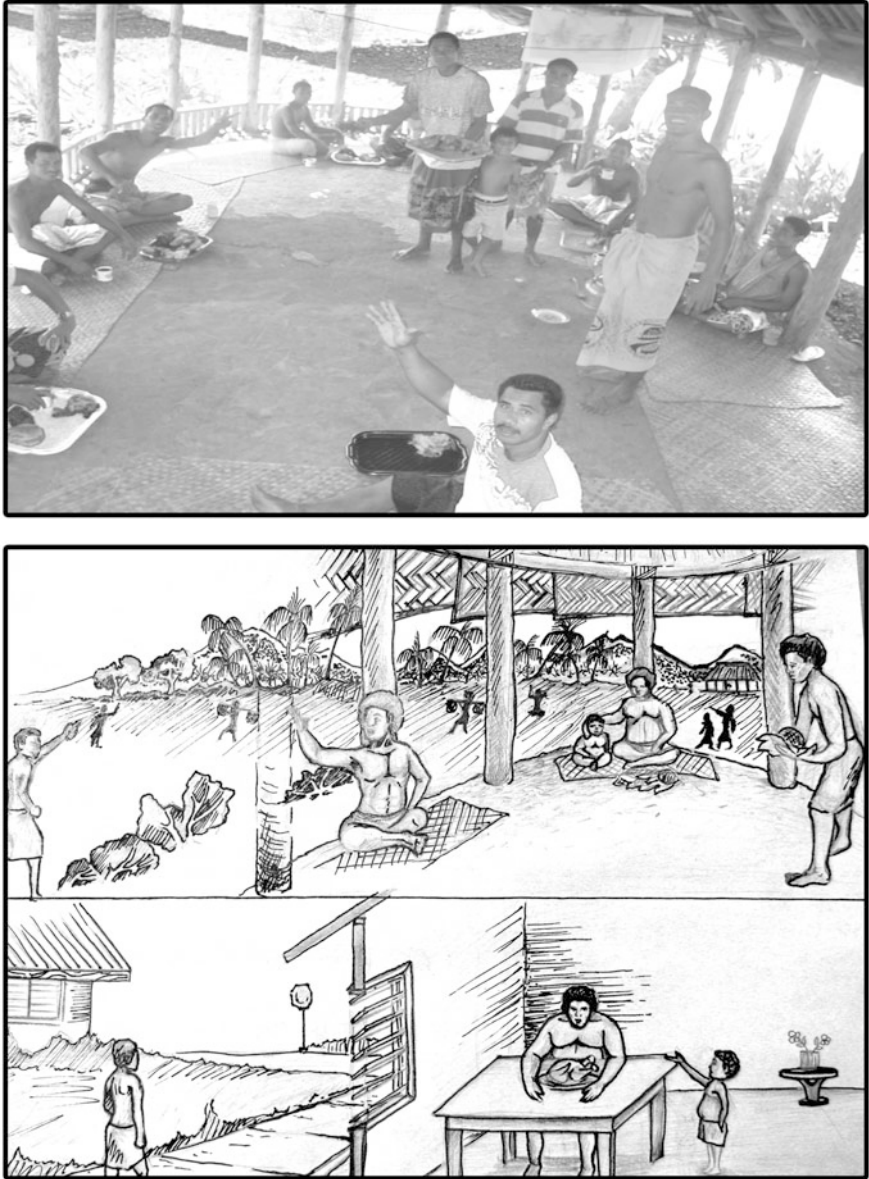
Fig. 24.9 Illustration of a 'difference walls make'. In the top photograph and illustration, people are having a meal in an open Sāmoan *fale*. A passer-by is called to come and eat. Bottom image depicts having a meal in a *falepālagi*. The man eating at the table may remain oblivious to the passer-by (*Photograph* Micah Van der Ryn, Drawing: Henry Utoaluga)

ignore, people and activities outside the house or in other rooms of the same house. While these phenomenological differences make a difference, changes in architecture should not be seen to automatically implicate social change.

In one case, I observed a village ceremony; in this case, it was a *saofaʻi* (chiefly title investiture) conducted in an enclosed a large one-room *falepālagi* (with a high number of windows on all sides) rather than in an open Sāmoan house. The one room constituting the structure was crowded with the many attending village *matai*. The insertion of walls and the lack of posts, and the addition of awkward corners were observed to all spatially confuse and constrain the social processes of the event—observations that interviews with participants later confirmed.

The need to enter through single doors required people to step in front of others already sitting, considered impolite in the culture. The walls prevented those people sitting outside the structure as observers and attendants from actually being able to properly observe the event, as they would have done in a traditional open Sāmoan *fale*. The changed architectural features did not prevent the event from occurring, but it did impact upon its quality and character, and on what Sāmoans call *mamalu*, (dignity, prestige, mana, harmony). A structural type of analysis would most likely emphasise cultural continuities: titles were invested; the village attended and the various attending village *matai* received a portion of the resources distributed, which in this case only consisted of hard cash.

In observing and experiencing everyday life of households in open house structures, I also gained appreciation for how the openness worked. I saw how open architecture helped members maintain continual awareness of the rest of the household and its activities and how that also facilitated intra-household cooperation. For example in the open architecture one can get another's attention by a simple hand gesture or by making a kissing sound through sucking air between ones pursed lips. It was not necessary to walk to a room, knock on a door and say "Are you busy? Can you lend me a hand?" From the point of view of the head of household or *matai*, the ability to view the household and the various activities of its members is important, particularly because of the value system. Interviewees saw being able to sit in an open house and know and see what others were doing as a benefit of open wall-less structures. Yet, this principle can be facilitated to some extent through the abundant use of windows in the enclosed house structures. The same issue of supervision could be applied towards the supervision of children in the family, a point that was more frequently mentioned by women, who are more frequently responsible for children.

A practical difference found between the open-walled and enclosed structures relates to house cleaning, a chore that falls primarily on younger female household members. Open Sāmoan houses were found to be much faster and easier to clean, given they have no windows or walls to clean, and any dust on the floor can be quickly swept outside the open sides.

Some interlocutors discussed possible connections between enclosed housing and a rise in in various types of 'social problems', including sexual abuse and domestic violence, citing the decreased level of social control and surveillance that enclosed housing creates. One informant stated that if he heard the sounds of physical violence between people coming from a neighbour's house that was enclosed, he would be less likely to intervene than if this was occurring in an open house. Only in an open house could he assess the situation: the people, possible weapons being used, etc. Furthermore, he stated, he would already be on more familiar terms with the people by the very fact of their open house. This informant's statement suggests that closed housing contributes to a lack of interference by others in domestic violence. When a problem is less visible, it is less likely to be addressed at the community level. The increase in enclosed walled housing could hypothetically be facilitating increased levels of domestic and sexual forms of violence.[5] Keen (1979) argues that enclosed housing inhibits the application and value of external public control mechanisms of Sāmoan culture. Other implications include supervision of children, supervision of household activities by *matai* (chief) or household head, communication and social interaction within and between households, sharing and security of household resources, food, house cleaning and male versus female associations.

The Difference Round Ends Make

The principle of round ends (*tala*) on a straight middle section (*itū*) forms a twofold geometry and a twofold symmetry (front and back are symmetrical, and the ends are symmetrical). As illustrated in Fig. 24.10, the rectangular *faleapa* common in Sāmoan villages today holds a twofold symmetry, but not a twofold geometry.

The tripartite twofold geometry of the Sāmoan *fale* with the straight middle section and round ends was described earlier in the chapter as reflecting the significance of several core Sāmoan cultural principles, such as the relationship between *aliʻi* (high chiefs) and *tulāfale* (orator chiefs). The loss of the round end resulting in the rectangular floor plan was observed to have socio-spatial implications during formal Sāmoan meetings and ceremonies. The *aliʻi* will still have their posts on the now straight ends, but lost is the *aliʻi* space encompassed by the half round of the *tala*. The gradual curve of the *tala* to meet the straight middle section is replaced by a sharp right-angle corner marked by the corner post, which ambiguously belongs to both the *itū* and the *tala*. Also lost is the complementary duality of space embodied in the joined complementarity of space of the round *tala* and straight *itū*.

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[5]This point is only hypothetical. While statistics for reported cases of such violence have gone up simultaneously with the increase in walled housing in the villages, there also exists the high probability that a greater number of cases of violence occurred unreported to legal authorities outside the village in the past. It is also possible for domestic forms of violence to occur away from the house setting altogether, though this may be less likely.
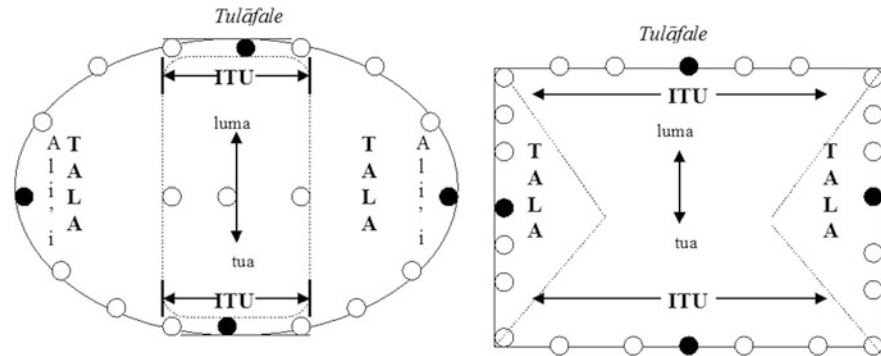
Fig. 24.10 Comparing spatiality of round ended with square ended meetinghouse (Left). Traditional *fale* plan with two fold geometry and symmetry created from straight *itu* middle section and round *tala* ends. *Aliʻi* Chiefs sit in the round *tala*, the highest ranking at the central post of the end called *matuatala* (Right). In the rectangular floor plan the *matuatala* is the central post of the straight end. The lack of round ends means the twofold geometry is lost as is the sense of a separate but interrelated complementary social space of the *tala* for *aliʻi* and *itu* for *tulafale*. The dotted triangular lines on the *tala* represent the hip roof construction

The central post of the *tala*, called the *matuātala*, lies at the apex of the curving round end, and is the reserved post for the highest ranking chief to sit during formal meetings. With a rectangular floor plan the spatiality of being at the apex of a round end is lost. The *matuātala* is simple the central post in the straight line of posts forming the end of the structure. Builders often make this post larger or add decorative emblems to signify its social status in the structure. The straight-sided end also decreases the visual sightlines between people on the same *tala*.

One high-ranking *aliʻi* commented on his experience sitting at the *matuātala* (central end post) in a *faleāfolau* during a ceremony. He explained he had the acute sensation of being in two circles of chiefs at the same time the inner circle formed by those chiefs sitting at the inner *poutū* of the structure and those sitting at the *poulalo* in the outer circle. Those in the inner circle are more 'front' (centre) and therefore higher ranking than those sitting at the *poulalo*. The *aliʻi* sitting at the *matuātala* post, who reported experiencing being located in both simultaneously, felt this position gave sense of importance and significance to the whole. This signifies the generative capacity of both the round ends and the inner and outer house posts of the structure.

The relationship of structural and phenomenological perspectives in this analysis resonates with discussion of implications of change elsewhere in the chapter. Architectural changes do not necessarily directly impact social–cultural structures or practices, such as the complementary relationship between *aliʻi* and *tulafale* roles or the oratorical practices that precede formal meetings, or ritual customs of exchange at life crisis events; yet, changes in building form and space do impact the sensory experience of these social positions and practices, particularly when the architectural change no longer so effectively reinforces and facilitates these

relationships and practices. For example, I would assert that the loss of a structure's twofold geometry does not directly change the structural relationship of *tulāfale* and *ali'i* in Sāmoan culture, but the social construction of that relationship is influenced by architectural spatialities. The interpretation of the implications of change requires an approach that combines the phenomenological and the structural. At a social structural level, there is persistence and continuity, but at the phenomenological level change is more readily perceived.

Building guesthouses using traditional forms has become more difficult and expensive over time, so chiefs of high position felt particularly compelled to build using the more traditional form. Many family and village guesthouses today are of the *fale'apa* (open rectangular type), but the more traditional form gains special recognition for the chief and the descent group in the community.

From Convex to Straight Slope Roofs

The least reproduced generative principle of Indigenous Sāmoan architecture is the convex roof slope, which adds tensile strength and aesthetic affect to the Sāmoan *fale*. This is due largely to changes in materials, construction techniques and the loss of traditional construction knowledge, which, in turn, is largely due to the greater costs, particularly in labour of the traditional building method, the construction of the many hand-hewn curving purlins (*vaega fau*). The research found no major obvious corresponding impact on Sāmoan sociocultural practices or meanings from this change as was found with other changes (e.g. adding walls to structures, or making the ends square), yet the change cannot be said to have no cultural significance.

The slight convex slope of the *fale*'s roof was not found in the research to be such a strongly generative feature as other features for specific Sāmoan sociocultural practices, yet it is, nonetheless, significant in both aesthetic and phenomenological terms, and many Sāmoan informants made comments about this aspect. The proper curve was considered part of the mastery by which the master carpenter's skills could be evaluated and accentuate a feeling of enclosure and lightness. The curving arches of the lashed purlins (*vaega fau*) in the *tala* help to accent the centrality of the significant *matuātala* from which they appear to radiate outwards. Figure 24.11 illustrates the difference between the two types of roof construction and slope.

Also of interest is a comparison of the aesthetic and sensory difference between binding and lashing house timbers together versus other methods, such as nailing or bolting. Lashing offers an important aesthetic, and traditionally different Sāmoan master builders each had their own signature styles that functioned to both do the job of tightly binding house parts together in lasting ways and also create the aesthetic effect of accenting the intersections and joinery of building parts, in ways that nails and bolts do not do.
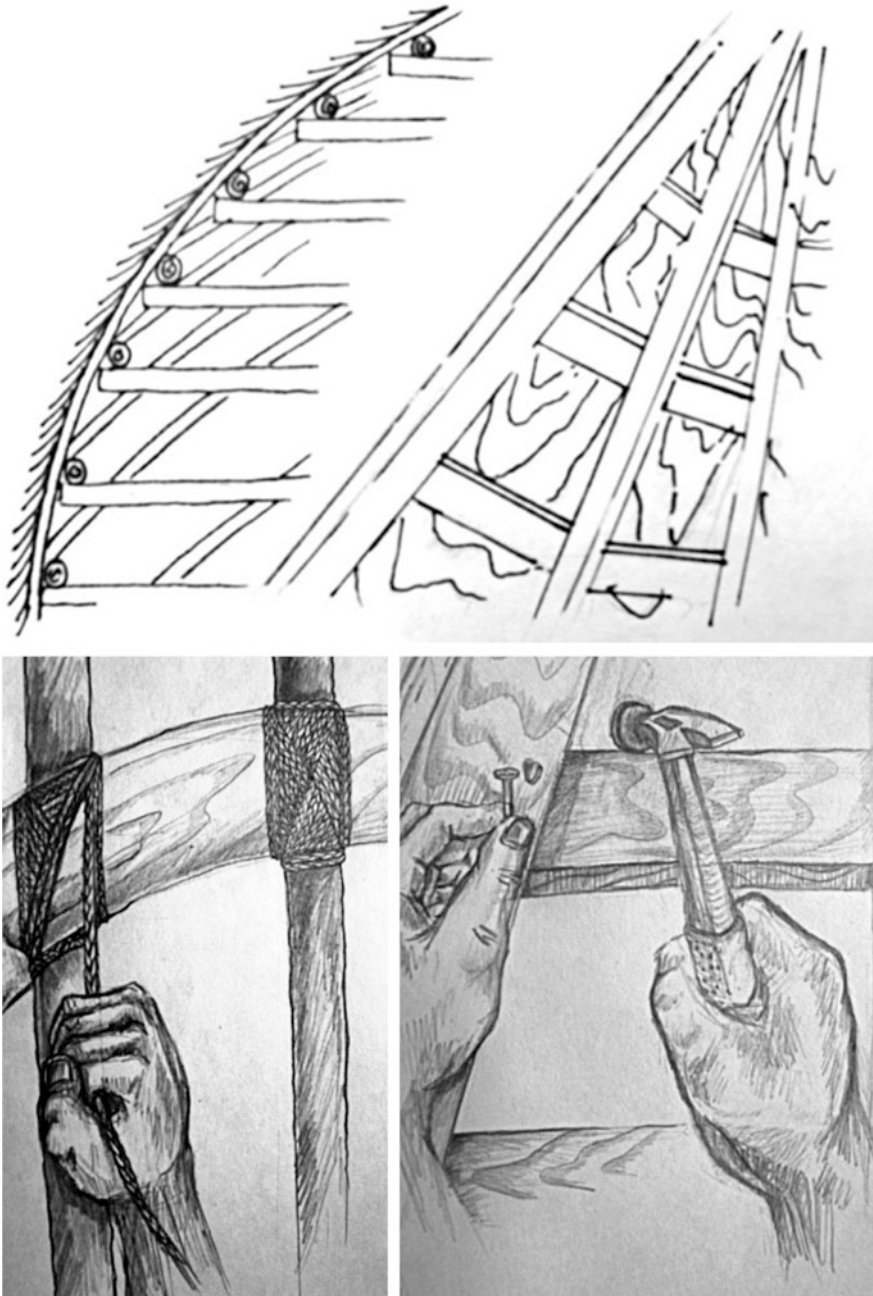
Fig. 24.11 Contrasting traditional convex roof form using the arching purlins (*vaega fau*) and *laau matua* (left) with straight sloping milled lumber rafter construction (right) (Drawings: Henry Utoaluga)

Here, also we may consider the sensory difference during construction between lashing and nailing pieces together. Perhaps, this distinction is part of the culture. In my research, I learned that one of the traditional rules of builders was that if a house timber needed to be reshaped, it had to be taken down and removed to the *fale tā* (the temporary building shed) placed some distance away from the main construction where an adze was used to reshape it. It could not be reshaped directly at the house itself as actions of *tā* (striking) had to occur in the separate space of the *fale tā*.

Several cultural interlocutors in the study suggested another cultural implication of the changing architecture lay in language. Not only does Sāmoan architecture represent a unique form, but all of the many (more than 30) specific parts of the structure are uniquely named. Each name helps denote that part's special significance to the structure, but also references legends about their origins of how they came to be. They may also often carry social significance through metaphor. One consultant stated that without the existence of the traditional structures, built in the traditional way, the meaning of these terms becomes lost. Eventually also lost are the terms themselves and their poetic and cultural uses.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed features and aspects of Sāmoan Indigenous architecture and changes it has undergone over the last half-century under the effect of globalisation in the Sāmoan Islands and the large development of diasporic Sāmoan communities that remain largely tied to their home islands and villages through kinship, reciprocity, Indigenous Sāmoan political organisation (i.e. *matai* system), which help maintain a fluid and mobile transnational sociocultural Sāmoan system. Due to limited space, many parts of the larger research on the topic could not be included here, but I have highlighted ways of linking the tangibles of architectural forms, materials and space to intangible aspects of Sāmoan cultural and social life. Those links were framed as mutually constituting and reciprocal, such that architectural change can be seen to both reflect and shape other aspects of society and culture. Theoretical concepts of habitus, and materiality and agency are particularly helpful in developing this kind of analysis.

Historically, Sāmoan culture is famously conservative, resilient and adaptable. These qualities are evidenced in the continuity of architectural traditions from pre-European contact to recent history. I have summarised some of the sociocultural and material dynamics and implications of various changes in Indigenous Sāmoan architecture as part of broader levels of sociocultural change in the Sāmoan Islands. As physical incarnation of habitus (as termed by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu), the built environment might be considered to act as a conservative stabilising cultural

force on social change, yet always also offering the potential for realising new social forms and ideals whenever new structures are built. Material, technological, economic and social changes have led Sāmoans to make adjustments in their physical incarnation of a Sāmoan *habitus*, which in turn has sociocultural implications. Cultural innovation has been viewed as an important part of that process.

The current research indicates that changes in Sāmoan village architecture over the last half-century from the 1940s to second decade of the twenty-first century both reflect and shape broader intangible cultural processes of change and continuity occurring in Sāmoan society. On the shaping side, architectural changes were seen to have cultural implications, some which may be considered as being intended and others as unintended and even unforeseen consequences. In either case, Sāmoan cultural identities and practices become (and are) reformed as part of the process. Overall, the changes reflect how Sāmoans have successfully adapted their Indigenous architectural and spatial principles to new materials and forms in ways that accommodate some levels of cultural continuity, yet cultural identity and practices are affected and become less easily distinguished as being characteristically Sāmoan.

My research also revealed two modes by which cultural interlocutors interpreted implications of change on Sāmoan family, community and cultural life. One interpretive stance was more structural in leaning. It emphasised the conceptual, ideological categories in Sāmoan culture and how Sāmoans can creatively adapt these to new architectural spaces and materials. Explanations of other cultural interlocutors were more phenomenological in character, that is, they emphasised culture as lived and sensed experience, as opposed to consisting of structural principles. Those using the phenomenological perspective thereby tended to interpret greater cultural impacts of such newer architectural features as enclosed rooms than did the more structural-leaning interlocutors. Changes in architectural spaces and forms are thereby seen to more significantly impact culture, because the practice and sense of physical space and place significantly affect the practice and experience of the social relationships that comprise the culture.

Another general finding is that two basic types of sociocultural values and reasoning are entangled in the multi-linear processes of architectural change. One relates to practical economic decision-making in relation to the incorporation of new kinds of building materials. The second relates to diverging sources of 'prestige' associated with both Sāmoan and European forms of architecture. Those developments must be understood within the developing Sāmoan transnational context of this period, whose seeds were planted in the early 1950s with the first large migrations. Increasingly, from the early 1970s, the social, material and economic effects of new transnational structures became revealed architecturally in Sāmoan villages.

Here, I would suggest that, while it is useful to view links between sociocultural and architectural change, architecture and its changes do not necessarily determine

all sociocultural developments. Likewise, I do not argue that all cultural and social phenomena are reflected architecturally. Furthermore, the pulse of architectural change does not necessarily match the pulse of change in cultural intangibles. Building forms and materials are only periodically changed, for example, when old buildings are torn down and new ones built. Maintaining old buildings (and to some extent reproducing the same forms) supports continuity of social histories, cultural memory and modes of practice. Architectural change opens up and facilitates changes in sociocultural processes, ways of being, thinking and behaving in the world. Yet, cultural memory and social histories, and cultural ways of thinking and behaving do not suddenly disappear just because there is a new structure. Equally, maintaining old physical structures does not prevent sociocultural changes from occurring. As such, the ways space and buildings are used, and their social meanings may shift independently of any physical changes in form or materials.

My discussion has also touched on ideological and theoretical perspectives that assist understandings about how architectural changes are culturally interpreted. *Mamalu* (sanctity/prestige) was a recurring theme in this study. A village that was *mamalu* had rules, which people obeyed, not because they were forced to, but because the authority through which they were vested was both trusted and respected. The *mamalu* was thereby understood to infuse harmony into community life. In addition to talking about a village or an event as being *mamalu*, informants also described how architectural features (and space itself) could be *mamalu*. For example, the rounder *faletele* was considered to have more *mamalu* than the long *faleāfolau*, which, in turn, was thought to be more *mamalu* than the rectangular *faleapa*. Through such explanations I discerned many Sāmoans clearly interpreted and understood how architectural features and spaces had various levels and types of generative abilities.

The juxtaposition and incorporation of opposing values and institutions into contemporary Sāmoan ways of life is one source of disharmony. Underlying tensions permeate space, property and boundary issues as the collective, communal and *mamalu* aspects of Sāmoan culture and community life have been infected with Western ideas about private property, privacy, ownership and boundaries. Ideologies of progress and a more ideal past appear as oppositional themes differentially effecting the building decisions Sāmoans have made in the past and may continue to make.

It is extremely difficult and expensive today to secure the material and human resources to build a large masterfully and traditionally built *faletele* or *faleāfolau,* whereas fifty to forty years ago such structures were common place in all Sāmoan villages. A very few of the traditional structures used for the traditional guesthouse purposes remain in Sāmoan villages, being renewed and maintained by the families in accordance with the wishes of their forefather chiefs to maintain and renew the traditional forms and materials. Sprinkled here and there in some villages, especially in American Sāmoa, one may only see the last remains of almost completely rotten guesthouse structures built in a traditional manner, with locally procured and

produced timbers, forms and materials, or just the remaining rock *paepae* (foundation) left undisturbed in the village. When the *sa'o* (head) *matai* and the descent group decided to rebuild, they may wish to be able to build using the traditional materials and form, as to do so would bring much prestige and value. Few have the resources or abilities to do so and must innovate and compromise to build a structure that they can afford, which is typically built with modern materials and technology.

The main sponsors of large well-built 'traditional' (they have all the principle traditional features) *faletele* or *faleāfolau* are some of the most prominent chiefs of Sāmoa, including Sāmoa's Head of State, His Highness, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese, major government departments or institutions like the Sāmoan tourism authority, or Sāmoa's National University and some of the buildings at some of Samoa's resorts. Most chiefs and their families cannot afford and have too much difficulty securing the knowledge and resources to build a major guesthouse in the traditional manner, and thus innovate and compromise to build something they like and feel is functional, has some traditional features, but is achievable for them and the builders they hire. There are very few remaining knowledgeable master builders able to build using traditional features and materials, and the building knowledge is not being adequately passed on to younger generations to carry on the tradition. The Sāmoan *fale* represents a cultural icon to the Sāmoans found in tourist souvenirs, tee-shirt prints and the logos of numerous Sāmoan or American Sāmoan agencies and institutions, signifying a unique culture and identity that is treasured by its people. Yet, this iconic usage is a far cry from living the culture in and through the space of this architecture. The question is will it, or to what extent will it, be possible to revitalise Sāmoa's famous building tradition in all its former glory and meaning as a vital part of Sāmoan cultural life?

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Chapter 25
Fale Samoa's Extended Boundaries: Performing Place and Identity

A.-Chr. (Tina) Engels-Schwarzpaul and Albert L. Refiti

Introduction: Authenticity and Performance of Place and Identity

Terms like identity and authenticity have been subjected to much critique over the last 50 years, and there was a time in New Zealand, towards the end of the twentieth century, where someone using the word *authentic* was immediately under suspicion of essentialism. The critique of authenticity originated in Europe, but it was quickly taken up in the USA and subsequently in countries like New Zealand. We say New Zealand deliberately, rather than Aotearoa, because academic critiques of essentialism often targeted Māori who did not want to relinquish notions of authenticity and identity. For example, protests by Māori against the inappropriate use of Māori cultural images in the late 1980s and early 1990 were translated by Pākehā academics, as "Maori think they are better at reproducing Maori images because they are born Maori" (Jahnke 1996: 15). But Māori not only *are* Māori, many also have a different "access to conscious and unconscious elements of cultural heritage" (1996: 15). This is important for, as Māori shape a vision for the future: "…the configuration of the past often provides a framework for reconfiguring that future. What is

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critical in the process of reconfiguration is the construction of identity as an insep-arable condition of the past and the future" (1996: 18).[1]

Never a simple concept, *identity* is further complicated in diasporic situations, where it is "a product of articulation" at the "intersection of dwelling and travelling", and "a claim of continuity within discontinuity" in the relationship between the new and the traditional (Minh-ha 2011: 31). Dichotomies defining identities of locals and travellers (the here and the faraway) break down into "specific actualities", mani-festing "the impossibility of packaging a culture, or of defining an authentic cultural identity" (2011: 40). In the North American context, Trinh Minh-ha stressed in the 1980s that the necessary critique of Western racist and ethnocentric legacies "does not mean that whatever it now considers negative in its own past language should become censored or tabooed for others" (Minh-ha 1987: 139). Others, one should add, who do not share this same language, and whose own concepts were and are regularly translated into Western idioms without consultation.

That said, the deconstruction of European notions of authenticity could be useful in Māori and in Pasifika contexts,[2] too, and artists and academics from those cultures have actively participated in it. However, at least in neocolonial New Zealand, aca-demic deconstructive criticism has often been forgetful of its own provenance and location. This forgetfulness complemented a lack of reflection concerning the specific genesis of the terms under critique, namely their development within European national and imperialist discourses. Starting in the eighteenth century, both *identity* and *authenticity* changed their meaning significantly. During a period of intensifying colonialism and nationalism, the ascending bourgeois, capitalist class created its own traditions and infused them with ideals of individuality and natural authenticity (Handler 1986). In an additional twist, identity (now associated with the individual cut loose from its kin) and authenticity (now associated with 'genuine' national and bourgeois traditions in Europe) took on a different tone and value in the colonies. In New Zealand, for example, non-Māori regularly judged the authenticity of Māori material and performance culture—not only in the distant, colonial past (e.g. Herbert Williams in Hamilton 1901: 120; Maclennan quoted in McLintock 1966: 87—see also Best 1924: 248; Bell 1989: 12; Engels-Schwarzpaul 2001: 83–87; Wikitera 2015: 52). As Richard Handler observed, anthropologists construct the cultures they study in a very similar fashion as nationalists do: "by describing the cultural substance or social facts that will establish the existence of the cultures they enclose within the covers of their monographs". He goes on to note that, for both, authenticity is a function of what has been called "possessive individualism" (Macpherson 1962).

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[1]Arguments rejecting Māori essentialism effectively deny Māori the right to self-determination and were (are?) often employed as an "imperialist tactic of preserving intellectual distance and intel-lectual superiority" (Jahnke 1996: 14–15).

[2]'Pasifika' is a term in the Samoan language describing non-Samoans, especially European westerners. It is a cognate in other Polynesian languages and used by New Zealand Ministries "when referring to Pacific peoples in New Zealand. The term refers to those peoples who have migrated from Pacific [island] nations and territories. It also refers to the New Zealand-based (and born) population, who identify as Pasifika via ancestry or descent" (Anae & Mila-Schaaf 2010).

> Contact with authentic pieces of culture in museums or, better, the possession of such objects in private collections, allows [them] to appropriate their authenticity, incorporating that magical proof of existence into [their] "personal experience". (Handler 1986: 4)

Authenticity, initially an important term for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cultural anthropologists, as well as for art dealers supplying European and American museums and private collectors at that time, later became in New Zealand a measure by which to decide which Māori art deserved to be collected and funded and which did not. As late as the 1980s, non-Māori experts, in whose views authentic Māori art was traditional and uncontaminated through culture contact, granted or withheld 'authenticity' in judging Māori (and later Pacific) art and culture—sometimes supported by traditionalist Māori (or Pacific) experts. This amounted to hegemonic practices, in a more contemporary dress, to "determine who really is Indigenous, who is worth saving, who is still innocent and free from Western contamination" (Smith 1999: 74). Māori and Pacific people confront such interpretations of identity and authenticity with a different, collective sense of Indigenous identity and uphold their own authentic and innovative contemporary practices. They have also strategically used *authenticity* as an oppositional term;

> …in at least two different ways. First … as a form of articulating what it meant to be dehumanized by colonization; and second, for reorganizing "national consciousness" in the struggles for decolonization. The belief in an authentic self is framed within humanism but has been politicised by the colonised world in ways which invoke simultaneous meanings (Smith 1999: 73).

Ironically, "the concept of 'authenticity' is as deeply embedded in anthropological theory as it is in the self-conscious ethnic ideologies of many of the groups" anthropologists study (Handler 1986: 4).[3]

Crucially, such oppositional ways of defining authenticity and identity are performative, and they become powerful ways of maintaining Indigenous cultural landscapes in the diaspora (Wikitera 2015: 72). In Aotearoa New Zealand, this applies both to Māori (eighty per cent of whom lived away from their *tūrangawaewae*[4] at the start of the twenty-first century) and Pasifika people. The economic pressures and educational needs typically motivating the decision to live away from the homelands continue to impact the migrants in their relationship with the majority culture. Māori and Pasifika groups, to varying degrees and at different times, have, as one strategy to maintain group identity, built houses that reflect the cultures in their homelands. In Auckland, several *marae* with carved meeting houses, and some Pacific-looking buildings, serve as meeting places for

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[3]And, just as ironically, authenticity in Europe nationalist ideologies was entangled with an anxiety over the credibility of the nation's existence as a bounded and distinctive entity. Such anxiety, in Handler's observation, is "particularly apparent where national or ethnic groups find themselves in a struggle for recognition, seeking either national sovereignty or equal rights within a larger polity" (Handler 1986: 3).

[4]*Tūrangawaewae* is defined as "domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand—place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and *whakapapa*" (Moorfield 2017).

communities and as semi-autonomous places for Māori and Pasifika people within mainstream institutions.

In the Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC) in Lāi'e, Hawai'i, groups from various Pacific Islands were instituted in Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Hawai'ian, Fijian and Tahitian 'Island villages' in the 1960s. They serve today the double purpose of, generating money for the Mormon Church through performances for tourists and of transmitting and maintaining cultural knowledge and practices for the members of the respective communities. In this context, as Christopher Balme observed in the 1990s, notions of identity and authenticity can be deployed in quite different ways, which are influenced both by the PCC's internal structure and by different colonial histories. The Hawai'ian Māoli and Aotearoa Māori village shows, both representing Fourth World cultures (Indigenous cultures submerged in a colonial majority culture), take a soberer and more educational approach to their performances than Tongans and Samoans, who regard themselves as independent nations. In Fourth World situations, Indigenous cultures were, and still are, under pressures to assimilate. In such circumstances, re-invention and redefinition of tradition at various levels help in the adaptation to new situations. Māori and Māoli cultural forms "are, therefore, carefully guarded and treasured"—in contrast to "the rumbustious processes of self-irony and play that the Tongans and Samoans practise" at PCC (Balme 1998: 64). These observations also apply, to an extent, to Māori and Pasifika communities in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australian metropoles. Here, too, the different communities' relationships to identity and authenticity are shaped by the internal structure of the host cities, as well as the communities' different histories.

As a contribution to these histories in the realm of architecture, this paper, originally written for the *European Architectural History Network*'s 2012 conference, looks at the histories of several 'travelling houses' from Samoa and Aotearoa New Zealand. Specifically, it explores notions of identity and authenticity as performance—in the force field of past and present imperialisms and globalisation. For, though not much noticed, Pacific houses have travelled within the boundaries of European and American imperialism for more than a century, to be displayed in fairs, parks or museums. Three Māori *wharenui* (meeting houses), remaining in London, Hamburg and Stuttgart, and a Samoan *fale tele* (council house), exhibited in 1924 at Wembley and now lost, were instrumental in performing European and Pasifika identities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Three *fale* were built at the PCC in 1961–63 by *matai tufuga*, Uga Muasau Alo of Faleniu from American Samoa, supported by *tufuga* Falefitu Masoe for the lashing and finishing work (Moe 2015). Much of the roofing work was done by volunteer labour missionaries from Samoa (Fitzgerald 2015). Te Aroha o Te Iwi Māori, the central and largest *whare* at the Māori village, was built on commission from the PCC in Hamilton, Aotearoa, in 1963. John Elkington, Barney Christy, Anaru Kohu, Oliphant McKay, Taka Panere and Taka Walker worked under the direction of Ngāti Porou *tohunga whakairo* Hone Taiapa (Ellis 2012: 426). In 2004, a *fale* arrived at the Tropical Islands Resort near Brand, Germany, which had been built on commission by *tufuga fau fale* Leofo Leaina from Sa'anapu and Vitale Feaunati from Lufilufi and others, and

which was reassembled by some of them at the resort (Engels-Schwarzpaul and Simati Kumar 2014).

Thus, Pacific houses today not only signify but *per/form* (from *parfourmer*, fully provide) identities in communities, as much as in the global leisure industries—according to inconsistent, even conflicting values. While they are deeply implicated in tensions between the local and the global, traditional and contemporary, such binaries blur in non-European contexts, and interesting questions arise from the dynamic fuelling the use of 'decorative' iconic Samoan forms.[5]

Our paper investigates exchanges between three regions, worlds apart yet with shared histories. We first explore notions of place and identity at exhibitions featuring *fale Samoa* in the USA, Europe and Aotearoa New Zealand. Then, we address aspects of critical regionalism relevant to (post)colonial contexts and, finally, we discuss exhibitions as performative practices. We deliberately see-saw between diverse geographical, theoretical and political positions, to generate relational spaces that transcend geopolitical boundaries and yet remain local and specific.

European Boundaries and Dis/Connections

In the 1890s, British, German and American traders, bureaucrats and military rubbed shoulders in Apia, Samoa. The 'interparochial' differences articulated in their exchanges produced conflicts for Samoans and non-Samoans alike (Stevenson 1895: 288).[6] In this situation, Samoa-based trader, Harry Moors took three large *fale* and a group of 'Samoans' to the 1893 *Chicago World's Fair* (or *Chicago Columbian Exposition*). In reality, Moors had gathered the members of this group on the various islands he passed through during his journey to the USA, because the Samoan government had refused to allow Samoans to travel with him (Moors 1986: 106). During the Chicago exhibition, non-Samoans described how the 'Samoans' erected and inhabited their *fale*, gave demonstrations of weaving and provided seemingly spontaneous performances at their 'village'. Joseph Smith observed the "cool and pleasant" climate inside the *fale's* "primitive" architecture during the hot Chicago summer, the builders' "leisurely methods", and their insistence on doing their work "in their own way or not at all" (Smith quoted in Johnston 1999: 111, 114). If, as was widely reported, one of the *fale* had indeed belonged to "King Mataafa, the deposed ruler of Samoa, who [had] occupied it for years" (Culin 1894: 57), then his role in the original construction—of which there is no record—would be very relevant. We also have found no record of what the builders and village inhabitants, or even average visitors, thought and felt.

What we do know is that international exhibitions in Europe and America generally had an "overwhelming effect […] on those who visited" (Schneider 1981:

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[5]Kenneth Frampton rejected the eclectic appropriation of "alien, exotic forms" for the revitalisation of "an enervated society" (1989: 37).

[6]See also Meleisea and Schoeffel (1994: 89–124).

32). The visitor numbers are staggering: in Paris, at the 1900 *Exposition Universelle de Paris*, a total of 50 million people visited (almost twice as many as at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago). At this exhibition, writer Paul Morand became a "traveller within", who dreamt of Africa, Polynesia and Asia as he traversed the exotic villages at the Trocadero (Grewe 2006: 22). He passed his days "in that Arab, Polynesian, negro town, which stretched from the Eiffel Tower to Passy, a quiet Paris hillside suddenly bearing upon its back all Africa, Asia …" (Morand quoted in Maxwell 2000: 21). While the exhibition succeeded in producing imperial subjects as travellers (through "a paradoxical combination of escapism and search for the authentic, a kind of flight whose ultimate goal is knowledge of self and world", Grewe 2006: 21), it still failed, in some colonists' opinion, "to convey a proper image of the empire" (Joseph Chailley-Bert in Schneider 1981: 36). Uneasy and unstable configurations arose from the exhibition's combination of commerce, education, propaganda and spectacle. Yet, while the efficiency of the colonial enterprise may not have been rendered to everyone's satisfaction, the staged contrast between advanced architecture and technology and, at the other end of a sliding scale, 'primitive' architectures and artefacts effectively demonstrated progress and underdevelopment.

In Germany, which by contrast with France and Britain had little involvement in colonialism until 1884 and did not hold international exhibitions until much later, Samoan troupes had nevertheless repeatedly performed in *Völkerschauen* well before 1899, when Western Samoa became a German Protectorate. Subsequently, in 1901 and 1910, shows at Frankfurt, Hamburg, Cologne, Berlin and Munich promoted Samoans as the 'new compatriots' from the colonies. The Samoans, for their part, regarded their involvement internally as status-enhancing, and externally as relationship-building. Thus, Tamasese Lealofi II (who competed with Mata'afa Iosefo for the German-curated title of *tupu*), reportedly said that he was "glad to travel to Germany and to meet the Emperor and the other German rulers" (*Kleine Presse* 1896 quoted in Steffen-Schrade 1998: 383). In a photograph, Tamasese stands among his performers, in front of three thatched houses that bear little relation to a *fale tele* and yet may have represented to him and the troupe something of their homeland. In other images, *pola* (Samoan 'venetian blinds'), clumsily attached to the '*fale*', still indicate the style of the *fale* as dwelling, as a "basic anthropological category" (Mesenhöller 1995: 44).

At the 1924 *British Empire Exhibition in Wembley*, in the wake of New Zealand's 1914 annexation of Samoa at Britain's request, the colony presented itself as a British Dominion and an imperial power in the Pacific region in its own right, exhibiting a *fale* and the *wharenui*, Mataatua on either side of the neo-classical New Zealand pavilion (see Figs. 25.1 and 25.2). Reputedly "an excellent example of the Samoan's art in house building and … one of the best of its kind" (Secretary Administration of Western Samoa 1923), this *fale* had been commissioned by the New Zealand Department of External Affairs and built in Mulinu'u under Mata'afa's supervision. It was then dismantled for shipping, each separate piece marked to enable someone familiar with the construction to re-erect it in England (Secretary Administration of Western Samoa 1923). The government, however, decided not to send "Native

Fig. 25.1 New Zealand Pavilion at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition, flanked by Mataatua *wharenui* (left) and the *fale* from Mulinu'u (right) (*Photograph* Archives New Zealand)

Fig. 25.2 Mataatua at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, London, in 1924, with King George and Queen Mary on the porch (*Photograph* Archives New Zealand)

troupes" to Wembley, for fear of "the unsettling and bad after-effects which invariably follow on the return of the participants" (Secretary Administration of Western Samoa 1923). Thus, the *fale* was accompanied not by its *tufuga* (master builders) or Samoan performers, but instead by Charles Reed, a trader from Apia like Moors, and "his half-caste wife" Mosooi (Secretary Administration of Western Samoa 1923) (see
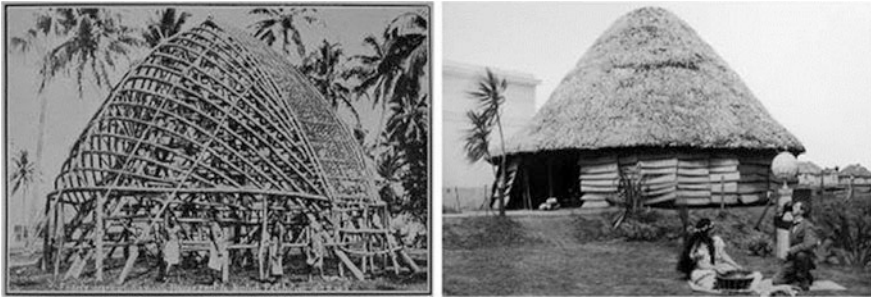
Fig. 25.3 Left: Framework of Samoan House sent to British Empire Exhibition, Samoa 1924. Source: *Handbook of Western Samoa*, 1925. Right: Charles Reed and 'Mosooi', his 'half-caste wife', with kava bowl in front of the fale Samoa at the British Empire Exhibition in 1924. Since the *fale* did not fit onto the allotted site at the exhibition, Reed severely reduced its size and the *fale* lost, in the process, its typical ridge (*taualuga*) and curved apses (*tala*) (*Photographs* Archives New Zealand)

Fig. 25.3). An image in the *London Illustrated News* shows Mosooi and two European visitors inside the *fale* during construction (Spurrier 1924: 933). Twenty-seven million people came to see the "empire 'reproduced in miniature'", with the *fale* placed on a "map of the world that could be strolled in a well-planned afternoon" (Cohen 2004: 85, 88).[7]

The 1940 *Centennial Exhibition* in Wellington showcased New Zealand's 'island territories' within the Government Pavilion. As in Wembley, a *fale tele* was commissioned, to be built in Samoa according to contractual specifications and to the architect's measurements (Assistant Secretary 1938). The *tufuga* then erected the *fale* in Wellington and stayed in attendance during the session, led by Sergeant Fitisemanu. At the end of the exhibition, the *fale* was sold to Mr. H.J. Kelliher of Auckland and re-erected by the *tufuga* at his estate on Puketutu Island. We will come back to some specific circumstances of this exhibition later.

After Second World War, new networks of industries and flows (of people, objects and information) changed knowledge modes, governmental rationalities, anthropological assemblages and exhibitions. Not surprisingly, the exhibition of a *fale* at the *Tropical Islands Resort* near Brand (60 km (37.2 miles) south-east of Berlin) in 2005 significantly differs from earlier exhibitions in some respects. Nonetheless, it also shares important features with its predecessors; again, the tension between local and global contexts and customs shaped its conception, production and reception. Initiator and part-owner Colin Au and the Tropical Islands Resort management used images evoking cascading associations that are well described in the opening of Cordula Grewe's book *Schau des Fremden* (Spectacle of the Foreign). They rely on stereotypes, secreted by centuries of contact between Europe and the Pacific (e.g. earthly paradise, noble savages, tribal villages and

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[7]"To visit the Exhibition is to visit every Continent of the earth" (Lawrence quoted in Cohen 2004: 89).

sexual freedom),[8] and "embedded in a long history of colonialism, collecting, and exhibiting" (Grewe 2006: 10–11). The Tropical Islands management relied on these stereotypes; the Samoan government and the Samoan Tourism Association (STA) colluded. They endowed the resort's representation of Samoa (with the *fale* "compressed in closest proximity" (2006: 15) with houses from Borneo, Bali, Thailand, Kenya and the Amazon, and surrounded by eateries, swimming pools and the tropical rainforest) with authenticity and legitimacy.[9]

Despite the Tropical Islands Resort website's nostalgic references to village communities and extended families, nothing on the German side of the collaboration matches Samoans' awareness of shared histories and genealogies (*gafa*). In the Pacific, connections of family and individuals with their place furnish identity— and many Samoans include Germans in their line of ancestors. From that perspective, Germany lies within the extended boundaries of Samoa and the Pacific— but one can also get the feeling of being within Europe's extended boundaries in Samoa. By contrast, at the resort on the doorstep of the reinstated German capital, Berlin, Samoa is a faraway South Seas Island. A collective forgetfulness, following the First World War loss of German colonies, makes it easy to remain unaware of historical connections.

Persistence of Form

On the other hand, and unlike the travelling performers at the German *Völkerschauen*, the Samoan village at PCC has a live-in community. The village, made up of Samoan student workers from the Brigham Young University, Hawai'i, located next door, and local Samoan Mormon families tending the grounds and looking after the houses (a *fale tele*, guesthouse; a *maota tofa*, chief's house; a *faleo'o*, sleeping house; and *faleumu*, cooking house) in traditional costumes. The common critique of the PCC complex is that it perpetuates stereotypes and stagnates cultural change. Houses have become the most visible icons of such criticism. On one level, the criticism sounds true when seen in the totality of the theme park complex but, on closer inspection, the folks who spend time working there have organised themselves in traditional roles and enact a Samoan relational structure. When we visited, a group of three women and four men arranged themselves in the *fale tele* for a *talanoa* (talk) session, with two male orators at the front of the house, another man and two women along the back, and the high-ranking man sitting next

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[8]For a Samoan response to these stereotypes, see Le Tagaloa (1998). For further details of Tropical Islands Resort, see Engels-Schwarzpaul (2006, 2007a, b, c, 2009).

[9]The genealogy of this configuration is unmistakeable: Dürbeck (2006: 93) argues that tourism anywhere still profits from the same dualistic stereotypes of the Pacific highlighted in the *Völkerschauen*. Tropical Islands Resort's *Tropical Village* includes "authentic houses from six tropical regions of the world", "constructed on site at *Tropical Islands* by craftsmen from their respective home countries" (Tropical Island Management GMBH 2005).

to the older woman taking up one end of the house. This arrangement reflected the traditional seating where high-ranking people are to be located at the *tala* (end) of the house, orators at the *itu-i-luma* (front) and young men and *taupou* (village maiden) at the back, serving the '*ava*. They talked about their roles in maintaining and re-enacting their stations as Samoans in the diaspora, saying, "*E tumau fa'avae 'ae sui faiga*" (the foundation of Samoan culture remains, but customs change). The surrounding architecture, in a similar way, maintains, re-enacts and performs *fa'a Samoa* (Samoan culture) corralling people by weaving and fortifying relations gathered under one roof, banner or name. This is reflected by the custom of binding motifs using cords and strings to lash, weave and impress social and genealogical memories into the building itself. The PCC buildings, like those built for tourism resorts in Samoa,[10] are well crafted, and some are, indeed, among the best examples of Samoan architecture. Like a traditional costume, required to signal the proper way for the performer to express his commitment to *fa'a* Samoa, buildings embellish and form the stage for the scenographic re-enactment and maintenance of Samoan culture.

Critical Regionalism: Building, Place, Relationships

A forgetfulness of the past, not unlike that of the general German population with respect to the relationship with Samoa, might explain shortfallings in architectural theories of *region*. Their moral distinctions and oppositional schemes would seem oddly out of place in Apia. Keith Eggener notes that critical regionalism (e.g. Frampton 1989), which engages "monumental binary oppositions" such as "traditional/modern, natural/cultural, core/periphery, self/other", is, "at heart, a postcolonialist concept" (Eggener 2002: 234).[11] Yet Kenneth Frampton, who refers repeatedly to "world culture" (*singular* vs. "universal civilisation"), generally assumes stable boundaries and timeless attachment to place. Frampton does quote Paul Ricœur to point out that an encounter between different cultures "has not yet taken place at the level of an authentic dialogue" (Frampton 1989: 23). Without such dialogue and confrontation, he notes, it is not possible to re-synthesise "principles and elements drawn from diverse origins" (1989: 22) and give them authenticity; yet, he bypasses Ricœur's political considerations of Empire—even to the extent of editing out reference to "struggles for liberation" that lay claims "to a

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[10]Since the 1960s, most traditional *fale tele* and *faleafolau* are being built for tourism resorts. While some *fale* have been commissioned by schools, other education institutions and government agencies like the Samoan Tourism Authority, the tourism sector remains the main source of work for the *tufuga-faufale* regarding the construction of traditional houses.

[11]'Critical regionalism' refers to Frampton's ideas as developed in Western architectural discourses. A focus on European concepts tends to diminish their relevance to extra-European contexts (see Colquhoun 1997).

separate personality" (Ricœur 1992: 277).[12] When reconsidering the universal/particular dialectic at the core of critical regionalism, then, a closer attention to the shifts of empire through various forms of (post)colonialism would highlight changing identities—not only of the colonial subjects rediscovering the "roots of their nation" (Crinson 2008: 588)[13] but also of the actual or former colonisers.

The etymology of *regio* (the introduction by decree of a significant discontinuity into natural continuity)[14] is pertinent here. In the Pacific, it is obvious how taught, tense lines, entirely discontinuous with geographical or cultural articulations, delimit imperial territories. On a 1985 map in *Der Spiegel* (1985: 228), Samoa is squared in, not only by the independent nations of Tuvalu, Fiji and Tonga, but also by American, French and New Zealand territories. Speaking here of regionalism as the expression of a national sense of reality misses the point. Noumea and Tahiti are still part of France, but Western Samoa fell within imperial European boundaries for only approximately six decades.[15] The 'Europe' to which Samoa belonged was, apart from its manifest impact, also "something like an imaginary entity that has some relation to the real but is also at the same time phantasmal" (Chakrabarty 2008: 86).[16] Like Dipesh Chakrabarty, by *provincializing Europe* we want to decentralise and reorder origins of knowledge and re-balance the "asymmetric ignorance" (2008: 6) of each other's life practices, which causes European or Western concepts to act as inadequate "silent referents" (Chakrabarty 2008: 28) for historical narratives anywhere.[17] Critical regionalism can be one of those referents (Eggener 2002: 228),[18] when it fails to reflect the shifting perspectives of global involvements and mutual relationships in a changed sense of region.[19]

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[12]The full quote reads: "The fight against colonial powers and the struggles for liberation were, to be sure, only to be carried through by laying claim to a separate personality: for these struggles were not only incited by economic exploitation but more fundamentally by the substitution of personality that the colonial era had given rise to. Hence it was first necessary to unearth a country's profound personality and to replant it in its past in order to nurture national revendication" (Ricœur 1992: 277).

[13]*Provincializing Europe* has affinity with Stevenson's notion of interparochial differences which imply, despite their limiting self-interest, plural ways of understanding. See Chakrabarty (2008: 96).

[14]*Regere fines* mean the tracing of "limits by straight line", the "delimitation of the interior and the exterior" by an authority "invested with the highest powers" (Benveniste 1969: 311).

[15]German Protectorate from 1900; annexed by New Zealand in 1914; mandated to New Zealand by the League of Nations from 1920 to 1962.

[16]A "certain version of 'Europe,' … continues to dominate the discourse of history … In other words, the global condition for the production of history had this element of inequality about it" (Chakrabarty 2008: 86–87).

[17]This would interrupt the sequence "first in the West, and then elsewhere" (Chakrabarty 2008: 6). The inequality in the production of history has an equivalent in the production of regions: what "lies beyond the center is by definition peripheral. No matter how vital, the peripheral is other than, deviant from, and lesser than the center" (Eggener 2002: 232).

[18]Jacobs (1996), who attempts also to present the views of 'those marked as Other', expands colonised peoples' repertoire of available attitudes—yet this repertoire still appears strangely bound to Chakrabarty's 'silent referents'.

From all sides, motivations, restrictions and desires enter into relationships of exchange, and into the contexts in which houses were exhibited within the European imperial region, and they need to be given equal attention.

Exhibition as Practice: The Tectonic and the Scenographic

Frampton's binary opposition between tectonic and scenographic establishes a potentially productive field of tension. It can, however, also prevent the understanding of local and regional practices on their own terms. In our context, the distinction is not even stable: in international exhibitions, buildings from the colonial regions of Empire were often exhibited inside exhibition halls—starting perhaps with that model of a Carib Hut at the 1851 Crystal Palace described by Semper. Thus, architecture's tectonic was inserted into the scenographic—an increasingly common strategy today, as more and more exterior is interiorised in glassed-over immunising islands (see, Sloterdijk 2005, 2009). Exhibition halls, in our context, have always been scenographic and iconic machines turning architecture into spectacle or education, placing their objects within larger narratives of native habitats. Tropical Islands Resort narratives certainly emphasise the traditional nature of the *fale* but, equally, an "experience of technical spectacle belongs centrally to [its] spirit" (Grewe 2006: 15; the opposition echoes that of the Chicago Columbian Exposition, the Trocadero villages and the Eiffel Tower in 1900 Paris, and the British Empire Exhibition). The ex-Cargolifter hangar housing the resort, higher than the Statue of Liberty, has been described as the "world's largest self-supporting hall, a giant palace of gloss" (Eames 2006), while the Amazon and Kenya huts and the *fale* reinforce media representations of exotic primitiveness. Few might notice the tectonic similarities between *fale* and hangar, which are immediately overshadowed by overt iconicity.[20] Tropical Islands Resort is thus a perfect illustration of the deceptive visuality Frampton attributed to scenography as "mere appearance" (Frampton 1989: 29). However, the deception here extends equally to the tactile, the tectonic and the place form.

In any event, Frampton's polemics against scenography had a historically specific target; there are other definitions. Padel (1990: 341), for instance, emphasises the connection of the *skēnē* with temporary dwelling, with things that are "flimsy, but crucially important—for a while".[21] From a Samoan perspective, scenography is a useful concept, as it deals with the public visual display of

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[19]Gayatri Spivak's use of critical regionalism (Butler and Spivak 2007: 8, 94, 118) points at the political implications of regionalism's going "under and over nationalisms" to reinvent the state beyond the nation state.

[20]The hangar connotes technology and progress—the *fale* imaginary islands' balmy breezes, and a utopian way of life. Both are double-apse buildings, and their structural frameworks share similarities. See Buck (1949) and Lehner (u.d.).

[21]'Flimsy' is a relative term. In Samoa, "space is indissolubly linked to time" (Tcherkézoff 2008: 136, 201).

important cultural objects, placing them in context and relationships. When their display in performance is narrated in *gafa*, the performers are made to (re)connect with each other—the scenographic has a performative function. Tamasese Lealofi II, standing in front of '*fale*' in a zoological garden, (also) positions himself in a different context from what the organisers and the visitors may imagine. Objects like the *fale* are then not proxies for people but create, together with the people, a space of performance—not as a spectacle on stage but as a regular part of life. In this space, appearance matters and decoration (*decorum*) is a contribution to *vā*—the relational, in-between space that must be elaborated and made beautiful (*teu le vā*). In this context, even partial architectural elements, such as the *pola* installed on the temporary structures of the 1910 *Völkerschau*, could principally produce a temporal and relational space of appearance. If it was not enacted properly in Frankfurt or Berlin, then this was not due to the structures' lacking durability. Rather, it was caused by a lack of attention to all of their registers, which turns objects into proxies for people and dioramas into proxies for place. Then, the *skēnē* ceases to be a space of appearance and becomes a painted surface in the Western traditions, giving rise to representation alone. Critical regionalism, with its emphasis on European architectures of durability, can only take limited account of temporal architectures and space. When it collapses relational, temporal and performative aspects into its 'scenographic' category, it loses relevance for critique elsewhere. Critical regionalism is then, like any other global theory producing totalising visions, "likely to be at odds with the meanings which the inhabitants … place on the buildings themselves" (Anthony King quoted in Eggener 2002: 235).

A file documenting the 1940 *Wellington Centennial Exhibition* events concerning the Samoan *fale* tells of some moving moments, when Aotearoa New Zealand officials (some of them Māori) became peripherally but sympathetically involved in the Samoans' families' fates, and later organised a programme of sightseeing and entertainment for the Sāmoans before they returned to the 'Territory'. But there was a line that could not be crossed, and Fitisemanu, when he used a high Samoan title as part of his name, triggered a correspondence between Samoan Administration and Department of External Affairs concerning "the [bad] effect of popular adulation on Fitisemanu and other Samoans". Fitisemanu was 'an extremely popular figure at the exhibition, and to a very large extent' responsible for the exhibit's success. However, he had to be prevented "from being carried away by the attention he [was] receiving" (Acting Assistant Secretary External Affairs Wellington 1940). While he was seen fit to lead the Sāmoan party, his participation in wider relational networks that shape and actualise identities was curtailed. Rodney Harrison observes that "[o]n the colonial peripheries, material culture forms a conduit for cross-cultural negotiation" and objects are not "what they were made to be, but what they become in the process of creative recontextualisation" (Harrison 2011: 56–7). Their significance in social life is thus critically important. The invisible and non-negotiable line drawn by the colonial secretaries reduced the Samoans' opportunities to re-author and re-contextualise the exhibited objects. This, in turn, limited their ability to activate a relational space, a region that would have allowed them to articulate a past, present and future 'here' through their spatial activities.

As performances, such activities are also connected with Judith Butler's notion of performativity: stylised repetitions of acts, which succeed due to the accumulated force of authority. In the space between cultures with different constraints and prescriptions, this force of authority is necessarily undetermined. Performativity and agency are difficult to assess. When 'spontaneous' events occurred at Chicago "wherever the villagers happened to be", and the latter "became performers because of the spectators' perception that the private lives of the village residents were a part of the village display" (Gertrude M. Scott, *Village Performance: Villages of the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, 1990* quoted in Johnston 1999: 113), performance and performativity were articulated differently from how they would have been in Samoa. Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose, who have examined notions of performance and performativity in the context of critical geography, argue that "spaces too need to be thought of as performative, and […] more needs to be made of the complexity and instability of performances and performed spaces" (Gregson and Rose 2000: 433)—particularly in cross-cultural relational spaces, we would add.

Conclusion: Networks of Connection

The problem of asymmetrical knowledge is widespread. Duanfang Lu argues that multiple modernities and alternative spatial systems exist, which do not, or not in the same way, repudiate "traditional restrictions and decoration" (Lu 2010: 146). If critical regionalism is to have purchase beyond Europe, these multiple modernities must be engaged to revisit core architectural values, practices and institutions—in a project of producing 'entangled modernities', a 'space of entanglement' (Therborn) shared by different but interrelated knowledge and practices.

People and objects circulating between metropolitan and colonial nodes of regional networks of connection can then all be acknowledged in the shaping of relationships. When we hear those "responsible for building particular cultures", architects among them, "rather than imposing formulas upon them, we might come to understand better the richness of internal, local discourses in their full range and complexity" (Eggener 2002: 235). It is an urgent task at this moment, as rival powers China and the USA insist on the Pacific region's geostrategic importance to their national economy and security.[22] China has vastly expanded its sphere of influence throughout the Pacific, financing, for instance, the government building in Apia, an eight-story structure with a *fale*-shaped roof on its top floor. Caught in the confrontation between superpowers, "existing nation-states" might turn to critical regionalism to form loose associations and "act together in order to shift global balances of power" (Laguardia 2009: 352).[23]

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[22]See Tisdall (2012).

[23]Pollock et al. register a need to ground a "sense of mutuality in conditions of mutability", "to learn to live tenaciously in terrains of historic and cultural *transition*" (2000: 580).

A re-articulation of the political aspects Frampton edited out of Ricœur might help understand such situations better. Ricœur observed that post-colonial communities' struggle for independence involves the "substitution of personality that the colonial era had given rise to" (Ricœur 1992: 277). There will probably always be questions about a preconquest 'profound personality' and a concern with its integrity, which will interact with global desires for authenticity in different ways. Ongoing transactions have already reshaped European and Samoan perceptions, giving rise to a re-conceptualisation of existing, and the creation of new objects and performances for display in the Pacific and Europe. From this, new relationships and configurations arise. By opening up and extending the boundaries of region (geographically) and architecture (disciplinarily), for instance, temporality and relationality offer fruitful nodes for critical engagement.

More research is needed to get a sense of how, from a Samoan perspective, (post) colonial relationships translate into building practices and how, in the other direction, metropolitan practitioners operate in the peripheries of Empire. We know, for instance, that the production of *fale* for customers overseas has radically changed the *tufuga's* contracts.[24] However, we do not know much about how these changes have impacted their practices and the tradition of their practices, in Samoa, the Pacific and globally. Research in this specific area would help free research "anywhere" from an essentially European theoretical skeleton (Chakrabarty 2008: 29).

A radical symmetry of knowledge and interest between the respective Antipodes would allow us to understand the travel of people and objects not only from already well-known European perspectives. Samoans' contributions to shared knowledge are likely to address what Europeans have overlooked for centuries. From this extended perspective, we can begin to understand how the *fale* that were brought to Europe were, and are, seen in and from Samoa (and the Pacific). Such mutually complementary understanding could give a new meaning to the expression 'global village'.

Included in this radical symmetry may also be a reconsideration of the concepts of identity and authenticity. While so far typically used to distinguish an original from its "endless possibilities for mechanical (and, now, digital) reproduction" and "the creation of tradition that modernity affords", authenticity, for instance, could be used to "discriminate between situations in which local people have some measure of control over those processes and those in which they don't" (Handler 2014: 205). This, much more than the formal integrity of objects, images and buildings, seems crucial for the efficacy and sustainability of their performance of collective identities.

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[24]Sala Pio Tagiilima stated in an interview that the work for the Tropical Islands Resort *fale* was done on a *palagi* (non-Samoan) contract, as the builders had to leave the country and could not act within a Samoan framework. Vitale Feaunati, a *tufuga* involved in the construction and re-assemblage at Tropical Islands Resort, commented that Samoan building techniques were disregarded. "What they actually wanted was just the look … It's meaningless to the *Fa'a-Samoa*".

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Chapter 26
The Twenty-First-Century Tongan Fale: The Emergence of Fale Puha, Fale 'Amelika and Fale Tufitufi

Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei

Introduction

The classical Tongan *fale*[1] constructed in the capsular plan with elliptical roof form popular during the nineteenth century and into the mid-twentieth century has been described well (see Austin 1997; Vea 1985; Tuita 1988; Kaloni 1990, 1997; Potauaine 2006, 2010); however, there has been little research on the architectural developments of the *fale* in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries ('Ilaiū 2007, 2009, 2011). This chapter discusses the emergence of *fale puha, fale 'Amelika* and *fale tufitufi*[2] as twenty-first-century Tongan house types.

The chapter explains how contemporary Tongan domestic architecture has transitioned beyond established architectural forms and responds to a number of questions: What makes a twenty-first-century Tongan *fale* 'Indigenous' in design and construction? What are the factors driving architectural change? What are the significant architectural features and typologies of the twenty-first-century *fale*? Finally, how do socio-spatial behaviours and cultural values dictate the form of twenty-first-century *fale* types and vice versa?

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[1]The Tongan term *fale* describes a building for human habitation.
[2]*Fale puha*, *fale 'Amelika* and *fale tufitufi* are terms coined by the author for description purposes.

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The Kingdom of Tonga

The Kingdom of Tonga is located in the South Pacific, east of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. It is an archipelago of 172 islands spread over 360 000 km^2 (138 997 mi^2) of Western Polynesia (Tongan Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry 2002: 1). There are four island divisions, beginning in the south with the main limestone islands: Tongatapu (where the case studies discussed in this chapter are located) and the neighbouring island of ʻEua. Some 150 km (93 miles) north–north–east from the main island are Tonga's middle remote group of low-lying Haʻapai islands (over 60 islands). Some further 100 km (62 miles) (north–north–east of Haʻapai) lie the high limestone islands of Vavaʻu (over 50 islands), and some 250 km (155 miles) further north from this group in the far north of the Tongan archipelago are the remote coralline volcanic islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafoʻou (Rogers 1974: 311; Roy 1990: 9, 27).

Western Contact and Tonga's Built Environment

In 1845, Chief Tāufaʻāhau became the Tonga's first monarch (King George (Siaosi) Tupou I) (Eustis 1997: 35–36). King Tupou I made changes to land tenure laws, which had an effect of changing the structure of government in Tonga from a series of chiefdoms to sovereign reign.

The establishment of the 'emancipation edict' of 1862 in the Tongan Constitution (*the Land Act 1891*) changed the nature of Tongan settlement. Prior to the land tenure changes, Chiefs controlled large areas of land, on which labourers would build their houses (Grijp 1993: 234). The legislative changes specified that Tongan males from the age of sixteen years of age could acquire a land allotment measuring 8.25 acres (33 387 m^2) for a *ʻapi tukuhau* (land for agricultural crops) and a smaller piece of land for the family to build their house (known as *ʻapi kolo*). These land parcels could be passed down to the eldest son according to primogeniture. The establishment of private land ownership provided secure land tenure, and Tongan families could thus 'progress' their built environments according to their own ambitions. With this, settlement patterns changed from clustered *fale* settlements set among gardens (see Cook's observations cited in Bott 1982: 26) to allotments for individual families.

