



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

LAND/SEASCAPES OF EXCLUSION: social order on the coastal margins

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirement for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Waikato

by

JOHN LEO RYKS

Department of Geography

University of Waikato

2002

© John Leo Ryks, 2002

This thesis is copyright. Apart from fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without the prior permission of the author.

ABSTRACT

The hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development has an impact on the social ordering of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities in a number of ways. One way in which social order is controlled and maintained is through the (ab)use of boundaries. Boundaries constructed and maintained under the authority of government and/or funded by development dictate where people may or may not live. In many cases these boundaries are used as instruments of exclusion. Boundaries constructed by hegemonic groups exclude those who define the coast according to other criteria. The hegemonic deployment of boundaries and the domination of coastal people and place generally is explored through an analysis of discourse. This analysis is structured according to differences in social order, coded as places of Otherness (heterotopia), Euclidean coasts, and places in transition reflecting images of both the former and the latter.

Drawing on a number of coastal communities, including the Northland community of Otia (otherwise known as the Seaweed Pickers), Taylor's Mistake, Whitianga and the wealth enclave of Pauanui, it is shown that the land/seascape of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is gradually being disciplined through the design of coasts that are accommodating of a particular patronage. These 'exclusive' coasts appear in stark contrast to those places where an alternative social ordering takes place. Here, in the absence of a Euclidean spatiality, uncertainty and liminality feature in the social construction of the coast. Residents of these places mark out and define the coast in a way that is quite different from the accepted norm, a fact that determines a particular 'cartographic anxiety' on the part of the dominant. This anxiety is instrumental in the construction of Otherness and the (re)production of exclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people without whom this project could not have been completed. I would like to thank my supervisors John Campbell, Robyn Longhurst and Colin McLeay who, on both a personal and professional basis, helped me through what has been at times, a tremendous struggle. Of particular note is their help and support during my physical and emotional encounters with cancer mid-way through the research. For me, their assistance during this period stands out as being the difference between total abandonment of the project and completion of the thesis. In terms of academic teaching, individually and collectively their supervision has been excellent, always questioning, always intellectually demanding. Thank you.

I am indebted to Robin Peace, initially a co-supervisor of the project. Her words of encouragement and her interest for the duration of the project has meant a great deal to me. Many thanks go to friend and colleague Hamish Rennie whose interest in the research has never faltered, irrespective of the direction the research has taken. I would like to thank Margaret Begg and Tee Rodgers-Hayden whose friendship over the last three years has made the long and lonely ordeal of doctoral research much easier to bear.

The financial assistance I received from the Department during the last four months of the research is something I am immensely grateful for. This assistance alleviated many of the concerns I had during the completing stages of the project.

Most importantly, I am indebted to Kim without whose help and support this thesis would have been impossible. I am unsure how many times I voiced to her my intentions of bringing the project to a premature end, but I know that each instance was countered by words of encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	I
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	II
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	III
LIST OF FIGURES	VI
LIST OF PHOTOS	VII
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 THE ‘RULE’ OF AUTHORITY IN COASTAL AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND.....	3
1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	9
2 (BORDER) CONTROL AND SOCIAL ORDER.....	14
2.1 DISCOURSE.....	15
2.1.1 <i>Defining discourse</i>	18
2.1.2 <i>Hegemonic discourse</i>	19
2.2 DISCOURSE, HEGEMONY AND COASTAL AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND.....	21
2.3 SOCIAL ORDER	24
2.3.1 <i>Heterotopia in Foucault’s ‘Of Other spaces’</i>	26
2.3.2 <i>Heterotopia in Hetherington’s Badlands of Modernity</i>	28
2.3.3 <i>Coastal heterotopia</i>	30
2.3.4 <i>Euclidean coasts</i>	32
2.3.5 <i>(Coastal) Places in transition</i>	35
2.4 CONCLUSION.....	37
3 BOUNDARIES OF DIFFERENCE.....	39
3.1 THE MATERIALITY OF BOUNDARIES.....	41
3.1.1 <i>Boundaries and coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand</i>	45
3.2 SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED BOUNDARIES	48
3.2.1 <i>The difference that coasts make</i>	55
3.3 CONCLUSION: LIMINAL PLACES AND ABJECT FACES	57
4 METHODS AND METHODOLOGY.....	59
4.1 DOING RESEARCH: METHODS USED	61
4.1.1 <i>Research through observation</i>	63
4.1.2 <i>Research through individual and group interviews</i>	69
4.1.3 <i>Research through textual collection</i>	75
4.2 DOING RESEARCH: ORGANISING ‘DATA’	78
4.2.1 <i>Organising interviews</i>	80
4.2.2 <i>Organising observations</i>	82
4.2.3 <i>Organising texts</i>	82
4.3 DOING RESEARCH: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.....	83
4.4 DOING RESEARCH: WRITING AUTOBIOGRAPHICALLY	88
4.5 CONCLUSION.....	92

5 PLACE-BOUND.....	94
5.1 PAUANUL.....	95
5.2 WHITIANGA.....	99
5.3 WHANGAMATA/MOUNT MAUNGANUI.....	101
5.3.1 <i>Whangamata</i>	101
5.3.2 <i>Mount Maunganui</i>	103
5.4 OTIA - 'THE SEAWEED PICKERS'.....	105
5.4.1 <i>Likely 'stories', different perspectives</i>	109
5.5 BIRDLING'S FLAT.....	112
5.6 TAYLOR'S MISTAKE.....	115
5.7 CASE STUDY SELECTIONS.....	118
5.8 CONCLUSION.....	122
6 HETEROTOPIA.....	123
6.1 COASTAL HETEROTOPIA.....	125
6.1.1 <i>Theydom'</i>	129
6.1.2 <i>Racial (sub)divisions</i>	133
6.1.3 <i>Educating the Other</i>	136
6.1.4 <i>Consultation and contact</i>	140
6.1.5 <i>Murder, mess and abjection</i>	143
6.1.6 <i>Resistance and place attachment</i>	148
6.2 CONCLUSION.....	151
7 TRANSITIONS: COASTS IN-BETWEEN.....	153
7.1 TRANSITION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT.....	157
7.2 TRANSITION THROUGH PLANNING.....	164
7.2.1 <i>Taylor's Mistake: mistaken identity</i>	165
7.3 PEOPLE AND PLACES 'IN TRANSIT'.....	170
7.3.1 <i>Whangamata and Mount Maunganui: transition through the culture of youth</i>	171
7.3.1.1 <i>Heterotopias of deviation or exaggerated normality?</i>	173
7.3.1.2 <i>Containing disorder</i>	178
7.4 CONCLUSION.....	181
8 EUCLIDEAN COASTS.....	184
8.1 EUCLIDEAN COASTS AND BOUNDARY TALK: A DISCOURSE OF LINEARITY.....	186
8.1.1 <i>Lines of power: mean high water spring (MHWS)</i>	189
8.2 COASTAL UTOPIA.....	192
8.2.1 <i>Examples of exclusivity: private ownership of the coast</i>	194
8.2.2 <i>Examples of exclusivity: beauty and desirability versus dirt and difference</i>	198
8.3 THE PLANNER'S RULE AND THE LAW ABIDING 'WEDOM'.....	210
8.4 CONCLUSION.....	213
9 CONCLUSION.....	215
9.1 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF COASTAL PEOPLE AND PLACE.....	215
9.2 DISRUPTING MOVEMENTS: CHANGES TO SOCIAL ORDER.....	217
9.3 BOUNDARIES OF THE COAST.....	218
9.4 FUTURE RESEARCH: UNSETTLING HEGEMONIC DISCOURSE.....	219

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	224
MEDIA REPORTS (TELEVISION).....	258
MEDIA REPORTS (NEWSPAPERS).....	258
PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL.....	259
CASE LAW	259
STATUTES CITED.....	259
APPENDICES.....	260
APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR COASTAL PLANNERS AND DEVELOPERS	260
APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY/RESIDENT INFORMANTS.....	262
APPENDIX 3: AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE.....	264

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 4.1	METHODS SCHEDULE	62
FIGURE 4.2	ORGANISING 'DATA'	79
FIGURE 4.3	THEMES IDENTIFIED	81
FIGURE 5.1	LOCATION OF PAUANUI	95
FIGURE 5.2	LOCATION OF WHITIANGA	99
FIGURE 5.3	LOCATION OF WHANGAMATA	101
FIGURE 5.4	LOCATION OF MOUNT MAUNGANUI	103
FIGURE 5.5	LOCATION OF OTIA (THE SEAWEED PICKERS)	105
FIGURE 5.6	LOCATION OF BIRDLING'S FLAT	112
FIGURE 5.7	LOCATION OF TAYLOR'S MISTAKE	115
FIGURE 7.1	WHITIANGA WATERWAYS	160
FIGURE 8.1	PAUANUI'S 'MODEL' RESIDENTS	201
FIGURE 8.2	PAUANUI'S MODEL SPACES	202
FIGURE 8.3	PAUANUI'S 'MASTER' DESIGN	209

LIST OF PHOTOS

PHOTO 5.1	PAUANUI WATERWAYS	98
PHOTO 5.2	PAUANUI'S 'WATERFRONT'	98
PHOTO 5.3	MOUNT MAUNGANUI: MAIN BEACH	104
PHOTO 5.4	OTIA (THE SEAWEED PICKERS)	107
PHOTO 5.5	ENROUTE TO OTIA	108
PHOTO 5.6	BLUEHOUSE	111
PHOTO 5.7	BIRDLING'S FLAT	113
PHOTO 5.8	TAYLOR'S MISTAKE	116
PHOTO 6.1	OTIA (THE SEAWEED PICKERS)	123
PHOTO 7.1	WHITIANGA WATERWAYS	153
PHOTO 7.2	WHITIANGA TOWNSHIP	163
PHOTO 7.3	TAYLOR'S MISTAKE (HOBSON'S BAY)	166
PHOTO 7.4	TAYLOR'S MISTAKE (HOBSON'S BAY)	167
PHOTO 7.5	TAYLOR'S MISTAKE ('ROTTEN ROW')	167
PHOTO 7.6	MAIN STREET, WHANGAMATA	181
PHOTO 8.1	PAUANUI WATERWAYS	184
PHOTO 8.2	PAUANUI WATERWAYS: A DEVELOPMENT FEW COULD CONTEMPLATE	194

for Kim

1

INTRODUCTION

Imagine an environment where invisible lines divide fluid from solid and signify what is owned in common and what is not. This environment is a place of marked segregation in human communities, where the wealthy are conveniently made distant from the non-wealthy. This same environment may also be a zone of uncertainty for those who desire permanency. In contrast, it may be a place where the lack of uniformity has great appeal to those wishing to escape the trappings of a controlled lifestyle or to those seeking to rekindle a more traditional relationship with the environment.

The coast of Aotearoa/New Zealand¹ is such a place. The ‘frontier-like’ endeavours of coastal surveyors in Aotearoa/New Zealand have resulted in ‘hard’ distinctions between land and sea that have proved convenient for legislators and coastal developers alike. This, combined with the legacy of colonisation and the more recent effects of privatisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand, has resulted in contrasting

¹ Throughout this thesis I use Aotearoa/New Zealand rather than the terms ‘Aotearoa’ or ‘New Zealand’ in isolation (Aotearoa is the Maori term for what is commonly known as New Zealand). My reasons for introducing a division between these terms are two-fold. First, it is representative of the contestatory process of naming places (see Berg and Kearns, 1996). Second, it illustrates the ‘official’ status of Maori language and the importance of language to Maori.

notions of common property and private property. The high value and demand placed on specific, accessible 'cadastral' parcels of private coastal property dictate that much of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast is mapped according to constructs of wealth and desirability. In other parts of the country, where development pressures on the coast are less prevalent, coastal places and coastal communities are less evidently connected to markers of affluence and/or 'whiteness' (Gabriel, 1998; Jackson, 1998). In these less disciplined spaces, uncertainty and liminality² may be more influential in the making of coastal places.

In this research I examine the different ways in which coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is socially constructed. Specifically, I argue that the discourse³ of coastal planning and development is changing the shape of the coast and has serious

² The term 'liminality' is derived from Arnold van Gennep who, in *Rites of Passage* (1960), employed the term to describe the intermediate stage in the transformational processes that characterise society. Later, the term liminality was picked up by anthropologist Victor Turner (1967) who used it as a descriptor for the moment in space and time in which the human subject is 'floating' between two worlds, belonging to one and the other simultaneously. During this moment, traditional customs and social norms of a community are no longer valid for those who are undergoing transformation. More recently, liminality has been picked up by anthropologists, sociologists, historians and geographers and is employed increasingly to refer to places that are 'in-between' (for example, see Arantes, 1996; Denning, 1980; Shields, 1991, Sibley, 1995). In my research I draw on both traditional and contemporary uses of the term and extend its use to refer to Aotearoa/New Zealand's 'marginal' coastal people and places (see Chapter 3).

³ Over time, the term 'discourse' has had a multiplicity of meanings. Linguists have traditionally used the term to describe instances of spoken or written language. Social theorists tend to view discourse in a broader fashion. In much social theory, and particularly that based on the work of Foucault, discourse refers to ways of structuring knowledge and social practice (see Barrett, 1991; Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1998). My use of discourse in this thesis follows on from a number of authors who see discourse as both (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2000; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; van Dijk, 1984, 1985, 1997, 1998, 2001). That is, discourse is seen as "simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992: 4). My commentary and analysis of the 'discourse' of coastal planning and development maintains a focus on privileged ways of knowing and the manner in which this 'knowing' is played out in text and talk.

consequences for those living within this environment. To date this is something that has remained largely undocumented (although see Ryks, forthcoming). I extend this argument to include the mechanisms through which social order on the coast is maintained and the particular instruments by which discourse is made powerful. Specifically, I argue that certain types of boundaries function as important determinants for the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The boundaries that govern, manage, divide and segregate coastal communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand are numerous. They range from hegemonic, formal cadastral boundaries constructed under the authority of government, to less privileged, social boundaries of difference. Variations in boundary type reflect and reinforce stark contrasts among coastal communities and have an impact on the mobility and territoriality of those living on the coast.

1.1 The 'rule' of authority in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand

The elongated shape of Aotearoa/New Zealand's two major islands gives the country a coast in excess of 10,000 kilometres, a length that is significant in relation to the country's overall landmass. With a large proportion of the population living near the coast, planning for the development of the coast has increased markedly since European colonisation. Consequently, in the last 150 years, Aotearoa/New Zealand has had an extensive and somewhat complicated coastal planning history.

At present, coastal decision making in Aotearoa/New Zealand is diffused through many, seldom-consistent, central, regional and local authorities. These authorities attempt to fulfil the objectives of the all-encompassing Resource Management Act (1991), the primary legislation governing Aotearoa/New Zealand's natural and physical resources. The Act requires authorities to deliver the principles of 'sustainable management', arguably a more eco-centric variant of the concept of sustainable development (Memon, 1995). As with sustainable development however, sustainable management is a concept that is subject to interpretation and, in terms of planning for Aotearoa/New Zealand's inhabited landscape, has resulted in very different outcomes among cities and regions (see Cocklin and Furuseth, 1994; Dixon, *et al.*, 1997; Gleeson and Grundy, 1997; Grundy, 1994; Rosier, 1993; Rosier and Hastie, 1996). The pressures of economic development in many instances dictate the environmental and socio-cultural outcomes that result.

Coastal management in Aotearoa/New Zealand is not immune to the planning standard imposed by the authors of sustainable management. Management responsibility is distributed among central, regional and local authorities according to boundaries stipulated in the Resource Management Act (section 2(1) of the Act). These boundaries not only form the basis for governance, but also reinforce notions of property rights between the Crown and private landowners. Boundaries such as the line of Mean High Water Spring (MHWS) serve a particularly important function. MHWS for example, forms the basis for the distribution of

decision-making responsibility among the Minister of Conservation, regional authorities and local authorities. Furthermore, MHWS is regarded as the calculable line that divides land and sea and ultimately, private and common property. While the role of MHWS as a rigid planning boundary within an ever-changing coastal environment has been questioned (see van Roon, 1999), it continues to function as a tool for decision-makers and developers to confirm and reinforce coastal space.

Formal coastal boundaries established on the basis of a measurable index are hegemonic in the sense that they are constructed, maintained and enforced overtly and covertly by instruments of government. These boundaries act as leverage for planners and developers, wielded in an effort to maintain permanency, rigidity and certainty in accordance with Western property rights-based ideals and the orthodoxy of linear perspective.⁴ The construction of 'cadastral' coastal space defines the locus of communities on maps and geographic information systems (GIS), and enables planners to demarcate and allocate coastal use zones. It is this mapping/allocation of space and people that is often at the heart of 'coastal exclusion'.⁵ Formal boundaries constructed according to hegemonic conceptions of amenity value, access and development exclude those who would define the coast on any different basis.

⁴ I expand on the persuasiveness of the linear perspective in Chapter Eight: Euclidean Coasts. I suggest that a preoccupation with aspects of containment and control is, in part, derived from certain privileged ways of knowing. This 'socio-spatial' epistemology is one that is influential in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, hence the term 'Euclidean coasts'.

⁵ The term 'coastal exclusion' is one I have devised as a way of referring to the process in which groups and individuals are excluded and/or displaced from coastal areas according to the machinery of government and the pressures of development.

In contrast, 'informal' boundaries may derive from a range of criteria related to the presence or absence of wealth, particular ethnic or language affiliation or sometimes, on the basis of gender. For example, in certain coastal areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand where pressures for economic development are not strong, specific Maori coastal communities can be identified. In such communities there are degrees of inclusion and exclusion based on practices related to tribal lineage, established protocol, or spoken Maori language. When outsiders challenge these practices, the presence of informal social boundaries that limit access to the community are made apparent. That these types of boundaries are not usually related to issues of Western governance reinforces their status as 'informal'. These boundaries are nevertheless, important determinants of social order in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Unlike the construction of more formal boundaries, informal boundaries may not necessarily align with notions of a 'physical coast'. Where coastal surveyors, coastal scientists and coastal planners attempt to align (successfully or unsuccessfully) cadastral boundaries with a 'real' land/sea interface, informal boundaries may have a focus on group and lifestyle, rather than property and management. Boundaries constructed in different ways, by different agents, for different purposes, point to tensions between formal coastal spaces enforced and informal coastal places made.

This study, with its focus on the role of boundaries in the making of coastal exclusion and the changes in the social ordering of a coastal society, fills a

particular gap in human geographical research. Where much work has focused solely on theoretical aspects of social exclusion and social order (see Byrne, 1999; Clarke and Cochrane, 1998; Cloke, 2000; Crang, 1998a; Cresswell, 1996; Massey, 2000; May, 2000; Pile and Keith, 1997; Shields, 1997; Sibley, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1998; Thrift, 2000), or exclusively on social order within urban environments (see Arantes, 1996; Dear and Flusty, 1999; Mitchell, 1995, 1996) there is clearly an absence of this kind of work in relation to coastal environments. Research on the coast has tended to be planning and/or development based (although see Shields, 1991). It is in this area that my commentary on the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand finds its place. In summary, I aim to:

- Provide an account of how hegemonic discourse operates in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- Trace and 'map' the effects of hegemonic discourse through changes to the social ordering of coastal communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- Investigate the role of boundaries as instruments for coastal exclusion and social change.

In order to fulfil the aims of the research, I draw on a wide range of sources, including case material from a number of coastal communities. The coding of this material forms the basis for the substantive chapters that appear in the latter half of this thesis. The material in each of these chapters reflects a particular social ordering that takes place within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, and maintains a

focus on the role of boundaries as instruments for effecting social change. It is a coding that is, in part, derived from the (albeit lesser known) work of Foucault (1986) and Hetherington (1997). The assembly of empirical findings is based around different understandings of social order that are introduced in Chapter Two. I employ understandings of heterotopia⁶, places in transition and Euclidean coasts to 'map' the different types of social ordering found in New Zealand. First, I use heterotopia to refer to those environments in which an alternative social ordering is performed. Second, I employ the phrase 'places in transition' as a way of referring to a change in the social ordering of coastal people in relation to place. I argue that places of transition reflect aspects of heterotopia and utopia simultaneously. Third, I incorporate the idea of the Euclidean coast with Foucault's notion of utopia in order to reference those built coastal spaces that confine and exclude.

My use of these concepts to structure this part of the research is by no means absolute. Many of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities in some way reflect elements of all three different types of social ordering described. Instead, these concepts are used as a general guide, in the provision of a comprehensive analysis of Aotearoa/New Zealand's different and changing coastal communities and the particular hegemonies that govern them.

⁶ Heterotopia is a medical term introduced into the social sciences by Foucault (1986) in his study 'Of other spaces'. Hetherington (1997: viii) builds on the work of Foucault defining heterotopia as "spaces of alternative ordering". Central to Hetherington's understanding of heterotopia is the idea that resistance and marginality cannot be seen as separate from, or opposed to, the process of ordering. I expand on Foucault's and Hetherington's use of heterotopia in Chapter Two.

1.2 Chapter outline

To this point I have assembled the main arguments in this research. In the next chapter, Chapter Two, I argue the importance of discourse in relation to the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. I suggest that the manner in which the discourse of coastal planning and development is articulated determines the social order of people and place, and underpins the construction of different types of coastal communities. To help inform my (theoretical) understanding of the social order of these communities, I examine Foucault's (1986) and Hetherington's (1997) understandings of heterotopia. Additionally, to aid in my conceptualisation of 'Euclidean coasts', I draw on the research of Dwyer and Jones (2000) and present the argument that a particular Euclidean socio-spatial epistemology is pervasive in the construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. My theoretical discussions concerning heterotopia, Euclidean coasts and places in transition (places that reflect elements of both the former and the latter), provides the basis for the analysis of discourse as it appears in the second half of this thesis.

In Chapter Three, I review the many different ways in which the boundary is constructed within and across different disciplines. In doing so I tease out the nature/culture of boundaries. Specifically, I aim to connect a general discussion of boundaries to the socio-spatial construction of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal people and places. Furthermore, in an effort to understand aspects of inclusion/exclusion, I explore the ways in which boundaries are, or become,

symbols and manifestations of power relations and social institutions in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In Chapter Four, I comment on the qualitative research methods I employ and the overall research design. My use of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, conversation analysis and other secondary sources of data is discussed. I then comment on the manner in which the research is informed by authors of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Specifically, I introduce the French discourse analysis of Michel Pecheux (1982, 1995a, 1995b), whose understanding of power and discourse is useful for my project. Pecheux's discourse analysis is one in which hegemonic discourse features as the place where power and language meet (also see Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Pecheux's approach is relevant to my project because one of my main aims is to provide an account of the link between hegemony and discourse and how these concepts '(co)operate' in the social construction of the coast.

In Chapter Five, I provide descriptions of the case studies used in the research and establish a context that bridges the gap between my claims concerning discourse and the role of boundaries in the social ordering of a coastal society. I introduce the communities of Pauanui, Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), Whitianga, Birdling's Flat, Whangamata, Mount Maunganui and Taylor's Mistake and set the scene for an analysis of discourse based on research conducted within these communities.

In Chapter Six, I present the first of my empirical findings and comment on the existence of an alternative social ordering on the coast, which I have entitled heterotopia. After Hetherington (1997), I employ heterotopia to mean those spaces in which an alternative social ordering is performed. This escapes the danger of setting up a binary in which a marginal Other⁷ is considered in isolation from the hegemonies of coastal planning and development. Instead, heterotopia accepts that difference, as a source of marginality and resistance, is always implicated in a particular social ordering. Specifically, I provide an analysis of the discourse of coastal planning and development in which the construction of boundaries and the deployment of these boundaries as instruments of exclusion feature in the (re)production of a coastal heterotopia.

In Chapter Seven, I comment on a social ordering that is characterised by coastal communities that are implicated in some form of transition. These are communities that stand for a social ordering characterised by counteraction while at the same time representing a much more rigid and formal social ordering intimately connected to dealings of power and wealth. Their status as neither means they are marked out as communities in transition. By transition I mean a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place. In this chapter I argue that this transition metaphorically and literally 'takes place' in a number of ways. Overall, my aim is

⁷ The term Other is one that revolves around the notion of difference. For Lacan, the Other relates first to the unconscious, which he calls 'the discourse of the Other', and second, to the construction of subjectivity in relation to another. More generally, it is a way of defining oneself by designating a person as 'Other' by placing them outside or in opposition to a norm (see de Beauvoir, 1953; Gamble, 2001; Grosz, 1990; Lacan, 1977; Said, 1978; Tronto, 1993; Wright, 2000). It is this broader understanding of Other that I employ throughout this research.

to connect ideas about social order and the in-betweenness of place to a 'mapping' of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal places in transition. Again, the boundaries of planning and development play a fundamental role in the construction and maintenance of these places.

In Chapter Eight, I investigate those coastal communities that are imbued with power and privilege. The communities I investigate in this chapter can, after Foucault (1986), be considered utopian because through various modes of space creation and delineation, efforts are made to model a perfect coastal society. This vision of utopia finds strength in discourse and is derived from a particular mindset with a predetermined idea about how coastal people and places should be defined. As with Chapters Six and Seven, my aim is to connect theoretical ideas about social ordering to the construction of boundaries within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the discourse of coastal planning and development more generally. I begin my analysis with a broad selection of examples that form the basis of a utopian coastal society. I argue that an accent on linearity is instrumental to the ways in which Euclidean coasts are constructed and enforced, and how difference and exclusivity is maintained.

I conclude the thesis in Chapter Nine with the argument that coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is a place of exclusion and displacement, in which the social ordering of people is altered according to the extent to which particular ways of knowing are privileged. In particular, I argue that coastal places of alternative

ordering are disappearing as features on Aotearoa/New Zealand's land/seascape. Instead, social order on the coastal margins is becoming characterised by increasing conformity and confinement.

2

(BORDER) CONTROL AND SOCIAL ORDER

In the previous chapter I introduced the argument that the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development has severe impacts on the social order of coastal communities. In this chapter I connect the socio-theoretical concepts of discourse and hegemony to ideas about social order and boundaries. I present the case that particular and privileged ways of knowing (the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development), and the methods by which this knowing is expressed through the construction of boundaries, are instrumental in bringing about a change to the social order of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

I begin this chapter with a discussion of the concept of discourse and suggest that discourse, as a way of referring to ways of structuring knowledge and social practice, is a useful concept for examining the manner in which particular spatialities are constructed, maintained and enforced. I then provide some background to the concept of hegemony to refer to discourse that is inscribed in particular relations of domination and subordination.

By giving some theoretical backing to the main argument on which this thesis hinges, I am then able to introduce the connection between discourse, hegemony

and social order. Specifically I present a case for the examination of the relationship between the hegemonic construction of boundaries and a number of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities as the terrain for the spatial manifestation of those constructions. One way of viewing this terrain is by introducing a framework of social order. This framework owes much to Hetherington (1997) who, following Foucault (1986), employs heterotopia as a descriptor for places of Otherness. My use of heterotopia is in combination with my understanding of Euclidean coasts (coasts that are the 'by-product' of a particular Euclidean spatiality) and 'in-between' coasts that reflect images of both the former and the latter. The introduction of this framework assists in reinforcing my claims concerning social order on the coast, as well as providing a general foundation for the analysis of discourse as it appears in the second half of this thesis.

2.1 Discourse

The term 'discourse' has had a multiplicity of meanings bestowed on it. Linguists have traditionally used the term to describe instances of spoken or written language (see Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Frow, 1985, 1986; Gee, 1990; Kress, 1985; Lee, 1992). In a broader sense, social theorists have employed discourse in their discussions of the ways in which knowledge and society is structured, especially those theorists relying on the Foucauldian concept of discourse (see, for example, Barnes and Duncan, 1992; Barrett, 1991; Barrett and Phillips, 1992; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2000; Eagleton, 1991, 1994; Genocchio, 1995; Howarth, 1998; Purvis and Hunt,

1993). The distinction between the two notions of discourse has been the focus of debate. For example, Barrett (1991: 125) comments:

An advantage of making a distinction between a new emphasis on ‘textuality’ and the realm of the ‘discursive’ as elaborated by Foucault is that it enables us to see the difficulties of regarding ‘discourse’ simply as the text, or spoken word, or as language in the sense of communication.

Furthermore, in reference to the broader, Foucauldian-derived understanding of discourse, there is criticism that many social theorists working with the term have “purposefully stretched [discourse] so as to encompass processes formerly identified as falling under the regions of representation, ideology and signification respectively” (Montgomery and Allan, 1992: 2). Critics suggest that a purposefully stretched understanding of discourse may be problematic in terms of setting limits for the analysis of discourse (see Bauman, 1988; Larrain, 1994; Murphy, 1988; Nicholson, 1990; Ross, 1988). If social practices, for example, are a matter of discourse, questions must be raised concerning the divisions between social practice and linguistic expression, and the manner in which the analysis of discourse is structured. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, with an understanding of discourse stretched to its fullest extent, the well-developed methods of textually-oriented discourse analysis are said to provide an unsatisfactory account of the ‘non-linguistic’ or the conditions of “discursive production” (Thompson, 1984: 146). According to Montgomery and Allan (1992: 4) this:

is a serious dilemma which other theorists, arguably the most conspicuous of which are the Foucaultians, have chosen to side step. Hence the import of Michel Pecheux's theoretical intervention, as it constitutes a rare attempt to address the very site where the play of power and ideology in discourse, or the 'politics of the signifier', configure: the site of interpellation itself.

Thompson (1984, 1990), building on the work of Pecheux (1982), claims to overcome the described dilemma by giving weight to the situatedness or context of the production of discourse.

The debate that has centred on socio-linguistic notions of discourse versus the Foucauldian-derived understanding of discourse has been revived and rejuvenated by a number of feminist theorists who have directed their critique toward a masculinist understanding and use of 'discourse'. Critical of the manner in which many masculinist authors have espoused primarily the socio-linguistic notion of discourse, and to a lesser degree, the Foucauldian-derived understanding of discourse, as the sole 'subject' for their academic analyses, many feminist theorists argue that the theoretical analysis of discourse (purposefully) neglects the bodily 'dimensions' of discourse (see Butler, 1990, 1993; Davidson and Smith, 1999; Irigaray, 1985, 1993; Kendall and Tannen, 2001; Longhurst, 2001). As Longhurst (2001: 23) suggests, one of the outcomes of this form of social constructionism is that "it can render the body incorporeal, fleshless, fluidness, little more than a linguistic territory". As an alternative, many feminist theorists argue that there is a

need for “a different syntax of discourse, and importantly, of a politics that expresses feminine sexuality and allows those previously ‘muted’ to speak” (Davidson and Smith, 1999: 85).

2.1.1 Defining discourse

In a general sense, my use of the term discourse relies on Foucault’s descriptions of the manner in which written and spoken language “fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence” (Barrett, 1991: 126). More specifically, and in a connected way, my understanding and use of discourse is informed by Fairclough’s and van Dijk’s earlier research (see Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; van Dijk, 1984, 1985), as well as by more recent work (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2000; van Dijk, 1997, 1998, 2001). These authors present a multi-disciplinary definition of discourse that is underpinned by Foucault’s socio-theoretical references to discourse (for example, see Foucault, 1972, 1977, 1980, 1981), as well as the socio-linguistic understanding of discourse as a way of referring to text and talk. Here, discourse is seen as a way of structuring knowledge and social practice, and will be used to simultaneously describe “a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice” (Fairclough, 1992: 4).

Although this understanding of discourse goes some way toward answering the feminist critique of ‘incorporeal’ discourse that has featured in recent literature, it is still vulnerable to concerns over the lack of engagement between the researcher commenting on the discursive and the bodies situated underneath the umbrella of

discourse. Authors, including Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995), have done little in their work on discourse to acknowledge ‘the body’ situated within discourse, a fact that reinforces the critique that the concern with discourse serves only to enable the masculinist discourse analyst to “establish new linguistic territories” (Irigaray, 1993: 174). Longhurst (2001: 135) suggests that the formation of new linguistic territories constitutes “little more than a chain of polite signifiers”. The only significance of the ‘politeness’ shown, it seems, is that those involved in the fleshless analysis of discourse “maintain their traditional position of discursive mastery” (Whitford, 1991: 30). Indeed, Irigaray (1985, 1993) does much to demonstrate the link between the ‘power’ of discourse and the subordination of the ‘feminine’, and suggests that the feminine is not even within the realm of discourse as it is commonly known.

2.1.2 Hegemonic discourse

The concept of hegemony is particularly useful for understanding the connection between discourse and social order. In principle, hegemony refers to the power of dominant groups to persuade subordinate groups to accept their moral, political and cultural values as the natural order (Bocock, 1986). In critical social theory, hegemony is most often connected to the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) who was interested in the manner by which particular social groups or ‘historical blocks’ secured and maintained their dominance. Incarcerated by the Italian Fascist state between 1928 and 1935, Gramsci “reflected on the problem of social order, on how citizens might willingly lend their assent to forms of government that curtailed their freedoms and denied other democratic ideals” (Johnston, *et al.*, 1994: 243). In

contemporary social theory, Gramsci's ideas concerning hegemony and dominance have been extended beyond Marxist theory and its focus on class relations. Social theorists now employ hegemony to refer to other sources of domination such as racism and patriarchy, and the forms of opposition shown to such dominance. Jackson (1989: 53), for example, suggests that "hegemony is never fully achieved for it is always being contested: the dominance of power holding elites is always being challenged by those in subordinate positions". The idea of resistance to power-holding elites is an important development in the theory of hegemony as, in the past, "there has been a tendency to treat hegemonic forces as systemic and total, as a static and paralysing presence" (Johnston, *et al.*, 1994: 244). In this way, renewed interest in hegemony represents concern with the constant struggle between relations of domination and subordination, rather than the overarching rule of the former over the latter.

My interest in hegemony, therefore, is as a concept that refers to all social and political structures of domination, but requires that opposition or resistance is necessary for structures of domination to be destabilised. This understanding of hegemony is closely linked to the understanding of discourse presented in the previous section. Discourse, as a way of structuring knowledge and social practice, can be seen as harnessing "the contradictory and unstable equilibrium which constitutes a hegemony" (Fairclough, 1992: 93). In a similar way, "the articulation and rearticulation of orders of discourse is correspondingly, one stake in hegemonic struggle" (Fairclough, 1992: 93).

What this means in practical terms, in reference to the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development, is that various mechanisms exist whereby relations of domination/subordination aid in the (re)production of discourse. My argument throughout this thesis is that one of these mechanisms is the use of boundaries. Correspondingly, the privileging of particular ways of structuring knowledge and social practice, the discourse of coastal planning and development, reinforce particular relations of domination in the form of a control over social order. This is what renders the discourse of coastal planning and development ‘hegemonic’.

2.2 Discourse, hegemony and coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand

My assertion that discourse and hegemony are meaningful concepts that can be extended to a cultural geographical study of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is based on the premise that a control over types of discourse can bring about social change and social inequalities. This premise is reinforced by van Dijk (2001: 356), who suggests that “members of more powerful social groups and institutions, and especially their leaders (the elites) have more or less exclusive access to, and control over, one or more types of public discourse”.

In this study of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, the focus is on two powerful social groups. One of these is the coastal planning ‘community’⁸, whose authority extends

⁸ The notion of community has a long, complex history and has been theorised by social scientists in many different ways. My use of the term community throughout this research is relatively broad

in a hierarchical fashion from central to local government level, while the other is a profit-oriented collection of individuals and groups that I bring together under the heading of ‘coastal developers’. The coastal planning community is one that is defined according to the power and responsibilities specified for enforcing certain legislative requirements. The stated need to enforce the Resource Management Act (1991), with its particular focus on the sustainable management of the (zoned) coastal environment, and the rules and regulations that are drafted for the coast at the regional and local levels of government, decide the particular relations of power that have a mandate of management over coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Coastal developers constitute a particular demographic of wealthy property developers who seek out opportunities for the development of exclusive, coastal property, meeting a market that only privileged individuals can afford. The developers’ wealth, and the power that wealth brings, ensures a mandate of architectural control over much of the coast.

In the same manner in which professors control scholarly discourse, teachers control educational discourse and journalists control media discourse, the two powerful groups of coastal planning and development, work together and construct a hegemonic discourse that rules over the coast. This discourse of coastal planning and development is hegemonic in the sense that the power, wealth and influence

and draws on a number of social theorists who accept the term as either a positive or negative descriptor for social cohesion in relation to place or neighborhood, but extend its use to communities without propinquity, that is, communities that are not predicated on space (Silk, 1999; Smith, 1999; Valentine, 2001; Webber, 1963). The coastal planning community I refer to is an example of a community without propinquity.

of these two groups is used in such a way that non-powerful groups are made to abide by this discourse. Furthermore, the pervasiveness of this hegemonic discourse is such that a new 'norm' is put in place that strongly influences the manner in which these non-powerful groups interact with the coast.

I am interested in the manner in which the 'authority' of coastal planning and development has prompted a shift in the social ordering of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. This authority has a material existence in the discourse of coastal planning and development. Through an analysis of discourse in the second half of this thesis I attempt to tease out the nature and range of the effect on social order by examining the manner in which coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is discursively constructed on a foundation of power/powerlessness, certainty/uncertainty, inclusion/exclusion, and sameness/change. Through the use of several case studies, it is shown that the dominant, through the discourses they produce, attempt to impose a particular 'Euclidean spatiality' (see Dwyer and Jones, 2000) in order to manage a (so-called) complex and dynamic coast.

In this way, the analysis phase of the research does not become a treatise on discourse, but rather an examination of a shift in the social ordering of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand as a form of discursive practice. This focus on discursive practice avoids the tendency of becoming disengaged from the corporeal 'subject matter' within discourse which could result in the Other being 'written out' of the research.

2.3 Social order

My statement that through the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development, a shift has occurred in the social ordering of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, requires further explanation of ‘social order’. The understanding of social order I have in mind is related to Sack’s (1986) use of territoriality as a strategy whereby individuals and/or groups exercise control over a given portion of space, but has a number of important differences. As Agnew (2000) and Paasi (2000) have shown, Sack’s use of territoriality as a way of describing enforcement and control over space is problematic because it is insufficiently historical. His use of the term ‘human territoriality’, is in many ways connected to, and burdened by, the legacy of territorial studies in ethology (the study of animal behaviour) and ethnographic studies of hunter-gatherer groups (Paasi, 2000). The connection comes by way of a focus on the territorial divisions of space. While Sack does comment on how institutions and organisations control these territorial divisions, his comments do not reflect the recent progress made on the connection between the control of space and particular geographies of exclusion (see for example, Crang, 1998b; Cresswell, 1996; Sibley, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1998). Furthermore, Sack’s writings on territoriality reflect a “top-down process of defining a nested hierarchy of territories” and does not allow for “active negotiation between interests and identities lodged at different scales of the hierarchy” (Agnew, 2000: 92).

In terms of this study, Sack’s conception of space would mean that the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development is absolute in its construction and

control of territorial divisions, allowing no opportunities for resistance. In light of this, a more positive conception of the territorial division of space must be theorised, in which “the hegemony or passive acceptance of any territorial organisation is always in question and subject to renegotiation” (Agnew, 2000: 92).

The particular conception of the social organisation of space I refer to throughout this thesis is one of social order. Social order may be defined in a broad sense to refer to patterns of movement of people through place. Defining social order in this way allows for a study that examines a control over social order, that is, a control of the movements of people through place (for example, through the use of boundaries), but also allows for resistance to this control in the form of an alternative social ordering.

The particular framework of social order on which I build the analysis of discourse in the second half of this thesis owes much to Hetherington (1997, 1998) who, working with Foucault’s (1986) lesser known work on heterotopia, presents the idea that social order is expressed through an interplay between ideas of utopia and heterotopic practice. It is in this context that I understand social order and introduce my claim concerning the role of boundaries in the social ordering of a coastal society. In the following sections I give a brief overview of the concepts that I employ to inform, describe and structure my discussions on social order.

2.3.1 Heterotopia in Foucault's 'Of other spaces'

Shortly before his death in 1984, Foucault released the text of a lecture on heterotopia, which he had prepared and presented in 1967. This text was subsequently published in the French journal *Architecture-Movement-Continuite* under the title 'Des Espaces Autres' (Gennochio, 1995). Two years later, in 1986, this text was translated into English and appeared as 'Of other spaces' in the journal *Diacritics* (see Foucault, 1986).

'Of other spaces' constitutes a short treatise on the theme of heterotopias, a medical term Foucault adapted in order to talk about those spaces whose functions are different from, or even opposite to, all others (Foucault, 1986). In this work Foucault is concerned with "the examination of actual extra-discursive locations" (Gennochio, 1995: 37). His use of heterotopia in 'Of other spaces' is quite different from the manner in which he used it later in *The Order of Things*. In this later work, Foucault employed heterotopia to signify particular discursive sites. This difference has been the subject of some debate (see for example, Gennochio, 1995; Hetherington, 1997, 1998; McNamee, 2000; Soja, 1995), but the consensus is that, in the Foucauldian sense, "heterotopias constitute a discontinuous but socially-defined spatiality, both material and immaterial at the same time" (Gennochio, 1995: 38).

It is Foucault's earlier use of the term heterotopia that I am concerned with in this thesis, although the two different uses that Foucault makes of the term are not

mutually exclusive. My interest in heterotopia is as a descriptor for those material “spaces in which places are represented and contested” (McLeay, 1995: 198) and what, in this sense, the term’s meaning has to offer for a study of those places within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand that might fit this definition.

Foucault’s explanation of heterotopia, or material spaces of representation and contestation, is conveyed through five principles. Within the context of this research, these five principles have been used as a way of identifying and describing those coastal spaces that do not conform to a particular Euclidean spatiality. Foucault’s (1986) five principles of ‘heterotopology’ can be summarised as follows:

- 1) all cultures constitute heterotopias;
- 2) heterotopias change over time;
- 3) they may take the form of contradictory sites;
- 4) they are linked with a break in traditional time, and;
- 5) heterotopias are not freely accessible, they are entered either by compulsory means or their entry is based on ritual or purification.

Further to the introduction of these five principles that outline the characteristics of heterotopia, Foucault extends his argument and suggests that two basic forms of heterotopia exist within society, the ‘crisis heterotopia’ and ‘heterotopias of deviation’. For Foucault (1986: 24) crisis heterotopias are those:

privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc.

By contrast, heterotopias of deviation are those spaces “in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed” (Foucault, 1986: 25). Here, Foucault draws on such examples as the prison, the psychiatric hospital and rest homes and suggests that these heterotopias of deviancy are gradually replacing the crisis heterotopia.

While Foucault’s heterotopology has been extremely useful for the theorisation of coastal space (and subsequently the term ‘heterotopia’ features regularly throughout this research), it does not provide the basis for the examination of social order with which I wish to engage. For this, and building on the work of Foucault (1986), I introduce Hetherington’s (1997) use of heterotopia as way of talking about ‘alternative’ expressions of social order.

2.3.2 Heterotopia in Hetherington’s *Badlands of Modernity*

In *The Badlands of Modernity* Hetherington (1997: viii) extends Foucault’s rare work on spatiality and employs heterotopia as a way of denoting “spaces of alternate ordering”. Defined as such, Hetherington attempts to engage with an analysis and critique of modernity that moves beyond the valorisation of the margins as sites of resistance, protest and transgression, a theme that has featured prominently within

contemporary cultural geography (see Bell and Valentine, 1995; Bondi and Domosh, 1992; Cloke, 2000; Crang, 1998a, 1998b; Cresswell, 1996; Jackson, 1992; Keith and Pile, 1993; May, 2000; Pile and Keith, 1997; Rose, 1993, 1997; Shields, 1991; Sibley, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1998; Thrift, 2000). Hetherington suggests that recent work in cultural geography, in which oppositions of the central and the marginal, or the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic are introduced, has created an over-simplified sense of social ordering (Laurier, 1999). According to Hetherington (1997: 7):

the image of a counter-hegemonic margin that acts as a site of transgression, offers us an image that oversimplifies, through the process of polarisation the issues of marginality, difference and Otherness. Difference, being different to the accepted norm within a culture, while it is indeed a source of marginality and of resistance to marginalisation, is also implicated in a social ordering, even if at the most fundamental level, it is opposed to everything that society, seen as a social order, stands for.

In an attempt to avoid the dualistic notions of central/marginal and hegemonic/counter-hegemonic, Hetherington introduces 'heterotopia' as a place where an alternative social ordering is performed. While this heterotopia may be marginal in the sense that place(s) may be unbounded, for Hetherington, the marginal is always implicated in the social ordering of the dominant. Indeed, one would not exist without the other.

The very kind of dualistic thinking that Hetherington attempts to problematise with his introduction of the concept of heterotopia into the social sciences, appears to be replayed in *The Badlands of Modernity*. As Laurier (1999) has illustrated in a review of Hetherington's work, the critique that Hetherington provides of a number of authors who paradoxically and problematically counter-pose the centre/margin and the hegemonic/counter-hegemonic, is somewhat ironic when given that Hetherington constructs a similar false binary. In his treatise on heterotopia, Hetherington (1997) plays off his ideas about an alternative social ordering against ideas about utopia, having little regard for the kind of social ordering that 'takes place' in-between. Furthermore, as Foucault (cited in Megill, 1987: 198) has suggested, "even to imagine another order/system is to extend our participation in the present one".

2.3.3 Coastal heterotopia

While recognising the problems of the kind of dualistic thinking revealed in Hetherington's work, I believe that the notion of heterotopia as spaces of alternative (or alternate) social ordering, can effectively be extended to a study of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand when considered in conjunction with ideas about 'Euclidean coasts' and the places in-between that reflect images of both the former and the latter. My reasons for using Hetherington's understanding of heterotopia are two-fold. First, I employ heterotopia as a means of identifying and then describing those coastal places of alternative social ordering. Through the use of a number of case studies, such as Otia and Birdling's Flat, I introduce ideas about

how coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is structured, employing Hetherington's understanding of heterotopia to give weight to those ideas. Second, I use heterotopia as part of an overall approach to conducting discourse analysis. In the second half of this thesis I present a discourse analysis, the format of which is structured according to those coastal places that can be broadly considered 'heterotopic', as opposed to places that are imbricated in some Euclidean spatiality (see the following section) or caught in-between these two seemingly polarised forms of social ordering.

There are limits to the two uses of heterotopia that I present. First, the use of the concept of heterotopia as a way of identifying and describing coastal communities carries with it the critique that was directed at Hetherington's own work, that is, the notion of heterotopia is only useful when considered in relation to that which it is not. Second, and of direct relevance to my work, in using heterotopia as part of an overall approach to conducting discourse analysis, it may be argued that the well-developed theoretical ideas that construct heterotopia as a concept are rendered useless when the concept is used simply as a tool for what may be considered a place-based classification. My response to this argument is that in employing heterotopia both as a way of describing coastal places and as part of an overall approach to discourse analysis, I do not facilitate an extension of Hetherington's dualistic thinking, or portray a compartmentalised approach to discourse analysis. The 'dual purpose' role I assign to heterotopia, which does not rely on comparison with polar opposites, goes some way toward eliminating both lines of critique.

Thus, while I introduce Euclidean and utopic coasts, coasts that are very far removed from heterotopia, I also consider those places in-between that reveal a form of social ordering displaying characteristics of both.

Furthermore, my use of heterotopia, as part of an overall approach structuring the analysis of discourse, would be overtly categorical if places were labelled as belonging exclusively under one heading and not the other. However, in this thesis I make no such claims and freely admit that while a community may broadly fall under the rubric of coastal heterotopia, it may also reveal a form of social ordering that more closely resembles a Euclidean spatiality. In this way, the approach to discourse analysis that I favour becomes a more informed and original way of understanding Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities.

2.3.4 Euclidean coasts

My reference to 'Euclidean coasts' is based on the idea that many parts of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand are constructed according to the rule (sometimes quite literally) of coastal planning and development. The kind of linear thinking that has prevailed in the disciplines of coastal planning and development is reflected in many communities throughout the country (such as the community of Pauanui, a case study I employ in this thesis). As I discuss in more detail in the next chapter, this linearity is expressed through the use of particular boundaries that feature prominently in the social construction of the coast. This is something that has remained largely undocumented.

The introduction of the notion of ‘Euclidean coasts’ is similar to a form of spatiality or social ordering contrived by a number of geographers who comment on the manner in which space is reified into discrete unrelated parcels. Of particular relevance to this project has been the recent work of Dwyer and Jones (2000) who discuss aspects of environmental racism as the by-product of a common socio-spatial framing. Dwyer and Jones (2000: 209) suggest that the “deployment of discursive categories associated with scales, boundaries and extensivity”, provides the context for residential segregation and spatial mobility. Their understanding of a ‘white socio-spatial epistemology’ has parallels to my understanding of ‘Euclidean coasts’. Drawing on the work of Dwyer and Jones (2000) and informed by Gregory’s (1994) work on ‘cartographic anxiety’, Rose’s (1993) work on the masculinist bias prevalent in mainstream spatial epistemology, and Dixon and Jones’ (1998) work on the grid epistemology and its effects on social space, I use Euclidean coasts as a way of referring to those places that reveal a particular design in which exclusive sections and the orderly maintenance of segmented social space dominates Aotearoa/New Zealand’s land/seascape.

In many ways, this understanding of Euclidean Coasts parallels recently completed work by historian Giselle Byrnes (2001) in *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and Colonisation of New Zealand*, as well as a recently published article by geographer Richie Howitt (2001) entitled “Frontiers, borders, edges: liminal challenges to the hegemony of exclusion”. Byrnes (2001) for example, critiques the manner in which

land surveyors in the 19th century adopted a British orientation to segmenting Aotearoa/New Zealand's landscape to make it more accommodating to European immigrants. The connection between Byrnes' work and my own lies in the fact that both studies are critical of the manner in which a controlling linear perspective and a particular cartographic anxiety can bring about radical change to the spatial organisation and social order of society. While Byrnes' treatise is historical and places great emphasis on the role of the surveyor in the making of Aotearoa/New Zealand, my own work is contemporary and focuses on the role of coastal planning and development in the (re)making of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Byrnes' study, like my own, however, reflects on the manner in which dominant groups see parts of the landscape as boundless, needing to be bound, and empty, needing to be colonised (Byrnes, 2001).

Similarly, the work of Howitt (2001) helps to inform my research. Howitt (2001: 233), for example, makes the comment that "Australian landscapes are plagued by multiple boundaries that seek to divide and subdivide places, people and resources into manageable units". He goes on to make the case that the construction of boundaries, both 'material' and metaphorical, is instrumental in creating geographies of exclusion. Howitt's concern with exclusion, although related to native land titles and indigenous rights, parallels my own in terms of the way in which the construction and enforcement of political and administrative boundaries, legitimised according to hegemonic understandings of sustainability, bring about social and cultural divides.

2.3.5 (Coastal) places in transition

Caught between the strict and disciplined Euclidean spatiality I have described and my understanding of coastal heterotopia, I introduce a third form of social order that aids in the identification and description of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. This form of social order is one of ‘transition’, in which places undergo transformation from one form of social ordering to another. This is not to be confused with my use of the term ‘liminality’, a concept employed in reference to marginal coastal people and places that appear unbounded (see Chapter Three). Rather, my use of the term transition (and the definition of transition that I employ throughout this research) refers to a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place. Understood this way, the term is useful in that it goes some way toward destabilising the problematical binaries of centre/margin, hegemonic/counter-hegemonic, heterotopia/utopia, binaries that seem to underpin many studies within cultural geography.

My interest in coastal places undergoing some form of transition hinges on the argument that many of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s more ‘informal’ coastal communities are:

a dwindling feature on Aotearoa/New Zealand land/seascape and part of a general trend in which coastal communities are being confined to designated spaces, where the making of coastal places is controlled rather than customary (Ryks, forthcoming).

This position parallels Porteous' (1988) 'annihilation of place' argument in which he examines Howdendyke, a small river-port community, and the manner in which industrialists, politicians and planners engage in the 'topocide' of the village. 'Topocide' is in many respects Porteous' descriptor for 'transition' because he employs the term to describe a change in the social ordering of people in relation to place. Topocide is, however, too strong a term to use for this kind of change. While the hegemony of planning, and a control over social order, may signal the death of a community as it once was, that community remains in existence, regardless of whether or not its social order in any way reflects (a notion of) a former community. Furthermore, Porteous' topocide, by its very definition, eliminates the possibility of a community reversing the type of social order that dominates over it. It is possible that even in communities such as Howdendyke, where certain ways of knowing are privileged, a reversal in the social ordering of its society may take (or reclaim) place. In this way, it is not so much a case of topocide; the annihilation of place, rather, transition; the remaking of place.

For my project, the metaphorical mapping of those coastal communities undergoing some form of transition, reflecting images of both their heterotopic past and Euclidean future, is an important process. Places in transition, by virtue of their status as 'in-between', are simultaneously places of conformity and displacement. Use of the term transition in this sense is important because it bridges an otherwise dialectical use of heterotopia and Euclidean coasts. It is in this way that I employ the idea of transition, as a way of conceptualising coastal space and social order.

Again, and in a related fashion, the use of transition as a descriptor becomes the basis for an overall approach to discourse analysis, structured according to places that resemble heterotopia, Euclidean coasts, or in-between transitory places that reflect images of both the former and the latter.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the role of discourse and hegemony in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. By defining discourse as ways of structuring knowledge and social practice, and hegemony as particular relations of domination and subordination, I have provided some socio-theoretical underpinning for my argument that the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development has an impact on the social ordering of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities.

My claims concerning social order have been strengthened with the introduction of a number of authors writing about the social construction of space. Working from Foucault's understanding of heterotopia and building on Hetherington's use of the term, I have suggested that the concept of heterotopia can be a useful tool for describing many of Aotearoa/New Zealand's 'informal' coastal communities.

In the chapter I have also introduced a form of social ordering that is best expressed under the heading of 'Euclidean coasts'. Informed by the work of Dwyer and Jones (2000), I outline the manner in which a particular Euclidean spatiality

has an effect on the ways in which rigid and disciplined places are constructed and how social order is influenced. This parallels recent work by Byrnes (2001) and Howitt (2001).

Lastly, I have suggested that, as a way of problematising the dualistic thinking that underpins much cultural geographical work concerning the margins and the Other, a third form of social ordering can be described in which a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place can be considered ‘transitory’. This third form of social ordering captures places that simultaneously reflect images of heterotopia and Euclidean coasts.

My concern with these three types of social order, and the different patterns of movement of people through place generally, relies on the use of particular types of boundaries. In the following chapter, I provide a review of boundaries to help explain and reinforce the arguments presented here and in the previous chapter, that is, that the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development is responsible for bringing about a change to the social order of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

3

BOUNDARIES OF DIFFERENCE

There are many different ways in which the ‘thing’ that separates, the boundary, is constructed within and across different disciplines. By drawing on the works of anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, ecologists and social theorists generally, it is possible to tease out the nature/culture of boundaries. Specifically, in this chapter I aim to connect a general discussion of boundaries to the socio-spatial construction of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s coastal people and places. Furthermore, in an effort to understand aspects of inclusion/exclusion, I explore the ways in which boundaries are, or become, symbols and manifestations of power relations and social institutions within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In a recent work on the ‘anthropology of boundaries’ Pellow (1996: 1) suggests that boundaries may be:

- physical, social, temporal, conceptual, and/or symbolic;
- permeable and negotiable;
- created, maintained, elaborated, and dismantled;
- separating and unifying; divisive and inclusive; definitional, invisible, transforming and transformative

If boundaries are all these things, then it is little wonder that the notion of boundaries (or other descriptors for ‘things’ that separate) has become the subject of so much discussion across a range of disciplines. A broader understanding of boundaries dictates that, in addition to the materiality of boundaries, further consideration is given to the conceptual ‘/’ that is drawn through such binary categories as private/public, female/male, nature/culture, local/global and place/space (Laurie, *et al.*, 1997). This is not to say, however, that authors commenting on the social construction of boundaries have been in agreement in their disciplinary and multi-disciplinary discussions about the nature and range of boundaries within everyday life. As the study of boundaries has become more topical, significant differences within and across disciplines have been made more apparent.

Rather than attempt to provide a review of literature whereby an exhaustive list of authors is compiled according to disciplinary category (of course, it is doubtful such clear academic ‘boundaries’ exist), I provide examples of the different ways in which boundaries are predicated through epistemology and ontology. Understandably, authors with different theories of the nature and limitations of knowledge construct particular boundaries in certain ways, which determines the manner in which the boundary as a ‘concept’ is represented. Reviewing the literature on boundaries in this manner may go some way towards understanding the empiricist/conceptual, material/non-material binaries which seem to underpin

recent writings on the subject and better illustrate the connection between boundaries and the social construction of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast.

3.1 The materiality of boundaries

The institutionalisation of scientifically and politically calculable boundaries, boundaries that tend to dominate and be privileged within everyday society, can be linked to a powerful and multi-disciplinary area of scholarship (see for example, Brunson, 1998; Burghardt, 1996; Casimir and Rao, 1992; Conversi, 1997; Coutts, 1989; Freyfogle, 1998; Knight and Clark, 1998; Meidinger, 1998; van Roon, 1999). These authors help produce a commentary on boundaries that, although by no means unanimous, is representative of a particular worldview. Specifically, commonality exists in the way in which the notion of boundaries tends to be coloured by context and the certain materiality of boundaries which, in many cases, is assumed. For example, following the rather broad sweeping question thrown to the reader "what are boundaries", ecologist Meidinger (1998: 87) writes that boundaries:

are not merely gashes across the natural landscape. Rather boundaries mark divisions of control over and responsibility for resources among individuals, organisations, and governments.

Meidinger's approach is representative of a collection of authors writing across a particular range of disciplines. These authors tend to identify with the importance of a conceptual understanding of boundaries, whilst immediately attributing some

kind of material existence to boundaries. Another common feature appears to be that the boundary, with its given materiality, is immediately detached from the human subject, yet is implicated as having some kind of organisational role and power. This reflects the rather tenuous separation made between the ‘social’ and the ‘non-social’ boundary (it is difficult to surmise how a ‘non-social’ boundary is constituted). Meidinger’s (1998: 87) statement, in which he temporarily reverts from an ecological understanding of boundaries to a more ‘social’ understanding of boundaries, reveals part of the problem when he suggests:

Social boundaries typically are governed by rules and conventions that define the terms of engagement between the actors and the organisations they simultaneously separate and connect. Moreover, as is vividly demonstrated by other chapters in this book, social boundaries can reshape and sometimes even create ecological ones.

Arguably, Meidinger’s ecological boundaries are themselves social boundaries because they reflect human defined categorisation.

Brunson (1998: 65) makes a similar distinction between the social and the ‘non-social’. While he problematises the privileging of the physical over the social, Brunson’s approach reinforces the thrust of authors that consider a physical boundary separate from, and in isolation of, a ‘social’ boundary:

Boundaries can take many forms. In this discussion the term boundary refers to physical demarcations, including not only the mapped

boundaries of nations, states, public agency jurisdictions, and private landholdings, but also the often invisible, but nonetheless real, boundaries that groups or individuals may establish to define their “turf”.

Recent statements, such as those made above, tell of distinctions being made between the materiality attributed to particular boundaries, such as boundaries derived from the ‘physical’ environment, and boundaries of social organisation. This is a dialectic that appears to be founded on the perceived need to strengthen scientific and political discussions of material boundaries, with talk of the ‘social’. The result is a growing body of literature devoted to the discussion of boundaries that, in many respects, is similar to boundary narratives introduced by spatial analysts over twenty years ago. Within these narratives “boundaries were regarded as either obvious descriptive features of a landscape or the result of externality effects resulting from patterns of contact” (Agnew, 2000: 91). The similarity lies in the fact that rationalist ideas about ‘real’ boundaries continue to be measured against the almost ‘irrational’ social boundary. At its extreme, the various authors that support and have aided in the construction of this dialectic appear to privilege the material boundary over the ‘social’. This is most evident in the writings of those authors commenting on physical boundaries, especially in relation to issues of conservation and ecology. Freyfogle (1998: 18), for example, highlights the role of boundaries in ‘nature’:

Activities in one place, we know, do not stay within boundary lines: flowing water pays little attention to land deeds, which means pollution does not either.

Freyfogle (1998: 35) confirms the status of the 'social' when, in a final comment on the need to appreciate the 'natural' boundary, he suggests:

To nourish the land's health, we must make ourselves better than we are and improve our institutions along with ourselves. To make the land better for us, we must make ourselves more worthy of it.

Comments such as these suggest that particular authors (especially those authors commenting on boundaries of ecology and biology) privilege a material or physical boundary purely because it forms the basis for their classification. In this way, boundaries are employed as "a device to define and delimit the 'edges' of their subject matter" (Donnan and Wilson, 1999: 20). This yields a tension much like that embedded within former boundary narratives of a political geography in which natural boundaries and national identity were considered in isolation from each other (Prescott, 1987). Indeed, the comments of political geographer Andrew Burghardt (1996: 217-218), in a discussion of this particular period in the history of political geography, are indicative of this tension:

Whereas the geometric boundary may be thought of as the boundary par excellence of imperialism, the natural boundary may be considered to be the boundary of science, replete with a healthy dose of determinism.

So-called ‘natural’ boundaries and more generally, boundaries attributed with a particular materiality, such as geometric and planning boundaries, are privileged within everyday life (as I show in the second half of this thesis). Constructed as material and measurable, these boundaries operate as instruments of authority and the basis for ‘scientific certainty’. In the section that follows I explore how these (what I have termed) ‘new boundaries of science’ feature in discussions of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

3.1.1 Boundaries and coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand

Very little documented material is in circulation that features a discussion of boundaries in connection with the people and places of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Of the material that does exist, the primary concern seems to rest with the new boundaries of science discussed above. Talk of boundaries and the coast is restricted to: (1) specific sites in which the boundaries under discussion feature as a ‘thing’ of legal dispute (for example see *Freeman vs. Savage*; *Gisborne District Council vs. Falkner*; *Wellington Regional Council vs. Riddiford*); (2) coastal planning boundary compliance issues stemming from the Resource Management Act (1991); and, (3) commentaries regarding the perceived mismatch between coastal ecological boundaries and coastal planning boundaries (see Coutts, 1989; Van Roon, 1999). In all three cases, a particular materiality of boundaries is assumed and/or attributed. In the first two cases, however, the specific concern with boundaries is lost and subsumed within the technicalities of legal dispute and/or coastal decision-making,

a fact that makes a review of these kinds of boundaries unproductive. The third case, however, retains a focus on the boundary, primarily as a result of discussion relating to a broader national context. At this level, boundaries become the ‘object’ of conceptualisation and critique. I place emphasis on ‘object’ here due to the fact that, even though boundaries are considered conceptually, they are still attributed a particular materiality, as discussed earlier. Coutts (1989: 309) gives evidence of this in a comment on the potential use of Mean High Water (a calculable boundary drawn from an average of high tide marks) as both a property boundary, and the basis for management of the coastal ‘zone’:

Mean high water lies within a continuously mobile foreshore and falls short of criteria for a cadastral boundary. It is not suitable as the general limit of land and is particularly inappropriate in some cases.

Concern over whether Mean High Water is suitable or unsuitable as the ‘general limit of land’ conceals the fact that the author is tripped up by the dialectic introduced earlier. Coutts (1989) clearly identifies with a binary in which a material ‘natural’ boundary and the non-material cadastral boundary exist, yet comments on the (un)suitability of the latter as a ‘general limit for land’. Inadvertently, it seems that Coutts (1989) has revealed the possibility of the non-material becoming the material.

Van Roon (1999) is one of the few other authors to comment on boundaries in connection with coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. In a similar fashion to Coutts

(1989), and in keeping with the ‘new’ boundaries of science notion introduced earlier, clear divisions are made between a material natural boundary and a non-material social boundary:

The use of ecological boundaries necessitates co-operation across jurisdictional boundaries, for example between regional and district councils (van Roon, 1999: 4).

Furthermore, and again in keeping with the ideas of the particular demographic of authors introduced earlier, the natural boundary with its given materiality, is privileged:

There is a need to recognise the ecological boundaries in the coastal environment, and use these to guide management initiatives that will manage the whole ecosystem, rather than fragment the environment into habitats and sites of importance to single species (van Roon, 1999: 4).

Van Roon’s (1999) idea that ecological boundaries should be used for the ‘management’ of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s coastal people and places reinforces the problematic nature of the dialectic discussed earlier and provides another example of the types of outcomes that can be expected when so-called material and non-material boundaries are counter-posed.

3.2 Socially constructed boundaries

The discourse that privileges ‘scientific’ boundaries is very far removed from the discourse that makes reference to socially constructed boundaries. In terms of the latter, the dialectic between the social and the ‘non-social’ is rendered paradoxical. The socially constructed boundary, as discussed within social theory, and critical variations of geography, sociology and anthropology, reveals more about power relations and the ways in which particular hegemonies (re)produce exclusion/inclusion, and the liminality encountered in the crossing of boundaries. Specifically, boundaries have become a useful metaphor for social theorists wanting to express or talk about particular divisions within society. As Newman and Paasi (1998: 194) have recently suggested:

In recent social and cultural theory, the idea of the boundary refers increasingly to the social and symbolic construction of boundaries between social collectivities rather than state boundaries. Cultural researchers have been interested in historic relations, struggles and symbolic links between various groups and communities. The hegemonic and counter narratives regarding the boundaries of race, ethnicity, gender, class and nation have been key topics in social and cultural sciences.

This socio-theoretical understanding of boundaries has added another layer of complexity to the ways in which boundaries are discussed. In the commentary below, I illustrate this complexity by focusing on the ways in which the socially

constructed boundary is constantly being revised and secured by authors writing on the subject.

According to Pellow (1996: 217-218) “boundaries are created to prevent class-based disorder by controlling interaction” and that, in this way, “boundaries express power relations, and they may be thought of as inherently contestable”. This view is reinforced by Arantes (1996: 82):

[I]n this common space of everyday life, symbolic boundaries are collectively being built, separating, approximating, levelling, ranking, or in one word, organising social groups and categories in their mutual interrelationships.

Similarly, Gans (1992: xiv) comments that “boundaries are useful concepts, mainly to the extent that they shed light on the groups and the concepts they bound”. The importance in the notion of a social or symbolic boundary for these authors appears to be the role of the boundary in the anthropological ordering of people. While these authors go on to connect the social or symbolic boundary to particular hegemonies, the reasoning that dominates is one in which the boundary being talked about is a ‘thing’ that encloses rather than divides the human subject. This ordering-focused social construction of boundaries seems at odds with particular established boundary narratives. For example, Denning (1980, 157), writes that “boundaries are real, but as the structuralists like to tell us, they have no dimensions, no space of their own”. Denning’s statement, made some 20 years ago,

indicates the complexity that an ordering-focused construction of boundaries brings about. It seems that Arantes (1996), Pellow (1996), and Gans (1992), as with the authors reviewed earlier in this chapter, presuppose a certain materiality of boundaries, and that in this case, the material existence of boundaries is in some way responsible for the classification and ordering of people.

The fact that some authors limit a discussion of boundaries to what is contained, rather than to what is excluded or indeed, the hybrid third space entered into in the transgression of boundaries, determines that in many cases, an intended 'post-modern sensitivity' is absent (Bhabha, 1994). If difference and the transgression of boundaries is not a focus, then critical investigations into the hegemonic construction of boundaries will be incomplete. In other words, researchers wanting to navigate the cultural turn must allude to the ways in which "questions of post-colonialism, 'otherness' and the transgression of boundaries have challenged the power and meanings of boundaries, as they relate to our understanding of space and place, insiders and outsiders, us and them" (Newman and Paasi, 1998: 195). Many authors have touched upon such issues already with their discussions of the ways in which the Other is '(mis)placed' by way of both material and metaphoric boundaries. For example, Sibley (1992: 115) provides commentary on the geography of boundaries:

[T]he socio-spatial construction of certain groups as outsiders is a complex process but I have suggested that the problem can be best

understood by focusing on boundary processes, the ways in which distinctions are made between the pure and the defiled, the normal and the deviant, the same and the other.

Sibley's comment suggests that he is concerned with boundaries of difference rather than boundaries that encase, contain and order. His ideas about boundary processes illustrate the permeability and 'leakiness' of boundaries, and that ideas about exclusion and abjection are inextricably linked to the conceptual and material '/' that symbolises binary opposites.

Dirt, as Mary Douglas (1966) has noted, is matter out of place. Similarly, the boundaries of society are continually being redrawn to distinguish between those who belong and those who do not, because of some perceived cultural difference, are deemed to be out of place. The analogy with dirt goes beyond this however. In order to legitimate their exclusion, people who are defined as 'other' or residual, beyond the boundaries of the acceptable, are commonly represented as less than human (Sibley, 1992: 107).

This concern with the boundary as a thing of difference and exclusivity, marking out divisions between female/male, black/white, gay/straight, them/us and so on, has heightened the importance of concepts such as transgression and liminality. Although the connection between boundaries of difference, and transgression and liminality has been long established (for example, see Douglas, 1966; Turner, 1967; van Gennep, 1960), more critical insights into this connection are now being made through the lens of social constructionism. For example, Cresswell (1996: 9) states:

There has been a great deal of discussion about marginality, resistance, and the construction of difference recently. Here I wish to delineate the construction of otherness through a spatially sensitive analysis of transgression. Transgression, I shall argue, serves to foreground the mapping of ideology onto space and place, and thus the margins tell us something about 'normality'.

Cresswell, in other words, suggests that not only do investigations into transgression tell of otherness and 'theydom'⁹, they also tell of sameness and 'us', the individuals, groups and individuals (de- and re-)constructing the Other. Furthermore, the marginal, interstitial and liminal aspects of transgression point to ways in which boundaries themselves are imbued and coloured by particular relations of power. In many instances boundaries are constructed through particular hegemonies to uphold difference. When these boundaries are challenged through an act of transgression, those in a position of power and privilege may become anxious that clear separations appear threatened. As Sibley (1995: 32-33) aptly states: "problems arise when the separation of things into unlike categories is unattainable. The mixing of categories ... creates liminal zones or spaces of ambiguity and discontinuity". Sibley (1995: 33) goes on to comment that "for the individual or group socialised into believing that the separation of categories is necessary or desirable, the liminal zone is a source of anxiety". In the act of

⁹ Coined by John Hartley (1992) in *The Politics of Pictures*, the term 'theydom' (see also its opposite 'weddom') strikes at the separation of "various values, types of action or classes or persons who, although they maybe in the home community, are treated as foreign to it" (Hartley, 1992: 207). Further use of the term can also be found in McKenzie Wark's (1994) *Virtual Geography: Living with Global Media*.

transgression it seems, the human subject is neither one nor the Other. Rather, a liminal space is entered into in which

we invent moments, out of time yet in time, with small plays and rituals which signify that ordinary rules and circumstances are suspended and that new things are in the making. Victor Turner, following Van Gennep, calls the moment *limen*, a step, neither inside nor outside, but in-between (Denning, 1980: 157).

Denning's statement some 20 years ago illustrates that the possibility of melding ideas about transgression and liminality is not borne purely from proponents of social constructionism. What does appear to be a new development, however, is the connection to domination and resistance. As Cresswell (1996: 175) suggests, "transgression's efficacy lies in the power of the established boundaries and spaces it so heretically subverts".

An important outcome of the described sequencing among boundaries of difference, transgression and power is the construction of the Other as abject. Acts of transgression, boundary crossing and resistance threaten classification and signal liminal moments in space and time. Subsequently, the Other is targeted as having 'messed up' ideas about clear categorisation.