Another factor which led to major changes in architecture was increased contact and trade with the outside world. Economic change, the increased emigration of nationals, the flow of remittances and the establishment of local building industries resulted in Tongan domestic architecture changing significantly from the mid-twentieth century. During the same period, cultural shifts also occurred in the manner in which Tongan people perceived their *fakalakalaka* (views of progress and modernity), which were reflected in *fale* changes (ʻIlaiū Talei 2016). The most

evident architectural change was the departure from thatched capsular-planned *fale* to rectangular built structures constructed from industrialised building materials.

The Tongan 'api

In the twenty-first century, Tongan families typically live on an *'api* (short for *'api kolo*), which represents one's village or town allotment and encompasses several detached *fale* accommodating the functions of the home (see Fig. 26.1).

Street
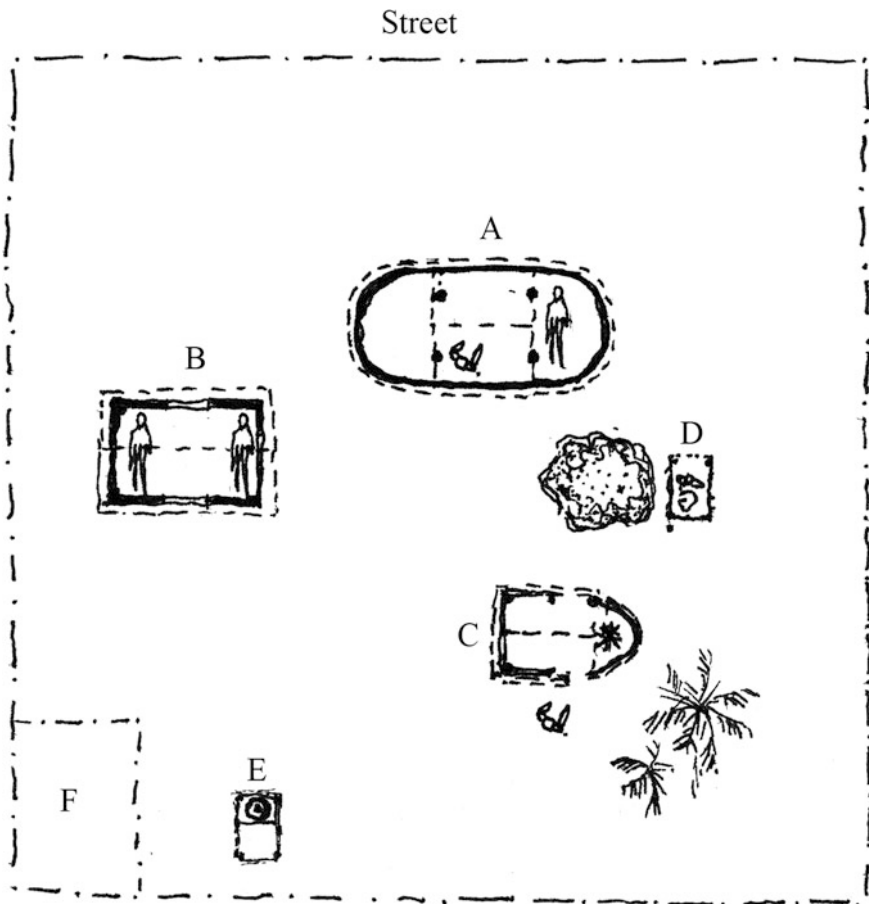
Fig. 26.1 Typical Tongan village 'api kolo, showing (A) main fale, in a classical capsular-planned layout, (B) fale for sons of the family, (C) peito (cookhouse), (D) fale kaukau (wash house), (E) fale mālōlō (toilet) and (F) 'ā puaka (pig enclosure) (*Drawing* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

The *fale lahi* (the main *fale* among the other domestic buildings) is the centre of family life and used for sleeping, dining, gatherings, prayers and other functions. It is most often located with the main door facing the street. A general grocery shop, or *fale koloa*, might be located at the front of the property and accessible from the street, as an annex of the main *fale*, or as a detached *fale*.

Additional detached *fale* includes a sleeping *fale* located alongside the main *fale* and normally allocated to the sons of the family. Austin describes this *fale* as a house for 'unmarried men' of the family (1997: 1223), but it can also be a sleeping area for a father wanting to keep his young sons' company, for newlywed sons and their wives or grandparents. The detached *fale* is constructed so as to ensure cross-sex siblings of the family do not intrude on each other's sleeping, relaxing, changing or bathing spaces in order to maintain respectful relations. Located away from the main house, the *fale* for male family members is usually visible from the street to signal to the community that female members of the family are 'safe-guarded' and the property is protected ('Ilaiū 2014). This detached sleeping *fale* has been called *hati*[3] (Runarsdottir 2004: 149) and also a *fale Tonga*. The latter term refers to the earlier traditional *fale* that brothers could occupy, a house that is superceded by the new main *fale*. Other more recent terms to refer to this structure include the *fale 'i tu'a* (meaning simply 'outside house').

Another detached *fale* is the *fale kaukau* (washroom), characteristically a rect-angular stall with an entry on one side and sometimes enclosed with a roof, but more commonly open. The *fale kaukau* generally consists of four corrugated metal screens fixed to four posts set at the corners of the rectangular space creating a private area for personal ablutions. It is normally located near the main *fale*, so that women can maintain their modesty as they move between the two spaces. A detached *fale mālōlō* (toilet) is generally situated some distance from the dwellings and food preparation areas and often faces the bush land for greater privacy. The detached *fale mālōlō* is similar to the rectangular *fale kaukau*, except that it typically has a roof. In the twenty-first century, it is also common to find the *fale kaukau* and *fale mālōlō* enclosed in one ablution building, typically constructed of masonry.

The detached *fale* for food preparation and cooking a *peito* (cookhouse) is generally located near to fruit trees, vegetable gardens and water sources to assist in food preparation and cooking. There are two main *peito* forms. The first has a gabled roof over a rectangular area with half-height walls, with a semi-circular plan attached to one of its short ends, with a lean-to roof that fans out from the gable roof's ridge beam (see Fig. 26.1). Tongan people sometimes distinguish the space under the gable roof as the *fale kai* (a space for food preparation and eating). The second type consists of four to eight posts just above head height, with a flat roof over a rectangular space enclosed by half-height walls or, at times, without walls (see Fig. 26.3). The outdoor *peito* usually provides shelter for an *'umu* (traditional underground oven) in a *tofunanga* (an open fire hearth). In the early 2000s, several

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[3]This is a recently adopted term, loaned from the English term for 'hut', referring to the temporal and makeshift quality of craftsmanship.

contemporary layouts of Tongan *fale lahi* contained all domestic functions of the home under one roof. Regardless of these spatial changes, people tend to maintain the previously described living patterns.

Tongan Domiciliary Behaviours

Tongan domiciliary behaviours are varied and complex (see, for example, Lātūkefu 1980; Bennardo 2009), with certain behaviours integral to any discussion of Tongan housing design as they influence how people perceive and use housing. The practices of *faka'apa'apa* (respectful relations, particularly between cross-sex siblings) and the provision of generous and hospitable spaces *matamatalelei* (to appear good, respectable and prosperous to others) are important to housing design.

The cultural practice of *faka'apa'apa* directs how spaces are organised. For example, when the brothers' sleeping spaces are integrated under the same roof as the sisters' sleeping areas, *faka'apa'apa* requires certain socio-spatial layouts. In such instances, the cross-sex siblings are allocated rooms at the furthest distance from one other. It is common for the brothers to sleep at the rear of the house (considered the unseen and thus dangerous side of the property) while the sisters sleep close to the centre or front of the house, where they can be seen to be protected by family and are under community surveillance. In this way, the domestic spaces are usually allocated in the twenty-first-century *fale* to ensure respectful relations between cross-sex siblings.

The other domiciliary patterns are concerned with *tauhi vā* (the nurturing of relationships amongst immediate family members and extended kin). Two architectural responses to *tauhi vā* include creating spaces that appear 'hospitable' in and around the main *fale*, and the adaptation of existing spaces to serve appropriate functions. To create a hospitable main *fale*, Tongan people often organise their homes to accommodate the needs of their kin. One example is the enlargement of an existing main *fale*, or the construction of a new main *fale* to accommodate increasing numbers of children and/or ageing parents. Similarly, the expansion of existing spaces to accommodate relatives or visitors is often motivated by *tauhi vā*. For the same reason, the *fale lahi's loto fale* (the central space for living activities) generally contains the 'best' furnishings to create an 'inviting' and 'comfortable' space for guests.

A house owner's desire to display *ivi* (status and economic abilities) also described as *matamatalelei* (to appear good, respectable and prosperous to others) often underpins house design. Families often plan the living room to be street-facing and embellish the exterior of the house with ornate concrete balustrades and painted rock fences to demonstrate their *matamatalelei*.

Rapoport (1990: 87–88) suggests that architecture consists of 'fixed', 'semi-fixed' and 'non-fixed' elements. Examination of the fixed and semi-fixed elements of the Tongan home (including claddings, structural frame and spatial organisation) suggests that designated spaces are often not used for the most

obvious purpose but, rather, that their assumed functions were and are adapted to suit the family's cultural behaviours. For example, a bedroom often became a storeroom for traditional fibrous mats and suitcases for clothing, or a porch area became a space to host formal family occasions. In this way, Tongans adapt housing to fit with cultural practices.

Twenty-First-Century Tongan Fale

Three important types of *fale* have emerged in the twenty-first century. These *fale* can be seen as 'types' with type (1) being *fale puha* (literally meaning a 'box-shaped' house); type (2) the *fale 'Amelika* ('American-inspired house'); and type (3) the *fale tufitufi* (referring to the house's repurposed materials). These three types have commonalities in design and construction processes that take into account migration, remittances and the architectural influence of the Tongan diaspora. The points of difference between the three types are the ways in which the contextual issues affect the design, funding, material selection and construction processes. The primary driving factors behind architectural change is the emigration of Tongan nationals.

Air New Zealand began operating through Tonga during the late 1960s (Campbell 1992: 182) opening up travel opportunities to Tongans. At same time, the Aotearoa New Zealand Government introduced work permits for Pacific Islanders to work in the industrial and agricultural sectors resulting in large-scale migration (Lee 2009: 10). In 1986, Aotearoa New Zealand offered visa-free entry to some Pacific Islanders, which spurred Tongan emigration (Stahl and Appleyard 2007: 23). Tongans living abroad became permanent residents of host countries (particularly Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and the USA). As the Tongan population grew, emigration was seen as a method to relieve social tensions (Campbell 1992: 216; Connell and Lea 1995: 3, 5) and those living abroad either remained there permanently (Lee 2003: 6–7) or became transnationals (Besnier 2009: 222; Eriksen 2007: 113). In more recent times, Tongans have worked seasonally overseas. *Toli*[4] (seasonal work migration) programs are administered by Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand Governments to source labour from Pacific Island countries. The schemes provide economic opportunities for unskilled (and generally male) Tongans.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, with an increase in the number of people working and living abroad, remittances in the form of cash or commodities became a social norm and were seen as a means of distributing economic prosperity (Besnier 2009: 218). In the twenty-first century, diasporic and transnational Tongans and seasonal workers continue to remit money to kin or close acquaintances ('Ilaiū Talei 2013: 924). These remittances are critical to Tonga's economy (Bertram and Watters 1984: 379; Bertram 1999: 119; Lee 2003: 32–33) with

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[4]*Toli* is a colloquial Tongan term and short form for *toli 'akau*, which describes picking fruit from a tree.

approximately 20% of village household incomes consisting of remittances (Tongan Department of Statistics 2010: 38–39).

The movement of building materials from Auckland, Sydney and San Francisco to Tonga ('Ilaiū 2007: 132–39) (often sent from one relative to another or sourced by the owners themselves) is another form of remittance (in this chapter, they will be referred to as 'architectural remittances') which has also become a norm. Materials scavenged from suburban kerbsides, collected from construction sites and demolition yards, or acquired via online classifieds sites, are then sent to Tonga as a form of remittance ('Ilaiū Talei 2016: 89, 124).

The employment of Tongans overseas and remittances has changed the cultural and social landscape in Tonga. These factors have had an impact on the number of Tongan *fale* constructed. These drivers have enabled *fale puha, fale 'Amelika* and *fale tufitufi* to emerge as examples of twenty-first-century Tongan houses. The following sections will discuss the characteristics of each of the *fale* types.

Fale Puha

In its early versions, the *fale puha* (also called *fale fōtaha*) was spatially based on the classical *fale fa'ahiua*,[5] and *fale sā*[6] ('Ilaiū Talei 2016). The *fale fa'ahiua* and *fale sā* are simple rectangular open-plan houses with partitions to separate the private and public spaces. Construction materials of the *fale puha* changed in the early twentieth century. During this period, *fale puha* began to be constructed with timber framing with corrugated iron or weatherboard sidings instead of coconut frond, sugarcane leaves and reed thatching. People began to construct the *fale puha* on concrete slabs or with a stumped timber floor.

In the early 2000s, the simple floor plan changed to include a *faletolo*[7] (porch) wrapping almost entirely around a *fale puha*, creating an asymmetric layout. The *faletolo* responds to Tonga's tropical climate. In some cases, the *faletolo* space is encased by walls. In effect, this intermediary space becomes an extension of the interior quarters of the *fale puha*. Tongan families build the middle section and add the lean-to as additional funds became available ('Aho 2007). By enclosing the verandahs, Tongans thus create floor space for growing families or to establish the family store.

Another variant of the *fale puha* emerged towards the latter part of the twentieth century. It is a two-storey replication of the low-rise rectangular model with an

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[5]A house with a gable roof structure.

[6]A house built using rafters within the roof structure.

[7]Tongan architects have commented that the *faletolo* (porch addition) may have been inspired by the European settlers' timber cottages, while others suggest that the construction of a *faletolo* at the Royal Palace may have been a source of inspiration (Vea 2007).

internal staircase. Some families also locate their shop at street level with the residence above. The *fale puha* is often painted in bold colour combinations such as grey and pink, sky blue and yellow or white and maroon. Lighter colours are usually used on the façade with the architraves of door and window openings painted in contrasting colours. This may be aesthetically related to the *koka* (ink lines) of Tongan *tapa*[8] patterns on *ngatu* (or bark cloth), with outlines and blocked out shapes creating an overall *kupesi* (design). Luscious shrubs are often planted around the perimeter of *fale puha*, with clusters of fragrant flora marking the main entrance(s). Columns are occasionally used as ornamental features to the façade with cement balustrades outlining the perimeter of the *faletolo*. The external finishes embellish the *fale puha's* exterior elevations and demonstrate *matamatalelei*.

One example demonstrating the development of a *fale puha* is that of the 'Āliki family. In 2010, the adult son, Tēvita 'Āliki began working six months of the year in Australia. On his return from Australia in 2012, Tēvita's mother asked him to extend their existing *palepale*.[9] Tēvita began construction in January 2013, however, not on the original request, but instead completing the majority of a concrete block *fale puha* in two months (see Fig. 26.2). Tēvita employed his cousin, Sione 'Āleki (an experienced builder familiar with concrete block construction) who drew plans for the house and supervised Tēvita and other male relatives. Tēvita managed the budget and procurement and chose concrete block for its durability as compared to local materials.

In 2013, the family moved into their newly constructed *fale*, consisting of three *loki* (bedrooms), a large *loto fale* (living space), an internal *peito* (cookhouse or kitchen), a *fale kai* (area for food preparation) and *fale kaukau* (wash house) with a separate *fale mālōlō* (toilet). The *palepale* and outdoor *peito* remained in their existing positions to the rear of the new main *fale*. Tēvita's younger brother, who had previously slept in the outdoor *peito's* storage area due to a lack of space, was able to sleep in the *palepale*. The outdoor *peito* reverted to a store for root crops, firewood and cooking, both to reduce the expense of gas and to meet the family's preference for food cooked over an open fire (see Fig. 26.3).

The 'Āliki family's choice to cook in the outdoor *peito* (detached cookhouse) instead of using their indoor *peito* (cookhouse or kitchen) is an example of Tongan peoples' socio-spatial preference to live in a decentralised manner around the main *fale*, even though most domestic spaces are integrated under the one roof. The generosity of the home is expressed in the four entry doors. Its permeability assists *faka'apa'apa* between the occupants and is congruent with avoidance practices. The un-rendered masonry walls were given a two-tone colour palette that followed the decorative paint features seen in other contemporary *fale* in Tonga. This, together, with the placement of a large *loto fale* with a vaulted ceiling and textured plaster means that *matamatalelei*, generosity and hospitality are realised in the design and layout of the *fale* (see Figs. 26.4 and 26.5).

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[8]The Tongan word *tapa* literally means 'the border of'.

[9]A term used by Tongan people to describe a building that has a temporary and makeshift quality.
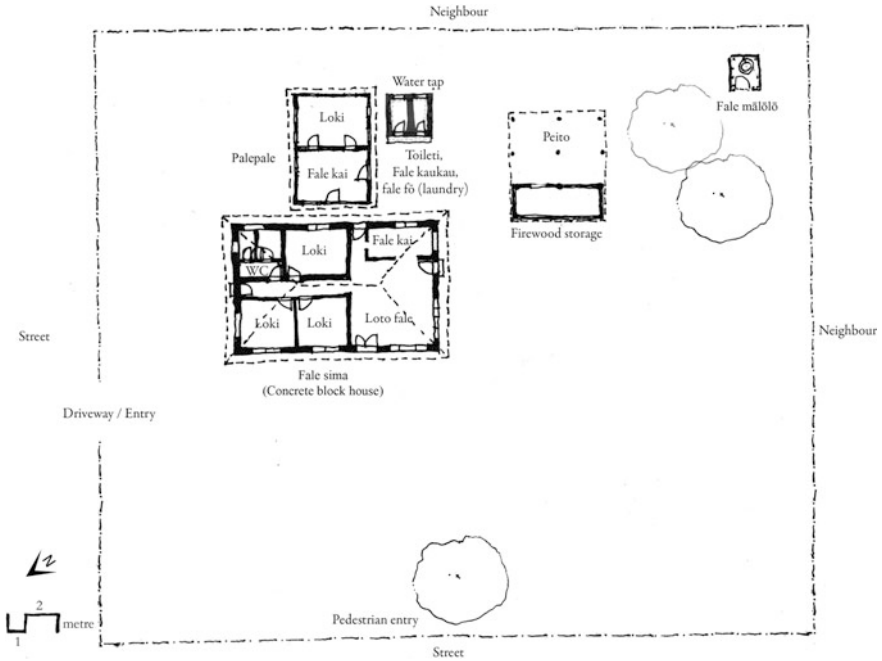
Fig. 26.2 Sketch of the 'Āliki family's new fale puha built in (2013), located in front of the earlier palepale and other domestic spaces of the home (*Drawing* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

Fig. 26.3 Outdoor peito owned by 'Āliki family in (2013) (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

Fig. 26.4 Raised vaulted ceiling of the loto fale owned by the 'Āliki family. Note the textured surface created by paint-dipped plastic bags shaped into flowers that designates this space for 'display' and hospitality (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

Fig. 26.5 Western elevation of 'Āliki family's concrete block *fale puha* (centre) and note the *palepale* (far right) in (2013). (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

This case study is reflected in other studies of *fale puha* and illustrates the importance of international employment and remittances. The flow of money and building materials, and the resultant construction of a larger and more durable *fale*, demonstrates a family's ability to *tauhi vā* (nurture social relationships). For the 'Āliki family, the construction of the concrete block *fale puha* is partially motivated by the desire to modernise dwelling spaces, but also culturally important for the family to improve the socio-spatial quality of the previous *palepale*, particularly in terms of increasing the amount of living space to allow avoidance practices. The earlier setting had generated high levels of stress for users as they sought to maintain socio-spatial norms in an incongruent setting. The new *fale puha*'s larger (and partitioned) spaces reduced the stress experienced by individuals and the larger family group.

Fale 'Amelika

The emergence of *fale 'Amelika* also reflects the issues of migration, remittances and significantly the appropriation of architectural ideas. The introduction of the multimedia in Tonga during the twentieth century allowed people access to international trends and building practices. In the twenty-first century, Tongans have unprecedented access to information. The development of *fale 'Amelika* demonstrates how architecture is culturally appropriated and emerges from available information resulting in differing aspirations.

The term *fale 'Amelika* is used by Tongans to refer to prefabricated large (and seemingly affluent) homes[10] inspired by North American and to a lesser extent Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand middle-class domestic architecture. It is the preferred housing choice of transnationals who return to 'show off' their appropriated objects, concepts and dreams. Translations of the architectural concepts and economic constraints inevitably produce idiosyncrasies or 'slippages'[11] in the design or construction of *fale 'Amelika*, which generate a distinctive Tongan *fale*, rather than an exact copy of a Western suburban house.

Fale 'Amelika is predominantly built in clusters within particular villages (i.e. Ha'ateiho, Veitongo, Puke, Fatai and Nukunuku) on Tongatapu Island and is modelled on houses depicted in late twentieth-century architectural and popular magazines. To commence the process, families with sufficient financial resources generally commission an architect or draughtsperson to design their building. Tongan architect 'Isileli Vea noted that he is regularly asked by clients to copy house images from magazines. Although budgets are constrained, 'Isileli noted he

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[10]The USA is considered the more 'prestigious' and 'preferred' of three 'host' countries to which Tongans Nations migrate (other countries are Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand) (Lee 2003: 23–24).

[11]For further discussion of the concept of 'slippages', see Bhabha (1994: 86).

is asked to adapt concepts to suit local cultural practices and environmental conditions, and that his clients are reluctant to accept that a North American house is unsuitable to Tonga's tropical climate (Vea 2007). People use the Internet to source floor plans and three-dimensional visuals to transpose the idea of a *fale 'Amelika* to their site (Lao 2013; Lātū 2013). A builder is expected to 'adjust' the plans to suit the selected site in Tonga. Slippages result as the builder is relied on to interpret the imported concept. After failing to commission an architect or due to an inadequate construction budget, house owners often attempt to complete projects themselves. Some *fale 'Amelika* remain incomplete after many years.

Builders/owners of *fale 'Amelika* often source their materials directly or indirectly from international suppliers (particularly, the USA). Such *fale 'Amelika* is exemplified by a small group of imported prefabricated suburban houses in Nukunuku. Identical single-storey suburban bungalows in the village (see Fig. 26.6) mirror each other in their structure, garages, gates and exterior colour choices.

More common is another (more affordable) *fale 'Amelika* variant, constructed from a mixture of local and imported building materials. Usually constructed with a slab foundation, the house consists of locally sourced concrete block with the remainder of the materials sourced from overseas. The adaptations of these 'ideal' designs to incorporate local building materials can deviate from overseas models and further lead to a distinctly Tongan *fale 'Amelika* architecture.

The large footprint of the *fale 'Amelika* fits the Tongan practice of *matamatalelei* (see Fig. 26.7). The street frontages of the *fale 'Amelika* usually have no gutters and downpipes, as building services could detract from the 'good appearance' of the

Fig. 26.6 One of two fale 'Amelika built as identical houses, Nukunuku village (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

Fig. 26.7 A fale 'Amelika, Vainī village (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

house. House owners balance aspects of *matamatalelei*, generosity and hospitality, flexible function of spaces and *faka'apa'apa*.

Although the *fale 'Amelika's* interior is divided as in a Western home, these spaces are used according to the socio-spatial and cultural needs of Tongans. Sleeping rooms are allocated to sisters and brothers according to the customary practices of *faka'apa'apa*. The *loto fale* (living areas) can become storage spaces for *koloa* (woven and textile traditional wares). An open-plan *loto fale*, indoor *fale kai* (cookhouse or kitchen) and *peito* (detached cookhouse*)* are a useful arrangement for occasions when more room is required for extended families to gather, as in the case of a funeral ceremony. The coffin can be placed in the *loto fale* so guests can gather in the presence of the deceased. The hallways become additional seating areas, and the front room and kitchen benches are used to collect textile and other funerary gifts.

While the *fale 'Amelika* introduces foreign architectural features and layouts, certain Tongan domiciliary behaviours and functions are not inhibited by the new architecture. Tongan people adapt and continue the established cultural practices and in the process generate appropriate spaces despite the 'fixed' features of the *fale* type.

Fale Tufitufi

The *fale tufitufi*[12] emerged in the early to mid-1990s, coinciding with a rise in *tufi veve* (collecting rubbish). In the early 1990s, *tufi veve* was a popular activity among Auckland-based Pacific Islanders. Groups of collectors, usually family members, would go around affluent suburbs seeking reusable building materials and household furniture from hard rubbish collections. Diasporic Tongans working in the building industry also sought free, or at a heavily discounted price, leftover materials or 'seconds' from employers. The materials were shipped to Tonga for the construction of *fale tufitufi*.

Like the previous two *fale* examples, the *fale tufitufi* relies on Tongan people's connections to the Tongan diaspora. Typically, the owners of such *fale* are returned nationals, often elderly Tongans who have lived away for a considerable time.[13] They return with refreshed perspectives and may challenge the conventional perceptions of what a modern Tongan *fale* should be. Described by Besnier as 'local others' (2004: 27), they sit between two worlds. They are no longer quintessentially 'local' and are important agents in the development of the Tongan *fale* in the twenty-first century. ('Ilaiū Talei 2016)

The *fale tufitufi* is similar in appearance to the *fale puha*. Often rectangular, the internal layout follows the order with the *loto fale* to the front, connected to the bedrooms to the rear by an internal passageway. Amenities are generally built under the same roof as the other spaces, but wet areas remain separate from the main living areas. The roof forms are either gabled or hipped. As with the *fale 'Amelika*, the *fale tufitufi* is constructed of imported materials or a mix of local and overseas materials. *Fale tufitufi* is distinguished by the use of reclaimed building materials. A ten-year study has shown that this type of procurement is increasingly popular with second-hand materials being perceived in Tonga as 'new'.

The construction of the *fale tufitufi* is a 'design-as-you-build' process. There is no fixed concept of the end product with the architectural outcome determined by the family's specifications, their economic capacity and the acquisition and availability of reclaimed building materials. In 2007, several *fale tufitufi* were located in the main island villages of Tatakamōtonga, Haveluloto and Ngele'ia, while other villages had one or two *fale tufitufi* set among the more popular *fale puha* (see Fig. 26.8). The presence of *fale tufitufi* (like *fale 'Amelika*) generally indicates that relatives are living overseas.

A typical *fale tufitufi* in Tatakamōtonga has a central *loto fale* (living space) opening onto a tiled indoor *peito* (cookhouse or kitchen) fitted with modern appliances. Four *loki* (bedrooms) wrap around these two spaces, connected by a

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[12]The term *tufitufi* means 'to collect' and in this chapter will be used to refer to the reclamation of building materials.

[13]Reasons for return often include the desire to build a holiday home for themselves and their family remaining overseas, to begin a business or, as in the case in most situations, to retire in Tonga.

Fig. 26.8 Fale tufitufi in the village of Ngele'ia, with reclaimed materials stored at front of the house (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

large hallway. The indoor *fale kaukau* (wash room) and *fale mālōlō* (toilet) are located under the same roof at the rear of the house. Beyond the bathroom, leading to the back entry, there is a carpeted multipurpose room with a second bathroom. Although some of the reclaimed materials used to construct the house might be damaged, they can still be employed. For example, an aluminium window that cannot be closed might nonetheless be installed.[14]

A *fale's* construction may use unconventional materials, like a trellis partition to separate the *loto fale* (living room) and the hallway area. A *fale tufitufi* may have a screen of cardboard strips stapled together in a lattice pattern to provide a visual separation between areas. Repurposed materials are used in the construction, and the floor might be fitted with different types of floor tiles, or an assortment of different window types used. Mismatches in the fittings can be overlooked by owners grateful to include 'modern' building materials in the construction of their home. Regardless of a lack of new building materials, Tongans are determined to construct a *fale* befitting their perception of *fakalakalaka*. Irregular and often mismatched materials and improvised construction do not diminish the *fale tufitufi's* quality.

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[14]Ironically, using the damaged fitting to complete the set assisted to 'disguise' the reclaimed nature of the building materials.

The Vākē family who returned to Tatakamōtonga from the USA provides another example of returned Tongans who constructed a *fale tufitufi*. The family sourced building materials from California, using the Internet to obtain free or heavily discounted aluminium windows and doors, ceramic fixtures, metal sheeting, cement bags and building reinforcements, while sourcing concrete blocks locally. They used coconut round wood for the exposed beams and posts for the roof's structural faming. Having returned from the USA where "…everything costs something" (Moala 2013), the family said that they appreciated the 'found' natural building materials from their property (Vākē 2014). The house owner Petelō later explained that he wanted to acknowledge his architectural heritage by using his knowledge of precast concrete (gained through his construction experiences overseas) to build the *fale*'s water tank. To represent the surface aesthetic of the Tongan *langi*,[15] he created a mould and poured the concrete for the tank enclosure on site, using chamfered construction joints to represent the *langi*. By varying the surface of the concrete water tank, Petelō publicly demonstrated his cultural identity. Petelō selected coconut wood for the *fale*'s structural posts and beams for similar reasons. The combination of commercial building materials with local materials prompted a re-evaluation of 'what is a modern Tongan *fale?*' Petelō in effect inverted Tongan building traditions and distinguished himself by demonstrating another interpretation of contemporary Tongan design. His unconventional actions (especially coming from a respected builder with worldly experience) softened the disparity between 'found' natural and industrialised building materials, and promoted a return to local architectural knowledge and self-sufficiency.

Another issue important to returning nationals is their concern with *fale* security. The Vākē family of Tatakamōtonga was preoccupied with securing their house, especially when preparing to go temporarily overseas. One solution employed by such families is the addition of a separate room or annexe to the existing lockable private living spaces (see Fig. 26.9) for a relative to stay while the family is overseas. In constructing such an annexe, the family displays 'possessive personhood', where one individual, or in this case a member of the immediate family, owns the *fale*. Such behaviour can be disruptive of the prevalent 'relational personhood' among Tongans living in Tonga, where one's *fale* and its possessions are shared communally (see Appell-Warren 2014; Smith 2012). Such behaviours are a reflection of social changes in Tonga. The returning Tongan has the capacity both to perpetuate earlier architectural ideas and to invent new architectural ideas that will shape Tongan domestic *fale* into the future.[16]

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[15]The limestone platforms built by the early Tongans in ancient times.

[16]Based on observations and discussions with transnational Tongans, their intention to retire in Tonga suggests this architectural phenomenon is just the cusp of further *fale* developments.

Fig. 26.9 An additional bedroom in the foreground creates secure and dual living situation for the Vākē home (*Photograph* Charmaine 'Ilaiū Talei)

Conclusion

What becomes evident from the three types of twenty-first-century Tongan *fale* are the unconventional methods of procuring building materials and funding projects. These methods involve complex transactions that intersect at the point where consumption and commoditisation processes meet.[17] Overlapping processes for building houses have been observed in other parts of the world, including domestic village construction in Southeast Asia. Dell Upton (2001: 301) notes:

> [A single building] stands at the intersection of realms of craft, finance, commerce, social practice, and sometimes cosmological or intellectual endeavour. It might be constructed by locally trained craft workers, using materials manufactured half a world away.

Construction of a *fale* follows a different order to conventional Western design and construction. The owner starts the process by gathering the materials locally or

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[17]For example, in 2014, homeowner Petelō Vākē imported second-hand goods from the USA to sell in Tonga from his fale (designed as a shop). The profit would then fund the aforementioned masonry extension. In the transactions, other goods (including a pig) were exchanged. The pig was nurtured, possibly to hold a celebration at the completion of the project and to thank relatives for their assistance. Concurrently, Petelō filled the same container with yams, as a method to also reciprocate for a relative's assistance on the project. Petelō also planned to export yams to the USA to cover the purchase of building materials for the family's next fale project.

abroad dependent on the economic, human and cultural resources available. This may take a considerable period of time, and building materials are stored in yards while the owner considers the project and conscripts skilled individuals for construction tasks. Once someone with an acceptable level of building expertise volunteers or is employed, a design is conceived, and then, the physical construction begins. At this stage, the materials are applied to the design, and the form and layout dictated by quality and quantity of building materials gathered. The selection of materials and restraints involved in this final stage can have an impact on the outcome, and the inevitable architectural slippages further generate a *fale* that is likely to be distinctly Tongan in its architectural character.

Twenty-first-century Tongan *fale* illustrates how the wider issues of migration, remittances of money and building materials, new ideas and the technological media advancements mediate cultural change in Tonga influencing the development of the contemporary Tongan *fale*. The *fale puha*, *fale 'Amelika* and *fale tufitufi* demonstrate the importance of the Pacific Rim and the Tongan diaspora in the transformation of Tongan architecture. They demonstrate that the returning migrant is an important architectural agent at the liminal space of the diaspora and homeland.

Both appropriation and adaptation are evident in the construction and design of the twenty-first-century Tongan *fale*, buildings that are also conditioned by local preferences and economic constraints. The persistence of domiciliary socio-spatial behaviours of *faka'apa'apa*, *matamatalelei* and *tauhi vā* creates culturally appropriate spaces. These and the continuation of decentralised living patterns reminiscent of past Tongan *'api kolo* (village property) show how twenty-first-century *fale* may have changed forms and layouts while sustaining spatial and cultural values of earlier architectural forms. It is within such complex states of change and continuity that Tonga's twenty-first-century *fale* emerges.

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Chapter 27
Standing in Our Indigenous Ways and Beliefs: Designing Indigenous Architecture in North America over Four Decades

Johnpaul Jones

Prologue

Johnpaul Jones is a co-director of Jones and Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners located in Seattle, Washington. Jones is the son of a Welsh-American father and a mother of Choctaw and Cherokee heritage. He spent his early years in the family's tenant farmhouse on the outskirts of the town of Okmulgee, the capital of the Creek Nation (located in rural Oklahoma). "In those days Indians couldn't live in town, and neither could blacks. And we didn't have reservations, so we lived in a segregated 'area'" (Jones cited in Hancock 2010). The family moved to California, under an Indian relocation programme (Hancock 2010) where Jones undertook middle and secondary schooling. Following his 1959 graduation from high school, Jones interned with a San Jose architectural firm. His employers assisted him to continue his studies at the University of Oregon, and he later settled in Seattle. Hancock notes that: [i]n the early 1970s, Jones learned of the Harvard studies by Grant Jones on the then-little-known Indian burial mounds located in the Midwest. This introduction led to Johnpaul Jones's joining Grant Jones and Ilze Jones "…as founding partners in the Jones & Jones firm in Seattle, blending professional backgrounds in architecture and landscape architecture" (2010). Jones's interests turned to Native North American architecture—a subject not covered in his formal education. Some of his designs involved buildings, such as the Longhouse Education and Cultural Center at Washington's Evergreen State University, built in 1995. Similar longhouse projects followed, and Native North American Nations included the Makah, Wampanoag, and Nez Perce. "Most notably, Jones was the lead design consultant for the National Museum of the American Indian, which opened in 2004 on the National Mall in Washington, D.C." (Robbins 2014). Jones refers to his aesthetic as "'the four worlds': natural, animal, spiritual,

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and human. Each new design undertaken at Jones and Jones…must consider all four aspects, creating structures that complement rather than contrast with the land, its ecology, and its community" (Robbins 2014).

The following chapter is adapted from a public lecture delivered at the Department of Architecture and Planning at the University of New Mexico by Johnpaul Jones in 2010. It reflects Johnpaul Jones' views on Indigenous architecture, architectural practice and the key challenges ahead. The text was adapted to fit with the format of a written chapter to ensure that meanings in the delivery of the speech are clear in text. During the presentation, images of the works were shown, many more than can be provided in this format. To demonstrate the impact and content of the architectural work, additional information from external sources on three projects from an extensive portfolio of architectural work and an afterword has been added to further explain the concepts and work as described by Johnpaul Jones.

Introduction

The purpose of the chapter is to influence and support Indigenous design professionals in their Indigenous design efforts. I hope to help shed some light on the importance of using ancient Indigenous 'verbal knowledge', and to suggest its potential influence on the creation of Indigenous architecture in America and across the globe.

In creating architectural designs in North American Indigenous communities, what often happens at the start of a project is that a lot of research and study is conducted to try to uncover as much as possible of their culture and ancient heritage before starting the design process. These studies often centre around ancient architectural heritage, focusing on tipi lodges, pueblos, longhouses, earth lodges, ice houses, and so on. Often museums offer historic photographs and sketches of places from pre-colonial periods.

The Indigenous designs that come out of all of that review and study are often 'stereotypical' in terms of the style that they present. The designers often miss the reasoning behind these ancient structures, and more than not, they focus on only the visual. There is a better way—a modern way based on ancient Indigenous ways and beliefs, a new approach that uses ten-thousand-year-old ideas that come from the Indigenous people of North America that have lived here a long, long time. Indigenous ancestors knew every habitat and place in North America. They knew every plant, every animal, the dirt of the land, the rocks, the water, the sky, the rain, the wind, the stars and the seasons. It is their verbal storytelling about these things that holds the secrets to creating American Indigenous architectural design.

What I have found working with Indigenous peoples across North America is that one needs to 'stand with them in their ways and beliefs'—not somewhere else. Their ancient verbal gift offered to us is what we need to listen to. Their 'verbal gifts', stories from experience, often come from Indigenous Elders and are passed

down from generation to generation. It is these 'verbal gifts', rather than cultural architectural studies, that should be what we base our Indigenous design on.

American Indigenous peoples' ancient design activities were not a haphazard, primitive effort constructed by 'savages'. They were careful design responses to their cultural use, and their particular habitats and environments, oriented to the solar world, and responsive to their ceremonial ways and beliefs.

There is magnificent ancient architecture all over North America, built by America's First People. Believe me, there are thousands of these sites throughout North America, and a large number of these sites are not even uncovered, let alone restored. We are just beginning to understand some of these ancient sites and their Indigenous architecture, and the many ancient gifts they offer. I love their energy, spirit and beauty. However, it is the 'verbal stories' that are the most important thing to listen to in our Indigenous design efforts.

I was the only American Indian student in the School of Architecture at the University of Oregon back in the 1960s. One of the requirements of study in the School of Architecture was to take a, three times a week, two-year course about the history of world and American architecture. Not once during that entire two years did the professor show or talk about the history of American Indigenous architecture. We mainly studied the great architecture of Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and colonial and modern American. As a young American Indian studying the history of American architecture, I was not given a complete picture. Our Indigenous ancestors also left us many paintings and carvings that rival anything left by ancient people anywhere in the world.

Before I discuss with you what 'verbal gifts' my Indigenous family gave me to help me solve difficult design problems, there are a few things that it would be good for you to know about Indigenous people in North America: Firstly, we are a diverse people! We are not just 'Native Americans' living in tipis, chasing buffalo —we are not what you see in the movies. We are an ancient people that span the entire country: north to south, east to west, cold to hot and wet to dry. And we do not all live on reservations. Without out Indigenous ancestors and our relatives in the Americas, there would be no 'hot salsa', no 'corn chips', no 'tomatoes', no 'pumpkins', and no 'French fries' to go with your hamburger.

Secondly, we are a diverse people who have given many things to the human family. We are still here; we have survived even though the American government has tried repeatedly in many ways to eliminate us. This story is often not understood by the non-Indian public. However, we are still here and we practise what our ancestors verbally passed on to us—the government was not successful in eliminating our ways, beliefs and practices.

Today, we influence and bring changes to the American legal system about the care of this country: the land, the rivers, the desert, the air we breathe and the animals that share this place with us. For example, without our insistence concerning our treaty rights in the Pacific Northwest, the salmon fisheries would be in worse shape than they are now. Our Northwest relatives are working hard to bring back the 'Salmon People' to our rivers and lakes.

We are still here, and we have survived.

Thirdly, we have unique ways and beliefs. We have relationships with everything around us. These Indigenous relationships are better understood through our 'verbal stories' that are filled with the creative ideas and numerous tools to help us, and they can help keep us away from creating stereotypical design. As an American Indian involved in design, I try to use what my Choctaw mother and grandmother verbally passed on to me. I try to stand in their Indigenous 'verbal stories' in doing design. I also listen to the verbal stories of the Indigenous people I am working for and make a big effort to stand with them in their ways and beliefs—not somewhere else.

The following is an outline of the Four World gifts that my Choctaw mother and grandmother passed on to me. They are ancient gifts that centre on the Four Worlds view, not a one world view, but Four Worlds. They are as follows:

The Natural World

Seasons, cycles, cardinal directions, equinox, solstice (various doors to our universe), organic, nature of life, plants, rocks, soil, water, plants with power, healing, blessing, cleansing, sky, earth connection (above, below), clouds, non-structured place, mountains, horizon, orientation, sunrise, sunset, beauty, colour, night, day, odour, smell, rivers, lakes, streams, rain oceans, power of natural elements, living.

Animal World

Messengers, spirit line, connecting to family, power, protection, healing power, ceremonial ties, connection to seasons and cycles, non-structured places for animals, sounds, colour, beauty. We share the land with these animals, and we need to respect what they give and share with us.

Spirit World

Creation, renewal, continuum of time, visioning, dreaming, fire, smoke, healing, cleansing, ceremony, many worlds, symbolism at all levels; songs, ritual, renewal, birth, death. It is a spiritual relationship between two beings that share the same environment, a relationship that goes beyond the physical.

Human World

Teaching/transfer of knowledge, community/family, structural places, welcome/hospitality, humour/looking at self, support/helper, unity, celebration, connection to past/generations respect, colour symbolism, female/male, creativity.

I was asked by my Choctaw mother and grandmother to use our American Indigenous heritage in trying to solve life problems. I use these Four World gifts every day in design. What I have found in doing this is that it helps connect the different points of view of North American Indigenous people into a solution very different than what has happened in the past, where North American Indigenous ways and beliefs are left out of the mix, where only one 'world', usually the natural world is considered. This is good, but not good enough!

We need, as modern Indigenous designers, to move beyond using stereotyped visual information to a better place where we use what our ancestors verbally passed on to us. It is a good place, and it is somewhere we can stand. We have

woven our lives into the non-Indian world for hundreds of years. It is now time to start re-establishing our North American Indigenous identities in design. We have access to many ancient verbal Indigenous gifts that we can use and maybe share with the world around us that just might be helpful in solving some of the most pressing environmental and social problems. I plan to continue to be deeply invested in the re-awakening of our ancient Indigenous knowledge—the verbal gifts that can be used in modern design. I invite you to stand inside our American Indigenous ways and beliefs—not somewhere else.

The following describes three North American Indigenous design projects by Johnpaul Jones and the firm, Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners that have evolved using these North American Indigenous verbal gifts in their design:

Native National Identities in Design: The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian

The National Museum of the American Indian is located in Washington, D.C. and completed in 2004 (for more on the project, see, e.g., Krinsky 2004, 2018; Cobb 2005a, b; Phillips 2006; Lonetree and Cobb 2008; Fowler 2008; Pieris 2016; Malnar and Vodvarka 2018). The museum's architect was Douglas Cardinal (Métis Blackfoot) with design architects, Robert Geddes (Geddes Brecher Qualls Cunningham Architects) and Johnpaul Jones. The museum's project architects were Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners, the Smith Group in association with Lou Weller (Caddo), the Native American Design Collaborative and Polshek Partnership Architects of New York City. Ramona Sakiestewa (Hopi) and Donna House (Navajo/Oneida) also served as design consultants. The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) is an example of Indigenous design encompassing a national Native North American identity. The buildings are one of the best known and most lauded Indigenous architecture projects globally for its distinctive and instantly recognisable design, and the brief for the building which supported the recognition, celebration, history and living power of Native North American cultures. The challenge was to design a building that expressed the commonalities among all tribes in the USA. Jones notes that he "found elements like the seasons, traditions such as gathering around the fire and storytelling, and shapes like the circle to be held in common among Native people. He incorporated these into the design, which ultimately led to an exterior that resembles rock shaped by the wind and water over thousands of years" (Jones cited in Robbins 2014).

The notable design elements are the sensitive placement of the building on site, aligning to the cardinal points at the circular Potomac entry vestibule facing east towards the rising sun and conceived of as a great rock carved by natural human forces, giving a sense of epic time scales and the "survivance" (Vizenor in Nelson 2006: 43) of Indigenous peoples across the North American continent and beyond.

Threading together the diverse heritages of the North American Indigenous Nations, the museum is the Mall's most naturalistic structure—curved, contoured, marking the seasons, and rather than overlooking a static reflecting pool it is planned around a reclaimed wetland. Jones commented:

> One thing you notice on the Mall is all the trees are lined up straight. … The buildings, too, are linear. They're symmetrical and classical in style. Where Native people come from, everything's not in straight lines. …So how do you do something that respects our national heritage, but at the same time conveys something that's more organic, more natural, and is the message of Native people? (Jones quoted in Robbins 2014).

Like many commentaries on the work of Johnpaul Jones and the firm, reviews of the NMAI discuss the importance of the landscape design to the building's setting noting the:

> …attention to the local, native plant communities and ecotypes is a special added feature to the museum. By integrating the outside natural world with the curvilinear architecture of the museum, the creators of this space succeeded in developing a truly grounded, living Native community (Nelson 2006: 57).

The museum holds collections of artefacts objects, photographs, archives and media, and stories and histories from Native North American peoples from across North America. The project was described by Jones at the time of its opening (Figs. 27.1 and 2):
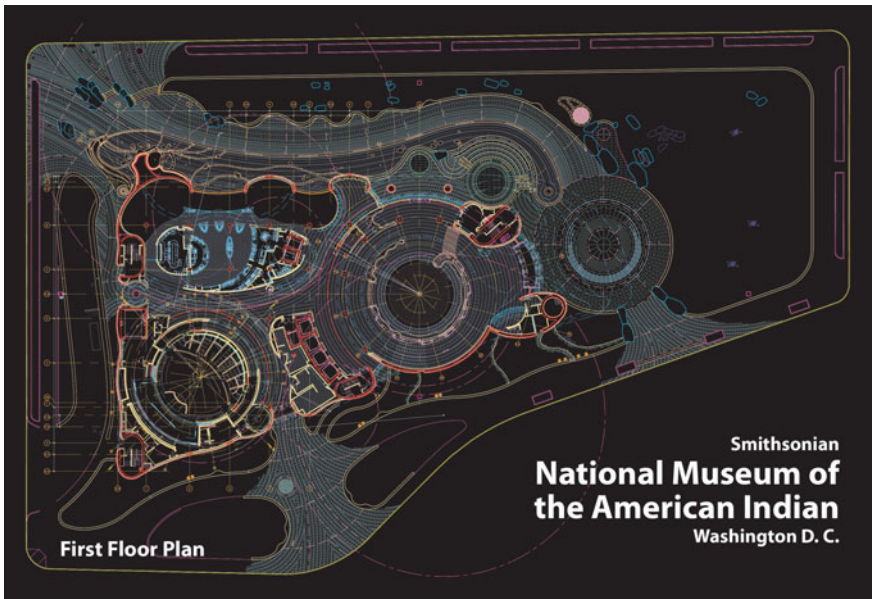
Fig. 27.1 Site Plan, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. (*Drawing* Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners)
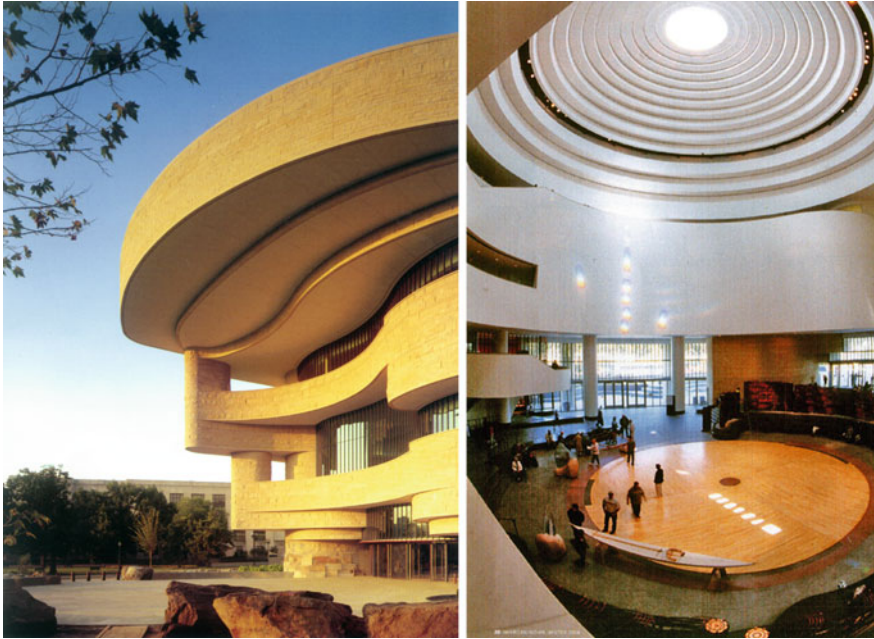
Fig. 27.2 National Museum of the American Indian, Washington D.C. (*Photographs* (left) Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners, (right) Barbara Witt)

> The museum doesn't have a straight line in it and is meant to look as though wind and water carved its curves…It's not based on an architectural style or a Native heritage. …It centers around something very organic, that which is common to Indian communities around the nation (Green 2004).

Native North American Identities in Design: Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum

The curves present in the NMAI reappear in Ignacio, with the 52 000-square-foot Southern Ute museum (opened in 2011). Centred on a latticed atrium and circular skylight, the wings of the building arc forward to embrace the east and described by Jones "like you were looking down at a dancer that had eagle feathers on and had their arms out" (Jones cited in Robbins 2014).

The project is governed by local Southern Ute Tribe peoples and provides facilities including galleries, a storytelling room, classrooms, a library, curatorial facilities, native plants demonstration garden and administration offices (for more information, see Malnar and Vodvarka 2013). Jones describes:

> The design is based on the Circle of Life, a theme central to Ute life. The central conic form —emanating from multiple cultural sources including the teepee, wickiup, and woven basketry—is constructed to allow it to glow inward by day and outward by night. The two

wings emulate an eagle and embrace a courtyard landscaped with native plants and a stream. The Cultural Center and Museum gives voice to the Southern Utes, preserving their story so that future generations will know what it is to be Ute—while also promoting regional tourism and educating visitors about their vibrant culture (Jones & Jones 2017).

Malnar and Vodvarka describe the museum as "concretizing the Southern Ute's philosophies while devoting space to caring for their treasured family artifacts, photographs, and stories but with and area equal in size devoted to celebrating their living culture" (2014: 259). They also explain the importance of both the social and symbolic elements of the architectural design, and the care and consideration given to the landscape, which is purposefully designed to mimic the landscape of Southern Ute homelands and includes a stream and meadow as a "welcoming and greeting" element (Malnar and Vodvarka 2014: 258) as suggested by a Ute high school student visiting the construction site (Figs. 27.3, 27.4 and 27.5).

Fig. 27.3 Interior, Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum (*Photograph* Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners)
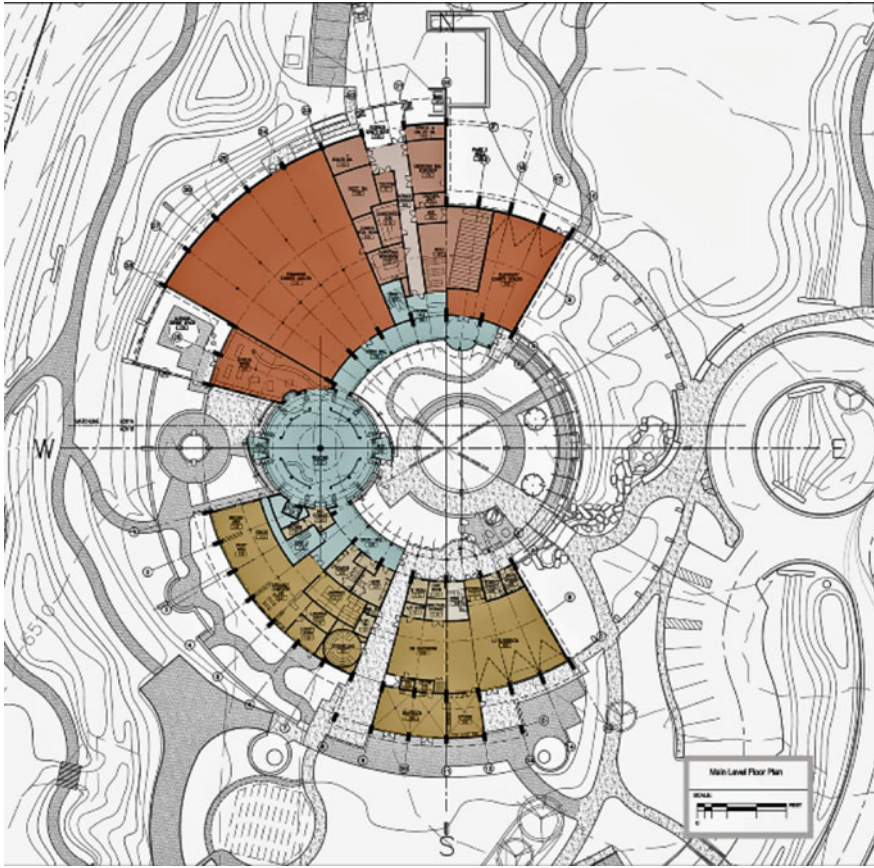
Fig. 27.4 Main floor plan, Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum (*Drawing* Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners)

Native Learning: University of Washington Intellectual House

Designed by Johnpaul Jones and the firm, Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners and opened in 2015, the University of Washington's Intellectual House, or wəɫəbʔaltxʷ, (phonetically pronounced wah-sheb-altuh) (The University of Washington 2017), is a longhouse-style building constructed on the site of original longhouses and a village of the Duwamish tribe. The University of Washington had a threefold aim for the project:

> …to make Native students and the broader native community, including Elders, welcome on the University campus; secondly, to provide a hub for native students to meet as a community; and thirdly, as a visible symbol acknowledging the original owners of the site, the Duwamish people (Bach 2015).

Fig. 27.5 Exterior, Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum (*Photograph* Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners)

The first phase of the project, centred on a large gathering hall which opens onto a shared courtyard for cross-cultural gathering, has been completed, while phase two is awaiting construction. This will host a reception area, student lounge and resources area, smaller meeting rooms and an Elders space. Outdoor classrooms and cooking spaces are sited within a carefully landscaped setting.

The design process included an advisory committee of Elders active in preparations for the project for over a decade in seeing the building come to fruition:

> The Elders we worked with give breath and spirit to this building …. When you walk into this building, you're going to feel that there is life. And that was what the Elders provided (The University of Washington 2015).

Inspired by, but not imitative of, traditional longhouse designs, the gathering hall is a cedar construction where the living qualities of wood reflect the importance of local and relatable materials for native students, and community. Unlike a traditional longhouse—which is without windows—this gathering hall is filled with light by a glazed end wall, but utilises longhouse traditions of construction, materials and social setting to give meaning to the new building (Green 2015). The building welcomes non-native students and community members and seeks to build cross-cultural bridges (Thrush 2017: xix) (Figs. 27.6, 27.7, and 27.8).

Fig. 27.6 Exterior, the University of Washington Intellectual House (*Photograph* Barbara Witt)

Fig. 27.7 Floor Plan, the University of Washington Intellectual House (*Drawing* Jones & Jones Architects + Landscape Architects + Planners)

Fig. 27.8 Interior, the University of Washington Intellectual House (*Photograph* Barbara Witt)

Afterword

The University of Oregon School of Architecture and Allied Arts honoured Jones in 1998 as the inaugural recipient of the Lawrence Medal, its highest honour to distinguished alumni:

> …in recognition that his accomplishments transcend architecture, landscape architecture, and historic preservation, and with enduring respect for his dedication to practice and to a life that honors social and cultural integrity at their foundation (Hancock 2010).

In 2005, the University of Oregon selected Jones to receive its Distinguished Service Award. In 2006, the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Seattle recognised Johnpaul Jones's contributions to the profession with the award of the organisation's highest honour for lifetime achievement, the AIA Seattle Medal, noting that:

> His activism has attracted and encouraged many people of "different" backgrounds to consider and pursue design as a career, and to apply his example of design as a tool for healing and advancing community.

> In his work and otherwise, Johnpaul takes his strength and guidance from the land—a design philosophy and a way of life which he attributes to his own roots in the Cherokee/ Choctaw tradition. …Jones's designs have won public and professional acclaim for their reverence for the earth, for paying deep respect to regional architectural traditions and

native landscapes, and for heightening understanding of Indigenous people and cultures of America …Johnpaul Jones's profound influence on the profession originates in his own humanity. His modest and gentle manner underlies enormous strength of character, while his profound idealism fires his passion to achieve an architecture embracing a rich cultural diversity. Quiet and unassuming yet with a uniquely commanding presence, he lets the power of design speak through him. Not only his colleagues but also the millions who visit projects touched by his unique vision benefit by the work and the example of this remarkable architect, who upholds our profession's highest aspirations to design excellence and social relevance (Award citation quoted in Hancock 2010).

With a career spanning over four decades, in 2014, President Barrack Obama presented a National Humanities Medal to Johnpaul Jones. The award recognises individuals, groups or institutions for work that has deepened understandings of the humanities, broadened citizens' engagement with the humanities, or helped preserve and expand Americans' access to important resources in the humanities in the USA. In his speech, President Obama stated that the award was bestowed (Fig. 27.9):

…for honoring nature and Indigenous traditions in architecture. As the creative mind behind diverse and cherished institutions around the world, Mr. Jones has designed spaces worthy of the cultures they reflect, the communities they serve, and the environments they inhabit (Obama cited in Office of the Press Secretary 2014).

Concluding this chapter is best summed up by Johnpaul Jones himself who offered the following thoughts on his life and work:

What I've realized over time is that it honestly takes the 'collective intellect' of the many partners and clients I've worked with to accomplish the best in design, and—through my American Indian heritage—I've come to understand that I am connected to something

Fig. 27.9 Johnpaul Jones (left) at the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian located on the National Mall, Washington D.C. Johnpaul Jones (right) receiving the National Humanities Medal from President Barack Obama, July 28, 2014

larger than myself. I think I now understand what my American Indian Grandmother and Mother were saying as I was growing up, and I've tried to make sure that I put what they said into practice.

Actually, it's what we share across all our diversities. It's not an American Indian vision or a philosophy. It's not a sacred path of enlightenment. It's something much more understandable: It's a canoe, here in the Northwest. It was sent to us by the Ancestors to guide us, and help us know that we are connected to something larger than ourselves!

There is a sculpture by Indian artist Bill Reid that expresses this belief located at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. There is hardly any room in the canoe, it is full of animals, human, spirits, and nature. It is a canoe with a message, like most American Indian beliefs. The oneness of the canoe's message is that we are all connected and we're in it together. This sculpture is centered around the 'Four Worlds' of my American Indian heritage. My Indian Grandmother gave these four worlds to me.

It's the diversity of projects at Jones and Jones over the last 40 years that have allowed me to use these four worlds effectively in planning and design: zoological projects; American Indian projects; and other regional architecture projects. What I've come to realize most of all over the last 40 years is that I can use my own diversity, the ancient knowledge my ancestors have given me, to solve and 'enrich' architectural planning and design problems (Jones quoted in Hancock 2010).

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Author's Biography

Johnpaul Jones has a distinguished 40-year career as an architect and founding partner of Jones & Jones in Seattle. Earning a Bachelor of Architecture from the University of Oregon in 1967, his design philosophy emerged from his Cherokee–Choctaw ancestors, which connects him to the natural world, animal world, spirit world and human world. He has led the design of numerous cultural community centres and museums spanning the North American continent, including his 12-year engagement as the lead design consultant for the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. A Fellow in the American Institute of Architects, Johnpaul's work has won a multitude of awards. In 2014, he received the Washington State Governor's Heritage Award and was awarded the National Humanities Medal from the National Endowment for the Humanities conferred by President Barack Obama.

Chapter 28
Learning from Our Elders: Returning to Culturally and Climatically Responsive Design in Native American Architecture

Daniel J. Glenn

Introduction

In this image, a young Crow girl, Susie Farwell, stands with her mother, Mary Horse Guard, in front of her family's tepee[1] lodge on the Crow Reservation in the late 1880s. Not too many years after this photograph was taken, Susie Farwell was removed from her home and loaded onto a train, along with other Crow children, including her sister Ella and her brother Rosebud, for the 1,800-mile journey east across the country from the Crow Reservation in Montana to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Rosebud and his cousin, John Frost, who accompanied them on the journey, were so disturbed by the school and so homesick that they ran away from Carlisle and somehow managed to retrace their path all the way back along those 1,800 miles to return to their home on the reservation. They were not alone in their desperation. Only eight percent of the students who attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School ever graduated and nearly twice that percentage ran away (Anderson 2000). Susie and Ella, however, remained at the school, and they, like the nearly twelve thousand other Indian students who attended the school from 1879 to 1918, were put through the intense indoctrination programme established by the school's founder and headmaster for 25 years, US Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt. The headmaster ignominiously proclaimed that the founding principle for the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was to 'Kill the Indian and save the man' and saw his education programme with the Native Americans as 'analogous to his domestication of wild turkeys' (Fear-Segal 1999: 329). Susie's son, John Glenn, followed in her footsteps, attending the Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, which was the second school of this kind to be

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[1]Alternate spellings include tipi, teepee.

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Fig. 28.1 Mary Horse Guard and her daughter, Susie Farwell, on the Crow Reservation, circa 1880s (*Photograph* Glenn family archive)

established in the USA. In this way, successive generations of Indian people were taught to disrespect their own cultural heritage and language and to embrace the culture of their conquerors (Fig. 28.1).

This is the story of my own family: my grandfather John Glenn and great grandmother, Susie Farwell. I present it here to discuss the tragedy of cultural loss inflicted on so many other Native American families in North America. An understanding of the loss of cultural identity and the struggle to preserve, regain and continue to evolve that culture, is one of the fundamental challenges faced by Native American tribes across the country and therefore is a fundamental challenge of designing contemporary Native American architecture.

The often-borrowed philosophy of the Iroquois, which "In every deliberation we must consider the impact on the seventh generation…", is a powerful and valuable construct when thinking about design. It is often interpreted as a definition of sustainability—thinking and acting with the next seven generations in mind.

The term 'Seven Generations' is now so prevalent that it has become a catchphrase used to market the so-called green products.

However, many tribes have interpreted 'Seven Generations' thinking in a different manner: one in which the cultural imperative requires an understanding and connection to 'three generations of our ancestors, the present generation, and three generations of our descendants'. This alternative understanding of 'Seven Generations' is, in fact, an approach to cultural preservation, to ensure that as we move forward into successive generations, that the extraordinary history, languages and cultures that have developed over thousands of years on the continent do not disappear in a handful of generations, but instead adapt and evolve into new forms that can enable the culture to continue to thrive in a new form for another seven generations.

This interpretation of the concept requires the contemporary practitioner of Native American architecture to examine the past in order to build for the future, and to gain the input of tribal Elders as well as an understanding of tribal artefacts and the historical record as a fundamental aspect of the design process. Whereas sustainable design does require a concern about the future, the architecture must be grounded in the realities of the present and rooted in the traditions of the past in order for it to be meaningful and useful, and fully embraced by the tribe or tribes who will inhabit it. It is this understanding that has informed my own architectural practice and the projects discussed below.

The challenge we face today is how to generate architecture that reflects the culture and climate of each tribe in the modern era. The iconic building prototypes of the tribes were developed over millennia. Clearly, though they are beautiful and powerful structures, they do not fit the needs of modern tribes whose lifestyles have changed radically and often have more in common with the majority culture than they might have with their forebears. How then, do we meet the real needs and desires of the present generation of Indian people while honouring and respecting the culture and traditions of our Elders and our ancestors? How can architecture play a role in the preservation and celebration of those ancient traditions while appropriately serving the needs of today? And finally, how can that architecture be designed in a way that takes into account the generations to come?

These are questions and challenges that I faced in the design of the following projects, which are presented here to discuss how I sought to confront these challenges in architectural works of varying types for several tribes in the western USA. The projects discussed below include the following: the Nageezi House (2005), a home for Diné (Navajo) Elders on the Navajo Nation in New Mexico; the Little Big Horn College campus plan and buildings in the author's homeland, the Apsáalooke (Crow) Nation in Montana (2008); the Payne Family Native American Center on the University of Montana's campus in Missoula, Montana (2010); the Place of Hidden Waters, a housing community for the Puyallup Tribe in Tacoma, Washington (2012); and the Skokomish Tribal Campus Plan (2014) and Community Center (2017) for the Skokomish Tribe at the southern end of the Hood Canal i Puget Sound. As all of the works are collective efforts carried out under my direction with design teams that varied depending on the project, and, as the designs

were all developed in partnership with the tribal members for whom we were designing, I will discuss the work as 'our' efforts, rather than 'my' efforts. And I will seek to credit the key team members for each project in the discussion.

The Nageezi House, Nageezi, New Mexico: Tradition Meets Innovation

We begin with the Nageezi House, a design/build home for the Augustine family of Navajo Elders on the family's allotted land on a remote mesa, 6,000 feet above sea level, overlooking Chaco Canyon on the Navajo Nation in the northwest corner of New Mexico.

The original Augustine home, built 40 years earlier in the mid-1960s in the typical Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) approach, was the architectural equivalent of the heavy wool military-style uniforms required by Captain Pratt and his philosophical descendants. The low-pitched, gable-roofed boxes known on reservations as 'HUD homes' were patterned after Second World War veterans' housing plans. These houses are ubiquitous across Native American reservations in the USA.

My own career in architecture began working on such homes in my father's firm in the 1970s. His firm, John Glenn Engineers, Architects and Constructors, was one of the first native-owned architectural and engineering firms in the state of Montana, and he is a founding member of the American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers. Prototype housing plans were sent to our firm from HUD offices in Washington, D.C. The plans were adapted to various locations on reservations throughout the country by local practitioners. At that time, there was little or no consultation with the tribe or the future inhabitants of the housing developments. The work was conducted through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and followed guidelines established by the federal government.

We were also engaged in 'Facilities Improvement and Repair' projects on several reservations, in which we would visit inhabited homes and determine maintenance needs. The poorly insulated homes often cost more for the families to heat than they paid in rent, and large, multi-generational families struggled to adapt to a home designed for small, nuclear families. My father recalled that in his early years of working on such homes that families would sometimes tear down interior walls in an attempt to adapt them to a more communal style of living, and the families were reprimanded for destroying federal property. The compartmentalisation of the household—with a separate room for each activity—did not correlate with a more communal way of life, as evidenced by the universal space of the Navajo *hooghan*, the Crow tepee lodge, or the Salish plank house.[2] The newly built

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[2]For more information about these traditional housing types, see Nabokov and Easton's *Native American Architecture* (1989).

homes were devoid of any correlation with the climate or the regional resources of each reservation. The same materials and detailing were applied in southern Arizona as in northern Montana, resulting in an Apache family sweltering in the very same home where a Blackfeet family shivered, unable to afford heat.