Things which threaten clear boundaries are abject and abject things are a persistent danger. Rooted in the unconscious, they are experienced as sensations of discomfort and unease (Sibley, 1998: 237)

Sibley's remark concerning the abject Other owes much to Julia Kristeva (1982) who, in *Powers of Horror* outlines differences between the pure and defiled in an essay on abjection. Kristeva comprehensively works through issues concerning the improper and unclean self, the biblical pure, and the threat of feminine intervention and disruption to masculine notions of 'instituting' wife, mother and career woman. In a comment that has relevance for the sequencing of boundaries, transgression and the construction of the abject, or filth of the Other, Kristeva (1982: 69) concludes:

In the first place, filth is not a quality in itself, but it applies only to what relates to a boundary and, more particularly, represents the object jettisoned out of that boundary, its other side, a margin.

Kristeva's comment is thought provoking and demands attention from authors with an interest in writing about the Other because it suggests that filth is an illusory by-product of particular boundaries of difference. The idea that filth is wrought from the boundary, and the importance that boundaries therefore assume in the construction of an abject other, has particular implications for an inquiry into the social construction of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast. In the commentary below I hint at what these implications might be by way of a review of those authors who have recognised 'the difference that coasts make'.

3.2.1 The difference that coasts make

A review of relevant literature indicates there are only a handful of authors who frame a discussion of the coast in some kind of socio-theoretical way. Whereas much has been written on aspects of inclusion/exclusion, liminality and abjection within urban environments, there has been an absence of material theorising coastal environments, whether urban or rural. It is difficult to establish a rationale for why this might be. The coast, from a number of perspectives, seems to be a place of significant change, whether this change be in terms of a ‘physical’ difference between land and sea, a place of division between the public and private sphere, or a place of marked separation among socio-economic groups (for example, see Ryks, forthcoming). One exception to this lack of interest is the work of Shields (1991), who outlines a social theory of spatiality or what he describes as “social spatialisation” (1991: 30). In this work, Shields recognises the ‘difference’ that coasts make by devoting an entire chapter to the social construction of Brighton, a seaside resort in southeast England. His comments on marginality and liminality are particularly relevant for this project:

The liminal status of the eighteenth-century seashore as an ill-defined margin between land and sea fitted well with the medical notion of the ‘Cure’. Its shifting nature between high and low tide, and as a consequence the absence of private property, contribute to the unterritorialised status of the beach, unincorporated into the system of controlled, civilised spaces. As a physical threshold, a limen, the beach

has been difficult to dominate, providing the basis for its outsider position with regard to areas harnessed for rational production and the possibility of it being appropriated and territorialised as socially marginal (Shields, 1991: 84).

Shield's comment blends well with a view that sees much of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast as liminal and marginal, a view that I have introduced elsewhere (see Ryks, forthcoming). The 'divide and conquer' assault on the coast of Aotearoa/New Zealand through the use of planning and development boundaries has resulted in rigidly defined or manufactured spaces that conform to hegemonic discourse. These spaces contrast with 'socially marginal' places that are "conducive (without being determinate) to lapses in normative behaviour" (Shields, 1991: 108). Distanced from the 'normative', dwellers of socially marginal or liminal coastal places are constructed as abject because 'they' are considered an uncertain factor in a formula that requires strict adherence to coastal management and planning principles. In this way, dwellers of "ambivalent places, that are neither here nor there, attractive yet scandalous, free yet binding" (Denning, 1980: 158) somehow take on the characteristics of the marginal coastal places they inhabit. The Other is derived 'out of place' and is constructed as abject because, like the coast, the positioning of the Other in space and time is uncertain. In this way, the troublesome nature of the coast is transferred. The Other is judged 'messy' and difficult to manage.

This is in direct contrast to formalised coastal communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, which are more ‘in line’ with dominant coastal planning and development ideologies. Here, particular hegemonies have, to varying degrees, deployed coastal planning and development boundaries as instruments of exclusion. These boundaries, which clearly fall within the new boundaries of science category discussed earlier, find potency when they are transferred from the minds and maps of planners/developers and imprinted onto the coast. As ‘sections’ of the coast become rigidly defined, exclusivity is secured and the marginal and uncontained are considered abject matter out of place. Formal boundaries established on the basis of some measurable index exclude those who would define the coast by any other means. In this way, through the design work of the map maker, planner and surveyor, or through the more physical labour of the developer and engineer, the coast is manipulated to meet the demands of ‘suitable’ tenants.

3.3 Conclusion: liminal places and abject faces

The cataloguing of liminal places and abject faces through the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development is the first stage in the on-going attempt to institutionalise Aotearoa/New Zealand’s marginal coast. The second stage is one of bringing the Other under control. Again, in the same way that marginal coastal places are deemed unruly and require management, the taming and control of the Other is attempted. While resistance from people and place “represents a liberation from the regimes of normative practices and performance codes of mundane life” (Shields, 1991: 84), the hegemony of planners and developers is pervasive,

delivering a strict social order through the introduction of new ‘boundaries of science’. With the introduction and subsequent reliance on a particular notion of boundaries, comes transformation of people and place. Following the next chapter on methods and methodology, I explore the social costs of this transformation by examining aspects of exclusion and inclusion across a range of coastal communities.

4

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I outline the qualitative approach I employed to examine the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, mapped according to understandings of social order and the boundaries that influence this social order. As described in Chapters Two and Three, the construction of boundaries is a practical expression of the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development. The methodological approach I have employed, therefore, operates at multiple levels, providing a grounded analysis of boundaries while at the same time recognising the socio-theoretical dimensions of discourse.

The methods I employed do not adhere to a rigidly defined framework for qualitative enquiry, although the research is informed by a number of social theorists writing in the area of critical discourse analysis (see for example, Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Gadet, *et al.*, 1994; Helsloot and Hak, 1995; Kress, 1985; Montgomery and Allan, 1992; Pecheux, 1982, 1995a, 1995b; Titscher, *et al.*, 2000; van Dijk, 1985, 1997, 1998, 2001). Rather, I have taken a somewhat customised approach, employing a number of qualitative research techniques in order to fulfil the aims of the project.

In the following sections I provide a detailed account of the research process. First, I comment on the research techniques employed, structured according to a multiple case-study approach. These techniques included participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, conversation analysis and content analysis. I also comment on the use of other methods used for collecting secondary data, such as a field diary, as well as photos and brochures.

Second, I comment on the data collection process. I reflect on the manner in which data was taken in its basic state and assembled into a format that could be incorporated into the research document. The process of interview transcription is described, and a commentary is given on the various advantages and disadvantages of interviewing.

Third, I discuss in some detail the authors that I have relied on to frame my research approach. Not surprisingly, many authors that appeared in support of my theoretical arguments in Chapter Two are mentioned here. In the construction of knowledges, theoretical perspective and methodological approach are closely linked, one revealing of the other. It is here that I introduce my own brand of critical discourse analysis (CDA), informed chiefly by the works of social theorists Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk, and French poststructuralist Michel Pecheux.

Lastly, I comment on my position as researcher, reflecting on the ways in which I have influenced the research and the environment I have entered into. I discuss my

multiple positions as geographer and social scientist, as well as the politics of doing research through a period of ill health. This statement on reflexivity is in many ways informed by the socio-theoretical perspective presented in Chapter Two.

4.1 Doing research: methods used

The research strategy I employed was based around a multiple case study approach. The use of case studies is one of several ways of doing social science research. Case studies are particularly useful where the researcher has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Robson, 1993; Yin, 1989). I consider that an investigation and critique of the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development, and the particular effects of this discourse on the social order of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities, is a good example of the latter.

The use of case studies was, for some time, considered an inferior method of enquiry, with critics suggesting that the approach lacked quantification and allowed very little in the way of generalisation (see Sarantakos, 1998; Yin, 1989). However, in more recent times, and in light of theoretical developments in social science, the use of case studies has been reconsidered as a valid form of inquiry, especially “where the research context is too complex for survey studies or experimental strategies” (Sarantakos, 1998: 192). The use of multiple case studies, such as the kind that I employ, carries with it the added advantage of comparison among individual case studies, although this is contingent on a common thread being

woven among each individual case study. Within my own multiple case study approach, I employed several methods for data collection. In the following subsections, I describe these methods in detail. For a summary of the methods employed and an indication of when these techniques were used during the research process see Figure 4.1.

Methods used	Where and when
Observer as participant	Otia/The Seaweed Pickers: August, 2000; January, 2001, July, 2001, December 2001. Taylor's Mistake and Birdling's Flat: April, 2001 Pauanui: July, 2001. Whitianga: July, 2001; January, 2002. Whangamata and Mount Maunganui: December, 2001; January, 2002
Participant as observer	Otia/The Seaweed Pickers: July, 2001. Pauanui: 27 July, 2001.
Visual and written texts	Photography: 1999-2002 Research diary: 1999-2002 Television transcripts: 31 May, 2000 Newspaper collections: 2001-2002 Conference notes (Pauanui): 27 July, 2001
Interviews	Northland coastal planning manager: 4 September, 2000 Canterbury planning manager: 19 April, 2001. Otia/The Seaweed Pickers ex-resident: 4 September, 2000. Ahipara resident: 3 September, 2000 Waikato coastal planner: 8 November, 2000. Academic: 28 August, 2000 Coastal consultant: 31 October, 2000.
Focus group interview	Otia residents (5 people): 28 January, 2001.

Figure 4.1 Methods Schedule

4.1.1 Research through observation

In response to the claim of postmodern theorist Jean Baudrillard that society's ideas of the world have become a set of media images through which reality is constructed, social theorist Zygmunt Bauman (1992: 155) writes that "strolling still has its uses". Bauman's statement comes at a time when many forms of contemporary social enquiry are conducted exclusively within the halls of academia, often far removed from the 'environment' of discourse, and frequently lacking engagement with the 'researched' (Evans, 1988; Sibley, 1995; van Dijk, 1997, 1998, 2001). The technique of observation is an important tool for social enquiry that, in many cases, helps to (re)forge links between the world of the researcher and the researched. To 'stroll' in the sense of being an observer is to

listen, observe and experience and to expose theories and biographies to new and unfamiliar social settings and relations, with a view to enhancing an understanding of them (May, 1993: 111).

This was my aim in taking up the role of observer. Where my employment of interviewing techniques (which I discuss later) carries with it particular assumptions about what is important, observation is said to make no such assumptions. Instead, as May (1993: 112) writes:

The method encourages researchers to immerse themselves in the day-to-day activities of the people whom they are attempting to understand. In contrast to testing ideas (deductive), they may be developed from observations (inductive).

While the method of observation I employed did not generate large amounts of data, it was very useful in helping contextualise my thoughts concerning the role of boundaries within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the subsequent effect of the role of boundaries on the social ordering of communities. The use of observation techniques for the purposes of contextualisation is something that Kearns (2000: 105-106) comments on. Kearns writes that contextual understanding is made possible by

the researcher immersing herself/himself in the socio-temporal context of interest and using first-hand observations as the prime source of data. In this situation, the observer is very much the participant.

My role as a participant in the world of the ‘researched’ was an on-going one, extending from the point in time in which the proposal for doctoral research was still in the process of being formally approved, and continuing through to the latter stages of writing the doctoral thesis. During this time I undertook various roles as observer (see Figure 4.1).

The nature and range of my observations varied among case study sites. In some instances, following Kearns’ (2000) lead of using four possible research roles as observer, I became ‘participant-as-observer’, immersed in the world of the ‘researched’. In other cases, my role was one of ‘observer-as-participant’, opting for a more passive role as researcher.

My use of the terms above is important because it avoids a series of arguments hinging on the false binary construct of participant/non-participant observation. Critics argue that as ‘participant observer’ active participation in the world of the community or individual being researched may result in change being brought into this world that would not otherwise have occurred. In the case of ‘non-participant observer’, a critique emerges of the voyeuristic gaze of the researcher, remote from, or even unwilling to engage with, the individuals or groups being researched. The binary of participant/non-participant observer is problematic because, as Kearns (2000: 110) states, “there really is no such thing as a non-participant in a social situation”. Social researchers must be conscious of the fact that their research is always having some kind of impact on the researched. My investigative ‘foot-print’ as researcher is something I was acutely aware of when conducting observations for the purposes of this research.

Participant-as-observer

My role of participant-as-observer was limited to the communities of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers) and Pauanui. In the case of Otia, it is difficult to state exactly when observation for the purposes of research began. The coast between Ahipara and Otia is a place I frequently travelled to prior to the commencement of my doctoral research. Indeed, my regular presence there as recreational fisher, as well as my close links to long-time residents of Ahipara, gave me the unofficial status of ‘semi-local’. In many respects, this prompted my decision to use Otia as a place of

research. As soon as this decision was made, however, I was immediately aware of my new position in the community and the ethical implications of my presence. This was reinforced when I revealed my new role as ‘researcher’ to the community.

My observations at Otia took place on a number of different occasions. On three occasions in 2001 I made the journey around Tauroa Point to Otia (see Figure 5.5, page 105) and made notes in my research diary. I also took a series of photographs during this period. These were taken with the permission of local people who were present at the time, some of whom already knew me and what my purpose was in being at Otia.

Following a planned meeting with an elder of Otia (a meeting that immediately took the form of a group interview), I was invited to stay overnight at Otia, an offer that I accepted. My decision to accept this invitation was made as ‘semi-local’ rather than as researcher (although it was difficult to separate these two roles). Subsequently my stay at Otia was of a relaxed, experiential nature. I did not use the invitation as a further means for formal observation (e.g.: note-taking). I felt this would have been intrusive and not befitting of the invitation. This is not to say that my presence went unnoticed. On numerous occasions following my introduction to members of the community I was asked to explain my arrival and continued presence, and was frequently challenged on my motives for being there.

My decision to stay at Otia as semi-local and not formally observe as researcher does not mean that I did not ‘take’ from the community. The very experience of residing within the community helped form my contextual understanding of Otia and therefore, provided me with a form of ‘data’ (as shown in Chapter Five, in which narratives and vignettes of case study sites are presented, and in Chapter Six where I present and discuss the findings from my research at Otia).

The ethical implications of information obtained in the manner described above, combined with the more general issue of such information falling into the wrong hands, cannot be overstated (see Ryks and Kirkpatrick, 2001). This is something that the residents of Otia were also aware of and prompted their initial scepticism and reluctance to participate in the research.

My role of participant-as-observer took on quite a different form in Pauanui. Here participation involved attending a conference staged by the New Zealand Planning Institute (held 27.7.2001). I received notice of the conference through the Institute and contacted the organiser, requesting permission to attend. At this point I revealed my identity as doctoral student and provided a general outline of my research.

During the conference I participated in a session in which questions could be asked of the conference speakers. My line of questioning during this time prompted a noticeable shift in terms of conversation and body language with other conference

participants. My questioning of aspects of the planning process for ‘Pauanui Waterways’, for example, resulted in a lengthy silence between one of the conference organisers and myself. It also prompted several other conference attendees to introduce themselves to me following the conference to discuss matters I had raised.

Observer-as-participant

My role of observer-as-participant was less structured than the approach described above. Observation included visiting each case study site, recording field notes and taking photographs. In many cases this method of data collection coincided with the use of interviews as a method of gathering information. This was simply due to the fact that my journey to particular localities such as Taylor’s Mistake and Birdling’s Flat could be made more ‘efficient’ if I could incorporate both methods into a single visit.

Again, this method of research was rewarding in the sense that results obtained proved useful in providing a contextual understanding of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand; it did not typically yield the kind of information on which to base conclusions. The data gleaned from my role of observer-as-participant was treated as ‘secondary data’ and used to support my claims based on primary sources of information.

4.1.2 Research through individual and group interviews

The most significant source of information came from the series of semi-structured interviews I conducted with groups and individuals from coastal communities, coastal planning representatives and an academic. As many studies in social science research and human geography have shown, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to ask questions based on a set of prearranged criteria, while at the same time giving the researcher the latitude to probe beyond the ‘answers’ (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Douglas, 1985; Kearns, 1991; May, 1993; Minichiello, *et al.*, 1995; Schoenberger, 1991). The latter would often seem prejudicial to the aims of standardisation and comparability that positivist social enquirers would usually deem necessary for ‘objective’ research. As feminist researchers have pointed out, however, this supposedly objective stance in which the researcher ‘pretends’ to have neutral views on all the topics enquired about is false (see Oakley, 1981). As Seale (1998: 207) suggests, “the implied goal of an objective social science is seen [by feminist researchers] as a sham, brought about to hoodwink respondents into exploitative social relationships”. In treating the interview as a social encounter, the same as any other (May 1993), I made attempts to reveal my opinions as researcher to all interviewees, although as I comment later in this chapter, this was not always possible or desirable.

In total I conducted seven audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews with individuals as well as one focus group ‘interview’, the latter also semi-structured in design. The focus group interview, conducted at Otia (the Seaweed Pickers) on 28

January 2001, was not planned in advance. My intention, by arrangement, was to interview an elder of Otia on a one-to-one basis. When I arrived at the elder's home I was greeted by four individuals, each showing an interest in the research and expecting my arrival. All those who were present considered the audio-recording of the interview inappropriate. Subsequently, the interview was documented through note-taking. During the course of the group interview, another person arrived to participate. Formal introductions again took place, as did my explanations of the nature of the research. I conducted this interview in a similar fashion to the seven individual interviews, although I made certain I directed the questions at the group rather than at a particular individual.

The unplanned nature of the focus group interview meant that the well-documented methods of conducting focus groups were not foreseen as being applicable (Cameron, 2000; Goss, 1996; Longhurst, 1996; Morgan, 1988). For example, the selection of participants and the composition of the group were factors that were not able to be prearranged. Despite this, the focus group interview was a success. It was more productive than the planned individual interview could have been because it stimulated debate among members of the group, having a type of 'synergistic effect' (see Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). This debate itself became an invaluable source of information.

Each interview took between one hour and two and a half hours to complete. During the introductory stages of the interview, I explained to each participant the

nature of the research and initiated a broad range of informal questions, allowing the interviewee to interject at any stage. Often, the most helpful results were recorded during these stages of the interview. As each interview progressed, I asked a series of questions relating to boundaries and asked for each respondent's opinion concerning the role of boundaries within everyday life.

There were two different sets of interview questions. One set was directed at those with an expertise in coastal planning and development issues, such as coastal planners, academics and consultants (see Appendix 1). Another set of questions were directed at residents and former residents of coastal communities (see Appendix 2). While the use of two different sets of questions could be considered a problem for comparative purposes, my intention was to tailor the questions and the language used for each question to the 'audience'. My efforts to maintain the common thread of boundaries throughout both sets of questions ensured that comparison was still possible.

My first individual interview was with a resident of Ahipara on 3 September 2000 (Ahipara is a small coastal community that acts as a gateway for the residents of Otia to commute to Kaitaia, the nearest urban centre). I knew this person well so I considered that the interview could serve as a pilot test for further interviews that I had planned. This is not to say that the results obtained from this interview were not valuable. I chose this person because of his historical knowledge of the area (he had lived there almost 30 years). The information I obtained throughout the

interview has proved useful for the purposes of contextualisation and for the discourse analysis.

My second interview was with Jan, an ex-resident of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), on a Northland Marae on 4 September 2000. On my arrival at the Marae she welcomed me and then suggested that I ‘sit in’ on a meeting that was in progress. The focus of this meeting was the local and regional councils’ recent actions in approving an extension to the Port of Whangarei in an area that was traditionally a source of kaimoana (seafood). I remembered thinking at the time that the request that I observe the meeting was perhaps an opportunity for Jan to tell the story of her community to an ‘outsider’ with an interest in coastal issues. Following this meeting I interviewed Jan over a period of one hour. She provided me with useful information on the historical development of Otia, such as the fact that marker posts had been used by the community in the past to signify the boundaries of particular whanau (family). Jan’s comments regarding marker posts were reinforced later in the group interview on 28 January 2001.

On the same day as my interview with Jan I conducted an interview with Greg, a coastal planner for Northland Regional Council. Here my approach to conducting the interview was different because I considered that my own political perspective would not necessarily align with his. While I made no pretence of assuming a role of ‘neutrality’ during the interview process, my expression of opinion was limited and I allowed Greg to speak quite freely about the matters he considered important.

The interviews conducted with an academic (28 September 2000) and coastal consultant (31 October 2000) took place within the Department of Geography at the University of Waikato. Both of these interviews took around two hours to complete. These interviews proved difficult to transcribe later in the research process due to their length and the fact that both interviewees frequently veered off the topic. Surprisingly, a common feature of both interviews was the fact that much of the dialogue switched to personal experiences of the coast, even though the questions asked of both interviewees were directed at issues of coastal planning and development.

My interview with a coastal planner from Environment Waikato (Waikato Regional Council) on 8 November 2000 proved invaluable. Her direct involvement in many planning cases for communities on the Coromandel Peninsula gave rise to an extensive range of background information. Again, this proved useful in the contextualisation of coastal place.

The final interview was with a planning manager from Environment Canterbury on 19 April 2001. This interview proved invaluable in that it revealed a racialised discourse in relation to Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities. For me, this made conducting the interview an uncomfortable experience. Valentine (1997) recognises the potential problems caused by the use of racist language in an interview setting, suggesting that researchers confronted with racist language are

faced with a difficult dilemma. The researcher can either challenge any offensive comments made, or choose to remain silent. Some writers (for example, see Griffiths, 1991; Tonya and Hatcher, 1992) argue that researchers must challenge these comments because to remain silent would be to “legitimise the interviewee’s prejudices through collusion” (Valentine, 1997: 122). Other writers (for example, see Keith, 1992) suggest that sometimes it is beneficial to remain silent because this maintains the rapport the researcher has with the interviewee and is particularly valuable in cases where the language produced from the interview is the subject of analysis. In my case, I chose to remain silent during the described interview because I was conscious of the fact that what was being said would prove useful later in the research (select pieces from the interview do appear in the final analysis). In analysing the discourse of coastal planning and development, racialised comments made by a planning manager are clearly important and relevant.

All eight interviews conducted were an important source of data. As May (1993: 108) suggests, the interview is an invaluable “resource for understanding how individuals make sense of their social world and act within it”. Both in terms of the amount of information generated and the quality of information, this proved to be the case. For example, upon transcription, the interviews yielded some 70 typed pages of ‘data’. Typically, a one hour interview took some four to five hours to transcribe. In sum, the interviews took three weeks to transcribe, this period of time reflecting the entire recording of what was said and *how* it was said (e.g.: tone of voice).

4.1.3 Research through textual collection

A significant amount of research material was collected as ‘text’¹⁰. This included an extensive range of newspaper articles, the video-recording of a television documentary which focused on Pauanui, images captured by camera, notes taken at the conference held by the New Zealand Planning Institute in Pauanui, and text extracted from academic and non-academic literature.

Newspaper material was collected through an extensive keyword search of *The Knowledge Basket* database ‘Newspaper Index’, an online database covering all newspapers published by Independent Newspapers Limited (INL) dating back to 1995 including *The Christchurch Press*, *The Waikato Times* and *The Dominion*. My collection of newspaper articles was, for the most part, limited to the case study sites of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, for which material was collected in December 2001 and January 2002. Keyword searches for newspaper material for the other case study sites was conducted (using the same database) during the early stages of the doctoral research, but the relatively unknown and undocumented nature of many of the sites, meant that few results were obtained. For example, searches for the case study sites of Otia and Birdling’s Flat failed to produce any ‘hits’ on *The Knowledge Basket* database, while searches for Taylor’s Mistake

¹⁰ Following Cosgrove and Daniels (1988) and Duncan and Duncan (1988), I extend the meaning of the word ‘text’ beyond its common use of describing signifying practices associated with the written page, to include other types of cultural production, including such visual images as landscapes, paintings, maps and photographs.

produced one article, subsequently used in the contextualisation of this case study site.

While *The Knowledge Basket* database was useful, it also had limitations. For example, *The New Zealand Herald*, published by Wilson and Horton could not be queried through *The Knowledge Basket*. This newspaper was, however, examined independently. Smaller local newspapers are also omitted from *The Knowledge Basket* database. This meant that, for researching the community of Otia for example, the local newspaper *The Northland Age* could not be queried. In cases such as these, when considered important to the research, I made attempts to manually search these newspapers. In the case of Otia, I made contact with *The Northland Age* via telephone to their Kaitaia office, an effort that produced a single newspaper article with reference to the mobile health service for the Otia community (see *The Northland Age*, 4.4.2001).

Another form of text was sourced from the television documentary series *Inside New Zealand* in which a feature story entitled *Pauanui: Playground for the rich* screened (31.5.2000). This hour-long documentary was transcribed over the period of a week, the length of time reflecting the difficulties in chronicling dialogue from a video-recording. Rapidly spoken conversations, woven between powerful visual images, meant that the task of transcription was difficult. The difficulties of transcription proved rewarding, however, with some 20 pages of transcriptions taken, much of which features in the final analysis.

Throughout the course of the research over 100 photographs were taken with a single lens reflex (SLR) camera and a digital camera. This provided me with another important source of visual information for my theorisations of coastal place. It also provided me with the opportunity to capture critical moments in space and time.

Notes taken at the New Zealand Planning Institute Conference held in Pauanui (27.7.2001) provided an invaluable source of textual information. During the three hours in attendance I collected over six pages of statements, made by a number of guest speakers, including Leigh Hopper from Hopper Developments Ltd (the developer of Pauanui and Whitianga Waterways, places that feature as case studies later in the analysis) and Bain Cross, formerly a planner at the Thames Coromandel District Council who was involved in the planning for Pauanui and Whitianga Waterways. Much of what was said was taken in note form due to the rapid conversation of speakers. In cases considered important I made an effort to record particular statements word for word for use later in the analysis. In retrospect, the valuable material obtained through this direct transcription of material highlights the opportunity lost in not audio-recording such an important event, although it is uncertain that this would have been permitted.

4.2 Doing research: organising data

Through the various methods of data collection the information gathered constituted a significant amount of material for analysis. My approach to preparing this information for analysis followed a rather generic approach to ‘doing’ discourse analysis and involved: selecting and approaching data; sorting, coding and analysing data (which included using key words and themes), and; presenting the analysis. These stages are typical of many discourse-based studies (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2000; Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Howarth, 1998; Kendall and Tannen, 2001; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Titscher *et al.*, 2000; Tonkiss, 1998).

In the following sections I discuss the approach taken in selecting and approaching data, and sorting, coding and analysing data under the general heading of ‘organising data’ (see Figure 4.2). By comparison, the process of presenting the analysis was more contingent on first considering the ‘results’ obtained against a number of theorists working in the general area of critical discourse analysis. I discuss this process in section 4.3.

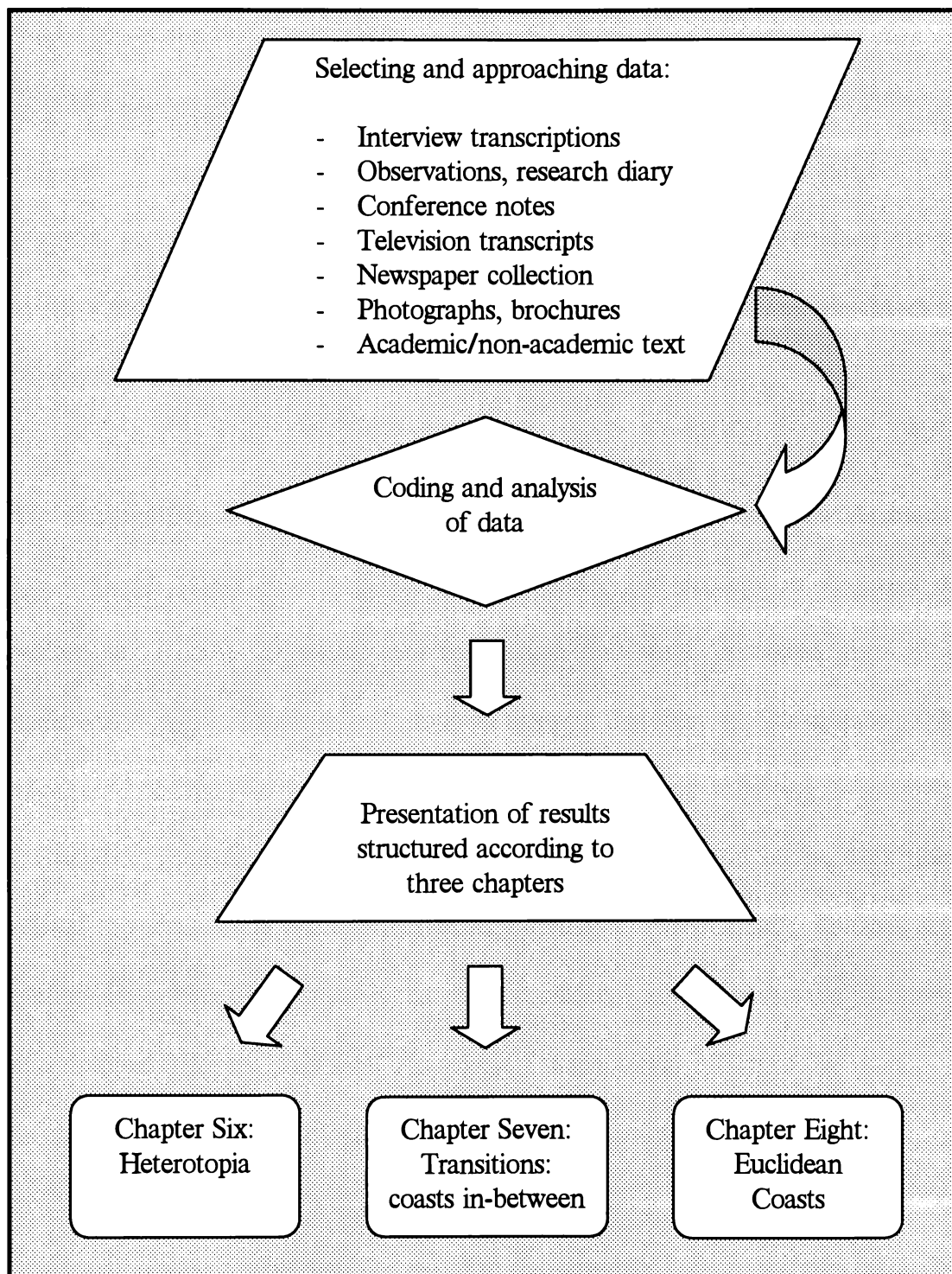


Figure 4.2 Organising 'data'

4.2.1 Organising interviews

The information obtained from the interviews constituted the bulk of data collected and was my primary source of information. Accordingly, this was the material that I sorted, coded and analysed first. Working with this information enabled me to use the themes identified for the organisation of other information (described in subsequent sections).

The organisation of interview data involved transcribing each interview. As stated, the work of transcription took some three weeks, and resulted in 70 pages of written text. These 70 pages were then taken and were ‘processed’ through a preliminary coding. This involved grouping answers that were similar in nature (for example: belonging to an individual case study site) and following a common theme (for example, one theme was comprised of a selection of ‘answers’ that related to the planning community’s understanding of ‘consultation’). Through this preliminary coding those answers that were considered not relevant were bracketed and dropped from the first level of analysis. I did however return to this discarded information frequently throughout the analysis to ensure that it did not meet the evolving focus of the research. Once coded according to common themes, the interview responses were then compared to the other similarly coded data series. In total, 17 themes were used in the final analysis. These themes are listed in Figure 4.3 and are discussed in greater detail in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Chapter Six:

- 'Theydom'
- Racial (sub)divisions
- Educating the Other
- Consultation and contact
- Murder, mess and abjection
- Resistance and place attachment

Chapter Seven:

- Transition through development
- Transition through planning
- People and places in transition
- Heterotopias of deviation
- Containing carnival

Chapter Eight:

- Euclidean coasts and boundary talk: a discourse of linearity
- Lines of power (MHWS)
- Coastal utopia
- Examples of exclusivity: private ownership of the coast
- Examples of exclusivity: beauty and desirability versus dirt and difference
- The planner's rule and the law abiding 'wedom'

Figure 4.3 Themes identified

4.2.2 Organising observations

For the two kinds of observation employed (participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant), sorting, coding and analysing information meant first drawing together the material from the research diary. This was done separately for each case study. Second, notes entered into the diary were transcribed and made consistent across each case study. Third, the information from the research diary was then grouped according to content and the themes already identified from the interview transcriptions. In instances where information did not match these themes, the themes were reconsidered in light of the new material, as well as against material initially rejected.

4.2.3 Organising texts

From the collection of text extracted from conference notes, television transcripts and photographic records, the process of sorting, coding and analysing information followed a similar route to that described above. Again, a preliminary coding took place in which I grouped similar material according to each individual case study site and/or similar content. Information that was considered to be unrelated to the project was set aside during this stage. This included rejecting some 50 photographs taken in the early stages of the doctoral research (when case study sites had not yet been finalised) and many of the conference notes taken at Pauanui. In many instances the process of discarding unrelated information was a result of the

evolving nature of the research project, which meant that certain information became redundant as ideas and themes changed.

The coding of textual information for the presentation stage of the overall discourse analysis approach was made more difficult because it meant grouping together material from different sources. Many of these sources provided secondary data. Subsequently, the material produced was coded according to the themes already identified from the interview transcriptions. Again, in instances where information did not match these themes, the themes were reconsidered in light of the new material, and against material initially rejected. Once coded, the information was then filtered into each appropriate chapter (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

4.3 Doing research: discourse analysis

The material collected through the various methods of research employed constitutes the ‘discourse’ that I present in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. As indicated in Chapter Two, I employ discourse in its broadest sense to refer to text and talk as a form of ‘social practice’. My analysis of the material obtained is, in this sense, an analysis of the social practice(s) of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the analysis that follows, I consider the discourse or social practice(s) of coastal communities of an alternative social ordering, of a dominant social ordering, and those ‘in-between’ coastal communities that reflect aspects of both the former and the latter.

The manner in which I unravel the intricacies of this range of discourse or social practice is important. In considering the many different ways that I could analyse discourse, I chose to tailor an approach based on a number of theorists working in the area of critical discourse analysis. My reasons for adopting this customised approach relate primarily to the theoretical and applied objectives that I have set out. Specifically, my interest in the discourse of coastal planning and development, and the use of boundaries as instruments used to bring about a change in social order, underpins the relevance of research in critical discourse analysis (CDA).

CDA is a type of research that studies the way “social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2001: 352). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 259):

what is distinctive about CDA is both that it intervenes on the side of the dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups, and that it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it. The political interests and uses of social scientific research are usually less explicit.

Fairclough and Wodak’s comment echoes much of what I express in this research. My position in the research is one in which I openly admit my ‘situatedness’ in the critique of a hegemonic group (see section 4.4). It is therefore appropriate that I employ an approach that is accepting of this declaration.

More importantly, theorists working in the area of critical discourse analysis inform my interest in addressing how control over the dimensions of language, and more generally, the manner in which privileged ways of knowing, work to produce social inequality. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) comment on eight of the more important theoretical approaches to CDA, these being described in detail under the rubrics of: French discourse analysis; critical linguistics; social semiotics; socio cultural change and change in discourse; socio-cognitive studies; discourse-historical method; reading analysts; and, Duisburg School.

Of the eight approaches to CDA listed, I consider the French discourse analysis approach informed by Pecheux (see Helsloot and Hak, 1995; Pecheux, 1982, 1995a, 1995b), the critical linguistics of Fairclough (see Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995) and the socio-cognitive studies of van Dijk (see van Dijk, 1985, 1997, 1998, 2001) to be particularly relevant for my project. The work of Michel Pecheux is important because he understands discourse as a place where language and power meet. For Pecheux, discourse analysis is the analysis of the hegemonic dimensions of language use (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Drawing on the work of Pecheux (1982, 1995a, 1995b), a particular thread that I weave through the substantive chapters that follow is a portrayal of the hegemonic dimensions of the text and talk of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example, the following statement obtained from one of the interviewees (used later in the analysis), is an example of the manner in which power is imbued in discourse:

The South Auckland Stone Masons won the contract for building the canal walls for Pauanui Waterways, so come summer, we had 60 Tongans working hell to leather. Quite a spectacle.

The language used is a practical expression of hegemonic discourse because it is laden with constructions and manifestations of power in the (rigid) construction of place. The statement is hegemonic through the constructed ‘distance’ between the issuer of the statement and the “60 Tongans”, the description given of a hard working minority, and the fact that the latter is regarded as something of a spectacle. These are the kind of examples I try to tease out by drawing on Pecheux’s notion of discourse and language.

My use of Fairclough to inform the discourse analysis approach I take is quite different from the manner in which I employ the work of Pecheux. Fairclough’s contribution to CDA lies in the investigation of relationships between socio-cultural change and discursive change. In the analysis of discourse the concern is not so much with the ‘power of language’ as indicated by Pecheux, but with the social implications of hegemonic discourse. In terms of the analysis I provide, this requires that I give some meaning to the manner in which socio-cultural change is constructed according to the discourse of coastal planning and development. I do this by way of my commentary on social order and the coast. The focus on social order that I seek to maintain throughout the analysis of discourse is developed

according to the construction and maintenance of hegemonic coastal boundaries. A change in social order is a form of socio-cultural change.

I employ aspects of van Dijk's socio-cognitive critical discourse analysis approach as a means of investigating the abuse of power and the (re)production of inequality through discourse. Van Dijk's early work maintained a focus on the critical analysis of news coverage of squatters and refugees (van Dijk, 1984). He has since combined this research with studies in the theory of discourse and ideology. For van Dijk, "those who control most dimensions of discourse (preparation, setting, participants, topics, style, rhetoric, interaction, etc.) have the most power" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 265).

Following van Dijk (1997, 1998, 2001), I consider those responsible for the planning and development of the coast as controlling and owning particular dimensions of the discourse socially constructing coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. The implications of this ownership and control are power and the abuse of power in the construction of coasts 'designed' for a particular patronage. The abuse of power is a catalyst for social exclusion (as argued throughout this thesis). In the analysis that follows, I draw on van Dijk to inform and reinforce my statements regarding exclusion. In particular, I try to highlight those areas of discourse that reflect the abuse of power and the (re)making of inequality. In terms of my interest in social exclusion this means emphasising discourse that draws attention to hegemonic definitions of the coast. An example that features in the analysis, and

one that reflects my particular approach to discourse analysis, is provided below in a statement made by a coastal planner during one of the interviews:

We all just want to actually draw a line and say “here is the coastal environment”. Inside that line is mean high water springs. Boundaries are certainly proving to be a big problem for us.

Statements such as this feature as important because they highlight the workings of power relations. The provision of an ultimate definition of the coast excludes those who define the coast according to other criteria.

The manner in which I employ critical discourse analysis is not, therefore, according to some strict ‘methodological recipe’. Rather, I customise an approach to suit the aims of the research, drawing on a number of theorists to frame the research approach. The result is an analysis that extends over several chapters that are assembled according to the organisation and coding of information described.

4.4 Doing research: writing autobiographically

My selection of particular qualitative research methods and the manner in which I have used these methods in the field is in many ways dependent on who I am as researcher. According to England (1994) the biography of the researcher directly affects fieldwork in two ways. The first is that different personal characteristics of the researcher allow for particular (or restricted) insights, while the second is derived from the nature of the power relations in the research encounter. In terms

of the latter, England (1994: 85) suggests that “recognising or even being sensitive to these power relations does not remove them”. In my commentary below, I provide an autobiographical and reflexive account of my role and position as researcher in the world of the researched. Following England (1994), and numerous feminist and cultural geographers writing about the politics of ‘doing’ research (for example, see Cook, 2000; Gibson-Graham, 1994; Katz, 1994; Keith, 1992; Kobayashi, 1994; McDowell, 1992; Maxey, 1999; Rose, 1997; Valentine, 1998), I attempt to write (my)self into the research process.

Throughout the course of the doctoral research I have been conscious of the fact that I am frequently commenting on the ‘Other’ and the ‘dominant’, as if my position as commentator existed in some placeless vacuum. Frequently in this thesis, I attempt to redress this slippage by providing examples of how I have had an impact on the communities I research. Overall, however, this is not enough.

As Schoenberger (1992: 218) suggests, “questions of gender, class, race, nationality, politics, history, and experience shape our research and our interpretations of the world, however much we are supposed to deny it”. My standing as a Pakeha (European) male means that it is highly likely that I consciously and subconsciously view the world through a different lens from many of the groups and individuals that I research. For example, the results obtained from the group interview conducted with members of the predominantly Maori community at Otia are in essence, derived and based on the manner in which I, as researcher, chose to

design and structure questions according to my own ‘expertise’ and academic teachings. In this way, as researcher I assume a certain authority whereby my own judgment determines my final conclusions concerning the ‘Other’. To an extent, this authority is tempered by the ‘answers’ that the participants in the research choose to relinquish. However, the fact that the researcher can, in turn, take and work the information gathered in a manner considered beneficial to the final analysis, means that, for the most part, the authority of the researcher is maintained.

The implications of my presence in the world of the researched extends to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s wealthier coastal communities. Here, difference between the researched and researcher is predominantly a matter of class. As researcher, my working class background is very far removed from the wealth enclave of Pauanui. On reflection, this difference may be regarded as being connected to the critique that I provide of communities such as Pauanui, and must therefore be considered in the final reading of the research document.

It is not enough to simply state that as a Pakeha male from a working class background I interpret the world in a manner that is different from the communities that I research. My position in the world of the researched is more involved than that, and in outlining the politics of ‘doing’ research, there are numerous other ways in which my bodily presence can be written into the doctoral

project. Perhaps of most significance to the manner in which the doctoral project was completed relates to my ill health during the research.

Diagnosed with cancer in October, 2000, I postponed much of the fieldwork I was conducting at the time. To a certain degree, this period of illness also restricted the amount of interviewing I was able to complete, although I do not consider that this presented a major setback as I was later able to turn to other sources of information (such as brochures and newspapers) for the purpose of analysis. One period of having cancer stands out as being particularly significant in terms of the practical effects the illness had on the research. This period extends from the initial ‘positive’ diagnosis of cancer, through the course of radiation treatment, to the months following treatment. During this time, I made attempts to keep in touch with the doctoral project. This included conducting the focus group ‘interview’ midway through the course of radiation treatment. Undeniably, the status of my health at the time influenced the manner in which the interview was conducted. I felt weak and tired throughout the interview, and was not able to show the type of enthusiasm for the project that I would have liked. Those participating in the interview recognised this.

My time of ill health, in different ways, continued through to the completion of the project. In the final months of writing the thesis I was cleared of another type of cancer, but diagnosed with a degenerative, arthritic disease known as Ankylosing Spondylitis. The symptoms of the disease, which include severe back, neck and

shoulder pain, undoubtedly had an impact on the manner in which I was able to complete the project. Geographer Vera Chouinard (1996), who suffers from rheumatoid arthritis, a very similar condition, suggests that it is often difficult to give an autobiographical account of the effects of illness on academic research, but that such an account is necessary in specific cases where illness directly affects both the manner in which research is conducted and the outcomes of the research (see also Chouinard, 1999; Chouinard and Grant, 1995; Moss, 1999, 2001). Overall, the impacts of poor health have included numerous (albeit temporary) decisions to abandon the project completely.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the methods of data including observation, interviewing and the collection of 'text'. I have also detailed the methods used to organise the data collected, including describing the early stages of interview transcription, through to the latter stages of coding and presenting information obtained.

My aims in employing a critical discourse analysis approach have been described in some detail. Employing a somewhat customised approach, informed predominantly by social theorists Fairclough, van Dijk and Pecheux, I have presented a chapter-by-chapter framework for the practical analysis of socio-cultural change and hegemonic discourse. I have suggested that using critical discourse analysis will

enable me to trace the social ordering of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand and the deployment of boundaries as instruments of exclusion.

An account of doing research has also been given, and I have attempted to highlight the manner in which my multiple positions in the world of the researched has impacted the lives of the people and places being written about. I have also attempted to write myself into the research and have commented on the manner in which a period of sustained ill health has influenced ‘doing’ research.

Before I turn to the analysis of discourse in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, in the chapter that follows I provide the necessary contextualisation of coastal place through a description of each individual case study site. This is considered necessary in order to provide some grounding for analysis.

5

PLACE-BOUND

In this chapter I give a narrative of coastal place and provide a basis and context for the material I present in the second half of this thesis. I describe a number of coastal communities and, with varying degrees of detail, introduce ideas about social order. Specifically, I discuss the communities of Pauanui, Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), Whitianga, Taylor's Mistake, Birdling's Flat, Whangamata and Mount Maunganui. By providing a 'socio-spatial' narrative for each community, I establish a context on which to project my claims concerning the role of boundaries within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand and the subsequent implications for the social ordering of a coastal society.

I conclude the chapter with a statement about my choice of individual case study sites. I discuss the number of case study sites chosen and the particular combination of case study sites that I opt for in the research. Additionally, I briefly comment on a number of coastal locations that were at different times, under consideration as possible case study sites, but were omitted during various stages of the research.

5.1 Pauanui

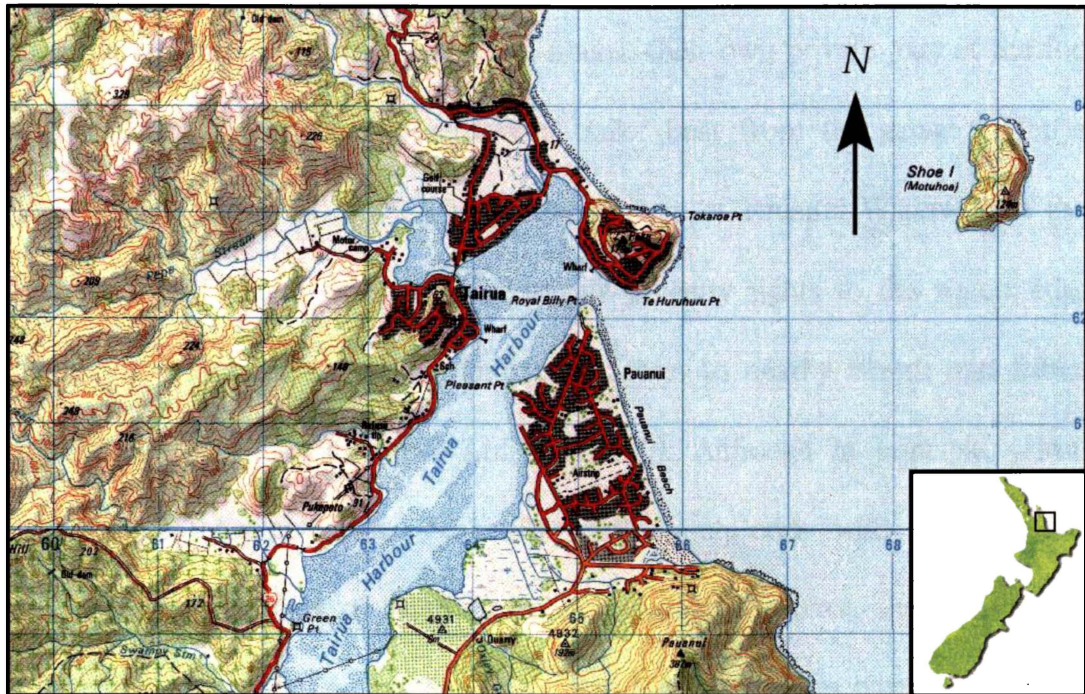


Figure 5.1 Location of Pauanui. Scale: 1.5cm = 1km

(Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

Pauanui is a planned resort of some 2000 land parcels located on the East Coast of the Coromandel Peninsula (see Figure 5.1). Located 150 kilometres from Auckland (Aotearoa/New Zealand's largest city), it has grown in size and status to become one of the country's most 'exclusive' coastal retreats. Since planned construction began on undeveloped farmland in 1967, Pauanui's summer population has grown and now frequently reaches between 15,000-20,000 people (*The Waikato Times*, 21.7.1997), although this figure shrinks to just 702 permanent residents in the winter (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b).

Originally made distinctive by its crimson coloured streets and private airfield, Pauanui is now considered voguish by some for its 250-lot canal housing concept,

dubbed 'Pauanui Waterways'. This latest addition to the resort provides the means for owners to "moor a substantial vessel against their own private jetty at the foot of the garden, or launch and retrieve a trailer boat from the garage" (Hopper Developments Ltd, 11.1.2000). The central concept of Pauanui Waterways is that purchasers can acquire "ownership of private property rights to the waters edge, clean, clear water for swimming, and ready access to nearby islands and fishing grounds" (Hopper Developments Ltd, 11.1.2000). Although in principle, private ownership of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast is at odds with the Resource Management Act's tenet of providing public access to the coast, the development of Pauanui's canal housing has been such that local authorities have amended the local District Plan to cater to the demands of developers. This has ultimately resulted in a restriction on public access to coastal frontages (see Chapter Eight).

Opinions about the planned development of Pauanui and its waterways vary. One could surmise that for the majority of Pauanui's residents, the township represents an idyllic retreat, offering relief from white-collar careers and chaotic urban lifestyles. It is a town where residents can relax, making use of contrived spaces such as golf courses, tennis courts and the exclusive Pauanui club. Membership and access to these facilities is linked to the purchase of property, so residents are assured that 'outsiders' remain at a distance. The 'safe-haven' of Pauanui, however, comes at a cost. With the purchase of property (without dwelling) in many cases extending beyond \$1,200,000, Pauanui has established a reputation as of one Aotearoa/New Zealand's most expensive coastal resorts, although according to one

newspaper “the locals shrug off the elitist label with the tired air of people who have heard it all before” (*The Waikato Times*, 21.7.97).

For the New Zealand tourist, visiting Pauanui is an experience. Pauanui is an enigma. It is a place ‘on show’ and very far removed from most other coastal settlements in Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Photo 5.1). Although ‘Pauanui-like’ developments may be commonplace overseas, in Aotearoa/New Zealand it is unusual to warrant tourism based on curiosity alone. Visitors make the journey for the scopophilic pleasures of grand housing, colourful streets and canal lifestyles. Others make the journey as invited guests, stay in rented accommodation, fraternise with the locals and enjoy Pauanui for the same reasons that its residents do.

Pauanui is a contrived, rigid, impermeable settlement that exemplifies the characteristics of a ‘formal’ coastal space. Specifically, the cadastral boundaries that contain this space help construct the social divisions that exist. In many instances, the town’s observable cadastral boundaries are also its social boundaries. Outsiders visiting Pauanui can clearly identify space that is ‘out of bounds’ and may be excluded regardless of whether coastal space is vested in the Crown or owned privately. For example, the body of water contained by the town’s canal development is, in a legal sense, recognised as common property. However, because adjacent coastal land has been transferred into private ownership, only those with access to watercraft can occupy this so-called public domain (see Photo 5.2).



Photo 5.1 Pauanui Waterways (photo by author)



Photo 5.2 Pauanui’s ‘waterfront’ (photo by author)

The construction of the formal spaces of Pauanui and the newly developed Pauanui Waterways can be traced to the masterminding of a single developer who wanted to create an ‘exclusive’ coastal community. This masterminding has resulted in a community that is characterised by its well-defined canals, housing styles, recreational facilities and lifestyle accessories. The fact that a single developer can impart this kind of vision over people and place and that this vision is welcomed, suggests that the process of formal space-making in Pauanui will be on-going.

5.2 Whitianga

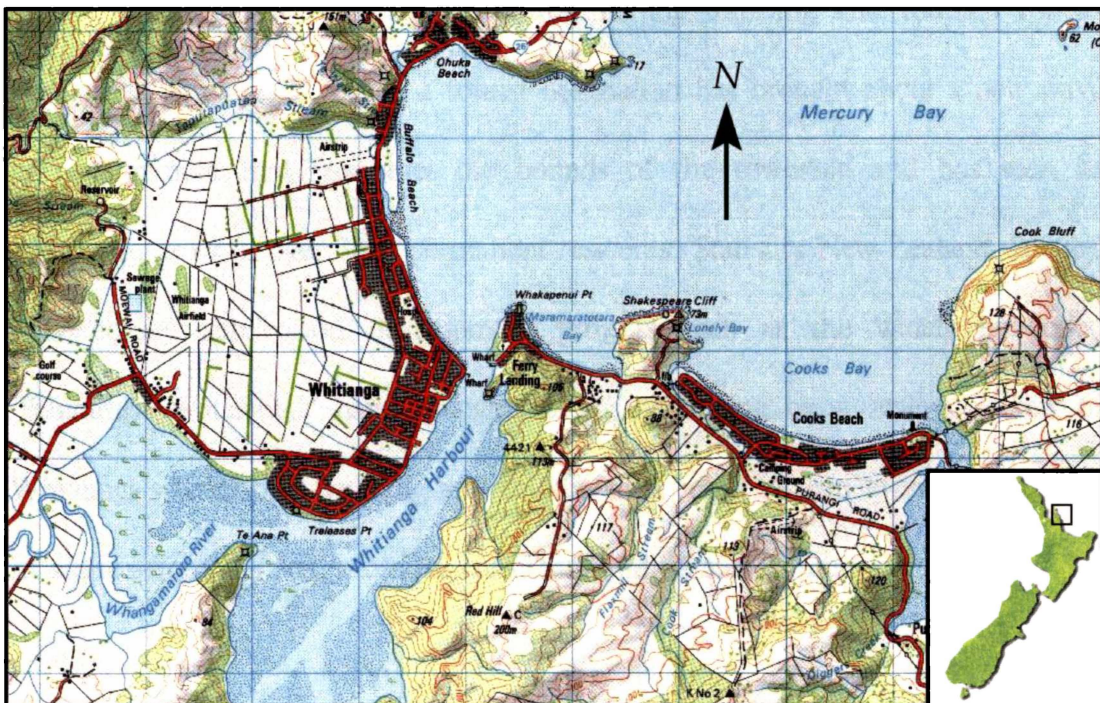


Figure 5.2 Location of Whitianga. Scale: 1.5cm = 1km

(Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

Whitianga, located on the Coromandel Peninsula, has a long Maori and European history and is one of the few ‘non-resort’ east coast Coromandel townships (see Figure 5.2). Considered to be one of the first landing places of the legendary Kupe (c950AD), the township’s unabbreviated name is Te Whitianga-a-Kupe (meaning Kupe’s crossing) and is one of a few townships to commemorate Kupe’s name (Bithell, 1980).

The arrival of the first Europeans at the turn of the nineteenth century saw the development of Whitianga as a port community, with ties to other related industries such as boat building, kauri milling and gold mining. In more recent times, Whitianga has had to depend on fishing, farming and tourism for its prosperity. Whitianga’s role as a tourist destination has brought about a new wave of development that has reset the bounds of the township and has seen its population grow to over 3000 permanent residents (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b). New coastal subdivision development projects such as the widely publicised ‘Whitianga Waterways’ have brought resort style living on a scale that few of Whitianga’s traditional working and middle class residents can even contemplate, let alone afford. As Jeff, a coastal consultant and former planner, comments:

Whitianga has traditionally been a bit more middle class. A very mixed community. A lot of older elements. Certain families that have been there 70 years or more. Now as the town has expanded, you get a lot more absentee landowners and holiday settlements. It’s one of those towns in transition.

This kind of transformation ‘taking place’ marks out Whitianga as an important case study because it reflects a particular change in the social ordering of a coastal society. This change in the social ordering of people in relation to place is something I explore in more detail later (see Chapter Seven).

5.3 Whangamata/Mount Maunganui



Figure 5.3 Location of Whangamata. Scale: 1.5cm = 1km

(Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

5.3.1 Whangamata

Located approximately 60 kilometres south of Whitianga (see Figure 5.3), Whangamata is a resort town of some 4,000 people (Statistics New Zealand,

2002b). While not possessing the same kind of history as Whitianga, Whangamata has been identified as an important place for early Maori with a number of pa sites located near the Otahu river mouth. In early European times, Whangamata also functioned as a place for gold prospecting. More recently, Whangamata's growth has stemmed from its status as a destination for retirees and holiday goers.

Of particular note is Whangamata's status as a destination for youth over the Christmas and New Year period. On average, some 50,000 individuals descend on the township over this period, a significant proportion of this figure being young people aged between 15 and 25 (*The Evening Post*, 1.1.02). The township and the beach have gained notoriety for the so-called deviant actions of youth, with concern over these actions spawning discussion pertaining to drug and alcohol abuse, crime and sexual deviancy. This comes in stark contrast to the social ordering that is typical at Whangamata at other times of the year.

The scale of this youth migration occupies an important place in the social construction of the coast. It is unique in the sense that a radical social transformation 'takes place', a transformation that has little to do with the discourse of coastal planning or coastal development. This is not to say that there is an absence of authority in the making of this social transformation. As will be shown later in the thesis, it is precisely an opposition to authority shown by youth that is at the core of the radical transformation of place in holiday destinations such as Whangamata and Mount Maunganui.

5.3.2 Mount Maunganui



Figure 5.4 Location of Mount Maunganui. Scale: 1cm = 1 km
(Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

Mount Maunganui is a seaside resort developed on a narrow peninsula some 10 kilometres from downtown Tauranga (see Figure 5.4). It has developed in response to a demand for property with ocean beach frontage, a demand that the city of Tauranga, with its tidal inlets and waterways, has not been able to cater for (see Photo 5.3). Mount Maunganui has traditionally functioned as a place where holiday goers, from both Tauranga and outlying towns and cities, congregate in order to experience the coast as place of relaxation, distancing themselves from everyday norms. Mount Maunganui has also become a place of permanent residency, with 30,984 individuals officially registered as residents in the Mount Maunganui/Papamoa ward in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b). A significant

proportion of these permanent residents are elderly with approximately 13 per cent being aged 65 and over (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a).

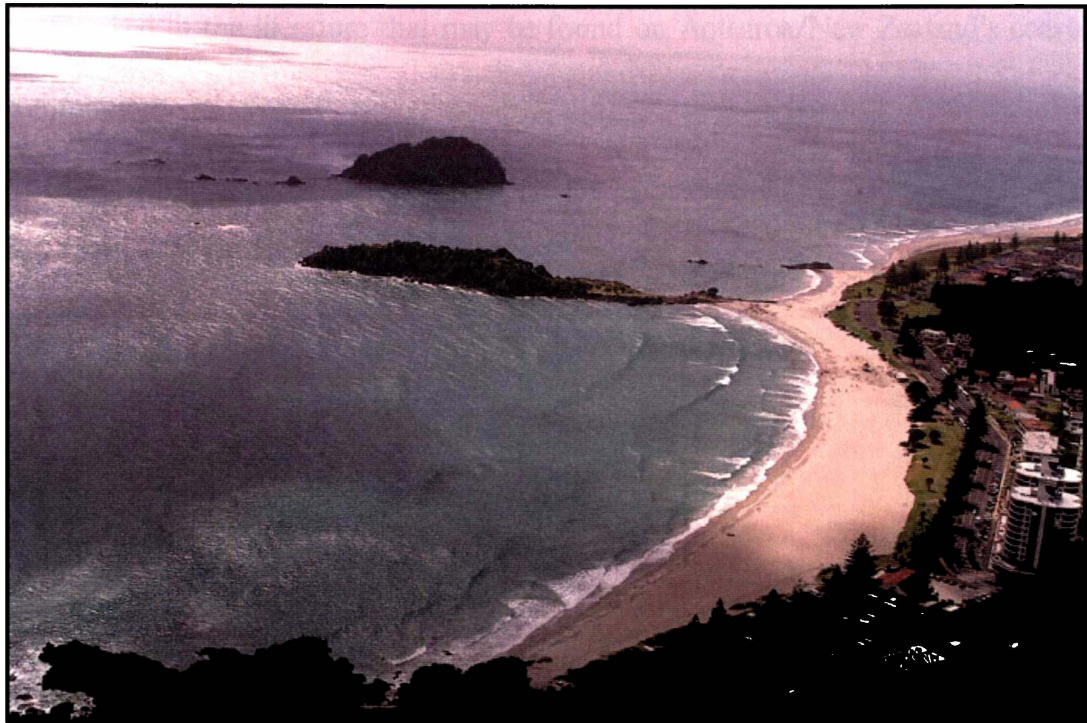


Photo 5.3 Mount Maunganui: main beach (Swart, 2000: 5)

As is the case with Whangamata, Mount Maunganui has become an important holiday destination for youth over the Christmas and New Year holiday period. While different from Whangamata in terms of its size and its proximity to a major city, many of the same issues are at stake. Again, the ‘deviancy’ of youth is of major concern to permanent residents and authorities over the holiday period. Mount Maunganui, like Whangamata, has become a place for the ritualistic escape of youth, something that has prompted the move by local councils and police to devise some means of restricting the movements of youth in coastal areas. This has

included establishing ‘alcohol free’ zones, youth ‘holding pens’ and ‘skirmish lines’ in the event of ‘trouble’. As with Whangamata, a very different form of social ordering takes place on the coast. Once more, this is something that has gone unremarked in the literature that may be found on Aotearoa/New Zealand’s coastal communities.

5.4 Otia - ‘The Seaweed Pickers’

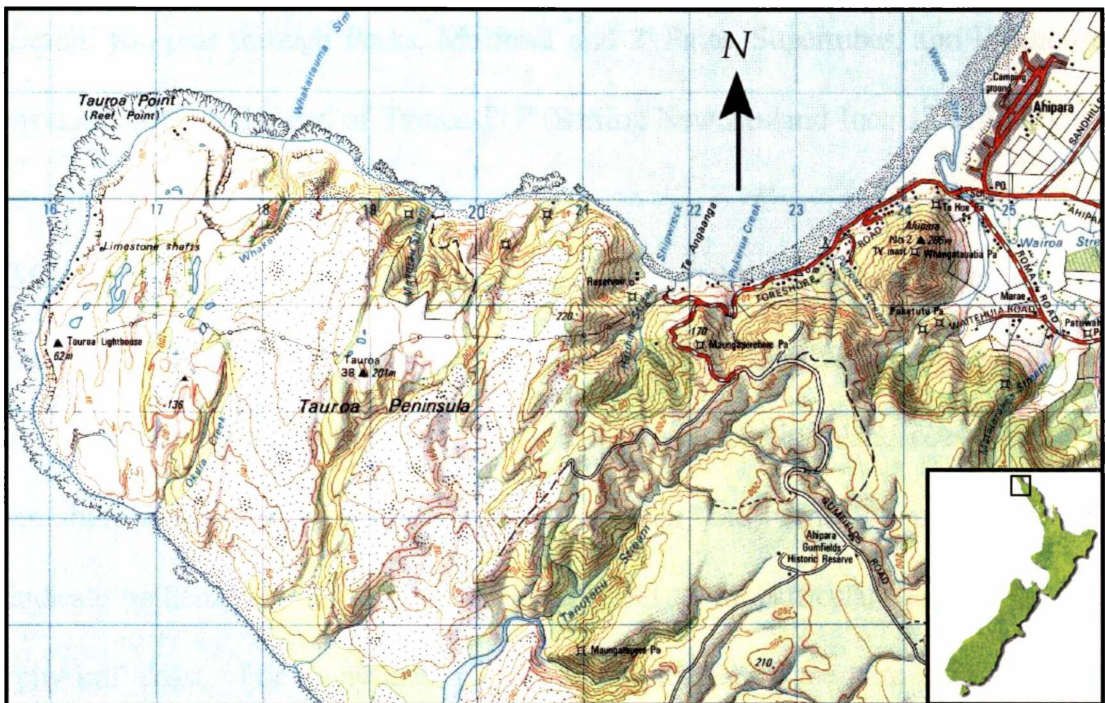


Figure 5.5 Location of Otia - ‘The Seaweed Pickers’. Scale: 1.5cm = 1km (Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

Unlike places such as Pauanui and Mount Maunganui, the location of Otia, otherwise known as the ‘Seaweed Pickers’ (a community that receives its primary source of income from gathering seaweed) is difficult to convey in cartographic

terms¹¹. Figure 5.5 gives some indication of this. The map provides the location of Tauroa Point, but fails to pinpoint the community that resides in this area. Quite deliberately, I make no attempt to correct this map. The potential side-effects on the community of Otia of doing so are great (see Ryks and Kirkpatrick, 2001). A less invasive socio-spatial description of the area can be gleaned from the New Zealand Surfing web site, which lists the places of interest between Ahipara and the Seaweed Pickers (Otia): “From ‘shippies’, the Cove at the base of Ninety Mile Beach, you pass through Peaks, Mukies 1 and 2, Pines, Supertubes, and Bluehouse (you are now on the end of Tauroa Pt)” (Surfing New Zealand Inc., 17.12.1999).

Most of the places listed above are places that would not be recognised on any cadastral or topographic map. Nor are they places that would necessarily be recognised as being different from any other stretch of Northland coast. There is no sharp division between one place and another, the names do not necessarily indicate settlement, nor do they necessarily relate to particular features on the ‘physical’ coast. For many local people, however, these place names are the only methods of reference for the coastal environment with which they are familiar. In this case, ‘Bluehouse’ refers to the last ‘architecturally drafted’ home prior to reaching Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), ‘Pines’ refers to a grove of trees at a certain location, while ‘Peaks’ refers to a stretch of the coast where the ocean waves break

¹¹ I am aware of the irony of this statement. In a study that provides a critique of Euclidean spatialities, location maps have been employed which portray space as tightly bound. Nevertheless, I believe the maps are useful as they are used in combination with other forms of text to aid in the contextualisation of coastal places. Combined carefully with other forms of text, the visual does not become the centre of attention or a privileged representation of space.

in a characteristic fashion. These places are not informal purely because of their name. Often their boundaries are difficult to define. Evidence from material collected in the field suggests that few people, for example, know where ‘Peaks’ begins and ends, either because ‘Peaks’ is part of a fluid environment which escapes definition, or because ‘formal’ boundary identification does not pose a concern for the people who interact with this environment.

Otia is a community that is difficult to describe. Population data for the community, for example, is impossible to compile because the settlement’s existence does not register in the census databases of Statistics New Zealand (see Photo 5.4).



Photo 5.4 Otia (the Seaweed Pickers - photo by author)

For those making the journey to Otia, however, the settlement's existence is never questioned. From Ahipara, the only 'formal gateway' to the community, Otia is accessible at certain stages of the tide by four-wheel drive vehicle, motorcycle or on foot. Formal roading culminates two kilometres beyond Ahipara, and as the road reaches the shoreline, the only route is across coastal sand or coastal rock. At this point, travellers to Otia abandon any predilection to legality. The rules governing the proper use of a vehicle or even the structural condition of the vehicle, for example, are cast aside in an environment where 'anything goes' (see photo 5.5).

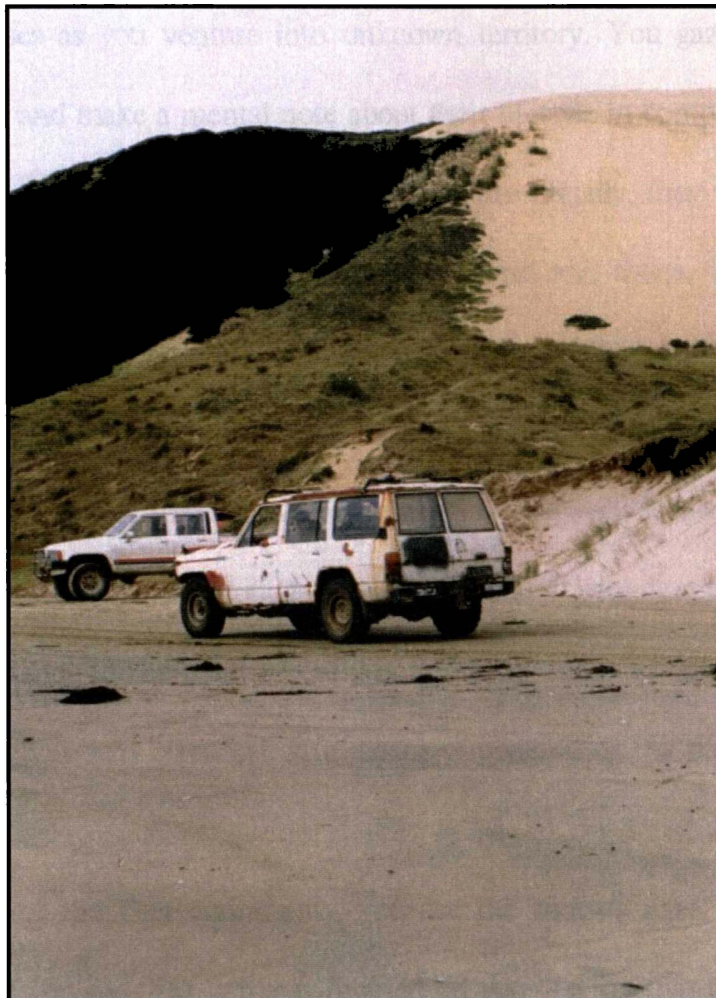


Photo 5.5 Enroute to Otia (photo by author)

For many, the place simply known as the Seaweed Pickers is a place of intrigue. For others, Oita is a place of livelihood. For a few, Otia reveals itself as both. In the following I provide three short first-person vignettes to illustrate how the land/seascape at Otia might be interpreted. The purpose in doing so is to highlight the practical implications of conflicting socio-spatial understandings.

5.4.1 Likely ‘stories’, different perspectives

As a tourist heading in the direction of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), the degree of anxiety increases as you venture into unknown territory. You gaze at the locals passing you by and make a mental note about their lifestyle in comparison to yours. If you can summon the courage, you wave to them. Usually, they will wave back, but there is an obvious division between your world and theirs. The boundaries responsible for this division are again by no means visible, but they are there nonetheless. Approaching the first dwellings at Otia, these boundaries appear more deeply entrenched, as differences of wealth and race between locals and non-locals are made more evident. As a tourist, tense and excited, your fascination with this community extends to the point where you feel it necessary to direct your camera at ‘them’, the zoom lens offering a safe means of penetrating the boundaries.

As a resident of the Otia community, you see the tourists gaze, you hear their comments and you see their cameras focused on you. To say that this interruption to your lifestyle is unnerving is something of an understatement, however, this is

all rather commonplace now. You have accepted this lifestyle and all that goes with it. As a member of this small, predominantly Maori community, you have conceded that access to electricity, telephone, or even basic sewerage facilities, is no longer a possibility. You have accepted that, even though the community itself is only a matter of 10 kilometres from Ahipara, your children may not have easy access to the education, health care or lifestyle that are deemed basic necessities in most Western societies.

As a researcher studying Otia and constructing these ‘realities’, I cannot begin by favouring one particular perspective over another, although my presence in the world of the research is one of Pakeha male venturing into ‘uncharted territory’. I must attempt to experience each encounter in the spaces and places I visit as temporary and unique, and accept that these experiences may take place outside the stable social environment to which I am accustomed. I must make sure that (unlike the tourist) I do not become the “flaneur who hides behind the walls of anonymity” (Arantes, 1996: 89) and retrieves information about people and places, only to relay this information to others with similar worldviews.

Otia is clearly archetypal of an alternative social ordering in the sense that the boundaries that divide people and place are “spatially expressed, but not always obvious in built form. Often they are observable only in the discourse and action of residents” (Rodman and Cooper, 1996: 91-92). It is a place where boundaries can be challenged, regardless of whether these boundaries are brought to bear upon

people or place. Otia may be representative of difference between local and tourist, but the boundaries that convey this difference may not be clearly defined, nor are they necessarily impenetrable. ‘Peaks’ may serve as a transitory marker, signifying difference between ‘Pines and ‘Bluehouse’ (see photo 5.6), but the spatial confines of these places may, although constantly challenged, never be known. These are liminal places, where “nothing is fixed and permanent; built structures and physical spaces are no exception to this rule” (Arantes, 1996: 88).