Like military uniforms, the houses were often uncomfortable and ill-suited to the Indian families who inhabited them. The standardised, three-bedroom, one-bath utilitarian structures were designed without any input from the Native American families who would live out their lives in them. The plans follow an idealised nuclear family of the American suburb and did not account for the concept of a multi-generational household common among cultures that esteem Elders, or for the extreme lack of housing that leads families to have as many as a dozen or more people living in such homes at any given time. Recently, we interviewed Adree Herrera, who works with the Apsáalooke Housing Authority, as part of case study research on tribal housing we conducted for the HUD Sustainable Construction in Indian Country Initiative. She described her own family's situation on the Crow Reservation in Montana, where she lives in a three-bedroom house with 14 people, including parents, grandparents, siblings and cousins.

Historically, federal housing policies did not "respond adequately to the diversity of housing conditions and needs in Indian Country" (Kingsley et al. 1996), according to a 1996 Urban Institute assessment of tribal housing, leading the authors to state that housing programmes "must also accommodate the legitimate demands for self-determination made by Native American tribes as sovereign nations". In 1996, Native Americans on a national commission established by Congress helped draft a new law, the Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act (NAHASDA) of 1996, as part of an effort to "evaluate alternative strategies for the development, management, and modernisation of housing for Native Americans".

> The United States government has a legal trust obligation to promote the welfare of Native Americans in Indian Country by supplying housing along with education and health services on reservations. This obligation stems from treaties signed with tribes and has been written into federal law. (Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act 1996)

Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that tribes today largely control the design and production of federally subsidised housing following the implementation of NAHASDA, little has changed in the type of homes that continue to be built on reservations across the country.

By 2005, the Augustine's 1960s era home, which had been added on to over the years with cobbled-together materials, was heated by only a single wood stove and heavily deteriorated. The home was, unfortunately, quite representative of a substantial percentage of homes on the Navajo Reservation. According to a 2011 Housing Needs Assessment, "more than half of individuals residing in the Navajo Nation live in structures reported to be dilapidated or requiring serious repairs". (Phase II Housing Needs Assessment, Navajo Housing Authority 2011)

The original intent of the new project was to work with the family to renovate their home, but due to its condition, and after a lot of discussion and consultation with the Augustine family, we determined that the only solution was to demolish and rebuild the home.

The demolition of that home and the design/build of a new home for the Augustines was a project of the Arizona State University (ASU) Stardust Center for Affordable Homes and the Family. As Design Director for the Center, I led a team of ASU architecture students in the design and construction of the home. We were introduced into this community by Navajo architecture students, who formed the core of the design/build team which included seven students from the ASU College of Architecture and Environmental Design: Christopher Billey, Adrian Holiday, Alisa Lertique, Ernesto Fonseca, Matthew Green, Jason Croxton and Tanya Yellowhair, and one student, Peter Crispell, from the ASU Del Webb School of Construction. Chris, Adrian, Tanya and Jason are all members of the Navajo Tribe.

Christopher Billey, a Stardust Center staff member, initiated the project and worked as the local coordinator. Ernesto Fonseca, an an Indigenous Otomi architect from central Mexico, led the construction process and provided energy analysis for the project as a graduate student in Energy Performance and Climate Responsive Design at Arizona State University. He also led the remote monitoring project of the home's energy performance for one year after its completion.

The direct involvement of Navajo students was a critical key to the project's success, as we gained the trust of the Elders and the tribe because of the students' involvement. In addition, they were able to communicate in Diné (the Navajo language) to the Augustine family, including Kee Augustine who—like many Elders in the community—did not speak English.

Mary and Kee Augustine, like many Navajo Elders, had grown up in a *hooghan*, the traditional dwelling of the Navajo people. While most Navajo families now live in Western-style houses, the *hooghan* remains very prevalent throughout the enormous Navajo Nation—not typically as a primary dwelling—but often as a ceremonial structure built alongside the contemporary houses. For many families, however, it is still used as a second home at family 'sheep camps' high in the mountains in isolated areas of the reservation. Christopher Billey spent his summers on his grandparents sheep farm living in his family's *hooghan.*

There have been many efforts to create modern versions of the *hooghan*, but the Augustines were not interested in returning to their traditional dwelling. They expressed the desire for a more conventional contemporary house, but wanted the home to still be strongly connected to their traditional culture. The design was developed in a studio design process and further developed in design/build with ongoing input from the Augustine family. The *hooghan*—in its multiple forms, both modern and ancient—was researched and discussed. In addition, the *chaha'oh* —or summer shade structure of the Navajo–was also explored.

The traditional female *hooghan* is a dome-shaped, circular structure with an east-facing doorway that forms a single room with a fire at the centre and a central smoke hole—which today has been adapted to be a wood stove and chimney. The more modern *hooghans* are octagonal structures, built with logs. Circulation within

Fig. 28.2 Mary and Kee Augustine, Navajo Elders, sit in the courtyard of their newly completed home on their allotted land on the Navajo Reservation, in Nageezi, New Mexico, 2005 (*Photograph* Daniel Glenn)

the *hooghan* is circular, in a clockwise direction around the fire, with the place of honour at the rear of the home. The symbolism and meaning of the *hooghan* is central to the Navajo culture and too complex to be discussed in depth here,[3] but the form embodies the circle, the seven directions (the cardinal directions, plus upward to the sky, downward to the earth, and inward to the heart), and functions as a microcosm of the Diné concept of their relationship with the spirit world.

The site is on a high desert mesa 6,000 feet (approximately 1800 metres) above sea level with powerful prevailing winds from the west and extremes in temperature, dropping below zero in the winter and rising above 100 °F (approximately 38 °C) in the summer. The traditional *hooghan* handled these extremes in a very efficient way—the structure guarded against wind and cold by limiting openings for light and air to an east-facing doorway and a single roof opening, and with thick walls of stone or wood and a roof of heavy timber lattice covered in earth. The *chaha'oh* summer structure provided a cool environment for sleeping and cooking as an open ramada built with a four-pole timber frame, allowing full shade with open sides for cooling breezes.

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[3]For more detail on the traditional *hooghan*, see, for example, Brugge (1968), Rappoport (1969), Jett and Spencer (1981), Drover (1985), van Dooren (1987), Nabokov and Easton (1989).

The final design for the Augustines became a hybrid of the original home, the *hooghan* and the *chaha'oh*. The original home's floor slab was retained, with the new house built over the top of it, and it has a relatively conventional division of spaces like the original house, reflecting modern conventions of privacy. But, like the *hooghan*, the home's door faces east, with the primary entrance opening to the rising sun and away from the westerly winds. The rooms of the home wrap around an open version of the traditional *hooghan*, with eight ancient juniper logs forming an octagonal courtyard protected from the sun by a log trellis built in the traditional woven corbelled log pattern of the *hooghan*. Circulation within the home is in a clockwise pattern flowing around the courtyard from an open living/kitchen/dining area into the more private areas of the home. At the centre of this courtyard is a space for outdoor fires. The southern face of the building is shaded by a version of the *chaha'oh* structure, protecting large windows that face the sun for passive solar gain in the winter months. The home is built with an aerated concrete material produced by an enterprise of the Navajo Housing Authority called Navajo FlexCrete.[4]

As part of the design process, the home was analysed with an energy model to determine optimal window sizes and orientation, heating systems, wall types and insulation values. This is a process that we now use on all of our projects to optimise material choices, building systems, opening and orientation. The energy model predicted that twelve-inch-thick aerated concrete walls of Navajo FlexCrete would perform the best in the high desert climate after testing comparing conventional wood framing and other alternative materials. A radiant floor heating system augments the passive solar design. The home became the first house built utilising this Navajo product, and the Navajo Housing Authority used the construction of the project as an opportunity to train its work crews in using the system.

The home embraces its natural surroundings, with shaded outdoor spaces, including the southern covered deck and the east-facing courtyard, that greatly expand the usable space of the small home for many months of the year, and brings a stronger connection to the natural world. The metal roof of the house cants inward towards the courtyard, maximising light and collecting rainwater that is channelled to a cistern below ground. This water is accessed by a hand pump, providing an additional water source for the family in the dry high desert. The home's operable windows are located to provide cross-ventilation through the courtyard from every room, with high clerestory windows on the south, that are operable with switch-activated motors. This is intended to allow 'night-time flushing' during the summer months, ventilating the house with cool night air which is absorbed by the mass of the aerated concrete walls, so that the home can remain cool in the hottest months of the year with passive cooling.

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[4]The Nageezi House was the first house built using Navajo FlexCrete, a fibre-reinforced aerated concrete, designed to provide a low-cost, fire-resistant, environmental and locally sourced building material for use on the Navajo Nation and to provide training and employment opportunities.

After completion, the home was monitored for a year, to determine if it was able to meet the energy goals of the project. Temperature sensors were embedded in the thick aerated concrete walls to determine outdoor, indoor and internal wall temperatures. Energy use of the home was monitored as well. The monitoring was carried out remotely from Arizona State University in Phoenix by Ernesto Fonseca at the ASU Stardust Center. At one point during the monitoring, the energy use spiked significantly and we went out to the home to investigate. We learned that the Augustine's son, who lived in an adjacent house on the remote site, had lost electricity to his home and was tapping into his parent's house with a long extension cord. Other than this anomaly, the home met or exceeded the energy goals of the project.[5] Additionally, a key lesson was learned during the monitoring process: we had installed a radiant floor system in the house, and we determined that it was a very efficient heat source, which was only turned on a few hours a day in the coldest part of winter. However, the Augustines were never able to acclimate themselves to the system. They had heated their homes for their entire lives with wood stoves, and they had grown accustomed to heating with wood, and Kee Augustine, who was in his 80s and increasingly infirm, loved to stoke the fire as one of his primary activities. So the family shut off the underfloor heating system, installed a wood stove, and were able to keep the whole house warm in the coldest part of the winter for less than $60 per month, according to Mary Augustine.[6]

In a recent visit to the home in 2017, Mary Augustine continues to live there at the age of 85 with her sons Jimmy and Kenny nearby and looking after her and the home. After 12 years, the house has held up well, and its thick walls continue to provide her and her grandchildren a warm home high on the mesa overlooking the ancient ruins of Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon below. Interest in the home has brought visitors from as far away as New Zealand, much to Mary's delight, and it continues to serve as a model on the Navajo Reservation of culturally and environmentally responsive design (Fig. 28.2).[7]

Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, Montana: A Counterpoint to Carlisle

> With education, we are the white man's equal, without education, we are his victim….

These are the words of the last traditional chief of the Crow people, Chief Plenty Coups. These words became the motto of the Little Big Horn College (LBHC), a

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[5]For more information on this analysis, see Fonseca (2006).

[6]See for more information Fonseca (2006).

[7]For additional reading on the house, see Wells (2007) *Global Green USA: Blueprint for Greening Affordable Housing*; and Malnar and Vodvarka (2013) *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands*.

tribal college on the Crow Reservation in Montana. Tribal colleges are an out-growth of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, and they represent an effort by tribes to take control of their own education and to create a place where tribal culture is celebrated and integrated into the curriculum, with traditional drumming and singing taught alongside computer science and calculus. The schools are an embodiment of the 'Seven Generations' philosophy—a place where the past is honoured, and cultural identity is strengthened and passed to the next generation, while educating students to succeed in the present and prepare for the future.

Over a ten-year period, beginning in 1998, I acted as the *de facto* campus architect for the Little Big Horn College (LBHC), one of Montana's seven tribal colleges. The campus is based in the town of Crow Agency, the political centre of the Crow Reservation in Montana and my father's hometown. My grandfather ran the town's Crow–Cheyenne Flour Mill—on a site along the Little Big Horn River adjacent to the college—from the 1930s until its demise in the 1950s with the defunding of the flour subsidy programme under the Eisenhower administration's termination policy. In forced retirement, John Glenn became active in Crow politics on the Crow Tribal Council in Crow Agency for the next two decades. In August of each year, the town's fairgrounds are the setting for Crow Fair, when it is known as the 'Tepee Capital of the World', as thousands of tepee lodge line the banks of the Little Big Horn River and form an encampment, not unlike the one that Custer would have witnessed in the same location just before his demise at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in the summer of 1876.

In 1998, the Little Big Horn College was housed in a retrofitted gymnasium, several trailers and a small, one-room house that housed the Crow Archives. The gymnasium—which was across the street from the site of the old flour mill on the banks of the Little Big Horn River—had been transformed by the tribal college students and their teachers as part of their building technology programme. They had to build their own college because the federal programme that supported tribal college programmes did not at that time provide any funding for facilities or capital improvements, according to Dr. Janine Pease, the founding President of the college. They had built classrooms surrounding the original gym and subdivided the gym itself into a library with more classrooms above and a community gathering space.

That autumn, I was invited by Dr. Pease to facilitate 'Community Envisioning Process for the New Campus Plan', assisted by graduate students of architecture in my design studio at Montana State University. This process involved LBHC Board Members, students, faculty and tribal members from across the reservation in a participatory design process that culminated in a vision for the new campus.

The goal for the design of the Little Big Horn College Campus Plan and each of its new buildings was to create an environment that fosters the LBHC's ongoing mission to be a "Crow higher education and cultural center" (LBHC Mission statement 2017). As such, the design seeks to make a uniquely 'Crow' campus, culturally and spiritually relevant to the Crow people of today and in the decades to come.

Dr. Joseph Medicine Crow, the Crow Tribal historian and esteemed Elder, who was then 85 years old, told us at the first gathering his vision for the college: the

Fig. 28.3 A view of the central arbour and surrounding buildings at the Little Big Horn College campus in Crow Agency, Montana, 2008 (*Photograph* J.K. Lawrence, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

campus should be thought of as a metaphorical 'Learning Lodge' reinterpreted on a larger scale, the place where knowledge had been traditionally passed from one generation to the next inside the Crow tepee lodge. It was within the context of the Learning Lodge that the Master Plan was developed and five new structures have been built: The Driftwood Lodges classroom building, the Cultural Learning Lodge, the Campus Gateway Monument, the Library/Archive/Administration Building and the Dance Arbour. As part of this vision, the heart of the campus was planned to include a circular Dance Arbour, marking the cardinal directions the solstices and equinoxes, and providing a setting for traditional ceremonies, dances, and graduation. The arbour and the radial pathways emanating from it became a circular ordering element for the campus and its buildings, as a counterpoint to the orthogonal grid of the town of Crow Agency, laid out by the Bureau of Indian Affairs planners as a colonial outpost in the middle of the reservation (Fig. 28.3).

In the traditional Crow lodge, the entry is from the east, and to the west, at the rear of the lodge, is the place of honour where the Chiefs and the Elders reside—the keepers of Crow knowledge. In this tradition, the site for the new Library/Archive/Administration Building is at the 'rear of the lodge', on the western edge of campus. Traditional Crow architecture is quintessentially sustainable, utilising renewable resources in a manner that yields the greatest effect for the least impact on Mother Earth. In this tradition, all the buildings are environmentally responsive to the extent possible within limited budgets.

The new buildings are also culturally responsive—they have been designed to celebrate Crow culture and to mark the buildings as distinctly Crow. As in the traditional artefacts of the Crow people, where beadwork and painted designs have been used for decoration, the buildings have been 'beaded', using patterns from Crow artefacts, enlarged to the scale of the building, in brick, stained concrete and tile. The *parfleche* was a buffalo hide container that was used by the Plains Tribes to carry important and sacred items, as well as, in later years, documents such as treaties and records. For this reason, the *parfleche* is used throughout the Library/Archive/Administration Building to symbolically represent a container of items important to the Crow people.

The structure of the buildings, which include steel frame, glulam and log, is expressed as a 'legible' structure in the tradition of the tepee lodge, the sweat lodge and sacred Sun Dance Lodge of the Crow. In all of the buildings, a circle forms the heart and becomes the organising structure of both the Cultural Learning Lodge and the Library/Archive/Administration Building. Numerology, which is prevalent throughout Crow cosmology, is incorporated into the structures, such as the four poles of the gateway representing the four directions, and the seven columns of the library recalling the seven stars of the Big Dipper, known to the Crow as the Seven Buffalo Brothers.

In July of 2008, Dr. Joseph Medicine Crow returned once again to the Little Big Horn College for the grand opening ceremony of the latest addition to the campus, the new Library/Archive/Administration Building. He was then 95 years old, born in 1913, 37 years after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. His grandfather was a scout in that battle, and Joe grew up hearing the stories of that fight directly from an eyewitness. At the opening ceremony, Dr. Medicine Crow spoke to the gathering of faculty, students and fellow tribal members, his voice still strong 10 years after he first addressed the original gathering who envisioned the new campus. He lifted his eagle feather high in the air and gave a prayer in his native language, blessing the new building with the smoke of a smouldering bundle of sweet grass (Fig. 28.4).

University of Montana Payne Family Native American Center, Missoula, Montana: Honouring the Twelve Tribes of Montana

The University of Montana lies along the banks of the Clark Fork River in the Bitterroot Valley within the traditional home of the Interior Salish tribes. The Interior Salish people are based in the Plateau region of the north-western USA, between the Rocky Mountains and the Northwest Coast, where their brethren, the Coastal Salish, reside. According to Salish Elders from the nearby Salish and Kootenai Reservation, the site of the university was a traditional encampment site for the Salish people, where they would fish and gather the bitterroot along the banks of the river.

Fig. 28.4 Interior view of the Little Big Horn College Library at the central storytelling area, which is the terminus of the campus in the 'place of honour' at the 'rear of the lodge', 2008 (*Photograph* J.K. Lawrence, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

In 2004, I was selected as the Design Architect to develop the design for a new Native American Center for the university on the historic oval in the heart of the campus. The site was selected by the University President, George Dennison, in consultation with the Native Studies Department faculty. It was the last significant site available on the oval for a new building, and it was determined that the new centre for the university's Native American community should be located where they would have a 'seat at the table'. They were at the time housed in one of the older bungalows on an avenue leading into the campus. From this standpoint, we saw the building and its location as a regional, small-scale parallel to the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington, D.C., which was located along the capitol mall on one of the last available parcels of land.

In 2010, following several years of fundraising, the building was completed and opened as the Payne Family Native American Center. The building is the first off-reservation building in the state of Montana specifically designed to celebrate Native American culture and people. The Centre houses the University of Montana Native Studies Department and American Indian Student Services and was designed to honour the Interior Salish people and symbolically represent all twelve tribes of Montana. The Center was also the first LEED-certified building on the University of Montana campus and one of the first LEED Platinum buildings in the state. As Design Architect for the building, we brought our interpretation of 'Seven Generations' thinking to the design of this project.

To generate a culturally responsive design, we engaged in an interactive design and workshop process with the Native American Studies Department, staff, students and the university administration. Tribal Elders, representatives from the state's seven tribal colleges and twelve native tribes participated in the design process. Our design team for this phase included Susan Atkinson Glenn with my office and Jameel Chaudhry, the University of Montana's Campus Architect.

Our initial design challenge dealt with the siting of the building in the historic context of the UM campus' century-old Oval at the base of Mount Sentinel. The selected site was across from the towering University Hall, the oldest and grandest of the several historic structures which arc around the Oval. Given the context of articulated red brick facades, Victorian and neo-classical detailing, and the requirements of the city of Missoula's Historic Preservation Commission, the most likely design approach initially appeared to be a hybrid building combining a neotraditional form with a subtle nod to Native American culture and history. However, that assumption changed radically during the design process, when we invited the tribal Elders and tribal college faculty to help determine the nature of the new building.

Several among them, especially the Elders, expressed their feeling that the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century buildings on the campus, so praised by the university and the community, are for them stark reminders of Indian Boarding Schools like Carlisle. While Carlisle itself had closed by 1919, similar schools across the country carried on the mission of 'killing the Indian' for several more decades. As discussed in Charla Bear's documentary *American Indian Boarding Schools Haunt Many* (2008), the lingering effects on tribal members

continue. So the consensus among the tribal members was for a dramatic departure from the campus's historic architecture. They wanted, instead, a building which would be 'boldly Native American'.

The university and the city's Historic Preservation Commission seemed unlikely to accept such a building on the historic Oval, until we determined a strategy to challenge the understanding of the term 'historical' architecture on the site of the campus. Through research, we unearthed a remarkable photograph: an encampment of Salish tepee lodges camped at the base of the very same Mount Sentinel. The photograph was taken in the late 1880s, just a few years before construction began on the first of those historic buildings. Clearly, the history of architecture on the campus had not begun with University Hall, but instead with these Salish lodges which had encamped there in the Bitterroot Valley for centuries. The Historic Preservation Commission accepted this argument and approved the project's design.

We gathered on the site with the representatives of the twelve tribes, and they formed a circle near the centre of the site in a clearing of trees. There they told us that they wanted this circle to be the heart of the building and its central gathering place. For all twelve of the tribes, the circle is a sacred form that represents the circle of life, and it is integral to all of their traditional structures, including the tepee lodge, the sweat lodge and the sun dance lodge, as well as the drum. They also told us that they wanted us to protect the tall stand of evergreen trees on the site, some of which are more than a century old. And they wanted the entranceway to face east, like their tepee lodges.

The circle and the iconic forms of the Great Plains cultures became the principal inspirations for the building's design. The building is oriented to the east to honour the rising sun and opens into a two-storey high atrium, which is shaped to evoke the essence of the lodge without attempting to mimic the iconic form. Like the tepee lodge, the structure is an expressed wood frame, the skin is translucent, the walls are canted, and the space opens to the sky at its apex. However, the design follows the long tradition of native tribes to adapt to new materials and technologies. The wood structure is not lodgepole pine; it is timber-framed with composite wood parallel strand lumber (PSL) beams. The skin is not buffalo hide or canvas; it is a multi-paned curtain wall with translucent, energy-efficient windows and fibreglass Kalwall panels (Fig. 28.5).

The external structure is a dodecagon; each side represents the twelve tribes of Montana. Within the atrium is a true circle, formed by twelve log columns, which create a central, wood-floored ceremonial space. The twelve logs are a symbolic representation of the tribes, as well as a representation of the twelve-pole structure of the sun dance lodge. They support a mezzanine providing an upper-level study space for students overlooking the gathering space below. The student spaces were intentionally placed on the second floor, in response to Native students' concerns that they did not want to be 'on display' in the building.

Tribal seals representing the twelve tribes and the seven reservations in the state are incorporated into the exterior façade of the building as relief panels in stained concrete. Through research and consultation with tribal representatives, parfleche and beadwork patterns were incorporated in etched and stained concrete floor

Fig. 28.5 Payne Family Native American Center on opening day with the gathering of tribes, University of Montana campus, Missoula, MT, 2010 (*Photograph* Daniel Glenn, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

patterns to represent the state's twelve tribes. Seven Native Gardens representing each of the seven reservations are laid out in circular patterns representative of tepee rings, marked by stones, and evoking the tepee encampments that once stood on the site. An outdoor storytelling area with a central fire pit and bench seating designed in the oval plan of a sweat lodge provides a setting under the tall evergreen trees for storytelling in the oral tradition.

We sought input and the blessing on the use of tribal patterns and on the design as a whole from all the tribes in the state. We worked with Linda Matt Juneau, a Blackfeet tribal member and the university's Tribal Liaison to work with the tribes in the state for their input and support. In addition to having input in the design from the representatives of the tribal colleges, Linda and I presented the project as the designs were being developed to the Montana/Wyoming Inter-Tribal Council, which include the tribal leadership from each tribe in the state. They approved the design at various stages of development and also approved the use of the tribal seals and other patterns in the building.

The tribal members and the Native Studies faculty and staff had strong consensus in the design process that the building should be as 'green' as possible within the constraints of the budget for the building. This was recognised as fundamental to the idea of a 'Native American building' and a philosophy that seeks to preserve the environment for future generations. The building achieved LEED Platinum certification in 2010 as determined by the US Green Building Council. An

Fig. 28.6 The Bonnie Heavy Runner Memorial Gathering Space at the Payne Family Native American Center, University of Montana campus, Missoula, MT, 2010 (*Photograph* Daniel Glenn, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

energy model of the building determined that it would use 62% less energy than a conventional building, and this goal has been surpassed in its operation, according to Jameel Chaudhry, the Campus Architect. Jameel Chaudhry was also instrumental in the design of the building, along with Eric Simonsen of A&E Architects, our partner firm in the design of the project. The energy-saving strategies for the building included super-insulated walls using structural insulated panels, Kalwall and energy-efficient windows. Low-energy heating and cooling systems were used, including well water cooling, demand control venting, radiant floor heating circulation spaces, a variable air volume HVAC system and a runaround heat recovery loop. In addition, the building is designed to maximise day lighting throughout the building with the large central atrium and deep light wells in the basement.

In spite of the significant green achievements of the building, it of course falls far short of the pure sustainability of the Salish lodges that once stood on the same site (Fig. 28.6).

The building was carefully designed to preserve as many of the existing trees on the site as possible, which led to the triangular form of the building. This was a key goal of the tribal Elders advising on the project. However, one of the largest trees, a native larch, was ultimately removed by the university for fear that it was too close to the building and might eventually come down. The tree was ceremonially removed and then locally milled, and its wood became the flooring in the main gathering space of the atrium. The story of this tree is told on a panel in the building, to share with students and visitors.

In 2014, we were called back to develop the design for the basement of the building, which was left unfinished in 2010 for future expansion space. The primary donor, the Payne Family, provided additional funds to the university to create a new institution there, called the Elouise Cobell Land and Culture Institute. The Institute honours the struggle and legacy of Elouise Cobell, a Blackfeet activist who successfully won a ground breaking class action to gain financial compensation for tribal allottees on reservation land. The design of the building included deep light wells around the perimeter of the building, using gabion retaining walls built with the river rock excavated on the site. The light wells provide daylight to the lower level intended for classroom and laboratory space. At the centre of the building, however, beneath the wooden floor of the gathering space, is a dark area with no daylight at all.

During the design process, many ideas were discussed for this space, until a consensus was reached that this space, with its darkness, should be a sacred space, in the spirit of the sweat lodge. We created a circular room, with a domed ceiling, and east-facing doorway, opening to the closest window bringing in the morning sun. And in this space, we created a 'star gazing room'—in partnership with the astronomy department—a small planetarium where students could study the stars and learn the star stories of the ancestors. The Payne Family Native American Center was voted "The Best Architecture on Campus" by the student body in the 2017 Best of UM: Inaugural Awards, demonstrating that its unique architecture has been embraced by the whole of the campus.

On the opening day of the Payne Family Native American Center in 2010, Dr. Joseph Medicine Crow honoured us with his presence once again, to bless the building. He made the long trip from the Crow Reservation at the venerable age of 98, aided by his son. Following a speech to the large gathering, at which all twelve of the tribes of state were represented, Dr. Medicine Crow walked slowly to the east-facing doorway, carrying his large feathered staff, and at the doorway, he lifted the staff high in the air and beat at the door in four strong strikes. He told us he was counting coup on the building and cleansing it for the future young warriors who would enter its great hall for decades to come (Fig. 28.7).

The Place of Hidden Waters: Re-envisioning the Salish Plank House for Contemporary Housing

For millennia, the coastal Salish people of the Puget Sound region have lived in a form of multi-family dwelling known as the 'plank house' or 'longhouse'. These homes ranged in size and housed from four or five families to a dozen or more. When Captain George Vancouver landed in Elliot Bay near present-day Seattle in 1792, he observed the 'Old-Man-House' which housed over six hundred people in a massive structure that stretched along the shore for more than 380 metres. One of those residents was the namesake of Seattle, Chief Sealth. Villages of plank houses were built along the ocean shores or along rivers all over the region and up the

Fig. 28.7 Dr. Joseph Medicine Crow at the opening of the Payne Family Native American Center in 2010. He stands in front of his quote, in English and in Apsaalooke: "When we stand side by side in the circle of no beginning and no ending, The First Maker, Creator of All Things, is in the center and blesses us with his infinite love, which is "Peace" itself" (*Photograph* Daniel Glenn)

Pacific Northwest coast in varying versions all the way from the Columbia River in southern Washington to the coast of present-day Alaska. The oldest villages have been dated back to nearly 5 000 years in British Columbia.

The southern Salish homes were heavy, timber-framed rectangular shed structures, with cedar planks providing the enclosure. Traditionally, each family owned their planks, and these were laid up over the frame each winter to enclose their section of the longhouse. In the summer months, the planks were often removed, loaded onto canoes and transported to summer camps, where they were re-purposed as simpler lean-to structures, while the families fished for salmon, gathered berries and hunted game.

The plank houses were a form of modular multi-family housing, with each module defined by post and beam bays with a fire pit at the centre and private sleeping areas on either side for family members. Privacy partitions were formed by hanging woven bark or brush along the sides and raised wooden platforms provided beds. New families could be added onto the structure by extending it by another module (Nabokov and Easton 1989). The long central space could be shared by all during ceremonies such as the potlatch, with dances held in the common space, and the sleeping platforms were used as bleachers for viewing the ceremonies which often lasted for several days.

The Old-Man-House was unceremoniously burned down by the US Army in 1870. All of the Puget Sound plank houses were either burned down or abandoned before the end of the nineteenth century. Some remnants of the massive structures survive in old barns built by white settlers who reused the posts and beams, but no structure has survived intact. Decades after the torching of Old-Man-House, a story in a local newspaper, The *Seattle Weekly*, rationalised the burning of the house by saying that "it was not right or best for so great a number of people to live in one great house" so the families were told to live in "a little home such as white people have" (Seattle Weekly 2016). They further argue that "The Bureau of Indian Affairs believed that buildings like Old-Man-House encouraged communism among the Indians, because it served as a home to hundreds of Puget Sound natives, and took away their incentive to work" (Seattle Weekly 2016).

The plank house typology survives today primarily as a ceremonial structure. Many of the tribes of the region have versions of the plank house that are used for ceremonies, community events and gatherings. Some are also used traditionally for 'smokehouse' religious ceremonies.[8] In 2010, I had the opportunity to design a new housing community for the Puyallup Tribe in my role as the Executive Director and lead architect for Environmental Works, a non-profit community design centre in Seattle, Washington. The Puyallup Tribe is on one of nine Salish reservations in the Puget Sound region. As we researched the tribe, its culture and the history of the region, we decided to explore the idea of building a modern version of the plank house as a multi-family dwelling.

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[8]The Seowyn faith is practised by Coastal Salish tribes throughout the region. The winter ceremonial season typically runs from just after Thanksgiving until March. Teachings and ceremonial activities in the smokehouses are private.

Today, there are ten Salish reservations in Puget Sound country. From south to north, they include the Skokomish, Squaxin, Nisqually, Puyallup, Muckleshoot, Suquamish, Stillaguamish, Tulalip, Swinomish and Upper Skagit. Three additional tribes, the Snoqualmie, Samish and Skykomish, recently received recognition from the federal government, but do not have reservations. Two more tribes, the Duwamish and Steilacoom, are still working for federal recognition (Thrush n.d.).

The Site

The site for the project is on a forested lot in a suburban neighbourhood of the city of Tacoma, on a hill overlooking Commencement Bay in the Puget Sound. The land is owned by the Puyallup Tribe. The original treaty lands of the Puyallup people are now largely occupied by the city of Tacoma, while the tribe owns scattered site parcels in and around the city. When we began the project, the site was a largely forested parcel, adjacent to an existing 27-unit rental townhouse project built by the tribe in the 1980s. The site also included an abandoned youth home and a cinder block gymnasium that was used for basketball and community events. According to Annette Bryan, the Executive Director at that time for the Puyallup Nation Housing Authority:

> this project started with a 4 acre parcel of land. This land was a very sacred place for our ancestors, it faces Mount Rainier, which is significant to us and to our Tribe. The site itself was named by the Puyallup Language Department in Twulshootseed: *Čayalqʷuʔ*, "Place of the Hidden Waters." (Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative 2013)

The 'hidden water' denotes Brown's Point on the north side of Commencement Bay near the site where a spring on the shoreline is said to supply water in morning, but is dry in the afternoon.

The forested site was largely inaccessible, due to an infestation of non-native blackberry brambles, and it had been used as a dumping ground for old furniture and junk. However, the site retained a natural beauty and functioned as a wildlife corridor, its western side sloped downward to a gulch that leads down to the waters of the Puget Sound, which has always been the lifeblood of the Puyallup people. In the distance to the southeast, Mount Rainier can be seen from the site. This massive volcanic mountain is known to the Puyallup people as Mount Tahoma and is considered the mother of the people, both figuratively and literally, as its snows provide the primary freshwater source in this bioregion.

Community Engagement Process

When we began the project, the Puyallup Tribe's housing department was not yet certain what it wanted to do on the site. We were initially hired to develop a site master plan, and to determine how it would best be utilised. The existing 27-unit

apartment complex was suffering from significant issues including substance abuse problems and police calls, and it was considered by the surrounding suburban community to be somewhat of a blight on the neighbourhood. The abandoned youth home and inaccessible forest were considered problematic also.

To determine how the site would be used, meetings were held with the staff and the community. Ideas ranged from a tribal community park and gathering place to an expanded housing community. In the first few weeks of our planning engagement, we learned that the Obama Administration had released funds for tribes, as part of its stimulus funding called the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. The funds were available for housing for tribes through a competitive grant process. Following discussions with the housing department staff, we requested that we could utilise part of our planning grant to hire a consultant to write a grant application and pursue this funding.

In order to qualify for the funds, we had to go through a rapid design process and get tribal approval in order to meet a very tight deadline and demonstrate that we were 'shovel ready' to be competitive for the grant funding. We conducted a series of design workshops with the staff and tribal members including a site planning workshop, building design workshop, and a unit design workshop. In addition, we conducted a Green Design Charrette that included housing staff and our engineers and landscape architect to determine the sustainability approach to the project.

Through this process, we developed design concepts and generated the following goals for the project:

- Culturally responsive
- Foster community
- Create a safe environment
- Enhance well-being
- Durable and low-maintenance buildings
- Protect wildlife habitat
- Reduce energy consumption
- LEED for homes—platinum rating

In order to determine how we would generate a 'culturally responsive' design solution, we also went through a research process, studying Puyallup culture, both contemporary and traditional, as well as studying their traditional designs for architecture, basketry, weaving, wood carving and canoes. We also studied the climate and analysed the site, from both a climatic and cultural perspective. We presented our research as part of our community design workshops and, through the research and input process, developed the idea of creating a modern interpretation of the traditional Puyallup plank house.

The idea for a modern plank house structure was also a solution to the challenge of maximising units on the site while minimising disruption of the forested site. We sought to limit the footprint of the new housing to retain as many trees as possible. It also provided a solution to building on a sloped site in a way that minimised impact on the site's natural terrain (Fig. 28.8).

Fig. 28.8 View of the courtyard in the Puyallup longhouse structure at the Place of Hidden Waters, Tacoma, WA, 2012 (*Photograph* Tucker English, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/ Planners)

Community and Security

In addition, the concept was developed in response to the second two goals, 'foster community' and 'create a safe environment'. The existing homes on the site were designed as conventional townhouse blocks surrounding parking lots. Their configuration did little to foster a sense of community. The only common areas were the parking lots and some underutilised open space in the periphery of the townhouses. The townhouses themselves also had little public interface, without any porches, patios or semi-private outdoor space that might provide a place for engaging passers-by and neighbours. Instead, like in many apartment complexes, there was only undifferentiated public space and the private space internal to the units, with little opportunity except in the parking lots to interact with neighbours.

Traditionally, the plank house provided a safe and secure shared environment for several families. In our research on the Puyallup Tribe, many of the Puyallup bands were housed entirely in one longhouse structure, rather than having a cluster of many longhouses. In a way, the longhouse was similar to a row of townhouses, with each family housed in a section of the structure, but without demising walls separating the families. Privacy was maintained both by hung mats separating the sleeping areas along the sides of the structure and by the cover of darkness. Clearly, today's Puyallup Tribal members have a very distinct conception of privacy and community from their ancestors after more than a century of living in detached

housing. The ancient tradition of several families sharing one large enclosed structure as a home is not feasible, nor desirable for contemporary tribal members.

However, the spatial conception of a shared linear space connecting adjacent private spaces is similar to a shared courtyard that is common to many forms of multi-family housing. In Mexico City, there is a contemporary tradition of urban housing known locally as the *casa de vecindad* that evolved from the traditional courtyard house in which several apartments share a single linear courtyard, entering off of the street through a shared entranceway called a *zaguán*. This typology allows for greater density on tight urban lots, and it also creates a very secure space for children to play and for families to congregate. I had studied this typology while doing housing design studios in Mexico City as a professor. No one enters the *zaguán* without being invited in, thus creating a very secure space for residents. This housing type provided additional inspiration as a way of increasing safety, security, and community in multi-family housing.

We began to develop a new housing type that evolved from the traditional plank house structure that takes into account all of these factors. The design re-conceptualises the private sleeping areas on either side of the shared common space as fully enclosed housing units which lie on either side of a shared linear, semi-covered courtyard. In a sense, the design is similar to a double-loaded corridor apartment block, with the shared hallway significantly widened, and opened up to the sky and air.

Energy Optimisation

In addition to the cultural and social benefits of this approach, this design concept also builds on research conducted in Seattle by the energy engineering consultant on the project, Ecotope. Ecotope conducted a study of energy use in multi-family housing projects in the region and determined that enclosed corridor spaces constitute a significant amount of the energy use in apartment blocks, and the cross-ventilation afforded by outdoor circulation to the units also reduces energy use and improves indoor air quality. As we developed the unit plans for the project, we determined that standard townhouse unit layouts would not work well with the longhouse configuration. That is, typical townhomes are deep and narrow, with the shared walls on the long side of the unit, and bedrooms and common spaces on either side of a central circulation area.

With the longhouse form as inspiration, the overall building section is relatively narrow and the plan is long. This led to townhouse units that are the opposite of the typical townhome: wide and shallow instead of deep and narrow. In this configuration, two-bedroom unit plans resulted in side-by-side bedrooms, both with cross-ventilation and light and air on both sides. Also, it led to much more daylight in the shallow units, as well as more passive solar energy. Each of the two-storey townhouses on the south side of the building has bedrooms on the second floor,

while the northern units are flats, with the bedroom and living room facing outward and the kitchen facing inward to the courtyard.

Another factor that determined the building form was the decision to design the units to allow for both passive and active solar energy, with a south-facing roof that could be solar-ready for the potential use of photovoltaic panels on the roof and south-facing window walls for passive solar gain. This led to the development of a cross section that follows the shed-style roof common to the Salish plank house of the region, but one that faces south. Traditionally, the Puyallup plank houses were built along waterways—either river banks or ocean fronts—with the long side of the buildings facing the water. As the forested site is high above the waterways of the Puget Sound, and given the intent of maximising solar gain, we configured the buildings on an east–west axis with the long side and the pitch of the 'shed' roof facing directly south.

As we sought to maintain the traditional plank house shed roof cross section, this form determined that the south units would be one-storey, and the north units two-storey, with the space between the unit faces determined by the solar angle to maximise solar access as well as maximising the amount of sun entering the courtyard. The south-facing roof is optimised for solar panels. The combination of two-storey, two-bedroom units and one-storey, one-bedroom units was also part of a community intent to design multi-generational housing, with the one-bedroom flats primarily targeted to Elders, and the two-storey units targeted to younger families with children.

Materials Approach

The traditional plank house was a heavy, timber-framed structure enclosed in wide planks of cedar that were used both as siding and roofing material. The cedar planks were up to 3 feet (approximately 1 m) wide, and stacked horizontally between evenly spaced vertical poles that held them in place. Roof planks were laid across log purlins and opened up in certain locations for daylight and to allow smoke to escape from internal fires.

As a modern, energy-efficient plank house, we wanted to use a locally available, panelised material that would provide a high degree of insulation to reduce the energy use of the building. The tribe also intended to utilise tribal labour crews, hired directly by the tribe, to build the housing, with the intent of creating jobs for the community. So we needed to use a technology that was viable for potentially relatively unskilled crews. Ecotope developed an energy model to assist in the determination of material selection and to determine options for systems and details for a low-energy building.

Based on the energy model, local availability and constructability, we decided to utilise structural insulated panels (SIPs). We had utilised SIPs on the Native American Center, as well as for other housing projects, and there is a SIPs manufacturing plant in Puyallup, Washington, within a few miles from the project site. SIPs panels are four-

foot (approximately 1.2 metres)-wide panels in varying lengths, up to 24 feet, that are a sandwich of oriented strand board on the exterior with 6–12 inches (approximately 15–30 cm) of polystyrene insulation at the core. Like the cedar planks of the traditional structure, they are a form of modular, panelised construction.

Unlike the cedar planks, SIPs panels do not also provide protection from rain and weather, they have to be covered in a siding material. There was much discussion with the tribal staff about the possibility of cladding all the buildings in traditional cedar. However, in spite of cedar's natural durability in the region's climate, there was concern about both the cost of the material and its maintenance. Given this, our team decided to utilise natural cedar in smaller areas around entranceways, to maximise the experience of the material by residents. For the balance of the building, we decided to utilise a cementitious fibre board, called HardiePlank, as a modern variation of the wide cedar planking on the buildings. This is a very durable, paintable and affordable material with relatively low maintenance. For both the cedar and cement fibre board siding, we utilised a 'rain-screen' system, which is increasingly common in very rainy climates, to increase the durability and effectiveness of siding materials. The siding is mounted to the SIPs using furring strips with a weather barrier covering the wall. This technique pulls the siding away from the wall and allows the siding material to breathe and dry out, increasing its longevity and greatly reducing the potential for mould and rot to be trapped and hidden behind the siding.

Building Systems

The energy modelling also helped to determine the type of heating system for the buildings. In Phase One, which included a 10-unit longhouse structure and a community centre building, we decided to utilise a ground source heating system, linked to radiant floors in the units. To achieve this, a 300 foot (approximately 100 metres) well was drilled for each of the ten units, in the centre of the courtyard. The wells tie into a single heat exchanger in the basement of the structure and provide heat for all of the units.

Ground source energy is a very effective means of reducing energy loads by utilising the constant temperature underground as a heat sink, which is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. The ground loop circulates water deep into the ground, collecting the latent heat, and using this in a heat exchanger to reduce the energy needed to bring the temperature up or down to the comfort level needed in the home. According to Ecotope, first year operating costs averaged $17/month per unit for space and domestic hot water heating. The resulting system is highly energy efficient, but in the end it was determined that the high cost of the drills on the rocky site was not cost effective enough to justify the potential benefit and use this system again in the second stage.

In Phase Two of this project, for the second 10-unit longhouse, the decision was made to utilise ductless heat pumps in each of the units. According to Ecotope,

Fig. 28.9 View of the community centre and longhouse at the Place of Hidden Waters, Tacoma, WA, 2011 (*Photograph* Tucker English, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

Phase 2 uses "Variable Refrigerant Flow (VRF) heat pump technology including the first use of VRF heat pumps for domestic hot water production in the Pacific Northwest" (Ecotope 2017). In addition, for this phase, the tribe was able to purchase photovoltaic panels for the whole roof. The net energy savings and cost/benefit were significant, and with the highly efficient building envelope, passive solar orientation and the efficient heat pumps, the building has been able to achieve net zero energy use annually.

The resulting structures are a modern version of a plank house, modified to respond to modern privacy norms, adapted in form and orientation for solar site conditions, adapted to locally available modern materials and technologies and designed to be buildable by local tribal members to bring jobs to the community (Fig. 28.9).

Site and Community Amenities

The completed project includes two 10-unit longhouse structures as well as the renovation and energy retrofit of the adjacent 27 units of townhouses, for a total of 47 homes on the site. In addition to the housing, the community includes a 6,000 square foot (approximately 550 m^2) community centre, which includes a refurbished existing gymnasium for basketball and community events, as well as a dance

arbour, for dancing, ceremonies and community events, and a nature/exercise trail that loops through the woods. At the terminus of the loop trail, there is an overlook site with a view of the canal below that leads into Puget Sound. At this location, a place for a sweat lodge was developed, where now a traditional sweat lodge has been built for cleansing and healing ceremonies for the tribal members who practise this form of spirituality.

The site plan focused on retaining existing trees in the majority of the forest. Non-native blackberry brambles were removed using goat herds to clear them out and make the forest accessible to the community. Low-impact site development techniques were utilised, including rain gardens and swales for stormwater capture, retention and cleansing. Xeriscape native landscaping was utilised to minimise irrigation, and pervious surfacing was used for the loop trail to maximise natural infiltration of rainwater on the site. The longhouse residential buildings are designed to minimise site disturbance by letting the natural slope of the site carry on beneath the building, while the courtyard begins at grade and is elevated above the ground as the slope falls away. This approach provides complete accessibility to all the units from the west entrance and a stairway on the east extends down to the forest.

Each of the housing units are designed to have a main entrance and porch facing the courtyard, and private decks facing outward towards the forested site, giving residents the choice to be more social on the courtyard side, or more private on the forested side.

Project Recognition

The project has been very well received by the Puyallup Tribe and the new residents. The tribe has decided to expand the development in the future by building another 10-unit longhouse structure. The energy efficiency of the project has met or exceeded the goals, bringing down energy costs significantly for both the housing department and for residents.

The project was highlighted in the Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative Case Studies Project (2014), for HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research. According to the case study, the project

> provides a strong example of sustainable and culturally responsive housing. For centuries, the Coastal Salish people lived in cedar plank longhouses in the Pacific Northwest. Ideal for a rainy climate, this compact, multifamily dwelling type also reduces environmental impact. The project type also provides a highly communal environment, although there was concern that perhaps it was "too" communal for today's tribal people, who are accustomed to a more individualized contemporary lifestyle. However, interviews with current residents demonstrated that the design has been well received by the residents. Place of Hidden Waters also proves that a tribal project can be a model for green housing nationwide, even beyond tribal housing. The project received the Project of the Year Award by LEED for Homes as well as recognition through the 2013 Social Economic Environmental Design (SEED) Awards, the 2011 Excellence in Affordable Housing Award, and locally through a

Tacoma Pierce County Housing Consortium for Sustainability award. (Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative Case Studies Project 2014: 45)

The project was also featured in the book, *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands*, by Malnar and Vodvarka (2013). In their conclusion of their case study on the project, they share the following insight:

In each of the buildings we have examined, references have been made to prior traditions, sometime structurally and at other times decoratively. This raises the question of the degree to which the newer structures evoke the same ideology as the buildings they reference. Put differently, we can easily see that the one is a tribute to the other, but is this merely visual mimicry–or something more significant? The typical answer one receives from the mainstream architectural community tends to the cynical; but the truer answer lies in the reception the finished building receives from its intended audiences. They are, after all, the real authorities on the subject of authenticity in this context. (2013: 40)

In 2016, PBS highlighted the project in a documentary film entitled, *Native American Green*, with funding from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. In this documentary film, Annette Bryan, the Puyallup Tribe's Housing Department Director during the design and construction of the project (and now a tribal council member) states the following:

We designed the site so that is culturally relevant to our people and to how we used to live. Our people used to live in longhouses traditionally, the building is shaped like a longhouse, with the center space to create a sense of community, while the living quarters are either on the right or the left side of the building…This project has been transformative for this neighborhood, to bring a passion for the environment into the housing world is really exciting. I think that we are doing things that we need to do, things that we can do, and I hope we can share that with others so that they can do it too. (Native American Green 2016)

Skokomish Tribal Campus and Community Center: Realising a Dream for the People of the River

Since 2014, my firm, 7 Directions Architects/Planners, has been working with, the Skokomish Tribe, another Salish tribe in Puget Sound. We were tasked with developing a new tribal campus plan for the Tribe. The master planning team included myself and Kimberly Deriana, a Mandan–Hidatsa intern architect in our office, as well as planners Terrie Martin and Valerie Kinast. The Skokomish Tribal Council, led by Chairman Guy Miller, acted as the design committee for the project and were deeply engaged in the design process from the beginning.

The Skokomish Tribe is located at the southern end of the Hood Canal, a natural fjord and one of the four main basins of Puget Sound and is known as the Twana people. The reservation is named for the Skokomish or 'big river people', the largest of nine Twana communities inhabiting the banks of the Hood Canal when Europeans first arrived in 1792 and triggered a smallpox epidemic, devastating the populous villages of the region.

Countless generations of Twana people have lived in this region and their economic and cultural survival has always been dependent on a healthy ecosystem to support their fishing- and shellfish-based food culture and economy. Discussion with tribal members indicates that the fishing industry continues to support about 80% of the population since they regained their fishing rights in 1974. The health of the Hood Canal and its salmon and shellfish remain vital to the well-being and long-term survival of the Skokomish Tribe.

In the summer of 2014, we were asked to develop a new 'tribal centre' to relocate and redevelop the main tribal governmental and social service buildings from their current location, which is close to the banks of the Hood Canal in an area that is frequently flooded by the Skokomish River. Diking, ploughing and damming, beginning in 1900, caused significant damage to the tribe's traditional lands, including loss of traditional plants and frequent flooding of their homelands.

Development within the watershed of the Hood Canal can be damaging to the ecosystem unless it is carried out in a way that minimises its impact on natural systems. The longhouse communities developed historically by the Twana people were designed and built in a tradition that was much more symbiotic with natural systems than typical modern development. A key goal of the new tribal campus master plan is to emulate the principals of these traditional villages and build more lightly on the land to minimise the disruption to the natural systems, reduce toxins flowing into the Hood Canal and minimise the use of non-renewable resources for the construction and operation of the buildings.

In order to minimise this impact, the design of the new buildings, roads and infrastructure was envisioned as embodying principles of sustainable design, including Low-Impact Development (LID) techniques, and the principles embodied in the sustainable design standards of the US Green Building Council's Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), as well as a goal of creating Net Zero Energy buildings. The design of both the buildings and the site were developed following these principles; however, the Tribe does not intend to seek LEED Certification for the project. Additionally, the design was developed utilising energy modelling to determine optimal building orientation, materials and systems. Being responsive and responsible supports the intertwined aspects of *sustainability* and *culture*. The intent was to create a contemporary site plan and buildings that use less energy and fewer non-renewable materials and that are highly responsive to the local climate and have lower impact on the environment.

Skokomish Culture

A key goal of the design of both the campus and a new Skokomish Community Center at its heart is to create a place that is recognisable to Skokomish Tribal members as uniquely Skokomish. The design team investigated the cultural expression of the Tribe, including its art, architecture and cultural practices. We met with Elders on the Cultural Committee to begin to understand Skokomish cultural

traditions, visited culturally significant places including the Skokomish Smokehouse and the Shaker Church, and studied existing expressions of the culture in the buildings and interiors in the Skokomish community. This investigation continued as we developed the details of the design for Phase One, which includes the new Skokomish Community Center, to determine appropriate colours, patterns and forms.

From these precedents, we learned that the Tribe's culture is richly expressed in materials, forms, colours, patterns and imagery, particularly in baskets, wood carving and canoes. The use of cedar and the use of expressed timber frame construction are evident in several of the existing structures, as are the linear gathering spaces of the longhouse, simplicity of form and intricacy of details primarily in carved wood and painted patterns. The tribe's smokehouse is particularly evocative of the ancient traditions of the tribe. It is the spiritual centre of the tribe's followers of their traditional spiritualism known as Seowyn. The smokehouse, also known as a longhouse, is part of a revival that began in the 1960s and early 1970s after decades of religious repression on Native American religious practices by the federal government. Traditional spiritual practices were prohibited on reservations in the USA beginning in 1891 after the Ghost Dance and massacre at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. They were revived as part of the Civil Rights era struggles and formally protected in 1978 with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. Many Salish tribes in the region have built smokehouses as part of this revival.

The new community centre, however, is intended to serve all the tribal members, who have diverse religious affiliations, including Smokehouse, Shaker and Protestant traditions. Many tribal members are members of the Shaker religion, which is a Native American religion that combines traditional and Christian practices. It began in the late nineteenth century nearby on the neighbouring Squaxin Reservation and many of the region's tribes are practitioners. The Shaker Church on the Skokomish Reservation is located right next door to their Smokehouse. They are dramatically different structures. The Smokehouse is very much based on the traditional plank house, lined with wooden bench seating on an earth floor, heated by a wood fire and filled with traditional carvings, while the Shaker Church is a classic white chapel, with an altar and pews. During the design process of the new community centre and other planned structures, the tribal council wanted us to emulate the plank house architecture, but with the intent that this is honouring their traditional dwellings that everyone shared, not replicating the smokehouse, so that it would be welcoming to all the religious traditions of the tribe.

We have sought to emulate these concepts in a modern building for the new Skokomish Community Center and have also incorporated much more detail in carved wood and patterning in the fully developed design, in collaboration with Skokomish artists (Fig. 28.10).

Fig. 28.10 Skokomish Community Center, 2017 (*Photograph* Doug Walker, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

Tribal Campus Plan

The Tribal Campus Master Plan provides not only a vision for the Skokomish Community Center, but also a long-term plan for redevelopment of tribal facilities currently in the floodplain, in need of major upgrades or repair, or that are inadequate in other ways. The Tribal Campus Plan provides a thoughtful, phased approach for orderly development. The process for developing the Tribal Campus Plan included work sessions with the Community and Tribal Council where our design team learned what is important to the Tribe and reciprocated by sharing facts and perspectives about the site and potential facility design.

A key part of the process of developing the design in a way that would resonate with the tribe included the use of a 'kit-of-parts' design process to generate initial concepts and understand relationships between the various buildings and with the site. We created labelled programme components to scale, and participants, working with Design Team Facilitators, assembled design options and ideas for the Community Center and site, determining the arrangement of spaces, the organisation of the spaces, and to explore ways of reflecting cultural ideas in the site plan.

The kit-of-parts exercise led to the development of three plan options: a Linear Scheme, a Cluster Scheme and a Circular Scheme. Each of these concepts was developed into three-dimensional models for presentation to the Tribal Council and community members. A strong consensus emerged for the Circular scheme, and this was developed further for the final master plan. The combination of the kit-of-parts exercise and the development and presentation of distinct options is a key part of our design process that yields designs which are widely embraced by Tribal members.

Concept Development

Four major vision themes emerged in discussions with Skokomish Tribal members

- Community
- Culture
- Responsive
- Responsible

The Tribe currently lacks a place for community gatherings, large or small. A Community Center that includes a gymnasium, community kitchen and large gathering space, Elders' area, and informal gathering areas would go a long way to promoting community. Reflecting the Tribe's culture in both modern and traditional ways is also important. The Tribe recognises the importance of responding to change by creating buildings and a campus that sit lightly on the earth and use modern technology. The Tribe has a longstanding tradition of responsibility and practicality.

The Tribal Campus Plan was developed based on the following set of goals and strategies:

- Expresses Skokomish Tribal culture and values
- Meets the needs of the Community
- Meets the needs of Tribal administration
- Provides a realistic idea of what can be done
- Treads lightly on the land

  Cultural Strategy

- Longhouse building typology adapted for modern times
- Connections to nature
- Circular organisation
- Cultural functions: Canoe shed, salmon pit, gathering spaces
- Homage to traditions: basket making, fishing culture, culturally specific materials, colours, decoration

  Sustainability Strategy

- Work with (not against) nature–building orientation, slopes, trees
- Low-impact site design—natural drainage, rain gardens, minimise grading and tree removal, minimise roadway area
- Energy efficiencies through design and technology—ground source heating/cooling, solar, efficient building envelope and systems

Skokomish Community Center Building Design and Community Processes

The design of the Skokomish Community Centre provides a vital new gathering and recreational place for the Skokomish Tribe as well as expressing and celebrating the culture and traditions of the Tribe. Tribal Chairman Guy Miller has expressed that the creation of this new center has been a dream for his people for more than 60 years. The building was designed to be as 'green' and sustainable a building as possible within the constraints of budget and the site conditions and is currently on target to achieve Net Zero Energy. The energy design firm of Ecotope once again joined our design team to help us meet this goal, and we added a new staff architect to the team, Luis Borrero, to help implement the project.

Contemporary Longhouse

Similar to the previous case study example of Place of Hidden Waters, this building takes its inspiration from a traditional form and is designed as a contemporary Skokomish plank house, both in external form and in internal spatial organisation. Like a plank house, the primary form of the building is long and gabled, with the long central space kept primarily open for gathering, community and recreation, and either side of the building providing more compartmentalised and private space. Also like a longhouse, the building's structure is an expressed, open timber frame, with wood columns and beams supporting the large gabled roof. Traditionally, light was let in and smoke was let out of plank longhouses from above by sliding the roof planks to the side. To bring light in from above in this contemporary longhouse, the roof is stepped to create a high clerestory window running the length of the building, and facing north, to let in even more light and provide daylighting for the large spaces.

Materials

The building is designed with an expressed timber frame structure, which is in the longhouse tradition, but with modern variations. Massive cedar log columns form the primary vertical structure for the building and the entranceway porches on the main entranceways. While the gathering area is structured in cedar logs, the gymnasium, with its need for a very long span roof, is structured with a laminated beam and truss system. The enclosure of the building is designed as Structural Insulated Panels (SIPs) and rain-screen siding, similar to the Puyallup project. Cedar is used extensively on the exterior and interior as well.

Building Organisation and Form

The Skokomish longhouses were traditionally entered from the side, rather than the front, so we have emulated this as well, with the primary entranceway on the north side of the building facing the principal parking area. The north entrance leads into a lobby and reception area, where visitors can learn what activities are being held in the centre. On the east side of the entrance lobby is the gathering area. This is designed to more directly reflect a traditional longhouse space, with cedar logs and beams supporting the roof structure. Initially, traditional stepped wooden bench seating was planned for this space, following the smokehouse precedent. But the Tribal Council decided that wanted the space to be as flexible as possible for many kinds of events, and they also did not want the space to be too closely aligned with the smokehouse tradition, given that it is intended for all members of the tribe. Bench seating is still planned for the space, but in the form of collapsible and movable bleacher seating, which will also be used in the gymnasium for games and stored in a large storage room at the east end of the building.

The stepped roof is offset to the north, to maximise the southern aspect of the roof and create a continuous north-facing clerestory for daylighting the building. This was based on the building energy model that determined the required area of photovoltaic panels required to meet the goal of a Net Zero Energy building. The Tribal Council was also concerned about any south-facing windows in the gymnasium, as they did not want any glare on the court during games, which is solved by a north-facing clerestory (Fig. 28.11).

Integration of Skokomish Art into the Building

The Skokomish Tribe has a considerable number of very talented traditional artists, including wood carvers, weavers, basket makers and painters. The Tribal Council empowered the Cultural Department and a Cultural Committee for the project to select tribal artists and work with 7 Directions to generate designs for several locations in the building. An Artist's Call was announced through the Skokomish newspaper, The Sounder, and more than a dozen artists responded. The Committee decided to involve multiple artists in locations throughout the building, including:

- Fabric acoustic panels on the walls of the gymnasium and gathering space
- Carved wooden barn doorway for the gathering space entranceway
- Etched glass designs in barn doorways to the gymnasium, Elder's Dining and offices
- Stained concrete floor designs in the lobby floor
- Stained and patterned inlay design in the gathering space wood flooring
- Carved welcome figures at the north lobby entrance
- Carved House poles at the east gathering space entrance
- Painted designs on the gymnasium floor

Fig. 28.11 Skokomish Community Center interior, 2017 (*Photograph* Doug Walker, courtesy of 7 Directions Architects/Planners)

- Glass display cases for display of Skokomish baskets and other traditional art works
- Glass display case for a century-old dugout canoe

A key part of culturally specific design requires significant involvement of the architect in the integration of art into the building, including working closely with the artists in the design process from early on to successfully integrate the artwork into the building. The production of the art for this building has involved a design and build process that has paralleled the construction of the building in which we have worked directly with the artists and the Cultural Committee in the

development of the art, detailing its execution, and working with the contractor and subcontractors as an integral part of the Construction Assistance process.

When the Skokomish Community Center opened in August of 2017, it was on track to be one of the first Net Zero buildings on tribal land in the USA. The Council members who have been so integral to the design of the building from the very beginning are excited to have a significant gathering place for their people and also very excited to have their own tournament-sized gymnasium where they can carry on their modern tradition of basketball, which has become hugely significant for the Skokomish Tribe and for many of the tribes throughout the western USA.

Conclusions

Two of the case studies in this chapter, the Nageezi House and the Place of Hidden Waters projects were included in the Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative (SNCC) Case Study Project as part of HUD's Sustainable Construction in Indian Country Initiative in 2013. This was an effort to determine emerging trends towards a more "sustainable building practice that promises to transform tribal housing projects while preserving their communities' cultural heritage". (PD&R Edge n.d.)

The SNCC Best Practices document states that, for design, the selected projects

> bear witness to a transformation of tribal [projects] around the country through community engagement, innovative thinking, thoughtful design, creative financing, partnership-building, and a connection to heritage, culture, and nature. (Sustainable Native Communities Collaborative Case Studies Project 2014: 1)

All of these factors were critical to the successful design of the five projects discussed above.

The following are common elements that each project shares:

- Tribal engagement process
- Integrated design process
- Culturally responsive design
- Climate responsive design
- Evolution/Evocation of traditional architectural forms
- Integration of tribally specific art

Tribal Engagement Process

Each of the projects required direct engagement with tribal members to achieve a successful outcome. This is critical to the success of any project in Indian Country. This includes both engagement with the potential future residents or users of the

project, but also with the political leadership and stakeholders in the tribe or tribes involved in the project. Without a meaningful and genuine engagement process, in which tribal members feel that their voices have been heard and are reflected in the outcomes, the likelihood of a successful project that is embraced by the community is significantly reduced. There are always challenges to achieve a genuine process. The effort demands time and commitment by the tribe to engage in the process, and the architect must be flexible to adjust the schedule and the outcomes in a nonlinear, iterative series of steps to generate a consensus behind the design.

Integrated Design Process

All of the projects above included an integrated design process to varying degrees. An integrated design process engages all the major players in the design and operation of a building early on in the design process, including the architect, landscape architect, mechanical, electrical and structural engineers, as well as the owner and building managers. This is essential in a sustainable design project to ensure that the form, materials, systems, structure and operations are all working together in an interdependent system in a way which is responsive to its climate and site. This is often a requirement of sustainable design under LEED and other rating systems. What is unique with Indigenous design is that we also integrate cultural Elders and artists in this process. The cultural integration early in the design process is critical to the building and site planning as it has an impact on all aspects of the design.

Culturally Responsive Design

As discussed above, cultural aspects are integrated into the design from the very beginning of the design process in all of our projects. The way that culture is expressed and integrated varies significantly with each project and each tribe or tribes. Cultural research is a key part of this process and is carried out as an essential part of the design process, both through research of written materials and artefacts, and from interviews and engagement with tribal Elders, tribal cultural departments and tribal staff. What ultimately becomes important in a project is often discovered in the workshop process, through direct engagement in the design with tribal members.

The idea that culture can be somehow expressed through the design of a building is often not something that tribal members are necessarily familiar with, especially when it comes to housing, but also with other building types as well. As discussed, architecture has been imposed externally on tribes for more than a century, so there has not been ownership of the designs or the design process since the loss of traditional architecture for most tribal communities. The collaborative design

process includes a lot of sharing of information and presentations of case studies and examples, to demonstrate ways that culture can be an integral part of the design of a building.

In addition, many of our tribal communities have only experienced a very superficial expression of culture in buildings, such as the addition of artworks, or the use of patterns and colours. The challenge now is to reflect on how culture once was completely integral to Indigenous architecture, in form, function, materials, orientation, siting and symbolism, and to consider how this level of integration may be possible in a contemporary building.

Climate Responsive Design

Each of the projects discussed above has sought to respond to the local climate in a way that reduces the use of energy and to reduce the building's carbon footprint. Traditional Native American architecture has served as an inspiration to this effort and has provided lessons on ways to building in the desert, in the rain forest, or in the Great Plains. The building forms, orientation, materials and systems are all designed to respond to the local climate.

All of the buildings were designed with energy modelling as a key tool in the design, from schematic design all the way through design development, in order to predict building performance and make decisions accordingly. Our experience has been that our tribal clients are very pragmatic and frugal when it comes to building design. The energy models help us to determine long-term cost/benefits of system and material choices. And they allow us to make a case for life cycle costs versus capital costs, which are difficult decisions when funds are limited and hard to come by.

Expectations also have to be managed for climate responsive buildings. In our engagement process, we discuss the pros and the cons of certain systems and approaches. By optimising buildings for energy, we can reduce the size of the systems, but this may mean that the building may not be optimal in August when the temperature is 90 °F and a hundred people are in the space. Getting to a Net Zero Energy building cannot generally be achieved through design alone. It may also require some changes in the way a building is operated and inhabited. Our buildings are different from the sealed building environments that are conventionally designed: operable windows, light sensors, zoned heating and cooling systems, natural ventilation and natural daylight all contribute to a reduction in energy use, but are also affected by the behaviour of the occupants.

Evolution/Evocation of Traditional Architectural Forms

All of the projects in this chapter have sought to express the architectural traditions of their tribal communities in various ways: the Navajo *hooghan*, the Crow tepee lodge, the Plains sweat lodge and sun dance lodge, and the Salish plank house.

Each has been an intentional effort to reflect, but not replicate, these iconic traditional structures. There has also has been an effort to emulate these structures in deeper, tangible and more meaningful ways than in their particular form, material, or expression.

As discussed in the case of the Payne Family Native American Center, the tepee lodge has meaning to all of the tribes in the state of Montana, and the design process led to a strong desire by the participants to emulate this structure in certain critical ways, such as the circular form and the east-facing entry. The canted translucent walls, the sky light at the centre bringing in daylight from above, and the expressed timber frame structure all evoke certain aspects of the tepee lodge. But the building's sophisticated heating and cooling system, and its natural ventilation system that benefits from the stack effect in the tall central space, emulate the climate responsiveness of the tepee as well as its form.

The plank house of the Salish Tribes was developed as a specific response to living in a temperate rainforest with its enormous protective roof, and creates a strong sense of community within. They continue today to serve as community spaces in traditional smokehouses, and they have provided inspiration for the design of the community buildings we are designing for Salish tribes. The modular nature of the heavy timber structural bays and cedar planks serves as a model for the structure and modular design of the Skokomish Community Center and the Place of Hidden Waters longhouse townhomes.

The *hooghan* continues to thrive today as a spiritual house on the Navajo reservation, and the Nageezi House incorporates its form and structure into the heart of an Elder's home as a courtyard, providing an outdoor east-facing room with a fire at its centre and the beauty of the gnarled juniper logs from the family's allotted lands creating an enclosure. Through this form and these materials, we create a connection from the modern to the ancient, from contemporary life to the traditional culture that endures among the Diné people, and in this way we reinforce those traditions and create a home that is uniquely Navajo.