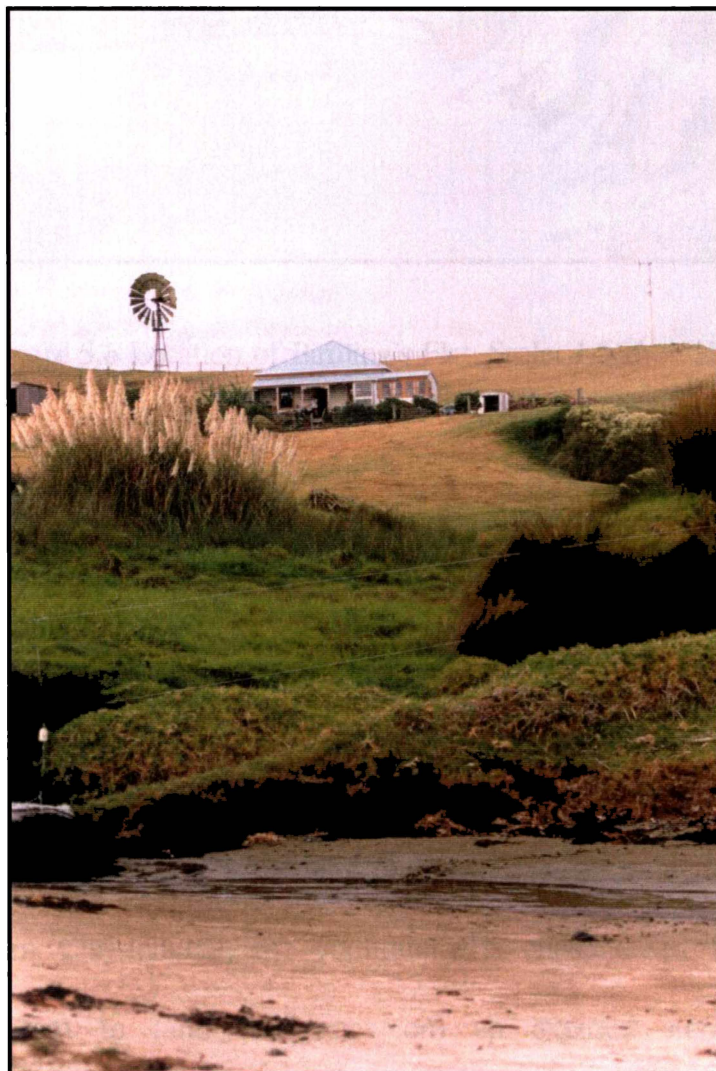


Photo 5.6 Bluehouse (photo by author)

5.5 Birdling's Flat

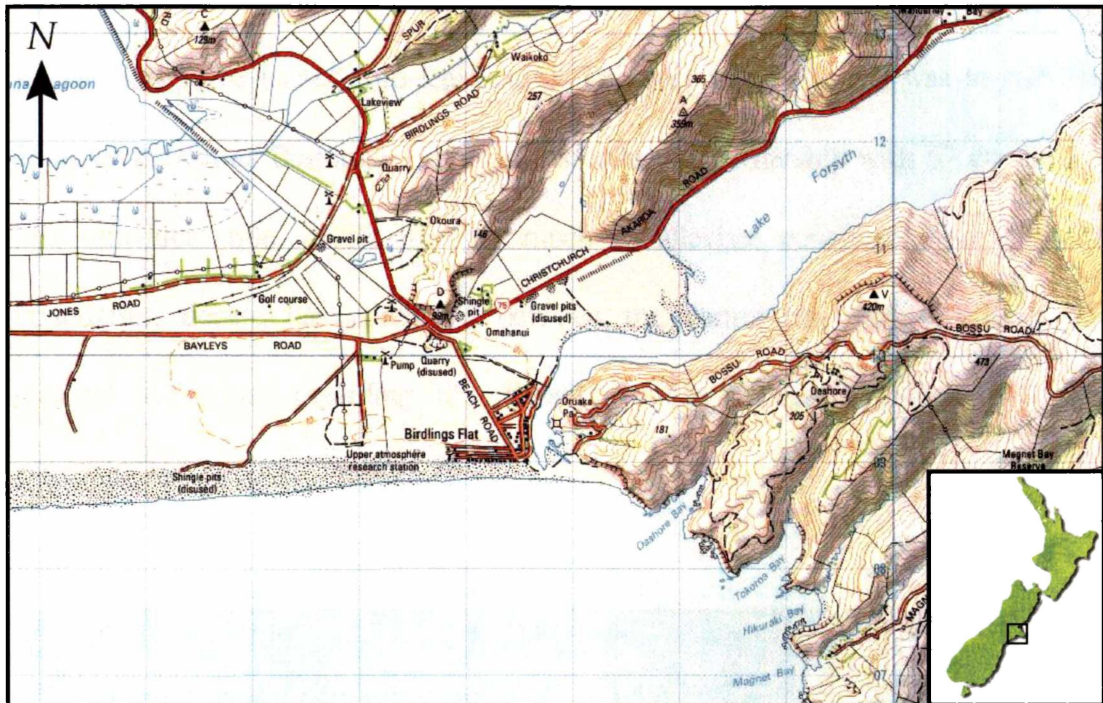


Figure 5.6 Location of Birdling's Flat. Scale: 1.5cm = 1km

(Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

Unlike Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), the location of the South Island coastal community of Birdling's Flat occupies a permanent and 'official' place within the confines of a mapped coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Figure 5.6). In much the same fashion as the Northland community of Otia, however, the occupation of dwellings at Birdling's Flat is something that is incessantly contested. Located 40 kilometres from Christchurch, the community is characterised by a series of dwellings adjacent to (and sometimes on) an exposed stony shore. The maintenance of these dwellings, their proximity to the shore, and the confines

within which each dwelling is situated, has been the subject of on-going conflict and debate. To a degree, this conflict and debate culminated in 1993 when the *Birdling's Flat Land Titles Bill* was passed through parliament (one of the very few private Bills to be passed into legislation). The purpose of the Bill was to split the 13 acres known as Birdling's Flat from its collective ownership with 57 co-owners, into individual title. While this did much to alleviate concerns about property boundaries, debate has continued between the community and the local and regional authorities regarding the 'derelict' status of the dwellings and their proximity to the coast (Photo 5.7).



Photo 5.7 Birdling's Flat (Source: Thompson, 1985: 64)

Much like the community of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), the exposed and isolated location of Birdling's Flat is something that has attracted comment. For example, Thompson (1985: 65) writes:

The location for all its bleakness, seems to be popular, and some of the newer baches are substantial. There is street lighting and mains water, even though the roads are unpaved. The lack of kerbs and the condition of some of the older places give Birdling's Flat a no-nonsense air.

It seems that the location of Birdling's Flat on a windswept surf beach does much to conjure up an image of a 'hardened' working-class community. Again, as with the narratives given of Pauanui and Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), what seems to be emerging is a particular discourse in which a connection between (the attributes of) place and people is established. I return to this connection in some detail later (see Chapter Six).

5.6 Taylor's Mistake

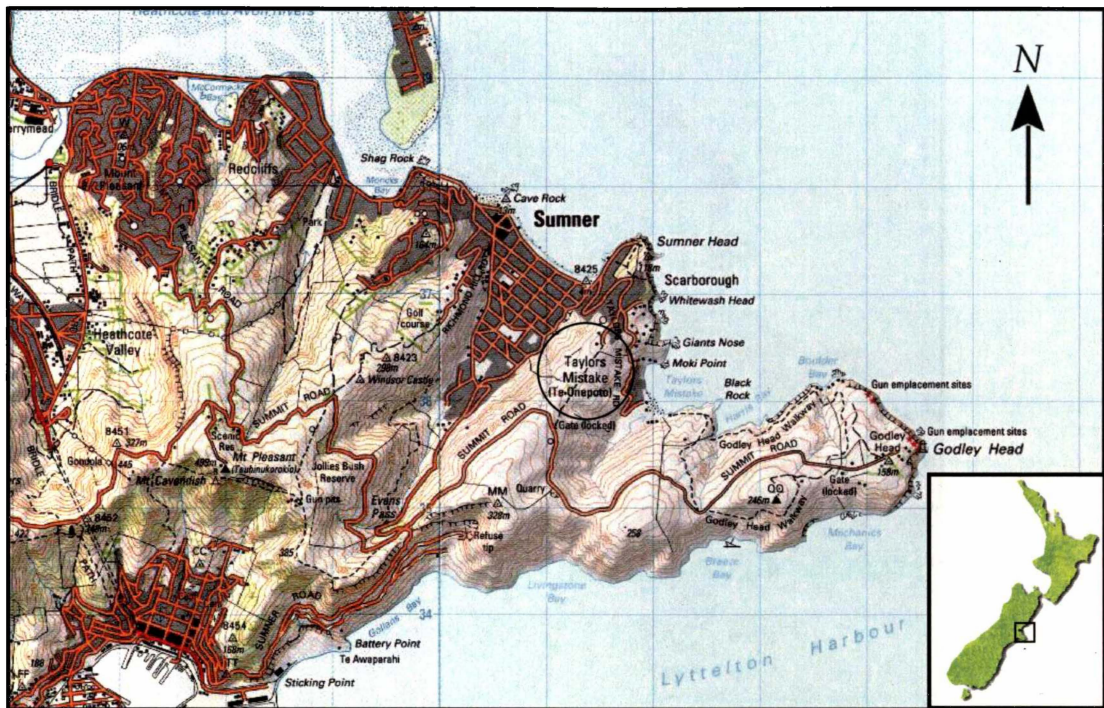


Figure 5.7 Location of Taylor's Mistake. Scale: 1.5cm = 1km

(Source: adapted from TopoMAP, 2001).

Located on the opposite side of Bank's Peninsula from Birdling's Flat, Taylor's Mistake (Figure 5.7) is another bach community coloured by a long history of dispute. The community dates back some 100 years, with the first documented evidence of conflict between residents and authorities appearing in circulation approximately 10 years thereafter. Located in a series of sheltered bays some 10 kilometres from downtown Christchurch, the dwellings at Taylor's Mistake appear in a variety of shapes and forms. Many of the dwellings are set into carved rock, while others are located in a sandy beach area of the main bay (see Photo 5.8).

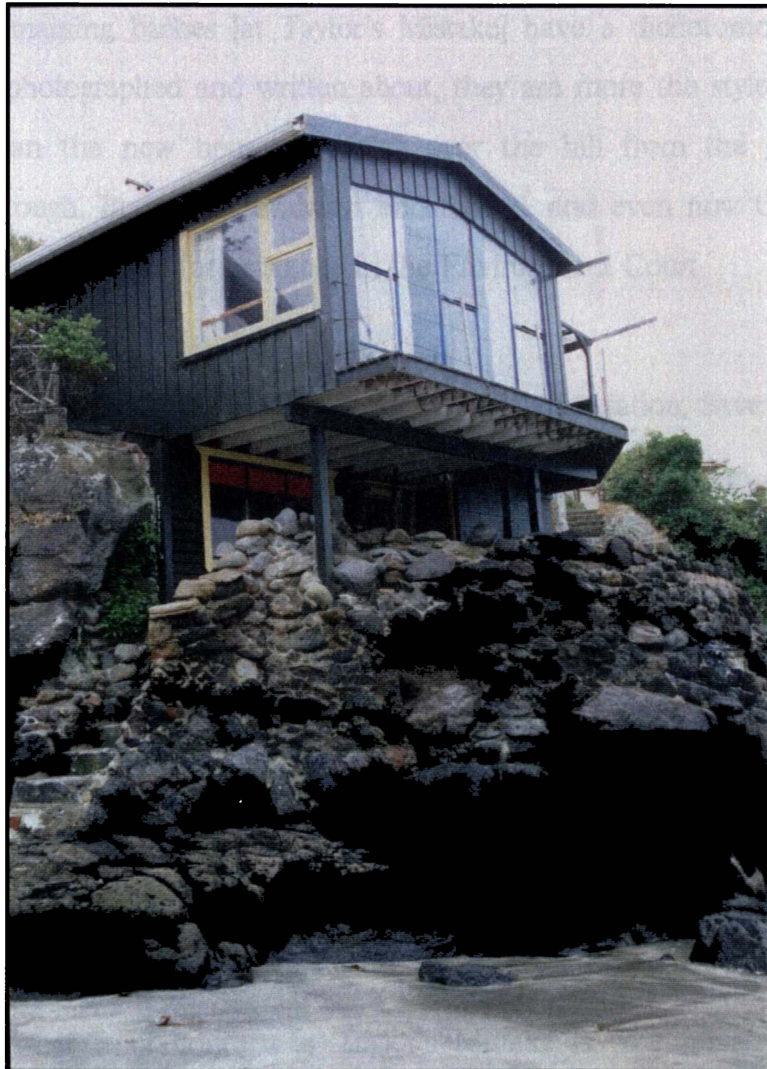


Photo 5.8 Taylor's Mistake (photo by author)

The distance that the residents of Taylor's Mistake typically travel to places of work within metropolitan Christchurch is not great. In many ways, however, the dispute that has raged concerning the legality of the community has meant that the community at Taylor's Mistake is very much set apart from suburbia. As Ansley (2002: 18) states:

The remaining baches [at Taylor's Mistake] have a dichotomous life. Much photographed and written about, they are more the style of the Bay than the new houses creeping over the hill from the grander Scarborough. But they are always endangered, and even now they are locked in a struggle for existence in the Environment Court.

Conflicts between the Taylor's Mistake Rate-Payers Association, Save the Bay Ltd, The Royal Forest and Bird Society of New Zealand, Environment Canterbury, and Christchurch City Council have cast a shadow of uncertainty over much of the community.

At one extreme, there is a belief that the bach owners at Taylor's Mistake should be disbanded and that the land on which the dwellings are located should be transferred into the public domain. Clearly sympathetic to this belief, one academic argued that what is of concern at Taylor's Mistake is "the privatisation of the shoreline". This privatisation of the coast comes in an era in which "public lands are eyed covetously by many" (*The Press*, 29.7.1993). At another extreme, there is a belief in circulation that the (predominantly Pakeha) bach owners should be given the status of tangata whenua, with claims that the bach owners are the 'original people of the land'. The latter belief was even pursued through article two of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1998, with little success (*The Press*, 12.6.1998). What these extremes outline is the complex manner in which ideas about social order can be articulated. In later chapters I attempt to connect these ideas to the specific use of boundaries in the (re)making of coastal people and place.

5.7 Case study selections

The selection of case studies represents one way of providing a commentary on the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Other case studies could have been used to provide a similar commentary but, for a numbers of reasons (outlined below), I opted for a specific number, type and combination of coastal locations.

Pauanui was selected as a case study because, on visiting the community a number of years previously, I considered that it represented a very formal social ordering that was ‘breaking the rules’ in terms of how a wealthy coastal community could be constructed. The initial development of the town and the construction of Pauanui Waterways during the 1990s took place on a scale that had never been seen before in Aotearoa/New Zealand and represented an important change in terms of issues of exclusion and inclusion. Another factor that contributed to its selection was the availability of a significant amount of planning and promotional documentation, thus aiding the analysis. I also had a number of contacts that could help me in the research of Pauanui. Furthermore, Pauanui’s geographical proximity to my location in Hamilton meant that I could make frequent trips to the settlement for the purposes of conducting research (sometimes in combination with visits to other sites).

Whitianga was used as a case study because the township’s ‘development’ represented an important moment in terms of a shift in the social ordering of a coastal community, illustrating the kinds of transition that many of Aotearoa/New

Zealand's coastal communities are currently undergoing. Again, existing contacts were available for this coastal community, many of whom had knowledge of the kind of coastal planning and development issues that the community currently faces.

Whangamata and Mount Maunganui were chosen later in the research because, through the course of 'doing' research, it occurred to me that I was missing an important form of social ordering in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. This social ordering revolved around the temporary 'migration' of youth to Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, something that has an impact on the manner in which these communities identify themselves. While this shift in social ordering at Whangamata and Mount Maunganui did not (initially) appear to relate to the hegemonic discourses of coastal planning and development that were central to my analysis, it did represent an important way in which coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is constructed.

The community at Otia (the Seaweed Pickers) was chosen because it represents a form of social ordering that is absent from the literature that discusses Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities. This absence was initially seen as a limitation in terms of the amount of secondary information that could be obtained, however, Otia was also chosen because of the fact that as researcher I had ready access to Otia, travelling to the area frequently, and having many existing 'contacts'. These advantages compensated in many ways for the absence of written text.

Birdling's Flat was used as a case study because it was determined that, like Otia, the community represented a rather different, or alternative, form of social ordering from what is currently expressed as the 'norm' by the hegemony of coastal planning and development. The legality of the community at Birdling's Flat had, like Taylor's Mistake, been under question, but in terms of the 'value' placed on the coast by its residents, the issues were quite different.

Taylor's Mistake was chosen as a case study because it represented a place that was uncertain in terms of where the boundaries between the public and private sphere were located and how the coast was 'bound'. This is something that seemed to be an important part of how the residents, coastal planners and the surrounding community constructed Taylor's Mistake. More generally, this uncertainty concerning the public/private interface at Taylor's Mistake was interpreted as key to understanding the 'cartographic anxiety' that coastal planners faced in their management of the coast.

Collectively and more generally, the particular combination of communities chosen as case studies was considered useful because my aim is to provide a commentary on the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. In this way, places such as Otia were chosen in combination with Pauanui to highlight the vastly different ways in which coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is constructed according to such issues as race, class and ethnicity. Similarly, the community at Whitianga was

chosen because it could be compared to Pauanui, the latter being a ‘post-Hopper’ development, while the former is a ‘pre-Hopper’ development.

My reason for selecting the particular combination of case studies is not restricted to marking out differences between people and place. I also wanted to compare particular communities, noting similarities. For example, I considered that the community at Otia, as one possible example of an alternative social ordering, could be compared to Birdling’s Flat, as another such example. Similarly, the type of social ordering that is displayed at Whangamata at particular times of the year, could be compared to a similar social ordering at Mount Maunganui.

In total, the seven case studies chosen represent one possible approach to understanding the hegemonic discourses of coastal planning and development, and the impacts of these discourses on coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. While more case studies could have been used, I felt that the kind of detail obtained would have been inadequate in terms of meeting the overall aims of the project. It was for this reason that two locations in the Wellington region (Ngawi and Titahi Bay), initially considered as case studies, were dropped from the final analysis even though a significant amount of information had been collected on these locations and contacts had been made. The possibility of using fewer than seven case studies was considered unsatisfactory in the provision of a broad representation of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

5.8 Conclusion

The aim in this chapter was to bridge a gap between discussions concerning discourse, social order and boundaries, and the chapters that follow which discuss, in some detail, the nature and range of boundaries and the subsequent affect on social order in a number of coastal communities. By giving narratives and vignettes for the communities of Pauanui, Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), Taylor's Mistake, Birdling's Flat, Whitianga, Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, I have set the scene for an analysis of discourse, an analysis that will rely on a range of sources including newspapers, interviews, brochures and academic literature. The narratives that I have provided in this chapter are by no means complete. However, my attempt to convey a sense of place for each of these communities will make my arguments concerning the discourse of coastal planning and development more comprehensive. It is to these arguments that I now turn.

6

HETEROTOPIA



Photo 6.1 Otia (photo by author)

One's guess is that their very individual definition of themselves and their very narrow social divisions left them little protection in an assault from across the beach. It left them subject to piecemeal dominance (Denning, 1980: 160).

The image captured at Otia (the Seaweed Pickers) and Denning's statement made some 20 years ago, together point to issues that I want to address in this chapter. Both forms of 'text' illustrate an alternative social ordering on the coast and

represent a practical expression of heterotopia. Following on from my comments in Chapter Two, where the theoretical development of heterotopia as a concept was introduced, and the previous chapter in which a case study-based ‘context’ for my theoretical statements was provided, here I point to its practical use in describing the places of Otherness that exist within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. These places are Othered through the hegemonic construction of particular types of boundaries, boundaries that serve as a means for strict and calculated ordering. After Hetherington (1997) my use of heterotopia here is not to provide a narrative of marginal (coastal) people and places. More precisely, heterotopia is employed to mean those spaces in which an alternative social ordering is performed. This escapes the danger of setting up a false binary in which a marginal other is considered in isolation from the hegemony of coastal planning and development. Instead, heterotopia accepts that difference, as a source of marginality and resistance, is always implicated in a social ordering of sorts.

The heterotopia of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand introduced here is not a valorisation of coastal margins as sites of resistance, protest and transgression. Rather my ideas about the latter will be connected to the determinants of Otherness. Specifically, the aim is to provide an analysis of the discourse of coastal planning and development in which the construction of boundaries, and the deployment of these boundaries as instruments of exclusion, feature in the (re)production of a coastal heterotopia.

I begin my analysis with a wide ranging selection of examples that have helped form the basis for what I have termed ‘coastal heterotopia’. These examples are drawn from a number of different coastal communities considered to be representative of an alternative social ordering. As discussed in the previous chapter, my commentary on these communities does not take the form of a neatly contained case study analysis as this would lead to an overall classification of coastal people and place that would be misleading. Instead I draw on a number of communities to help inform my theoretical statements on boundaries as instruments of exclusion.

6.1 Coastal heterotopia

This discussion of coastal heterotopia begins with a statement from Jan, a former resident of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers):

I remember my Uncle Johnny doing a head count for the seaweed pickers and saying there were at least 60 whanau [family] living on the coast. When you caught a ride with Uncle Johnny, because he only had a tractor you see, it was a very slow trip and we would have a good yak [discussion] and probably sink a bottle of sherry on the way. There were at least 60 whanau living there and as he would go along he would point out their boundaries. You know, they live there and they live there. He was probably the tohunga [expert].

Jan’s statement indicates the coastal heterotopia I have in mind. She suggests a community’s social ordering that is quite different from those communities that are

(re)produced under the authority of coastal planning and development. Her comment on boundaries is particularly significant because it illustrates that the community is structured according to boundaries set by a collective group of families rather than the design of the mapmaker or surveyor, and the enforcement of these boundaries by coastal planners. When questioned further about how boundaries were maintained during her stay there, Jan replied: “Well, they were there. The posts were still there. As you go around you see posts in the rocks. They were the boundaries of different whanau [family]”.

The posts that Jan refers to relate to the Maori understanding of ‘rohe’ (boundary, sets bounds to, enclose) and the concept of ‘whenua tohetohe’ (boundaries between tribal territories, hapu or whanau). With reference to the latter, Mead (1997: 238) suggests that the boundary between territories is not so much like a surveyed line, but rather like “a band of land which might be likened to a zone of no-man’s [sic.] land”. Mead’s (1997) use of whenua tohetohe, and indeed the boundary narrative derived from the Otia community, illustrates that while boundaries may be employed to structure people and place in coastal heterotopia these boundaries only serve to reinforce the existence of an alternative social ordering in that a degree of liminality surrounds the construction and maintenance of these boundaries. This much was evident when Jan was asked if there were ever any disputes over which whanau owned the land, to which she replied:

It was an issue that we talked about. It would be talked about and then it would be sorted out. It never even got to point of argument. If there were a whole lot of you out picking, some had more right to an area, but usually you knew where you were allowed to go and where you were not. You knew there were spots that belonged to other whanau. And it wasn't your right to go there.

Jan's comment illustrates an alternative social ordering that is typically lost on the *flaneur*¹² that gazes upon the Otia community. Regardless of whether this *flaneur* is a member of a more rigidly defined community, a representative of the planning or development fraternity, or indeed, an academic researcher isolated from the world of the 'researched', communities such as Otia tend to be seen as very different from what neo-liberal societies consider to be the 'norm'. A statement by Alex, a long-time resident of Ahipara (the settlement nearest to Otia) explains:

The people that tend to live within the law and the constraints of a section with survey pegs and so on. They clearly have individual property rights, quite often visibly displayed by their fence. I guess in that Reef Point area [Otia] they tend to be a bit more flexible in what they regard as theirs. There may be more give and take around there, I don't know this for certain, but I would imagine that if a person's boundary was shifted over time by three or four feet, there might not be the same level of dispute. Whereas in the more formal settlements, you would be rather more religious about that because your main

¹² While the term '*flaneur*' has typically featured in descriptions of urban environments (for example, see Arantes, 1996), in earlier work I have employed the term in a discussion of the 'tourist's gaze' within coastal environments (Ryks, 2000).

motive may be the sale of the property. The properties around there, as far as I am aware, will never come up for sale.

Alex's comment regarding communities that tend to live within the law compared to 'unlawful' communities is representative of a powerful collective who wittingly or unwittingly (for example, through the description of what Otia is not) construct places such as Otia as lacking the order of more formal communities. This collective assumes that, because legal boundaries cannot be readily identified, there is little concern for the manner in which coastal space is organised.

Rebecca, a coastal planner in the Waikato region, admitted that the alternative social order of many communities is not usually considered by planners:

With coastal squatter communities, there may be property boundaries on paper, but people will use the area this way or that way regardless of what the plans say. And subsequently what you get is what I call social usage boundaries, which have evolved over a period of time and everybody knows what and where they are. And if a new person joins that community, they soon get to know these boundaries. And these boundaries are usually totally at odds with the boundaries that some planner has in their mind back in some regional or district office.

Comments such as those made above hint at the specific ways in which a coastal heterotopia is (re)produced. Communities such as Otia represent the places of Otherness that Hetherington (1997) identifies. These communities mark out the coast in a way that is different from the accepted norm. That alternate ordering

brands them as Other and allows them to be seen as an example of an alternative way of doing things. In the commentary below I employ a number of interrelated themes to illustrate how this Otherness is enforced and reinforced in coastal heterotopia.

6.1.1 ‘Theydom’

One of the more obvious themes to emerge from interviews conducted with coastal planners throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand that illustrates the ways in which Otherness is constructed is a theme I have entitled ‘theydom’. As discussed in Chapter Three, the term ‘theydom’ is derived from the work of Hartley (1992) who investigates the manner in which the word ‘they’ is employed by dominant members of a community to ‘make foreign’ other members of the same community. Lance, a planning manager based in Christchurch, provides an example of theydom in a comment on the community at Birdling’s Flat:

Birdling’s Flat was a **problem** because **they** owned the land in one big lump and then **they** wanted to split themselves up. **They** had a special act of parliament and a commissioner to do this. That was just the **idiotic** personalities that you end up with. **They** have all **staked out their little encampment out there** [emphasis added].

The statement above serves to highlight the power of theydom. Lance, as a manager carrying with him a particular responsibility for coastal decision-making in the region would ideally be familiar with the socio-spatial construction of

communities such as Birdling's Flat. Yet, due to the fact that the community at Birdling's Flat does not meet Lance's understanding of a typical coastal community, he distances himself from the community through the language he employs. Repetitive use of the word 'they' serves to assure Lance that he is not like 'them'. As shown in the statement above, the power of theydom is most pervasive when coupled with other negative descriptors. In this instance, 'they' is coupled with 'idiotic' and the statement that describes the community as having 'staked out their little encampment out there'. With reference to the latter, the use of 'they', coupled with the terms 'staked', 'encampment' and 'out there', does more to conjure up an image of a group of uncivilised campers in the wilderness rather than offer a description of a well-established coastal community in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is clear that comments such as these serve to reinforce the divide between decision-makers and coastal communities of alternative ordering.

Lance provides another example of the power of theydom in a comment on the bach community at Taylor's Mistake. This time, the theydom that Lance constructs is reinforced with a rather different set of descriptors:

The bach owners are pretty wily and **they** know this, **although as they age**, you wonder how long their commitment to living in **a funny old bach over there** will continue [emphasis added].

In this case the comment that the bach owners are 'pretty wily' comes close to being delivered as a form of praise, however, this part of the sentence is attached

to ‘although as they age’, which gives the impression that members of the community at Taylor’s Mistake will lose their cleverness through the ageing process. The phrase ‘a funny old bach over there’ again reinforces a particular division between the decision-maker’s ideas about ‘normality’ and the coastal communities of alternative ordering that are somewhere ‘out there’.

The boundaries that coastal planners attempt to uphold have a significant bearing on the ways in which ‘theydom’ is expressed. These boundaries act as a point of contact between a dominant ‘us’ and a coastal Other because an alternative ordering is typically not compatible with the rigid coastal boundaries that legal statute demands. The enforcement of these boundaries, in other words, requires engagement with the Other. Indeed, the theydom constructed around many coastal communities (such as Birdling’s Flat, Otia and Taylor’s Mistake) is in part derived from the ‘mismatch’ between the boundaries of coastal decision makers and the alternative ordering of these communities. This mismatch is recognised by Rebecca, a coastal planner for Environment Waikato, when she compares Pauanui and ‘coastal squatter’ communities:

In a place like Pauanui, I think the formal lines of governance tend to blend in better with the vision of the developer, whereas with squatter communities, who may have been there for years, there is no need for that kind of certainty. Perhaps because they are more isolated and these places are harder to get to.

Rebecca's comment is perceptive in the sense that she recognises the different role of coastal planning boundaries in the communities she describes. Nevertheless, she still detaches herself from what she describes as 'coastal squatter' communities in her comment that 'they are more isolated', and the places these communities inhabit are 'harder to get to'.

Another example of how the legal requirement for coastal boundaries influences the manner in which 'theydom' is initially constructed is provided by Greg, a coastal planner for the Northland region. In a comment concerning the Otia community, he states:

People live near the coast because that's where they want to live. And the boundaries are really ancillary to that. I am pretty sure that that is the case with communities at large. So, boundaries - I don't think boundaries are a driving force; boundaries are just something they [the Otia community] need to deal with.

Greg's assertion that coastal decision-making boundaries are 'just something they need to deal with' suggests that he has identified the Otia community as one that is struggling to abide by the particular boundaries that he polices. This is an important statement because it is a practical expression of the manner in which the 'new' boundaries of science (introduced in Chapter Three) become privileged and influential in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. As Greg's statement illustrates, little critical reflection of the suitability of planning boundaries

in the Otia community is shown by planners, nor do they recognise that other social boundaries may exist within the community.

6.1.2 Racial (sub)divisions

A racialised discourse was revealed in a number of interviews conducted with coastal planners. This discourse reflects an important component of social ordering and the construction of Otherness in a coastal heterotopia, a heterotopia very far removed from white, middle-class suburbia. Greg, a coastal planner for Northland Regional Council, is quite blunt about this division in a comment on the coastal communities of the ‘Far North’:

The Far North has got that diversity of fairly well to do coastal communities and those communities that are made up of a higher proportion of Maori and there the associated socio-economic level descends.

This comment stands in stark contrast to Lance’s comment. Lance is a planning manager from Environment Canterbury who, when asked if he thought whether or not any racial divisions existed between Maori and Pakeha on the Canterbury coast, replied:

You walk around Cathedral Square you will see more Jap’s [Japanese] than Maoris. No, um... where do the Maori’s live...? The Maori’s live at... um, what’s the name? There is a settlement on the south side of Lake Ellesmere. They live there [his reference here is to Taumutu].

There are some at Rapaki, but that is just a Maori version of Lyttelton. A few Maoris try and live or camp at the Ashley River bed in white-baiting season. We don't have the Maori population down here compared to up north.

Lance not only rejects the notion of a division between Maori and Pakeha on the coast, but he goes further to dismiss the importance of Maori living on the coast. Conveniently, it seems, this dismissal provides closure because it avoids the possibility of having to deal with racial issues. Furthermore, the gross generalisation that Lance makes in his comments about 'where the Maoris live' is problematic because it constitutes a particular and influential form of theydom that is contingent upon ethnicity.

Lance's comments concerning a Maori coastal population were by no means a peculiarity in the series of interviews conducted. For example, when asked to comment on any possible 'racial issues' at Otia, Alex responds:

There are people that live in these places who do tend to regard the Seaweed Pickers area as their sort of 'back garden' when they go there for weekends. As far as I am aware, they are **not entirely Maori**, there have been people who have inhabited the Tauroa [Otia] zone who tend to be **more white than Maori** and so **there is no clear racial divide** [emphasis added].

This comment on race differs markedly to Lance's remark in which Canterbury's Maori coastal population was dismissed as unimportant because 'they' could not be

readily identified. For Alex, the perceived mixing of ethnicities meant that forming an opinion about racial divisions became problematic. The fact that Alex was not able to identify differences in skin colour meant that, for him, there was “no clear racial divide”.

The comments made above, although not explicitly racist, are a practical example of what Gabriel (1998: 5) has branded a “normative whiteness”, whereby values and aspects of inclusion and exclusion are implicitly racialised. Generalisations about poor Maori and where ‘they’ live serve to reinforce the divide between the predominantly Pakeha male commentators residing in positions of power and privilege, and a ‘minority’. Furthermore, the assertion of non-egalitarian relationships between dominant and dominated ethnic groups can itself be seen as an extension of this normative whiteness (Gabriel, 1998; van Dijk, 1998).

From the interviews conducted more general comments were made in which issues of race were considered to be an underlying feature of an alternative social ordering and illustrative of the ‘territorial basis of racism’ (Johnston, *et al.*, 2000; Kobayashi and Peake, 1994). For instance, Jeff, a coastal consultant from the Waikato region, suggests that factors such as race, wealth and gender:

are really important in terms of how the community is defined. In a lot of those communities, factors such as ethnicity are the defining factor or boundary.

Jeff's comment is interesting not only because it appears to indicate a more sensitive approach to issues of race when compared to the comments cited above, but also because the term 'boundary' is used in a non-planning sense. Implicitly, a reference is made which suggests some recognition of the boundaries which help define a coastal heterotopia. Rebecca, a planner from the same region, shows a similar sensitivity:

There are definite issues in terms of race and the Maori perceptions of managing the coast. The boundaries that we operate on are totally at odds with their view. They very much push the holistic approach as opposed to the Integrated Coastal Zone Management approach under the Resource Management Act.

It is important to note that this 'sensitivity' to issues of race is perhaps a result of the questions being asked. Specifically, it is not possible to rule out that some of the responses made could have been tokenistic or deemed the 'politically correct' answer. It does appear, with the two previous comments at least, that some 'formal' acknowledgment of an alternative social ordering exists, even if it is not accepted.

6.1.3 Educating the Other

The notion of an uneducated coastal dweller, a belief expressed by many of the interviewees, has yielded another prominent theme, one of 'educating the Other'. This theme is based around a series of remarks made by several coastal planners describing the ongoing task of educating particular communities about the rules and

designations of the coast, and the general principles of coastal management. For example, Greg makes the comment:

I think from our point of view it's really just taking the time to, for people who aren't so skilled or financially resourced, to explain why the rules and regulations are there.

The immediate implication of Greg's statement is that those people who **are** skilled and financially resourced do not need an explanation as to why the rules and regulations exist. This slippage is significant because it illustrates a particular perspective that considers a wealthy (and Pakeha) coastal community as one that is law abiding, as opposed to its counterpart. The comment that "from our point of view it's really just taking the time" is also important because it leaves an impression of a compassionate coastal planner, taking time out with the Other in order to teach 'them' something. In this way, the coastal planner takes on quite a new role, one in which an assessment is made about what the Other requires.

The education of the Other is not one that is restricted to specific instances of compliance. It also extends to more general principles of coastal management. For example, in the case of Jeff, a former coastal decision-maker for the Waikato region, matters of sustainability feature prominently in his discussion of the education of 'coastal squatter' communities:

The difficulty is that we don't have the community awareness of what sustainability is. People just do not grasp the sustainability debate. There is a greater understanding now of the need for government to be facilitators and for people at the coal face to bring the community up to speed, helping to structure partnerships that will help in conflicts and move us towards sustainability.

Jeff's comment that "people just do not grasp the sustainability debate" suggests a certain frustration that is derived from his unsuccessful attempts at educating the Other. The statement that there is a need for "people at the coal face to bring people up to speed" gives the impression of a planner busily interacting with the community, a point which is arguable in itself. The notion of "partnerships that will help in conflicts and move us towards sustainability" implies a particular understanding of sustainability as the common ideal, when the opposite may in many instances be true.

By contrast Paul, an academic, suggests that it is up to the residents of coastal communities to be familiar with the rules and regulations of the coast:

I think when the community is feeling threatened by the bureaucracy, it will jump up and down. I guess in these times, the community has to be reasonably smart and sit down and read through the legislation and so on.

The reference made that the community has to be "reasonably smart" and comply with the legal requirements that coastal planners attempt to enforce, illustrates the

planner's desire for a community that is educated and 'strategic'. This is reinforced when Paul states:

My reading of the situation is that those people that are reasonably well educated will present a more forceful argument. It would be very hard for Council to enforce something against the educated community that felt strongly about something. They will find the time to fight it and find the resources to fight it. They can mount really strong opposition in the formal sense. Where the issue is one where those sort of people don't necessarily exist, it's just a case of people ignoring the boundaries.

In this way, a rather problematic association is made between the 'education' of those living on the coast and their ability to understand the boundaries that coastal decision-makers construct and maintain. The idea that a so-called 'educated' coastal community will be able to understand the need for coastal planning boundaries, as opposed to a 'less-educated' coastal community that does not understand this need, reflects the privileging of certain knowledge systems and the devaluing of others. Hegemonic understandings concerning environmental education relegate 'unlike' beliefs and definitions of the coast as less important or false.

Paul was not the only interviewee to connect 'rational' ideas about compliance and education to the 'irrational' beliefs of some coastal populations. Greg, in a comment on the manner in which the Department of Conservation (DOC) should structure their education programmes for the community at Otia, suggests that:

You can't just say 'here are the rules'. That creates a bigger divide. You know, you've got to say 'you're not allowed on this DOC land because this is nature reserve and DOC is just trying to keep this vegetation, or whatever, as nice as possible'. **You've got to aim discussions at their sort of level** [emphasis added].

Greg's statement that "you've got to aim discussions at their sort of level" suggests that he believes that decision-makers need to temper their vocabularies (and themselves) in order to bring conversation down to a level that is comprehensible to the residents of coastal communities.

Again, the prejudices held by those in positions of power, which in this case revolve around a perceived lack of education, relate to a restricted understanding of the boundaries that order the coast. The rejection of different ways of knowing and the failure to acknowledge the alternative social ordering of many coastal communities, including the particular boundaries that these communities operate by, ultimately gives rise to the perceived need to educate the Other.

6.1.4 Consultation and contact

Central to the wide-ranging principles of sustainability referred to above is the idea of consultation; the notion that particular decision-making authorities consult with the public about decisions that may affect 'the community' (Tewder-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998). Within the realm of coastal decision-making and development in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the practicalities of consultation are formalised through

the Resource Management Act, 1991. As I have shown elsewhere (see Ryks, forthcoming), consultation by way of the Act is more often an official requirement rather than representing the initiation of legitimate dialogue between the coastal planner/developer and coastal communities. Jan, with regard to the community at Otia, provides some practical evidence of this when she states:

Consultation is just token anyway. The regional councils and district councils tend to look for a fast-track method, you know, one organisation to deal with Tai Tokerau [a major geographic and tribal region] for example. And that's not possible. And when that happens, when they manage to pull that off, then injustices start to occur. They are looking for the quickest and easiest way under the Resource Management Act to tick off 'consultation'. Where it doesn't agree with them, they tend to redefine the words, like 'kaitiakitanga'. It's almost synonymous with rangatiratanga [sovereignty, freedom]. It's an obligation of being a rangatira [chief], to make sure the resources persist. And they take it apart and just call it guardianship. And yet it has none of the teeth of the taniwha [monster] in it! Which is what should be there!

Jan's comment illustrates the fact that consultation represents an important and, in many cases, controversial point of contact between the ruling authority(s) and the communities that make up a coastal heterotopia. Consultation is often controversial due to the fact that two vastly different groups convene to discuss matters that each consider important. As these groups define the coast in very different ways, the matters of importance raised by each group are frequently in opposition.

Coastal planners and developers define and order the coast according to the boundaries they work with and understand, whereas coastal communities order the coast in a very different way. The contentious nature of the consultation process and the diverging manner in which the coast is defined are clearly illustrated in an example given by Sam, a current resident of the Otia community:

About every five years DOC [Department of Conservation] or Council comes along to fluff our feathers. For example, about two years ago DOC came and did a survey around the coast at Otia [the Seaweed Pickers] to discuss putting a road through in front of our baches. Three weeks later they held a public meeting and then came back with new plans. They were right out of plumb. Some of the baches they had drawn were misplaced and the road in parts went right through the community. The legal road actually goes over the hill but they wanted to change that and make it go along the beach front.

As the examples illustrate, the notion of consultation takes on an entirely different meaning from that which was originally intended. It is one in which the kind of applied consultation carried out as a requirement of the Resource Management Act has the very opposite effect of what it ideally aims to produce. Under the pretext of the sustainability debate, consultation is intended to offer a voice to the community. However, due to the tokenistic manner in which consultation is ‘administered’ by coastal planners and developers, the community’s voice goes unheard and divisions are reinforced through consultation being the medium for contact and therefore, visible difference.

6.1.5 Murder, mess and abjection

Initially, it may seem unusual that in the series of interviews conducted, comments about intimidation, life threatening experiences and murder would feature in the portrayal of particular coastal communities. This has been the case, however, in the description provided by planners, developers and residents of more ‘formal’ communities in relation to the communities at Birdling’s Flat, Taylor’s Mistake and Otia. It appears that the divisions between the dominant and the Other are so deeply entrenched that the Other is constructed as something to be feared. In a human geographical sense, the fear of the Other has been documented by Valentine (1989, 1998) who comments on the manner in which concerns about sexual identity and difference can lead to geographies of fear and harassment. In relation to the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, a practical example of the fear of the Other is provided by Jeff, a former coastal decision-maker for Environment Waikato, who states:

In a wealthy community you can walk on a public beach and no one would try and stop you. I suspect that with squatter communities you would be taking your life in your hands at certain times of the year. They would see that as their space.

Jeff’s comments reflect a certain personal prejudice because he is passing judgment based on his own experiences as a middle-class Pakeha male familiar with middle-class Pakeha male-dominated coastal communities. The comment that “with coastal

squatter communities you would be taking your life into your hands at certain times of the year” represents a particular manner in which Otherness is constructed. Hypothetically, it is unlikely that a Maori woman would use a similar set of descriptors if asked to comment about public beach access in a predominantly Pakeha coastal community. Indeed, a comment made by Paul when presented with a similar kind of hypothetical example shows that a fear of the Other is not something that is restricted to coastal planners:

I’m not going to walk up to a bunch of guys who look like they are from the ‘Epitaph Riders’ or ‘Black Power’ [motorcycle ‘gangs’] or whatever and tell them you shouldn’t be walking through there. I would probably call up the local council and report it to them.

In this way, the construction of Otherness carries with it a double-edged sword. Not only do those individuals in a position of power and privilege fear the Other when they enter the Other’s domain, but also when the Other enters their own community. In this particular example, Otherness is reinforced through the dubious association made between coastal communities and motorcycle gang members. This association is made even more powerful through the comment that, if confronted with the Other, “I would probably call up the local council and report it to them”.

The language used in the examples provided suggests that the fear of the Other is partly constituted through the notion that the Other is not law-abiding. Failure to comply with the decision-makers’ definition of the coast determines the Other as

criminal. This is seemingly enough motivation for the use of terms such as ‘murder’. In reference to the Otia community Alex suggests:

There is a very strong issue that lies in this area. There are quasi-squatter settlements where people have built houses without permits out of all sorts of materials. They are within view of passers-by. They are in fact, eyesores and the council, generally the Far North District Council, has done nothing about policing those activities. There does tend to be inconsistency in that if a **normal householder** did the same thing, they would be severely reprimanded for it. And **this sector** does tend to get away with **absolute murder** [emphasis added].

Alex’s comment shows a particular frustration determined by the perceived failure of the Other to comply with the rules to which he is agreeable to. This appears to be the basis for his metaphorical use of the term ‘murder’ and the questioning of the Other’s normality in the comment that “if a normal householder did the same thing”. Even more significant is the comment that “they are eyesores”. It is difficult to ascertain as to whether or not the reference here is to the dwellings or to the residents of Otia. However, when I questioned Jan about what she thought the local council’s attitude was to the Otia community, she replied:

That we were an eyesore. The Council’s attitude to the Seaweed Pickers [Otia] was that we were an eyesore. We couldn’t get building permits. So what we would do is put up a tent and then we would build inside the tent. Inside the tent would be a permanent structure but the tent sat over the outside.

The use of the term ‘eyesore’ in two separate interviews, both in relation to Otia, and both having regard to the same issues, is possibly more than just coincidence, especially when considered in combination with other similarly versed responses from interviewees. It suggests that the term is a relatively common descriptor for people and/or place in the region and, more generally, reflects the kinds of opinions held by privileged and dominant members of a coastal society.

The use of terms such as ‘eyesore’ to describe particular communities living on Aotearoa/New Zealand’s coast can be coupled with the notion of abjection introduced in Chapter Three. In this instance, the notion that a community can be a ‘blot on the landscape’, ‘mess’ or ‘blemish’ (just a few of the many synonyms for ‘eyesore’) suggests that an important aspect of the construction of Otherness is the consideration of the Other as abject and as ‘matter out of place’. This line of reasoning is supported through a comment by Lance, a planning manager for Environment Canterbury, who states:

I was planning officer for the Bay of Islands county in the late '70s so I do know what goes on! I knew of a place in the '70s, up north, and it was worth a quarter of a million dollars and it had its own cool-store for beer! And then, just around the corner you would have Maoris living in shacks. Literally in shacks! With dirt floors!

The portrayal of predominantly Maori coastal communities living in shacks with dirt floors, made by someone in Lance’s position of power, provides some practical

evidence of how an abject coastal Other is (re)constructed. Ideas about dirt and cleanliness are derived from place and connected to the subject.

As disturbing as Lance's statement might be, the portrayal of an 'abject' coastal Other did not come as a surprise during the interview process. More surprising were the interviewees' responses in which 'cause and effect' associations were made between an abject coastal Other and the 'messy' coastal environment that the Other is considered to typically inhabit. Lance, for example, went on to comment that:

Although New Brighton is changing, it is probably still a low socio-economic area. I don't know why it has occurred like that. The coast out there can get a bit grotty, it's not exactly the Coca Cabaña [he laughs] so that could be why.

The fact that Lance connects the social status of a coastal community to the 'physical' characteristics of the Christchurch coast is important, because aspects of his response have much in common with the comments of other interviewees. Commonality exists to the extent that many interviewees couple a messy, ill-defined coast with the construction of Otherness. Paul, for example, in response to a question concerning the lifestyle of the community at Birdling's Flat suggests: "I think I have a bit of a distaste for these lifestyle issues on the shoreline, they have always been messy". Similarly Greg, in a general comment about Northland's coastal communities, states:

Obviously we would pride ourselves on the quality of our East Coast in particular because of its clean waters and it's really nice and warm up this way. As opposed to the rough West Coast. But yeah, we do have the two coasts. There is quite a bit of difference between them. Many harbours on the East coast as well. A sheltered environment which has, as a result, quite a number of coastal settlements as opposed to the rugged West coast which is enjoyed by the Maori population that lives there, but is not very good quality. Uh, not as much as on the East Coast.

Again, the interviewee's motivation for making associations between "a rugged West Coast", "the Maori population", and the phrase "not very good quality", is unclear. One can surmise however, that the manifestation of these comments are instrumental to what is emerging as a particular off-shoot of the discourse of coastal planning and development, where 'dirty and poor quality coasts' are considered the domain of 'dirty and poor quality people'.

6.1.6 Resistance and place attachment

So far in this analysis I have engaged with the many different ways in which a coastal heterotopia is marked out and Otherness is defined. This engagement would not be complete, however, without some discussion of the acts of resistance that take place in reply to the hegemonic discourses of coastal planning and development. Resistance is fundamental to an alternative social ordering and the construction of Otherness. First, it represents an important moment in which the Other attempts to underline 'their' own identity and second, the dominant group's

attitude to resistance is one which sees difference being reinforced because resistance is seen as questioning authority. An example of the latter is provided by Paul. When I asked Paul if issues of wealth, poverty and race are in any way linked to the resistance offered by particular coastal communities he replied:

I think whether it's Pakeha or Maori is more an excuse. It's more a case of educating. Educated Maori will fight it more vigorously than non-educated non-Maori. Non-educated Pakeha, Maori, Asian or whatever will offer only passive action, because they don't have the skills to fight it. They don't have the understanding of the formal world.

The tendency for Paul to immediately focus on issues of education in relation to race when questioned on aspects of resistance, reflects the preconceived notion that the level of resistance is determined by the education of the Other. The less obvious, but nevertheless important, prejudice embedded in the response is that issues of race are again denied with the comment that race has nothing to do with resistance. These comments say much about Paul's clearly neo-liberal position because they assume a particular belief in the virtues of education and that all members of society share a 'level playing field'.

Paul's comments appear in stark contrast to Johnny, an elder of the predominantly Maori Otia community, who suggests that race is a crucial aspect of resistance in his statement that "we [the Otia community] will fight the local council with our wahas [voices] and our heritage. As for our kids, it is their time to fight for the

same. For keeping it the way it is”. Jan offers a similar perspective in her comment about the boundaries that the local council is attempting to enforce for the Otia community:

We had occasionally been given maps, but actually, on the whole, they just ignored us. So we had a very staunch belief that we had no right to be moved from those places. The council can do and say what it fucking well likes, it is our customary right to stay there.

Jan’s comment not only illustrates that race is a very important part of the resistance offered by those communities that define a coastal heterotopia, but again demonstrates the complex ways in which boundaries of the dominant feature in the social construction of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s coast. In this case, the mapped boundaries that the local council is attempting to enforce, contrast strongly with the Otia community, who define and map the coast according to entirely different criteria. The Otia community places emphasis on cultural heritage and an attachment to place. As Johnny, an elder of the Otia community suggests, the coast is defined “in terms of how significant it is to us”. Significance in this instance is based around the historical arrival of the waka [canoe] named Tinana to the area. The waka’s arrival formed the basis for establishing the community and the naming of the area. ‘Otia’ for example, is the name given to the bay where the waka arrived for repair and can be defined as ‘completion of the waka’. The name ‘Tauroa’ is significant because it is regarded as the landing place of the waka and represents the long wait for its repair.

6.2 Conclusion

The analysis of an alternative social ordering provided in this chapter has centred on individual, but nevertheless, related themes. Each theme represents a particular way in which an alternative social ordering is expressed. I have focused on how Otherness is constituted in a coastal heterotopia and the manner in which particular boundaries feature in the definition of an alternative social ordering.

From the analysis it is clear that the individuals in coastal communities such as Taylor's Mistake, Birdling's Flat and Otia mark out and define the coast in ways that are quite different from the accepted 'norm', a fact that reinforces their status as Other. This alternative social ordering is typically not conducive to the rigid coastal boundaries that legal statutes demand and subsequently, is lost on the *flaneur* who, instead, considers these types of communities to be 'lacking in order'.

The perceived lack of order of the communities that form the basis for my coastal heterotopia and that give rise to the construction of Otherness, gravitate around issues of 'theydom', race, a perceived lack of education, resistance, and abjection. Specifically, the term 'they' is used to distance a dominant 'wedom' from the Other and is made more powerful when combined with other negative descriptors for the Other. Denials of racial divisions on the coast were also apparent, as were generalisations about 'where the Maoris live'. The notion of an uneducated coastal dweller was also revealed in the analysis, the outcome being that those in a position of power and privilege consider it necessary to provide diagnoses about what the

Other requires, an education about the boundaries that control the coast. The perceived lack of education reflects the devaluing of other knowledge systems and alternative definitions of the coast.

Comments about intimidation, mess and murder featured to varying degrees in the portrayal of certain coastal communities. This represents a fear of the Other and the construction of the Other as ‘criminal’. Perhaps even more significant were the comments that connected the state of the environment to the ‘status’ of the people who lived there. The remark made that a grotty coast is a determinant of the socio-economic status of a community suggests that coastal planners and developers take ideas about dirt and cleanliness, ideas that are derived from place, and connect them to the subject. The outcome of this connection is a discourse that talks about ‘dirty coasts’ as being the domain for ‘dirty people’.

7

TRANSITIONS: coasts in-between



Photo 7.1 Whitianga Waterways (photo by author)

The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place ... but it is also a heterotopia as the mirror exists in reality, where it exerts a counteraction on the position that I occupy (Foucault, 1986: 24).

There is seemingly little connection between Foucault's statement and the image depicting the early construction phases of Whitianga Waterways, the latest Hopper

Development funded project changing the shape of the Coromandel town of Whitianga. However, my use of Foucault here is very much analogous. Foucault's writings concerning the mirror provide the means for introducing a type of social ordering that reflects elements of the heterotopia described in Chapter Six, as well as reflecting features of the utopian and Euclidean coasts that I introduce in Chapter Eight. This is a social ordering that is typified by coastal communities that are caught up in some form of social transformation. On the one hand, these communities stand for a social ordering characterised by counteraction while, on the other hand, they represent a much more rigid and formal social ordering intimately connected to dealings of power and wealth. Their status as neither, however, means they are marked out as communities in transition. While 'transition' is a term that has been rendered somewhat unfashionable through its use as a descriptor for a move toward regional, economic and political 'development' (for example, see Amin, 1994; Clark, 1995; Gugler, 1997), for the purposes of this study I use transition as a way of commenting on a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place.

In this chapter I argue that this transition metaphorically and literally 'takes place' in a number of ways. Through the use of case material, for example, I contend that Whitianga is a coastal community caught up in the midst of radical redevelopment. The transitory process taking place is one whereby the introduction of new subdivisions and the widely marketed 'Whitianga Waterways' is forcing the transformation of Whitianga from what was once predominantly a port and bach

community into an exclusive domain for wealthy holiday-goers typically from Auckland and Hamilton. In this sense, the term ‘transition’ is still linked to the processes of development, but in a much more critical, socio-theoretical way (Massey and Allen, 1988; Pais, 2000; Soares, 2000).

The social order of coastal communities forced into transition through development is not the only kind of social transformation that I track in this chapter. Other examples include those communities that are entangled in aspects of both the private and public realms and can be considered transitory due to a change from the former to the latter (or vice-versa; see for example Mitchell, 1995, 1996). This change in status also represents a shift in the social order of people in relation to place. The bach community of Taylor’s Mistake is one such example. Where Taylor’s Mistake was considered as a community of alternative ordering in the previous chapter, it is also transitory in the sense that the private ownership of baches on public land is something that is clearly under threat (see section 7.2.1). Pressure from government and development suggests that these bach communities will eventually be made to surrender private ownership of their dwellings into the public domain. Communities such as Taylor’s Mistake, therefore, do not necessarily fit neatly into the chapter classifications that I have imposed on them, nor do they need to. Such is the (de)evolutionary nature of communities such as Taylor’s Mistake that particular characteristics of heterotopias, utopias and the spaces in-between will always, in some way, feature in the social construction of these communities.

Other forms of transition are also explored in this chapter. For instance, the transition of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities can be of a temporary nature. In the second half of this chapter I explore the holiday destinations of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui. Their status as New Year holiday destinations determines their radical, albeit short-lived, transformation into places of 'revelry' through the arrival of youth. Informed by studies in youth culture (see Bennett, 2000; Epstein, 1998; McRobbie, 2000; Massey, 1997; Pais, 2000; Skelton and Valentine, 1997; Soares, 2000), I examine the manner in which social order can be disrupted as young people "leap geographical scales in the search for influences and references to tap into" (Massey, 1997: 122).

Whangamata, for instance, experiences a social transformation by which its population of approximately 5,000 residents multiplies over the New Year holiday period to as much as 50,000 (*The Evening Post*, 1.1.02). While this increase in population is temporary, the impact on Whangamata's identity is not. As a community, Whangamata is continually seeking to attain some kind of balance between its traditional post as a small fishing and retirement settlement and its temporary role as a place for party-goers and revellers.

As with Chapter Six, the case material that I draw on throughout this chapter is by no means an attempt at a complete analysis of any one given settlement or community. Rather, my aim is to connect ideas about social order and the in-betweenness of place, to a mapping of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal places in

transition. While many coastal communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand display different degrees and forms of transition, I consider the examples I provide are exemplars of an ‘in-between’ social ordering. Again, the boundaries of planning and development have a fundamental role in the (sometimes radical) transformation of coastal places.

I begin my commentary by examining the manner in which communities have become transitory by way of development. Following this, I explore the ways in which a transitory social order can be determined and dominated by coastal planning issues. Finally, I investigate a particular social ordering of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand in which the temporary movement of youth through coastal places appears in strong contrast to cases of more permanent residency.

7.1 Transition through development

One of the ways in which coastal communities can be seen as reflecting aspects of the social ordering displayed within both heterotopia and utopia, is through change brought on by the pressures of coastal development. This is often the most radical manner in which communities are thrown into transition, as large-scale coastal development brings about immediate change in terms of the mobility of people. The introduction of new large-scale coastal subdivisions into an existing community can, for example, result in the developer’s vision and values becoming imprinted on place. This can often be contrary to the desires of existing residents and may result in the migration of some members of the community to other locations. Examples

of coastal communities in transition through large-scale development include Whitianga, Cooks Beach and Kuaotunu on the Coromandel Peninsula, Papamoa in the Bay of Plenty, and Kaiteriteri in the Nelson Bays district.

For many coastal communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the development of the coast takes the form of accessible and desirable sections of the coast being targeted and subsequently sold as exclusive beach-front property. Where this is no longer possible, developers have turned their attention to constructing ‘new’ coasts according to their own ideas about exclusivity and ‘coastal utopia’ (see Chapter Eight). Such has been the case with the Coromandel township of Whitianga. Formerly recognised as a fishing and bach community, Whitianga is now receiving attention for a coastal development venture known as ‘Whitianga Waterways’. This project, which is the brainchild of Hopper Developments (the development company responsible for ‘Pauanui Waterways’), involves the construction of some 1500 sections and for prospective buyers includes “options such as canal frontage, airfield frontage, and a marina” (Hopper Developments Ltd, 2001). The project, which has recently passed through the planning consent process in the face of stiff public opposition (which I expand on below), will take some 20 years to complete.

The development of Whitianga Waterways is on such a scale that by the time all sections are sold, Whitianga’s population could effectively double. The rate of growth will depend on the number of new dwellings that will be permanently occupied. The introduction of a development of this nature and scale determines

Whitianga's current status as a community that is very much in transition. Where in the past so-called 'ad hoc' planning and development determined Whitianga's 'laid-back' character, future development will bring sharply defined coastlines and exclusive coastal spaces designated according to monetary value. According to one advertisement for the development project:

The Waterways will have several distinct zones including un-restricted and restricted canals, higher density housing, a small retail zone, standard residential and an airport zone where owners with aircraft will be able to fly in and park their aircraft in their own hangar/garage (Source: *Whitianga Waterways: time and tide wait for no man*, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd).

The ability of the future residents of Whitianga to fly in and park their aircraft in their own hangar or garage seems far removed from the vast majority of Whitianga's port and bach populace. It calls for a very different kind of social ordering. However, by definition that is exactly what these types of coastal communities will experience by way of a transition through development. Development brings with it a new set of rules about how coastal people and places interact. It also dictates the kind of demographic that is able to inhabit the newly developed coast, as determined by such mediums as price. Figure 7.1 reveals the developer's design map indicating the extent of the development adjacent to the existing township of Whitianga and demonstrates not only the scale of the project, but also the transitory nature of a coastal community, displaying signs of some former social ordering and a newly emerging social order.

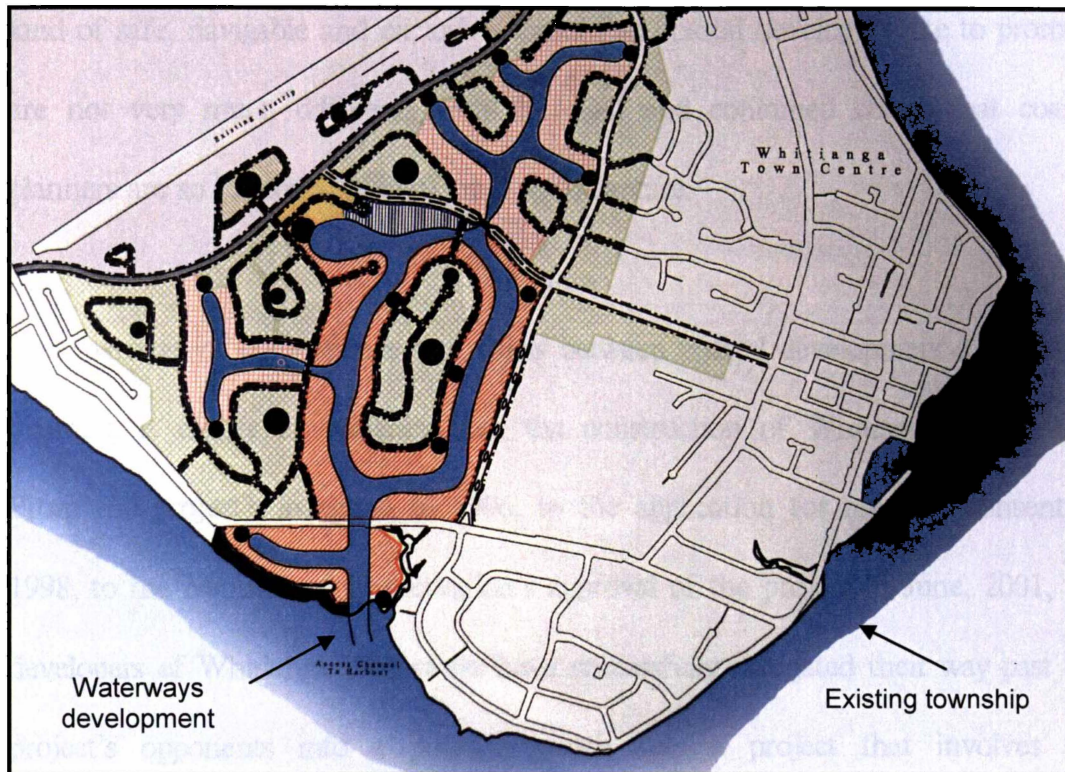


Figure 7.1 Whitianga Waterways

(Source: *Whitianga Waterways*. Brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd)

The changing design of Whitianga is undeniably driven by the funds and resources of new developers buying into the community. However, the coastal planning community (principally local and regional councils) has, in many ways, a similar influence on the design and construction of ‘new’ coasts by dictating the terms of new coastal development. In many cases the objectives of developers and planners overlap. Often the rigidly defined coasts that are the product of development are very much ‘in line’ with the boundaries that planning authorities operate by. The boundary that separates private property from the public domain, for example, is much more identifiable when considered against the backdrop of the canal walls of

Pauanui Waterways than against the beach environment of Taylor's Mistake. The kind of safe, navigable and exclusive coasts that coastal developers like to promote are not very much different from the rigid and contained coasts that coastal planners are so (cartographically) anxious to capture.

The marriage of convenience that exists between coastal development and coastal planning is clearly in evidence with the construction of Whitianga Waterways. From the project's inception in 1996, to the application for resource consent in 1998, to the Minister of Conservation's approval of the project in June, 2001, the developers of Whitianga Waterways have successfully navigated their way past the project's opponents into a position which sees a project that involves the reconstruction of an entire town passing through the legislative process in around four years. Resource consent approval ran in the face of opposition that put forward some 90 submissions against the development of Whitianga Waterways (26 submissions were made in approval of the project). The nature of the opposition to the project ranged from calls for outright rejection of the scheme, to concerns regarding the rerouting of a major highway, to misgivings about the design of the Waterways themselves.

The change in the social ordering of Whitianga that comes as a result of development pressure and planning approval for the Waterways project is already very much in evidence. As Rebecca, a coastal planner for Environment Waikato admits:

Whitianga is an excellent example of a community caught in between as it is going through a massive redevelopment phase. If you look at photos of that community or talk to people that were there 20 years ago, there would be a predominance of the traditional New Zealand bach. There would be just a few shops. There would be few access strips. It would still be a very basic community. Whereas if you take it now, a lot of those baches have gone. There are multi-million dollar homes. The infrastructure has improved. The roads are wider. There is more curb channelling, more parking. More public access to the beach. More hinterland being developed back into the main catchments. And I believe that Whitianga is on that turning point. And it is marked by socio-economic differences in that there are people who have lived there longer who are working class/middle class people and then there is a newer sub-community with a greater share of the wealth.

The introduction of a new 'sub-community' with a greater share of the wealth marks out Whitianga as a coastal community in the first stages of transition, that is, it is undoubtedly seeing a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place. Slowly, the working and middle class people that Rebecca mentions will be displaced according to market principles and/or through a desire to relocate elsewhere. In the interim, however, Whitianga exists as a community concomitantly reflecting images of its working class past and its white collar future (see Photo 7.2).

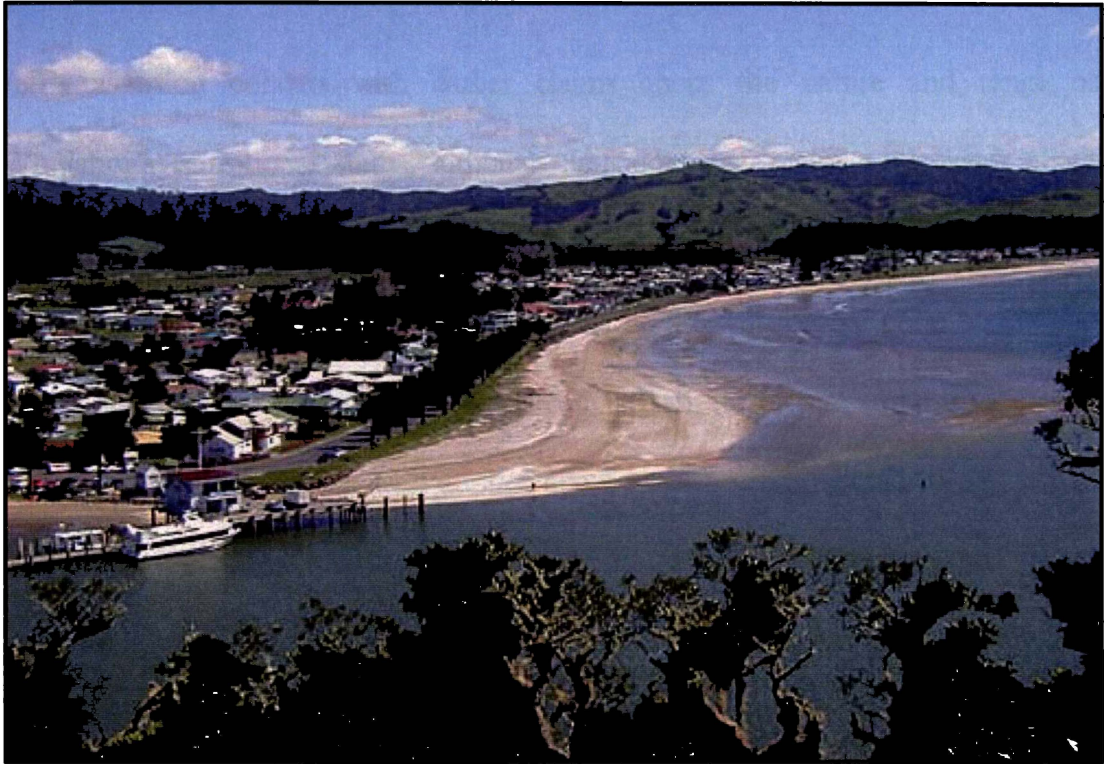


Photo 7.2 Whitianga township (photo by author)

Jeff, a coastal consultant (and former decision-maker), also recognises Whitianga's changing status and the impact of development on coastal people's mobility.

It's one of those towns in transition. It's gone from one of those older Coromandel settlements going back to the kauri milling days when it was quite a significant port in its own time. Now it's heading, like most Coromandel settlements into a place where people buy real estate for investment, buy holiday homes/resorts. A more complex community that is similar to Cooks Beach and Pauanui. It is transitional in the sense that it has a mix of permanent residents from more traditional backgrounds versus newer residents with holiday homes as investments. Whitianga has historically at least, been much more vital than some of the other coastal resort communities.

Jeff's assertion concurs with earlier claims about the nature and range of Whitianga's transitional status, although Jeff does not connect his ideas about Whitianga's change to the power of development and the authority of government. Ultimately, this change, which is one that will be brought to bear upon people and place and includes the doubling of an already significant coastal population, can be traced to a single developer with an idea about how the coast should be defined. In this way, Whitianga reveals much about the effects of discourse on coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand and is clearly archetypal of a community thrown into transition by development.

7.2 Transition through planning

The previous section has shown that coastal communities thrown into transition are an important feature on Aotearoa/New Zealand's land/seascape. The commentary given on those communities that are made 'transitory through development' reveals a radical means by which the social ordering of people in relation to place is altered. In the following section, however, I give a different account of coastal places 'in-between' by commenting on those coastal communities that are rendered transitory through the coastal planning regime. While not always bringing with them the radical change of development, the types of transition brought on by planning are important determinants of social order on the coast. Furthermore, 'transition through planning' commands more than ever, a reliance on the new boundaries of science introduced in Chapter Three. This is

because the central tenets of ‘integrated’ coastal management require accurate definition of the zones of the coastal environment and the ability to locate, map and outline manageable units.

7.2.1 Taylor’s Mistake: mistaken identity

Taylor’s Mistake is one of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s exemplary sites in terms of a coastal community that has been placed in a state of transition through the mandate of coastal planning. In this section, I focus exclusively on this community because it illustrates the extensive and sometimes extraordinary influence of central, regional and local government on the social ordering of coastal communities:

A traditional bach community, Taylor’s Mistake has been described as a “pueblo of baches let into volcanic rock just high enough to escape the sea in a storm” (Ansley, 2002: 18). However, the area known as Taylor’s Mistake Bay encompasses more than that. It refers to the smaller (sometimes uncharted) bach communities located alongside inlets such as Boulder Bay to the east and Hobson’s Bay to the west (see Photos 7.3, 7.4), as well as the bach community that straddles the sandy beach area, otherwise known as ‘Rotten Row’ (the baches most under threat from local and regional councils, see Photo 7.5). The Taylor’s Mistake bach community is one with a long history of dispute between bach owners and the local and regional authorities (namely Christchurch City Council and Environment Canterbury). According to Hill (1988), this dispute may be traced back to 1911, some 20 years after the first dwellings were constructed in the area. The dispute

has, over a significant period of time, taken many complex turns, but the main issues that have persisted hinge on disagreement concerning the legality of certain dwellings in relation to the local and regional authorities' understanding of the Queen's Chain and the requirement for esplanade reserve. On one hand, bach owners are claiming traditional ownership of the area along such lines as length of occupancy and family history, while on the other hand, local and regional authorities take issue with the 'illegal' location of the baches in relation to the 'zones' they are responsible for policing (such as coastal hazard zones). These zones are based on boundaries such as MHWS, which serve to delineate public and private property.



Photo 7.3 Taylor's Mistake (Hobson's Bay). Photo by author



Photo 7.4 Taylor's Mistake (Hobson's Bay). Photo by author



Photo 7.5 Taylor's Mistake ('Rotten Row'). Photo by author

The transitory status of Taylor's Mistake as a bach community comes by way of a tension between public and private interests. In some cases, dispute over ownership and 'private encroachment' dates back to a period where bach holders paid 'annual licence fees' to the then Sumner Borough Council for permission to occupy the area (Hill, 1988; Public Access New Zealand, 1994). Over time, the Taylor's Mistake bach community has slowly taken on a different shape, the social order of the community altered by the decisions of various local and regional authorities over time.