Integration of Indigenous Art and Artists

Another key aspect that several of the projects share that is critical to their success is the integration of tribally specific art and the engagement of local Indigenous artists into the building design. This has not always been possible on all of our projects, due to tight budgets and timeframes, but whenever it is possible, it can dramatically enhance the beauty and cultural richness of the project, and it is becoming an

increasingly important part of our work. This effort has been most successfully carried out in the Little Big Horn College buildings, the Payne Family Native American Center and the Skokomish Community Center.

The integration of art often involves the engagement of local tribal artists whenever possible, as well as research and selection of artefacts and the reinterpretation of traditional designs into modern materials and methods.

In the Little Big Horn College, as discussed above, a decision was made through the tribal engagement process to incorporate specific tribal patterns into the buildings in various ways, including painted concrete floors, patterned sheet flooring, patterned tile work and brickwork on both the interior and exterior of the building. The patterns were selected by tribal Elders and college faculty and staff and reinterpreted into the various locations on the buildings by our architectural team.

For the Payne Family Native American Center, art was a key part of symbolically representing all twelve tribes of the state. This kind of effort is fraught with potentially serious political and cultural challenges, and there was no budget to go through a lengthy process with all twelve tribes or to hire a team of artists representing all of the tribes. So, instead, a research effort was made to determine potential patterns representing each of the twelve tribes of Montana with a particular emphasis on the local Salish tribe. In addition, through the community engagement process, we determined that the most effective and politically straightforward way to represent all of reservations in the state was by incorporating the tribal seals from each of the state's reservations. The designs were presented to the state's inter tribal council for approval before we proceeded. In the end, the building has been widely embraced and celebrated by the tribes of the state, as well as the university community, and the art has been a critical part of its success.

As discussed earlier, the Skokomish Community Center includes a significant amount of art and the engagement for several Skokomish artists in multiple locations throughout the building. The tribe's large community of artists has contributed enormously to the successful integration of art into the building. A key part of that success was also early engagement of the artists in the design process, both in determining locations and types of art in the building, as well as the designs themselves.

In all cases, we have sought to incorporate Indigenous art as an integral part of the design of the buildings, wherever possible: in the flooring, doorways, entranceways, columns, acoustic panels, bathroom tiles, signage, building facades and site features. When this can be achieved, it can create a very strong sense of ownership and cultural identity for the building and lead to its success in the tribal community.

Afterword

In 2014, I was given the honour of designing a new Apsaalooke Warrior's Cemetery on the Crow Reservation. We sought to create a last resting place for our Crow warriors that reflected and honoured the traditions of our people. In discussions with Elders for the design, they spoke about the 'camp on the other side' as the place we all go at the end of our lives. We created an arcing stone wall between a circular arrival plaza and the area for the grave sites, with a portal in the centre where the warriors would be taken through on their journey. In April of 2016, Dr. Joseph Medicine Crow was the first Apsaalooke warrior to pass through that portal, after his life ended 103 years after it began. He rests there now in the 'camp on the other side'.

When my great grandmother Susie Farwell and her siblings boarded a train so long ago for their long journey to Carlisle, they were just three of the more than 100 000 Indian children who eventually departed on similar journeys to a place far from their home, their families, their language and their culture. The challenge tribes still face today is how to bring those children back home. Architecture can perhaps play a small role in that larger effort, by acknowledging cultural loss and celebrating the power and beauty and wisdom of those cultures that sustainably inhabited this continent for more than 10 000 years. As I reflect on my own work, I now consider it part of that long journey back from Carlisle.

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Author's Biography

Daniel J. Glenn, AIA, AICAE is an award-winning architect specialising in culturally responsive architecture and planning for diverse cultures and Indigenous communities. He is the Principal of 7 Directions Architects/Planners, a Native-owned firm in Seattle, Washington. His work and philosophy reflect his Crow tribal heritage. He has been featured in the film, *Aboriginal Architecture: Living Architecture* (Bullfrog Films), and four of his projects are published in the book, *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands* (University of Minnesota Press 2013). He is a regularly invited speaker at national conferences, and he appeared in 2016 in *Native American Green: New Directions in Tribal Housing* in the Public Broadcasting Service series, *Natural Heroes*. He will be part of a team of North American Indigenous architects led by Douglas Cardinal representing Canada in the 2018 Venice Biennale with an entry entitled, *Unceded*.

Chapter 29
Contemporary Native American Projects: Four Studies

Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka

Context

When Winona LaDuke (Ojibwe) of the White Earth Nation in northwestern Minnesota described the architecture of her community, she stated: "We have mostly the architecture of poverty…. Most of the architecture, the houses in which my community lives, is made by HUD—they are HUD housing projects. They took all the trees out and made these housing projects and painted them in these loathsome pastel colors… It is all so unimaginable—any Indian reservation you go to in this country, you see the same thing. But this is where our people live. That is the sad thing in our communities because Indigenous people are a community of great architectural wealth consisting of a great diversity that is based on the land" (LaDuke 2001: 105).[1] This observation illustrates two fundamental US federal government assumptions: first, that the building forms suitable for Indigenous lands ought to reflect an entirely non-Native homogeneity; and second, that the typologies characterising white, suburban housing should prevail.

Subsequent to the passing of the Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act (NAHASDA) in 1996, this situation took a turn for the better. This ground-breaking act permitted tribes to receive funding through the block grant system, in turn allowing the hiring of architects, contractors and suppliers by tribal units for the construction of housing and planning. But it also gave the tribes increased experience with the design process and its possibilities, such

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[1]HUD refers to the US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

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that other projects—like the schools, health facilities and cultural centres not funded by NAHASDA—also benefited. While it would be something of an overstatement to say that this has resulted in an architectural renascence, it did encourage Native American peoples to consider the manner in which they wish to represent their values and identity. So, what has characterised this new, more culturally responsive architecture? The challenge that Native Americans face, as architect Daniel Glenn (Crow) puts it in his 'Design for the Seven Generations' is:

> How do we generate architecture that reflects the culture and climate of each tribe in the modern era? The iconic prototypes of the tribes were developed over millennia… how do we meet the real needs and desires of the present generation of Indian people while honoring and respecting the culture and traditions of our elders and our ancestors? How can architecture play a role in the preservation and celebration of those ancient traditions while appropriately serving the needs of today? And finally, how can that architecture be designed in a way that takes into account the generations to come (2009: 3)?

All good questions. An early concern that arises in such a discussion concerns cultural 'ways of seeing' in creating a new and innovative design paradigm. Vine Deloria Jr. (Lakota) has noted "there is no philosophy of American Indians apart from the concrete actions of people in a well-defined physical setting… All knowledge must begin with experience [and] …all conclusions must be verified easily in the empirical physical world" (2004: 11). This observation implies that there is a Native American mindset that is essentially phenomenological in nature. In *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*, Donald L. Fixico (Shawnee, Sac and Fox, Muscogee Creek and Seminole) comments: "Due to cultural differences, everyone perceives everything differently… From this premise, we can assume that persons of a tribal culture of American Indians perceive subjects differently from those of a non-tribal culture like the American mainstream" (2003: 9). Thus, there has evolved an alternative way of understanding the world on Indigenous lands due to a fundamental difference in the way the world appears to be structured.

In the *Philosophy of Native Science*, Gregory Cajete (Tewa, Santa Clara Pueblo) maintains that the Western focus on scientific rationalism has exalted the rational mind at the expense of the metaphoric mind, whereas in Indigenous societies the two are kept in greater balance. Both minds are respected "yet the metaphoric mind remains the first foundation of Native science" (2004: 51). He explains that "because its processes are tied to creativity, perception, image, physical senses, and intuition, the metaphoric mind reveals itself through abstract symbols, visual/spatial reasoning, sound, kinesthetic expression, and various forms of ecological and integrative thinking" (2004: 51). But, the Indigenous view of physical space is different as well. Cajete continues: "Indigenous people are people of place, and the nature of place is embedded in their language. The physical, cognitive, and emotional orientation of a people is a kind of 'map' they carry in their heads and transfer from generation to generation. This map is multi-dimensional and reflects the spiritual as well as the mythic geography of a people" (2004: 46).

To a western mainstream that has lost much of its attachment to place, regarding it in the main as a commodity, such an idea is odd. Architect David Sloan (Navajo) states: "[the] site is definitely how most Native people describe themselves. It's

always people by their water, people of the desert, people of the mountains, because their existence and their being is dependent on how they describe themselves within that landscape… When they start talking about themselves, they talk about the landscape" (2010). Materials also figure prominently: "We try to always look at the local materials because a lot of times there is storytelling about how people build their structures, and the nature of the materials that they utilize in building that structure" (Sloan 2010).

What follows is a study of four contemporary architectural projects, three of which were designed between 2002 and 2012, and one which is as yet unbuilt. They are all sited on Indigenous lands, and all serve civic functions—from clinic to cultural centres. They are all post-NAHASDA, with the local Native American authorities involved in every aspect of their creation, from design and construction to financing and programming. The materials are more contemporary than not, but even so they carefully make reference to tradition, with an obvious attention paid to symbolic qualities, both overt and subtle. They were chosen for their ability to both respond to and project the fundamental cultural concerns of Native Americans while using contemporary structural capabilities and technology—but without resorting to simplistic iconographic imagery. We have, in our analysis, interviewed the architects and ascertained their design approaches—but we also include statements from the people who really matter in the end, the inhabitants themselves.

Study One: Potawot Health Village

The Yurok have re-established a traditional village—*Sumeg*—at the mouth of the Trinity River in northern California, constructed so as to convey the variety of Yurok building types and materials. These buildings demonstrate the importance of redwood as a structural and culturally symbolic material, as well as traditional construction methods. They are set partially below grade, using the earth to both stabilise structure and moderate internal temperature, and protect against the high winds that characterise the region. They are immediately recognisable by virtue of their asymmetrical, circular entries, a hallmark of Yurok structures. An interesting adaptation of these elements can be found in the design of The Potawot Health Village in Arcata, California. It is a large complex, designed in 2002 by Bob Weisenbach at MulvannyG2 with Dale Ann Frye Sherman (Yurok, Tolowa, Hupa, Karuk) as the cultural consultant. At a distance, the building complex settles into the landscape very much as one might expect in a typical Yurok village; Weisenbach uses berms for this effect with a mitigating effect on wind conditions (see Fig. 29.1).

When Weisenbach was commissioned to design the centre on the 40-acre (16.2 ha) site, he began by engaging the tribes in discussions. This was no easy task, as there were, in fact, five clients: the Yurok, Hoopa, Tolowa, Wiyot and Karuk tribes. While Weisenbach might emphasise Yurok design archetypes, he had to keep the other tribes in mind as they were related but certainly not identical. He learned several things: the health centre could not occupy one large, impersonal

Fig. 29.1 Potawot Health Village (*Photograph* Weisenbach)

structure; light and natural air were imperative; and materials had to be familiar. In the first instance, he was able to conceptualise the clinic as a 'collective space' with distinct aspects. Instead of one structure containing five or six departments—radiology, surgery, etc.—why not five or six separate structures? His clients detested the odours associated with clinics, so he provided extensive air-handling capability as well as windows that opened. This latter item was a major concern, as strict environmental containment is something close to a sacrament in hospital design; permission from the Bureau of Indian Affairs took six months to obtain. Water, too, was an issue as it is regarded as vital in the healing process (In Wiyot, *potawot* means 'river that runs out to the nearby ocean'). In all of this, Dale Ann Frye Sherman—the cultural consultant—was crucial. No surprise; we note that the use of such consultants—by both Native North American and non-Native North American architects—has become increasingly common on Native North American projects.

Sherman notes: "[t]he concept for the Health Village came from the idea that the people of this area, their cultures and their communities and their family life all revolved around rivers… And the concept that the environment is important, that people aren't well unless their environment is well also" (McCubbrey et al. 2002: 9). So the notion arose of a 'wellness' garden. Wellness as Weisenbach understood it in this context was first something tactile, existing in terms of smell, feeling, and hearing (Weisenbach 2010). The facility as a whole required much thought as the medical functions alone required 18 000 ft². (1672 m²). Weisenbach decided to create "a plank house shape [a traditional building form] for each department. And

then connect them with a major circulation route throughout because one of the things they really wanted was to be able to socialize with each other" (Weisenbach 2010). A bonus of using such a system was the flexibility for the growth of individual structures as needed, as well as each building having a distinct character that aided in wayfinding for the patients.

The exterior uses tilt-up concrete panels, an important point for the budget constraints of this project—while still evoking the appearance of wood by manipulating its texture and colour. Advantages accrue in low initial cost (redwood is no longer readily available at a reasonable price), and maintenance savings, as well as appropriate structure for a Seismic Zone 4 geologic area. The small amount of old growth redwood that they managed to salvage from a deserted mill was installed in the drumming room, considered an essential healing space. The goal, the Centre says, is to make this facility a model for environmentally sustainable site development (United Indian Health Services n.d.). In fact, the twelve-acre 'village' is formed around the stream that flows through it and onwards (during the rainy season) to a 28-acre bioswale. Now, the entire site has come to resemble the primordial Native lands that these once were, and the effect is that of an earlier village (Fig. 29.2).

We earlier referred to Weisenbach's initial discussions with the tribes for whom the village was being designed. Weisenbach had many years of experience designing health centres and hospitals, but not with Native North American clients. Still, he had grown up in New York City as part of an ethnic minority and was accordingly
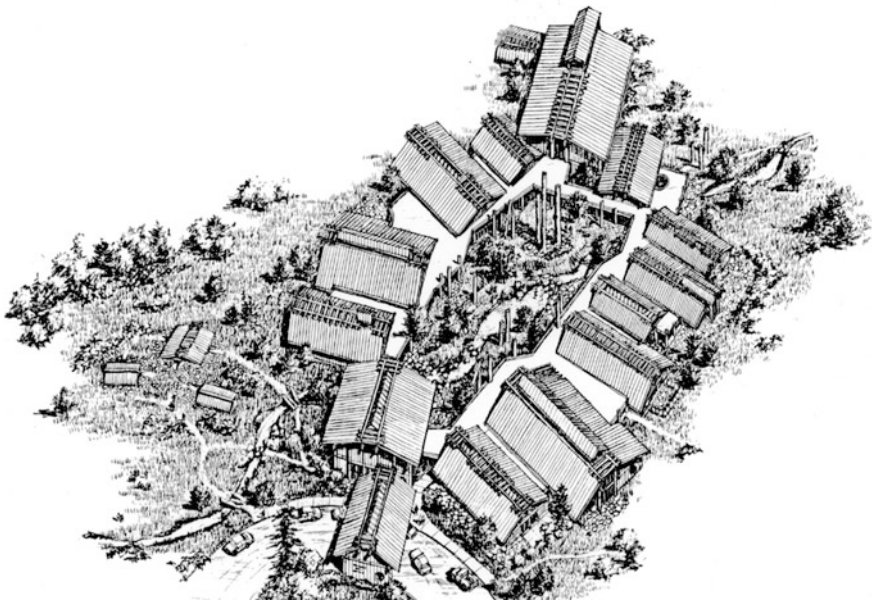
Fig. 29.2 Potawot Health Village (*Drawing* MulvannyG2)

familiar with the basis for an acculturated set of outlooks and behaviour. He was also familiar with the artefacts created by Northwest Coast Native North American cultures, for which he felt an affinity. So, he was prepared for such a project and was fortunate that the five groups had previously formed the United Indian Health Services, thus saving him from any extant intertribal disputes (Weisenbach 2010). Of even greater good fortune was his excellent working relationship with Sherman as consultant: "She instinctively and intuitively understood Indian culture, and that was the major breakthrough" (Weisenbach 2010). One of the first design issues that came up concerned the wellness garden, which was conceived as a way of illustrating wellness in terms of environment.

But none of this happened quickly. Part of the reluctance of non-Native American firms to design on Native American Lands inheres in the process itself. In the course of our many years of research, we encountered a consistent response by those we interviewed; for example, Native North American clients tend to react to design presentations with reticence and extended group discussion, while those presenting are looking for an efficient resolution and quick design approval by a few key figures. Weisenbach's experience at his first major meeting with the tribal members after completing all the programming and planning is instructive: "I did my presentation about the cultural issues and the values and the whole issue of wellness, how do we make the tribal people strong… and the wellness garden was a key element… I unveiled this and I never heard such dead silence from a group in all my life. Dale Ann [Sherman] kept telling me 'You talk too much'" (2010). Weisenbach believes the silence was due to the tribal members trying to avoid making offhand and/or hasty comments, which are considered very poor form. After a short silence, they asked for some time to discuss the matter. On their return, one Elder said: "We absolutely love the design. We feel it is an obvious solution to this clinic. And our reaction to the design is that we are *coming home*" (Weisenbach 2010).

Weisenbach discovered a number of aspects to working with Indigenous groups that are critical to design success for any architect, Native North American or non-Native North American. He learned that presentations are only effective to the degree that they take place after establishing a rapport with the client and allow for a thoughtful response by virtue of lengthy discussion among tribal members. It is necessary, moreover, that tribal consensus be reached before any proper response can be formulated for the designer to act upon (a point that often causes consternation for western design firms). Recognition of cultural values is necessary, both in the type of elements to be included and their actual construction. (Thus, one of the clinic buildings at Potawot is reserved for Native American traditional medicine practices, and a drumming room is included.) And, of course, a willingness to suspend cultural valuation and design preconceptions is vital.

Daniel Glenn makes an interesting point when he says: "I don't care how excited the architectural press gets about the work if the Native client doesn't feel ownership of that thing. When you are doing this kind of work you are torn because you pulled in one direction by the culture of the architectural profession to do certain things and you are trying to really do things that are inherently valuable to this very distinct culture that has nothing to do with that profession or Euro-culture" (Glenn

2010). In part, he is referring to the very different content of Native North American built form: "If you look at Native architecture it is very practical. It is elegantly simple. It is complex in other ways but not formally complex; it is complex in meaning and symbolism but not necessarily in terms of form" (2010).

Study Two: Chickasaw Cultural Center

Removing eastern tribes to west of the Mississippi had long been the goal of American public policy, a solution to what was termed 'the Indian problem'. This long-standing inclination took its first steps towards official policy under the 1817–25 presidency of James Monroe (Jahoda 1975: 26). However, it achieved reality under the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829–37), who moved the Indian Removal Bill through the US Congress in 1830. In his Message to Congress, "On Indian Removal", he proudly states:

> It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation… The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters…The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites (Jackson 1830: ix;x).[2]

Removal was neither voluntary nor entirely legal, but an incredibly effective end product of a programmatic military campaign against Native North American tribes that had started much earlier. As one after another of these tribes were sent to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), the death toll mounted. The Choctaws died from bitter cold, starvation and cholera, which claimed one-third of the 18 000 people who were moved. More than 13 000 Creeks, 16 000 of them in chains, made the next March, and many died in the winter snows. Then followed the Chickasaws; beginning in 1837—and continuing over the next several years—they were removed from their homeland by land routes and by steamboats. A thousand deaths and $40 million later, the Seminoles were also ready for removal. In 1838, 17 000 Cherokees were led on a thousand-mile forced march; before it was over, at least 4,000 had died of starvation, exposure, and disease (Perdue and Green 2007: 139). As an event, this came to be known as the 'Trail of Tears'—but it is a characterisation that can apply to all of these tribes. As a result of mass removals, the Native

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[2]While George Washington made reference to the 'difficulties' with Native American groups at the time of US independence, it was the century following 1830 that the official view of Native North American peoples took on such dramatic aspects of persecution.

North American population of the Indian Territory came to comprise 39 officially recognised tribes, whose origins ranged from Florida to New York to Oregon.[3]

One of the most ambitious projects to be recently undertaken in this area is the Chickasaw Cultural Center designed by Overland Partners Architects in 2010, and located on a 184-acre (74.5 ha) site near the Chickasaw National Recreation Area in Sulphur, Oklahoma. Opened in 2011, it includes national archives, a library and research centre, museum, a 350-seat performance Anoli' theater and multiple gathering places for tribal events. The combined building areas cover approximately 96 000 ft^2. (8918.5 m^2) of indoor space. The Kochcha' Aabiniili' Amphitheater, where plays, ceremonies, storytelling, lectures and stomp dances are held, is especially striking, a public space that is nevertheless intimate in character (Fig. 29.3).

The buildings, in all, are meant to evoke past Chickasaw building forms, but these were several and varied. So, there were a number of historical design facts to choose from in that evocation. Timber was considered a key element: "The architects and structural engineers made extensive studies of wood member types, roof framing options, column sizes and geometries, and member connections. The selected glulam members are Douglas fir, with exposed members specified as AITC architectural appearance grade…" (timber + DESIGN 2014). The Canadian online review, timber + DESIGN goes on to examine the technical details:

> Exposed wood columns, beams, purlins and roof decks feature in the gathering spaces of the exhibit, theater, retail, and research buildings. Similar exposed wood roof framing is used on the exterior structures of the sky, water, and bus pavilions. Non-exposed roof framing at each building is framed with structural steel to minimize the number of columns and maximize roof spans. Vegetated roofs are framed with structural concrete to easily address the large applied loads from saturated soil and vegetation (timber + DESIGN 2014).

The complexity of the framing systems is repeated throughout the complex of buildings and act as a reference to far older Chickasaw structures (Fig. 29.4).

The design approach, as expressed on the architects' own web site, forcefully suggests why this is a successful project. They note, for example, that without a written language and the loss of many of their physical artefacts due to forced relocation, the challenge "would be to tell a compelling story and build a destination that did not rely solely on the physical collection" (Overland Partners n.d.). They viewed this as the basis of inspiration for the centre. As Chickasaw migration stories and rituals are based on direction and movement, they say,

> …the building became a map of the Chickasaw cosmos, linking important points both physically and visually. Tribal gatherings, storytelling, and dances are accommodated in a variety of outdoor spaces, which trace circular paths of movement integral to their rituals.
>
> As with the site planning, the architecture represents the journey from the woodland forests of the East to the prairies of the West…The core is wrapped by a narrative history that links past to future by a long journey through the Trail of Tears, the path of the Chickasaw Nation's forced relocation, to their present day home…Through architecture, landscape,

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[3]The Indian Territory is the present state of Oklahoma, minus the area known as the 'panhandle'.

Fig. 29.3 Kochcha' Aabiniili' Amphitheater Chickasaw cultural centre (*Photograph* Frank Vodvarka)
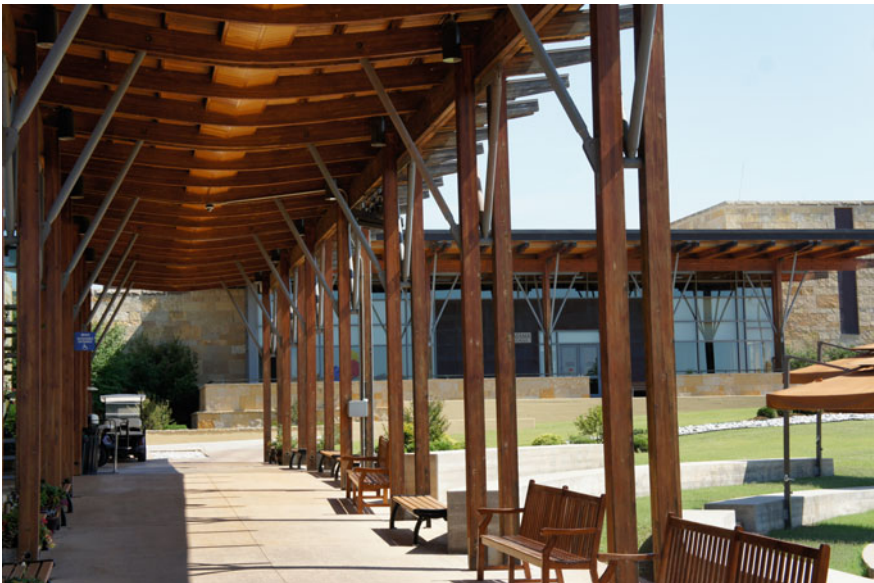
Fig. 29.4 Chickasaw cultural centre (*Photograph* Frank Vodvarka)

exhibits and programs, the center embodies guiding concepts of connection, spirit, nature, vibrant culture, rituals, celebrations, and continuity (Overland Partners n.d.).

This emphasis on culture and celebration takes many forms at the Chickasaw Center, from a variety of language-learning stations placed throughout the Exhibit Center to the Aaimpa Café, where one can eat traditional foods like pashofa, grape dumplings and fry bread. There are many references, as well, to the southeastern homelands, particularly obvious in the Spirit Forest and Removal Corridor (Fig. 29.5).

This also involved the construction of traditional buildings; the Chikasha Inchokka' ('Chickasaw house') Traditional Village is in fact a recreation of a variety of structures that might be found in Chickasaw villages over time, including individual houses and a large Council House. Water figures prominently all over the building complex, as it was historically of major importance to the Chickasaws (Fig. 29.6).

In *Building a Nation*, Joshua M. Gorman offers an interesting critique of several Chickasaw institutions, and the Cultural Center specifically. He begins by noting the trend for Native groups to use cultural centres, museums and heritage sites as ways to define themselves as nations. But, he says, "In doing so through museums, they are necessarily engaging with the shifting historiographical paradigms as well as changing articulations of how museums function and what they represent. Through this interaction with history and with museums, the Chickasaw Nation has developed a shifting representation of itself that reflects and informs the transformations present in emerging Indigenous museums… Chickasaws are using a Western tool for their own purposes… But they are developing a style of doing so

Fig. 29.5 Removal corridor, Chickasaw cultural center (*Photograph* Frank Vodvarka)

Fig. 29.6 Anoli' Theater Building and water feature (*Photograph* Frank Vodvarka)

that, like other Indigenous museums, rejects the history and science upon which the museum is based" (2011: 1). He is referring to the traditional habit of museums to frame discussions of Indigenous peoples through the eyes of the explorers who 'discovered' them. But it also involves an over-importance given to artefacts, dates and documentation.

This is no small matter. As Gorman goes on to observe: "Museums are sites of heritage reconstruction—tools for the state or civic organizations to create and shape an interpretation of the past that supports its own image of the present" (2011: 31). Thus, they are the important components of nation building, and it is small wonder that Native North Americans are eager to control their own narratives. The Chickasaw Cultural Center grew out of an earlier cultural centre in Ada, Oklahoma; planning began in 2002 when Overland Partners Architects were asked to begin programme development. At the outset, Gorman says; "the early planning of the space favours exhibitionary and gallery functions over those of a cultural centre. Space allocation is principally focused on museum exhibition spaces while providing secondary prominence to education and performance…" (2011: 119). But this should not be surprising, as it is a fairly standard formula for mainstream museums.

However, this focus changed over the subsequent several years, and by the time the design was complete, a substantial shift had occurred in space allocation and cultural references. Gorman's current opinion of the Center is that while it is still too dependent on interpretation via a historic chronology—that insistent western device—it nonetheless managed to move towards an Indigenous viewpoint. Why had this occurred? Gorman concludes that this was due to the increased Chickasaw

participation in reviewing and rewriting the information texts that gave their own view a decisive role in describing colonial-era events, and the incremental removal of European perspectives: "Finally, by the final iterations, the texts of the Cultural Center exhibition came to privilege Chickasaw oral tradition and history" (2011: 140). The redistribution of spatial allocation similarly followed a pattern of increased space for the cultural functions like ceremony, dance and other group activities over exhibition space; in short, what the Chickasaws deemed most important rather than simple artefact display.

Gorman also credits the success—indeed, the existence—of the Chickasaw Cultural Center to active tribal involvement, particularly that of the Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, Bill Anoatubby. He was elected governor in 1987, and as an early member of the museum committee was highly instrumental in seeing the project to its conclusion. He actively promoted ongoing discussion of Overland Partners' designs, held questionnaire sessions, and worked on the project's financing. In 2014, at the fourth anniversary of the Center's opening, Governor Anoatubby said it is a true source of pride that the Cultural Center is fulfilling the dream shared for decades: "For more than two decades, Chickasaw people shared their vision of what a cultural center should be…it is the center of our living culture, because it is built on the ideas, imagination and creativity of Chickasaw people…" (Chickasaw Nation Media Relations Office 2014).

In our interview with Kirk Perry (Chickasaw), Executive Officer, Department of Culture and Humanities [Division of Historic Preservation], he confirmed that the Chickasaws did not want a typical museum simply devoted to artefacts: "What we wanted to do is first get the Chickasaw people together and talk about what kinds of things we feel it would be important to put in a cultural center. And once we thought about that, then let's decide how to put a building around it" (2016). Perry also noted that after choosing Overland Partners because of their experience with large projects, they saw the need for museum planners to help with the cultural aspect of the Center: "The team got to visit and…what we learned right away is those people within the firm [Batwin + Robin, New York] communicated really well" (2016). This obviously enabled the Chickasaws to press their view of the Center's key functions successfully. Perry proudly states:

> …the Cultural Center is to preserve the Chickasaw Heritage, to capture the essence of Chickasaw culture, teach Chickasaw people and share it with the world… Connecting with place, land, water, sky, the plants, the critters, spirits, spirits in the sky, with nature. We are a vibrant people… We have rituals and celebrations that are important to continuity of place (2016).

Pressed to identify the key aspects of the Cultural Center—its mission and activities—Kirk says: "The mission for the Cultural Center, to show the quality of life of the Chickasaw people, is conceived as a campus in which facilities, personal resource support, core programs, exhibits interpretation, performance demonstration, learning research exploration, celebration immersion, community cohesion, connection to nature, sharing meals, enterprise—and then we start working with patterns and feel and textures" (2016). What is apparent in this list is the

comparatively lessened importance granted to artefact display, and the enhanced importance of community.

Perry also acknowledges that the basic designs they started with altered over time, both as a result of discussion and the practical realities of the land and buildings. This communication process took over a year to complete and involved the expertise of Ramona Sakiestewa (Hopi) as member of the core master planning team. She also worked with Andrew Merriell and Associates, responsible for the interpretive exhibit experiences. Perry pointed out they were necessary to help in that process: "not to say that the architect didn't understand this but to find ways to communicate those things about stone and metal and wood and pottery, the textures, the symbolism of the southeast, the sort of things that exist here… Each little piece of this place was talked about, arbitrated a lot just to get us to the initial design" (2016). This speaks not only to the complexity of the process, but as well to the expertise of the Chickasaw team and their use of specialised consultants to advance the design process. We were also struck by the clarity of the Chickasaw vision, as eloquently expressed by Kirk Perry.

Study Three: Seneca Art and Culture Center

The transfer of eastern tribes to Indian Territory that began in 1830 with the passage of the *Indian Removal Act* was so thorough that the tribal presence in the eastern USA was vastly diminished.[4] However, small tracts of land remain scattered across the eastern seaboard, augmented by lands that have, over time, been re-purchased by tribes. This process is especially characteristic of New York State, home of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The Iroquoian language family includes the languages of the Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca), Nottoway, Tuscarora, Cherokee, Huron and Susquehannock tribes. Iroquois territory historically abutted Algonquin lands on the north of the St. Lawrence River, and even after centuries of conflict, Iroquois speakers maintain their influence—and physical presence—due in large part to their recruitment by Jesuit missionaries. The Iroquois Confederacy for centuries remained the dominant power south of that river, with their heartland being in New York State. But their territory extended, by virtue of the movements into Ohio by the Seneca, and their further removal to the Oklahoma plains. The Iroquois Confederacy—from east to west, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca—characterised themselves as the Haudenosaunee, 'the people of the longhouse'.[5] That is, the longhouse structure itself—an extended wigwam

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[4]In the decade that followed the *Indian Removal Act*, nearly 50 000 Native North American people were moved west of the Mississippi River.

[5]The Tuscarora later became part of the alliance in 1722, which thereafter was known as the Six Nations.

form—served as a symbolic dwelling extending across the region with appropriate roles for each of the tribes. The Mohawks were Keepers of the Eastern Door and the Senecas of the West, while the Onondagas occupied the center where they maintained the sacred fire that served as venue for important council meetings.

The Seneca tribe commissioned the Seneca Art and Culture Center, to be built at the Ganondagan Historic Site. During the seventeenth century, this location held a town with as many as 150 longhouses and 4,500 residents.[6] The designers proposed that the structure be built into the hillside, with a green roof that will effectively minimise its presence and act as homage to the site (Fig. 29.7).

In an article for *Indian Country Today Media Network*, the Historic Site Manager of Gonondagan State Historic Site, G. Peter Jemison (Heron Clan/Seneca) is quoted as saying: "This is a dream come true! We've already seen what it can do", referring to the many tribal representatives who attended the center's opening (Root 2015). "You're on a historic site, you're on a site that was a major Seneca town, so this is where people actually lived and carried out their lives" Jemison explained (Root 2015). Located above and behind the new structure is a reconstruction of a bark longhouse erected in 1998, serving as a mnemonic device but unable to house exhibits and classrooms. This falls to the new 17 300 ft^2. (5273 m^2) building, which includes nearly 3,000 feet (914 metres) of interactive gallery space featuring the story of Ganondagan, and a multi-purpose auditorium with rollout theatre seating and a sprung floor for dancing. Additionally, it will contain two classrooms, a catering kitchen, gift shop and offices. The gallery holds the permanent story of Ganondagan as well as the changing exhibits conveying the story of the Haudenosaunee peoples through five centuries of artistic, archaeological, cultural and historical artefacts. The gallery suggests aspects of the Bark Longhouse indoors when it is closed during the winter (Ganondagan n.d.).

The design architect is Francois de Menil at DeWolff Partnership Architects, who, in his narrative notes:

> Seneca's architecture was inspired by the Hiawatha wampum belt, symbolizing the unity of five nations under one confederacy, as well as the traditional Native American longhouse plan. To reflect Ganondagan's rich heritage as a vital hub for trade and culture, the building's architecture features a horizontal line that metaphorically connects the five objects on the Hiawatha belt. The rectangular center aisle circulation is used to create the central spine circulation of the building, with programs appearing on both sides, all under this matriarchal clan (FdM: Arch n.d.).

The concept drawing indicates the continuity of thought that underlies the wampum belt idea, and its relationship to the longhouse, building program and placement (Fig. 29.8).

In specific reference to the Wampum Belt as design device for both form generation and programming, the architect states:

> Using the Hiawatha belt as generative diagram, the Center is conceived as a rectangular structure with a major east-west circulation axis similar to that of a traditional longhouse.

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[6]The town was apparently destroyed in 1687, according to archaeologists.

Fig. 29.7 Seneca Art and culture center (*Photograph* Paul Warchol Photography)

Major program elements are located to the south of the circulation spine and secondary elements to the north. The Entry Hall intersects this spine and acts as the building's functional core. Aligned with the exterior paths, the Entry Hall bridges the southern wooded entry route with the northern landscaped path that leads visitors up to the longhouse. This orchestration of building and landscape allows the building to serve as threshold element along the visitor's path from site entry to the longhouse. The historic site and Seneca culture are discovered by and through the building (de Menil 2016).

The activity programming is, as one might expect, vital in this last regard. De Menil notes that the exhibits are determined by a team of Native American peoples designed to make clear their traditions: "I think both the Seneca Nation and the more traditional Tonawanda Seneca are deeply engaged in trying to maintain their unique culture, and engage the youth in its values" (2016). He also says that he believes "it is the land, the ancestral site that provides the tribal self-image. This site is an important ancestral homeland replete with its own mythology" (2016). As one might expect, site selection for the building was critical:

Many months of discussion went into deciding on the location of the building. The building had to be sufficiently close to the reconstructed Bark Longhouse to be able to be used in their programs, yet not located in an archeologically or ethnographically sensitive area. We sunk the Center partially into the hill to minimize its presence from the longhouse and preserve views toward the south. The elevations are abstracted, beveled into embrace the sloping site and create overhangs. Large window walls welcome visitors, providing views
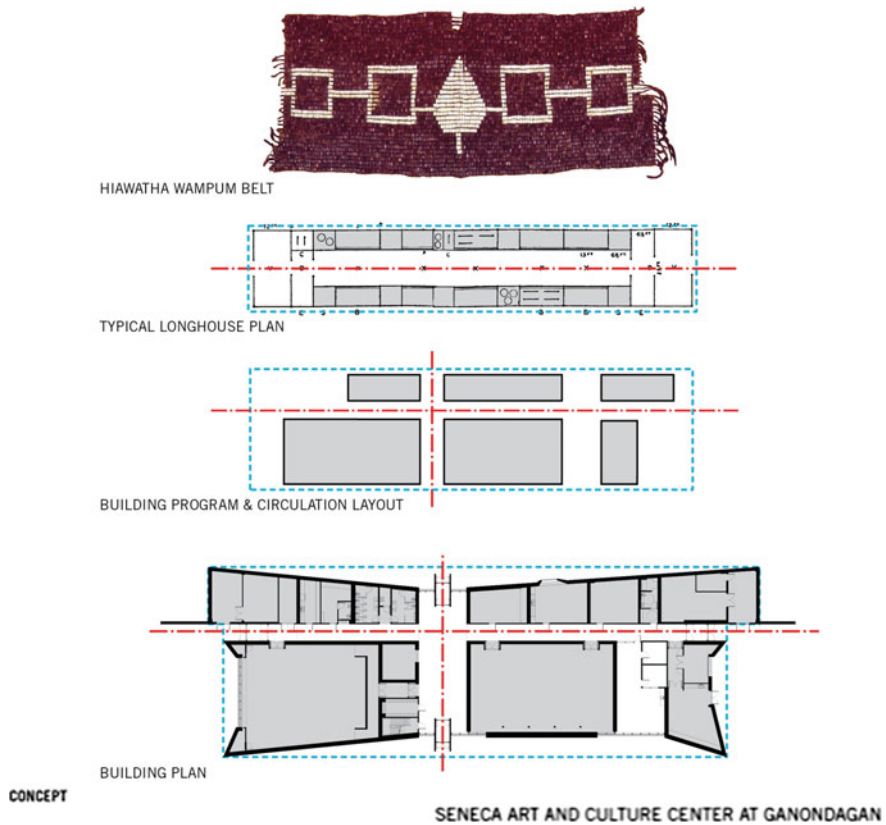
Fig. 29.8 Seneca Art and culture center concept schematics (*Drawings* Francois de Menil Architect)

to the landscape and shaded daylight to the interior. Echoing the smoke openings in a longhouse, skylights are distributed throughout to admit diffuse daylight through deep oculi like sunlight filtering through a canopy of trees (de Menil 2016).

This project was designed in 2012, with a landscape design by Margie Ruddick Landscape, and an exhibit design by Design Amaze Design, LLC. DeWolff Partnership Architects affirms a strong commitment to sustainability, and this design conforms to the requirements for LEED certification. They note that their goal is "to increase overall efficiency, reduce waste, and ensure a high-quality interior building environment" (Ganondagan n.d.). Still other environmental strategies have been taken in regard to the surrounding area, including preventive measures to avoid soil loss during construction by storm water runoff and wind. Jemison notes: "On the question of sustainability the building is heated with geo-thermal technology and particular attention was paid to the windows to insure that they provide insulation" (2016).

In our correspondence with Jemison, he clarified the reasons for the building's placement:

> The building itself is oriented in an east to west direction, which is generally the way our Elm Bark Longhouses were oriented. Again, as in our Longhouse the Seneca Art & Culture Center has a long central corridor with doorways at each end; this too is consistent with the Bark Longhouse that we lived in. Culturally our confederacy of first Five Nations …was also laid out on an east to west axis. So again, in a broader sense the building is oriented on an east to west axis as our Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy was and is (2016).

He goes on to note the Hiawatha Belt in the formation of the building's linear design: "Francois [the architect] was influenced by our Wampum Belts, which are made of quahog shell and lightning welk shell beads; they serve as mnemonic devices to preserve important ideas or mark agreements… Francois sees the rooms of the building as hung off the central east west corridor; each room has its function as does each Nation, both independently and collectively" (2016).

As the visitors approach the building, they encounter stone signs set in the earth with phrases from the Edge of the Woods speech, the traditional welcome to Seneca towns. There are other references to welcome as well, in the form of a fire pit and water fountain feature. Jemison offers an interesting insight into how the site is interpreted for visitors: "…there are three ways of knowing: Oral Tradition, Archaeology, and Written Records. Each of the three are a valid way of knowing, each offers insight, each has its limitation, but taken together the three ways of knowing provide us the best understanding" (2016). The connection to the past is made apparent in the large window on the north side of the Center that frames a view of the Seneca Bark Longhouse, an indication of what once was there.

Ganondagan—now comprising 569 acres (230.25 ha)—is sacred to the Seneca people because their ancestors lived and died there. The architect also makes particular reference to the building's approach concept as a representation of Seneca and Iroquois culture: "The approach sequence derives from the traditional Seneca rite of passage known as the 'wood's edge' ceremony, where a visitor is met by a person from the village and undergoes a ritual purification in preparation for and prior to entering the village. The meandering wooded approach from the parking lot to the building, the fire and water elements in the entry plaza symbolically represent the cleansing ritual" (de Menil 2016). As is typical of design situations on Native North American Lands, much Tribal input was obtained before design could begin: "there were many charrettes and visioning sessions over many months involving all stake holders. Numerous design schemes were explored, but ultimately put aside in favor of the simpler straightforward design we now have" (de Menil 2016).

In a 'Dream Come True': Seneca Art and Culture Center Opens at Ganondagan, Leeanne Root writes: "The $15 million project was not a sole venture. The project was completed with help from the Friends of Ganondagan Board of Trustees Building Committee, the Rock Foundation, New York State, the Seneca Nation, the Thaw Charitable Trust, Ongweoweh Corporation, the Tonawanda Senecas, the Haudenosaunee, as well as additional corporate and private donations" (2015). This suggests the complexity of funding for such a project, and the degree

of cooperation required. That it was worthwhile is made clear by Jemison, who is quoted as saying:

> The Seneca Art & Culture Center takes Ganondagan from a six-month operation to a year-round facility. Our goal is to tell the world that we are not a people in the past tense. We live today. We have adapted to the modern world, but we still maintain our language, ceremonies, land base, government, lineages and culture. When you're a native person, your story is often told by other people. Here, we tell our own story (Ganondagan. Seneca Art & Culture Center n.d).

In our correspondence, Jemison further clarified the sources of funding, noting that the initial pledges came from a philanthropist (US$1 million), the Seneca Nation of Indians (US$2 million), and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (US$1.7 million): "This was an extraordinary collaboration to achieve; we also established with our major donors support a $1 500 000 endowment. Three people who worked very closely with the architect Francois de Menil included David Croop who is Mohawk, a retired businessman, and Todd Gates, Seneca, and Treasurer for the Seneca Nation of Indians" (2016). That this is a worthwhile project, and money well-spent, is made clear by Jemison when he says:

> When members of the Seneca Nation visit Ganondagan, and they are engaged in learning Onondowagah Gaweano (Language of the People of the Great Hill) they gain the knowledge of our story. Exhibits help to explain the loss of homelands and the engagement of our people with European traders like the French, Dutch and English. This puts into perspective the ability we have had to survive and maintain our unique culturally-based identity. It helps them to understand their role in maintaining this identity (2016).

Study Four: Agua Caliente

The Cahuilla people occupy nine reservations scattered across southern California, sharing a common language but having distinct identities. The museum site notes that the Agua Caliente band's identity is rooted in Palm, Murray, Andreas, Tahquitz and Chino Canyons and is linked to the sacred, hot mineral springs: "It is in honor of these springs, called *Se-khi* (boiling water) in Cahuilla, that we eventually became known by the Spanish term for hot water, Agua Caliente" (Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians n.d.). The Agua Caliente group specifically includes the Kausik and Panik Cahuilla of the Coachella Valley, and the architectural design is intended to echo traditional Cahuilla culture, as seen in their basketry, pottery and building forms. 'Through You, My Ancient People, I Am' is the message that will greet visitors, setting the tone for a permanent exhibition based on five central themes: land, knowledge, struggle, adaptation and identity (Agua Caliente n.d.).

Unfortunately, Agua Caliente Cultural Museum—designed by the noted Johnpaul Jones (Choctaw/Cherokee)—remains in the planning stages, but when it

is finally built, it will include a 110 000 ft^2. (33 528 m^2) solar-powered, energy-efficient building, a 15 000 ft^2. (4572 m^2) permanent exhibition gallery with multimedia and interactive displays and a 5,000 ft^2. (1524 m^2) changing exhibition gallery that will enable the Museum to showcase Indigenous arts and culture from around the world. Also included are a cafe with an outdoor terrace, and a museum shop. The new cultural museum will occupy a five-acre (2 ha) site at the foot of the San Jacinto Mountains and was chosen for its view of ancestral territory. This parcel of land is part of a larger 50-acre (20 ha) site that has been restored and protected; this is important as the landscape is intended to form a continuous whole with the building, in the form of courtyards, terraces and botanical gardens (Jones and Jones Architects 2004).

The cultural museum represents an effort by the tribe to reassert their heritage after years of losing much of their water rights and fertile lands to white expansion; even such land as they retained had lost traditional demarcations. Jones and Jones note: "upon the death of the last chief in 1951, they decided to make a break with the past and burned their traditional round meeting house to the ground" (2004). In the early 1980s, the Cahuilla began a process to find a new 'center', and healing link to "restore the balance of Native American history, the natural environment, and the contemporary world" (Jones and Jones Architects 2004). Thus, the Agua Caliente Cultural Museum, which "will show future generations how they struggled to survive in a harsh environment, then fought to assert autonomy against legal and cultural biases, adapted to new cultural influences, and forge an enduring identity" (Jones and Jones Architects 2004).

To achieve this, the architects envision exhibits that explore the temporal course of the Agua Caliente people without relying on a rigid chronology, instead employing ceremonial singers and speakers to invoke the past in their own language. Additionally, Elders will meet with the community to share their experiences. In terms of design elements, the architects are working with an 'unfolding forms' concept:

> The design of the Agua Caliente Cultural Museum takes advantage of the 360 degree view around the site. Together, interior and exterior form an interdependent landscape of interlocking spaces for meeting, celebrating and educating. In plan, the built landscape is a swirl of circles and parabolic curves. The diverging lines lead visitors past a continuum of views inside and outside the complex. The organic forms both respect and respond to the contours of the terrain, interpreting the powerful natural forces that continue to shape the landscape. …The slope of the land is directly felt inside the museum building (Jones and Jones Architects 2004).

But the design also connects directly to the Agua Caliente People through their 'Spiral basket Design'; that is, they begin most of their famed basketry in a spiral layout, and—remarkably—the basket designs show connections to our solar system (Fig. 29.9) (Jones 2016).

The *Native Peoples* writes: "The spiral-shaped Agua Caliente Cultural Museum, evocative of the symbol for eternity and the universe found in numerous ancient American Indian petroglyphs and pictographs, will cost an estimated $40 million dollars. …Visitors will approach the entrance through a "canyon" walkway lined

Fig. 29.9 Model of Agua Caliente cultural museum (*Photograph* Johnpaul Jones)

with palm trees, natural boulders, and a stream and waterfall flanked by a welcoming terrace with shaded seating" (Gibson 2006: 13). Of major importance is that the cultural museum will be officially affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution, thus allowing access to its vast collections and travelling exhibitions. Indeed, a variety of exhibitions are anticipated from this affiliation, but also from Agua Caliente's own educational programming, especially for children:

> It will offer a storytelling room, traditional crafts workshop, classrooms, meeting rooms, an Indigenous plant interpretive garden, and traditional Cahuilla structures such as a *kish* (palm frond hut) and a *ramada* (palm frond shade structure), a research library and archives to accommodate a collection of approximately 5,000 volumes of books, manuscripts, audiotapes, and videotapes on Cahuilla and other indigenous cultures. The Museum archives will preserve and maintain photographs and audiovisual collections as well as manuscripts, government documents, and maps, making this a premier resource for Cahuilla, southern California, and Native American research (Agua Caliente n.d.).

The plan indicates the complexity of the program that has been described, as well as the comparative importance of functions (Fig. 29.10).

Since, as noted, the surrounding landscape is intended to work in harmony with the building, its elements are carefully considered:

> In keeping with the organic architecture of the complex, exterior circulation is fluid and rounded in plan, with terraces spiraling outward to the restored desert terrain. Plantings are
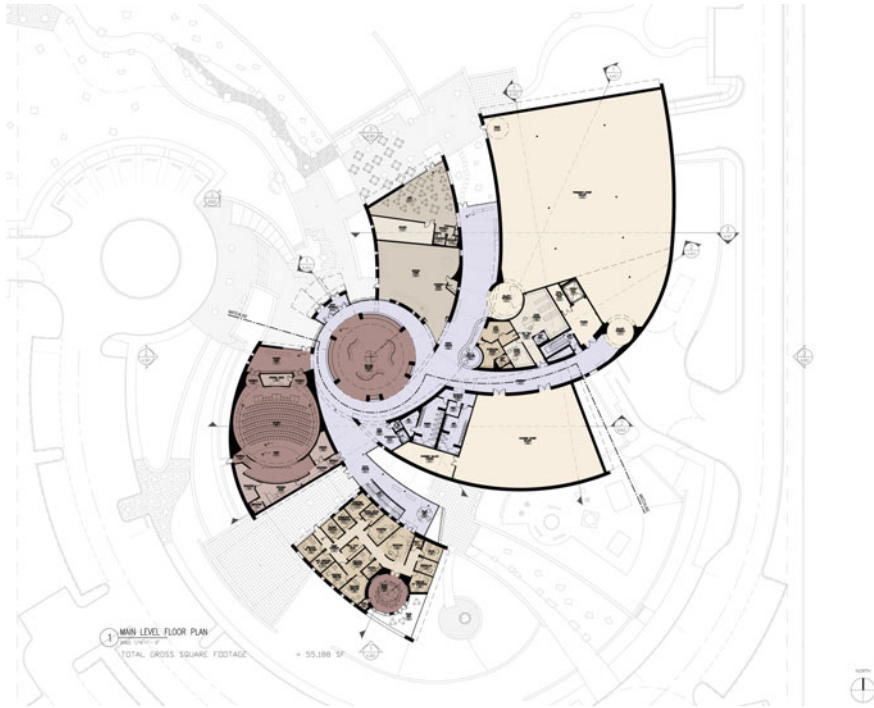
Fig. 29.10   Plan of Agua Caliente Cultural Museum (*Drawing* Johnpaul Jones)

designed to intensify the experience of that terrain as it surrounds the museum itself, with closer placement of oasis species from the lower Colorado and Mojave Desert…. The palette provides a wealth of direct experience with medicinal plants and other species of practical significance to the Indians. Botanical gardens include a display of drought-tolerant plants used by the Cahuilla people, including plants used for basket-making, construction of traditional dwellings and for food and drink (Jones and Jones Architects 2004).

In correspondence with the architect, Jones says that his design directly relates to the Agua Caliente People in several other ways: "through their strong connection to the desert environment; through their most important traditional structure, the Round House, where traditionally all their important community actions took place; and through their food, storytelling in the Round Theater, and in the educational facility" (2016). But the building also relates to the long-held attitudes of the tribe to the land, in the form of sustainable strategies involving solar panel use, desert materials and plants use, restoration of the downtown site plants that had been damaged over the years, and the teaching of the Agua Caliente way of working together with the environment. In fact, the design focuses on a number of important distant Agua Caliente natural landmarks: "The final site selection in downtown Palm Springs centered around two important thoughts: one, to be located in their original Land Grant Section area, and two, to be in a place with clear views of the

two most important Canyons that have sustained the Agua Caliente People and Culture over thousands of years" (Jones 2016). To understand their challenge, the architects relied on the charrettes that were held throughout the design effort over many years; these involved Tribal Community Families, Tribal Children, Tribal Women, Tribal Men, Tribal Leaders, non-Tribal community folks and the Tribal Museum group. Food, some of it traditional, was provided at all the charrette gatherings to help bring out the Native American and non-Native American communities.

The choice of architect is significant: Johnpaul Jones, FAIA, is the first architect to be awarded a US National Humanities Medal. At the White House on 28 July 2014, he was singled out for "honoring the natural world and Indigenous traditions in architecture. A force behind diverse and cherished institutions, Mr. Jones has fostered awareness through design and created spaces worthy of the cultures they reflect, the communities they serve, and the environments they inhabit" (National Endowment for the Humanities 2014). He does this, moreover, without lapsing into simple mimicry of the past, or iconographic design, stating: "[t]his is a modern architectural design abstraction of the Agua Caliente cultural artifacts and their architecture, not a copy of their traditional buildings" (Jones 2016). This seems entirely appropriate for a people who, just over fifty years ago, burned their last architectural link to the past, perhaps freeing them to accept a modern interpretation of it.

Regional Typologies

The element of continuity that these four designs have in common is that of a reasonably singular tribal representation. The Potawot Health Village was designed for five tribes, the Yurok, Hoopa, Tolowa, Wiyot and Karuk, who were not identical, but shared many customs and beliefs. None of these tribes has sufficient population to justify a dedicated health clinic—not an uncommon phenomenon in Native American Country—but the architect was adroit enough to manage an overarching iconography so as to satisfy all concerned. The Chickasaw Cultural Center and Agua Caliente are of course dedicated to individual tribes, but in both instances their traditions are shared by other groups in the same region. The Seneca Art and Cultural Center—while designed specifically for them—is considered a representation of the old Iroquois Confederacy, the five tribes who characterised themselves as the Haudenosaunee. So it is, we think, fair to say that all four structures, while tribally individual in nature, are also representative of a wider, regional character.

In the first instance—the Potawot Health Village—the regional characteristics are notable. Native American building tradition in the Pacific Northwest (upper USA and lower British Columbia) confers virtually exclusive dominance to two types of building forms: the Wakashan longhouse, with centrally pitched roof, and

the Coast Salish longhouse, notable for its shed-type roof. The Wakashan is found from well above Vancouver Island south to the Puget Sound and was often built with 100–150 feet (30–45 metres) ridgepoles placed 10–14 feet (3–4.2 metres) above the floor; thus, the interior might have well over a 4,000 ft^2. (1219 m^2) clear span. These impressive structures were fitted together, using pre-cut notches along the eaves poles, and red cedar ties. The one-inch-thick roof planks were lapped; the walls were made of similar planks inserted between paired eaves columns.

The Salish shed-roof design relies on a flat roof set at an angle. It has a simpler form, but the capacity for remarkable length, made possible because the longhouse was conceived as a modular structure that was infinitely extensible in length. In 1808, the explorer Simon Fraser described a cedar longhouse on the mainland that was 60 feet (18 metres) wide and 650 (198 metres) feet long (Stewart 1984: 65).[7] While the Salish type is more common from Puget Sound to northern California, this is far from absolute. This can be seen in the design of the Potawot Center, where the origin of the local tribes meant that both the Wakashan and Coast Salish types were common, giving the architect some latitude in design.

Materials likewise shift in geographic areas. Thus, the ubiquitous red cedar that characterises structures in the more northerly areas is replaced by a reverence for redwood in California and Oregon. But wood remains the material of choice, for both practical (although this aspect is no longer strictly the case) and symbolic reasons. Thus, one might say that there is sufficient reason to regard these structures and materials as indicative of a regional approach, or typology. This does not, of course, indicate a slavish devotion to these approaches in modern structures, yet the tradition remains so strong that a designer would be wise to take it into account. This may occur in more obvious ways, as in the approach taken by Johnpaul Jones (Choctaw-Cherokee) for his Evergreen State College Longhouse Education and Cultural Center where he relies on the Wakashan format. Alternatively, one might consider Daniel Glenn's (Crow) Place of the Hidden Waters Community Longhouse for the Puyallup Tribe, which relies on references to the Coast Salish tradition. The point is that the traditions are so strong and current, that some form of reference—overt or subtle—needs to occur for the finished building to resonate with its projected users, as is the case with the Potawot Health Village.

The southeastern part of the USA had markedly different, but also strong building traditions, relying on the construction of huge earthen mounds and the use of wood and straw as building materials. Urban centres of truly remarkable size rose from what is now northern Florida to Kentucky to Oklahoma, and spectacular remains of their mound building can be seen at Etowah (Georgia), Cahokia (Illinois), Moundville (Alabama), Emerald Mound (Mississippi) and Spiro Mound (Oklahoma). What had been for the most part burial and effigy mounds evolved into truncated, pyramidal hills often topped with temples and the houses of important people located within urban areas. These mounds marked the ascendency of the

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[7]An even earlier longhouse—over 1,000 feet (309 metres) in length—was encountered by Captain George Vancouver in 1792.

Mississippian Culture; the historic and contemporary Indian nations believed to have descended from this culture include (among many others) the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, Seminole, Muscogee Creeks, Natchez and Caddo. We have singled these tribes out because the first six were major figures in the post-1830 'removals' to Indian Territory (present Oklahoma) where the historical building styles became important templates for new architecture. The last three also contributed much in terms of thatched house forms while in Oklahoma.

Thus, the monumental mound that is the most distinctive element of the American Indian Cultural Center and Museum, designed by Johnson Fain Architects, is calculated to resonate with the southeastern tribes. Planned structures on the other southeastern tribal reservations—like the Choctaw—have likewise made such reference. The Chickasaw Cultural Center makes conscious references to structural aspects and general form of the Southeastern *chickee,* a building format common to the Creeks and Seminoles as well. This can clearly be seen in the traditional village that has been constructed near the Center itself, but also in the complex roof struts of the cultural center that echo it. The stone, too, is significant as it is local, but references a type common in northern Mississippi.

The Seneca Art and Culture Center relies on the longhouse tradition in the northeast USA (and Canada as well) that still echoes in the minds and hearts of the Iroquoian peoples. Not simply a building form, the longhouse served as a metaphor for the entire confederacy of five (later six) tribes that constituted that political entity. Thus, the physical idea of a building also had a political dimension. Indeed, it even enjoyed a spiritual aspect. A vision was experienced by a Seneca, Handsome Lake (Ganiodayo) in 1799, which resulted in the Longhouse religion. Its message was one of tolerance and cultural renewal, an affirmation of the power of the old Iroquois belief system.

The typical longhouse relied on a structural frame made of saplings bent to shape, and then covered with bark sheets. They are characterised by their long rectangular shape, designed to serve as dwelling for matrilineal-related, extended families. Each clan occupied its own longhouse, with its appropriate symbolic decoration and each family shared a smoke hole with the family opposite. They were economic, social and political units (with spiritual overtones), and came to represent the Iroquois Confederacy itself. So, the architect is wise to rely on those associations when designing for them. We find it especially interesting that wood features prominently in the building traditions of peoples in the Northwest and Northeast; it is valued, however, for its compressive strength in the former, and its tensile strength in the latter.

The typical Cahuilla building form—such as would have been found at Agua Caliente—relies on straw coverings held in place with uprights and horizontal withes. These often took the form of domed, circular constructions, although elongated shapes also could be found for the larger houses. For these, poles might be placed in the ground, coming together at the point of the ridgepole. And it was not uncommon for earth to be packed around the outside walls. (They are oddly reminiscent of early structures on the eastern seaboard of the US and Canada, the very types that evolved into longhouses.) These grass forms were perfectly adapted

to the incredibly hot, dry climate of central California, and adaptations of this basic approach can be found elsewhere in the region. The Kawaiisu, immediately north of the Cuahilla, used a very similar system based on tulle reeds. Midway up the coast of California, the Costanoans used a similar system, but with the addition of redwood bark. Indeed, it is not until one reaches northern California—the Wiyot, Yurok, and others—that this form of construction is replaced by the use of redwood planks.

So, there are regional approaches to Native North American building forms that involve climate and availability of materials. But this is surely only the surface. There are the more subtle and nuanced considerations like rituals, customs and spirituality to consider. We say subtle, because it is usually the more obvious factors like the availability of natural resources and the demands of climatic conditions that seem to define building opportunities. This is so because climate in its many varied dimensions has historically been highly influential (although not absolutely determinative) in forming design approaches to traditional buildings generally. Those dimensions include the availability of building materials in quantity and kind, the weather conditions that will need to be mitigated, and the social interactions that are expected to occur both within and without the group.

We say 'not absolutely determinative' because of the historical evidence; even when climatic conditions have been similar for several groups, the design solutions have enjoyed considerable variation. Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton make this point early on in their book, *Native American Architecture* when they state: "To be sure, Indians were responding to the climate around them and making the most of natural building materials at hand. But the evolution of a particular habitation was also affected by social organization, patterns of gathering food, religious life, and history. To understand the factors that form Indian architecture, one must look for what environment and culture made possible, not inevitable" (1989: 16). This is not to underestimate geography's importance. Nabokov and Easton make this point when they state: "Indians had no choice but to build with raw materials from the land around them. They fashioned their dwellings from wood, bark, leaves, grass, reeds, earth, snow, skin, and bones. Their principal types of construction were (1) tensile or bent frame with covering, (2) compression shell, and (3) post and beam (joined) wood frame with various walling materials" (1989: 16). We hasten to point out that none of these approaches was exclusive to any area, but represent a broad response to the area's imperative; that is, some were simply a more obvious solution than others. Thus, tensile construction was the commonly preferred approach in the northeastern area of North America in large measure due to the slender saplings that commonly were found there.

But, in keeping with their view (and ours as well) of architecture as a built response to many factors, Nabokov and Easton go on to say: "Social organization significantly influenced the size of Indian dwellings and living arrangements. …The way in which tribal people arranged their spaces and used their dwellings reflected the way they organized their society as a whole" (1989: 30). Architecture might typically serve to order and preserve relationships within families, and between clans and even tribes; this is apparent, for example, in any discussion of the Five

Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. In fact, in virtually every region of Indian Country there can be found an architectural model to explain the generative and spiritual aspects of the universe. This emphasis makes clear why certain aspects of buildings have a significance that cannot be explained by mere function, aspects that are critical to Native American acceptance of a particular architectural solution. This is why we conceive of a *New Native Regionalism*, based on multiple factors—physical and spiritual—that characterise areas of Indian Country.

This is not an entirely new formulation; the very notion of regional typologies lies at the heart of such earlier treatises as *Our Home: Giving Form to Traditional Values; Design Principles for Indian Housing*. This document was published in 1991 as a joint project of the American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers (AICAE), the Design Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Office of Native American Programs of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The introduction states:

> The purpose of this guidebook is to help the architects and designers contracted by Indian Housing Authorities [IHAs] understand how to incorporate traditional Native American cultural and spiritual elements of life into housing forms. The most critical component is the inclusion of the Indian homeowner in the decision-making process. Through a working relationship between the designer and the homeowner, the elements of the culture—traditional/spiritual, social/family, and earth/environment—can be translated into an appropriate housing form for the people (American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers 1991: 1).

It seems to us that this was an excellent beginning to the process of understanding regional approaches to contemporary Indigenous architecture, and we recommend its perusal. Nonetheless, a reawakened examination of Native American Regionalism is perhaps overdue. Nabokov and Easton published their classic book in 1989, commenting early on that their initial experiences were formative. They refer their first field trip, in which the authors stood inside a Kickapoo dwelling in Oklahoma: "Stepping inside that wikiup …opened our appreciation of the role of Indian architecture in American Indian life…. As our work progressed, we began to understand how different forces—economic, ecological, social, technological, historical, and religious—contributed to the outward appearance and unseen significance of Indian architecture" (1989: 11). They also offer caution, suggesting that it is important to tread carefully when comparing Native American architecture to that of contemporary America as Native American structures are the result of specific cultural, historical and ecological circumstances and blend seamlessly with their physical surroundings (1989: 50). The precise manner of their —often quite minimal—construction approaches increasingly is slipping away, and while this is our observation rather than that of Nabokov and Easton, the very notion of a 'seamless' spiritual and physical relationship with nature is quite far from the contemporary western mind. This surely cannot be a good thing.

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Chapter 30
"It's Meant to Decay": Contemporary Sámi Architecture and the Rhetoric of Materials

Elin Haugdal

Introduction

As one of the first Indigenous peoples, the Sámi living in Norway obtained their own parliament, founded in 1989. The Sámi Parliament Building, *Sámediggi*, was designed by Norwegian architects after an international competition and inaugurated in 2000 in Karasjok, a Sámi-majority town in the northern county of Finnmark. *Sámediggi* was a powerful statement of the rights of the Sámi people and was also of significance for Indigenous people all over the world. But upon its completion, the architects made a paradoxical statement about the building (Bjerke 2001: 12–13)—"It's meant to decay. This is entirely in line with the Sámi's own culture, which does not leave any physical traces". Naturally, the statement did not refer to the material conditions of the new parliament building, but illustrates rather one of several challenges to new public buildings in Sápmi[1] from 1970 until today, namely how to design large-scale, durable buildings in an Indigenous culture without tradition for building long-lasting structures or monuments (Gaski 1997: 11; Haugdal 2008: 159). Such challenges in contemporary architecture are often met by using highly visual figures and symbols that represent a conception of Sámi culture. This chapter focuses on a subtler symbolic aspect, namely the materials used to construct and clad the buildings. Although the materials chosen follow

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[1]*Sápmi* is the North Sámi word for what in English is traditionally called Lapland. As a geographical area, Sápmi encompasses the Sámi's traditional habitats in the Arctic regions of Fennoscandia (i.e. the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia) as well as a fairly extensive tract that runs southwards in the border area between Norway and Sweden. In the Russian area of Sápmi, Sámi culture is scarcely reflected in public architecture. There are an estimated 70 000–100 000 Sámi (also known as Laplanders) in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, with the largest number, about 40 000, in Norway.

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Nordic and international architectural trends, the wood, stone, concrete and glass are ascribed a set of meanings to fit the Sámi context. The question is to what degree these materials mediate conventional and even stereotypical understandings of Sáminess or produce awareness of new Sámi architecture and identity.

As in some other Indigenous and minority cultures, there are very few, if any, Sámi architects practising in Norway, Sweden and Finland, the three Nordic countries where there is a Sámi population. Commissions for public building projects in Sápmi have largely gone to architects from southern and central parts of these countries and in a few instances to international architects. The challenge facing 'foreign' architects is that these projects must satisfy the need for recognition and identification in the Sámi population without at the same time reproducing the majority's often stereotypical notions of what it means to be Sámi.

Materials as Medium

In an attempt to create cultural relevance and identity, the public buildings erected in Sápmi over the past thirty or forty years often refer directly to Sámi vernacular architecture—especially to the dwelling and building types that have been so vital to nomadic reindeer husbandry, above all the characteristic tipi-like tent known as the *lávvu*. Indeed, this phenomenon has been dubbed the "giant lávvu syndrome" (Nango 2009). The buildings are often equipped with further visual references to familiar signs and symbols that were revitalised during the Sámi cultural uprising of the 1970s, such as the colours of the Sámi flag (blue, red, green and yellow), the sun emblem or pictograms from the drum of a *noaidi* (shaman). And in certain cases, these attempts at representing Sámi culture and Sáminess tipped over into the stereotypical (Stordahl 1997: 146–147).

After the postmodernist focus on architecture as images, signs and language—of which the Sámi Parliament Building from 2000 is a late and remarkable example (see Fig. 30.1)—it is evident how architects have now turned towards other, less conspicuous qualities in traditional Sámi architecture and culture, such as the building process itself and the Sámi's social practices, understanding of space and landscape, outlook on acclimatisation and sustainability and the use of materials. This transformation is clearly noted in reviews of recent buildings, such as *Diehtosiida*, the Sámi science centre in Kautokeino, Norway, which was completed in 2009 after a competition in 2004. "Erecting a symbolically important building within a culture that is free of monumental traditions is a challenge", notes the architect Reiulf Ramstad (Sand 2005), who goes on to commend *Diehtosiida* for steering clear of "formalist clichés" and for being "modern without referring directly to local architecture, but using a bold design". Ramstad's comments highlight the need for contemporary architecture to liberate itself from familiar signs and symbols that are rooted in the past, though without thereby ignoring the Sámi context that the building is nestled within. According to the client, the centre's design managed to solve this challenge by "expressing the cultural context through

Fig. 30.1 Sámi Parliament Building (*Sámediggi*) in Karasjok, Norway, inaugurated in 2000. The plenary meeting hall is located in the high-rise Inari-S volume (to the left), while the offices, library and service facilities are in the semicircular volume (to the right) enclosing the inner garden. Architects are Stein Halvorsen and Christian Sundby (*Photograph* Elin Haugdal)

the deliberate selection and use of materials and through the specific adaptations to the Northern Norwegian climate" (Statsbygg 2009a: 18).

In Sápmi, there is nothing new about the construction materials being integral to a complex of values, from their traditional crucial importance as structure and cladding on the one hand and on the other to their enabling of sensory and aesthetic experiences. However, the materials also play a third role, namely as a medium that conveys certain meanings. Given the wide range of construction techniques and cladding types that are currently available, different materials form part of a complex system of meaning that is structured by various dichotomous concepts, such as local and imported, extravagant and rational, high-tech and natural, polished and rough. In this system, national, regional and ethnic codes are all at play. Even though the materials used in recent buildings in Sápmi of course follow trends within both Nordic and international architecture, they are ascribed certain—and often also paradoxical—meanings in order to fit in with their Sámi contexts or appear as natural or even Indigenous. The architects play on a number of connotations of 'Sámi culture' in order to legitimate their choices, using, for example, woods of various types, and metals such as brass and bronze, materials that are all rooted in the region and Sámi tradition. In particular, the materials that are most abundant in the northernmost parts of Sápmi, namely turf and birch, become conveyors of meanings related to Sámi culture, beyond their functional role within traditional Sámi architecture. Even imported and foreign materials, such as larch, ascribed cultural meaning.

The need to rhetorically validate a building's appropriateness, whether one focuses upon its functionality, symbolic value or aesthetics, is a general architectural concern well beyond the Sámi context. Nonetheless, such a need seems to be particularly crucial in a context where the architects mostly hail from outside the given culture and where sensitive issues of identity are at stake. This is evident from the rhetoric used in the architect competitions held for the various buildings cited in this chapter, whether in their programmes, in the architects' texts and drawings or in the various jury statements.[2] It is also evident from the way architects speak of these works in interviews or presentations in architectural journals. Often such rhetorical statements from this early phase of a building's existence are repeated later on in popularised texts, in the mass media, in tourist information or in the institution's own presentation of its building, thereby cementing the status of these statements as authoritative interpretations. In reality, only a handful of buildings are presented critically or reviewed academically in journals or books.

All in all, not much has been written about contemporary Sámi architecture, but the texts that do exist make it possible nonetheless to identify certain key themes in the discourse on Sámi architecture and identity in recent decades.[3] That this chapter focuses more narrowly on the discourse concerning the use of materials is due to three factors. First, there is the central importance of materials within vernacular Sámi architecture, and the question of how the use of natural materials and long-known construction techniques can be passed on. Second, it concerns an all-important question regarding contemporary architecture (both in general and in regard to architecture for Indigenous peoples in particular) that turns from visual representation and towards qualities that emphasise presence and use.[4] Third, there is an analytical approach where the materials are seen as media and are endowed with both a primary, essential meaning, and secondary, supplemental meaning that are continually being added (Forty 2012).

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[2]Architectural competitions were held for the following projects mentioned here: the Norwegian Sámi Parliament Building in Karasjok, Norway (1996); the Eastern Sámi Museum in Neiden, Norway (2003); *Diehtosiida* in Kautokeino, Norway (a limited floor plan and design competition, 2004); the Swedish Sámi Parliament Building in Kiruna, Sweden (a two-phase European competition, 2005); *Sajos*, the Sámi Cultural Centre and home to the Finnish Sámi Parliament in Inari, Finland (a two-phase European competition held in 2008); *Saemien Sijte* in Snåsa, Norway (international competition, 2009); and *Naturum Laponia* at Stuor Muorkke (Stora Sjöfallet) in Gällivare and Jokkmokk, Sweden (invited competition held in 2009).

[3]Most of what has been written about contemporary Sámi architecture has been published in either Norwegian or Swedish, sometimes also translated into Sámi. Most of these articles are from the Norwegian journal *Arkitektur N* (formerly *Byggekunst*), the Swedish journal *Arkitektur* completion reports from the Norwegian Directorate of Public Construction and Property, and documents pertaining to architectural competitions. There are also a few texts on contemporary Sámi architecture in Finland published in both Finnish and English.

[4]This tendency can also be seen as an extension of the critical regionalism that focuses on the tactile rather than the scenographic qualities of architecture that is on presence rather than on representation. For contemporary architecture and Aboriginal identity in Australia, see, for example, Fantin (2003), Message (2006).

The words used about architecture may lend currency and importance to a building, suggest interpretations or, in some cases, reinforce stereotypes. In *Words and Buildings*, Adrian Forty demonstrates how such words are just as much an integral component of architecture as the architect's idea and the craftsman's labour. Verbal language does not impede architecture, Forty contends, but is rather an alternative and parallel system (Forty 2000: 11ff.). Architects, critics and historians relate the two systems to each other in different ways at different times, leading to contrasting interpretations and a multiplicity of meaning throughout the various stages of a building's life. The words written to describe Sámi architecture from the 1970s until today, whether used deliberately as rhetoric or unreflexively as metaphors, reinvigorate underlying notions that are central to the discourse on representations of Sámi culture, which is alternately cast as natural, nomadic, primitive, organic or momentary, or as featuring a cyclic and holistic world view. But the words used by architects and other professionals also connect the Sámi buildings to critical and forward-looking discourses within international architecture, such as those on ecology and cultural sustainability. Language thereby plays a part not only in modifying the perception of what Sámi architecture is and can be, but also in negotiating new forms of cultural identity.

Concrete and Critical Regionalism

The first public buildings in Sápmi that aimed at embodying Sámi identity were constructed in the 1970s.[5] This was a turbulent period featuring a growing political and cultural Sámi movement.[6] These initial buildings attempted to adhere to Sámi culture—to accommodate the local conditions, both climatically and culturally, in the heart of Sámi country. In line with international ideals of architecture, a simple, naked and 'honest' use of materials was integral to the buildings' rhetoric. In late modernist architectural discourse, it was first and foremost raw concrete, with traces from the covering boards still visible, that was highlighted and ascribed an expressive and aesthetic value. Nordic regionalist architecture also ascribed similar qualities to raw or stained pine.

It is precisely raw concrete and stained pine that characterises the Sámi Museum in Karasjok from 1970–72 (Fig. 30.2), the first cultural complex to be built in

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[5]The Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish authorities had each previously erected buildings in Sámi areas in order to further their national interests. In the Norwegian context, there was a deep-seated assimilation policy that favoured the Norwegian language, leading, for example, to the construction of boarding schools for Sámi born.

[6]The Sámi movement gained strength from the conflict with the Norwegian state concerning the damming of the Alta-Kautokeino River in the Sámi heartland. The dispute was a major catalyst for the Norwegian state revising its Sámi policy, and it sparked off a national conversation about a more environmentally friendly development of hydroelectric power and about Norwegian society's relationship to its minorities.

Fig. 30.2 The Sámi Museum (*Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat*) in Karasjok, Norway, built 1970–72. Architects are Magda Eide Jessen and Vidar Corn Jessen. The monumental sculpture in the foreground is made by the Sámi artist Aage Gaup (*Photograph* Elin Haugdal)

Sápmi. The purpose of the museum was to provide space for exhibiting Sámi culture and history, and initially, it also served as a cultural centre. Lying on a natural terrace ensconced in the terrain, the horizontal building extends itself out among the surrounding pine trees within a wider landscape dominated by the mountain plateau and the Karasjohka River (Jessen and Jessen 1972: 48–49). In their brief presentation for an architectural review, the architects state they based both the structure and the surface materials on the site's physical characteristics. The office wing is faced with black-stained pine panels, while raw concrete typifies the multifaceted exhibition space. The architects highlight the variation in the traces left from the formwork. In the museum's interior, 'raw' natural materials serve to frame the exhibition areas—pine for the walls, slate and sisal for the floors—and also here there are large areas of concrete where traces of the formwork have been aesthetically exploited. The architects explain the choice of interior materials by referring to their functionality: they are simple and robust and allow the room to appear in a neutral fashion, without directing the viewer's attention away from the items being displayed. Half architectural element and half autonomous work of art, the Sámi artist Iver Jåks' (1932–2007) iconic brass handle adorns the pinewood door (see Fig. 30.9), while his relief, *The Dance of the Gods*, cast in one of the concrete walls and greets the visitor in the reception hall. These integrated works of

art accentuate the aesthetics of the architecture, which is characterised by unpretentious, durable and highly textural materials. Jåks worked with John Ole Andersen (b. 1932), a local Sámi *duojár* or craftsman, to create the design for the exhibition area, something that helped root the building in Sámi culture and society.

During the 1970s, concrete went from being a practical construction material to being a featured architectural element. Concrete was a rather foreign material in Sámi regions, and it is clear from their presentations that the architects tried to naturalise concrete and connect it specifically to the site. According to the Norwegian architect who designed the Kautokeino Mountain Lodge, which began to be constructed in 1966 in a genuine attempt at regional adaptation, "sand and gravel from the area" were used in the concrete that was cast in the lodge's exterior wall (Eggen 1976: 59–60). The architect who designed the aforementioned Sámi Museum in Karasjok waxed poetical about the fine 'hourglass sand' in the museum's concrete, using the sand's qualities as a 'native soil argument' in favour of concrete belonging naturally to Sápmi. The same mindset is evident in more recent buildings as well, such as the courthouse in Tana, Norway, constructed 2003–4 (see Fig. 30.7), where raw concrete is in abundance in the interior. When a journalist asked how a community so close to nature would react to so much concrete, the architect replied that "when you walk on a sandy beach, you walk on unset concrete" (Rem 2004). Though it would be fanciful to believe that the concrete used in the courthouse contains sand from the banks of the Tana River itself, the case does illustrate a rhetorical point, namely that there is a difference between concrete that is cast on site and concrete that is industrial and prefabricated. The architects' accentuation of the various patterns left by the formwork seems to serve as proof of the on-site building process.

In Kautokeino Cultural Centre, constructed 1979–80 (Fig. 30.3), the architects justify their use of concrete by referring to climatic issues (BOARCH Architects 1983: 393–396). The large surfaces of concrete in the interior, in tandem with Leca blocks, supplementary insulation and pinewood facing for the exterior wall, result in a slow exchange of warmth, something that helps conserve energy. It still does not explain the use of exposed concrete in the main reception hall, where powerful, sloping girders of concrete raise the roof up towards a stairwell in the building's central axis. Several elements of concrete, such as ramps, bridges and house-like objects, fill the room and clearly show how the room is to be understood. The formwork remains as vestiges of the building process and provides the interior with a rough, textural quality, with a few surfaces embellished with reliefs designed by the Sámi artist Aage Gaup (b. 1943). The concrete cements an *axis mundus* from the floor to the ceiling, stresses the building's permanent presence in Kautokeino and adds institutional weight. An architectural critic has described the edifice as "the ultimate tent", referring thereby to the robustness of the structure and the materials and to the exterior, tent-like shape (Broadbent 1983: 397). Kautokeino Cultural Centre shows a willingness to incorporate regional impulses in both a form and a material composition that manage to resist, also in an institutional sense, the centralised, hegemonic and universalising culture. As such, the building can be seen as a prime example of Kenneth Frampton's *critical regionalism* (Haugdal 2017:

Fig. 30.3 The arrival hall in the Cultural Centre in Kautokeino, built 1979–81, designed by BOARCH Architects, Bodø, Norway. Relief forms are made by Aage Gaup (*Photograph* Jan Martin Berg)

212–218). The centre's form and materials can be read politically and seen in context with the Sámi cultural uprising of the 1970s—this building is decidedly *not* meant to decay.

Traditional Sámi Materials

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, regional models and traditional materials began to be used ever more frequently in Sápmi as a way of grounding the architecture in local customs. This type of regionalism was also seen as a dilemma, however, since such regionalism sometimes veers towards nostalgia and nationalism (Frampton 1991). During these decades, architects began using the materials that typified vernacular Sámi architecture, whether for the same purposes as such architecture or to infuse the materials with new meaning and thereby deliberately depart from it. It was often the tent or the Sámi turf hut (*goahti*) that served as the direct model. These were building types that are similar in form and spatial organisation but highly dissimilar in their materials: whereas the lávvu is a light construction, mobile and temporary, the turf hut is immobile and solid, with a lifespan of around fifty years.

The architect firm led by Kjell Borgen, which was involved early on with locally adapted architecture in the Norwegian heartlands of Sápmi, has in certain cases attempted to directly continue the materials used in Sámi vernacular architecture. In *Storgammen* (in Norwegian, lit. 'the Great Turf Hut'), built in 1990 as a Sámi restaurant affiliated with the hotel in Karasjok, traditional natural materials such as turf, wood, stone and hide were used to create a modernised, magnified and multi-room version of a turf hut. The structure, featuring wooden beams and debarked posts, is exposed to a dark interior covered with soot from smoke from the open fireplaces. *Storgammen* is partially ensconced in the terrain, with turf added to the exterior. The architects' idea was not only to continue and refine the turf hut typology, but also to facilitate the building's interaction with the surrounding terrain and landscape, and the materials were meant to help the architecture "become part of nature itself" (Borgen et al. 1990: 390).

Such interaction with the landscape and a cautious alteration of the surrounding terrain also typify several other buildings from the 1980s and 1990s, such as the annex to the Kautokeino Community Museum (*Guovdageaidnu gilišillju*, built 1986) and the Varanger Sámi Museum (*Várjjat Sámi Musea*, built 1996), where the ramparts—or 'turf hut tofts', as the architect dubbed them—are accentuated as part of the buildings. In the museum's case, the architect Borgen plays on the site's proximity to the cultural heritage site Mortensnes (*Ceavccageađge*), where the history of thousands of years of Sámi settlements and homesteads is visible in the open landscape. The museum's façade of coarse lath panels and its topographical roofs covered with wood and turf seem custom-built for the geographical and historical surroundings.[7]

An entirely different and later example is from the campus of the University of Tromsø, where in 2004 a small Sámi cultural pavilion named *Árdna*, a Sámi word meaning 'treasure', was erected (see Fig. 30.4).[8] The pavilion does not adhere to any Sámi building typology but is rather *inspired* by Sámi building traditions (Universitetet i Tromsø 2006: 3). This applies first and foremost to the use of natural materials. It was important for the architect and the client that the materials were suited to the climate and the context, and that they were treated in accordance with long-standing traditions of Sámi craftsmanship. The importance of the materials' provenance was also emphasised. The lumber used in the load-bearing structure is made of heart pine, harvested from Sámi areas by people well-acquainted both with the landscape and with the materials and building traditions. The heart pine was logged during a waxing moon and then debarked and dried according to ancient Sámi customs. The exterior panelling is of untreated pine, while aspen shingles have been used for the roofing. Likewise, the stone materials for the floor and the fireplace were acquired from Sámi areas and

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[7]For an illustrated presentation of these buildings, see the online Architecture Guide to Northern Norway and Svalbard.

[8]The University of Tromsø (UiT), officially named 'The Arctic University of Norway', is the world's northernmost university and has a particular national mission to study Sámi language, culture and history. The *Árdna* pavilion is part of the Sámi centre at the University of Tromsø.

Fig. 30.4 The Sámi Cultural Pavilion *Árdna* (right) constructed in 2004, located close to *Joho Niillas goahti*, a traditional Sámi turf hut (left) built in 1997 at the University Campus in Tromsø, Norway (*Photograph* Elin Haugdal)

incorporated into an otherwise modern, high-tech building. This highly deliberate selection of materials testifies to the need to imbue the cultural pavilion with authenticity in a territory that is not unambiguously Sámi. The use of 'Indigenous' wood and stone in *Árdna*, and the premium that has been placed on material expertise and local craft traditions, may on the one hand seem to be superficial exercises in symbolism and on the other hand as a real manifestation of the continual negotiations between tradition and modernity in Sámi architecture.

Wood and Nature

Wood is often cited as a particularly Sámi marker of identity in contemporary buildings, whether it turns up as rough, unpainted cladding or in refined details in a building's interior decoration and furniture. Moreover, architects often argue in favour of using wood structurally, referring to the lávvu's straight and forked poles, to the distinctive curved-rafter tent and turf hut (*bealljegoahti*) or to the stave turf hut's pyramid-shaped roofs. Wood serves thereby to establish a link between contemporary and traditional architecture.

As a material associated with the natural landscape, wood communicates regionalist values that have particularly been in vogue in the Nordic countries since

Fig. 30.5 Karasjok Church, designed by the Norwegian architects, Østby, Kleven and Almaas, consecrated in 1974 (*Photograph* Jiri Havran)

the 1970s. Architecture in Sápmi from that decade features the deliberate use of materials that are found locally, such as pine and birch, and often exposed in symbolically important structures, as in Karasjok Church, a local church community centre from 1974 (see Fig. 30.5). The building features a wooden-pole structure leading up to a large, pyramidal roof. Supported by beams of glued laminated timber and steel struts, the roof is exposed in a large structural nexus that dominates the otherwise plain church interior. Some of the structural details, painted red, become decorative against pine panels and a sparsely ornamented choir, which features a reindeer-horn altar crucifix. The tarred pine panels of the exterior walls reinforce the building's simple, rough and regionalist character as well as the architects' explicit aim of "creating a building that belongs at the site" (Østby, Kleven and Almaas 1977: 167).

In other buildings from the 1990s and 2000s, wood ascribed a more superficial, metaphorical and also exotic significance. An example is the Eastern Sámi Museum in Neiden, Norway (Fig. 30.6), which was completed in 2008 after an open

Fig. 30.6 Eastern Sámi Museum, Neiden, Norway. Built in 2009 and designed by Pir II Architects, the building has wooden load-bearing system and a translucent rhomboid skylight (*Photograph* Honna Havas)

competition was held in 2003. In the rhetoric of their winning proposal, the architects play on the surface materials, both on the untreated, greying wood and on the translucent material in a roof vault that reflects the natural light and is meant to shine in the dark as a "moon over Neiden" (Norske arkitektkonkurranser 2003).[9] The finalised building is an unassuming, rectangular construction clad in horizontal beams with straight-cut edges, set in a pattern that imitates traditional cog-jointed timber. The cladding uses heartwood of pine, a plentiful resource in these parts of Sápmi, as it is resistant to rot and can therefore be used outdoors without treatment. The imitation timberwork sets up a visual connection to the Eastern Sámi building traditions that can be found in Norwegian, Finnish and Russian areas. The design brings to mind the storehouses found in Sámi farmsteads, the region's timber-based houses (which supplanted the turf huts) and not least the small, cog-jointed St George Greek Orthodox Chapel from 1565, invested with great religious and historical meaning for the Eastern Sámi.[10] References to historical Sámi architecture, like this mentioned, were an integral part of the architects' competition entry. Their competition collage shows semi-transparent pictures of quite diverse elements, amongst them a storehouse and a turf hut, which all are floating into their drawing of the future museum building, thus grounding the new architecture within a historical context. According to the jury, the project "succeeds beautifully in channelling the simple architecture of the Eastern Sámi into a modern, functional style" (Norske arkitektkonkurranser 2003: 2). Furthermore, both the collage and the

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[9]The Eastern Sámi Museum was designed by Pir II Arkitektkontor in Trondheim.

[10]The chapel lies in the protected residential area *Skoltebyen* not far from the museum. The construction materials in the chapel have been replaced intermittently over the years, and studies suggest that the oldest beams still in use are around two hundred years old.

Fig. 30.7 Tana Courthouse (*Sis-Finnmárkku diggegoddi*), Norway, designed by Stein Halvorsen Architect AS (*Photograph* Bjarne Riesto)

entry's poetic title 'Moon over Neiden' manage to tinge the proposal's rhetoric with the pathos of natural phenomena, such as the flickering Northern Lights and snow-swept highland landscapes.

Similar arguments are to be found in the aforementioned Tana Courthouse (see Fig. 30.7), which was designed by Stein Halvorsen, one of the architects who collaborated on the Sámi Parliament Building in Karasjok. The courthouse is characterised by its undulating screen wall of grey, untreated Siberian larch tree, which is equipped with sturdy profiles that catch the winter snow. The architects wanted the house to "become a part of the landscape" and appear as a "formation of snow" (Halvorsen 2006; Rem 2004). A review of the building expresses fascination with the relationship between the surrounding snow and the building's materials (Dahle 2006: 38–39): "The materials and form are a response to Finnmark's rolling landscape. Living in hollows and letting the snow swirl over and around the closed forms is still the Indigenous population's mode of construction". The way nature interacts with the architecture becomes an exotic phenomenon that places the architecture closer to nature than culture. But the snow, sun and rain are also

described as purely sensory qualities that manifest themselves in the materials' surfaces, as a 'poetical force of attraction'. This is above all apparent from the presentation of the winning entry "Snöfällan (in Swedish, lit. 'Snowfall') for the *Naturum Laponia* visitors" centre in Gällivare, Sweden:[11]

> One of the entry's noteworthy qualities is how it allows nature to modify and interact with the building when the snow packs up around it, when the sunlight shimmers on the façade, and when the elements wear it down. The building lives on nature's terms and will be a beautiful and exciting experience for the recurrent visitor (*Naturum Laponia* 2009: 12).

Stein Halvorsen used Siberian larch extensively as the exterior cladding for other competition entries and completed buildings in inner Finnmark, with the Sámi Parliament Building in Karasjok as the most well-known example. In this case, it is above all, the woodwork that ties the building to its specific location and history, while steel, glass and concrete herald the modern and new. The plenary meeting hall evinces a fairly straightforward meaning system, where a wooden lávvu-like form is divided into two by a wedge of glass and steel (see Fig. 30.1). Pine informs the construction of this modern-day lávvu; a gigantic curved rafter, which extends upwards 17 m above the floor. Siberian larch has been used for the exterior cladding, and some of the boards have been placed upright as imitation framework. The rest of the complex features decorative or expressive screens of larch appended to the concrete and glass. The surface material is used deliberately to minimise the transition between architecture and nature, an impression that is also reinforced by a lavish outdoor green space planted with heather and moss. Nordic architecture has increasingly used Siberian larch during the 2000s, often because of its no-fuss upkeep, but in the Sámi Parliament Building in Karasjok this imported material has been specifically rooted within the Sámi context, related to the aesthetics of nature and decay. The larch tree is described as grey, coarse and patinated, referring to traditional architecture's primitive and organic–topographical accentuation (Ruge 2000; Bjerke 2001: 12–13).

The jury's statement from the design competition for the Eastern Sámi Museum summarises the prevailing understanding of what contemporary Sámi architecture should be. "In our view, the assignment has been most advantageously solved by those entries that combine the Sámi's traditional use of natural materials and Sámi culture's strong affinity with nature in a well-rounded and modern architectural idiom" (Norske arkitektkonkurranser 2003: 2). Of the various materials, it is wood that is viewed as being specifically Sámi and that has frequently been used to brand new buildings with a clear identity. This has been explicitly stated on several occasions, such as during the architectural competition for *Sajos*, a multifunctional complex that opened in 2012 in Inari, Finland, to house the Finnish Sámi Parliament and the Sámi Cultural Centre.[12] The jury draws attention to the copious

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[11]The centre was designed by the Swedish architectural firm, Wingårdh Arkitektkontor.

[12]*Sajos* also houses several other institutions, such as the Sámi Archives, the Sámi Education Centre and the State Provincial Office of Lapland. The word *Sajos*, which stems from the endangered language Inari Sámi, means 'the base' or 'the position of a place'.

Fig. 30.8 *Sajos* in Inari, housing the Finnish Sámi Parliament and Sámi Cultural Centre. The construction is cast in situ concrete; the facade is made of full-height fir-tree planks treated with iron sulphates. Surrounding the curved walls of the building is a traditional type of fence which was used in this Sámi area. *Sajos* is designed by southern Finnish-based HALO architects, 2008–2012 (*Photograph* Anthony McEvoy)

use of local woodwork in the winning project, which was designed by HALO Architects from Oulu, Finland. The exterior has been faced with treated spruce, while the interior's surface materials use pine and birch, two brighter types of wood (see Fig. 30.8).

In the competition for the Swedish Sámi Parliament in Kiruna, Sweden (2005–6), the competition programme explicitly encourages the use of wood also in the load-bearing elements. The intention here is furthermore to explore entirely new ways of using wood rather than strive for a similarity with traditional Sámi buildings.[13] The building's consistent use of wood in the cladding and structure destabilises a well-established meaning system that gives the architecture a Sámi identity. It is a system that sets up a dichotomy between traditional and modern and between natural materials such as wood and stone on the one hand and industrially fabricated materials such as concrete, steel and glass on the other. In this case,

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[13]According to the competition programme, "It is not easy to define what is entailed by modern wooden architecture". In the jury's view, the aim is not that the buildings shall be designed by referring to traditional wooden architecture, but rather that their construction technique and structure shall use modern wood-building techniques, in both their load-bearing components and their frameworks and outer layers, "where this may benefit the project" (Statens fastighetsverk 2005: 3).

creating a Sámi identity in contemporary architecture is by no means just a superficial exercise in rhetoric.

Sustainable Materials

Traditional Sámi architecture and customs have recently been promoted as models for a contemporary architecture that signals sustainability and ecological prudence. This may also be glimpsed from the rhetoric of the various competition programmes, such as the one for the Swedish Sámi Parliament Building, which asserted that "in Sámi buildings, ecological thinking is a matter of course" (Statens fastighetsverk 2005: 7). In such rhetoric, the selection and use of materials are crucially important, and it is usually wood that is cited as a sign of 'green' architecture. In some buildings, the connection between sustainability and Sámi culture is purely symbolic, as when the commissioning agency highlighted the woodwork that was used to clad the Norwegian Sámi Parliament Building, as such a material epitomized the "natural form of recycling integral to Sámi culture" (Statsbygg 2000). In other buildings, we see genuine attempts at transferring know-how about both building and living in harsh climates and living in tune with nature.

The Swedish Sámi Parliament Building in Kiruna, for example, called for the extensive use of solid wood in the building's structure. Sketches and models for the winning project, titled *Badjáneapmi* ('Awakening'), show a semicircular building envelope with a load-bearing system of solid wood that is visible through a large glass wall. The glass wall has been appended to an interior wooden wall and forms a climatically adapted twin façade, which faces south-west and towards a stone-clad forecourt with an open fireplace. The curved posterior towards the north is protected by tarred-shingle cladding, clearly referring to the roofing of Kiruna Church (1909–12), which is one of the earliest monumental buildings inspired by Sámi structures and spaces. The programme for the Swedish Sámi Parliament Building was part of a larger national initiative to promote the use of wood in the construction of larger buildings, with environmental concerns acting as a major impetus. The architects' and the competition jury's wide-ranging arguments in favour of wood are related partly to this nationwide, eco-friendly programme, and partly to Sámi culture and the historical use of natural materials (Statens fastighetsverk 2005; Stannow 2006).

Flexible wooden structures have furnished the Sámi with a productive, mobile building culture that enabled a nomadic lifestyle. Such mobility is today a matter of necessity in Kiruna, a town where centuries of mining have destabilised the soil and where the entire town is now in the process of being moved. If we look at the competition entries for the Swedish Sámi Parliament Building there, it is clear that the Sámi tent has inspired several of the architects, combined with modern building systems that can be mounted and disassembled with relative ease. In Murman Arkitekter's sketches for the winning project *Badjáneapmi*, the building is depicted as a mobile assemblage of lightweight wooden frames, continuous floors and

appended exterior walls. Elsewhere, the mobile elements used in contemporary public architecture in Sápmi are primarily of metaphorical value. There is, for example, not much left of the tent's mobility and flexibility in the lávvu-like assembly hall of the Norwegian Sámi Parliament Building in Karasjok. In Kiruna, by contrast, the mobility seemed to serve a more genuine function, at least as portrayed in the architect's drawings and models.

In this context, it is also worth mentioning the Norwegian architect firm Snøhetta's competition entry in 2002 for a twin library, wherein two identical buildings were to be erected in two neighbouring municipalities in the Sámi borderlands between Norway and Sweden. In Snøhetta's entry, mobility has not been interpreted as a mobile wooden framework akin to the lávvu, but as two containers resting on air cushions. This idea can be seen as an extension of a Sámi mobile library initiative that began operating in these areas in the late 1990s (LeCuyer 2003; Fløgstad 2004: 86–89). Here, the social and the political impact are more important than that the materials be used in a 'correct', ecological manner.

An ecological rationale for choosing the materials was stipulated most clearly in the programme for *Saemien Sijte*, a new Southern Sámi Museum and cultural centre in Snåsa, Norway. The competition, which was held in 2009, was won by a Spanish architect firm for its project 'Path'. The jury lauded in particular the project's material sensitivity: in addition to wood and stone being used abundantly, the interaction between the materials and the natural surroundings was seen as particularly eco-friendly, as was the limited use of glass. The jury also drew a line from the traditional Sámi way of life to today's ecological demands, contending that the winning entry responds to "the programme statement concerning the Southern Sámi's humble relationship with nature" (Statsbygg 2009b: 9). However, sustainability is about more than just programme statements and rhetoric. This is especially apparent in the 2008 competition for *Sajos* in Finland, where the jury calculated how much energy the various materials proposed by the architects would use (Sámi Cultural Centre 2012: 6, 8–9).

Glass and Light

Several of the proposed designs for *Saemien Sijte* were commended by the jury for their limited but nevertheless active use of *glass* in the centre's walls and roofs. The project was also lauded for certain solutions that were regarded as being particularly well-suited for creating an architectural continuity, where, for example, the winning project's roof windows "let the light in …and create[s] rooms that one feels a sense of belonging to" (Statsbygg 2009b: 8). The same experience of natural light from above is a feature of other buildings throughout the entire period, from the new Karasjok Church in 1974 (see Fig. 30.5), where "the daylight that filters in through the central roof brings to mind the smoke-hatch of a turf hut" (Dahle 2008: 230), to the courtrooms in Tana Courthouse from 2004 that "infuse the room with natural

light, as in the lávvu and the turf hut" (Halvorsen 2006). The wall openings in these rooms are often reduced to two small slits that enhance the sense of space.

There are many reasons for using glass as a building material, but its transparency is a crucial aspect. The rhetorical argumentation concerns glass's ability to connect the interior and the exterior in distinctive ways and bring the surrounding nature and landscape closer to the building's users, something that is often highlighted as an identity-creating factor in contemporary Sámi architecture. In several of the more recent buildings, such as the *Diehtosiida* science centre in Kautokeino, the architect argued in favour of using glass extensively also between the individual rooms, something that enhances the users' sense of community. The large openings in the exterior wall afford visual contact with the landscape and bring the variations of the light closer. Glass is presented here as a material that helps create a sense of place, as the transparent panes connect the interior with the exterior, the architecture with the landscape (Statsbygg 2009a: 18–19). The phenomenon of transparency has been much in vogue in Sámi architecture of the past decade, entirely in line with trends in international architecture. In several of the buildings, however, the transparency has been modified with the addition of silk screen prints, often featuring conventional Sámi motifs or colours, as in the proposal for the Swedish Sámi Parliament Building in Kiruna.

Glass's translucent qualities and potential to create eye-catching lighting effects in the wintertime darkness have also been noted on several occasions, as when Ghilardi and Hellsten (2003), describing the second floor of their proposed Eastern Sámi Museum, speak of how "indirect natural light bleeds through a semi-translucent floor that glows intensely during the winter months". That glass is more than a functional construction material that provides light and a vista is evident from the metaphors used to describe both Tana Courthouse, with its narrow band of windows running along the ground (seen glowing in the pale winter light in Fig. 30.7), and the Eastern Sámi Museum, with its translucent rooftop polyhedron made of acrylic. The shapes of the light openings have been freely inspired by both natural phenomena and Sámi culture and are also explicitly described in such terms as resembling "the serpentine Northern Lights", "the belt used in Sámi folk costumes" (Halvorsen 2006: 35) or "a shimmering block of ice in the sun …or a rising moon" (Norske arkitektkonkurranser 2003: 2). But as seen from outside the building, such lighting also serves a phenomenological purpose and as a marker of space, denoting something warm, inviting and cosy. As the architect Juhani Pallasmaa comments (quoted in MacKeith 2000: 51), "The experience of home is never stronger than when seeing the windows of the house lit in the dark winter landscape and sensing the invitation of warmth warming your frozen limbs".

Primitive or Polished

The discourse on contemporary Sámi architecture is also a question of the degree to which the materials have been treated, from rough and unpolished to meticulously ornamented. In traditional Sámi architecture, the materials used for the overall

structure and cladding are simple, replaceable and largely unembellished. Everyday items, on the other hand, such as cups, knives, harnesses and clothes, have traditionally been handcrafted, helping define a sense of regional and personal identity. This difference is underscored by the Swedish architect Sundström (1994, 1999) in his presentation of *Sløydkollektivet Máttaráhkká*, a handicraft centre from 1993 in the Gabna Sámi village outside of Kiruna, Sweden. Sundström has worked on designing and articulating a specific Sámi architecture, explaining that the selected materials range from the rough and unadorned for exterior use to more refined ornamentation for the interiors. The architect's philosophy is that the materials used in a house can reflect the resistance the *duojár*'s hand encounters when striving to create something. For Sundström, a utilitarian aesthetics typifies the Sámi; "A beautiful house is not beautiful because of the materials' costliness or the extent of the craftsmanship. For the Sámi, beauty is found in the presence of human beings, in the hand's abilities and limitations, not in the perfect but in the human" (Sundström 1994: 26).

In general, those who favour the use of rough materials in contemporary Sámi architecture—both raw wood and concrete, often featuring vestiges of the construction work—refer to the Indigenous people's closeness to nature and the primitive, and to the sobriety and simplicity of their traditional ways of dwelling and building. Some also associate untreated wood materials with an aesthetics of decay that contemporary observers see in the ephemerality of traditional Sámi building practices, as mentioned in several cases. But the deliberate use of naked, raw materials also pertains to implementing a modernist aesthetics, where the building's structural forces are made visible and the materials are meant to heighten their physical presence.

This conception of the rough, raw and 'unplugged' often overshadows the view that it is rather the refined embellishments that instil the architecture with a particularly Sámi identity. Those who explicitly argue in favour of this latter view refer partly to Sámi *duodji*, or craft traditions, and their meticulous shaping of local materials, and partly to the widespread use of decorative patterns, colours and precious metals in Sámi culture. For example, the architects who designed the Swedish Sámi Parliament stress that ornamentation is a Sámi characteristic, prompting them to propose an interior wooden façade embellished with metals and a pattern inspired by Sámi *duodji* (Stannow 2006: 46–51). Likewise, a review of the *Sajos* complex in Inari, Finland, calls attention to the refined wooden cladding of the interior, which is contrasted with the building's "rough and unfinished exterior" (Ross 2012). In the *Diehtosiida* science centre in Kautokeino, the interior details of birch play a particularly prominent role, as when the handrail in the main staircase, a quintessentially functional element, is beautified with elements of reindeer horn and silver (see Fig. 30.9).[14] The refinement of precisely such utilitarian elements that the hand is in contact with serves as markers of Sámi identity also in other

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[14]The handrail was designed by four different artists, three of them with a background within *duodji*.
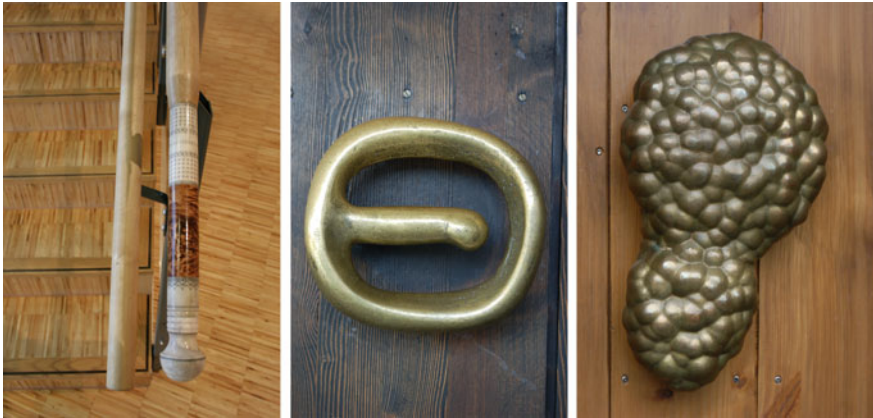
Fig. 30.9 [Montage] Left: details of the handrail by the duojár Roland Jonsson in *Diehtosiida*, Kautokeino. *Photograph* Tone Thørring Tingvoll 2010. Middle: Doorknob to The Sámi Museum in Karasjok, designed by artist Iver Jåks. Right: Doorknob to the Eastern Sámi Museum, made by contemporary artist Geir Tore Holm (*Photographs* Elin Haugdal)

buildings cited here. Two examples in particular deserve to be mentioned: Iver Jåks' brass handle on the entrance door to the Sámi Museum in Karasjok, and as a sort of homage to this work, the contemporary artist Geir Tore Holm's door handle for the Eastern Sámi Museum (see Fig. 30.9).

Material Tactility

As an architect involved in the *Diehtosiida* science centre competition pointed out, "tactile quality and closeness to materials are important in Sámi culture" (Sand 2005). In order to invest the science centre with a clear identity, the architect found it more advantageous to play up the materials' qualities rather than play on figurative references to Sámi culture. The architect's initial ideas included some that proved too costly for the client, including the proposal to clad significant portions of the science centre's exterior in bronze, a precious metal that is well-known in Sámi culture. Instead, the completed building used cladding of untreated spruce, which was additionally battened in order to add weight and stand out more forcibly against the basement level's transparent glass façades and lightweight aluminium cladding.

Likewise, in the 1990s the Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa seems to have consistently emphasised material qualities when designing the *Siida* building in Inari, meant to house a Sámi Museum and nature centre for northern Lapland (i.e. the Finnish part of Sápmi). At first sight, it appears to be a simple, storage-like edifice, featuring rectangular spaces with brown-and-red-stained wooden cladding and a light, curved roof kept aloft by slender steel columns (see Fig. 30.10). Apart from its low-key, functional appearance, the architecture scarcely evokes anything

Fig. 30.10 The entrance facade at *Siida*, the National Museum of the Finnish Sámi and a Nature Centre, Inari, Finland. The architect was Juhani Pallasmaa, who started the design process in 1990 and worked on the project until 1998 (*Photograph* Elin Haugdal)

specifically Sámi. However, the axis running from the entrance and across the building envelope achieves more than merely fulfilling its functional aims, as it continues past the building's posterior as a long corridor out into the woodland terrain. The corridor opens up a vista from the large glass windows over a gathering of age-old Sámi houses belonging to the open-air museum that was founded there in the 1960s.[15] This glass corridor is a 'detour' that reminds the visitors about the locality's cultural history and natural landscape before they enter the high-tech, deliberately staged exhibition rooms.

This extended corridor contributed to what the architectural theorist Peter MacKeith calls 'slow movement'. MacKeith (2000: 50–55) writes favourably of the leisurely pace with which visitors experience the rooms and exhibitions in *Siida*, noting that "Pallasmaa's attempts at gaining a bodily, tactile appreciation of architecture rely upon the slowing of our experience of the designed spaces". But also the materials contribute to this sense of inertia or resistance when visitors experience the rooms and the locality. *Siida*'s exterior cladding seems modest, indeed almost primitive, for a museum. The materials have been employed strategically, however, as tangible details such as the door knobs and railing of the interior have been refined, while an array of various materials converges into a

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[15]Inari Sámi Museum was opened in 1963 and was the first independent Sámi Museum in the Nordic countries.

dense whole in the entranceway. Patinated copper, painted steel, wood and glass form tactile, coloured and semi-transparent layers in the façade that counteract fixed focal points, reinforced by light and shadow in the darkest months of the year. *Siida* can thus be seen as epitomising Pallasmaa's 'multi-sensory' approach to architecture, as he himself has described it in his book, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Pallasmaa 1996). It is when your gaze is unfocused, he claims, your experience of being a body is at its greatest. As a criticism of Western architecture's 'ocular centrism', Pallasmaa's *Siida* design and his architectural theories both seem highly relevant in a discussion of Sámi architecture and materials.

Recognition and Openness

Siida and *Sajos* lie on either side of the Juutuanjoki River, which runs through the small village of Inari. The buildings illustrate two aspects of the discourse surrounding contemporary Sámi architecture and its use of materials. In Pallasmaa's *Siida*, it is the materials' intrinsic qualities, whether functional or sensory, that are highlighted by both the architect and the critics. The building responds to the challenges of Sámi culture, history and tradition through its functional focus and spatial solutions, and it has its strength in that it itself embodies a new "cultural home" in Sápmi, as a modern-day *Siida* or local community (MacKeith 1999: 24–33). In the *Sajos* competition, visual identity was a key criterion for the jury's evaluations and deliberations. Although the use of wood was a decisive factor in HALO Architects' winning entry, as mentioned above, the materials nevertheless seem subordinate to the design's ability to convey imagery.[16] This need for visual recognition and for holding on to something essentially Sámi manifests itself not only in the jury statement, but is also reflected in the architects' rhetoric and their presentations of the building upon its opening: the overall form is patterned on a stretched-out reindeer hide, the auditorium is set up as a *giisa* (a decorated wedding chest), and other traditional Sámi items such as a *komse* (a cradle or carrying bag for neonates) and a *guksi* (a cup made from a hollowed-out gnarl) inspired the building's visual details, material selection and craftsmanship (Leukumaavaara 2012). Of course, the building is also presented in ways that do not allude to Sámi culture but rather emphasise the material and spatial aspects, though such observations are by no means without their own metaphorical flourishes, as in Ross (2012): "The high, smoothly curving walls of auditorium and parliament hall are clad in

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[16]Such assessments recurred when the various projects were evaluated: "The wood material is pleasant, but the unarticulated façade surfaces are monotonous. The appearance of the building in no way expresses the essence of the Sámi culture"; "Except for the impression created by the forest of columns, the entry makes no allusion to the distinctive features of the Sámi culture. …The architecture has no points of reference to the traditions of the Sámi culture, or the formal motifs and perceptual images of the Sámi lifestyle" (*Sámi Cultural Centre: Architectural Competition. Minutes of the Competition*: 10, 14, 16).

horizontal, specially selected and treated pine boards to give them a luxurious feel of a handcraft object or maybe a musical instrument". In such a light, the building can at the same time be associated with something other than Sámi tradition and history.

Materials underpin a building's structure and cladding, its sensory manifestation and atmosphere, and as a representational system, they are far more ambiguous and open to interpretation than figurative and visual elements. It is perhaps because of their sensory qualities and openness that the emphasis of materials can be seen as a 'solution' in the encounter between contemporary architecture and Indigenous identity. In attempting to give buildings such an identity, however, the critical international discourse today focuses not so much on the materials used as on more immaterial qualities, like a greater inclusion of the Indigenous population in the building process. Regarding the cases mentioned in this chapter, the degree of the Sámi clients' and user's involvement in the design process is quite differentiated. Due to rules for official building submissions in the Nordic countries, Sámi participation is required, and where international competitions are held, Sámi participation is also required in the jury (as with the Sámi parliament buildings). In other cases, it depends on the architect's own interest and understanding as to what degree and in what manner the clients are involved in the design process and Sámi perspectives considered (as in the case of the Norwegian architect group BOARCH and the Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa, whose Sámi projects are client- and user-oriented). In any case, the lack of Sámi architects practising in Sápmi makes it hard to identify 'Sámi architecture' solely on the basis of the ethnicity of the designer. It is more cogent to recognise the building's Sáminess as conditioned by place or by its usage, i.e. how the building allows for Indigenous living to take place. When theorists and practitioners within the field of contemporary architecture pay increasing attention to social practice rather than to representation and materials (Fantin 2003), it is based on a recognition that cultures do not live on through material monuments, but through activity and use.

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Chapter 31
The Re-invention of the 'Behaviour Setting' in the New Indigenous Architecture

Paul Memmott

Introduction

The construct of the 'behaviour setting' originated within ecological psychology and field theory in the 1950s and has been refined within environmental psychology and architectural anthropology over the last six decades. The 'behaviour setting' has proven to be one of the most enduring and powerful theoretical heuristics in the trans-disciplinary field of people–environment (or behaviour–environment) research. In the day-to-day lives of all cultural groups, people select and access various combinations of 'behaviour settings' in which they accomplish a great diversity of activities and goals due to the inherent stability, safety and predictability of those settings and the consequent guarantee of their outcomes.

In the search for an understanding of what might be a new authentic Indigenous architecture, this chapter will analyse architectural cultural appropriateness using this cross-cultural concept. The 'behaviour setting' concept was originally delineated by North American social scientists. It has since been developed and adapted by various scholars to understand how certain attributes such as territorial and spatial behaviour, physical boundaries, ecological structures, environmental meanings, management controls and time properties combine to form categories of complex architectural places that can be designed and/or attuned through a process of 'selectionism' to fulfil recurring human needs. The analysis draws upon four case studies from Indigenous groups in North America, Polynesia and Australia to show how distinctive Indigenous 'behaviour settings' are being reinvented from traditional practices and combined with global architectural attributes as well as service delivery and setting management practices to generate a new Indigenous architecture, one that may not necessarily display the aesthetic norms of mainstream

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society's celebrated architecture, but which is clearly effective in contributing to a quality of lifestyle and well-being for Indigenous users.

The Properties of the Construct of the 'Behaviour Setting'

The concept of 'behaviour setting' was first devised by Barker and Wright (1955) and elaborated upon by Barker in *Ecological Psychology* (1968). The behaviour setting is an ecological unit consisting of an interaction between persons and things, time and the immediate built environment. The physical things and time properties (or the 'milieu') are supportive of the behaviour and surround it. There is an interdependent relation between the two, and hence the term 'synomorphic', meaning 'fitting together'. 'Standing behaviour pattern' implies that the behaviour is persistently 'extra-individual' (i.e. there may be a turnover of individuals in a setting, but even though they come and go, they display repetitive or recurring characteristic patterns of behaviour in that particular setting) (Barker and Wright 1955: 7–9; Wicker 1987: 614–615).

The behaviour setting can thus be defined as "a standing behavior pattern together with the context of this behavior, including the part of the milieu to which the behavior is attached and with which it has [a] synomorphic relationship" (Barker and Wright 1955: 9). Thus, the structural qualities of the setting are generally maintained independent of individual personality, except in exceptional cases of social deviancy. Behaviour settings involve forces which coerce individual behaviour to conform to recognised setting models of what is the correct or appropriate behaviour to carry out in the circumstances. However, when a person deviates from the social rules of the setting, there is usually some force of control that corrects or removes the deviant behaviour.

Settings are designed through a process of selection ('selectionism') of particular preferred sets of properties including environmental properties and the articulation of the setting space with artefacts, structures and meanings. However, the "boundaries of [the] milieu, how they are marked, by whom they are penetrated, and so on, vary with culture" (Rapoport 2005: 26). Various members of a cultural group will share an understanding of the ways and rules of how to create the setting, such that new settings can be established throughout the lands (and sometimes seas) of the particular group although once again we may find a distinction between those settings which any cultural participant can create, and those settings which require a specialist designer and/or builder who knows the necessary processes, protocols or rituals guiding construction. The setting also has a position in a surrounding cultural landscape, with meaningful connections to other settings and place types to ensure its effective interactive functioning and integrity.

Behaviour settings are an environmental behaviour unit which occur culturally; they are constructed, maintained and transmitted intergenerationally by social groups (Fuhrer 1990: 524; Memmott and Keys 2014: 521). Behaviour settings have both social and cultural properties linked to the intended recurring activities and

purposes of the setting, the needs of the targeted user group and their desired outcomes (Ittelson et al. 1974: 71).

Rapoport argues (1990: 20) that 'settings' are integrated with activities and meanings, with 'meanings' as a function of 'activities' and 'activities' as a function of 'settings'. In an adaptation of Hall's (1966) proxemics theory, Rapoport also proposes (1990: 13) a useful classification of the built environment of settings as "consisting of fixed-feature elements (buildings, floors, walls, etc.), semi-fixed-feature elements ('furnishings', interior and exterior of all types), and non-fixed-feature elements (people and their activities and behaviors)". These terms will be used in the later analysis. Settings can thus have varying degrees of permanency, i.e. fixed, semi- and non-fixed elements of the built fabric specific to the context. The construct of 'setting' thus has a capacity to encompass both buildings (fixed) and those environments articulated with human spatial behaviours and conceptual properties (invisible properties of place) combined with the minimum of artefacts and physical adjustments (semi- and non-fixed) (Rapoport 1990: 13, 20; Memmott and Davidson 2008: 51–68).

As the rules of behaviour settings are learnt and encultured from an early age, most people give little thought to their inherent properties in their daily lives except when the aspects of the settings malfunction or when deviant behaviours occur in relation to the setting rules. However, the properties of behaviour settings can vary in a range of ways between the environments of different cultural groups. Hence, when people from one cultural background use the settings from another culture, unexpected stresses may arise due to conflicts between values and understandings of how such settings should operate. This in turn may lead to a reluctance to use such settings or engage with service delivery organisations. On the other hand, optimal quality settings display a congruence between architectural design, setting control, behavioural patterns and underlying culturally specific generative values.

For example, issues of poor cultural congruence (lack of fit between customary behaviours and the physical setting) were experienced during the master planning consultancy of the Alice Springs Hospital (Memmott 1997), when it was revealed by Aboriginal Liaison Officers that many elderly Aboriginal people from Central Australia were reluctant to visit the hospital due to fears arising from beliefs about death and illness, and their inexperience of hospital settings. An immediate question arises: how does people's ability to understand and control their surroundings influence their engagement with a particular service delivery setting? There is an intended relationship, or direction of influence from an agency (such as a hospital or clinic) to Indigenous people, which is meant to influence their well-being. But does this encourage or impede the likelihood of their presenting at a service delivery setting? How would Indigenous people structure such settings if they had more control and influence over the design of their elements and properties? The pragmatic question is how can a constructive intervention occur in an urban or community situation led by a team of Indigenous leaders and allied professionals such as

architects, social planners, urban planners, service agencies and/or public servants? How can policy, environmental design and social planning work together to generate a better quality of lifestyle? A salient strategy which this chapter develops for consideration in such contexts is the device of the 'Indigenous behaviour setting'.

These questions are explored drawing upon four case studies of settings largely or wholly controlled by Indigenous people. Each case study consists of a system of behaviour settings (sometimes just glossed as 'the setting' or 'the site') to analyse as leading good practice and includes:

- Potawot Health Village, Arcata, northern California, USA;
- Ōrākei Marae, Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand;
- Jimaylya Topsy Harry Homeless Centre, Mount Isa, western Queensland, Australia; and
- Dugalunji Camp of Myuma Pty Ltd, Camooweal, western Queensland, Australia.

Although these case studies involved professional architects in their production, they do not all belong to the category of 'capital A' architecture defined (after Bourdieu) as being of the award-winning type, rich in symbolic capital, and generated for the aesthetic market of high taste (see Webster's analysis in *Bourdieu for Architects* 2011: 30–56; Memmott 2011: 3–5).

Whereas the architects in the four good-practice case studies collaborated with Indigenous agencies and/or stakeholders, these agencies/stakeholders retained a high level of control over their architects in the successful integration of their ideology, policy, service delivery style, architecture and cultural meanings into the resultant behaviour setting. In achieving the optimal balance for well-being, it will be seen at times that the formal architectural expression may take a variable role from being pronounced to being quite modest. These two variations of role will be referred to herein as 'capital A' and 'small a' architectural roles. The case studies are arranged so as to start with the strongest (capital A) and progress to the most minimal (small a) involvement of project architects.

It will also be seen that the sense of the setting extends beyond the architecture to the surrounding 'cultural landscape' which will also be subjected to varying degrees of designed intervention. A 'cultural landscape' is defined herein as a set of interrelated places each with distinct and overlaid properties generated from the recurring people–environment interactions of a local society over many generations. In Indigenous cultural landscapes, the places often include sacred sites with associated ancestral histories (adapted from the Australian ICOMOS 2017).

What the definition of an Indigenous behaviour setting might be, will be re-examined at the conclusion of the chapter after analysing the case studies and following a trajectory of writings by the author on this topic (Memmott 2011; Memmott and Keys 2014; Kreutz and Memmott 2016).

The Potawot Health Village

Of the four case studies, the Potawot Health Village in northern California (USA) displays the highest 'symbolic capital' in relation to the architectural industry discourse and is arguably the closest to 'capital A' architecture. Its publicity and standing in mainstream architecture is equally recorded within the cross-cultural literature on Indigenous architecture and Indigenous health. While not saying a lot about actual client behaviour and controls in its setting complex, these studies emphasise the design integration of certain elements of a customary Native North American village and material culture with a redesigned cultural landscape, to generate a therapeutic healing and teaching environment, one which the clients enjoy visiting and in which the staff enjoy working.

Project History and Philosophy

The Potawot Health Village was developed for several northern Californian Native American tribes within a service area of 13 000 km^2 (8,078 sq mi^2) embracing the catchment basins of the Klamath, Mad and Trinity rivers. The village services the descendants of four interrelated coastal nations, the Tolowa, Yurok, Wiyot and Mattole, and two inland Native American nations, the Hupa and Karuk (Dixon et al. 2006: 24, 25). Despite some language differences, historical customary interaction was facilitated by canoe travel and shared cultural elements linked to the spiritual and economic significance of the abundant salmon (sp. *Oncorhynchus*) runs and the giant redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*) forests that fringed the foggy coastline (Armand 2010: 11). The rich and diverse resource base facilitated a lifestyle reflected in sedentary village settlements built of redwood timber, design elements reflected in the Potawot Village (Spires 1997).

The Potawot Health Village was built by the United Indian Health Services (UIHS) which commenced operations in late 2001. It was designed by MG2 (then 'MulvannyG2 Architecture') with guidance from a UIHS Traditional Health Committee, a Traditional Land Management Committee and a Native American cultural consultant (Dixon et al. 2006: 25, 29). The facility is located 420 km (261 miles) north of San Francisco on 16 ha (39.5 acre) in the town of Arcata.

In a UIHS 'Who We Are' statement, the cultural identity of the Native American society is framed in terms of the historical trauma suffered during the colonisation process which had a significant ongoing impact on the health and wellness of the community. The ongoing struggle for survival and "pain of these events affects our children and families to this day …We continue to heal and succeed through our culture, our traditions, our families and our spiritual resources" (UIHS 2014: 3). In reflecting on this history, Karuk spiritual leader, Amos Tripp explained that in "a span of 50 years, 90% of the Indigenous population of California disappeared" [but

our ancestors] "hid so that they would not be murdered, or [be] taken to boarding school, or exposed to deadly diseases" (Dixon et al. 2006: 23).

The UIHS 2012–13 Annual Reports contain philosophic vision statements that emphasise an Indigenous holistic definition of health: healing the whole person that addresses all aspects of client's self, including mind, body and spiritual self. Core philosophies include (in Yurok concepts) *Ko 'lha koom' ma* or 'working together' which emphasises a relational model of well-being, and *May-gay-tolh-kway* meaning a healing place "in an environment that is welcoming, healing, and nurturing for all". "Good Health … must include the health of the entire community including its culture, language, art and traditions as well as the environment in which it exists" (UIHS 2014: 4, 6).

The architect of the clinic facility, Robert Weisenbach of MulvannyG2, stated that an overall goal was to design an Indigenous health village by the embedding of the design of traditional customs and values, which imparted "the feeling of 'wellness' rather than 'illness' by integrating cultural values with a therapeutic environment" (MulvannyG2 2004: 132). The village was also to serve as a focal community gathering place (Dixon et al. 2006: 34).

Cultural Landscape and Site Design

The purchased site was a former farm where, prior to colonisation, Wiyot villages had stood along the Potawot River renamed as 'Mad River' (Dixon et al. 2006: 25). Naming the Centre 'Potawot' recognised that the region's Native American cultural landscape, habitation and subsistence practices were embedded in a riverine culture (Sherman quoted in Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 36). Kadlecik et al. (2007: 325) further explained how the redesigned Potawot cultural landscape draws from Native American ecological principles of customary resource management, sustainable agriculture and permaculture practices based on an "understanding of seasonal winds, solar exposure, plant cycles, and availability of water to meet human needs with minimum labor and without depleting resources". The slogan for the project, 'Health of the Environment', was connected to 'Health of the People'. The vision for the village gradually expanded to encompass wildlife habitat, cultural education, growing and gathering of food, recreation and spiritual meditation (Dixon et al. 2006: 25).

Weisenbach oriented the entire village around a central wellness garden irrigated with run-off water; the garden aims to induce multiple sensory responses (smell, sound and touch) and social interactions to help patients relax (MulvannyG2 2004: 132). A symbolic miniature mountain of earth and granite blocks releases a steady stream of clear water down a rocky bed, which then runs through a spiral to the oxbow pond and a series of weirs to effectively turn the area into an all-season wetland (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 35, 36).

The surrounding site has been reclaimed and planted with native plants. The *Ku' wah-dah-wilth* Restoration Area (means 'comes back to life' in the Wiyot language)

has involved the enhancement of seasonal wetlands, wet meadow, prairie and upland areas and managed through the use of fire, propagation, pruning and coppicing, without pesticides or synthetic fertilisers. This area provides a "community outdoor classroom for sharing cultural traditions and creating wellness for our community" (UIHS n.d.(a)).

The Potawot Community food garden and orchard occupy almost a hectare of the restored wetland planted with fruit trees, berries, herbs, flowers, vegetables, plants for manufacturing baskets and fitted with greenhouses and tended by volunteers (McGarry 2014). These features provide food and learning opportunities for clients and staff, a reminder of the connection between environment, nutrition, Native American traditions and health (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 36). Walking trails also provide a symbolic reminder about health (Dixon et al. 2006: 31–32).

Design Process and Procurement

In the late 1990s, the Traditional Health Committee, comprised of Elders, regalia makers, basket weavers, herbalists and gardeners who had knowledge of traditional culture, met regularly (both with and without the architect) to design the environmental and cultural components of the facility and plan the restoration area (Kadlecik et al. 2007: 319). The vision for the village took 10 years to develop and implement, during which the UIHS "came out of the safety of their isolation [and] learned to work with others in the non-Native American community and the world of philanthropy", to fundraise over $14 million to finance the project (Dixon et al. 2006: 23, 26, 31).

The Potawot Health Village is designed to appear as a clustered set of twelve separate, split redwood plank houses (total facility area of 3,960 m^2 or 4736 yd^2) interconnected to encourage social interaction and communication, oriented around the central 'wellness' garden (MulvannyG2 2004: 132). The configuration of twelve constituent parts were requested by the Native American clients to symbolise, emulate and honour a traditional northern Californian coastal Native American village, with material inspiration drawn from the redwood hand-split and hewn plank and pole houses which were commonly used (Fig. 31.1). The trees used to be taken after falling during an intense storm or alternatively burnt at the base to bring them down. The trunk was split into planks with elk antler wedges and mauls and then further shaped with the adze. The wood was soft and easy to work and yet was rot and insect resistant. Members were joined by lashing with hazel saplings. The rectangular plank house was typically 6.4 × 7.3 metres (21 × 24 feet) in plan and had a three-pitched (or three skillion) roof and a circular entry hole (Spires 1997; Armand 2010: 13, 21).

In the village design, the external wall finishes appear to be traditional North Coast plank building but in fact are tilt-up concrete, cast in a formwork of hand-split redwood planks (Dixon et al. 2006: 26). Suppliers competed to produce a wood grain, stained and sealed concrete that appeared to be real redwood timber

Fig. 31.1 Customary redwood plank house of Native North American groups in northern California, reconstructed by Yurok tribes people at Patrick's Point State Park, 1990 (*Photograph* Bjorn)

using an acid-etch-and-stain technique (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 35). The metal roofing was also designed to emulate plank roofing and incorporated the customary features of "smoke hole" and "wind guard" (Kadlecik et al. 2007: 320). The doors have a circular shape symbolising the small round holes used in the traditional plank houses (Dixon et al. 2006: 26, 29) (Fig. 31.2).

Activities, the System of Settings and the Milieu

Cultural values and traditions also guided the design and delivery of services (UIHS 2014: 4). The building entrance comprises an expansive gathering room which is lined with old-growth (recycled) redwood planks, columns and Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*) for acoustic aesthetic when the space is used for singing and drumming (Malnar and Vodvarka 2013: 37). The project architect stated that the "forest of columns solidly encircles the room, giving it strength and a feeling of security" creating "a cultural therapeutic environment using the color, smell, and feel of the redwood" (MulvannyG2 2004: 132).

Visitors and clients then enter a corridor called 'The Walk of the Elders', featuring a colonnade of cedar and redwood posts symbolising the old forests, which

Fig. 31.2 Window in the Potawot Village external entry space, resembling the door of a traditional Yurok house (*Photograph* ParticiPlace)

surrounds the large wellness garden. This walkway contains display cases exhibiting an impressive collection of Indigenous baskets from each tribe and connects all the departmental reception areas (Dixon et al. 2006: 23). Each building then houses a different medical or administrative department. The departments provide primary medical and dental care, obstetrics, diabetic, nutrition, laboratory services, eye health, mental health counselling, substance abuse services, pharmaceutical dispensing, special services for children and teens, health promotion and education services. There are also spaces for traditional Native North American Healers and Spiritual Advisors at Potawot, part of the holistic approach to mental health services; monthly 'sweat' lodges are also offered for men and women (UIHS 2014: 5; UIHS n. d.(b)) (Fig. 31.3).

Fig. 31.3 Architects' site plan showing the building's form, wetland restoration and various permaculture gardens (*Drawing* Humboldt Water Resources Engineering and Science)

Many activities focus on health- and wellness-related topics (e.g. self-esteem, diabetes prevention, nutrition, environmental education), but the pedagogy involves an intertwining with cultural learning. Cultural activities include necklace making, storytelling, traditional games, dances and ceremonies. Campers participate in daily hikes, nature walks, games and various sports activities. Talking tour topics within the facility include the Potawot Clinic's construction techniques, the symbolism of designs and objects, the basket collection and art shows in the gathering room and the hallways, Native American history, culture and the UIHS programmes (Dixon et al. 2006: 32–35; UIHS n.d.(b)).

In recent years, up to 500 school children have annually visited the demonstration garden to learn about traditional foods, nutrition, organic agriculture, healthier eating habits, traditional games and sports, and environmental issues (Brown 2012). An annual week-long May-Gay-Tolh-Kwe Youth Summer Camp has been run, as well as 'La Chompchay' (meaning 'little frog' in the Yurok language) Club for young children and the Teen Advisory Group (Kadlecik et al. 2007: 330). Young offenders can perform community service at Potawot. A Counsellor states (Fig. 31.4): "…that he walks on the trails with the clients and feels like he can talk with them confidentially. The space communicates a sense of freedom that contrasts incarceration, and helps him make the point about responsibility and choices" (Dixon et al. 2006: 32).

Fig. 31.4 A guided visit in the Wellness Garden, in between the clinic buildings. Note ornamental smoke hole covers (*Photograph* ParticiPlace)

The Setting Governance and Controls

The available literature on Potawot lacks description of the behaviour setting controls in the village, but there is clearly a strong governance structure that sets and manages such controls. The United Indian Health Services (UIHS) was formed by several Native American women activists in 1970 to provide health services in northern California and has grown over 45 years to a large regional organisation with a Board of Directors containing representatives from nine contemporary Indigenous organisations (rancherias and reservation communities) that have the status of federally recognised First Nations. The UIHS first established five small satellite clinics close to outer tribal communities before it embarked on its central Potawot Health Village at Arcata. The organisation is run through nine governance committees, one of which is responsible for land stewardship, cultural training and nutrition programmes (Dixon et al. 2006: 24–29).

By 2007, the clientele numbered over 15 000 Native American people and their families (Kadlecik et al. 2007: 316). Staffing has been guided by a policy of recruiting a range of Native Americans (UIHS 2014: 4). In addition, many volunteers help their fellow Native Americans by working in the gardens (McGarry 2014).

Ambience and Perception

The architect Weisenbach aimed to create a Native American architectural design that welcomed the patient 'in a quiet "coming home"' and that spoke of 'time and place, of thousands of years of North Coast tribal culture rooted in this ground'. The building had a semiotic role to tell patients 'in unspoken language that this is where they belong, in a culture that holds them secure in their environment.' The Potawot Village aimed to attract patients, families and staff to come in pleasure because the place felt Native American, conveyed the feeling of wellness and did not reflect the conventional architecture of a medical clinic. Weisenbach argued the outcomes included "the acceptance of the clinic among the local communities, overall improvement in the quality of health, and increased participation in preventative care" (MulvannyG2 2004: 132).