Of the decisions made by these authorities, perhaps the most significant development occurred on November 27, 1979, when Christchurch City Council made the decision to burn the first of ten Taylor's Mistake baches, which it considered illegal because of their derelict status and the absence of basic services such as electricity (Hill, 1988; Ansley, 2002). This was despite the fact that these dwellings were still in frequent use. Since then a heated battle concerning public and private interests has been drawn out (for a somewhat one-sided history, in favour of the proposed demolition of the dwellings at Taylor's Mistake, see Public Access New Zealand, 1994). Negotiations have been made among concerned parties, including the Taylor's Mistake Rate-payers Association, Christchurch City Council and Environment Canterbury, regarding the usefulness of a defined 'bach zone' where existing baches could be relocated to. This matter was challenged by various groups, including the Department of Conservation, Royal Forest and Bird

Protection Society of New Zealand and Save the Bay Limited, who wished to see sections of the Taylor's Mistake Bay (Boulder Bay) area converted into a penguin colony (Ansley, 2002).

The dispute between the parties described above has only recently been resolved in the Environment Court, resulting in the creation of a cartographically-defined Taylor's Mistake Bach Zone for the dwellings located at 'Rotten Row'. The ruling of the Environment Court stated that the dwellings were themselves a 'physical resource' that needed to be sustained. Somewhat paradoxically, however, the Court also ruled that the purpose of the Taylor's Mistake Bach Zone was to prevent the construction of new baches and ensure the eventual removal of existing dwellings (see *Save the Bay Ltd; Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand vs. Christchurch City Council; Taylor's Mistake Association Inc; Canterbury Regional Council*, 2.5.2002).

The long-running dispute that has fuelled such heated debate among concerned parties is, in many ways, typical of a community in transition. Taylor's Mistake is a classic example of a community that is 'in-between'. Division over its future has meant that during the long course of its transition Taylor's Mistake reflects images of both its former past and of the shape of the community in years to come. Transition comes by way of the slow transformation and transfer of private dwellings into the public domain. The impact of transformation on the social ordering of the Taylor's Mistake bach dwellers is significant. Bach owners are

gradually being disciplined and displaced by way of the exclusionary practices of coastal planning authorities, rationalised according to arguments concerning conservation, the loss of natural character, the disregard of the public interest and concern over coastal hazards. Furthermore, coastal decision makers consider that continued survival of the bach community would set a dangerous legal precedent, having implications for other bach communities within Aotearoa/New Zealand. This view is clearly in stark contrast to those who value the iconic status of the bach and its place in Aotearoa/New Zealand's land/seascape (see Male, 2001; McCarthy, 1998; Thompson, 1985).

A shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place is much more gradual at Taylor's Mistake than at Whitianga, but such a shift is in evidence nevertheless. Over time, both permanent residents and holiday home owners have experienced pressure from coastal planners to lose their dwellings and relocate elsewhere (sometimes successfully), or at least to re-evaluate and think about the boundaries by which they are governed. This gradual shift in social order appears very different to other coasts experiencing a more accelerated transition, as I illustrate with the examples of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui below.

7.3 People and places 'in transit'

Less recognisable sites of transition are those sites that are constructed outside the direct reach of coastal planning and/or development. These are sites that tell of coastal communities undergoing transition that is in some way external to the

hegemony that rules over the greater part of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Transition, in terms of a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place, is driven by a rather different set of determinants. These determinants hinge on such factors as location, age, gender and time. More obvious examples of the changes to social order I have in mind include the short-lived transition exhibited by the coastal communities of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui during the New Year holiday period (see the following section). Less obvious examples include the kind of ‘micro-transition’ occurring in many coastal communities, a transition that often goes unnoticed. For example, while the overall social ordering of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers) is very much representative of a coastal heterotopia (as shown in Chapter Six), during a period in the late 1970s the social ordering of the community underwent significant change through the steady arrival of a number of Maori women seeking refuge from abusive husbands. An interview conducted with Jan, a former resident of Otia (the Seaweed Pickers), revealed that the migration of Maori women to isolated localities within coastal Northland was not uncommon during this period. In the case of Otia, the transition that took place was significant because it reordered the entire community and temporarily reflected images of both Otia’s past and the shape of the community in years to come.

7.3.1 Whangamata/Mount Maunganui: transition through the culture of youth

The coastal communities of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui occupy an important, yet largely undocumented role in the social ordering of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Both communities for most part of the year may be

understood as ‘typical’ east coast, North Island, holiday and semi-retirement destinations, but during the New Year holiday period, both communities experience a radical, albeit temporary, transformation into places of spectacle on a scale that is unprecedented in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The community of Whangamata, in particular, is thrown into transition as 50,000 ‘revellers’ enter the otherwise ‘sleepy’ community of 5,000 (*The Evening Post*, 1.1.02; Statistics New Zealand, 2002b). This increase in population is for the most part determined by the arrival of party-going youths who consider Whangamata ‘hallowed ground’ for its reputation as a place of riot, party, drunkenness, drugs and sexual encounter. As Soares (2000: 211) has shown, the term youth is a slippery concept because it:

does not depend on actual physiological development so much as on cultural factors which vary from society to society and from age to age, each in its own way imposing an order and meaning which seems transitory and even disordered and chaotic. Such a ‘time of life’ cannot be clearly defined either by population statistics or by legal definition.

This is certainly the case at Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, where comments made regarding youth are problematical when loosely worded because individuals from a diverse range of backgrounds meet at these places for shared celebration. As one newspaper reported in an article entitled ‘Revolting Revelry’, the New Year period at Whangamata is for those “young people who see Whangamata as a rite of passage” (*The Evening Post*, 28.6.99). While perhaps not all youth may view Whangamata in this way, Whangamata has undoubtedly become a place of rituals

and codes, where particular individuals get “a feeling of identity and/or sense of belonging, the former by providing the possibility of participatory action and the latter by modifying their behaviour” (Soares, 2000: 213).

Mount Maunganui has earned a similar reputation as a destination for youth and, according to one newspaper

The Mount, as the traditional haunt of every bogun [white, working-class youth noted for certain styles, fashions and speech] from Kaitaia to the Black Stump, has witnessed the coming of age of many youngsters over its summer months (*The Waikato Times*, 29.12.97).

As with Whangamata, the sheer number of individuals entering Mount Maunganui is significant, with some 20,000 young people descending on the settlement during New Year’s Eve alone (*The Waikato Times*, 3.11.99). In a similar fashion to Whangamata, Mount Maunganui has earned itself a reputation for the ‘carnival of youth’, a place where disorder is the norm and is constructed through such channels as alcohol, drugs and sex.

7.3.1.1 Heterotopias of deviation or exaggerated normality?

The coastal communities of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui are examples of very complex sites of transition. Both sites reflect images of a conventional social ordering countered by a somewhat alternative or at least ‘unconventional’ social ordering. The in-betweenness that Whangamata and Mount Maunganui face, and

the continual need to resolve some kind of identity, marks them out as transitory. Furthermore, the nature of this alternative or unconventional social ordering complicates the matter of transition. This social ordering is really the basis for Whangamata's and Mount Maunganui's transitory state and could be interpreted as characteristic of Foucault's 'heterotopias of deviation' - an alternative social ordering characterised by individuals "whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm" (Foucault, 1986: 25). However, the youth culture on show at Whangamata and Mount Maunganui over the New Year period is perhaps better explained as an exaggeration of normality, rather than deviant behaviour¹³, in that the actions and behaviour of youth are an amplified version of the behaviour that would otherwise be on display at any other given time or place. Similarly, the response to the behaviour and actions of youth at communities such as Whangamata and Mount Maunganui takes on the form of exaggerated curtailment. The exaggerated social order (or disorder) of youth at particular coastal destinations has invoked heated response. As one emotive reporter comments

This is the day [New Year] when wild, drink-befuddled gangs of youth go on the rampage. The day when Whangamata is raised, or lowered, to the status of Sarajevo (*Sunday Star Times*, 31.12.95).

¹³ In much social theory, deviancy is theorised as behaviour that is in formal violation of norms, or a negative derivation from what is customary. In this way, deviancy is often linked to the process of Othering in discussions of those who do not fit in with dominant norms (see Goode, 1984; Sibley, 1992; Terry and Urla, 1995; Thio, 1998; Thio and Calhoun, 1995). The actions of youth at places such as Whangamata and Mt Maunganui should not, therefore, be regarded as deviant and Other, but seen as an example of a somewhat immature, conventional social ordering. As I illustrate, the matter is complicated somewhat by the media constructing the actions of youth at these coastal destinations as deviant.

The behaviour of youth in Whangamata over the New Year period is certainly far removed from what the media considers the norm. In many cases, this detachment from normality is considered quite deliberate, as one journalist reports:

They try to cook up something at Whangamata, but without the piquancy of society's disapproval, the meal is bland and devoid of taste (*Sunday Star Times*, 31.12.95).

The disorder of youth that takes place in Whangamata and Mount Maunganui over the New Year period is constructed in many different ways. Drug and alcohol abuse features most commonly as a driver of disorder, but other forms of disorder that are constructed include sexual 'deviancy' (which carries with it a number of gender-related issues), and unlawful behaviour. Combined, these forms of disorder create the atmosphere of revelry that dominates these places for parts of the year.

The high consumption of alcohol has undoubtedly sparked the biggest reaction from permanent residents, the media and the police. This has resulted in the implementation of beach-wide prohibition of alcohol during summer months. In the case of Mount Maunganui, it has prompted a call for a 365-day ban on drinking in known 'trouble-spots'.

The consumption of alcohol has, in some cases, even prompted the switch to a discussion of deviant adults as a cause of deviant youth. As one newspaper reports

Waikato police filling-in at Whangamata over the New Year period reported seeing large numbers of 14 and 15 year-olds tanked to the eyeballs. One can only assume that the parents of these teens in training were not concerned at the whereabouts or behaviour of their little darlings because they were busy getting pissed themselves. A happy new year to them (*The Waikato Times*, 15.1.01).

In the coastal environment of celebration it seems that the combination of alcohol, drugs and the release from everyday surroundings combine to make the beach an appropriate and available stage for an explosion of tension and violence. It is a place where:

older generations organise their everyday lives along the safe lines of routine and young people often choose the paths ... with a multiplicity of possible deviations. It is here that we find the more rebellious youth values that lie at the root of so-called youth culture (Pais, 2000: 224).

Closely linked to the so-called deviancy of youth through alcohol and drug abuse is the construction of sexual deviancy. The beach has a long history as a place of sexual encounter and continues to function as a place for the young to meet and flirt with a broad variety of other youth away from the constraints of everyday life (Shields, 1991). For example, Shields (1991:108) in a comment on Brighton, England, a so-called destination for dirty weekends and the 'carnival of sex', states

In the spatialisation of the British Isles, the beach or the seaside provided an appropriate place [for sexual encounter], because it was a

free zone, 'betwixt and between' social codes. It was a zone, even conducive (without being determinate) to lapses in normative behaviour.

The beach as a place for sexual encounter is something that is well-documented by the media with regard to Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, and is often connected to the high consumption of alcohol. For example

Young drunken revellers appear to be ignoring safe-sex messages, says a Whangamata doctor who had his busiest night this New Year's Eve. Dr Ron Lopert, of Lincoln Rd medical centre in the holiday resort town, is worried young people are getting drunk and taking big risks sleeping with strangers without using any protection against pregnancies or sexually transmitted diseases. "The safe sex message seems to have been forgotten at this time of the year", said Dr Lopert, who worked through the night on New Year's Eve. "It's a real worry to see young people in such a state" (*The Waikato Times*, 3.1.97).

The connection between sexual 'deviancy' and the over-consumption of alcohol on the beach is extended to a commentary on the threat to 'drunken females' on the beach. With what can be described as 'fatherly unease', male police frequently report on, and warn against young females drinking to excess. As one policeman told reporters:

My principal concern here is the number of young girls who are abusing alcohol, particularly spirits, and getting themselves totally inebriated, to the point where they can't even tell you their names (*The Waikato Times*, 13.1.01).

Another newspaper states that “police warned drunken girls could be raped as they staggered semi-conscious about the beaches” (*The Sunday News*, 5.1.97). The suggestion made that ‘drunken girls’ could be raped as a result of their drunken, semi-conscious state seems to imply that female youths are responsible for their own fate. It also serves to disguise the fact that the vast majority of ‘crime’ committed on the beach appears to be by male youths. Detainment statistics for the New Year period provide some evidence of this. For example, over the 2001-2002 period, Mount Maunganui police arrested 624 people. The average age of those arrested was 19, the youngest 14. Eighty-eight per cent of those arrested were males (*The Waikato Times*, 5.1.02). Furthermore, this documented ‘evidence’ of the deviancy of male youth ignores the fact that, in many cases, the mass arrival of male youth at the ‘legendary’ beach resorts of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui is driven by the desire to gaze at the female Other (Giroux, 1998). As one male youth told reporters “we just hang out at the beach, checking the chicks out, says Roddy. It’s awesome but it’s starting to get quiet now” (*The Waikato Times*, 11.1.97).

7.3.1.2 Containing disorder

“Stabbings, rape and arrests, but liquor bans hailed” (*The Dominion*, 2.1.02: 3).

The migration of youth to coastal destinations and the kind of disorder that this migration brings, marks particular coasts as places of control and containment.

Unlike the other examples given throughout this thesis, these issues of control and containment do not directly revolve around the hegemony of coastal planning and development (although local government does play a role). Rather, as shown through the examples of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, a concern with disorder determines intervention from police in an effort to resolve order and a state of normality. The coast as a place for disorderly youth also becomes a zone of control and containment for police. In parallel fashion to the notions of control and containment depicted in other chapters, police construct lines of governance that restrict the movement of people through space and time. This is achieved through a variety of mechanisms which range from alcohol bans in particular coastal zones, to beaches being closed to the public at certain times of the year, to containment and detainment zones for youth. An example of the latter is provided by Mount Maunganui police: “A special holding facility, nicknamed Alcatraz, was set up to cope with those arrested for disorder” (*The Waikato Times*, 31.12.01).

The nature of this detainment facility was widely publicised (with some humour) in newspaper and television reports. Scenes depicting concrete floors and barbed-wire fences appeared beneath headlines commenting on the deviancy of youthful beachgoers. In other cases, the containment and detainment of youth was the cause for more serious concern. As one newspaper reporter commented

Things got so bad in Whangamata last week police said that if they hadn't formed 'skirmish lines' someone would have been killed. (*The Sunday News*, 5.1.97).

Talk of 'skirmish lines' and detainment facilities suggests that complex boundaries play a significant role in the nature and range of transitory sites. These boundaries are quite different to the boundaries of planning and development. Such is the case with Whangamata and Mount Maunganui where the research material has shown that boundaries can be corporeal, acting as instruments for the containment of deviant 'beach bodies'. Nevertheless, what is again displayed is that boundaries are used in order to contain and enclose space, maintaining normality and controlling 'unlike' behaviour. In this way, a control over spatiality becomes "part of the process of defining the social category of 'youth' itself" (Massey, 1997: 127).

For the communities of Whangamata and Mount Maunganui, concern over the disorder of youth is juxtaposed against the social order of the adult permanent resident community. More generally, this is something that reflects "the power of young people to resist adult definitions of their lives and to create new spaces and ways of living" (Skelton and Valentine, 1997: 1). For communities such as Whangamata, the side effects of being 'transitory' have produced the unrelenting fixation with the need to resolve some form of community identity. This is in strong contrast to the communities I have presented in Chapter Six where community identity is rarely in question. For example, the need to cater to a 'summer population' has meant that much of Whangamata's retail sector (on which

Whangamata relies heavily) is dormant during the winter months. Metaphorically and literally, this has undoubtedly had an influence on the foundations of Whangamata, determining the constant rebuilding of the community and the movement of people through its streets (Photo 7.6).



Photo 7.6 Main Street, Whangamata (photo by author)

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have used case material to discuss the effects of transition on the social ordering of coastal communities. My observations on the development ‘taking place’ in Whitianga, for example, indicate the radical transformation of place stemming from the flexing of power and wealth through the arm of coastal

development. In Whitianga, development appears to have no bounds (or at least, many ‘new bounds’), encroaching on and displacing the former port and bach community according to new development zones that are continuously being redrawn and extended.

The narrative on the historical transformation of Taylor’s Mistake demonstrated the role of coastal planners in the creation of the transitory site and the manner in which social order is dictated according to the rigour and rationalisation of authority. Here, boundaries of governance continue to be wielded as instruments, carving out and shaping the coast according to legislative requirement. The need of coastal planners to provide some kind of ultimate definition for the coast, according to coastal hazard zones, zones of jurisdiction, development limits and conservation blocks, determines the historical and continual ‘reordering’ of people and place.

Whangamata and Mount Maunganui provide quite different examples of transitory coastal communities. In these places, transition is temporary, yet has a lasting effect on the social ordering of permanent residents. As with those sites rendered transitory through development and planning, boundaries operate that encase and contain. These boundaries, however, are more corporeal, holding and detaining disorderly bodies in an attempt to prevent spillage into normalised coastal surroundings.

In all three types of transition outlined, the rule of authority does much to determine the reordering of (an albeit resistant) community. The nature and range of this reordering is one that reinforces the status of the transitory community as one that expresses in-betweenness. As the examples of Whitianga, Taylor's Mistake and Whangamata/Mount Maunganui have shown, the reordering of people and place is, in part, achieved through the deployment of boundaries, brandished in an effort to formalise the coast according to notions of exclusivity, management and normality respectively. Paradoxically, this use of boundaries has the opposite effect to what is intended. In the hegemonic attempt at order, disorder is created.

8

EUCLIDEAN COASTS



Photo 8.1 Pauanui Waterways (photo by author)

Humans make places to suit themselves, and often to suit others like themselves (Smith, *et al.*, 1998: 5)

The statement above, coupled with the photograph of the entranceway to Pauanui Waterways, hints at much of what I wish to introduce in this chapter. In Chapter Six I introduced Hetherington's (1997) use of the notion of heterotopia to discuss those coastal communities whose social ordering is alternative to the dominant norm. Here I invert this notion through an investigation of those coastal

communities tied into positions of power and privilege. The communities I investigate in this chapter can, after Foucault (1986), be considered utopian because through various modes of space creation and delineation, efforts are made to model perfect coastal societies. According to Foucault (1986: 24):

utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. They present society itself in a perfect form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.

For this project, I extend Foucault's understanding of utopia to describe those coastal spaces that attempt to present society in a perfect form. This utopia finds its strength in the hegemony that Smith *et al.* (1998) make mention of above because it is derived from a particular mindset with a predetermined idea of how coastal people and places should be defined.

In this chapter I do not aim to identify and categorise particular communities as case studies that partake in the vision of utopia that I have described above. Rather, as with Chapters Six and Seven, my aim is to connect theoretical ideas about social ordering to the construction of boundaries within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the discourse of coastal planning and development generally. I begin my analysis with a broad selection of examples that typify utopian coastal societies. These examples differ markedly in content from those discussed in previous

chapters because they are derived from interviews where more emphasis was placed on the linear planning and development boundaries that bind these utopian-like communities together. In this chapter I argue that this accent on linearity is instrumental to the ways in which ‘Euclidean coasts’ are constructed and enforced, and how ‘sameness’ and exclusivity is maintained.

8.1 Euclidean coasts and boundary talk: a discourse of linearity

The notion of a Euclidean coast captures the Western, so-called rational preoccupation with linearity and scientific certainty. In particular, issues that revolve around definition and containment have dominated much of the discussion concerning the planning and development of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Cartographic anxieties and concerns about coastal boundaries, coastal zones and coastal limits are all “modifications of the line and a form of topo-logical thinking” (Reichart, 1992: 95).

Greg, a coastal planner for Northland Regional Council, provides some evidence of the kind of linear thinking that has proved so persuasive in the planning for coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. He states

We all just want to actually draw a line and say “here is the coastal environment”. Inside that line is mean high water springs [see Chapter One for a definition of the term ‘mean high water springs’]. Boundaries are certainly proving to be a big problem for us.

Greg's comment that "we all just want to draw a line" reveals much about the planning community's desire for clear definition and delineation and the type of social ordering that follows. Repeated playback of this part of the interview with Greg reveals little in terms of whether or not 'we' is used as a descriptor for a particular community or intended to be synonymous with 'coastal planners'. The statement that "boundaries are certainly proving to be a big problem for us" suggests that it is the latter. Importantly, this statement also provides evidence of the kind of frustration caused when certainty is under threat.

Another example of the way in which 'Euclidean coasts' are constructed is provided by Paul, an academic with a specific interest in coastal planning and development issues. He explains:

I guess I see the coast as a three-dimensional area whereas commonly, it is treated as a flat linear plane, for planning and development means. Particularly, the way in which they [planners] carve up water as if it were a flat surface, when in actual fact, the surface changes and it [the coast] has different wave types and so on, has to be questioned.

The comparison that Paul makes between his own three-dimensional understanding of the coast and the one-dimensional planning perspective that has proved so powerful in the socio-historical construction of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast, is an interesting one. On one hand, Paul's comment is confirmation of the forcefulness of coastal planning and development boundaries in the ultimate definition of the

coast yet, on the other hand, it tells of Paul's own understanding of how the coast is constructed, that is, according to a particular materiality. No mention is made of the manner in which Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast is defined and divided by race or income, for instance.

A more practical example of the Euclidean order of the coast is given by Jeff, a coastal consultant and former coastal decision-maker, in a comment on the privileged, yet often controversial boundary between private and public property.

Public/private boundaries are the most meaningful on the coast. Where agencies allow that line to be placed has a huge influence for decades thereafter: on the community, on the use of that beach, all kinds of things. Where that line is fixed is up to the developer and the relevant agencies. The developer wants to get as close as possible, while the agencies should have the vision to provide for public access [to the water] and wider community interests.

Jeff's comment tells of a social ordering that is quite different from that described in the previous chapters. The emphasis on a particular understanding of coastal boundaries is clear. The comment that "where agencies allow that line to be placed has a huge influence ... on the community" and that "where that line is fixed is up to the developer and relevant agencies", suggests a social ordering in which particular coastal communities become part of a linear equation in which coasts are calculated for the purposes of planners' certainty and developers' exclusivity. Jeff's narrative also reveals a connection between this type of social ordering and the type

of individuals and groups that demand the certainty and exclusivity described. As Jeff suggests

Often councils take a minimalist approach. A developer will come along, or a person subdividing a section, and ask for a waiver of certain requirements in lieu of some financial contribution or so on. There are all kinds of subtle ways that people try to position that private line as far forward [to the coast] as they can get it, to protect or encourage privilege.

Jeff's comment indicates that he prefers to distance himself from the type of financial transactions that take place between councils, developers and residents, although his comments are based on his experience as a former representative of regional government, experience that carried with it a particular responsibility for the planning of coastal communities. More important in this case, however, is Jeff's comment that under certain circumstances coastal regulations can effectively be sidestepped and coastal space can be purchased, albeit dependent on the wealth of the individual/group concerned. This reinforces earlier statements made about a marriage of convenience between developers, wealthy residents and coastal planning agencies. Ultimately, this relationship produces outcomes whereby the financial contributions of the developers and/or residents secure the level of exclusivity desired (see section 8.2).

8.1.1 Lines of power: mean high water spring (MHWS)

Central to the construction of the Euclidean coast is the planning and development

community's reliance on the line of mean high water springs (MHWS). As discussed in Chapter One, MHWS forms the basis for the distribution of decision-making responsibility between the Minister of Conservation, regional authorities and local authorities. Furthermore, MHWS is regarded as the calculable line that divides land and sea and ultimately private and common property. In this way, MHWS is a powerful social boundary in that it helps determine where people may or may not live and has a severe impact on those people living on the coastal margins.

Given the importance of MHWS in the definition of coastal space, it was valuable to gauge the coastal planning community's response when I asked whether or not they considered MHWS to be a social boundary, and what leverage it had on the territoriality of coastal communities. When I asked Jeff whether or not he considered MHWS to have an impact on the movement of people on the coast, he replied:

Not a great deal. Oh, it has an impact when you come to do something, like you want to build a seawall. Beach front property owners might come in with unrealistic expectations about coastal behaviour and their four corner pegs. They are on a movable boundary and a lot of them don't realise it. They come from a suburb in Remuera [a wealthy Auckland suburb] or Tamahere [a life-style area near Hamilton] and they come to the coast and they have got a boundary bordering the Pacific Ocean and they think because a surveyor has put a line on it, they think the sea can go thus far and no further.

Jeff's statement is important because he is the first of a number of interviewees to comment on the relative unimportance of MHWS as a 'social' boundary. As with other interviewees, however, through the course of the interview Jeff reveals that MHWS does, in fact, have a significant bearing on the mobility and territoriality of communities living on the coast. Jeff's criticism of coastal residents' reliance on 'the line' suggests that MHWS plays a very important role in the socio-spatial construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Despite this, Jeff maintains that MHWS is:

not a meaningful enough boundary to be a social boundary. It is really just a jurisdictional boundary. And it's a hellishly diffuse one. It's a very clever legislative tool because it varies everyday.

Jeff's comment that MHWS is "not a meaningful enough boundary to be a social boundary" is surprising given his earlier comment that "because a surveyor has put a line on it [i.e.: MHWS], they think the sea can go thus far and no further". The latter says much about how coastal residents rely on these types of boundaries and the impacts of these boundaries on mobility. As one member of a Northland coastal settlement aptly states:

I am not sure about the difference between the planning boundary and the social boundary. It seems to me that the planning boundary is part of the social set-up.

In response to the same line of questioning as posed to Jeff above, coastal planner Rebecca states that “from a planning point of view I am quite clear that MHWS is an arbitrary line”. However, later in the interview she makes the comment that “how people interrelate with the coast is very much governed by such things as MHWS, the public/private boundary, the Queen’s Chain and riparian rights”. Comments such as those issued by Rebecca and Jeff indicate that coastal planning ‘experts’ find themselves in a dilemma whereby they are confronted with an invented (albeit ‘scientifically calculable’) boundary which, in some form or another, must be made to materialise in practice. Such is the task of boundary implementation, and the gap between legislative requirement and practice, that the social consequences of boundary implementation are seldom considered or a connection even made. Furthermore, once the existence of boundaries such as MHWS are realised by communities living on the coast, the attributed materiality of these boundaries is enhanced. In this way, from planning design board to implementation, boundaries such as MHWS serve to function as littoral instruments for coastal space creation and delineation, marking out where communities can and cannot live.

8.2 Coastal utopia

Intimately connected with the planners’ desire for well-defined and manageable coastal space is the demand for exclusivity and the making of utopian coastal societies. The connection between the former and the latter lies in the fact that the cartographic precision that coastal planners consider necessary for the management

of the coast is, in many ways, identical to the demand for, and construction of, coasts that are modelled according to some perfect form. In both cases, boundaries are relied upon as a means of achieving the desired outcomes. Perhaps the only difference is that in the construction of coastal utopia, more emphasis is placed on exclusivity than manageability.

The Merriam-Webster (2000) *New International Dictionary* defines ‘exclusivity’ as “the quality of state of being exclusive”. It, in turn, defines the term ‘exclusive’ as:

- 1 (a) excluding or having power to exclude, (b) limiting or limited to possession, control, or use by a single individual or group;
- 2 (a) excluding others from participation, (b) snobbishly aloof;
- 3 (a) accepting or soliciting only a socially restricted patronage (as of the upper class), (b) stylish, fashionable, (c) restricted in distribution, use, or appeal because of expense.

These definitions tie in effectively with the ways in which utopian coastal communities are constructed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Utopian coasts are built to exclude or have the power to exclude. Specifically, through the use of boundaries as tools for space creation (as I have explained in Chapter Three), the creation of these types of coasts effectively exclude those who would define the coast according to other means. Participation of the Other in this type of space creation is effectively severed. Finally, and in keeping with the definitions of exclusion proffered, utopian coasts accommodate “only a socially restricted patronage (as of the upper class)” and the use of utopian coastal space is often restricted because of

expense. In the following section I explore the ways in which Pauanui is constructed as a coastal utopia and the instruments of exclusion that are wielded to maintain exclusivity.

8.2.1 Examples of exclusivity: private ownership of the coast

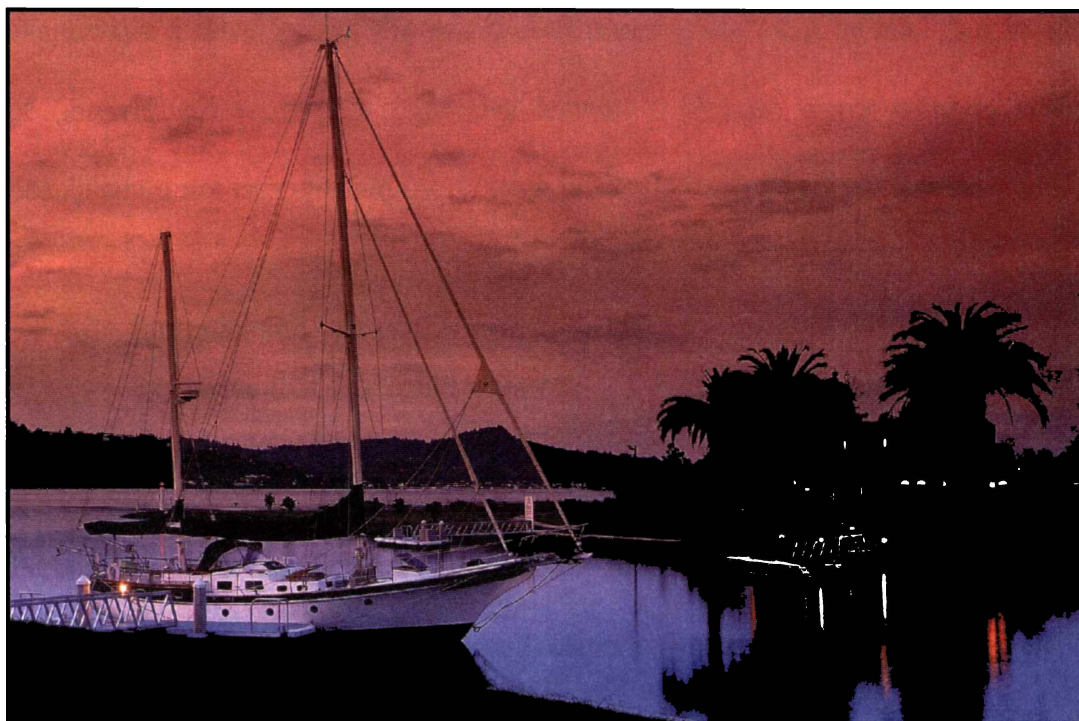


Photo 8.2 “Pauanui Waterways: a development few could even contemplate”
(Source: *Pauanui Waterways: New Zealand’s most desirable coastal development*, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd).

There is a significant amount of literature in circulation that markets Pauanui as a domain for a socially restricted patronage. The photograph and caption above, for example, is from a marketing brochure promoting Pauanui as a place for permanent residence or holiday destination. Brochures of this type are typically made available through the efforts of developers with the sole aim being to advertise property, yet

the entire process through which property in Pauanui is marketed, purchased and settled is one that is quite different from the rest of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is a process that, as the developer's advertising material reveals, is heavily reliant on exclusivity and the desire of a dominant 'wedom' to occupy and maintain coastal spaces that the Other cannot. For example, the catchphrase "Pauanui Waterways: a development few could even contemplate", can be read in a number of (interrelated) ways. The statement suggests a play on words whereby certain people could not contemplate the Waterways environment because it is so:

- fantastic, and 'out of this world';
- expensive that few could afford it;
- technically complex, few could understand it.

Perhaps the most significant example of the manner in which Pauanui is set apart from most other coastal areas in New Zealand is through issues surrounding private ownership of the coast. As discussed in earlier chapters, private ownership of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast is deemed illegal through such means as the requirement under the Resource Management Act, 1991 to provide for public coastal reserve (i.e. Queen's Chain) and public access to the coast. However, investigation into various aspects of the planning process at Pauanui Waterways reveals that in certain cases private ownership of the coast has become a reality, although this is something that is not publicly well known. At Pauanui Waterways (the latest extension in the development of Pauanui by Hopper Developments) the issue of concern is the fact that private property was opened up to the sea during

the process of creating the waterways. In other cases (for example see *Wellington Regional Council vs. Riddiford*) legal interpretation has determined that when private property is exposed to the sea, the coastal part of that property is surrendered into the public domain and considered public reserve. In the case of Pauanui Waterways, it seems that this basic legal requirement has given way to the wealth and pressure of the developer.

The private property of Pauanui Waterways effectively extends to the ‘shoreline’, a feature that is carefully played on in the marketing of Pauanui. This marketing is done carefully with the brochure material at least, because mention of private ownership is limited to the statement that the purchaser will secure their “own private jetty or boat ramp” (*Pauanui Waterways: New Zealand’s most desirable coastal development*, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd). No mention is made of the fact that ownership of a jetty or boat ramp is only made possible through the exclusive use and ownership of designated ‘sections’ of coast. With the marketing of the Pauanui Waterways online, however, the emphasis on private ownership has been more deliberate:

Of particular attraction to purchasers is the ownership of private property rights to the waters edge, clean, clear water for swimming and ready access to nearby islands and fishing grounds (http://www.dmd.co.nz/hoppers/pauanui_waterways.htm).

The possibility that the online material is less likely to be seen in legal circles is perhaps one reason for this more outspoken declaration of private ownership. Regardless of advertising format, however, it would be expected that more interest would be shown from both the general public and the wider planning community in terms of the potential loss of coastal land into private hands. The developer and local council have publicly announced that the artificially created waterways themselves are vested in the public as coastal reserve, so it would be natural to assume that an interest would be shown in establishing esplanade reserve alongside the canal frontages (as is required by law). It is apparent that this interest has been silenced and that legal requirement has been sidestepped, both by the developer and local council. The matter of private ownership was put to both the developer and the planners involved in Pauanui Waterways (by myself and others) at a conference held by the New Zealand Planning Institute in Pauanui in August, 2001. Unfortunately, the response from the developer and planners involved bore little relevance to the questions being asked. Conveniently, it seems, this issue has escaped the attention of the wider community and will perhaps again go unnoticed with the newer development of Whitianga Waterways, a development in which the same developer and planning consultants are involved.

The private ownership of parts of the Pauanui coast is one example of where a close relationship between (local) government and developer has been instrumental in producing the kind of coasts that are the exclusive domain for a particular class of community. Although not publicised as such, it appears that concerns over

private ownership of the coast passed the scrutiny of the local council (Thames Coromandel District Council) through the Council having a vested interest in the development itself. For example, rather than requiring the developer to establish coastal reserve alongside the canal frontages, the Council accepted a nearby block of land as payment for the purposes of establishing a reserve. While this kind of barter (although questionable) is not uncommon in the development of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, the additional matter that the local Council is itself an owner of sections at Pauanui Waterways (revealed at the aforementioned conference in Pauanui) indicates a significant conflict of interest.

8.2.2 Examples of exclusivity: beauty and desirability versus dirt and difference

The making of a coastal utopia is not restricted to the ways in which developers and planners designate coastal space according to their own ideas about perfection. Rather, as I show in this section, the construction of a coastal utopia has as much to do with the particular cross-section of the population willing or encouraged to inhabit these manufactured spaces as it does with the spaces themselves.