The achievement of these aims is reflected in statements by users. A Chumash tribal member and Counsellor at Potawot reported the building to give him "sense of pride, a sense of place, and a sense of passion" (Dixon et al. 2006: 32). Another member stated that "the gentle touch of the eagle feather and the rhythmic songs blessed my body that gave me strength knowing I am now centered with my ancestors that have come before and the mother earth" (UIHS 2014: 5). A physician at Potawot Health Village stated "I love the feeling of the traditional space; I love the artwork … constant reminders of the history and of the culture. I sense it around me" (Dixon et al. 2006: 32). Volunteer workers emphasise that Potawot is a pleasant place to work, not only because of the beauty of the garden, but also because of the camaraderie: "It's like a little family here" (McGarry 2014). According to Dixon et al. (2006: 31), further positive outcomes of the Potawot Village have included "empowerment of the Board of Directors, more opportunities to educate the public about the tribes, greater collaboration with the government agencies, and contributions to the cultural renaissance of tribes in northern California".

The *Ōrākei Marae* Case Study

The *Ōrākei Marae* is a tribal *marae* or meeting ground in metropolitan Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand. It exhibits the classical architectural and behaviour setting features of the vernacular Māori *marae* archetype, but the structural shell has relatively recently been designed by a 'small a' architect and then embellished by customary carvers and artists, with ornate and highly symbolic finishings. Its history incorporates a prolonged political struggle for community recognition, and it now functions as a type of urban *marae*, albeit combined with tribal *marae* status, hosting many symbolic city civic events, as well as a place for the Māori and non-Māori public to visit. But it also has recently taken on a function of rehabilitating homeless Māori men who experience spiritual rehabilitation through gardening activity and identification with its classical setting.

Project History and Philosophy

The Māori *marae* was traditionally the meeting centre, a place of cultural expression and reproduction, and typically owned and controlled by the *iwi* (Māori tribe) on their territorial land. Spatially, it was usually composed of an entry, an oration forecourt, a ritual meeting house, sometimes a cemetery, these being the sacred or *tapu* settings; and other non-sacred or secular (*noa*) settings such as a kitchen, a dining hall and storage facilities, used to host and to accommodate visiting Māori guests overnight. The complexity of the *tapu–noa* distinction in the marae is captured in Salmond's diagrammatic analysis (see Fig. 31.5). The word *marae* is often used to refer to this whole context, but its meaning can be narrowed to the ceremonial forecourt where spiritual connection between land, sky, ancestors and orators can be invoked. "As each group of visitors arrive on the *marae*, they are separately welcomed in a ritual that includes calling, wailing, chanting and oratory", the "ritual of encounter" (Salmond 1975: 1). In the early colonial and mid-twentieth century, the *marae* was used as a system of settings for a range of *hui*
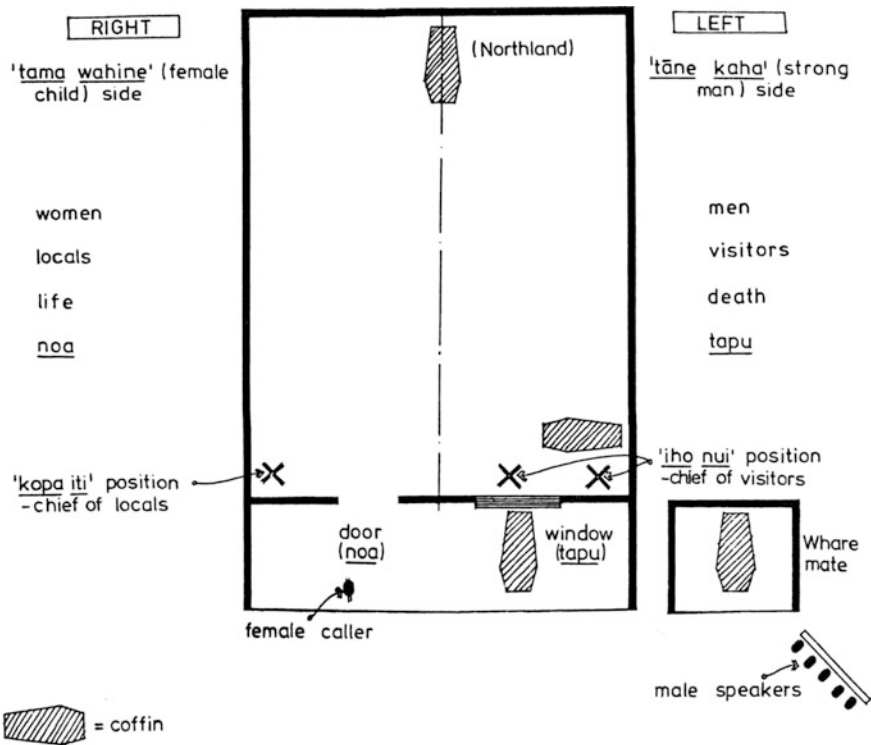
Fig. 31.5 Schematic plan of the traditional Māori meeting house, indicating *noa* and *tapu* sides during a funeral *hui* (*Drawing* Salmond)

(ceremonial gatherings) on important life occasions such as 21st birthdays, weddings, funerals, tombstone unveilings, tribal gatherings and meetings of Māori organisations (Salmond 1975; Tapsell 2002).

However, in the latter twentieth century, the migration occurred of the majority of Māori people from their lands in which some 1,000 local *marae* were distributed, to the larger Aotearoa New Zealand cities in search of new economic and city life opportunities, resulting in the adaptation of the 'urban *marae*'. For example, there are about 20 urban *marae* in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand's largest city. Although people are likely to maintain ties to their rural *marae*, people responded to their dislocation by creating new urban *marae* to express cultural continuity but also to reflect a different form of community. Unlike the older rural *marae*, they may not be run by a discrete local kin group who hold the Māori authority (*mana*) over the surrounding land (Rosenblatt 2011: 413, 414).

Meeting houses were adapted in a process of cultural change but one that allowed for the continuity of the architectural semiotics of the *marae* and its pragmatic role as a vehicle for the construction and maintenance of a community identity, albeit not necessarily that of the particular *iwi*. Some urban *marae* came to be suburban-focused with a multi-tribal identity (e.g. *Hoani Waititi Marae*), and others were built for the diaspora of an immigrant tribe (but not the local one, i.e. not *Tangata Whenua* or 'people of the land'), while others were established within large institutions such as universities, schools and churches for their Māori communities of users but similarly taking on a multi-tribal character (Rosenblatt 2011: 415–416).

Notwithstanding these categories of *marae*, the case of the *Ōrākei Marae* belonging to *Ngāti Whātua* of eastern Auckland is unique. It was originally a tribal *marae* that became surrounded by the urbanisation of Auckland, with loss of control and shrinking of lands occurring in the mid-1800s. Eventually, the land was completely taken from the *iwi* by the government in the 1950s in a hegemonic process and then in 1959 placed under the control of a mixed set of non-local trustees to form a multicultural *marae*, built in 1974. The Waitangi Tribunal later determined (1991) that the multicultural *marae* was named after *Ngāti Whātua's* tribal ancestor *Tumutumuwhenua* (or *Tuputupuwhenua*) without the consultation of the *iwi*; however, this determination necessarily tied the *iwi* to this *marae*, unable to establish a *marae* elsewhere. After much struggle to restore their *mana* and honour, the land and *marae* were vested back in 1991 to *Ngāti Whātua.* The Aotearoa New Zealand Government acknowledged that *Ngāti Whātua* had "standing as of right once again" (Tapsell 2002: 151).

Ngāti Whātua O Ōrākei has since established a significant property base (in the range of NZD $400 m) by way of investment for their people (Waka Māori 2016), thus regaining the "social, economic, and political influence they once unconditionally exercised as *mana o te whenua* in Auckland" (Tapsell 2002: 152).

Cultural Landscape and Site Planning

The *Ōrākei Marae* land sits on a prominent hill of some 38 ha (94 acre) with magnificent unrestricted views to the north and east over the Auckland Harbour, the Gulf Islands and marine approaches to the city from the Pacific Ocean. It includes a 6-ha (15 acre) park sitting below on the harbour's edge and a small popular beach, Okahu Bay. "The upland block adjoins the main 1950s-style government housing estate and its marae, while the lower adjoins the former village site from which the *hapū*[1] (a number of *whānau* (extended family) groups) were evicted in 1951" (Kawharu 2008: 53).[2]

In addition to the transfer of *marae* title of approximately 1.6 ha (4 acre) to the *Ngāti Whātua* of *Ōrākei* Māori Trust Board, the transfer of approximately 44.5 ha (110 acre) of adjoining parklands was also made to the Trust Board, 'on condition that the "recreational enjoyment of the land" would be shared with the citizens of Auckland'. This condition of the transfer embraced the concept of reciprocity that lies at the heart of Māori social relations. On the *Ōrākei Marae*, "reciprocity underpins the rituals of exchange between the *Orakei hapū* as *tangata whenua* [people of the land] and visitors, and provides for the reaffirmation of their respective identities and for a continuing unity of purpose" (Kawharu 2008: 52).

The general public thus have open access to the *Whenua Rangatira* parklands surrounding the *marae*, which are owned by *Ngāti Whātua*. A goal was set by the *hapū* to establish more than 100 000 plants. This represents a second permanent reciprocity relationship. Ongoing significant events continued to bind the *Ngāti Whātua* to the Auckland citizenship and society through the physical setting of the *marae*. For example, in January 2000 the Auckland City Council held its first meeting of the new millennium in the meeting house after a welcoming *hui*. Other events included a ceremony for round-the-world yachtsmen (with whalebone amulet gifts), hosting a Pacific Forum's national representatives and an Aotearoa Traditional Performing Arts Festival. The cementing of such bicultural reciprocal relations represents a form of *manaakitanga*, in the Māori value system, "consideration for the welfare and interests of others" which in turn generates *mana* (right and authority) for the *hapū* (Kawharu 2008: 52–56).

Design Process and Procurement

In the period of the 1960s and 1970s, when the *marae* was in the control of a Board of Trustees (prior to being handed back to *Ngāti Whātua*), a gradual architectural development commenced. The first building on the *marae* site was a double garage

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[1]The spelling of this word in Māori follows the convention used at the *Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei* Trust.
[2]See the *Illustrated London News* for an illustration of the *Ōrākei Marae* which was then a regional seat of Māori governance (1880: 557).

converted to a Play Centre called *Te Puawai*, or 'the Spring', which later became a *Te Kōhanga Reo*, or 'language nest'. Fundraising commenced in 1971 for a major *marae* complex and multicultural centre. The following year, an old carved *Wharepuni* (sleeping house) was shifted to the site named *Te Koha* ('The Gift') and renovated as a reception and craft display centre (Neich 2003: 353–355; Waitangi Tribunal 1991: 138–140).

A project architect, Noel Bierre was appointed for the design of the *Ōrākei Marae* in 1971, assisted by an architect from the Netherlands, Maarten van Rossum. Over the next five years, Bierre with advice from community leaders and artists designed various buildings and amenities (Smith 2011). The meeting house was built in 1974, but in early 1990 when the *Orakei Act 1990* was being drafted to give official recognition to *Ngāti Whātua*'s standing as *Tangata Whenua*, the new meeting house was badly damaged by fire; only a burnt-out skeleton was passed back to the people. The *Ōrākei* community was faced with rebuilding *Tumutumuwhenua* including a new *poupou* (set of interior carved ancestors) and a dining hall to entertain guests (Tapsell 2002: 151). The *marae* components have thus been added and revised incrementally over 40 years by a team of 'small a' architects and the master carvers and artists who consistently embellished over the architects' structural design.

Activities, the System of Settings and the Milieu

The traditional timber Māori meeting house has a small entry porch and a gable roof and is at times elaborately carved and full of symbolism referencing the ancestors of the *iwi*, often with special reference to the apical ancestor who sailed the first migratory canoe to the local river to settle. He/she may be represented by carvings on the entry bargeboards; the ridge pole and rafters are considered part of his/her body so that there is a sense of being welcomed by the ancestor and then of being inside him/her (Salmond 1975: 40). The meeting house may be thought of as the ancestor (often called an 'ancestral house'). The key descendants of the ancestor may then be represented by vertical sets of carved faces on the internal columns so that a complete genealogy of the generations of the descent group of the *iwi* can be recited during *hui* by reference to these architectural features, offering visitors a strong account of the identity of their hosts in the ritual of encounter. In the old tradition, the *marae* was dedicated to Tāne, the God of forests (and of birds) from which the timber was sourced (Salmond 1975: 49).

Similarly, the *Ōrākei marae* acts as the epicentre for *Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei* community providing connection to its ancestral history (Badham 2011: 8, 9), where the ceremonial traditions of the *marae* continue to be observed, including in the welcomes for visitors, following the standard sequence of rituals: the *pōwhiri* or welcoming process begins with a *Karanga* or ritual call for visitors to enter by an old lady on the meeting house porch; the action chant of welcome by a line of locals at the porch as the visitors approach across the *marae* space; the *Tangi or* ritual

Fig. 31.6 Elders in front of the *wharenui* (meeting house) ritually calling the visitors to approach on the *Ōrākei marae* (*Photograph* Tamaki Hikoi)

weeping for deceased tribes people as the visitors move inside the building; the *Whaikōrero* or oratory in structured sequence and order between the line of hosts on one side and the line of visitors on the other side; finishing with the *hōngi*[3] or pressing of noses and shaking of hands between each host and each visitor as the latter walk by the former in a line (Salmond 1975: 131–178). When one is participating in such a ceremony, one cannot but note there is strong synomorphy between the simple plan layout and the complex socio-spatial behaviour patterns enacted (Fig. 31.6).

As at Potawot, *Ōrākei* is a venue for children's cultural education. Activities include learning ancestral histories, *haka*, and weaving (Parnell Trust 2016). The *Ōrākei Marae* Social and Health Services Inc. also provides a series of free services to both *Ngāti Whātua* and the wider community. These services include homework support, parenting courses ('Building Awesome *Whānau*'), legal and advocacy services, social work services and a community drop-in centre that provides food, *kaputi* (tea) and haircuts (Health Point 2016). Housing is provided for member beneficiaries as well as an economic investment strategy.

The *Ōrākei marae* offers a culturally safe place, a cultural enclave, "a space of care and respite from the perils and disruptions of street life and this landscape of despair", one where people can re-engage "with Maori ways of being" (King et al. 2015: 19). Another key reconciliation good practice between *Ngāti Whātua* and the

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[3]The spelling of this word in Māori follows the convention used at the *Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei* Trust.

Auckland society has been the therapeutic accommodation on the *marae* of a group of older Māori men who were public place dwellers in Auckland (Hodgetts 2013; King et al. 2015).

The men came to work in the *marae* gardens for two days a week. Gardens were a customary site of collective activity within Māori *hapū*, underpinning shared identity and knowledge and therefore bonding people together allowing reconnection "with the very essence of what it means to be Maori" (King et al. 2015: 17). The men participated in the daily *marae* practices of cooking, eating, prayer, gardening, harvesting food, building and conversing in Māori language; activities embedded in a strong metaphysical orientation to country (*whenua*), place, sacred history, and social and spiritual relationships. The *Ōrākei* gardens contained semi-fixed carved statues and objects which reflected the culture and history of the people who 'dwelt' there and which contributed to the Indigenous quality of the setting, making it a uniquely Māori garden (King 2014: 16, 72, 73). The carved poles in the *marae* garden provided and reaffirmed a distinctive sense of cultural identity within a broader cultural landscape, demonstrating "how people, place and objects are fundamentally linked within the social fabric of everyday life and can ground one's sense of cultural identity" (King et al. 2015: 22) (Fig. 31.7).

Fig. 31.7 Dr Lily George of Massey University discusses Māori women's incarceration, at *Tumutumuwhenua* (meeting house) on *Ōrākei Marae* 2015 (*Photograph* Massey University)

The Setting Controls

There is little in the literature about how setting controls work on the Ōrākei *marae*. But from the author's experience of being ritually welcomed into the *marae*, the observance of customary rules and protocols clearly remains strong. These controls permeate down from the governance structure. The collective affairs of the subtribe are overseen by the *Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei* Māori Trust Board, while the administration of the land is under the control of the *Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei* Reserves Board, comprising three representatives of the Trust Board and three Auckland City Councillors (Kawharu 2008: 52; Waka Māori 2016).

Ambience and Perception

As mentioned earlier, the Māori concept of *manaakitanga* means 'well-being' and 'togetherness' (Hokianga 2016), well-being maintained or achieved through cultural togetherness, or 'caring for others'. *Ngāti Whātua* representatives have affirmed that their "resilience as an *iwi* does not reside solely in their ability to maintain themselves … It is also contained within their tradition of *manaaki* (hospitality) towards others". A sense of the ambience of the *marae* can be gauged through the perceptions of the men experiencing homelessness who saw it as a site of spiritual respite, providing a counter-force to the erosion of a positive sense of self that occurs from living on the streets, and the daily challenge of dealing with risk in a homeless lifestyle (King et al. 2015: 20, 21). One of the gardeners experiencing homelessness stated:

> I get strength in knowing my *te reo* [language] and in being here. To me it's very important…being able to be Māori here is important to my confidence. Know the differences between who I really am or who I am supposed to be in this world of ours. Half the time I am lost [on the streets]. Now, what is my purpose and can I find it here? … I miss the old days where everything was always set out, especially as a child, Māori way of growing up. Always take the lessons from our *koroua* [male Elders] and *kuia* [female Elders]. Just the structure in life that's hard to keep going. That's what I notice here is rebuilding that confidence in what you were taught back at home … And at least we know that we contribute to the *whenua* here. And I have faith in this *marae* and what they are trying to bring back that structure and we contribute to that, you know (Miro quoted in King et al. 2015: 21).

Note that the *Ōrākei Marae* is not the ancestral *marae* of the men experiencing homelessness, but due to the recurring predictable features of *marae* behaviour settings (the standing behaviour patterns), it, nevertheless, provides a culturally supportive and stable space for them. "On one level, the *marae* is a safe place to temporarily escape life on the streets. However on a deeper level, there is more to the brief exiting the city…" (King 2014: 66).

The Jimaylya Topsy Harry Centre Case Study[4]

The Jimaylya Centre in a remote Australian mining city specifically services Aboriginal homeless people, offering a range of accommodation options and pathways out of homelessness with a managed alcohol-drinking area. Taking a culturally sensitive approach, Jimaylya offers a range of support services which are tailored to a wide range of needs for the homeless, particularly health, education, employment and housing. The Centre has been generated by the Aboriginal manager with 'small a' architects assisting in a process of serial addition of prefabricated industrialised building components. Yet the combination and spatial layout of the modest architectural elements combined with other setting features have resulted in a successful service provision for a challenging and complex social problem.

Project History and Philosophy

The Jimaylya Topsy Harry Centre opened in August 2003 as a transitional accommodation centre for homeless Indigenous adults in the regional city of Mount Isa, north-west Queensland. Indigenous people numbered 3,071 of the total city's population of 20 569 according to the 2011 Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011a), but these figures are often swelled by Aboriginal visitors from the wider region. People come from the coastal communities in the Gulf of Carpentaria to the north (language groups: *Lardil*, *Ganggalida*, *Kuthant*), the inland river basin of Lake Eyre (*Pitta Pitta*, *Warluwarra*) and from the Sandover River desert communities to the west (*Alyawarr*).

The broader purpose of Jimaylya is to provide improved quality of life, living conditions and peace of mind for Indigenous people who are homeless or in a crisis situation, by providing appropriate, caring and non-judgemental case management across a range of strategic areas. Clients' issues typically embrace unemployment, physical and mental health issues, alcohol and other substance abuse, domestic and family violence, and without access to, or loss of affordable housing.

The Jimaylya Centre is unusual and perhaps unique. First, it provides both short-term crisis and long-term stabilised accommodation. Second, it incorporates a managed drinking programme for alcoholic clients based on transformation to a drinking style of moderation and offering the opportunity for both voluntary personal supply reduction and demand reduction. Most other homeless service facilities in Australia focus on abstinence and short-term crisis accommodation, which is often of little appeal to heavily addicted Aboriginal people typically indulging in binge drinking in parks and dry river beds. Thus, alcoholic river bed dwellers can be persuaded to enter the centre and suspend the binge drinking style that can result

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[4]This case study is drawn from Memmott and Nash (2012, 2013).

in self-harm, violence and even death. The centre's rules require that alcohol consumption occurs moderately in a designated area at prescribed times under management surveillance; individual clients have limits set on their amount of consumption. The advantages of managed drinking are reduction in intake of alcohol, low risk from violence and capacity to assess and address health problems. A health outreach team visits regularly, and restrictions on the quantity of permissible daily alcohol are placed on particular individuals according to their health problems (Willetts 2011).

A significant proportion of Jimaylya's clients is from the many small rural towns and discrete remote communities in the surrounding region (500 × 500 km (or 312 × 312 mi) with 16 language groups). They come to Mount Isa for medical reasons, court appearances or hospital visits and do not have alternative accommodation, or they may have temporary accommodation initially but lose it. Some clients are referred by the police or the Department of Housing, such as individuals in other tenants' rental houses without approval. Some clients have managed to rent housing in Mount Isa, but have then been evicted and/or are carrying debts; they have to repay at least half before being eligible again for rental housing. Although clients' families and friends are permitted to visit them at the centre, children under the age of 18 years are not permitted to stay due to safety reasons.

Client numbers fluctuate with significant increase around the time of the annual Mount Isa rodeo season (up to 60 clients) and similarly in the wet season. In off-peak seasons, there is a mixture of about 30 short-term, medium-term and long-term residents each night. A significant number of clients recycle through the river bed, the Jimaylya Centre and other centres in Mount Isa.

During their stay, clients have opportunities and challenges to increase their cultural capital. The Jimaylya policies emphasise socially collective work (e.g. cleaning areas of the centre) and peer group informed teaching, emphasising a social networking and social capital strategy to help overcome homelessness (for a comparison, see Johnstone et al. 2016). Residents come to monitor and take corrective actions towards one another, e.g. if someone is not eating food regularly because they are spending all their money on alcohol.

Cultural Landscape

The Jimaylya Topsy Harry Centre is located on the south edge of Mount Isa with views of rocky hills and the nearby tree-lined Leichhardt River. It offers a combination of openness in a bush environment but a degree of spatial privacy, nevertheless only a 15-min walk through nearby suburbs to the CBD. The sites of two colonial Aboriginal camping centres are located close to the Centre, one still occupied albeit now with housing, being the Yallambee town camp where there is a black cockatoo (*Yaaka*) sacred site. The Jimaylya Centre was named after a female Elder from the local Kalkadoon tribe, Topsy Harry (deceased), while *Jimaylya* is the Kalkadoon word for pink water lily, her significant Dreaming or totem. The

Kalkadoon people occupied the upper Leichhardt River basin which runs through the surrounding mountainous highlands now exploited for valuable minerals. Their reputation across Aboriginal Australia partly arose from exporting quality stone tools; several quarry sites lie in the vicinity of the Jimaylya Centre.

The Leichhardt River, dry for most of the year, has for decades provided venues for itinerant Aboriginal river campers indulging in heavy drinking. Whether visiting for short or extended periods, some Indigenous people coming to Mount Isa often choose to 'sleep rough'.[5] Depending on the individual and their circumstances, the period of planned public place dwelling may extend and become out of their control. Whether suffering from primary, secondary or spiritual homelessness (Memmott and Chambers 2012), these Indigenous public place dwellers are vulnerable. Their high-risk binge drinking can result in their passing out, thus rendering them vulnerable to assault, robbery, exposure to weather, untreated health problems and even homicide. An aim of Jimaylya is to recruit these people into the safer environment of the centre.

Design Process and Procurement

There is no 'capital A' architecture in the Jimaylya Centre; rather, a modest 'small a' architecture is comprised of low-cost, metal clad, prefabricated, transportable buildings imported from the east coast, for the most part organised by an anonymous government architect in faraway Townsville or Brisbane. The main design principles revolve around the provision of a range of shelter types to suit different lifestyle options. The identification of the need for new buildings for particular functions as the Centre has grown, and where these buildings will be sited and how administered have always been made by the Aboriginal manager who has then sought the approval of his government bosses. The design subtlety lies in the distinctively Aboriginal approach to socio-spatial planning to suit the functions of the system of behaviour settings.

Activities, the Systems of Settings and the Milieu

There are four possible accommodation options when individuals arrive at the Centre. The Men's Quarters facility named *Yudu* (Kalkadoon for 'men') contains eleven air-conditioned single rooms. The Women's Quarters facility contains ten cubicles for individual women in crisis. Clients are not permitted to enter the dormitories of the opposite gender, a principle utilised in customary camps where

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[5]'Sleeping rough' means sleeping in public places with minimal possessions and without conventional housing.
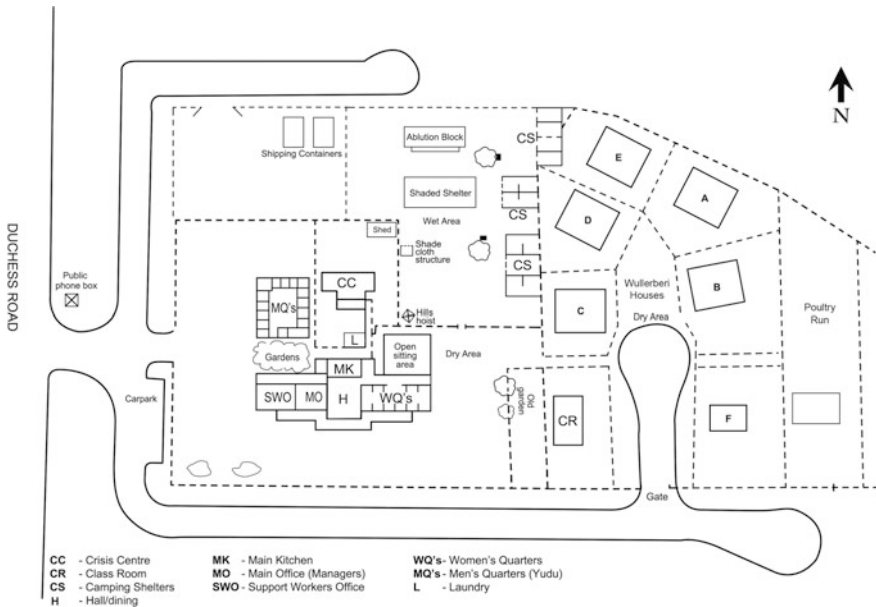
Fig. 31.8 Plan layout of Jimaylya Topsy Harry Centre, Mount Isa (*Drawing* Paul Memmott)

there were separate areas for single men and single women (Memmott 2007: 25, 28). The couples' crisis unit is a facility with three bedrooms for up to three incoming couples under duress (Fig. 31.8).

The camping area contains 20 shelters comprised of semi-enclosed steel sheds for people who have been sleeping rough and are not prepared to live in conventional accommodation, preferring instead to pursue an externally oriented traditional lifestyle. The shelters have iron roofs, walls on three sides and concrete slab floors and are equipped with power outlets, lights, bed frames, plastic chairs, ropes for hanging clothes and roll-up tarps for partial privacy. A half-drum mounted on legs serves as an external warming hearth. An ablution block is located to one side in the area. Clients are issued with mattresses and linen and are required to disinfect the mattresses every morning and wash linen weekly. Some residents would prefer to stay in this area in preference to the single persons' quarters or houses.

Once settled into the crisis or singles accommodation, residents may be encouraged to move to the rear, to the six two-bedroom houses (the *Wullerberi* Houses) in preparation to re-enter mainstream rental housing administered by the Department of Housing, either in Mount Isa or other small regional towns. Clients take control of their own food and cooking and are required to keep the premises clean and tidy, maintain their own yard and pay a modest rent and bond. To become eligible tenants, clients must participate in educational courses and basic living skills training run by the Queensland Government's Department of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), which includes cooking, budgeting, hygiene and home

maintenance. Courses designed for Indigenous clients also include numeracy and literacy and a basic mechanics course (which includes learning skills to strip down and rebuild engines). Clients go to the top of the public housing waiting list when in the *Wullerberi* Houses. When they move out, the accumulated rent money is released for buying furniture and white goods for their first rental home, bringing high self-esteem according to the Centre manager and the case worker.

The all-Aboriginal staff consisting of a manager, assistant manager, team leaders and support workers share the main office and reception wing which is secured. The clients' medications are kept here, and the staff remind them to administer daily. The case worker provides a wide range of services, including case management referral, assistance with returning home (return to country), health issues, obtaining housing, education, legal services, welfare payments and alcohol support services. The Jimaylya case worker also monitors the clients once in their public rental tenancy and at times can assist with supportive intervention if the client cannot cope with relatives who come to stay and drink excessively, threatening the tenancy. All of these offices wrap around a central semi-arid-style garden.

Most Jimaylya clients utilise the communal kitchen and must purchase and cook their own food. A staff member takes them shopping daily in the Jimaylya bus. Bags of food are marked, placed into storage and receipts issued to clients so as to protect their food from illicit consumption by others. An open furnished dining area is provided for meals (open walls on three sides).

A large multifunctional hall serves as a bad-weather dining room and a TV lounge. A residents' meeting is held here fortnightly for clients to express ideas, thoughts and feelings, make compliments and complaints about the service, discuss problems, devise solutions, plan activities and review service delivery. This in turn empowers clients as a collective, with a capacity to personally influence and provide input into the way the centre is run, so that their needs can be better met in ways that benefit the group.

The 'wet area' comprises a shade roof over six tables for sitting and drinking with surrounding grassed areas. Alcohol consumption is not permitted outside of the area's perimeter fence. The wet area can only be opened after all cleaning, gardening, and other chores have been completed and closes at 6:00 pm. Drinking limits may be placed upon certain clients who are assessed daily by a visiting health team. The wet area is under the surveillance of two staff. Any deviant behaviour in this subsetting including failure to follow reasonable directions results in shutting down of the drinking activity for all, and collection and labelling of alcohol with owners' name, for storage. The threat of a collective penalty aims to encourage peer group correction of unruly behaviour and drinking pace (Fig. 31.9).

The Setting Controls and Perceptions

The Jimaylya Centre is funded by the Queensland State Government through the Department of Communities, but senior bureaucrats allow the Centre to be run

Fig. 31.9 Jimaylya clients, (old friends of the author's, from Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria) consuming afternoon alcoholic drinks in the roofed, controlled drinking area (*Photograph* Paul Memmott)

relatively autonomously by the Aboriginal manager. The manager, Rob Willetts, a *Waanyi* man, is a former policeman and the son of a drover. His longevity in the position (2003–2017) and extensive knowledge as a member of the local Indigenous community combined with a distinctive 'tough love' management style when dealing with clients, have contributed to continuing stable operations in the Centre's system of settings. Jimaylya has 24 mostly Aboriginal staff, working in rotating shifts with a team leader and two support workers. The team leader, being responsible for day-to-day operations, monitors the clients and infrastructure (partly through CCTV). Each support worker maintains a journal which records all incidents occurring in their eight-hour shift and is passed on to subsequent shifts to understand various clients' case dynamics.

At Jimaylya, the staff–client relationship is congenial, a contributing reason being that clients have relative independence in their day-to-day living and also hold a stake in the management of the Centre in that they manage their own budgets, cooking and alcohol consumption and participate in regular management meetings and feedback.

The rules of the Centre are explained to clients upon induction, including the process of two warnings and then being banned from the wet area or from the centre, for serious misdemeanours (e.g. for violence, antisocial behaviour, theft, drugs, failure to conform to certain centre rules). This process also includes an

opportunity for talking, counselling and cautioning about specific problems and/or unacceptable behaviours, with a focus on determining how these behaviours can be corrected. Clients are able to implement grievance complaint procedures.

Setting controls are designed to maintain three core operating principles: (i) harm minimisation, (ii) transition accommodation leading to rental housing, and (iii) cultural maintenance and the building of social capital and resilience. Jimaylya has had many successes in terms of harm minimisation through provision of emergency accommodation and transitional accommodation as well as a significant number of clients who have accessed the services, training and stable public rental housing.

The Dugalunji Camp of the Myuma Group[6]

The Dugalunji Camp, located some 180 km (111 mi) to the north-west of Mount Isa, is a remote residential work base for a population of both permanent and seasonal Indigenous workers and prevocational trainees. Run by the Myuma Group of local Traditional Owner, Aboriginal people with a mandate to service the wider Aboriginal region, the ideology, symbols and naming of the Camp are firmly embedded in the traditional 'Dreamtime'[7] belief system and the cultural landscape. However, there has been no overt attempt to embed the architecture with material symbolism as was done at Potawot and Ōrākei. Like the Jimaylya Centre, the architectural elements are utilitarian, being prefabricated industrialised products. The design decision-making has largely been in the hands of the Aboriginal leader who has integrated culturally distinct site behaviours and socio-spatial design into the constituent system of behaviour settings and their strong control mechanisms, only employing a 'small a' architect for selected technical tasks. As in the other cases, there is an emphasis on maintaining a culturally safe environment.

Project History and Philosophy

The Dugalunji Camp is a village owned, controlled and created by Aboriginal people, accommodating operational, enterprise and training staff and a biannual or tri-annual intake of 15–30 prevocational trainees, making for a total maximum accommodated population of up to 70 people. Located near the small bush

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[6]This case study is drawn from Memmott (2012).

[7]The 'Dreamtime' is an Aboriginal English term used throughout Australia to refer to the creation time when Ancestral Heroes were shaping the landscape and leaving their sacred energies imbued in sites; these energies are believed to remain at the sites, energising life (Rose 2005).

township of Camooweal, on the upper Georgina River basin, it is operated by the Myuma Group of corporations run by the Aboriginal owners, the Indjalandji-Dhidhanu people.

The Myuma Group aims to generate Aboriginal cultural and socio-economic empowerment partly through a balanced hybrid economy (multiple enterprise strands) and an Aboriginal way of doing things that, nevertheless, must be viable within economic market parameters. The Myuma Group also facilitates a particular Aboriginal consumption style including the architectural environment provided to its Aboriginal workers and clients.

The *Indjalandji-Dhidhanu* registered a Native Title claim in 1998 (under the Australian Government's *Native Title Act 1993*). A year later, Queensland Main Roads Department commenced the construction of a new Georgina River Bridge. The *Indjalandji-Dhidhanu*, using the cultural capital of their Native Title claimant status, negotiated a range of project outcomes and benefits from Department of Main Roads, including employment and training for themselves and Aboriginal peoples from the wider region. The bridge construction was viewed as a successful partnership project, and after its completion, a construction camp, later named the 'Dugalunji Camp', was left in the hands of the *Indjalandji-Dhidhanu* group. The bridge was officially named *Ilaga Thuwani*, meaning 'the Camping Ground of the Rainbow Serpent'.

The Dugalunji Camp contains a complex of buildings and spaces which include many prefabricated, transportable 'dongas' (as they are colloquially called, similar to mobile houses), typical of remote area mining camps and considered to be poor sustainable design by many architects. However, the dongas are integrated with a range of customary Aboriginal design principles and vernacular architectural elements, hearths, bush materials and external orientation to the cultural landscape.

The system of settings in the Dugalunji Camp supports the hybrid economy of the Myuma Group which has grown to a gross annual turnover of over AUD $15 million (Memmott 2012: 253). The range of enterprises over the last 15 years includes highway construction, road maintenance, fencing, cultural heritage services, land and riverine management, labour and plant hire, quarrying and the delivery of accredited training programmes to young Aboriginal adults in civil and mining construction and related support services, including horticulture, hospitality and catering.

The Myuma experiment aims to move young Aboriginal adults out of inter-generational socio-economic disadvantage. This is achieved partly through settlement planning, architecture, cultural landscaping and the device of the Aboriginal service setting. The Dugalunji Camp displays a popular Aboriginal aesthetic created by Indigenous people overcoming "extraordinary hurdles to foster emergent social norms and new institutions to negotiate the difficult space between the Market and the Dreaming" (Altman 2009).

Cultural Landscape

Myuma's Dugalunji Camp sits on a 1.5 ha (2.4 acre) lease within a remote semi-arid setting of red sand, spinifex grass and open eucalypt woodland some 5 km (3.1 miles) east of the Camooweal township. On the west side of Camooweal is the Georgina River with three long sacred lakes. Further west is the Barkly Tableland, an immense open grassed plain covered by pastoral leases and boasting some of the largest beef cattle stations (ranches) in the world, watered using subterranean bore technology. Camooweal once was a droving town full of stockmen but since the advent of cattle trucks (1970s) has shrunk to be a highway village with a population of about 190 people, of whom about 100 are of Aboriginal descent (ABS 2011b).

The upper Georgina River with its tributaries and perennial lakes draining open flat grass plains forms a complex Aboriginal cultural landscape of sacred and secular sites with the dominant 'Dreamings' (or totems) being Rainbow Serpent, Rain, Wind, Travelling Picaninnies and Blue Tongue Lizard. The lakes once enabled large-scale regional ceremonial festivals during which people feasted on kangaroo, emu, fish, ducks and water lilies. The name of the camp is taken from a local Dreaming—*Dugalunji* refers to a sacred mussel shell found in the lakes and used in ritual Rain-making, thus emphasising the Dreaming identity and authority of its owners. Knowledge of sacred histories has been maintained by the *Indjalandji* group despite the difficult frontier history of disease, violence, discrimination and forced removals.

Design Process and Procurement

After an initial unsatisfactory grid layout imposed by the Department of Main Roads, the camp was redesigned in 2011–2012 by the Myuma Aboriginal manager, Colin Saltmere with contracted assistance from a 'small a' architect, the firm of James Davidson of Brisbane. Learning from the mistakes of the first layout, the camp was upgraded (a process of 'selectionism') using national training infrastructure funds. The camp layout transformed from a dense grid of dongas with issues of crowding and lack of security to an open elliptical horseshoe layout (all low-set, one storey) with an emphasis on spatial separation, yet without sacrificing capacity for socialising in a central space. Security is achieved through clear surveillance of the socio-spatial space.

In the construction process, Colin Saltmere controlled camp layout, combining prefabrication techniques while maximising local onsite trainee labour and introducing customary bush methods such as spinifex shade roofs, termite soil slabs and earth walls, while James Davidson complemented this work with other architectural services such as visual design, construction detailing, overall service integration, kitchen design, engineering integrity and government planning approval. Colin Saltmere negotiated with a Brisbane-based building manufacturer to redesign their

transportable donga as a prefabricated kit with graphic (not written) instructions, to maximise onsite Aboriginal employment and provide assembly experience for trainees (some with low levels of literacy). The camp's buildings are interspersed with a series of informal outdoor activity spaces. Most dominant is the 'horseshoe' layout of the trainees' residential dongas around a central recreational space for outdoor and semi-enclosed sports and games (football, netball, pool).

Colin Saltmere drew on a number of socio-spatial design elements deriving from traditional Aboriginal camps that were in turn utilised in pastoral stock camps in which he, along with other Aboriginal stockmen, worked and lived during their younger years (Memmott 2011: 22). Such elements included separate sleeping areas for married couples, single men and single women, the capacity for separate areas for older single men and younger single men, design considerations for externally oriented lifestyles (verandas, open-walled roofed structures, outdoor sitting and working areas), with the enclosed shelter mostly utilised for nocturnal sleeping. The layout provides a capacity for leaders to have visual surveillance (and thus setting control) from a central position to all the workers and those approaching the camp to maintain security and a moral order (Memmott and Keys 2014: 529) (Fig. 31.10).

Activities, the System of Settings and the Milieu

Much of the design of the system of settings is around the prevocational, accredited training programme commenced in 2006, which aims to equip Aboriginal participants for preidentified employment positions in civil construction and mining operations in remote Queensland. The programme has been operating as a 'best practice' national training scheme with secure funding (several million dollars per annum) from the mining sector and government. Several annual intakes of 15–30 trainees have since occurred (i.e. about 60 per year), largely Aboriginal school-leavers or young adults at risk of long-term unemployment. The geographic origins of the trainees from around the State—remote, rural and metropolitan—ensure a stimulating interactive experience due to the mixing up of their diverse Aboriginal cultures, ranging from high to low retention of classical customary behaviours, and from northern island and rainforest to western desert and southern forest and riverine cultures.

The Dugalunji Camp's activity spaces (settings) comprise dining hall, well-equipped kitchen, four office buildings, two training rooms, accommodation for 70 people, semi-enclosed recreation area and workshop, gymnasium, laundries and ablution units, first aid centre, workshops, storage buildings, outdoor barbecue and ground oven facility (for cooking kangaroos, emus and turkeys), artefact keeping place and manufacturing area and nursery.

The diurnal emphasis on external orientation and activity necessitates architectural elaboration and maintenance on external spaces around the prefab buildings to suit an annual climatic cycle of sunny–windy–cold, sunny–hot–dry and humid–wet–hot months. Numerous small setting spaces allow individuals and especially
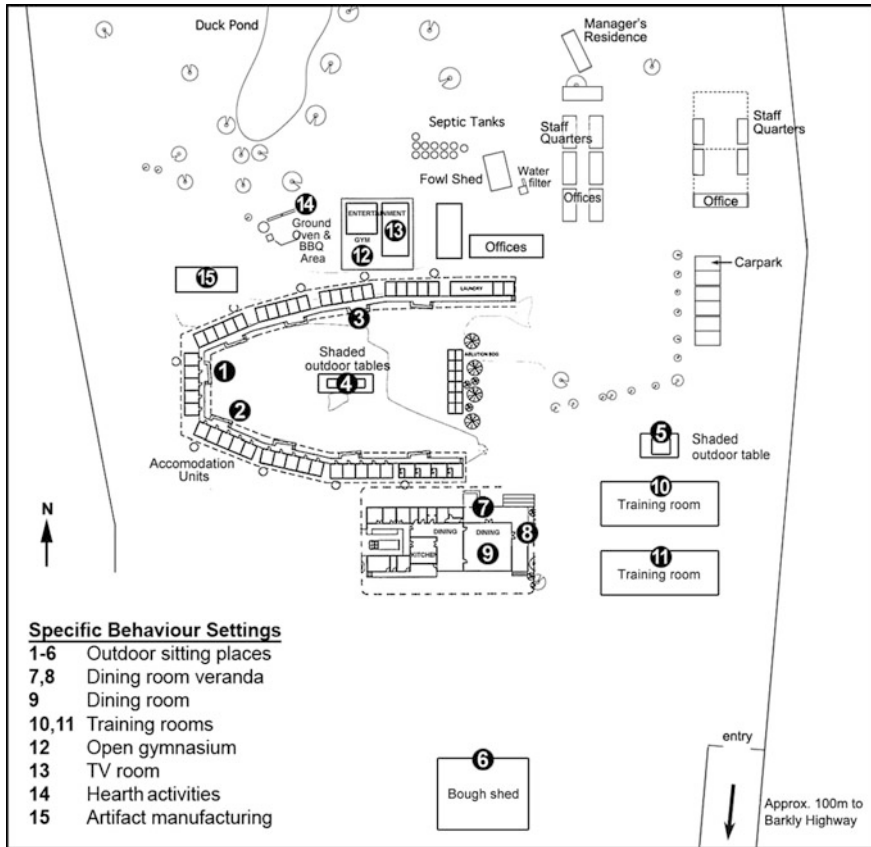
Fig. 31.10 Dugalunji Camp at Camooweal, showing the system of Indigenous behaviour settings accommodating 70 workers, 2015 (*Drawing* Aboriginal Environments Research Centre, University of Queensland)

small groups to carry out formal or informal activities ranging from yarning and smoking to training assignments. Certain spaces are dedicated to traditional activities such as stone tool knapping, pit roasting of game and manufacture of timber artefacts. The setting spaces are punctuated with combinations of semi-fixed features: spinifex shade roofs, parasol roofs, foliage and adobe windbreaks, outdoor furniture, winter hearths, outdoor hot and cold drink facilities, landscaping of shade trees, lawn punctuated with some flower gardens and the use of 'green walls' (vines suspended on wire strands). Other setting activities include hosting visiting regional Elders, the delivery of cultural induction programmes to regional industries, and workshops on strengthening cultural identity and Aboriginal history for the pre-vocational trainees (Fig. 31.11).

The structure of time in the Dugalunji Camp is reminiscent of the pastoral stock camps run by Myuma's Manager in his earlier adulthood. The Dugalunji Camp day

Fig. 31.11 Stone knapping area at the Dungalunji Camp, with a windbreak around the fire used for manufacturing spinifex resin and a spinifex-roofed bough shed to right (*Photograph* Paul Memmott)

commences early with the breakfast bell sounding at 6.30 am. A cooked cafeteria-style breakfast is available in the dining hall, and then, workers prepare their own lunches. Management staff attend a 'prestart' meeting at 7:00 am to plan work activities, while others perform the morning camp clean-up. Spaces are hosed down early to keep free of dust and promote evaporative cooling. A 7:30 am workers' meeting follows to organise campsite and offsite tasks.

Spinifex, a type of prickly arid zone hummock grass (*Triodia* genus), has become an iconic material in the camp. It was commonly used as a customary cladding on the timber-framed domes as well as for windbreaks and shade shelters. The traditional value of spinifex is now simply expressed through its use for bough sheds, which are constructed of steel roof frames with double-mesh sandwich panels in which hummocks of compressed spinifex are laid. Experimental spinifex farming as a commercial enterprise has also been developed in the Dugalunji Camp with bales of grass stockpiled around the camp for threshing to extract resin. The grass fibre is sent to the University of Queensland where engineers are extracting nano-fibrillated cellulose for the development of a commercial farming industry (Memmott et al. 2017).

The Setting Controls

Setting design and management are combined with strong setting controls. Forms of social capital underlying the success of the Myuma Group are drawn from clan descent groups, kin networks, cultural blocs, initiates' networks and pastoral industry contacts. The camp is run in a manner reminiscent of the stock camps of Colin Saltmere's earlier adulthood providing trainees with work discipline which is a necessity for mining industry employment. There is a strong sense of daily order in the camp, as workers move within a defined set of rules and a fixed timetable.

Individuals learn that they must accept the consequences of their actions if they break the camp rules. If somebody brings alcohol or drugs into the camp, they are evicted. Work incidents are discussed at every prestart meeting, and deviant behaviour is chastised and checked at these meetings. In establishing the desired Aboriginal behaviour patterns with minimal behavioural deviancy or dysfunction, there is a premise that success is partly due to there being sufficient trainees for a critical mass to generate both a peer-based social support network and peer pressure over deviant individual behaviour, albeit within an Aboriginal value system that is reinforced daily by the training staff (Memmott and Keys 2014: 528).

The daily management of the Dugalunji Camp involves building and monitoring the responsibilities of every participant. Individual morality and harmonious relationships within the camp contribute to the notion of an overall camp morality with minimal behavioural deviancy. Myuma is able to provide its trainees and workers with a sense of 'at-homeness', self-confidence in Aboriginal identity and social relatedness with order and security, experiences which are often in contrast to the dysfunctional aspects of their home and community lives where social order has deteriorated during the post-colonial period.

Ambience and Perception

The Indigenous workers expressed a strong satisfaction with the redesign of the layout of Dugalunji Camp. The constant respect of Aboriginal Law by the camp leaders, senior staff and Elders gradually pervades into an awareness that comes upon staff, trainees and visitors; they are in a cultural landscape of ancestrally created places and sacred histories. A strong commitment to customary Aboriginal Law and culture permeates the camp on a daily basis. There is thus a unique symbiotic relationship between the practice of Aboriginal Law and the practice of commerce in the Dugalunji Camp. The two are complementary, creating a strong bond connecting Aboriginality to the way that Myuma runs day-to-day 'business' (Fig. 31.12).

Fig. 31.12 Workers playing volleyball in the central recreation space of the Dugalunji Camp with surrounding 'dongas' in background (*Photograph* Paul Memmott)

Conclusion

A number of salient setting design principles emerge consistently from the case studies which build towards a definition of an Indigenous behaviour setting and which can be summarised as follows.

Setting origins and ideologies: All four case studies are initiated by Indigenous people even though they have had to transact with governments for some sort of support, either legal recognition, grant funding or other economic support (e.g. loans, contracts). The drive for self-initiation of the setting has partly come from historical legacies of political–cultural opposition towards the hegemonic forces of colonialism and/or government, a sense of determination and resistance. All integrate architectural design and cultural landscape, with service delivery and organisational policy and ideology. All sites contain setting design elements that address the components of the holistic definition of Indigenous well-being and health, viz. the social, cultural, psychological, spiritual, economic and environmental well-being of the participants.

The cultural landscapes: Each site has a sense of being designed within an Indigenous cultural landscape with specific place properties, albeit with varying

degrees of explicit and implicit reference from architectural features. Some settings express their connection to the cultural landscape directly through the design, and all rely on expression of this link through regular oral transmission and/or educational techniques to staff, clients or visitors. All also have an emphasis on externally oriented architecture linked to both internal and surrounding landscaped spaces in and around the immediate site. Two of the sites involve wider restoration landscaping to re-establish native plant communities.

Design processes: All four case studies are designed by collaborative teams involving an Indigenous committee or a strong Indigenous leader together with an architect; in only one case has an architect had a high profile in the process. High 'symbolic capital' is invested in the fixed architecture of only two cases; more investment occurs in the symbolic or semantic capital of semi-fixed or loose features across all four cases. Only one case is based on a traditional ethno-architectural type, but the others have elements of ethno-architectural types such as socio-spatial layout and use of hearths. Two case studies employ customary ethno-architectural materials (redwood, spinifex). Most involve a purposeful design of the setting to be welcoming through entry approaches. An architectural intention in several sites has been to create multiple external spaces that afford social networking and social capital building, but also that such spaces can afford surveillance by management. Formal instruction is offered to visitors or clients on aspects of the design process, service ideology and cultural context, some with tours of their sites.

Systems of settings and milieu: All case studies have a complex system of designed behaviour settings; i.e. each case study is in fact an integrated set of smaller interrelated settings. The role and extent of architectural hardware varies throughout each of the constituent settings as a mixture of fixed, semi-fixed and non-fixed features.

Setting controls and governance: Setting controls are only well documented for the two Australian case studies and are complex, but the governance structures are clearly very strong in all cases, suggesting that setting controls are well maintained. The Australian sites initiate their clients into the complex setting rules in an induction process, including the range of penalties for breaking the rules. All sites have Indigenous staff to maintain the controls.

Ambience and perceptions: The constitutions and/or strategic plans of the four agencies target the Indigenous people of a wide surrounding region as clients/ beneficiaries despite tribal diversity (and urban/remote diversity). They purposefully build social capital between the clients/users and promote forms of relational well-being with both kin and country. There is an overt affirmation of individuals' Indigenous identity in at least three of the sites. A sense of daily structured rhythms connects people to their site reinforcing their cultural identity with and belonging to the site. All sites are designed successfully to be predictable stable places with a sense of safety (including cultural safety) and where culturally supportive intercultural transactions occur, but on Indigenous terms and involving Indigenous controls. (The most formalised in the sense of reciprocal intercultural relations is at Ōrākei drawing on the Māori cultural value system).

In summary, each case study can be considered to be a site containing a system of 'Indigenous behaviour settings', and with recurring behaviour patterns in culturally appropriate, designed, physical settings, such that there is a synomorphic relation or 'fit' between the human behaviour episodes that occur (with some dominance of Indigenous behaviour patterns in the various case studies) and the physical and temporal environments of the settings. They are largely controlled and managed by Indigenous people and have been designed by Indigenous leaders in collaboration with an architect, to be comfortable and facilitate well-being for Indigenous clients or users. This is achieved through a combination of behavioural patterns and environmental (landscaping) features, artefactual features (built and loose structures, objects) and setting controls which are designed to be relatively comfortable, predictable, culturally secure and conducive for Indigenous people to use. There is also a sense of identity with and even ownership of such a system of settings by Indigenous people as well as of being centred in a cultural landscape (Memmott 2011).

The well-designed and managed Indigenous behaviour setting can provide for client or user individuals who are often overtaken by personal chaos, a place of relief where order and predictability prevail in a safe environment. The challenge then for Indigenous architecture proponents is to facilitate projects with the optimum balance of Indigenous client control, setting (milieu) policy and programming, cultural grounding and architectural design to synthesise outcomes that deliver well-being for Indigenous users.

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Chapter 32
The Forced Imposition of Architecture: Prison Design for Indigenous Peoples in the USA and Canada

Elizabeth Grant

Introduction

The mass incarceration of Indigenous peoples is a worldwide phenomenon. Disproportionately, high numbers of Indigenous people are confined in prisons[1] due to ongoing legacies of forced colonisation.[2] The growing number of Indigenous people in prison systems and their treatment is deeply distressing as, simply put, the

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[1]Grant writes:

Terminology for various types of closed institutions within the literature varies. The USA uses the term jail' to refer to a penal institution where people are held pending further investigation or awaiting trial. The terms 'prisons' and 'penitentiary' refer to a facility housing prisoners with sentences over one year. The Canadian Prison System has Federal and State penitentiaries.' State Penitentiaries' house prisoners serving sentences of less than two years while 'Federal Penitentiaries' refer to facilities housing prisoners serving longer sentences (Grant 2008: 17).

In this chapter, the term 'prison' will be used as a generic term to refer to all institutions that hold people sentenced to custody but excludes police custody.

[2]In most countries with histories of colonisation (especially, Australia, Canada and the USA), Indigenous peoples were criminalised for the practice of their culture with most aspects of their lives controlled by government. Simultaneously, legislation was enacted so that imprisonment could be used as a method of dispossessing people from their traditional lands and acquiring their resources.

The original version of this chapter was revised: Author biography has been updated. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_35

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experience of prison causes immeasurable suffering and damage to individuals, families and communities. It also perpetuates the intergenerational cycle of excessive contact that Indigenous peoples have with criminal justice systems generally (see, for example, Young 1990; Commonwealth of Australia 1991; LaPrairie 1997, 2002; Quince 2007; Blagg 2008; Nielsen and Silverman 2009).

The primary concern of any discourse on prisons should be to reduce the number of Indigenous people entering prison systems. Given this is not occurring, and Indigenous prisoner populations are rising, a secondary concern and the subject of my research for the last fifteen years has been to contemplate methods to reduce or ameliorate the negative impacts of prison experiences for Indigenous individuals, families, communities.

Indigenous cultural heritage is one of the greatest assets and resources of any country. Cultural heritage refers to the ways of living built up by a group of humans by reason of their birth. The accumulation of Indigenous cultural capital occurs by passing language, knowledge, arts, rituals and performances from one generation to another, that is, specifically, by learning, speaking and teaching languages, protecting cultural materials, learning Indigenous histories and knowledges and safeguarding and engaging with secret, sacred and/or significant artefacts and sites. While there have been catastrophic losses of Indigenous cultural heritage since the colonisation of the USA and Canada (and other countries with histories of forced colonisation), Indigenous people have determinedly (and despite the odds) sought to retain traditional elements of cultures, maintained and revived languages and Indigenous knowledges to build cultural capital and preserve cultural heritage. Intergenerational cultural transmission is fundamental and essential to the survival and building of Indigenous cultures, and it enhances the cultural sustainability and resilience of Indigenous individuals, families and communities. Why, then, do successive governments across the world impose sanctions which result in Indigenous people being taken away from their families and communities where intergenerational cultural transmission must place? This appears counterintuitive.

If prison must be used as a sanction, in what ways can prison environments be designed to support existing cultural norms and practices and strengthen Indigenous peoples' cultural connections and knowledges to counter some of the damage that prisons cause? The principal questions are: can prison architecture move from being architecture that is imposed on Indigenous users, to architecture that takes into account Indigenous needs and aspirations? Can Indigenous peoples assert cultural agency over this genre of architecture, given that it has been so forcibly imposed?

This chapter discusses the design of prisons for Indigenous prisoners in the USA and Canada. It argues that designing congruent environments for Indigenous peoples may not be enough while criminal justice agencies continue to operate under punitive 'law and order' agendas. It recommends that human rights instruments should be translated into prison design and Indigenous peoples and communities be given cultural agency in prison planning and design processes, as well as their management and operation.

The General Absence of Incarceration Within Precolonial Indigenous Epistemologies

While Indigenous societies across the world are not homogenous and each has its own social system, one recurring theme of precolonial Indigenous societies was the emphasis on conflict resolution and community coherence, rather than on the punishment of individuals who would not or could not follow the rules of the particular social structure. The emphasis was almost always about maintaining harmony and keeping the resources and capacity of a group intact.

These systems of governance were often guided by the customary laws, traditions and practices within a system of justice that connected everyone involved with a problem or conflict in a continuum, with all parties focused on the same goal (see, for example, Weisbrot 1982; Zion 1988; Tso 1989; Yazzie 1989; Ruru 2009; Valencia-Weber 1994; Yunupingu1997; Woodman 2007). The resolution process, from the disclosure of the issue, discussion and resolution, to making amends and restoring relationships, was generally based on the concepts of restorative[3] and reparative[4] justice (see, for example, Getches et al. 2011).

This is not to say that dissidents were not dealt punishments in precolonial Indigenous societies. Temporary ostracism from the group was often a reasonable solution, and shunning was used by some Indigenous societies as a punishment. Without the collective resources of a group, a shunned person had little chance of long-term survival. Physical punishments were also dealt out for certain transgressions in behaviour. Artichoker writes that, in the Canadian context:

> those unable to adhere to customary practices of respectful behaviour experienced consequences form kinship networks and social societies with the power to physically punish, shun, banish or even kill… (Artichoker 2008: 2).

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[3]Richland and Deer write:

> Restorative principles refer to the mending process for renewal of damaged personal and communal relationships. The victim is the focal point, and the goal is to heal and renew the victim's physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual wellbeing. It also involves deliberate acts by the offender to regain dignity and trust, and to return to a healthy physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual state. These are necessary for the offender and victim to save face and to restore personal and communal harmony (2015: 330).

[4]Melton states:

> Restorative principles refer to the process of making things right for oneself and those affected by the offender's behaviour. To repair relationships, it is essential for the offender to make amends through apology, asking forgiveness, making restitution, and engaging in acts that demonstrate a sincere desire to make things right. The communal aspect allows for crime to be viewed as a natural human error that requires corrective intervention by families and [E]lders and …leaders. Thus, offenders remain an integral part of the community because of their important role in defining the boundaries of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour and the consequences associated with misconduct (2005: 181).

Banishment or exile (the punishment most akin to incarceration) was employed by relatively few precolonial Indigenous societies. In Australia, under Yolngu (Yolŋu) law, Yolngu (Aboriginal peoples) of Northeast Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory were on occasion, banished or exiled. Temporary exile to another place (generally where there were relatives who were known to the offender) or temporary internal exile (where the offender was prevented from entering certain areas where an aggrieved person may be) were both used (Toussaint 1999); however, this was considered an extremely harsh punishment (Williams 1987).

The colonisation of Canada, the USA and other countries brought the concept of incarceration and prisons to Indigenous peoples of those countries. The experiences of being forcibly removed and incarcerated were alien and often terrifying. Governor Grey reporting in Australia in 1841 said:

> To a civilised man imprisonment presents but slight terror. To an [A]borigine, the loss of liberty is an almost inconceivable idea. He has never heard of such a thing and is so contrary is it to their habits that it is almost impossible he can ever have imagined it (Grey quoted in Kerr 1988: 99).

Imprisoning Indigenous offenders presented challenges to colonial administrations and historically, as the number of 'Indigenous prisoners' grew in certain areas, jurisdictions often sought to resolve issues through the design of specialised physical environments to manage prisoners.

In contemporary times, the experience of incarceration is familiar to most Indigenous families and communities. If they have not been incarcerated themselves, then a community member is likely to have been. Luana Ross illustrates this:

> People from my reservation disappear and magically reappear. …I imagined all families had relatives who went away and then returned (Ross 1998: 2).

The Experience of Prison

The unique environmental experience of being confined in a 'total institution' (Goffman 1961) invokes extreme and complex responses, with individuals responding to the loss of liberty, autonomy, goods, services, heterosexual relationships and personal security (Sykes 1958) with a range of emotions and behaviours (Zamble and Porporino 1988; Zamble 1992). The negative responses to prison environments have been well documented (see, for example, Taylor and Cohen 1972; Zamble and Porporino 1988; Zamble 1992; Shalev 2008; Toch 2013; Liebling and Ludlow 2016), are damaging and can be life-threatening.

Individuals outside the Western domiciliary tradition may differ in the manner they react to environmental factors such as isolation (Reser 1989; Grant and Memmott 2008), crowding (Grant and Memmott 2008; Memmott et al. 2012), light and sound (Grant 2009a, b). Individuals may also need connections to the external environment and to be located in a place where they have cultural attachments and access to kin in order to sustain mental and physical health, and feelings of

well-being (Grant 2009a). People from some cultures also have obligations to observe certain behaviours (such as the avoidance of certain family members) or to perform ceremonies that require specific structures.

Prisons are regimented environments (Toch 2013), which are often inflexible to the needs of different cultural groups (Grant 2009a). Surviving in prison can be challenging in itself, but the struggle is compounded when one is denied religious and personal freedoms, has different cultural traditions, social norms and domiciliary practices and is denied access to family, community and Country. Grant et al. wrote of Australian Aboriginal prisoners:

> Family and kin is the core of Aboriginal life and often the only constant in the lives of Aboriginal people…Aboriginal prisoners separated from countrymen, family and kin suffer emotional and spiritual distress beyond that imposed upon non-Aboriginal prisoners (2017: 125).

Various countries have sought to provide facilities in different guises in attempts to meet the varying environmental and cultural needs of Indigenous people within their prison systems.

Research in behavioural design, drawing from architectural, anthropological and psychological considerations of the cultural context of various groups of Indigenous peoples, empirical studies, coronial inquiries, legal cases and other factors have fed into recent approaches to the design of custodial environments for Indigenous peoples. Some work has been conducted within Barker's theoretical framework of behaviour settings (1968)[5] and follows the model whereby meeting the socio-spatial and cultural needs of the individual reduces stress, potentially leading to better outcomes.[6]

A strong cultural identity is fundamental to Indigenous health and well-being (Richmond and Ross 2009; Kirmayer et al. 2003), and design models assume that cultural growth and regeneration may be achieved through incorporating appropriate cultural references into a prison's architecture, management and programs. For example, in the context of architectural approaches in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, the USA and Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat), Grant noted that:

> Design guidelines can be derived based on international trends which indicate that designs for prisons for Indigenous people need to consider eight key points:
>
> - A connection to community and the relevant Country of the potential users when siting,
> - Fluid connections to exterior environment in all aspects of design,
> - An environment imbued with Indigeneity,
> - A capacity for the individual to maintain connections to family and kin (inside and outside the prison),
> - A capacity for the individual and group to continue ceremony and cultural practices (including domiciliary and socio-spatial behaviours),

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[5]Barker's 'behaviour setting' theory examines the interplay between environmental attributes (such as spatial behaviour, physical boundaries, structures, meanings and controls) and settings to fulfil human needs (for more recent discussions of the behaviour setting see Memmott 2018).

[6]There have been no post-occupancy evaluations to assess the success of such approaches.

- Normalised environments which allow the individual to be part of a social and cultural grouping and assist in developing life skills,
- All aspects of the design to meet health and safety needs, and
- Avenues to allow effective and culturally appropriate information flows.

To prevent people from endlessly recycling through prison systems, it is essential that Indigenous prisoners should be housed as close as possible to their families and support systems, live in culturally appropriate accommodation with others and continue cultural traditions.[7] Shipping people to faraway prisons that have no vested interest in rehabilitation and the prisoner's eventual return to society is a prescription for disaster. It would be far preferable that fewer Indigenous people ended up in prison, or that less damaging alternatives were implemented; however, while various countries continue to operate in current modes, there is a responsibility to find ways to minimise the damage prisons do to those incarcerated within them (Grant 2016a, b: 46).

Aotearoa New Zealand has attempted to integrate restorative and reparative justice processes into their prison design, programming, operation and management. In response to the large numbers of Māori imprisoned, Aotearoa New Zealand developed the concept of Māori Focus Units, built on the premise that increased cultural knowledge will reduce criminal behaviour. Other programs and initiatives of the Department of Corrections New Zealand include having *wharenui* (meeting houses) within prisons and enacting restorative and reparative justice processes within them in an attempt to overlay Māori epistemologies onto the correctional landscape. To this point, the experiences of Native North American peoples imprisoned in the USA have not been as positive and the architectural developments may be failing to keep pace.

The USA

The 2015 census records a population of 6.6 million Native North Americans and Alaskan Native peoples,[8] who constitute approximately two per cent of the total population (US Census Bureau 2016). It is estimated that more Native North American people are incarcerated as a relative percentage of the overall population than any other ethnic group in the USA.[9]

The USA has a wide array of places to detain people. There are jails and prisons run by local jurisdictions that house convicted people awaiting trial and serving

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[7]As 'best practice' precedent of these principles, see West Kimberley Regional Prison designed by Iredale, Pederson and Hook (see Grant 2013a, b).

[8]The US census uses self-identification to means of measuring people as Native North American, Aleut or Inuit–Yupik peoples.

[9]A number of states in the USA do not record the ethnicity of prisoners.

short sentences. Prisons or penitentiaries, run by individual states or the Federal Government, house prisoners serving longer sentences. There are also jails and prisons on reservations and in overseas territories, most of which are administered by different entities.

Native North American peoples have a lengthy history of successful ligation to exercise religious and cultural practices while incarcerated (see, for example, Grobsmith 1994; Holscher 1992; Cooper 1995; Foster 2010), some of which emphasised the right of Native North American prisoners to access sweat lodges and conduct ceremonies. However, it is a time-consuming, expensive and intensive exercise to litigate these claims, case-by-case, and when they are won, the outcomes may not be enforced nationwide. So, while Native North Americans have been generally successful in asserting their legal fight to practise cultural traditions within prison environments, these rights are often not able to be exercised easily. For example, many Native North American prisoners continue to face obstacles or are denied permission to keep spiritual objects, such as smudging materials, personal medicine pouches or sacred bundles in their possession (Root and Lynch 2014: 266).

Given the ligation, and the subsequent failure of some prisons to allow prisoners to observe cultural and spiritual practices, recognition of the unique needs of Native North American prisoners appears to have been underplayed or ignored. This is reflected in the architecture of US prisons. Architectural initiatives have been confined to tribal jails and the construction of tipis and sweat lodges in mainstream prisons to conduct ceremonies.

Tribal Jails

A little over 2.5 million Native Americans (approximately 37% of the total Native American population) reside on self-governing reservations[10] throughout the USA (Norris et al. 2012). Separate tribal legal structures have been established to allow reservations self-determination, and the creation of tribal jails allows members to be

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[10]The US Department of the Interior Indian Affairs note:

A federal Indian reservation is an area of land reserved for a tribe or tribes under treaty or other agreement with the USA, executive order, or federal statute or administrative action as permanent tribal homelands, and where the federal government holds title to the land in trust on behalf of the tribe. Approximately 56.2 million acres are held in trust by the USA for various Indian tribes and individuals. There are approximately 326 Indian land areas in the USA administered as federal Indian reservations (i.e. reservations, pueblos, rancherias, missions, villages, communities, etc.). …Some reservations are the remnants of a tribe's original land base. Others were created by the federal government for the resettling of Indian people forcibly relocated from their homelands. Not every federally recognized tribe has a reservation (2017).

housed within or close to their home community. Across the USA, there are 79 detention facilities operated by tribal authorities or the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Minton 2013, 2016; Bureau of Justice Statistics 2016).

A review of 27 tribal jails in 2004 highlighted numerous cases of prisoner neglect and abuse, crowding, decrepit, substandard and unsafe conditions (US Department of the Interior, Office of Inspector General 2004) and instances of children being held in adult facilities. In 2010, the *Tribal Law and Order Act* was enacted, providing a basis for funding for the renovation of existing jails and construction of new facilities. From 2007 to 2014, the renovation or construction of new facilities for the incarceration and rehabilitation of adult offenders subject to tribal jurisdiction occurred in 80 locations (US Department of Justice 2014).[11] This provided Native North American Nations federal funding for much-needed infrastructure upgrades and the capacity to reflect Native North American values regarding justice in the design of new facilities. However, the new facilities were required to comply with the *Core Jail Standards* (see American Correctional Association 2010) and the US disability and safety requirements.

The projects have varied greatly, but two projects (Tuba City, Arizona and Crownpoint, New Mexico) are notable, for their attempts to produce culturally appropriate, enculturated designs, as well as the projects being controlled by the Nation themselves, designed by Native American architectural firms (the lead architects being Dyron Murphy Architects in both instances), and as examples of successful large construction projects undertaken by a Native North American Nation. Both projects were for 'justice centres'. Okland Construction described the project in Tuba City as follows:

> This project provides a 'one-stop-shop' for the community and justice personnel alike. The corrections component includes separate sections for booking/intake, food service, exercise, education, rehabilitation, and housing components along with a designated outdoor space for a hogan and sweat lodge. The law enforcement component has administration, investigation, patrol, evidence storage, armory, inmate visitation, and a dispatch/communication space. The courts area includes (1) jury courtroom, (2) non-jury courtrooms, and administration. The peacemaking area is centrally located and resembles the shape and traditional form of a Navajo hogan (Okland Construction 2017).

JCJ Architecture worked in collaboration with the lead architect for both projects, Dyron Murphy Architects. When discussing the project at Crownpoint, the firm stated that in keeping with (Fig. 32.1):

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[11]There has been criticism that some of the new tribal justice centres were built larger than required. In particular, it is stated that the tribal jails at Tuba City and Kayenta (Arizona) were constructed with capacities at least 250 per cent higher than needed. In Tuba City, NDPS constructed a 132-bed corrections facility, although the 2007 master plan called for building a 48-bed prisons. In Kayenta, an 80-bed corrections facility was built although the master plan stated a need for a 32-bed facility (US Department of Justice 2015). The size of both facilities had created increased operational and staffing costs.

Fig. 32.1 Crownpoint Justice Center, Navajo Nation, New Mexico (completed 2013) by Native American-owned and -operated firm Dyron Murphy Architects, in collaboration with JCJ Architecture (*Photograph* JCJ Architecture)

> [the] comprehensive restorative justice approach, a broad range of … agencies were included … The overall mission of the master plan was to create a holistic system of justice that would provide a safe, secure and culturally relevant place where victim and the community receive healing and restorative services; where law violators would be held accountable for their behaviour while at the same time receiving rehabilitative services; and where justice, behavioural health and social service agencies would collaborate to provide a more harmonious and efficient justice and behavioural health system for the populations they serve (JCJ Architecture 2017).

These and other projects have incorporated features such as colours and circular spaces to reflect local cultures and to enculturate the justice environment with positive messages (Bureau of Justice Assistance 2009). The use of the Medicine Wheel,[12] significant colours (such as red, yellow, black and white) and other pan-Indian symbols were incorporated into the design of these and a number of other facilities.[13] Some of the new tribal jails have sweat lodges[14] within the grounds. In other circumstances, tribal courts may issue temporary releases for prisoners to participate in sweat lodges and other ceremonies in the community under escort (Luna-Firebaugh 2003).

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[12]The Medicine Wheel symbolises the balance between mind, body, emotion and spirit. The centre is the spiritual axis of the four cardinal points. In many Native American cultures its' meaning stresses the importance of unity, reciprocity and social interaction.

[13]As the focus of this chapter is on prisons, the detail of the design of other areas of the justice centres, such as the courtrooms, etc., is not included.

[14]Sweat lodges are a salient feature of some Native North American cultures. The structures are constructed with a rounded roof and a single entryway facing either west or east. The dome-like shape of sweat lodges which is pervasive across a number of Native North American Nations is intricately and uniquely significant for different communities.

The design of accommodation within the new 'justice centres' has mirrored secure 'mainstream' US custodial facilities by using the concepts of unit management and podular design.[15] Constrained by the US briefs, standards and guidelines developed for the design of 'mainstream' prisons, the accommodation within the tribal jails is designed with cells around a day room with fixed furniture and an officer station (see Fig. 32.2).

It does not appear that the restorative justice processes mentioned in the briefs for the justice centres were integrated in the design of the jail accommodation. This may be a lost opportunity. The prison experience can be shaped by providing 'normalised' accommodation and settings which mirror living conditions in the general community (Di Gennaro 1975). By increasing the personal control experienced by prisoners, softening hard institutional environments, and providing living environments (i.e. by replicating domestic arrangements), physical and mental well-being and other outcomes for prisoners and staff alike can be improved.

Most tribal jails have small prison populations (only 20 facilities are rated to hold 50 or more prisoners), and the average length of stay after admission is short (often only a week)[16] (Minton 2016). The overly secure design with numerous static security features appears excessive and expensive, especially when one considers that the living conditions for many families in Native North American Nations are similar to those in developing countries.

In 2015, 30% of people in tribal jails were being held for violent offences, predominately domestic and family violence offences. Many people enter the system suffering trauma and physical and mental health issues. Their needs should be incorporated into the design of jail accommodation. There may be opportunities to improve the life skills and resilience of offenders through the provision of 'normalised' environments using 'trauma-informed' design responses. Tribal jails could serve a function of being places where physical and mental health and well-being are assessed and appropriate interventions imposed by the governing bodies. Architecture can play a role in this process.

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[15]'Podular' is the term used to describe design of prisoner housing units that employs direct supervision to manage prisoners (Atlas 1989). Staff are stationed inside the housing units (rather than separated by security barriers), and the institution is broken into self-contained units with cells configured around a multi-use day room (Farbstein 1989; Farbstein et al. 1996).

[16]This aspect is unclear from the literature. The short sentences may suggest that the jails are operating as sobering up centres, or that people are being transferred to other facilities due to the severity of their offence. Using the jails as sobering up or detox centres is concerning as they are not designed for therapeutic purposes. If prisoners are transferred, one may conjecture that it may be in the best interests of the prisoner to keep them close to home and family.

Fig. 32.2 Cells and day room Tuba City Justice Center, Navajo Nation, Arizona (completed 2013) by Native American-owned and -operated firm, Dyron Murphy Architects P.C. in collaboration with JCJ Architecture (*Photograph* JCJ Architecture)

Mainstream Prison Accommodation for Native North American Prisoners

The USA has the highest rate of imprisonment in the world, and its prisons currently hold 25% of the world's prisoners. Alongside mass incarceration, the USA has an overreliance and overuse of solitary confinement (see Shalev 2008; Cohen 2012; Resnik et al. 2015). The Association of State Correctional Administrators found that

> 67,442 prisoners were held, in the fall of 2015, in prison cells for 22 hours or more for 15 continuous days or more. The percentages of prisoners in restricted housing in federal and state prisons ranged from under 1% to more than 28%. Across all the jurisdictions, the median percentage of the prison population held in restricted housing was 5.1%.

> How long do prisoners remain in isolation? Forty-one jurisdictions provided information about the length of stay for a total of more than 54,000 people in restricted housing. Approximately 15,725 (29%) were in restricted housing for one to three months; at the other end of the spectrum, almost 6,000 people (11%) across 31 jurisdictions had been in restricted housing for three years or more (2016: 1–2).

Forms of segregation are used across the USA as punishment for breaches of prison discipline, and increasingly, many states are using solitary confinement routinely and for longer periods of time (Conley 2017). It is estimated that more than 80 000 individuals are being held in some form of isolation at any time (Browne et al. 2011).

The state and relevant agencies have an obligation to protect the lives and well-being of people in custody and also have an obligation—in line with the prohibition on ill-treatment and the right to health—to ensure hygiene and adequate health care in prisons. Poor sanitary conditions, inadequate lighting and ventilation, extremes of temperature, insect and rodent infestations and insufficient or

non-existent personal hygiene supplies are all issues in many US prisons, all of which have significant negative impacts on prisoners' health and well-being.

Most Native Americans live outside of Indigenous designated areas (Norris et al. 2012) and if sentenced to a term of imprisonment serve their sentence in such facilities.

The rise of private prisons has exacerbated cultural dislocation for many prisoners. Multinational corporations locate in areas with the lowest taxes and wages, and Native North American prisoners are often incarcerated hundreds, if not thousands, of miles away from their homes and families. Prison crowding is a serious issue and has a major impact on quality of living conditions for all prisoners. As seen in the new tribal jails, modern US prisons are typically designed under the principles of unit management, most commonly with separate housing units, each with a day room and adjoining cells or dormitories. Crowding has resulted in many of the day rooms being used for prisoner overflow accommodation, and the environments increasingly becoming more hostile environments, that are then controlled with more static security measures.

The freedom to observe the religion of one's choice is the inherent right of all Americans (Solove 1996), and US prisons are legislatively required to accommodate prisoners' religious beliefs.[17] Prisoners' religious freedoms, however, are often tempered by budgetary shortfalls, detention philosophies and security concerns (Grant 2016a, b). Most Native North American prisoners are imprisoned in mainstream prisons, which make few concessions for their varying cultural, environmental, spiritual or socio-spatial needs.

While Native North American prisoners continue to assert their rights to religious freedoms, many jurisdictions appear unaware of the central role spirituality plays in the lives of prisoners and continue to deny access to sweat lodges, religious items (Foster 2010) and do not recognise the unique needs of Indigenous peoples in their custody and care (Fig. 32.3).

Canada

Three groups of Aboriginal peoples—First Nations, Inuit and Métis—are officially recognised in Canada. Between and within each group, there is considerable linguistic and cultural diversity. While Aboriginal people make up about four per cent of the Canadian population, 23% of the Federal prisoner population in 2013 was Aboriginal,[18] 71% of whom were First Nations peoples, 24% were Métis and five per cent were Inuit. In 2015, Aboriginal women accounted for 38% of female

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[17]The *Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act* (2000).

[18]It is commonly held view that the available statistics are underestimated. Ethnicity is determined by self-identification, and there is a contentious issue of distinguishing between Status and non-Status First Nations, Métis and Inuit offenders.

Fig. 32.3 Sweat lodge constructed for Native American ceremonies at the Iowa Correctional Institution for Women in Mitchellville (*Photograph* Emily Woodbury)

admissions sentenced to custody, while the comparable figure for Aboriginal men was 24%. In federal correctional services, Aboriginal women represented 31% of the total female prison population, while Aboriginal men accounted for 22% of admissions to sentenced custody.

The Canadian experience has involved providing normalised accommodation within healing lodges imbued with Aboriginality in their design, and using Aboriginal concepts to guide and direct the programing and management. The healing lodges for Indigenous prisoners developed after a series of critical incidents where women were seriously mistreated at the women's prison located in Kingston, Ontario (see Arbour 1996). The healing lodge initiative was later broadened to include male Aboriginal prisoners in other projects. The basic premise is that cultural connections, knowledge and understandings of one's own cultural background and Indigenous teachings will reduce criminality.

Healing Lodges

The *Creating Choices* report (Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women 1990) recommended that the specific needs of women, especially Aboriginal women, must be addressed. The report called for respectful and dignified prison environments where women could be empowered to make meaningful and responsible

choices. The Native Women's Association of Canada proposed the concept of a 'healing lodge'. The concept was to include services and programs reflecting Aboriginal cultures in spaces that incorporate Aboriginal peoples' traditions and beliefs.[19] In 1992, *the Corrections and Conditional Release Act* (CCRA) was revised to state that 'correctional policies, programs and practices [must] respect gender, ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences and be responsive to the special needs of women and Aboriginal peoples'.[20]

Canada's first healing lodge,[21] Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge on the Nekaneet First Nation, Saskatchewan, opened in 1995. This healing lodge was designated for Aboriginal women with minimum- or medium-security ratings. The design of the healing lodge and buildings departed radically from that of a traditional prison. The complex is circular, with a centrally placed spiritual lodge where teachings, ceremonies and workshops with Elders take place. The roof of the main lodge resembles an eagle built on a circle. Everything is circular, with only a few changes to ensure the facility is functional (Skene quoted in Blackwell 2012). Okimaw Ohci contains both single and larger residential units where women may have their children stay with them. Each unit has a bedroom, bathroom, kitchenette/dining area and living room (Fig. 32.4).

Five healing lodges have since opened across Canada for male First Nations offenders, and they differ a great deal, as Correctional Service Canada (2015) has noted:

> The physical aspects of healing lodges differ dramatically in size, location and design. Some lodges house only a few residents, while others take up to 100 offenders. In terms of location, at one end of the spectrum, Stan Daniels is located in downtown Edmonton. In contrast, Ochichakkosipi is on a reserve in a very remote setting. The design of the lodges also differs, ranging from facilities that resemble small correctional facilities to very traditional [Indigenous] designs.

Prince Albert Grand Council Spiritual Healing Lodge in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, opened in 1997 and the Pê Sâkâstêw Centre in Maskwacis

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[19]There is a great diversity between Aboriginal cultures and ceremonies. Waldram suggests that in the prison context, people have had to accept that "…a form of pan-Indianism exists, in which all Aboriginal spirituality traditions are fundamentally the same, …and prison Elders …have been forced to enhance the common themes and discredit the significance of the differences as a means of establishing the common mythical base for spiritual healing to occur" (1993: 335).

[20]Sections 79 to 84 of the *CCRA* deal Correctional Service Canada's obligations in Aboriginal corrections, discussing the needs of Aboriginal prisoners, including the implementation of programs, agreements, and parole plans, the establishment of advisory committees and Aboriginal prisoners' access to spiritual leaders and Elders to address the needs of Aboriginal prisoners. Section 81 states that Correctional Service Canada (CSC) may enter into an agreement with an Aboriginal community for the provision of correctional services to Aboriginal offenders.

[21]Healing lodges operate under two different models. The lodges are either funded and operated by Correctional Service Canada or funded by CSC and managed by a partner organisation under a Section 81 agreement.

Fig. 32.4 Aerial view, Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge, Maple Creek, Saskatchewan (*Photograph* Correctional Service Canada)

(Hobbema), Alberta, designed by architect Ken Hutchison, opened in 1997. Hutchinson stated that the Pê Sâkâstêw healing lodge was (Fig. 32.5):

> …designed in consultation with Samson Cree Elders. The architecture symbolises the Aboriginal view of the world, with each of the six yellow buildings a tall, conical shape and the group arranged in a large circle on the 40-acre site. Bright primary colours herald Aboriginal ancestry, as does the eagle tail entrance to the main programming building (Hutchinson 2009).

The Stan Daniels Healing Centre in Edmonton, Alberta, a repurposed building, opened in 1999, and Waseskun Healing Lodge in St-Alphonse-Rodriguez, Quebec, opened in the same year. The Kwìkwèxwelhp Healing Village (formerly Elbow Lake Institution) opened in 2001 and has the only longhouse situated within a Canadian prison. As with some other projects, the Kwìkwèxwelhp Healing Village was designed by Lee & de Ridder Architects to reflect pan-Indian world views. The design incorporates elements associated with undergoing a symbolic healing journey within the pan-Indian tradition (see Waldram 1993, 1997), with symbols such as Medicine Wheels, significant colours, symbols and structures such as sweat lodges and tipis incorporated into the design.

The O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi Healing Lodge (Crane River, Manitoba) opened in 2003. The Willow Cree Healing Lodge (Duck Lake, Saskatchewan) has 110 beds and was opened in 2004. It is located on the Beardy's and Okemasis First Nation Reserve near Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, and was given the Cree name, Nîpisikopawiyiniwak Nânâtawihôkamik. The Buffalo Sage Wellness House (Edmonton, Alberta) was opened in 2011 as a minimum- and medium-security and community residential facility for Aboriginal women on conditional release in the community (Correctional Service Canada 2013).
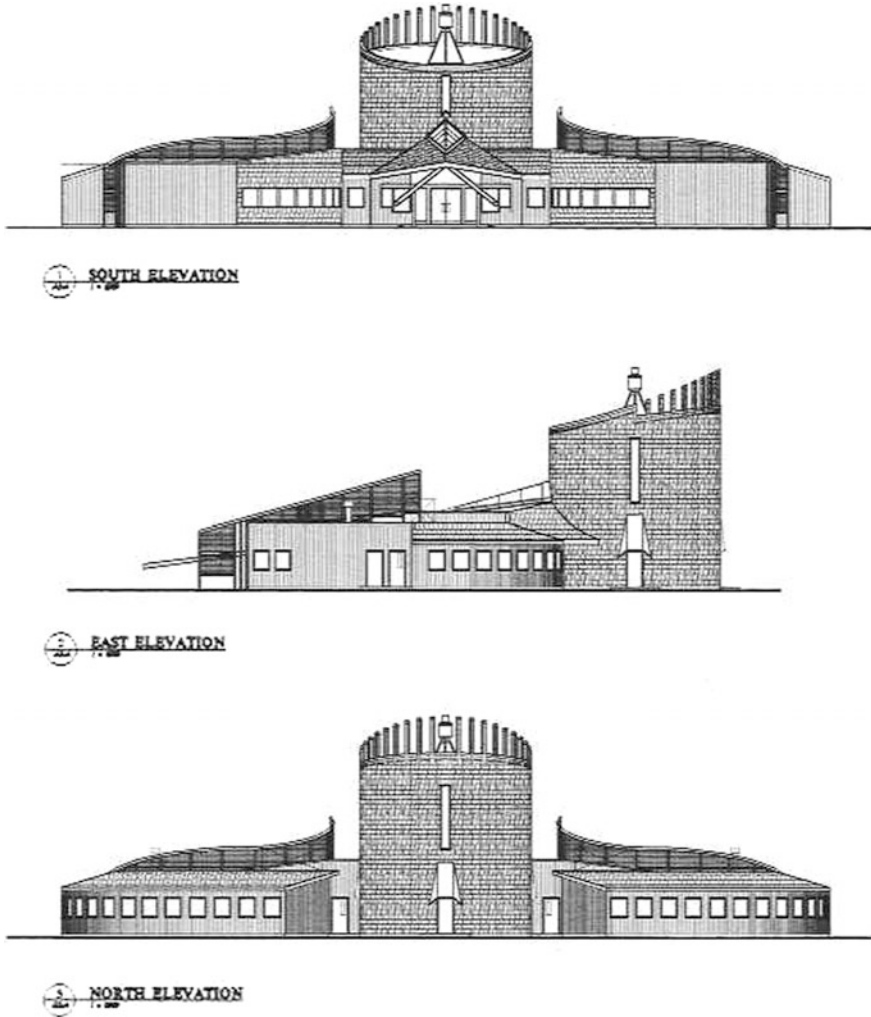
Fig. 32.5 Elevation, Main Building, Pê Sâkâstêw Centre, Maskwacis, Alberta, Architect Ken Hutchinson (*Drawings* Ken Hutchinson)

In the first instance, the desire for purpose-built buildings in rural areas came from the constraints of operating cultural programs in adapted buildings located in urban areas (i.e. especially the Stan Daniels Center in Edmonton). Limiting prisoners' access to alcohol and drugs in the urban context was difficult, and escapes were common (Grant 2009a). Elders also realised that spiritual healing needed to be done in appropriately designed buildings imbued with Aboriginality. Along with spaces that reflect Aboriginal culture, the healing lodges have self-contained accommodation for prisoners with individual bedrooms, kitchen and living areas to

allow prisoners to live in a normalised manner. This allows the prisoner to have personal control over their environment, resulting in fewer critical incidents.

Mainstream Prisons

Despite these initiatives, the majority of First Nations prisoners are incarcerated in mainstream prisons, where their environments are the same as other prisoners (although they may have access to sweat lodges and other structures at various times and some prisons have been enculturated with Aboriginal signs and symbols). Since 1960, most provincial and municipal prisons and jails (the majority of them predating First World War) have been replaced. Canadian prisons designed with Auburn-styled rows of internal cells have been abandoned for campus layouts with separate housing units. However, it is important to note that conditions in many prisons across Canada are dire.

Larger numbers of offenders are being sentenced to federal custody to serve longer sentences, and as prisons have become more crowded, they have become more violent and volatile places. In some cases, security at formerly campus-style prisons has been layered with static security elements to accommodate the growing numbers of young (often gang-affiliated) offenders convicted of violent crimes (see Grant 2009). Regimes have been put in place to restrict movement and prevent contact between prisoners, and some of the campus-planned prisons now operate in states of permanent or semi-permanent lockdown.

Prisons in most parts of Canada lack graduated, supportive reintegration programs for prisoners returning to communities and inadequate mental and physical medical attention for an increasingly older and more needy prison populations. This occurred through a populist 'tough on crime' approach, where crimes have been punished by harsher and longer custodial sentences and tough prison regimes, rather than by penalties proportionate to the seriousness of the crime. As with the USA, Canada is over-reliant on the use of segregation and the system has been subject to criticism from a range of bodies (see Zinger 2016).

Aboriginal offenders are more likely to have served previous sentences, are incarcerated more often for violent offences and frequently have gang affiliations (Mann 2009). Many Aboriginal offenders are unable to be accommodated in healing lodges or other minimum-security institutions and end up in mainstream prisons due to their security ratings. In addition, some Aboriginal offenders are unfamiliar with pan-Indian traditions and unwilling to engage in healing lodges' programs (Waldram 1997: 345).

At most medium- and minimum-security prisons, there are concerted (although not consistent) attempts to provide facilities for spiritual observance. Sweat lodges and tipis are constructed at most prisons and participation in ceremonies provides Aboriginal prisoners with diversions and 'escape' from the highly secure, hardened and regimented prison environments (Fig. 32.6). However, the ability of Aboriginal prisoners to perform cultural obligations is not a right and varies from prison to

Fig. 32.6 Tipi and Sweat lodge incongruously erected in high-security area in North Bay Jail, Ontario (*Photograph* Diane Tregunna)

prison. The isolated location of many prisons has an impact on the level of contact Aboriginal prisoners have with their families. Prisons are typically located in areas poorly serviced by public transport, which makes maintaining family and community contact difficult.

Possibly in response to the high number of Aboriginal prisoners with high security ratings, the construction of a new facility on First Nations land, owned by the Osoyoos Indian Band in British Columbia (BC), will be high security (design by DGBK Architects). The design includes eleven living units and 378 cells and considered:

> BC's First Nations as an important part of the planning for the facility. First Nations individuals who are in custody have access to a variety of unique spiritual and cultural services. Specific services may include sweat lodge ceremonies, individual and group counselling services, healing, sharing and talking circles. Cultural teaching is also provided so that offenders become aware of their cultural heritage by learning how to pray, smudge, sage, and sing traditional songs (Plenary Group 2017).

While Canada may perceive that First Nations offenders must be housed in high-security facilities with multiple layers of static security, this may incrementally harden the environment to such an extent that it may become untenable to live in. Research shows that, in such environments, there are increased critical incidents, such as self-harming, suicide, prisoner-to-prisoner and prisoner-to-staff assaults (see, for example Shalev 2008). The nature of the environment has a critical role in

determining the behaviour of both the prisoners and staff (Liebling and Ludlow 2016).

In summary, the majority of efforts in Canada have been at developing 'women-focused' and minimum- and medium-security environments, such as healing lodges and other entities with a pan-Indian focus. While this may be a crucial factor in rehabilitation, access to healing lodges and certain cultural initiatives is limited for many Aboriginal prisoners, due to the nature of their crimes and the institutionally imposed security ratings. The response has been to incarcerate people in high-security prisons. This approach may be flawed.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples around the world share long and dismal histories of negative interactions with criminal justice legal systems. The imposition of alien ideologies has resulted in disproportionate numbers of Indigenous people being incarcerated, most often in culturally inappropriate environments.

A great deal of evidence-based research and experience demonstrates that if Indigenous peoples must be imprisoned, they generally fare better in prison environments when they have access to kin, country and community, are housed in safe environments where people can have the capacity to continue ceremony and cultural practices (including domiciliary and socio-spatial behaviours), and live in normalised accommodation which allows the individual to be part of a social and cultural grouping and develop life skills.

Despite this research, correctional agencies across the USA and Canada continue to dislocate Indigenous people from their families and communities, and in some instances restrict people's capacity to conduct ceremony. Many Indigenous people in the USA or Canada are unable to access either a healing centre or cultural programs, due to the nature of their crime and their security rating and are incarcerated in overly secure environments.

The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) states that Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination, and many correctional agencies acknowledge that they must develop 'respect for Indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices' and allow Indigenous peoples to 'pursue economic, social and cultural development' within prison settings as per the declaration. Article 1 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007* cross-references other United Nations documents, stating:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.

This Charter should be considered when prison design for Indigenous groups is considered. In addition, the *Revised United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for*

the Treatment of Prisoners (the Mandela Rules) (2015) need to inform every part of the planning and design of prisons. These Rules state, *inter alia*:

Rule 1
All prisoners shall be treated with the respect due to their inherent dignity and value as human beings. No prisoner shall be subjected to, and all prisoners shall be protected from, torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, for which no circumstances whatsoever may be invoked as a justification. The safety and security of prisoners, staff, service providers and visitors shall be ensured at all times.
Rule 2

1. The present rules shall be applied impartially. There shall be no discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or any other status. The religious beliefs and moral precepts of prisoners shall be respected.
2. In order for the principle of non-discrimination to be put into practice, prison administrations shall take account of the individual needs of prisoners, in particular the most vulnerable categories in prison settings. Measures to protect and promote the rights of prisoners with special needs are required and shall not be regarded as discriminatory.

Some interpretation of the Mandela Rules has been done (see United Nations 2016) to enable correctional agencies, designers and planners to translate the minimum rules into architecture and infrastructure. This document notes:

> The design of prisons needs to support the primary purpose of imprisonment, i.e. to protect society against crime and reduce recidivism. As stated explicitly in the revised Rules, this can be 'achieved only if the period of imprisonment is used to ensure, so far as possible, the reintegration of such persons into society upon release.' The architecture and facilities of a prison can either support this purpose, or pose a major obstacle. …[I]nfrastructure can mirror trust in the reformative potential of detainees, or reflect an environment that dehumanises and institutionalises its occupants. For this reason, the relevance of a manual that translates the Mandela Rules into concrete and practical specifications for prison planning and design cannot be overestimated (United Nations 2016: 9).

However, more research is required to interpret the Mandela Rules more thoroughly, and to translate them into workable design solutions for custodial environments for Indigenous peoples.

These minimum rules exist to ensure the human rights of prisoners are preserved (for discussion, see, for example, Smith 2016; Naylor 2016; Zinger 2016). Countries which are signatories, including the aforementioned *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) and others such as the *United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*; *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*; *United*

Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (the Bangkok Rules); and *Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Principles for the Protection of Persons with Mental Illness and the Improvement of Mental Health Care* must incorporate the principles enshrined in these documents into the planning and design of places of detention. At present, in practice, prisoners' human rights as laid out by minimum rules, standards, guidelines and declarations of rights are often ignored and/or violated. There is a need for these documents to be translated into a format that can be used for the planning and design of custodial environments.

Kinship and family is a cohesive force that binds Indigenous peoples together and provides psychological and emotional support. Denying people access to family, community, spiritual and cultural practices and country can be soul-destroying. Indigenous prisoners display excessively high rates of chronic diseases, disabilities and psychosocial conditions in comparison with non-Indigenous populations. Imprisonment often provides Indigenous prisoners with an environment to improve their health status, if only for a short period of time, before they return to dysfunctional settings and risk-taking behaviours.

Increasingly across the world, Indigenous people with profound or severe physical, intellectual and cognitive disabilities are being imprisoned. Alternative arrangements are urgently needed for these people. When less damaging and more culturally appropriate options for the facilities for Indigenous peoples are suggested to government and agencies, they seem consumed by 'law and order' agenda. These agendas promote the warehousing of people and in turn lead to the physical and psychological damage of another generation of Indigenous peoples, for whom prison becomes the norm.

One is left pondering whether including cultural references in a prison design or a justice centre is enough? Is it enough to have healing centres that can be accessed by only a few? Is it reasonable that people's fundamental human rights are being compromised or violated? The Western paradigm of justice has always been in conflict with the communal nature of most Indigenous groups. Is it possible to bring the concepts of restorative and reparative justice into the design of prisons? Is it possible for Indigenous peoples to have complete cultural agency over the operation of prison systems in a post-colonial space?

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Author's Biography

Professor Elizabeth Grant is an architectural anthropologist, criminologist and academic with a distinguished record in the field of Indigenous architecture. From 2000–2017, Elizabeth was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide. Elizabeth holds an adjunct Professorship at the University of Canberra and Associate Professorship at the University of Queensland and has published three books and over 70 papers. Elizabeth is a Churchill Fellow, a member of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), and has been honoured with the International Prison and Correctional Association (ICPA) Excellence in Research Award for her pioneering work on the design of (non)custodial environments for Indigenous peoples. She worked on numerous Indigenous projects, prepared submissions and acted as an expert witness for Government Inquiries, coronial inquests and Royal Commissions.

Chapter 33
Indigenous Architecture of Early Learning Centres: International Comparative Case Studies from Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand

Angela Kreutz, Janet Loebach and Akari Nakai Kidd

Introduction

The recent architecture of Indigenous-focused early learning centres across Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand appears to share design goals. These centres strive to produce an inclusive design that considers the diversity of languages, cultures, age and other points of human difference. The early learning centres attempt to create a place that meets the needs and desires of Indigenous families and their children. The architecture goes beyond the mere housing of specific services to promoting better health and education through the design of shared learning and play spaces. Three comparative case studies examine the parallels and differences in the design process in three different countries. This chapter will focus on the Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning, Whittlesea in Australia; Chippewas of Rama First Nation Early Childhood Education Centre, Orillia in Canada; and the Mana Tamariki, Palmerston North in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The value of early learning for children's development is globally recognised. Research shows that high-quality early learning provides preschool children with cognitive and language skills that lead to successful social inclusion and educational outcomes (Sylva and Wiltshire 1993; Shonkoff and Phillips 2000). The abilities to persist with challenging tasks (e.g. the development of resilience), to develop positive social relationships and to effectively communicate emotions are

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some of the valuable skills young children gain in early learning centres (Hemmeter et al. 2006; Lee and Burkham 2002). Quality early learning centres can help reduce the gap between children from at-risk backgrounds and more advantaged peers, providing a stepping stone out of the poverty cycle (Rouse et al. 2005; UNICEF 2016). It is universally recognised that investment in the early years of a child's life produces the greatest return to society with long-term learning benefits and an improved life perspective and health outcomes (Heckman 2006; Herczog 2012). The provision of quality architecture for early learning centres can ensure an environment that supports and enhances developmental competence programs and allows the practice of cultural and socio-spatial norms to continue.

Children receive important messages when engaging in early learning that inform their social well-being, while also contributing to academic and cultural learnings. The latter is especially important for Indigenous children dealing with the ongoing after-effects of colonialism in countries such as Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. Notwithstanding the significant constitutional and historical differences, Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand are all Western democracies, settled by a predominantly English-speaking majority (Armitage 1995). It follows that the "survival and revival of cultures relies on cultural identity being an integral part of Indigenous children's educational environment" (Grant et al. 2015: 1).

Governments, Indigenous communities, researchers and advisory groups across the world have recognised that the design and creation of Indigenous early learning centres enhance the likelihood of successful academic outcomes and allow children to develop a positive cultural identity. Time spent in meaningful environments during childhood forms the foundation of place attachment and identity (Tuan 1977; Basso 1996). The physical environment of an early learning centre is often referred to as the "third educator" (Rinaldi 2006). The success of Indigenous early childhood learning centres hinges, in part, on the architectural design and its ability to create a place that is culturally responsive to the Indigenous culture concerned and the community of users (namely staff, children and their families).

The design of Indigenous learning education environments seeks to be seen as an extension of family care. The upbringing, protection and development of many Indigenous children are traditionally, and continues to be, shared among extended family (Memmott 2007; Armitage 1995). The architecture of early learning centres plays a pivotal role in creating a sense of family, culture and identity. Culturally sensitive design can support a family-oriented approach to the education of children that focuses on heritage, language and cultural traditions. Yet, at present very little is known about how to create culturally responsive architecture to support early learning for Indigenous children (Kreutz 2015).

This chapter explores the architecture of Indigenous-centred early learning centres in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. These centres are exemplars in which responsive design features consider human diversity with respect to languages, cultures, age and other forms of human difference. The culturally sensitive and respectful design decisions for each example have been informed by local Indigenous groups. Each centre reflects Indigenous lifestyles and

child-rearing preferences and responds to cultural identity and spirituality. The architecture goes beyond the mere housing of specific services, to promoting better health and education through the design of shared learning and play spaces.

In this chapter, the authors are not attempting to present an overly critical discussion of these early learning centres, but rather seek to provide rich descriptions of these still rare and unique places that exist for minority (and often disenfranchised) groups. Utilising a descriptive narrative, three comparative case studies, the Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning in Whittlesea, Australia; Chippewas of Rama First Nation Early Childhood Education Centre in Orillia, Canada; and Mana Tamariki in Palmerston North, Aotearoa New Zealand are presented, showcasing the parallels and differences in the design processes and outcomes.

Case Study One: Australian Aboriginal Early Learning Centres, Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning

The Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning is located in the outer metropolitan suburb of Melbourne, Australia. Designed by Hayball Architects and landscape design firm Urban Initiatives, the Centre provides a communal setting for approximately 60 Australian Aboriginal children from birth to six years old. The establishment of the Centre as the only Aboriginal organisation in the area was a response to political actions that were driven by a national recognition that the Australian Aboriginal early childhood education sector is not performing as well as it should be (Sims et al. 2008).

Closing the Gap: Children and Family Centres in Australia

Soon after the then Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, had delivered his apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples for the Stolen Generations in 2008, the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) agreed to address the disadvantage faced by many Indigenous Australians. COAG focused on 'Closing the Gap' on Indigenous disadvantage. A top priority was to ensure access to early childhood education for all Indigenous children under five by 2018 (COAG 2012: para 1). The National Partnership Agreement for Indigenous Early Childhood Development between the Commonwealth of Australia and the State and Territory Governments was established in order to provide for early learning, support for Indigenous families and improved health for mothers and their children (National Partnership Agreement 2009: 2).

A significant priority of the agreement was to integrate accessible Early Childhood Services through Children and Family Centres. These would offer antenatal services, child and maternal health services, parenting and family support

facilities, and early learning and childcare (National Partnership Agreement 2009: 4). The decision was motivated by research which showed that many Indigenous families had limited access to early childhood services despite the fact that they stood to experience significant benefit (Borg and Paul 2004: 13). The National Partnership Agreement committed to invest AUDS $564 million over six years into the establishment of 38 Aboriginal children and family centres across Australia in remote, regional and urban areas (Thomas 2014: 1). Community consultation with local Aboriginal groups provided insight into important issues and was seen as integral to the successful implementation of individual centres. These community consultation groups were variously termed local enabling groups, local advisory committees and reference groups and working parties (Grant et al. 2015: 7).

Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning

The Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning in the City of Whittlesea is one of the two Aboriginal Children and Family Centres founded in the southern Australian state of Victoria. The City of Whittlesea is among the fastest growing municipalities of Melbourne with a population of 154 880 people (ABS 2012). Located in the outer suburb of Thomastown, Bubup Wilam was established due to the recognised need to deliver services to Aboriginal children and their families in the area. The City of Whittlesea sits within the Wurundjeri Nation, on the land of the Wurundjeri Willum clan that forms part of the Wurundjeri language group. It has the fourth largest population of Indigenous residents in Victoria with 1,125 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (ABS 2012). Aboriginal people in the area have connections to many other Australian Indigenous Nations, and many of the Indigenous population are transient, moving to and from the region (City of Whittlesea 2016a, b).

The Bulup Wilam Centre for Early Learning focuses explicitly on developing its own identity as an Aboriginal organisation that is targeted to Aboriginal families and children (Thomas 2014: 64). Bubup Wilam means 'children's place' in the Woi Wurrung language. The Centre provides a culturally relevant, integrated model of care that consists of an early learning centre for children aged six months and over, a three- and four-year-old kindergarten program, a transition to primary school program, maternity health and well-being programs that are run through allied health rooms and access to in-reach support services for families and children (Aboriginal Child and Family Centre 2016). Bubup Wilam signed a 50-year lease with the City of Whittlesea in order to continue providing these services that cater for the residential growth and the continuous inclusions of Aboriginal families in the area (Thomas 2014: 65).

The Centre is the only Aboriginal organisation in the City of Whittlesea and has an elected board of management with Aboriginal community representation. Bubup Wilam employs 40 staff members of whom 27 (68%) are of Aboriginal descent. It provides daily services to approximately 60–65 Aboriginal children aged from birth to six years. Children are distributed across four age dedicated rooms, each named

after words in the languages of the Kulin Nation that is now metropolitan and greater Melbourne. These are as follows: *Boon Wumng* (zero to two years), *Bja Bja Wumng* (two to three years), *Wathaurong* (three-year-olds) and *Taungurung* (four-year-olds).

Bubup Wilam's Working Party

In 2008, local Aboriginal community representatives met with the City of Whittlesea Council to ask what they were doing for Aboriginal people in the area (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013). This request coincided with funding opportunities available through the National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Early Childhood Development and led to the development of Bubup Wilam. The City of Whittlesea provided the land on the main street of Thomastown, which is conveniently nestled between the Department of Education's local state primary and high schools and the Whittlesea Council's library and recreation centre. The Commonwealth, state and municipal funding was funnelled through the Department of Education and was allocated to the building construction and operational costs of Bubup Wilam.

The City of Whittlesea displayed a genuine intention and sincere endeavour to make the process meaningful to Aboriginal people (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013). A working party was established that included five to seven Aboriginal people from the health and university sectors, and local Aboriginal families (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013). The working party participated in meetings with the City of Whittlesea and the design team. During these gatherings, which also included bus tours to other Aboriginal-focused architectural sites, they discussed shared visions and design ideas to help develop Bubup Wilam into a culturally appropriate building that responded to the needs of local Aboriginal families.

The working party recognised the importance of developing a strong Aboriginal identity in young children. They wanted to reinforce an Aboriginal community identity that would support children in understanding who they are and where they come from (Bubup Wilam 2016). They envisioned a centre that was safe with a strong community and family-oriented focus for Aboriginal people that could be facilitated through shared spaces and gathering places. There was a keen desire to avoid an institutional feel otherwise commonly found in the design of Australian childcare centres. Tight reception areas, confined classrooms and long corridors remind many Aboriginal people of post-colonial institutional experiences in dormitories, prisons, schools and other large institutions. The working party communicated their desire for a non-institutional space that was permeable, flexible, natural and relational. Bubup Wilam was to have a broader social and environmental focus with the inside opening up to the outside and the idea of children connecting with nature through their "bare feet touching the ground" (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013).

Bubup Wilam: Architectural Design

Hayball Architects in Melbourne were commissioned by the City of Whittlesea and the Department of Education to design the Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning in Thomastown. The appointment was a continuation of a previous commission for the Department of Education that involved the redesign of the Thomastown West Primary School and Thomastown Secondary College, both located adjacent to the site for Bubup Wilam. The architectural project of Bubup Wilam was constrained by a short timeline and a limited construction budget that was tightly controlled by Commonwealth funding arrangements (City of Whittlesea 2016a, b). The Centre needed a design that would produce a durable community building, and which would address the standard functional requirements of an early learning and childcare centre, including surveillance, duty of care, standard room sizes and sanitary requirements, while simultaneously responding to the cultural needs of local Aboriginal families and their children.

The architects strove to create a strong sense of Aboriginal community, identity and belonging through the making of a secure and nurturing environment (Hayball 2010). They responded to the metaphorical idea of "bare feet touching the ground" through the representation of a building that "grows from the ground" (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013). The building's façade with solid vertical fibre cement cladding and curved and rounded forms is an expression of this concept (see Fig. 33.1). The opaque facade lacks street presence and a public representation of Indigenous identity but the external walls embrace interior spaces to accommodate a sense of community. Moreover, the concept is expressed successfully through a natural fusion of architecture and landscape, where outdoor and indoor spaces merge (see Fig. 33.2). This is supported by an earthy palate of ovoid surfaces throughout the building that are comforting and enveloping and break down the scale of space to provide a sense of intimacy and a focus for gathering and community interaction. Taken together, these architectural features attempt to breakdown formality and the institutional nature of spaces and forms.

The notion of Aboriginal identity is central to the functional and experimental aspects of design. Interactive adaptable spaces promote a sense of community and cross-generational inclusiveness with the integration of indoor and outdoor spaces, articulating a strong connectivity between designated child and community spaces, as well as the surrounding landscape (Hayball 2010). The design features and materiality are a direct response to the request of the Working Party that Bubup Wilam be permeable, flexible, natural and relational. Table 33.1 shows the relationship between recommendations, desired outcomes and responding design features.

Fig. 33.1 Concept for Bubup Wilam came from the idea that the building 'grows from the ground' (*Photograph* Hayball Architects)

Fig. 33.2 Bubup Wilam Foyer and community meeting space (*Photograph* Hayball Architects)

Table 33.1 Working party recommendations and corresponding design features

Recommendations	Desires	Design features
Permeable	• Integration of indoor and outdoor spaces • Non-institutional feel • Connection to outdoors	• Large foyer and reception area • Floor to ceiling folding windows • Open-ended corridors • High ceilings • Skylights
Flexible	• Community gatherings • Environmental control	• Movable internal walls • Neutral wall palate • Floor to ceiling folding windows
Natural	• Connection to natural environment • Evoke sense of safety and belonging	• Large north-facing windows • Curved walls • Skylights • Earth-coloured ovoid palate
Relational	• Cross-generational inclusion • Connectivity between child and community spaces	• Floor to ceiling folding windows • Low-lying windows that connect rooms • Shared undercover area

Bubup Wilam: Landscape Design

The landscape design firm Urban Initiatives from Melbourne was commissioned to design the play area for the Bubup Wilam Early Learning Children and Family Centre. The landscape architect collaborated with Hayball Architects and the working party. The primary goal of the outdoor play area was to create a multi-functional space with natural features that enhanced a sense of community and increased social and environmental connectedness (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013).

Nature play environments create a dynamic flow of multisensory information that arguably offers inexhaustible opportunities for discovery. The design of a play space with natural and engaging materials at Bubup Wilam resulted in the integration of sand, water, wood poles and loose parts. Natural elements and features are responsive and enable children to see the immediate effects of their actions, such as splashing water, balancing rocks, or shaping earth and sand (Chawla 2007). The outdoor landscape encouraged intergenerational play with its responsive natural features, openness and free-flow plan, yet it was in part aesthetically disconnected through the use of artificial sunshades. Perhaps, the still young vegetation and saplings will provide shade in years to come and reinforce the nature design theme intended by the landscape architects to connect children to the outdoor environment. In nature, children would have the ability to feel it, dance in it, become part of it, learn from it and develop custodianship of it (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013).

Fig. 33.3 Bubup Wilam communal outdoor play space with immature plantings (*Photograph* Hayball Architects)

The sense of belonging and connectedness was created through several significant landscape design qualities. Firstly, the singular outdoor nature play area where children spend a significant amount of time supports cross-generational inclusiveness (see Fig. 33.3). Secondly, the transparent wide timber latticed fencing towards the adjacent recreation centre supports the wider notion of permeability, revealing a broader context for children that goes beyond the Bubup Wilam site. Thirdly, a strong Aboriginal community-oriented focus is facilitated through shared spaces and gathering places such as the yarning circle, fire pit and Indigenous Victorian language group stone inscriptions. These design features support an array of community events that involve, but are not limited to smoking ceremonies, dance, painting and storytelling activities. The play area of Bubup Wilam won the Children's Services Award in the Kidssafe 2012 National Playspace Design Awards for its strong references to the local Indigenous community (Kidssafe 2012).

Bubup Wilam: Cultural and Educational Program

The notion of 'belonging, being and becoming' is Australia's Early Years Learning Framework that describes the principles, practices and outcomes that support young children's learning from birth to five years, including the transition to school

(Department of Education and Training 2016). The Bubup Wilam Early Learning Centre has adapted these guidelines to their own philosophy and values that further support:

- Self-determination,
- Strong and proud identities,
- Respect,
- Relationships,
- Well-being, and
- Learning life skills (Custodians of the land).

The education program of Bubup Wilam encourages children to believe that they are strong, "deadly"[1] and proud (Bubup Wilam for Early Learning 2013). One important factor in establishing this belief is the recognition of family. Children of different age groups come together regularly throughout the day, unlike standard Australian childcare centres where this typically only occurs in the early morning and late afternoon (New and Cochran 2007: 519). Aboriginal children attending Bubup Wilam are highly social and have a preference for gross motor activities, spending copious amounts of time playing outdoors. The educational program prepares its young children for life academically and provides active bodily and creative engagement through music, dance and story time. The architecture and landscape scheme of Bubup Wilam accommodate these play and learning experiences with its design focus on a permeable, flexible, natural and relational space that supports an intergenerational teaching model.

Design and Cultural Responsiveness

Bubup Wilam represents a 'building that grows from the ground' with its natural fusion of architectural form and surrounding landscape. The physical building underscores the significance of a spiritual and emotional connection to place. Its architectural symbolism, however, does not speak to Aboriginal culture directly in an attempt to avoid tokenism. Rather, the sense of Aboriginal community, identity and belonging comes from its functional and experimental qualities. These include the buildings' permeability with the blurring of interior and exterior spaces, the flexibility of space enabled through large sliding walls, the connection to the outdoors established via large folding windows and the creation of relational spaces with low-lying windows that minimise the institutional quality of cellular rooms. The architecture is enabling, flexible and encourages people to take control of their

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[1] 'Deadly' is an Aboriginal English term which translates to 'really good' or 'impressive' in standard English (Malcolm et al. 1999).

own space. It is a blank canvas that gives local Aboriginal families an opportunity to come together to live and breathe their own culture.

Case Study Two: Chippewas of Rama First Nation Early Childhood Education Centre, Canada

The Chippewas of Rama (formerly the Mnjikaning First Nation) have a long history of providing early childhood care in their community. Their Early Childhood Education (ECE) Centre in the city of Orillia, Canada, has been providing childcare services since 1976, supporting local children between six months and five years of age, including youth from both on and off reserve, and from both First Nations and non-First Nation communities. For 30 years, the ECE operated out of a small clubhouse building on the reserve, built with support from the provincial Ministry of Community and Social Services, until the new facility opened in 2005. This new early childcare centre was designed by Teeple Architects of Toronto and dedicated to James K. Bartleman, a member of the Chippewas of Rama First Nation who became a highly respected Canadian political advisor and diplomat and was the first Indigenous person to serve as a provincial Lieutenant Governor. The community wanted both to honour Bartleman's dedication to the children in the community and to reflect the Centre's mandate to teach First Nations cultures and language. The Elders of the community also selected an Ojibway name for the school itself—Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming, meaning 'small children's learning place'.

Chippewas of Rama: Cultural Context

The Chippewas of Rama are Anishinaabe (Ojibway) First Nation settled on a land reserve near the small city of Orillia in central Ontario, Canada, approximately 1.5 h north of Toronto. The ancestors of the Chippewas of Rama first came to the area as fishermen and traders over 4 000 years ago, building substantial wooden fish weirs underwater enabling them to support both the community and their trading activities. Mnjikaning translates generally to "at/near the fence" or "people of the fish fence" (Snache 2016). The area became a nexus for trade with other Indigenous groups, and a stable community eventually evolved (Rogers and Smith 1994). Around 1830, the Crown moved these Indigenous peoples to the Coldwater Narrows area near present-day Orillia where a small bridge of land connecting two large bodies of water, Lake Simcoe and Lake Chouchiching (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2011). The Chippewas of Rama, however, were forced to move again in 1836 after their land was taken in what the community claims was an "illegal surrender" (Indian Claims Commission 2003; Chippewas of Rama First

Nation n.d.). The contemporary community of approximately 1600 members now resides on a 950 ha (2348 acre) reserve approximately 5 km (3.1 miles) north of the Narrows, with 700 members living on reserve land (Chippewas of Rama First Nation n.d.). Located on the reserve is Casino Rama, the only First Nations commercial casino in Ontario, and the largest First Nations casino in Canada. Funding from the casino provided the capital to build the new early children's education centre. The CAN $3.6 million budget, unlike some other Indigenous design projects, was relatively generous.

The Cultural and Educational Program of Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming

The ECE Centre is licensed by Ontario's Ministry of Education and offers full day childcare services and programs on site for children from six months to five years of age; children attending the Centre are from the Chippewas of Rama First Nation as well as from other non-Indigenous families living in the local catchment area. The Centre has room to accommodate 90 children, with two playrooms for up to nine infants each (aged six to eighteen months), two rooms for up to fourteen toddlers each (18–30 months) and two rooms to accommodate young children (30 months to 4 years). The Centre employs thirteen full-time registered early childhood educators, plus three part-time staff to provide special needs support.

The ECE Centre takes an inclusive, family-oriented approach to its programs and services and is guided by the principles of the 'Early Learning for every Child Today' framework and early years pedagogy set out by Ontario's Ministry of Education. However, the Centre also places First Nations culture and language at the Centre of its work, endorsing a balanced approach which "focusses on learning through play in a First Nations culture—and language—rich environment which supports each child's interests while developing their spiritual, mental, social, emotional, and physical selves" (Rama Early Childhood Services 2016). The Centre works to incorporate many ancestral teachings and traditions into both its space and its programs. Explicitly integrated within the Centre's care and education of its young charges are the Seven Grandfather Teachings.[2] These Grandfather Teachings reflect the core values lived by members of many First Nations communities, including respect (Anishnaabe—*mnaadendwin*), bravery (*zoongde'ewin*), honesty (*debweyendaagozi*), humility (*dbasendmowin*), truth (*debwewin*), wisdom (*nbwaakaawin*) and love (*zaagiwewin*) (Rama Early Childhood Services 2016).

Symbols of First Nation cultures, such as the four-coloured Medicine Wheel, are highly visible throughout the Centre, including its welcome atrium and through to all of its playrooms and support facilities. Examples of Anishnaabe language are

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[2]These teachings share traditional values on human conduct and encourage mutual respect for one another.

also omnipresent; each of the playrooms has been given an animal name by the community in Obijway, and examples of the language are prominently displayed in the rooms of each age group. The Centre staff regularly draws on the Chippewas of Rama Cultural Department, which helps to bring cultural events and programming to the children of the Centre, such as smudging ceremonies and drumming demonstrations (Snache 2016).

Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming: Community Consultations

Prior to engaging architects to develop design concepts for the new centre, the ECE staff, led by Shelley Snache (the Centre's supervisor at the time), spent considerable time developing a wish list of both cultural and functional elements they considered essential to the new facility. After visiting the childcare centre on the campus of nearby Trent University, the community contacted its designer, Teeple Architects of Toronto, to ask them to consider taking on the project. Once Teeple Architects became the lead design firm, the community spent considerable time with the designers to steep them in the history and culture of the Chippewas of Rama. Teeple Architects were provided with a solid and informed foundation which set the design development on a clear trajectory from the beginning. As the design team developed concepts for the building, they met several more times with members of the community, who provided valuable feedback which continued to steer and contextualise the design. The community did not dictate any specifications, rather emphasised their desire for a warm, welcoming building with substantial natural light, with a strong connection to the outdoors and the environment, and soft, flexible and connected spaces to support their cultural—and language-focused programming.

The loss of Indigenous cultural knowledge was identified by the architectural team as a significant concern for the community. The design team understood that this building and its services was a vehicle the community was using to focus on the restoration of cultural knowledge and language among its youngest members. At the time of design development, the lead architect recalls few examples of early childcare architecture in Indigenous communities from which he could draw: 'most were very literal in their interpretation, and cartoony in their gestures; they did not attempt to make deeper connections' with the community and First Nations culture (Teeple 2016). Teeple instead incorporated the shared wishes of the staff and design team, and developed a building design that more subtly integrated and reflected local cultures, rather than utilising too many explicit cultural references.

Architectural Design of Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming

Honouring Chippewa's strong relationship to the land, the architectural design ensured that the building aligned with the contours of the site, rather than follow any conventional pattern of alignment with the street. From the west, the muted zinc-clad walls seem to hunker down into the landscape; the roof soars dramatically up from the earth, opening the east-facing side both literally and figuratively towards the sun (see Fig. 33.4). Teeple's original design oriented the building towards the east in order to maximise daylight penetration into all the playrooms; however, consultation with the community prompted the designers to further rotate the building towards true east. In First Nations cultures, children are associated with the easterly axis of the cardinal wheel-turning the building to face due east allowed the Centre to both physically and symbolically open in the direction of children.

Children, families and visitors are welcomed into the building through its soaring entrance roof and into the large naturally lit atrium finished in a canvas of warm woods and earth tones. The exposed laminated timber beams throughout the building draw the eye around the curve of the building to the playrooms, which sequence down the corridor from the youngest age group to the oldest. Playrooms

Fig. 33.4 Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming's roof rises from the earth towards the sun (*Photograph* Tom Arban Photography)

Fig. 33.5 Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming's east-facing façade and outdoor playscape (*Photograph* Tom Arban Photography)

for each age group hug the inside curve of the building, each opening up to a large window wall which extends across the width of most rooms, and down to the playroom floor. The large area of windows provides unrestricted views to the outdoors and visibly extends the playrooms into the outdoor playscape, encouraging interaction with the outdoor environment and with other children playing outdoors (see Fig. 33.5). The use of high-efficiency fibreglass windows ensures that even in winter months, the floor to ceiling windows will not feel overly cold. The open plan of each playroom affords the flexibility to configure the rooms as required.

To facilitate connection and collaboration between different groups of children and staff, the designers paired two playrooms for each age group around a shared washroom. The doors into the shared vestibule allow staff to remain visibly connected and provide them with a space to talk and interact without having to leave their respective areas. The vision for a 'soft, flexible and connected space' appears to be primarily evidenced through these 'shared washrooms'. The design is further enhanced into the outdoor playscape, where all ages interact. Connectedness is evidenced in the design of a large open multi-purpose room with a small naturally lit stage in a fold in the building. It functions as a gym, an indoor play space, as well as a larger gathering and ceremonial space for the whole centre. A bright resource room with floor to ceiling windows along one wall provides flexible space for specialised uses, such as literacy programs and professional development workshops. The continuous floor to ceiling window wall provides long-range views to

the undulating green space into which the building is nestled. However, it does appear that the facility would have benefitted from a large communal indoor space physically and symbolically central to the facility to accommodate larger groups or events.

Other elements of the building that honour and represent Indigenous culture are subtly woven into the design and functioning of the building and its spaces. The articulated walls and roof subtly mimic a pegged-out tent, and the zinc canopy creates interesting folds and creases across the length of the building (see Fig. 33.6). In consultation with the community, the designers chose a subtle palette of natural materials such as slate, and cedar and Douglas fir (sp. *Pseudotsuga menziesi*) timber, teaming these with earth-toned colours. There is much emphasis on natural light and hues with other components of the building designed to reflect the shared interest of the community in the stewardship of the land. Environmentally sustainable features such as in-floor heating, high-efficiency windows, and heat recovery systems were incorporated into the design. Table 33.2 shows the relationship between general recommendations, desired outcomes and responding design features.

Fig. 33.6 Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming resembles a pegged-out tent with folds and creases, while the wooden fence recalls fish weirs (*Photograph* Tom Arban Photography)

Table 33.2 Recommendations and desires with corresponding design features

Recommendation	Desires	Design features
Inclusive, welcoming and flexible	• Family- and community-centred approach • Sense of welcoming and belonging for all • Non-institutional feel • Accommodations for shifting needs	• Warm woods and hues • Abundant light and views • Heated floors, windows • Visually and physically connected spaces • Soft, flexible, multi-purpose spaces
Connection to nature and the environment	• Connection to the local land and its history • Connection to Mother Earth and the environment • Outdoor learning	• Abundant natural light • Large window walls, continuous views of outdoors • Native natural building materials • Environmentally sustainable features • Large outdoor play spaces • Link to natural trail with native plantings, lake • Weir fence referencing historical economy
Cultural support	• Cultural references including circle of life, grandfather teachings • Language references • Support for ceremonies, community engagement	• Medicine wheel gathering circle • Subtle cultural references through roof, weir fence, etc. • Displays of Ojibway names for centre, childcare rooms • Flexible multi-purpose spaces • Natural materials; native materials • Link to Indigenous medicinal plantings

Landscape Design at Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming

The single explicit design reference to the cultural symbology of the Chippewas of Rama is the large multi-coloured concrete circle centred in the outdoor playscape. The long, sweeping curve of the building was designed to protectively embrace this circle, and its surrounding landscape, as the symbolic heart of the Centre. This circular area is divided into four quarters intended to represent the sacred notion of the circle of life. First Nation peoples have a strong affinity for the circle, which symbolises their pursuit of a balanced, healthy coexistence with and reverences for all other life on earth (Castellano 2000; Lai et al. 2012). Each quarter of the playground circle was poured with coloured concrete to match one of the four colours shown in circle of life imagery: red, yellow, white and black; these four

quarters refer to several sacred notions including the four elements of earth, wind, air and fire; the four seasons; and the four cardinal directions.

Teeple Architects worked with landscape consultants Corbin and Goode to design a generously proportioned outdoor landscape to support outdoor play and gatherings, which in turn reflects the vision of the Centre. The outdoor area runs the length of the building and is divided into outdoor play spaces for each of the three age groups. Each playground area is delineated by a wooden fence of staggered uneven pickets that reference the wooden fish weirs upon which the subsistence of their ancestors depended (see Fig. 33.5). The design may have been further enhanced through physically opening up these individual play spaces, rather simply delineating them by a wooden fence and the Centre may have benefited from a greater integration of the outdoor space into the program. This would have had the impact of reflecting the philosophy of connecting children to nature and the outdoors.

This said, the ability of staff to integrate the natural environment into the educational program has been greatly enhanced by locating the Centre a short distance from a nature trail that winds through a wooded area down to the shore of Lake Chouchiching. The trail and shore area is viewed as an extension of the outdoor space of the Centre, and staff regularly traverse the trail with the children. Plants and fruits, such as apples, blackberries and sweetgrass, are found along the trail and allow the educators opportunities to discuss the role of plants as traditional foods and medicines, and how nature is integral to Chippewa cultural heritage and traditions.

The Centre also focuses a great deal of its activities on strategies to assist children to cope with their daily struggles. The staff are aware that the time spent outdoors, particularly in this natural setting, is a key component in achieving this. Staff bring the outdoors inside by filling the playrooms and corridors with nature-inspired art and wood carvings and natural imagery such as plants and displays involving animals.

Design Responsiveness

The Chippewas of Rama First Nation Early Childhood Education Centre has been serving the Chippewas of Rama and their surrounding communities for over ten years. The lack of subsequent alterations to the building speaks to the original design's successful alignment with the functional and cultural needs of the Centre. The warm and natural palette, the exposed natural materials, the prioritisation of natural light over artificial lighting, the integration of the natural world and imagery throughout the building impart a feeling of warmth, welcome and belonging. The undulating, sculptural quality of the building and the strategic placement of window walls and skylights, allows for varying spatial experiences as one moves through the building and at different times of the day and year. The substantial long-range views connect users to the outside world. While avoiding token or caricatural

cultural references, the design subtly provides a supportive setting for the cultural and language-rich programs which define the centre.

Case Study Three: Mana Tamariki Māori Language School, Aotearoa New Zealand

Mana Tamariki a Māori Language School is a co-educational composite school in the city of Palmerston North on the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The school is open to children from zero to eighteen years with all students housed in one building, which caters for the school's enrolment of approximately 80–84 students. Approximately, a quarter of these form part of the *kōhanga reo* (preschoolers). Here, the student-to-staff ratio is small to enhance Māori immersion and learning experience with a 1:3 ratio for the nursery, 1:5 and 1:7 for under twos and over twos, respectively (Mana Tamariki 2016).

Māori as a 'Living Language'

Indigenous languages such as Māori contribute significantly to the survival of cultural identity. The Māori language (*te reo Māori*) experienced a serious decline of speakers in the 1960s and in the 1980s. Many Māori language recovery programmes began to form, including the *kōhanga reo* ('language nest') movement, an immersion language experience for Māori preschoolers which began in 1982. Through the Māori Language Act 1987, *te reo Māori* became an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand (Mehisto and Genesee 2015: 181). This Act considered strongly the promotion of te reo Māori as a 'living language' (Government of New Zealand 2016). In 1989, the NZ Education Act was reviewed and the *kura kaupapa Māori* (system of total immersion of Māori language in primary schools) became a fully funded option. Simultaneously, *kōhanga reo* became funded in the same way as English language early childhood centres. These major steps forward reflect how education has been the main focus of Māori language revitalisation and regeneration.

Through the establishment of government approved and supported Māori education, Māori is increasingly being taught and spoken in Aotearoa New Zealand. The latest Aotearoa New Zealand census conducted in 2013 directly illustrates the outcome of Māori people's strong commitment to revitalise their own language: 257,500 (55%) Māori adults had some ability to speak *te reo Māori*; that is, they were able to speak more than a few words or phrases in the language. This phenomenon is also evident in the increased proportion of younger Māori, who reported some ability to speak *te reo Māori* (Statistics New Zealand 2013). From a once-dying language, the effort to preserve *te reo Māori* through the medium of the

school and education has affirmed the value of Māori as an Indigenous 'living language' of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Te Kōhanga Reo o Mana Tamariki

As a response to the movement to revitalise *te reo Māori* by teaching it to children from preschool into adolescence, the city of Palmerston North saw many early learning centres being formed. *Te Kōhanga Reo o Mana Tamariki* was developed as part of this movement. The city of Palmerston North is Aotearoa New Zealand's fifth largest city and has a total population of 80 079 with a population of 12 546 Māori. Palmerston North city is composed of diverse ethnic groups where the majority are of European descent, and the second largest are the Māori, encompassing 16.5% of the city's population (Statistics New Zealand 2013).

Te Kōhanga Reo o Mana Tamariki was first established as an early learning centre in 1990 with an 'at least one Māori language parent' rule—placing responsibility on parents to make this language commitment (Waho 2015). Between 1990 and 1995, the leaders of *Mana Tamariki* engaged in social-linguistic studies to understand how endangered language can be revitalised through 're-generationality' with the community only speaking Māori language to children (Mana Tamariki 2016). In 1995, a private home-school *kura kaupapa* (Māori immersion approach to primary school) opened with a strict commitment to improving and retaining the Māori language. In 2000, this program started receiving state funding. Moving through several buildings, Mana Tamariki arrived at its current location, a NZ $3.5 million premises on Grey Street in Palmerston North (Manawatu Standard 2007). The revitalisation of *te reo Māori* through a language immersion—environment connects directly to the school's focus on creating a *sense of whānau*[3] (extended family-like environment) that is welcoming and that enhances students' connectedness to Māori culture and identity. The school has a strict focus on families communicating in Māori, where 'the school is here for what families are doing already', not the other way around (Mana Tamariki 2016).

Mana Tamariki Design Party

Fourteen years after the establishment of *Te Kōhanga Reo o Mana Tamariki* (1990–2014), the Ministry of Education provided the land close to the central business district of Palmerston North. The project team consisted of the school leaders who

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[3]The term 'Whānau' in Māori is often understood as the genealogical and multi-layered ways in which values and traditions are connected both through the immediate and extended family. Importantly, Joan Metge notes this extended family, in her words, a 'large family group'—comprises of multiple generations and families related by descent from an ancestor (Metge 1995).

were also 'educational-practitioners' and who led the vision of the school community. After a tendering process set out by the Ministry of Education, Tennent and Brown Architects based in Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand were commissioned to design Mana Tamariki. Former acting Principal Penny Poutu explains how she selected the architect with the least experience in school buildings. "We were thinking: "this wild-card is looking exciting" ….We really loved that our architect would hear our dream" (Manawatu Standard 2010).

To enhance the architect's knowledge of Māori architecture and its design philosophy, a Māori consultant, artist Robert (Bob) Jahnke, was added to the team (with the approval of the Ministry of Education). The 2010 New Zealand Institute of Architecture (NZIA) Awards recognised the design in terms of how the architects listened and understood their clients. Importantly, according to Tennent Brown, the project was "one of the first examples where a *kōhanga reo* (early childhood), *te kura kaupapa* and *whare kura* (primary and secondary schools) have been combined under one roof in a new purpose-built *te reo Māori* immersion educational environment. Most pronounced is the overarching and sustained care of the *tamariki* (children) from their entry at nursery age to leaving sometimes seventeen years later from *te whare kura* (secondary school)" (Brown 2006).

The design engages with—and responds architecturally to the Māori world view and its creation stories: the genealogical story of the separation of sky and earth, from which all Māori descend. The vision for the Mana Tamariki design was to develop the idea of God/Guardian, the personification or living building and the concept of *tapu*[4]—the nature of something being sacred.

Mana Tamariki: Architectural Design

The positioning of the building on site reflects the traditional Māori house (meeting house)[5]—where the learning areas face east, to the rising sun, and administrative areas are placed on the west, to the setting sun (Mana Tamariki 2016). The following attempts to unfold the relationship between Tennent Brown architects' design for Mana Tamariki as they responded to three particular Māori sensibilities: sense of *continuity*, sense of *community* and sense of *remembering*. Table 33.3 below shows the relationship between design concept, specific Māori identity and how these are authenticated in the Māori architecture of Mana Tamariki. Together,

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[4]The term 'tapu' is generally translated as 'holy' or implying a 'state of sanctity' but according to Metge, the word is also used to describe the 'degree of hapu-ness', that is, the degree of religious or ceremonial restrictions on objects, places, people and actions (Metge 2004).

[5]Deidre Brown, in her work *Māori Architecture: from fale to wharenui and beyond*, describes the Māori meeting house as synonymous to Māori architecture. Brown writes of the importance of siting/situating the house to face the east—to the sunrise. This feature, among others considered by Brown, can be seen reflected in Mana Tamariki's architectural design (Brown 2009).

Table 33.3 Māori design concepts and design articulation

Design concept	Māori culture (nga tikanga Māori) +Māori language (te reo Māori)	Design spaces and features
Sense of continuity	Spirit of Whanau: journey/time • Journey from young to old • Interconnectedness of ages • Integration of ages • Tuakana–teina relationship	• Open-plan building • Teaching area • Multi-age flexible learning spaces
Sense of community	Spirit of whanau: sharing/gathering • Nourishing Māori language and culture through different ages and stages of learning	• Huimanga (meeting room) • Kitchen/*wharekai* (eating room) • Courtyards • Interior nest (over-2 children's hideaway)
Sense of remembering	Spirit of Māori: symbolism • Symbolism as aids in remembering nga tikanga Māori (culture)	• Marae atea (open space in front of the meeting house) • Waharoa (main entrance) supporting the kawa of powhiri (ceremony of welcome) • Kura (school) as Korowai (sheltering cloak) (roof) • Seven stars of Matariki (The Pleiades) • Tukutuku pattern

the design spaces and features create moments of identification for the children with Māori culture and language.

Following the Māori tradition where the tribal house or meeting room is 'one big room', the interior spatial design of Mana Tamariki creates a sense of continuity with its visual connections between learning spaces. The teaching–learning spaces especially embody the Māori concept of not separating ages and celebrate an education that connects the *whānau* in one open space. This openness directly reflects the Māori custom whereby children are accustomed to the guidance of their senior siblings. A direct contrast to traditional 'learning boxes' (physically separate education spaces), the open-plan design creates a sense of connected learning space. As a community or whānau, the older students can teach the younger ones, and vice versa (Mana Tamariki 2016). The design aspiration for a complete continuity and openness between the learning spaces in order to encourage interconnectedness of age begins to weaken as there is a clear cut-off point between the school and preschool groups. The glass doors that are shut in order to meet regulations give a sense of visual connection but a strong physical disconnection. Nevertheless, the open design of Mana Tamariki does attempt to focus on "the journey from young to old" which is "handled within the spirit of *whānau*—always a sense of the next space" (NZIA 2010). The link between architectural space and time for the Māori is made apparent where "architecture exists primarily in its relationship to the person moving through it, the way it is seen and experienced" (McKay and Walmsley 2003: 88).

The design of the teaching area encourages the interconnectedness of these different stages of learning while also providing for age-related and stage-related learning. The space adapts easily to different learning requirements, and a simple piece of furniture, such as a sofa, gives a sense of gentle separation. Teachers have retreat spaces or small break-out spaces, for more intimate discussions (to conduct teaching at one-to-one or small groups of three to five students). The proximity of these teacher workstations to students enhances relationships between teachers and students. At a much smaller scale, there are pegboards that run along the ceilings, drawing the sound up (Mana Tamariki 2016).

The design of Mana Tamariki also reflects the importance of community for Māori. This is achieved through the multiple areas or 'centres' that flow from one to another: the *huimanga* (meeting room), located at the front of the school, the two courtyards, the *wharekai* (kitchen/eating room) and the over-two children's hide-away, or 'interior nest' are all areas of sharing, meeting and present opportunities for different ages to gather. This sense of community is most evident in the design and placement of the kitchen and dining room (*wharekai*) described as the "heart of the building" (Mana Tamariki 2016). Placed centrally to the overall plan, both kitchen and dining room become the main spatial feature along with the view into the courtyards—where children sit together for meals. The existence in Māori culture of food-formal rituals, where the people ceremonially partake in food as a community, is strong. The centrality of the kitchen/eating room at Mana Tamariki also reflects the importance of hosting for the Māori people and its contribution to *mana*. *Mana* articulates honour and in the context of Mana Tamariki and the kitchen/eating room, the contribution to *mana* illustrates how the children are well looked after and are given food at this space. This experience (of being 'honoured' in a sense) builds and contributes the mana of Mana Tamariki (Mana Tamariki 2016).

The sense of community through gathering was also achieved through Tennent Brown's idea of the nest area in the *kōhanga reo* section (see Fig. 33.7). The architects took the direct translation of *kōhanga reo* as 'language nest' and built an indoor play nest. The design suggests a suspended nest for children to come together and educate each other without the presence of adults who are below. Such design features further enhance the congruence between Māori identity and the design, which strives to create a place that meets the desires of the Mana Tamariki community.

The design of Mana Tamariki aids the sense of remembering of Māori spirituality through architectural features that brings attention to Māori culture and myth. From the exterior, the architectural expression of a ceremonial entrance of *marae ātea* contributes to a Māori ethos that connects the wider community with the school, which is further accentuated with the *waharoa* (meaning entrance to a *pā*, gateway or main entranceway) designed by Bob Jahnke supporting the Kawa of Powhiri (a Māori welcome ceremony) through a ceremonial door (see Fig. 33.8). This connection is developed through the concept of Kura as Korowai, that is, school as cloak, which was conceptualised by architects. The school as cloak concept is represented through the sheltering 'cloak' gesture of the roof—protecting

Fig. 33.7 Nest area in the Kōhanga Reo (early learning) section of Mana Tamariki (*Photograph* Tennent Brown Architects)

Fig. 33.8 Ceremonial entrance of *marae atea* of Mana Tamariki (*Photograph* Tennent Brown Architects)

what is beneath it, and—something that houses language and culture. While the roofline does not replicate Māori ethno-architecture, the design with a cloak floating over the building was embraced by the Mana Tamariki leadership.

Bob Jahnke's *poutama* pattern screen printed on the glass entrance and the side entrance concrete wall symbolises the Māori sense of 'perseverance' with the pattern's rhythm of climbing-plateau-climbing-plateau—striving ever upward—climbing into heaven. The *poutama* pattern borders the bottom section of the glass frontage and helps provide privacy for the students who work in this front area. The interior equally aids in this sense of remembering through Māori inspired drawings, carvings and pottery—and further symbolism can be found throughout the design. The seven stars of Matāriki are subtly incorporated as small windows on the northern side of the east wall (see Fig. 33.9). The constellation of the Matāriki Pleiades symbolises the start of the Māori New Year. It is a design feature that, once again, aids in looking back and remembering those who have passed and planning to go forward into the New Year. Such important Māori symbolism was further emphasised by the opening of the building in June, the month of Māori New Year (Mana Tamariki 2016).

Fig. 33.9 Seven stars of Matāriki on the northern side of the east wall (*Photograph* Tennent Brown Architects)

Mana Tamariki: The Courtyard

The design feature of a leading educational facility in Northern Italy, the Reggio Emilia, was adapted by the school's leaders who desired and envisioned a state-of-the-art facility for Mana Tamariki. Specifically, the feature of the central piazza or common space at Reggio Emilia was adapted through the two courtyards at Mana Tamariki. The big courtyard, in the *kōhanga reo* area for preschoolers, is a contained courtyard—reflecting natural elements of light, air, water, vegetation—contained but also able to extend beyond into the wider outdoor area. The small courtyard in the south side—between the *Huimanga* and *Wharekai*—provides outdoor areas and additional space for small groups that can be easily supervised from inside. While the small courtyard is a central design feature of Mana Tamariki it is, at present, underutilised due to weather conditions in Palmerston North. There is now a pressing need to rethink the purpose of this space. From a vision to have an open courtyard, there are now plans by the school to cover this space with a roof (Mana Tamariki 2016).

Design Responsiveness and the Embodiment of 'whānau'

In *Building Bilingual Education System*s, Mehisto and Genesee (2015), Mana Tamariki founder Toni Waho describes the school as having two focused commitments: the first is to a Māori spirituality and the second to growing Māori language families (2015: 188). This second commitment is actioned through the rule of 'at least one Māori language-speaking parent': a language commitment that each parent must make to meet the *whānau* category of the school enrolment (Mehisto and Genesee 2015: 188). These commitments have been further enhanced through the physical building and spatial design of Mana Tamariki. Here, the architectural design features of Mana Tamariki, embodying a sense of continuity, community and remembrance, create multiple moments of identification for the children with Māori culture, language and identity.

Discussion

The case study descriptions in this chapter provide international comparisons on the architecture of Indigenous early learning centres. Perspectives on the Bubup Wilam Centre for Early Learning in Australia; Chippewas of Rama First Nation Early Childhood Education Centre in Canada; and the Mana Tamariki in Aotearoa New Zealand reveal commonalities and deviations in the architecture design approach and outcome. Central to the successful realisation of each Early Learning Centre was the shared ambition to create a place that is culturally responsive to the unique needs and

desires of the local Indigenous community. In Australia's Bubup Wilam culture unfolds in a space with the presence of people, in Canada's Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming an attempt is made to use subtle cultural cues while the architecture of Mana Tamariki in Aotearoa New Zealand applies greater visual culture representation throughout. These cultural references at Mana Tamariki responded to the concept of *tapu*, the nature of something being sacred, whereas the understated symbolism at Bubup Wilam and Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming links back to these buildings' overarching architectural concept that relates to the land, the building growing from the earth and moulding into the landscape, respectively.

The architects commissioned to design each of the early learning centres were non-Indigenous and relied on a consultation process with Indigenous leaders and groups that sought to ensure that the design was culturally responsive to the needs of the local Indigenous community, their families and children. While there were slight variations in the way each project approached the creation of a culturally responsive place for early learning, the architects each played a pivotal role in translating the cultural histories, knowledge and relevant functions into a conceptual design. The consulting groups provided the architects and designers with details about their unique history, culture, needs and wishes. The architects' integrated this information into the development of their conceptual plans, returning to the group for further guidance over several iterations. The consultation and collaboration processes ensured that the architects did not design in a vacuum, but collaborated with communities in order to develop an understanding of relevant behavioural, socio-spatial needs, cultural norms and preferences. It appears that much of these discussions ceased with the completion of each building, but it is possible that the architects and landscape architects could learn much about their successes, and possible need for improvement, if these lines of communication remained open beyond the construction phase.

A sense of continuity and movement through space is achieved in each of the early learning centres, establishing similar culture-responsive experiences. Design elements such as high-ceiling foyers, generous windows, natural lighting, open planning, linear layout, open-ended corridors and visual connections between rooms allow these buildings to avoid the fixed, boxed-in and enclosed space more common in typically Western learning spaces. The importance of linking the internal to the external environment is evident within Bubup Wilam, Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming and to a degree at Mana Tamariki. A strong visual connection is established between indoors and outdoors through large window openings, skylights, courtyards and open-ended corridors. The flexible and adaptable internal spaces at Bubup Wilam and Mana Tamariki accommodate the desire for community and family-gathering spaces. Storytelling and communal activities are encouraged through a shared central kitchen at Mana Tamariki and an outdoor fire pit and water feature at Bubup Wilam. At Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming, there is some flexibility within the playrooms and outdoors, but less flexibility overall, meaning that unlike the others it has limited ability to host large events. This may, however, be of lesser importance here, given that these activities are accommodated by gathering facilities on the reserve.

Specific, and yet comparable, architectural design features are identified at each of the early learning centres. These include a trend towards natural building materials, colours and lighting with Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming's timber cladding and details throughout and Mana Tamariki's exposed timber rafters, wooden verandas and an interior nest (hideout) constructed out of timber slats. All three centres utilise natural light and colours, yet Bubup Wilam relies less on natural materials in the building and more on an outdoor natural playscape with Indigenous plants, sand, water and loose parts. Another key design feature across the three early learning centres are references to local language, which immediately becomes apparent in each centre's name, but also the visual design references to language that appear in the engravings, decorations, signage and patterns on the floor and wall surfaces.

In this chapter, the authors have attempted to provide a descriptive overview of the recent development of Indigenous-focused early learning centres. It is the authors' belief that capturing the design process and intent, and thus, showcasing these pioneering examples takes precedence over a more critical design debate that may find its place in the future with the establishment of more Indigenous early learning centres in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. The early learning centres have shared design preferences that include a focus on flexibility and continuity, natural elements, native language references and gathering spaces. Yet, architectural nuances of the buildings reveal more unique and individualised design aspirations and concepts. This is evidenced at Bubup Wilam where family takes precedence over individuality with its strong emphasis on multi-age gathering spaces, Mana Tamariki where Māori history and language are communicated through symbolic architectural design features and Binoojiinsag Kinoomaagewgaming where sculptural continuity and natural materials dominate. Indigenous place and placemaking processes are informed by the architecture of these early learning centres that have the capacity to encourage relevant cultural behaviours and experiences. This is pivotal in creating places through architecture that not only supports programs for mainstream education, but also provides cultural immersion experiences and understandings in childhood, establishing the foundation for cultural identity later in life.

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Chapter 34
Architecture of the Contact Zone: Four Post-colonial Museums

Paul Walker

Introduction: An Historical Perspective

Museums have become important locations for shaping and reshaping contemporary relations between post-colonial societies and Indigenous cultures. The anthropologist James Clifford has used the term 'contact zone' to describe the indeterminacy and possibility that exists when the formal knowledge held by curators and anthropologists and the embodied, evolving culture represented by Indigenous groups encounter each other within the orbit of the contemporary museum. In his essay "Museums as Contact Zones", Clifford describes the meeting between a group of museum staff and a group of senior representatives of the Tlingit in the basement of the Portland Museum of Art as curators sought input on a new exhibition they were devising of the material from Tlingit and other North-west Coast cultures that their institution held (Clifford 1997). These are not straightforward encounters, not least because the agendas of the parties involved do not coincide: Clifford describes, for example, the way that the Tlingit Elders sitting in that Portland museum were much less interested than the curators in the material particularity and ceremonial uses of the objects at hand. Rather, they wanted to tell the stories and sing the songs the objects evoked. For the Tlingit, these were necessary adjuncts or immaterial aspects of those objects, and the point of discussing them was to reinforce their contemporary relevance.

Clifford borrows the term 'contact zone' from Mary Louise Pratt. Pratt used it to describe unanticipated epistemological outcomes of encounters between Europeans and people of other cultures and geographies at the edges of the European imperial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Pratt proposes that the term 'contact zone' is more nuanced than the usual 'frontier' to describe such encounters, because

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although they did not occur on the basis of equitability or reciprocity, nor was European expansion merely the spread of a homogeneous culture untouched by the new worlds it encountered (Pratt 2008: 88).

Museums have a history as contact zones. Museums in colonial contexts were part of the apparatus of colonial rule and expansion. They were set up to establish a semblance of amenity in the colonial context, doubtless to make colonial subjects feel they had not entirely left the metropolitan world behind them. The intended audiences of such museums were therefore generally European sojourners or settlers rather than the Indigenous people whose resources and cultures they were set on representing (MacKenzie 2009: 5). However, Indigenous people were not entirely absent from colonial museums, especially where European colonial authority was not intent on entirely replacing the Indigenous with the European. Museums built in India in the late nineteenth century, for example, were meant for local audiences more than they were for British residents or European visitors. Gyan Prakash has argued that museums and other exhibitionary endeavours in colonial India had the intent of reorganising Indian materials to demonstrate to Indian eyes the superior ordering that Western scientific knowledge could bring to them. Often, however, Indian reactions departed from European expectations: Prakash (1992: 154) argues that museum displays were used by Indian elites to demonstrate to their compatriots their own privileged access to European knowledge. They were also sources of amusement. At the Napier Museum in Trivandrum, despite the efforts of successive British curators, the order of exhibitions was from time to time disrupted by interventions from the Travancore Maharajah's family. At the Government Museum in Madras, a successful campaign for days to be reserved for exclusive access by women in 'purdah' was made for primarily symbolic reasons: very few such women visited (Walker 2007: 141–143). In the most sustained critical study of the history of a museum from the subcontinent of which I am aware, Shaila Bhatti notes that the Lahore Museum also had such times. Bhatti's (2012) book *Translating Museums: A counter history of South Asian Museology* considers in detail how local visitors to the Lahore Museum encountered its exhibitions and suggests that their interest in the museum was for the 'wonder' they could find in its collections rather than for its pedagogical value.

Even in settler contexts, Indigenous people sometimes found themselves in museums. McCarthy (2007: 31–33) has documented the visits made by Māori to see the collections in Wellington's Colonial Museum in the 1860s and 1870s. Indigenous people also visited museums in relation to their role as sources of exhibited material. I have previously traced the history of the purchase and reconstruction in the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch of the carved meeting house Hau te Ananui o Tangaroa in 1874 (Walker 1996; Gentry 2015: 27). When it was shipped from the east coast of the North Island, it was accompanied by two carvers, Hone Taahu and Tamati Ngakaho sent to repair and complete it. The museum was keen for the building to be as authentic as possible. But the carvers were not interested in using materials the museums construed as 'authentic'—they

wanted to use commercial paints from hardware merchants, for example, not traditional ochre mixes. Because the building was incomplete when it arrived in Christchurch, they needed to do further carvings among which they used pictorial elements which again departed from what was believed to be orthodox. What mattered to the carvers we might surmise was the spirit with which the work was done, not its materials or the conformity to tradition of its motifs.

Ngarino Ellis's recent study of the carving of Ngāti Porou iwi (tribe), *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, demonstrates that the work done by Taahu and Ngakaho on Hau te Ananui o Tangaroa relates to the development of their careers as carvers and artists (Ellis 2016: 220). They were not mere agents of a settled tradition. Moreover, Ellis (2016: 216) suggests that the relocation into the museum of the house had wider effects. Ngāti Porou prestige may have been enhanced by the display in a major museum of the work. Ellis (2016: 223) also proposes that a visit to the museum by Ngāti Porou chieftain Rapata Wahawaha when Taahu and Ngakaho were working there may have influenced his view that a new meeting house for Ngāti Porou was needed back home. This suggests a dynamic relationship between museological contexts and the Indigenous cultures from which collections were sourced. Reflecting on Māori participation in providing artefacts for both exhibitions and museums, McCarthy (2007: 58) comments that "…exhibitions were ambiguous spaces which sometimes allowed for a degree of interaction and dialogue between spectators and spectacle which undercut ethnographic 'othering'."

For both Clifford and Pratt, the term 'zone' entails a spatial metaphor; the contact zone is an epistemological space. The term 'zone', however, can also be taken to refer literally to the physical spaces of an institution or the geographical spaces where colonial encounters with 'the other' took place. Both Clifford and Pratt often allude to just such tangible places in their work. This chapter will examine the architecture of four museums which in their institutional missions have foregrounded relations between contemporary societies and communities descended from colonised people. These museums are Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand, Wellington (1998); National Museum of Australia (NMA), Canberra (2001); the Musée du quai Branly, Paris (2006); and the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Noumea (completed 1998). Each differently conceives the contemporary emerging from the colonial histories which it represents: the post-colonial nation as 'bicultural' at Te Papa; the post-colonial nation as multicultural 'mosaic' at the NMA; rapprochement between a first world power and traditional cultures mostly of the formerly colonised third world at quai Branly; rapprochement between coloniser and colonised at Tjibaou. In each museum, architecture was charged to make these idealisations physically and experientially manifest even as the discipline of architecture itself struggles with its own inheritances of elite, monocultural knowledge.

Te Papa and Biculturalism

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (see Fig. 34.1) is the successor to a series of earlier institutions starting with the Colonial Museum, founded in Wellington in 1865, the year the city was made Aotearoa New Zealand's capital. In 1936, the museum—by then styled the Dominion Museum—was relocated together with a new National Art Gallery in a grand building designed by the Auckland architects Gummer and Ford in a neo-classical style typical of the civic architecture of the period. Its most impressive space was a 'Māori Hall' in which the principal exhibition was the great meeting house, Te Hau ki Turanga. This had been appropriated by the government in 1867 and installed in the Colonial Museum (McCarthy 2007: 22–23, 80). The privileged place of the Māori Hall was indicative of how Māori culture had been by this time been adopted in Aotearoa New Zealand to represent a putatively unique national sensibility. Nicholas Thomas has commented in relation to this that "In no other settler culture have indigenous art forms been mobilized so consistently in nationalist design" (Thomas 1999: 106; see also McCarthy 2007: 41–45, 81). This was to peak with the 1940 centenary of the Treaty of Waitangi by which British authority was established in Aotearoa New Zealand, marked in part by the building of the meeting house Te Tiriti o Waitangi Whare Rūnanga at Waitangi in the country's far north, at the site of the treaty

Fig. 34.1 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa from Wellington Harbour (*Source* Wikimedia Commons, *Photograph* Michal Klajban)

signing (Skinner 2008: 27–41; Brown 2009: 89–95). Though its provisions had long been disregarded, by 1940 the Treaty had come to be seen symbolically as the founding of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the early 1980s, the conservative government of the period planned a new national art gallery. But when the Labour Party was elected to power in 1984, this was abandoned, and a project for a much more ambitious new national museum was started. This was to be based on the collections both of the National Gallery and the Dominion Museum (from 1972, re-styled the National Museum).

The change in direction was indicative of broader change in Aotearoa New Zealand during the 1970s and 1980s. While the Treaty of Waitangi had long been regarded as foundational in the national mythos, the rights it accorded Māori of unfettered access to their lands and resources had been disregarded from the time it was signed. In the 1970s, Māori protests and civil disobedience called attention to long-standing grievances. In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was founded in particular to address nineteenth-century expropriations of Māori land. The Tribunal's powers were extended in 1985, and as a result of its findings that the Māori language was a 'taonga' (a treasure), in 1987 Māori was recognised as an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand. Such moves established a de facto government policy of biculturalism, retrospectively defined in terms of the Treaty: the rights of Māori as Tangata Whenua (people of the land), and the rights of those present under the auspices of British authority and its ultimate successor, the Aotearoa New Zealand Government, the Tangata Tiriti (people of the treaty). This is reflected in the 1985 report of the museum project development team. This report several times refers to the Te Māori exhibition, held in four US centres in 1984–86, starting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Te Māori, notes Clifford (1988: 209–210), made it clear that objects from non-Western cultures continued to have meaning beyond the institutions that house them: "'Te Māori'…clearly establishes that the 'art' on display is still sacred, on loan not merely from certain New Zealand museums but also from the Māori people". Māori were central to the conceptualisation and realisation of Te Māori, and insisted on appropriate protocols at opening ceremonies to honour the mana and ongoing significance of the objects on loan (McCarthy 2007: 138–141). But pointing to the complexity of this situation, Clifford alludes in a footnote to a *New York Times* report on Mobil Oil's sponsorship of exhibitions of tribal art in the USA—including Te Māori—as part of their business practice: Mobil was then engaged in a joint venture with the Aotearoa New Zealand Government processing natural gas (McGill 1985).

The acclaim with which Te Māori was met both in the USA and on its triumphant return to Aotearoa New Zealand facilitated wide acceptance of Te Papa's bicultural agenda and empowered Māori to insist on a central role in determining how Aotearoa New Zealand museums exhibited and conserved Māori taonga. One of the key ways in which the museum was to be bicultural was to include Māori in its development teams, and then in its governance and leadership groups, and among staff across all types and levels of employment.

The institutional concept for the new museum continued to develop through wide consultations in accordance with the bicultural paradigm. In 1989, the

institutional name Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa was adopted. That year a competition was held to select an architect through the submission of credentials and limited design proposals. Teams sought out 'Indigenous' architects as collaborators. Among the five teams that were shortlisted was a consortium of the local firm Tse Group and the Canadian Blackfoot architect Douglas Cardinal—designer of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, and later of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (2004). Indigeneity appears to have become international currency—the Tse/Cardinal team proposed a free-form plan and layered terraces reminiscent of Cardinal's Ottawa and Washington museums. Indigeneity, however, did not guarantee success. One of the most admired projects put forward in the competition was from a team of Athfield Architects and Rewi Thompson, a highly regarded architect of Māori affiliation, who chose as their international partner Frank Gehry. To wide dismay, they were not shortlisted.

The Auckland firm Jasmax won the 1989 competition. Pete Bossley, a lead architect for the project, emphasises the centrality of biculturalism in Jasmax's approach:

> The brief suggested a conceptual framework of Papatūānuku/land, Tangata Whenua, and Tangata Tiriti. We at Jasmax were determined to express, at the very heart of the building rather than at the level of decoration, the differences between the two cultures and the common ground of conversation between them (Bossley 1998).

This drove the plan of the building: on the harbour edge of the site and oriented to the north were Tangata Whenua galleries, with a design generator of 'Māori response to landform'. To the south were Tangata Tiriti galleries, influenced by a putative 'colonial grid'. Between the two sets of gallery spaces was to be a vast, lofty concourse, both an orientation space and a symbol of encounter and dialogue. Uniting the whole plan was to be a sweeping semicircular form, the 'curve of Papatūānuku, the shared land'.

Jasmax subsequently revised their design. While the conceptual bases of the Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti galleries remained, now instead of being mediated by a concourse, they were to be related through a wedge in the plan of the museum that was conceived to 'cleave' them—'cleave' entailing simultaneously the meanings of separating and linking (Bossley 1998). The building to this new design was completed in 1997, and the new museum opened on Waitangi Day, 6 February 1998.

The development of Te Papa's museological approach was driven not only by the conception of biculturalism, but also by the wish to bring new audiences into the museum. But these drives cannot entirely be separated: while the bicultural idea has at its core a desire to contest the cultural and economic privilege hitherto assigned to Pākehā (non-Māori) in the Māori/Pākehā binary, overcoming this binary cannot be merely a matter of symbolism. A bicultural institution should have bicultural audiences. The drive to expand audiences necessarily meant that Māori and other under-represented communities had to be cultivated. Te Papa's approach to developing new audiences was to focus not on objects and the didactic texts

conventional to museum displays, but also to adopt narrative techniques unashamedly drawing on media and entertainment as models. These approaches can be found across Te Papa, from the imagery in the fantastic and inventive machined MDF 'carvings' of master carver Cliff Whiting's meeting house Te Hono ki Hawaiki on the museum's Te Marae, to its earthquake simulators and other 'rides', use of computer games and focus on popular culture. However, Mana Whenua, the principal exhibition of Māori culture at Te Papa, on the whole eschewed these approaches for one focused on objects shown with the deference expected by iwi who were widely consulted in its development (McCarthy 2007: 177–189). Te Papa —and Mana Whenua in particular—has indeed attracted audiences of unprecedented size for a Aotearoa New Zealand museum, and new Māori audiences in particular (McCarthy 2007: 190–191).

Much commentary on the museum, however, has focused on the populist aspect of its institutional identity. Conservative critics such as the philosopher Denis Dutton inevitably denounced this change as dumbing down, and soon after Te Papa's opening *The New Statesman* characterised it as "the MTV of museums" (Dalrymple 1999). However, museologists sympathetic to the urgency of expanding the museum's constituency have admired the resolve with which Te Papa went about bringing the masses in (Tramposch 1998a, b).[1] So highly regarded was the work of Te Papa's exhibition development team that its leader was recruited to develop the installation of exhibitions at the Jewish Museum Berlin (Chemetzky 2008: 228), one of the most celebrated architectural projects of the 1990s, but one whose Daniel Libeskind design appears devised to resist any kind of museum installation.

Te Papa's success is far more significant than the compromises on which its conservative critics focus. However, the least persuasive part of the museum is precisely the part that most explicitly plays the role of a contact zone: the wedge between Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti (see Fig. 34.2). This space is the location of a major exhibition devoted to the Treaty of Waitangi, Signs of a Nation Ngā Tohu Kotahitanga. It is dominated by a vast, cast glass facsimile of the ravaged parchment of the original treaty. The text of the treaty—not readable in the hugely enlarged vitreous copy—is mounted on the splayed side walls of the wedge, again on a huge scale. Vertical steel poles in front of the exhibition are furnished with screens and speakers from which we can hear individuals commenting on the significance of the treaty; behind the glass treaty are displays and interactive devices. Like much of the rest of Te Papa's interior and exhibition design, this interpretative hubbub seems more distracting than engaging—rather than a cleaving, it suggests a blur (Walker and Clark 2004: 176).

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[1]Tramposch was employed in senior roles at Te Papa during its development and implementation.
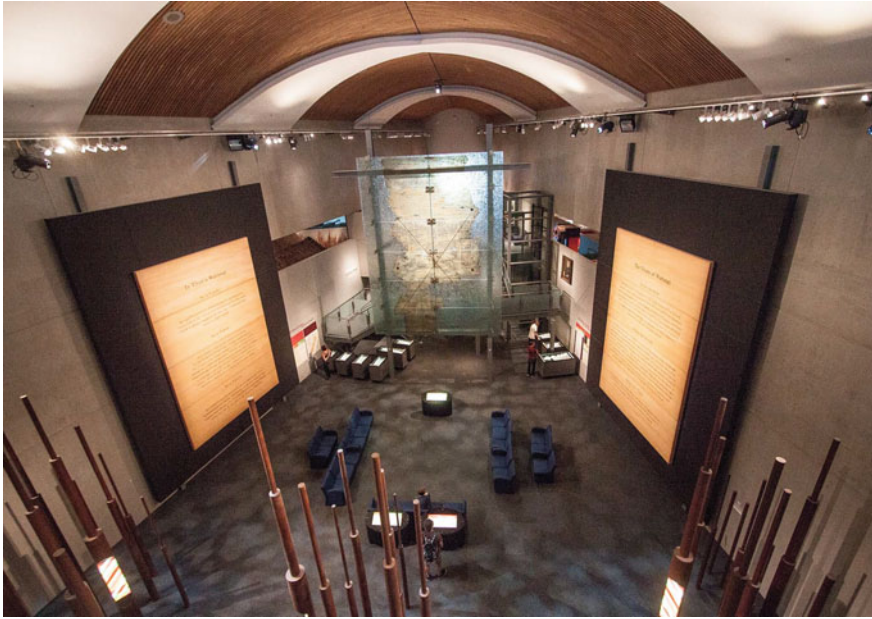
Fig. 34.2 Signs of a Nation Ngā Tohu Kotahitanga, Te Papa's exhibition on the Treaty of Waitangi (*Source* Wikimedia Commons, *Photograph* Szilas)

The National Museum of Australia: Multiplicity, or Not?

> We recommend that a Museum of Australia be established in Canberra…. The new national museum should not duplicate those fields in which the older Australian museums are strong but should concentrate on three main themes or galleries: Aboriginal man in Australia; European man in Australia; and the Australian environment and its interaction with the two-named themes.

This is the most significant of a raft of recommendations made by a committee established in 1974 by the reformist government of Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam to consider the nation's museums and national collections. The committee's report (referred to as the Piggott Report after its chair) was tendered to the government just before Whitlam was dismissed in November 1975.

While the Whitlam government's initiative on museums was in keeping with its focus on building an Australian culture, support for the idea of a national museum wavered after 1975 more for economic than ideological reasons. While enabling legislation for the museum was not passed until 1980—and full-scale planning did not get underway for more than another decade after that—Australia's 'history wars', the political controversies over multiculturalism and Indigenous grievances, were to bear on the museum only after it finally opened in 2001 (Message 2009: 25).

The 1975 proposal was that the Museum of Australia would be a history museum and that it would connect both Australia's Aboriginal history and the history

of what it awkwardly called 'European man' with a section devoted to 'the Environment' (Commonwealth of Australia 1975: 72). This is akin to the conceptual framework proposed for the 1989 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa competition. In a report on the site and architectural brief for the Museum of Australia prepared by the Sydney firm of John Andrews International in 1977, such a tripartite arrangement was given a kind of architectural image as a series of building modules with courtyards between, in a tessellated pattern. 'Aboriginal' Australia was on one side and 'European' on the other, both merging into the 'nature' modules in the middle. Such an approach anticipated growth and change, and astutely avoided proffering an overall architectural image.

Moving forward twenty years, the site for the museum had changed, the brief included less 'nature', and the architecture of Ashton Raggatt McDougall was entirely different to anything Andrews would have envisaged. But the 1977 architectural idea of the museum as a series of tesserae reappeared, now as an institutional metaphor. In a presentation that referred back to the threefold conception of an Australian national museum suggested in the Piggott Report, and to the need for the new museum to embrace contemporary exhibition practices and media, the director of what was now called the National Museum of Australia, Dawn Casey, emphasised that it would be "a forum—a place for sharing stories, for exchanging information about different cultures, and creating linkages between people" (Casey 2001: 3). Further, Casey suggested that the museum could encourage the community "to take pride and comfort in cultural identity that is a mosaic; a compelling picture made of different parts; a number of diverse stories that collectively make up a great anthology" (2001: 7).

Ashton Raggatt McDougall's architecture for the NMA could certainly be described as 'a compelling picture made of different parts'. Their approach was architectural bricolage: each major component of the museum—entry and orientation, temporary exhibition, the permanent galleries and the Gallery of the First Australians—has its own distinct building volume. Each is enriched with a welter of references to Australian popular culture and architectural citations in the manner of much late twentieth-century postmodern architecture. It was seen by Charles Jencks —the architectural critic and historian most associated with postmodernism internationally—as the apotheosis of this design mode (Jencks 2001a; b). An extruded void with a pentagonal section skeins through the building, augmenting and knotting the axes of Walter Burley Griffin's Canberra plan. One side of this extrusion becomes a gigantic loop of red and orange steel to signal entry to the site, and then a line in the landscape pointing to the country's 'red centre' (see Fig. 34.3). While ARM's design strategy corresponded to the museum's institutional mission as set out by Casey, it is found across their entire body of work. Rather than using citation and the technologically new as sources of architectural legitimacy, ARM's work problematises them (see Macarthur and Stead 2006). Designed by Richard Weller and Vladimir Sitta (Room 4.1.3), the "Garden of Australian Dreams" at the centre of the NMA grounds takes a similar approach of deliriously piled up references, while avoiding a resolved whole (Weller 2001) (see Fig. 34.4).

Fig. 34.3 Monumental steel loop at the entry to the National Museum of Australia. The building volumes visible from left to right house temporary exhibitions, the entry and orientation gallery, and the Gallery of the First Australians (*Photograph* Paul Walker)
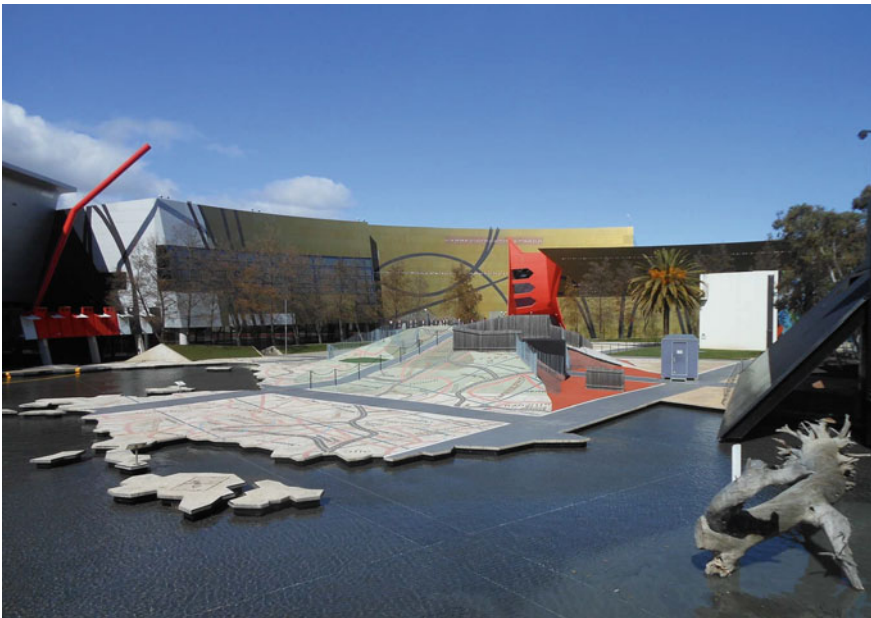
Fig. 34.4 Garden of Australian Dreams at the NMA (*Photograph* Paul Walker)

One of the most contentious design references in the NMA's design is in the plan of the 'Gallery of the First Australians'. It is unmistakably drawn from Libeskind's Jewish Museum Berlin, but with the elbows in its plan filled and dimpled concrete claddings applied to the Gallery's exterior, the Libeskind reference was just another part of the melange. Claims of plagiarism made by Australian and German newspapers were beside the point (Reed 2002: 13). Rather more difficult was the question this design move raised of seeing one history of oppression and genocide through another. Another contentious element of the design was the raised bosses on some cladding panels that were rumoured to refer to the Aboriginal experience of genocide and to spell out 'sorry' in braille—a reference to the refusal by John Howard (Prime Minister 1996–2007) to apologise to Aboriginal Australians for their historic mistreatment and dispossession. It was Howard's government, however, that gave the NMA project the resources to at last be realised.

The NMA's populist pitch attracted much criticism, as had Te Papa's. This was ratcheted up to outrage when right-wing political commentators learned of the political references made by the museum's architecture (Devine 2001). By 2001 when the NMA opened as part of celebrations for the centenary of the Australian federation, the political consensus on multiculturalism of the 1970s when the museum was conceived had evaporated. Revisionist historian Keith Windshuttle led the conservative charge against the NMA (Dean and Rider 2005: 37; Message 2009: 31), and the government responded by setting up an inquiry into the museum's exhibitions and wider operations only two years after it had opened. In a nod to Casey's view of the museum as a 'mosaic' or 'anthology', the review proposed that one criterion by which the museum's performance could be judged was the requirement that it "Convey a sense of the mosaic of everyday life and its more ordinary stories; of the diversity of its peoples and their customs and beliefs; and of the extraordinary in the ordinary. This includes sketching the society's migrant history and identity" (Commonwealth of Australia 2003: 14). By this criterion, the enquiry assessed that the museum succeeded, and in particular it acknowledged the value of exhibitions in the Gallery of the First Australians (Commonwealth of Australia 2003: 76). These exhibitions included sections which were forthright about violent encounters between Aboriginal Australians and settlers in the nineteenth century, and the forced institutionalisation of children and fights for rights in the twentieth (Pieris 2016: 35–36). However, the enquiry was critical of the museum's failure to present a coherent account of 'the Australian story' and Australia's achievements as a nation, particularly in its Nation exhibition (about the symbols of national identity) and Horizons (that set out the histories of migration to Australia after 1788). That is, even though the review did not reject the NMA's depictions of Aboriginal experience and endorsed the principle of multiplicity central to the museum's institutional agenda, it criticised multiplicity's *effect*. The review sought to promote the trope of consensus over the truth of conflict. In this, it disavowed the *relevance* to the nation of its Aboriginal stories.

Musée du quai Branly: Aesthetics and 'Primitivism'

The Musée du quai Branly opened in 2006. The process of its conception and implementation followed a history of other major cultural projects in Paris, from the Centre Pompidou onwards, which had presidential imprimatur—in this case of Jacques Chirac. Chirac, President of France from 1995 to 2007, had a deep interest in non-European art (Price 2007: 6–7). He was to speak of the MQB as recognition by the French state of the value of the material cultures of precolonial and non-Western societies:

> France wished to pay homage to peoples to whom, throughout the ages, history has all too often done violence. Peoples injured and exterminated by the greed and brutality of conquerors. Peoples humiliated and scorned, denied even their own history. People still now often marginalised, weakened, endangered by the inexorable advance of modernity. Peoples who want their dignity restored (Chirac 2006).

Many of these societies had experienced French colonialism; the effects of that colonialism included migration of Indigenous populations to the metropole. Implicit in the MBQ's mission was the potential to build stronger links between the contemporary French state and its citizens who had such origins.[2]

Chirac's own interest in non-Western objects took the form of aesthetic connoisseurship. In his presidential endeavours, this first led to a plan to introduce non-Western objects back into the Louvre (Price 2007: 30). A grander plan followed for a new museum that would become the MQB. This would draw on the collections both of the ethnologically oriented Musée de l'Homme and those of the Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (MAAO), which had its origins in the Colonial Museum established in 1931, housed in a grand Art Deco building adorned with frescos celebrating France's colonial role of ostensibly spreading civilisation. While the commission tasked with developing the new museum was nominally chaired by venerated anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, it was most strongly influenced by those sympathetic to Chirac's aesthetic predilection, particularly the sometime art dealer Jacques Kerchache. This approach was manifested in the new galleries that opened at the Pavillon des Sessions at the Louvre in 2000, implemented under Kerchache's direction: aesthetically impressive objects presented in airy, carefully lit spaces far more in keeping with an art than an ethnology museum (Price 2007: 59–65). Discreet signage emphasised the trajectory of the objects through the hands of European owners—for example, Pablo Picasso, André Breton and Max Ernst—suggesting that their significance came not from their own cultures but from their influence on European modernism. For the most part, they were very old.

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[2]North Africa, however, has only a minor presence at the MQB, being instead strongly represented in other Paris institutions, the Institut du Monde Arabe which opened in its Nouvel building in 1987, and the Louvre's galleries of Islamic art, refurbished in 2012.

The plans for new galleries at the Louvre and for a new museum met with resistance: the Louvre did not see the Pavillon des Sessions as within its remit (Price 2007: 63). The ethnologists and anthropologists at the Musée de l'Homme despised the aesthetic focus of the new initiatives and despaired at the subordination of their institution's intellectual mission, even though by the 1990s this was faltering for poor budgets and neglect of its exhibitions (Sauvage 2007: 144; Amato 2006: 4; Clifford 2007: 4; Price 2007: 88–97).

An architectural competition for the new museum was held in 1999, won by Jean Nouvel, with the other finalists being Renzo Piano and Peter Eisenman in collaboration with French architect Felice Fanuele (Price 2007: 112–113).[3] Nouvel's building is a long, irregular volume, suspended above beautiful planting by the landscape architect Gilles Clement. At the western end of the site, this volume is anchored by three other building wings. At the east at ground level are a café and technical facilities. While the site can readily be entered from the rue de l'Université to the south, the most obvious public entry is from the north, from quai Branly. Along this side of the site, a vast glass wall suggests a museum vitrine by which the whole complex is protected.

The main exhibition area of the building is in the long building volume suspended above the site. The installation here was devised by Nouvel, using a selection of the objects taken from the Musée de l'Homme and the MAAO. These are thematically arranged in four broad geographical groupings (Africa, the Americas, Asia and Oceania including Aboriginal Australia).[4] Again, the approach is aesthetic, with discreet signage, and interpretative media (video screens and so on) corralled along the middle of the space and away from the objects themselves, a zone called the 'river'. The general lighting level is low. No doubt this has sound conservation benefits, but it also produces an ambience which perhaps suggests respect for the spiritual significance to their producers of many the assembled objects. Problematically, the darkness also underlines their putative 'primitiveness'. Nouvel (2002) refers to his strategy in these terms:

> This is a museum built around a collection; a museum in which everything is designed to detonate the eruption of emotions aroused by primitive objects; in which everything is designed to protect them from light but at the same time, to capture the few sunrays indispensable for the vibration and establishment of different spiritualities. This place is marked by symbols of jungles and rivers, obsessions with death and oblivion. It is a refuge for works produced in Australia and America, where they are now censured or denigrated. It is a recharged, inhabited place for dialogue between the ancestral spirits of men who, discovering their human condition, invented gods and beliefs. It is a unique, strange, poetic and disturbing place.[5]

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[3]Amato (2006: 60) lists other famous architects from whom designs 'were sought', including Tadao Ando, Christian de Portzamparc, Norman Foster and Rem Koolhaas.

[4]The problematic treatment of Aboriginal materials in the MQB is examined by Sauvage (2007: 145–147).

[5]Clifford (2007: 10–16) offers a thorough, critical account of the range of exhibition strategies in the MQB's permanent collections.

Fig. 34.5 Main building volume of the Musée du quai Branly, designed by Jean Nouvel, floats above the landscape by Gilles Clement (*Photograph* Paul Walker)

This reading is underlined by the fluid forms of the 'river', its furnishings and their leather claddings, the images of lush foliage that adorn the glazed walls between and above the small, thematic galleries on the north side of the principal exhibition space, and indeed the insertion of the museum—right in the heart of central Paris—into a landscape which is itself a horticultural citation of wilderness. It as if the fundamental gesture of the MQB—following the logic of the diorama (which the MQB has otherwise abolished)—is to return the things from the non-Western world it houses to a 'natural' setting in which it is apparently conceived that they properly belong. In Nouvel's words, the museum is a "…simple frontless refuge in the in the heart of the forest" (see Fig. 34.5). This separates the objects and their cultural traditions from the present and from the histories of colonialism through which they are connected to the milieu of contemporary urban Europe. This reading is given further credence in the architectural treatment of the MQB wings for research and for administration. On Nouvel's initiative, the external walls, ceilings and other elements of the administrative building on the rue de l'Université are adorned with patterns developed from works by Indigenous Australian artists (see Fig. 34.6). These are stunning, but the MQB otherwise disavows lessons potentially to be drawn on Indigeneity in the post-colonial and post-industrial now in which it is possible for works originating in the remote Aboriginal communities of outback Australia to be realised in central Paris (Walker 2012: 380; Naumann 2006: 91; Armstrong 2006). This disavowal is emphasised—unintentionally no doubt—by the exterior treatment of the MQB's
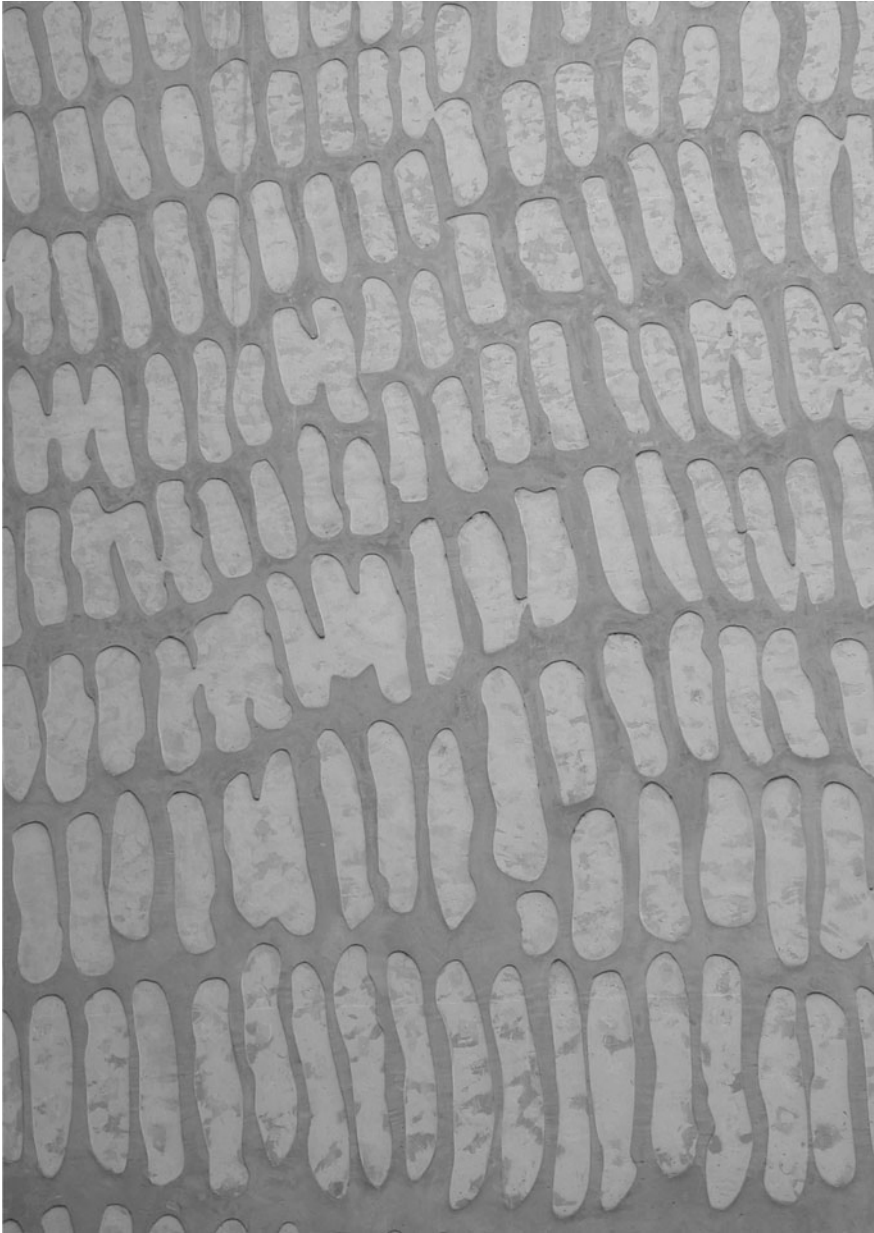
Fig. 34.6 Detail of the façade of the rue de l'Université wing of the Musée du quai Branly. The pattern is developed from Jimbala and Germerre, a work by Lena Nyadbi, a contemporary Gija artist from Australia's Kimberley region (*Photograph* Paul Walker)

northern wing, adorned with 'vegetative walls' devised by Patrick Blanc: the correspondence of plants and art suggests an equivalence of condition (see Fig. 34.7).

In Sally Price's brilliant account of the institutional development of the MQB, she suggests there are four stances which such a museum might take. Firstly, it can aestheticise the works which it houses, as the MQB has done. Secondly, it can partner with contemporary Indigenous communities in the museum's custodianship of the material culture of their ancestors and new expressions of that culture in the present. Price sees this fundamentally as the strategy adopted at Te Papa and at the National Museum of Australia (even if it is not always apparent that this strategy prevails). Thirdly, the museum can thematise the experience of colonialism that connects precolonial culture to the post-colonial present. And fourthly, it can attempt to present Indigenous cultures as coherent but closed anthropological systems, as was the mission of the old Musée de l'Homme (Price 2007: 170–171; Sauvage 2007: 143). Price's analysis suggests how difficult the second strategy is in the French context, in which citizenship has long been held to supersede any other identity category. She describes an encounter between museum officials from Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and Vanuatu and those of the MQB, in which the chief executive of Te Papa explained how any Māori artefacts that the museum lent to be exhibited elsewhere were first blessed by Māori Elders; the French found this preposterous.[6] But despite Chirac's words at the MQB's opening, nor does the museum deal with colonialism and its aftermath of immigration (Sauvage 2007: 140–141). The decade in which the museum was planned and implemented in fact saw successive French governments harden their attitudes to the country's migrant populations and new immigration (Thomas 2013: 24).

Noting the competing motivations that play out at the MQB, Clifford (2007: 9) has commented that:

> In practice, museums like Quai Branly do not answer to stable constituencies of art connoisseurs or social scientists. Their audiences are more diverse. And Paris itself is a changing contact zone – no longer the center of Civilization (high culture and advanced science), but a node in global networks of culture and power.

While Indigenous people have played only a marginal role in conceiving the MQB's agenda (Sauvage 2007: 141), the establishment of the MQB as a node in such networks has nevertheless allowed interinstitutional exchanges in which dialogue might occur. Temporary exhibitions at the MQB operating alongside the permanent installation have this potential (Clifford 2007: 20–23). The museum has hosted a major exhibition of Māori works from Te Papa that presumably had to conform to the protocols of both institutions. While the MQB[7] elides the histories through which objects come into its possession, as Sarah Amato has noted,

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[6]On the lack of representation of non-Western people on the MQB staff, see Martin (2011: 60–61). Martin cites Bernard Dupaigne, *Le Scandale des arts premiers*, Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2006: 57.

[7]See http://www.quaibranly.fr/en/exhibitions-and-events/at-the-museum/exhibitions/event-details/e/maori-34383/ [accessed 17 Oct 2016].

Fig. 34.7 Patrick Blanc-designed green wall on the quai Branly wing of the MQB; to the left is part of the glazed screen that encloses the museum's northern boundary (*Photograph* Paul Walker)

acknowledgement of the aesthetic quality of these objects is itself recognition of the achievement of the cultures that produced them. Clifford also notes the museum's "respect for the arts and cultures of the small tribal peoples of the Americas, Africa, the Pacific, and the Arctic" (Clifford 2007: 5; Amato 2006: 55). Thomas (2016: 32) suggests that while Nouvel's architecture serves the MQB's permanent display 'awkwardly', some of the MQB's temporary exhibitions have nevertheless been successful in negotiating the 'museum's emerging character as a zone of cross-cultural contact'.[8] He particularly praises a recent exhibition from New Caledonia Kanak. And as the works from Aboriginal Australia that are integrated into the MQB's architecture indicate a contemporary condition, so do contemporary art works by Indigenous artists that have been included in temporary shows at the MQB, for example those of the Māori artist Michael Parekowhai that were exhibited at MQB in conjunction with the Māori exhibition of 2011–2012 sourced from Te Papa.[9] Parekowhai also had works exhibited at MQB's opening, along with another contemporary Māori artist, Fiona Pardington: large format photographic works by both were mounted to be seen through the exterior glass walls of the ground-level services building.

But these examples of 'contact' between Indigeneity and the contemporary at MQB do not significantly address relations between the French state and its citizens whose origins lie in former French colonies in Africa and elsewhere (Thomas 2013: 14–41). While an article in the *New York Times* in 2006 under the title "Immigrants flock proudly to Musée du Quai Branly" (Brothers 2009)[10] suggested that the museum was attracting new audiences from African and North African migrant families who were reportedly enthused by seeing the material culture of their forebears, the evidence the article offered for this was only anecdotal: French institutions cannot collect data about the ethnicity of their visitors. Contradicting this optimistic newspaper report, Price points out that in her visits to the MQB soon after its opening, she saw no visitors who seemed likely to have had such origins, and in the visits that I made a couple of years later, I also saw none.

The Tjibaou Cultural Centre: A Post-colonial Monument

To end this brief account of architecture, Indigeneity and museums, I turn to the Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre in Noumea (see Fig. 34.8). While there are major differences between Te Papa, the National Museum of Australia, and the Musée du quai Branly and their contexts, nevertheless, these three museums have in common a

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[8]See also Thomas (2013): 37–40.

[9]See http://www.thearts.co.nz/news/michael-parekowhai-to-show-at-pariss-renowned-mus-e-du-quai-branly [accessed 17 Oct 2016].

[10]Brothers record the view of the MQB's president Stéphane Martin that up to a quarter of the MQB's visitors are 'a new public who are coming because the museum speaks especially to them'.

Fig. 34.8 Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre (*Photograph* John Gollings © ADCK—Centre Cultural Tjibaou—RPBW—Renzo Piano Building Workshop)

role of representing the nation in relation to its evolving relationships with those whom it has previously colonised. No matter how problematically, each attempts to project a present and a future beyond the subordination of Indigenous cultures and societies entailed in colonialism. The Tjibaou Cultural Centre has a related agenda. Like the Musée du quai Branly, it was a major project of the French state—the only one of François Mitterand's Grands Projets realised outside the mainland of France (Findley 2005: 50); like the Musée du quai Branly, it brackets and puts aside the question of colonialism. The difference is that under the euphemistic category of being a 'French Overseas Territory', New Caledonia is still colonised by the French. While officially consideration of independence has merely been delayed, from the perspective of the French, one supposes, disavowing the question of the colonial relationships between France and New Caledonia's Indigenous people (Tjibaou has the barest acknowledgement in its exhibitions of New Caledonia's history) was tantamount to asserting that colonialism could prevail indefinitely. So while Tjibaou is certainly the most architecturally celebrated of the projects discussed here, this architectural quality veils a particularly contentious and provisional political situation. Commenting on Chirac's opening speech at the MQB, Clifford (2007: 18) notes:

> While Chirac forthrightly condemned the injustices of Western expansionism, he made no mention of France's violent legacy and continuing power in places like New Caledonia or Tahiti. Nor did he recognize the presence of indigenous representatives from either of these still-colonial territories.

During the 1980s, the Kanak—the Indigenous people of New Caledonia—struggled to achieve recognition and political rights. Kanak resistance, and French reaction to this resistance, escalated into violence. Confronting this increasingly tense situation, in 1988 the French authorities and the leadership of the Kanak independence movement negotiated an agreement according to Kanak stronger rights and recognition. Jean-Marie Tjibaou led the Kanak side in the formulation and the signing of the Matignon-Oudinot Accords which sought to find an accommodation of Kanak ambition within the context of ongoing (but not necessarily indefinite) French presence in New Caledonia. A year after the Accords were signed, Tjibaou was assassinated by a Kanak extremist (Findley 2005: 50; see also Austin 2007: 157–158). Tjibaou's view was that cultural development was key to the future of Kanak. Colonisation had destroyed much of Kanak material culture and ritual practice, and alienated tribal groups from ancestral lands; Tjibaou held that re-embracing their own culture was fundamental to the Kanak finding a way forward (Message 2006: 12–14). Tjibaou negotiated for the establishment of an organisation to promote this development, the Agence de Development de la Culture Kanak, and planned the foundation of a Kanak cultural centre in New Caledonia's capital city, Noumea. In Findley's words, this "…would not only present and preserve what was left of traditional Kanak culture, dance, art and language, but would allow for its development and interaction with other Pacific Islanders and the world" (Findley 2005: 49). After his death, it was determined that this centre would be named after Tjibaou.

In 1991, a limited design competition for the Centre was won by Renzo Piano Building Workshop. Piano's approach was influenced by the presence on his project team of a distinguished Paris-based Kanak anthropologist Alban Bensa (Findley 2005: 50; Message 2006: 14). The Centre's layout and its vast, framed, sail-like forms are abstracted from Kanak precedents; Bensa apparently advised against literal quotations of traditional vernacular forms though it hardly seems likely that Piano would have entertained such a thing. The building is organised along an enclosed, gently curving 'street' which links the Centre's public exhibition spaces and ancillary facilities. This layout is a development of the central path space traditional to Kanak settlements. The vast roof structures that mark the key spaces in the Centre and give the whole complex its strongly architectural image take their cue from the forms and construction of the tall, conical roofs of Kanak chiefs' houses (see Fig. 34.9). The entire complex is developed in the exquisitely detailed and articulated manner for which Piano's architecture—particularly that for art museums—is known. A gesture to the significance of landscape in Kanak culture is found in the form of an alternative circulation route through the site of the Centre looping to the adjacent lagoon, the Kanak Path, in which landscape elements—including local plants—are arranged in accord with Kanak beliefs and practices. A collection of reconstructed traditional Kanak buildings is distributed in the Centre's extensive grounds.

The conjunction of the 'old' and the 'new' in the architecture of the Tjibaou can be read as directly relevant to the circumstances now faced by Kanak. Insisting on the necessity of Kanak projecting themselves in the present rather than in the past,

Fig. 34.9 Tjibaou Cultural Centre's towering forms with a traditional Kanak Chief's house under construction in the foreground (*Photograph* Pierre-Alain Pantz © ADCK—Centre Culturel Tjibaou—RPBW—Renzo Piano Building Workshop)

Tjibaou himself stated "We want to proclaim our cultural identity. We want to tell the world that we are not survivors of prehistory; even less archaeological remains, but men of flesh and blood" (Kasarherou 1995: 91). This is carried over into the collections, exhibitions and community engagement programmes at the Tjibaou which focus mostly on the contemporary. In this, the Tjibaou appears to have been effective in increasing Kanak participation in museum audiences in New Caledonia though Kanak visitor numbers at the Tjibaou are still low (Message 2006: 12).

But the drive to the new in Tjibaou's architecture has not been without consequences. The incompleteness of the tall hut forms in their transformation into the great iconic shells of Tjibaou has been construed as exhibiting an orientation to future possibilities (Message 2006: 17) and their sheer scale on their site on the edge of the settler city of Noumea as an assertion of Kanak presence. Austin, however, has noted that the loss in particular of the central timber post supporting the conical roofs of the Kanak houses in their reinvention in Piano's design is— given the post's phallic significance—a castration. Tjibaou's architecture enacts a dismembering. The violence symbolically entailed in this echoes the violent circumstances under which the Centre came into being, and of the death of the Kanak leader for which it is named (Austin 2007: 157–158). Austin is also critical of the enclosing of the central pathway of the Kanak village in its transformation into the Tjibaou Centre's main circulation spine; anecdotally, it seems that Kanak much prefer the secondary landscape circuit to the building's interior. Further, Austin disdains the unreflective connection in the Tjibaou design of contemporary conceptions of sustainability and passive environmental performance with traditional Kanak building practices. This is particularly ironic given that the structural ribs which are central to the Piano design were prefabricated in France using African timbers before being shipped to the site, to be erected with Kanak labour (Austin 2000: 26–27). This is part of a wider pattern in which sustainability is made a particular obligation for architecture in developing contexts.

Piano's own reflections on the architectural approach at Tjibaou have not been assured. His comments on the Tjibaou Centre design that appeared in the Japanese journal *Architecture + Urbanism* in 1996 untenably conflated Kanak architecture and the Tjibaou design into a generic 'Pacificness' that takes in not only New Caledonia's immediate region, or the oceanic island cultures of the wider Pacific, but also Japan and the west coast of the USA:

> I think the Pacific area is a place typical for culture of lightness and repetition of gesture. It is very true in Japan, but also true in many other countries surrounding the Pacific area, or the Pacific Rim. It is also true in Western America if you think about Charles Eames, Richard Neutra, the case study houses, and their sense of immateriality of lightness.

The points of reference for the Tjibaou design are as much in paradigmatically modern design conventions as they are in Kanak culture. Piano's architecture has given the Tjibaou Cultural Centre a global presence, akin to his earlier design (with Richard Rogers) of the Pompidou Centre in Paris. In this regard, its architectural ambition may overwhelm the Centre's mission: in the words of Diane Losche, "This stunning, monumental structure threatens, without constant intervention, to

swallow everything and every object within it, to become an empty monument to the idea of the beautiful architectural object, a Brasilia of the Pacific" (Losche 2003: 85). But acknowledging that Tjibaou's architecture has given it currency in a circuit of international tourism, Losche goes on to suggest that if we consider the Tjibaou in the context of a wider range of provisional, local cultural centres in New Caledonia established under the Tjibaou Centre's influence, a more nuanced picture emerges. After Clifford and Pratt, Losche suggests that each such centre—grand or modest—offers a 'contact zone' between tourists and Indigenous culture. Considered in an 'expanded field' of such endeavours, these contact zones overlap. Thus, the lively, performance-based experience that local communities can offer visitors balances the tendency to object-based monumentality at Tjibaou. Without the magnet of Tjibaou, local centres could not attract audiences, but without the performative grass roots reinvention of culture, Tjibaou "could soon disappear—into the empty monumentality of a 'Non-Place'" (Losche 2003: 90; see also Walker 2012: 378).

Conclusion

Te Papa, the National Museum of Australia, the Musée du quai Branly and the Tjibaou Cultural Centre all address Indigeneity in one way or another in their institutional missions. Each has deployed architecture in one way or another as part of this. It is not possible to claim with any conviction that the loop is closed and Indigenous architecture itself now has fundamental agency in these places. As much as anything, this reflects the overwhelmingly monocultural quality of the architects and practices that provide design services to public institutions. However, each of these museums nevertheless opens the door to the potential for significant change. They have enhanced the role of museums as contact zones. Even at the National Museum of Australia, attempts by the heavy hand of politics to promote an over-riding narrative of national achievement and to subordinate the multiple voices encouraged by its founding director Dawn Casey—Aboriginal and one of Australia's leading museum professionals—have not entirely succeeded. While ARM's open-ended architecture did not guarantee that Casey's open-ended museology would prevail, the Gallery of the First Australians has nevertheless continued to tell its own compelling stories. Casey's accommodation of multiple Australian voices may have been curtailed, but the NMA review process did not entirely establish singularity either.

We see a similar complexity in Losche's analysis of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre. When considered in an 'expanded field' which includes other Kanak cultural initiatives in New Caledonia, the apparent lack of new Indigenous audiences at the Tjibaou matters less than its wider effects (see also Brunt 2012: 421–422). These include signalling Kanak cultural enterprise in the settler city of Noumea and to international design and tourist audiences. Piano's polish and his grandiose transformation of Kanak architecture are fundamental to this. But the Tjibaou Centre's

effects can include the leavening of other Indigenous initiatives that need not be troubled by Piano's writing of his own signature over Kanak building conventions. At the Musée du quai Branly, we can see a related situation. In its permanent installation, the institution continues the problematic aesthetic project (overtly now in the name of Chirac—it was renamed the Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac in June 2016) also apparent in its architecture and landscaping. But the MQB has used its resources and prestige to also develop a lively, exploratory programme of events and temporary exhibitions that have engaged with multiple post-colonial contexts.

The balance of successes and failures at Te Papa makes it perhaps the most interesting case examined here. Te Papa's architecture was not well received in Aotearoa New Zealand's design community. Its plan is based on an absurdly literal architectural translation of the idea of biculturalism, and the part of the museum specifically assigned a role akin to a 'contact zone' does not work. But more than any other major museum, Te Papa has succeeded in reconstructing its audiences to include Indigenous people. The Mana Whenua exhibition was important to this, but so too was the museum's willingness to adopt exhibition techniques to engage a wide range of new audiences. Mana Whenua, however, did not adopt the museum's wider, populist approach. Rather, its curators and designers engaged extensively with Māori, a process enabled by the inclusion in the curatorial and design team of young Māori professionals. Among these were architectural graduates. The most overt criticisms of Te Papa have come from cultural conservatives, but there have also been more nuanced criticisms that point to the political instrumentality of the bicultural project that Te Papa makes manifest (Dibley 2007; Neill 2004; Williams 2005). While the place of Māori in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand has been in the political foreground in the past thirty years, this coincides with the rise of neoliberalism in the country's politics and socio-economic policy. Neoliberalism's putative benefits have not been spread equitably: while the significance of Pākehā-Māori binary is perhaps reduced, privilege has not been so much undone as redistributed. But poor urban Māori and Pacific Islanders have remained poor. The feel-good moment of the Te Māori exhibition of the mid-1980s is a long time ago. However, Te Papa's development in the 1990s was not the end destination of Indigenous museology in Aotearoa New Zealand but rather a station on the way that provoked subsequent new developments. Exhibition practices in Aotearoa New Zealand driven by Māori now think well beyond the Te Māori/Te Papa paradigm (McCarthy 2011: 230–247). Indeed, they think beyond the museum—to opportunities to engage their own communities, and willing audiences—in a more broadly configured contact zone. It is the Indigenisation of museology in Aotearoa New Zealand that has allowed this opening to a new kind of future to emerge. By comparison, even in the design of museums where much is at stake, the indigenisation of architecture still has a long way to go.

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Erratum to: The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture

Elizabeth Grant, Kelly Greenop, Albert L. Refiti and Daniel J. Glenn

Erratum to:
E. Grant et al. (eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8

The original version of the book was inadvertently published without following consistency in Authors' biographies of Chapters 1, 3, 5, 13, 19, 20, 25, 32 and FM, which have now been updated.

The updated online version of these chapters can be found at
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_1
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_3
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_5
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_13
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_19
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_20
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_25
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8_32
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-6904-8

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