In the case of Pauanui, the advertising material in circulation promoting Pauanui as a coastal resort relies heavily on hegemonic understandings of the ‘beauty’ of both people and place. As a result, particular phrases, coupled with images depicting coastal utopia, dominate the marketing of this coastal community. For example, in a Hopper Developments brochure entitled *Pauanui: just like the turning of the tide*, the repeated use of two young models (one female, one male) as ‘model residents’

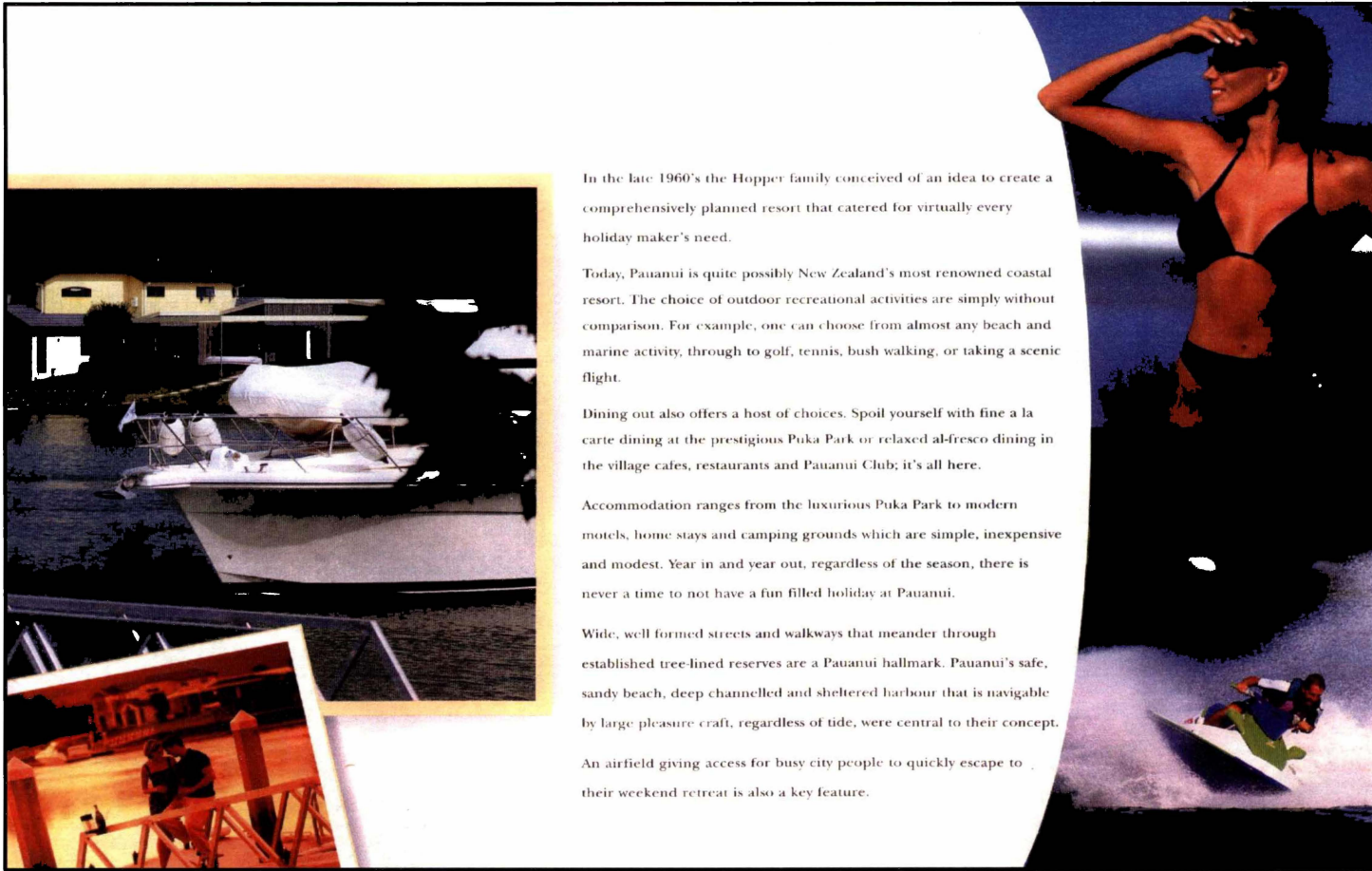
are layered between images of new coastal developments and headline print (see Figures 8.1, 8.2). The emphasis here, as with much of the other promotional material for Pauanui, is on the perceived beauty of a particular class of (wealthy and privileged) people set against a backdrop of ‘safe’, navigable and contained waterways and trendy boulevards.

A more in-depth content analysis of Figure 8.1 and Figure 8.2 reveals much about the marketing of people and place in Pauanui, and the ways in which Pauanui’s coastal landscape can be interpreted (Slater, 1998). The images and narrative included in Figure 8.1 for example, promote exclusivity in a number of ways. The image of a heterosexual couple enjoying a romantic evening on the shores of Pauanui Waterways, combined with the image of the safe and contained Waterways themselves, the photo of the tanned female beach-goer with sculpted body (adorned with sunglasses and jewellery) and the male wave skier, do much to give the impression of an exclusive space. These images combined with the narrative on the cultural spaces of Pauanui, such as the *a la carte* dining and the prestigious Puka Park, as well as Pauanui’s physical features such as the tree-lined reserves, safe sandy beach and sheltered harbour, combine to promote Pauanui to a select audience.

Figure 8.2 also markets exclusivity. Again, ideas about beauty and wealth are relied upon for promotion. The image of the young heterosexual couple who have just landed their plane at Pauanui’s airstrip, features alongside the female ‘model

resident' coming in from the surf, and the image that depicts the ever-watchful male beach patroller. This time, the images provide visual support for a narrative of Pauanui's facilities. This narrative centres almost exclusively on the Pauanui Club, a membership-only association that is available to those purchasing property in Pauanui (the first year's membership is included with the purchase of property, thereafter a 'modest fee' is incurred). Membership ensures use of various sporting and entertainment facilities that would otherwise be restricted from non-members and visiting 'outsiders'.

In this way, ideas about utopia - the beauty of people and place, are coupled with notions of safety, security and containment of place. This is the binary opposite of what was presented in Chapter Six where particular coastal communities and individuals were paired with the rugged, unsafe and undeveloped coasts 'they' inhabited. Instead, statements such as "Pauanui would have to be one of the most beautiful spots in the world" (*Pauanui: just like the turning of the tide*, a brochure by Hopper Developments) appear alongside images depicting neatly contained waterways and 'beautiful' bodies. In this case it is a discourse that is dominated by talk of beautiful coasts for beautiful people.



In the late 1960's the Hopper family conceived of an idea to create a comprehensively planned resort that catered for virtually every holiday maker's need.

Today, Pauanui is quite possibly New Zealand's most renowned coastal resort. The choice of outdoor recreational activities are simply without comparison. For example, one can choose from almost any beach and marine activity, through to golf, tennis, bush walking, or taking a scenic flight.

Dining out also offers a host of choices. Spoil yourself with fine a la carte dining at the prestigious Puka Park or relaxed al-fresco dining in the village cafes, restaurants and Pauanui Club; it's all here.

Accommodation ranges from the luxurious Puka Park to modern motels, home stays and camping grounds which are simple, inexpensive and modest. Year in and year out, regardless of the season, there is never a time to not have a fun filled holiday at Pauanui.

Wide, well formed streets and walkways that meander through established tree-lined reserves are a Pauanui hallmark. Pauanui's safe, sandy beach, deep channelled and sheltered harbour that is navigable by large pleasure craft, regardless of tide, were central to their concept.

An airfield giving access for busy city people to quickly escape to their weekend retreat is also a key feature.

Figure 8.1: Pauanui's 'model' residents

(Source: *Pauanui: just like the turning of the tide*, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd)

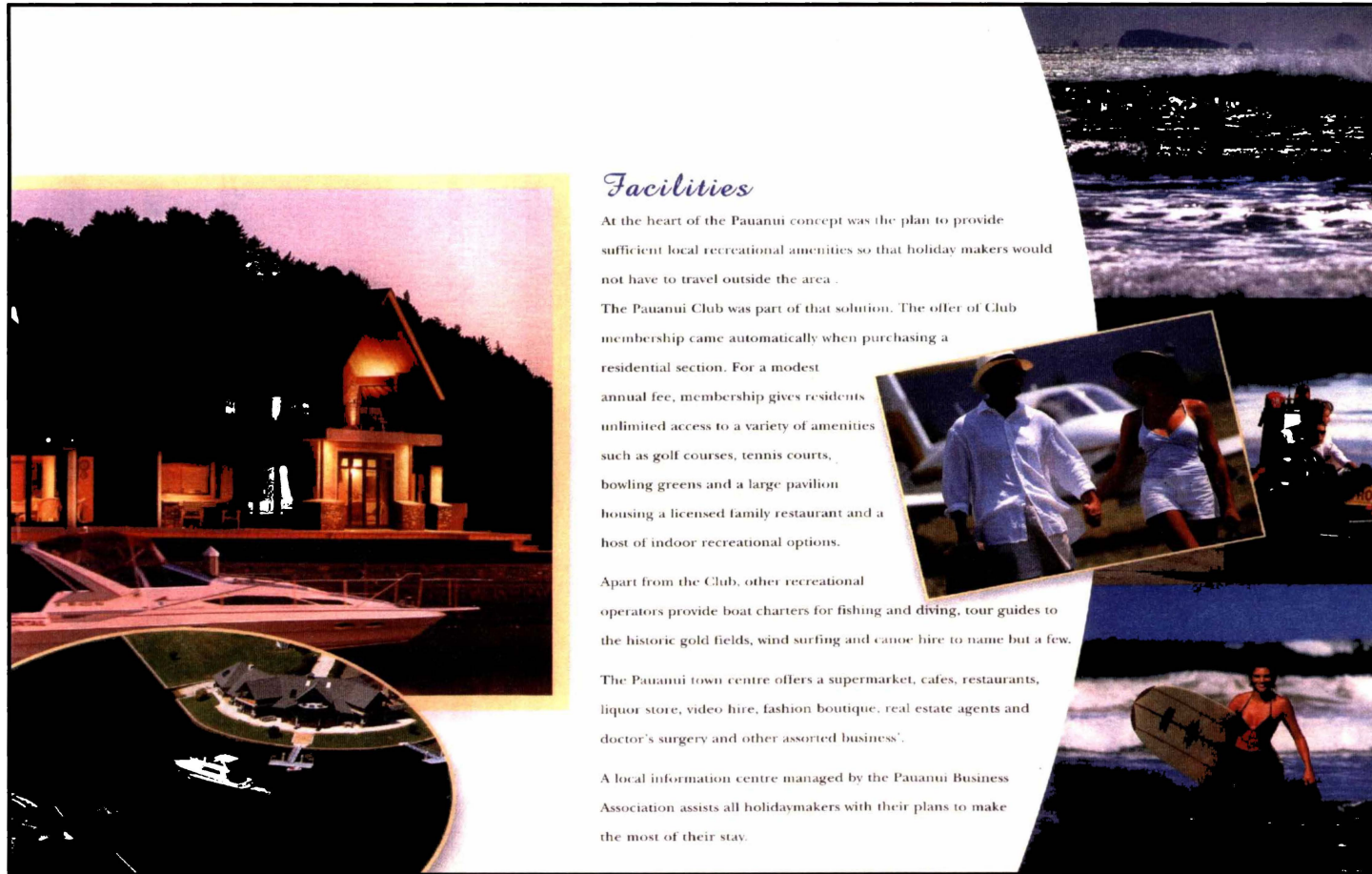


Figure 8.2: Pauanui's model spaces
 (Source: *Pauanui: just like the turning of the tide*, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd)

Pauanui's developers (Ian and Leigh Hopper) have done much to ensure that their rather conventional ideas about the beauty of people 'in place' extend beyond the glossy brochures selling the latest additions to this coastal utopia. A television documentary entitled *Pauanui: playground for the rich* (31.5.2000) illustrated that the developers are actively involved in replicating and unleashing their ideas about beauty through the use of Pauanui's existing residents. For example, in the documentary it was revealed that Ian Hopper stages the annual beauty contest 'Miss Pauanui Waterways'. According to the narrator of the documentary, "last year's [1999] Miss Pauanui Waterways went on to win Miss New Zealand with Ian Hopper's sponsorship". This example indicates that the developer's vision extends to the residential recruitment of 'beautiful' people to represent and sell Pauanui as a coastal utopia. Other similar examples include the incorporation of a beauty parlour into the Hopper-designed Pauanui shopping complex, a move that fuelled the narrator's comment that "some women like to forget about how they look when they are on holiday. Not in Pauanui. The beauty parlour is booked all summer long".

The developer's recruitment and sponsorship of 'beautiful' people as model residents and the various mechanisms in place for the 'beautification' of women, says much about the gender politics at work within the confines of Pauanui's waterways and boulevards. For example, from the promotional material and the documentary *Pauanui: playground for the rich*, the developer's intentions are clearly revealed in the marketing of Pauanui's perfect spaces to particular women.

Arguably, this is a particular form of Othering and demonstrates that mechanisms for division operate within Pauanui itself. The recruitment of a significant proportion of Pauanui's younger female population for the annual 'Miss Pauanui Waterways' for example, reinforces a particular social divide that the developer helps (re)create. In the broadest sense, this event can be seen as part of a wider understanding of Othering involving the idealisation of physical perfection, in which women perform specific forms of femininity designed for the consumption of the male gaze (for example, see Chapkis, 1986; Cohen, *et al.*, 1996; Lakoff and Scherr, 1984; Synott, 1993; Tseelon, 1995).

In the case of Pauanui, the recent television documentary revealed that this form of Othering is spatially expressed by way of an expectation of female beauty on one hand, as opposed to the apathy shown toward male appearance on the other. This is despite extensive promotional campaigns depicting both male and female 'model residents'. In this way, the spatial manifestation of the developer's vision (for example, the annual beauty contest) is one in which quite separate gender roles are in evidence.

The Othering that takes place within the confines of Pauanui is far removed from the kind of Othering described earlier, in that the majority of Pauanui's female population are from privileged Pakeha backgrounds. It is important however, to recognise these kinds of gender inequities within this coastal utopia because it

represents yet another example of the manner in which the ‘beautiful coasts for beautiful people’ discourse is constructed.

The construction of Pauanui as a privileged enclave, reflecting and reinforcing an exhibition of wealth and beauty, has meant that for the resident leaving the confines of Pauanui, social encounters outside the enclave are either marked out as different and exotic, or relegated as different and Other. As previously mentioned, the safe and contained spaces of Pauanui are far removed from the discourse of wild coasts and ‘unmanageable’ people. In this sense, it is important to tease out instances whereby connections are made between the two different social groups and their respective environs.

The possibilities for penetrating the boundaries between Pauanui’s safe harbour and other more rugged coasts or the open sea are promoted as an attraction. This can be seen as part of the masculinist tradition of surveying, charting and appropriating new territory (see Byrnes, 2001; Phillips, 1995), and as chance for a geography of adventure, opening up material space in which to move, “offering the dream of something and somewhere else” (Phillips, 1997: 169). In the case of Pauanui:

Pauanui provides not only the protection of the Tairua harbour but also the adventure of the open sea. Venture out into a world of spectacular fishing, diving or whatever your pleasure! (*Pauanui Waterways: New Zealand’s most desirable coastal development*, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd).

Similarly, mixing with others from nearby towns carries with it the same kind of ‘wild’ appeal, as was revealed in the television documentary in which the narrator made the comment that “on leaving the safe shores of Pauanui for the wild side of Tairua, anything could happen”. In this particular instance, the documentary portrayed a scene in which a group of women ventured across the estuary separating Pauanui and Tairua, to drink and socialise with a local labourer. Difference, in this case at least, was constructed as permissible and a source of excitement and intrigue. It was only when particular ‘comfort zones’ were breached in this environment that concern amongst the women was raised.

On the other side of the river Donna is shocked to find the tavern staff can’t even open a bottle of champagne. On this side of the river there’s not much call for bubbly (narrator).

By contrast, breaking through particular boundaries of class and race within the bounds of Pauanui is not considered an attraction and contact with an excluded Other is more often a case for concern than excitement. For example, when discussing aspects of the construction of Pauanui Waterways at a conference held by the New Zealand Planning Institute, the developer stated:

The South Auckland Stone Masons won the contract for building the canal walls for Pauanui Waterways, so come summer, we had 60 Tongans working hell to leather. Quite a spectacle.

Talk of 60 Tongans working as ‘quite a spectacle’ effectively illustrates that contact with an excluded Other at Pauanui is a rare event and in cases such as these, where the environment (and the Other) is controlled, a case of novelty. For the most part, however, the policing of Pauanui’s boulevards through controlled surveillance cameras and the price and covenants fixed to property in the enclave act as a safeguard against uncontrolled and unauthorised contact with the Other. The use of controlled surveillance cameras at the sole entranceway to Pauanui, for example, is a practical and present day example of Bentham’s (1969) and Foucault’s (1977) notion of the panopticon¹⁴, because this form of surveillance functions to keep an eye on the Other. The panopticon has been re-invented in the form of electronic agents patrolling the entranceway to Pauanui, which function as a means of ‘remote control’ over the movements of the Other, and as a form of self surveillance for the residents of Pauanui. In this way, the invisible gaze offered by the cameras is welcomed as a symptom of containment and stability, guarding against the ‘unlike’ behaviour of the Other.

The ‘concern’ for the Other and the environment ‘they’ inhabit was revealed in the previously referred to television documentary whereby the developer bluntly commented on possible ‘solutions’ for places that were unlike Pauanui. Not

¹⁴ In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault identifies Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon as a metaphor for the distribution of power in eighteenth century France. For Foucault, the panopticon must be understood as a generalisable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of everyday life. Bentham’s writings on the architecture of the panopticon state that, in the circular building of prison cells, no prisoner can be certain of not being observed from a central watchtower, and so prisoners gradually begin to police their own behaviour (Sarup, 1993).

surprisingly these comments hinged on ideas about tidiness and beauty, comments that appeared in stark contrast to his understanding of messy places:

If you go around all these places you get botchy, scruffy and untidy. Here the idea was to get a covenant of some sort so that if a person built a house, he [sic] could have the confidence that he [sic] wasn't going to get something junky alongside it. If you get your landscape right and you make things nice and tidy with a lot of enthusiasm, you get nice stuff. You look around Pauanui and you can see that we have done massive planting. Go any place that's well treed - you can go anywhere in Auckland, say Remuera [Auckland's most wealthy suburb], with lots of trees and say "oh this is nice". You go through Otara [Auckland's poorest suburb] with no trees and say "oh". If you take the trees that are in Remuera and put them in Otara, you can make Otara like Remuera. And it's only trees.

The developer's comments again reveal a particular hegemonic discourse that, both metaphorically and literally, construct beautiful and tidy coasts for beautiful people. Additionally, these comments tell of a powerful group who claim that the Other can be redeemed by redesigning, landscaping and controlling the places the Other inhabits. The implication being that soon these places can also have streetscapes imprinted with names such as 'The Dividend', 'Conqueror Rise', 'Bonanza Place' and 'Triumph Dell', as featured in Pauanui's strict and rigid design (Figure 8.3). These place names serve to reinforce claims of ownership, power and masculine control, and represent a specific example of the politics of naming places. As Berg and Kearns (1996: 119) have shown:

Place names and the maps used to present them, are the outcome of the appropriation of symbolic production by hegemonic groups, who impose their specific identity norms across all social groups.

In this way, names such as ‘The Dividend’ and ‘Conqueror Rise’, just two examples from Pauanui’s overall ‘master design’, serve to represent much more than location, they are symbolic of the ownership of wealth and the hegemonic control that wealth brings to the community. Not surprisingly, there is a noticeable absence of Maori place-names within Pauanui, with the sole exception being a major thoroughfare that refers to nearby Paku Mountain, and in a somewhat ‘colonised’ fashion, has been given the title ‘Vista Paku’.

8.3 The planner’s rule and the law abiding ‘wedom’

The construction of Euclidean coasts and coastal utopias as described in previous sections necessitates strict adherence to the rules and regulations that govern these environments on the part of the communities in residence. On the part of the planning authorities, and to a lesser degree coastal developers, the construction of a formal coastal environment carries with it the task of planning and development boundary maintenance for the purposes of maintaining order and exclusivity. In this section I outline and give examples of the role of boundaries in the construction of a formalised coast, as well as commenting on the manner in which particular coastal communities become enmeshed in particular relations of power.

The kinds of questions posed to senior coastal planners, academics and coastal developers concerning the possible social effects of coastal governance and coastal development produced a varied and in most cases intense series of responses. For example, the inference made that legislative requirement, combined with development pressure and/or wealth, could alter the state of particular coastal communities often elicited a defensive and authoritarian response. Greg states

I am not sure where this fits into the shape of your thesis, but wealth and knowledge is power, that's just the way it is. And for those that take an interest in the legislative system...ummm...there are certain communities that are sympathetic to the legislative community and then there are those that are not.

Greg's comment that "wealth and knowledge is power, that's just the way it is" illustrates a certain detachment from the kind of politics and privileged knowledge that has underpinned his role as a coastal planning manager, although later he did again touch base with the juncture between knowledge and power when he added that:

Yeah, I can talk quite knowledgeably, probably as much as anyone here in Northland about the coast. I grew up in Northland myself. The Bay of Islands. It's a large part of why I am here.

Paul also comments on those coastal communities that are 'sympathetic' to legislative requirement when he suggests that:

There some communities who find that particular laws fit in more with their way of doing things. They are more consistent with formal situations.

Comments such as these tell of select coastal communities that are less contestatory and more ‘in line’ with the kind of rules and regulations imposed on them. As Paul states “for places such as Pauanui and Papamoa, legislative tools such as boundaries work to their advantage”. This is then quite different from those situations described in Chapter Six, in which heterotopic communities come up against the planning boundaries forced upon them producing, as Jeff suggests, “a sort of tension in the air, as a result of planning boundaries being knowingly overstepped”.

In some cases opposition to the planner’s rule is expressed by wealthier and more formal coastal communities. Greg, for example, told of several circumstances in which, upon making his job position known to certain formal coastal communities, he received what, for him, was a negative response.

Individuals and certain groups don’t like rules and regulations and that’s just part of the job. You know - I go out and meet with people you don’t know and they ask you what do you do? When you tell them, it’s like telling them you are a funeral director - you cut your conversation dead.

For the most part however, wealthier coastal communities can collectively be identified as a law abiding ‘wedom’, functioning according to a particular reciprocity whereby compliance with boundary rules and regulations imposed by authorities can potentially bring about change favourable to residents. As Paul states:

It’s a bit of a chicken and egg situation. These rules and regulations come about because of the tendency to help development. So that provides people with clarity. Where are my rights? The concept of rules is driven by population pressure for resources.

Again, this statement illustrates the relationship between planners, coastal developers and wealthy residents, a relationship that is instrumental in the making of exclusivity and inequality in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have connected ideas about social order to the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development. With a focus on boundaries I have metaphorically mapped Aotearoa/New Zealand’s Euclidean and utopian coasts. I have shown that an accent on linearity is fundamental to the ways in which boundaries are deployed as instruments for coastal space creation, the maintenance of order and the ‘upkeep’ of exclusive spaces.

A reliance on boundaries such as MHWS provides practical evidence of how an accent on linearity is articulated within coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Boundaries

mark out where people may and may not live and therefore, severely impinge on coastal people's mobility and territoriality. In the case of the Euclidean and utopian coasts described, the various methods of coastal space creation and delineation fall neatly alongside the residents' desires to occupy exclusive spaces that the Other cannot. Indeed, the reciprocal relationship that has developed in these Euclidean and utopian environments has produced a powerful synergy that has, in some cases, resulted in private ownership of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coast. What has emerged is the antithesis of the discourse described in Chapter Six. The Euclidean and utopian coast is a domain that can be characterised by the maxim 'beautiful coasts for beautiful people'. Through the use of model residents, the beautiful coast is marketed as an exclusive domain in order to eliminate 'difference'.

9

CONCLUSION

The aims of this research were as follows. First, to provide an account of how hegemonic discourse operates in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Second, to trace and map the effects of hegemonic discourse through changes to the social ordering of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities. Third, to investigate the role of boundaries as instruments for coastal exclusion and social change. In concluding the thesis, I revisit these aims, evaluate my success in meeting them and discuss the outcomes of the research. Following this discussion, I provide a final comment on the directions for future research of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal people and places.

9.1 Social constructions of coastal people and place

In addressing the first aim of the research, I have presented the case that understanding hegemonic discourse is particularly important in examining the manner in which particular spatialities are constructed, maintained and enforced. Through the use of case studies and an analysis of discourse based on, and informed by the work of Foucault and social theorists working in the area of critical discourse analysis, I have argued that particular hegemonies, through the discourses they produce, attempt to assert a particular socio-spatial epistemology on

counter-hegemonic groups in an effort to develop and manage the coast. Groups and individuals not receptive to this socio-spatial epistemology are Othered, the process of Othering gravitating around such themes as race, education, resistance and 'theydom'. Furthermore, the analysis of discourse has shown that the Other is assigned the characteristics of the coasts 'they' are deemed to inhabit, through a process whereby the particular knowledge systems of the Other are devalued. Communities that revealed an alternative social ordering such as Otia were judged messy and difficult to manage. This was in strong contrast to places such as Pauanui where the coast was constructed as a place where model residents inhabited model places.

This is where, I believe, I have been successful in meeting the first aim of the research, that is, describing the manner in which hegemonic discourse operates in the social construction of the coast. A critical analysis of hegemonic discourse has revealed that the seemingly well-defined, beautiful coast is a place for well-defined, beautiful people. Similarly, in coastal heterotopia, or in liminal places where the coast is marked out in a manner that is contrary to dominant norms, the analysis of hegemonic discourse has revealed constructions of 'dirty, messy coasts' for 'dirty, messy people'. Additionally, my commentary of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal places in transition has revealed the desire of (cartographically anxious) hegemonic groups to redefine coastal people and place - from messy to well-defined, from dirty to beautiful. In many cases, despite acts of resistance, this desire is responsible for a shift in the social ordering of people in relation to place.

In this way, the physicality of the coast provides more than simply a backdrop for the movements of people through place, it becomes instrumental in the crafting of human subjectivity. Specifically, the coast becomes one of the crucial factors in the social production of a racialised, uneducated, abject Other while at the same time providing the basis for one of Aotearoa/New Zealand's most contemporary forms of 'wedom' through the production of elite coastal communities.

9.2 Disrupting movements: changes to social order

In relation to the second aim of the research I have argued through the use of case studies that the described shift in social order is very much in evidence in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Whitianga, for example, it was shown that the wealth of a developer can bring about major change in the movements of people through place. Specifically, the strict and rigid design of Whitianga Waterways represents a new blueprint for the ways in which people live on the coast. Similarly, in Pauanui it was shown that the wealth of the developer and the developer's influence on the planning of the community can set new standards in terms of how people interact with the coast.

A change or disruption to the social order of Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal communities, in many cases, comes by way of the construction of new development zones that are continuously redrawn and extended. Definitions of these zones are very often similar to coastal zones drafted under the authority of central, regional and local government by coastal 'managers'. As I have shown in

this thesis, coastal managers regularly display a particular cartographic concern, anxious to ‘just draw a line’ and map the coastal environment. The outcomes of this concern are coasts of containment and control, these coasts similar to, and overlapping with, the well-defined exclusive coasts that developers seek to model and perfect.

9.3 Boundaries of the coast

In addressing the third aim of the research, I have argued that boundaries play a major role in terms of how a change in, and control over, social order is constituted. As I suggested in Chapter Three, particular boundaries are promoted and privileged in society and in terms of the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, this is certainly the case. The use of coastal planning and development boundaries as mechanisms for redressing the movements of people through place have been shown to be exclusionary in the design of coasts marketed to particular like-minded groups and individuals. These coasts are exclusionary in the sense that those communities who choose not to define the coast in accordance with market principles and management rules are marked out as Other. This is not to say that there is an absence of boundaries in the Other’s definition of the coast. Often boundaries may be put in place to mark out social entities (such as the bounds of family or group). These boundaries, in many ways, serve to reinforce an alternative social ordering, yet go unremarked in the discourses of coastal planning and development.

The ‘informal’ boundaries put in place, helping to define an alternative social ordering, appear in stark contrast to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s formalised coastal communities, which seem to be more ‘in line’ with the hegemonic discourse of coastal planning and development and the new boundaries of science that these hegemonies are so keen to promote. These boundaries find potency when transferred from the maps of planners/developers and imprinted onto the coast. Calculable boundaries such as MHWS, extracted as cartographic representations and having no real materiality apart from the written and spoken formulas that aid in their definition, are transferred into ‘reality’ (sometimes quite literally in the form of a mark on a tide datum).

In this way, I believe I have been successful in describing how boundaries function in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand. Coastal boundaries, whether drafted under the authority of government or informally by community, function both as a means of separation between a dominant ‘us’ and a coastal Other, as well as being a (border)line of contact, where seemingly different bounded groups face each other.

9.4 Future research: unsettling hegemonic discourse

Much has been written about the management and development of the coast. The circulation and predominance of this literature within academic scholarship, however, only serves to highlight privileged areas of research. Academic research into the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, as I have maintained

throughout this thesis, is far less common. Nevertheless, this type of research is required if coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand is to be fully understood. Particular relations of power, in many cases, dictate the manner in which people interact with the coast so there is a need to fully understand the implications of the hegemony of coastal planning and development. For example, while I have provided a broad analysis of the racialised discourse of coastal planners and examined the exclusionary designs of coastal developers, further detailed research is needed in order to unsettle such discourses and designs.

Extending the idea that the physicality of the coast is instrumental in the social production of the Other is an important area for future research. Research into this theory of the coast could parallel urban geographies informed by psychoanalytic theories. This active area of research, for example, has revealed the role of the built environment as crucial in the production of sexed corporeal bodies and the body as a location of desire and disgust (see Grosz, 1992; Pile, 1996). Future research into the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand that is connected to, and informed by, psychoanalytic theory could reveal more about the role of the coast in the shaping of coastal people - from the level of the body to the making of 'community'. Psychoanalytic theory, and in particular, object relations theory, will tell more of the spatial factors that determine the emotions and behaviours of individual and groups. Building on the work I have provided here and similarly informed work by Sibley (1995), this could include exploring Otherness and its

conflation with such spatial dichotomies as west coast/east coast, beaches/inlets, wild/calm, and so on.

The branding, marketing and design of exclusive communities in the (re)ordering of place is another potentially rich area of future research. New waves of development, both in terms of coastal, as well as inland subdivisions, are being more forcefully marketed to middle and upper-class Pakeha. The result is a dramatic change to Aotearoa/New Zealand's land/seascape. It is a cultural environment where, for example, unimaginative slogans are plastered onto the (sometimes gated) entranceways to communities that seem to reflect only the developer's vision of utopia. It is an environment where the streets and boulevards that mark out the confines of communities are part of coastal or so-called greenfield subdivisions, branded with typically English names such as St James Park, Strathmore Estate, Royal Palm Beach Estate, Cambridge Heights, Sterling Gate, Summerlands Estate, Gulf Harbour, Waterford Downs (just a selection of names from Aotearoa/New Zealand's coastal and greenfield subdivisions). To give an example, close to where I live in (inland) Hamilton, planning permission has just been approved for a large-scale residential subdivision grandly entitled 'Sherwood Park' (consisting of some 1500 sections). The marketing of this new subdivision emphasises features such as complete enclosure of the community (in the form of a seven foot high fence), surveillance cameras, security guards and swipe-cards for residents to access the subdivision 'after-hours'. This particular development does not cater specifically to the wealthy, nor is its location

considered particularly desirable, however, the marketing and branding of the community is such that it gives the impression of a well-defined, safe and privileged space to inhabit (much in the same way as Pauanui). In coastal environments, this type of marketing is more elaborate and exaggerated because coastal space can be seen as more exclusive and profitable than in inland areas.

The branding and marketing of space, and the changes to social order that such strategies bring about, can be understood as a form of neo-colonialism or an extension and continuation of Giselle Byrnes' (2001) idea that claiming and marking out new territory is an important part of the colonial project. In many ways, the marketing and branding of the land/seascape serves to reinforce divisions between rich and poor, and often between Pakeha and Maori. The (side)effects of branding and other marketing tools has been beyond the scope of this research, but may be a productive area for future research.

Another potentially rich area for future research lies in exploring the nature and range of the resistance that counter-hegemonic groups have presented in response to particular relations of domination. I have, throughout this thesis, maintained that the hegemony of coastal planning and development is never fully achieved, and “the dominance of power holding elites is always being challenged by those in subordinate positions” (Jackson, 1989: 53). While I have given examples of how resistance is expressed in the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand, I have not been able to address the effectiveness of these forms of resistance. This

would require a more in-depth, historical and ethnographic style of research that examines specific cases of challenge and confrontation. Again, this research is necessary in building a comprehensive understanding of the social construction of coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Finally, an area of future research that directly follows on from this project is an examination of the coast and its status as a ritual destination for party-going youth. My narratives of the celebratory migration of youth to coastal places such as Whangamata and Mount Maunganui have been given as examples of transition, but have not addressed the basis for the coast's status as a holiday destination. This is something that seems to be taken for granted in the non-academic and partial documentaries that make reference to the coast. Much work is needed in terms of understanding the role of the coast as a place of relaxation and celebration, not just for youth, but for the wider spectrum of society.

The many areas of future research that I have outlined suggest that a great deal of work is still needed in 'mapping' the social constructions of coastal people and place, and unsettling the hegemony of coastal planning and development. The material I have provided makes a significant contribution to this project, but as I have indicated, new waves of coastal development and the authority of the planner's rule determines that the boundaries that define Aotearoa/New Zealand's land/seascape of exclusion are continuously being redrawn and reworked. The task, it seems, is an ongoing one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agnew, J., 2000. "Classics in human geography revisited - human territoriality: its theory and its history- commentary 1". *Progress in Human Geography* 24(1): 91-93.

Ansley, B., 2002. "Home away from home". *The Listener* January 19-25: 16-20.

Amin, A (ed). 1994. *Post-Fordism: A Reader*. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford.

Arantes, A. A., 1996. "The war of places: symbolic boundaries and liminalities in urban space." *Theory, Culture and Society* 13(4): 81-92.

Barnes, T., and J. Duncan (eds). 1992. *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text, and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*. Routledge. London.

Barrett, M., 1991. *The Politics of Truth: from Marx to Foucault*. Polity. Cambridge.

Barrett, M., and A. Phillips, 1992. "Introduction", in *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates*. Edited by M. Barrett and A. Phillips. Polity. Cambridge, pp. 1-9.

- Barrett, M., 1992. "Words and things: materialism and method in contemporary feminist analysis", in *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates*. Edited by M. Barrett and A. Phillips. Polity. Cambridge, pp. 201-219.
- Barrett, M., 1994. "Ideology, politics, hegemony: from Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe", in *Mapping Ideology*. Edited by S. Zizek. Verso. London, pp. 235-264.
- Bauman, Z., 1988. "Is there a postmodern sociology?" *Theory, Culture and Society* 5: 217-237.
- Bauman, Z., 1992. *Intimations of Postmodernity*. Routledge. London.
- Baxter, J., and J. Eyles., 1997. "Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22(4): 505-525.
- Bell, D., and G. Valentine (eds) 1995. *Mapping Desire*. Routledge. London.
- Bennett, A., 2000. *Popular Music and Youth Culture*. MacMillan Press. London.
- Bentham, J., 1969. "Panopticon papers", in *A Bentham Reader*. Edited by M. Mack.

Pegasus. New York, pp. 194-208.

Berg, L., and R. Kearns., 1996. "Naming as norming: 'race', gender, and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14: 99-122.

Bhabha, H. K., 1994. "Frontlines/Borderposts", in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. Edited by A. Bammer. Indiana University Press. Bloomington, pp. 269-272.

Bithell, J., 1980. *Guide to the History of Whitianga*. A.J. Bithell. Whitianga.

Bocock, R., 1986. *Hegemony*. Ellis Horwood. Chichester.

Bondi, L., and M. Domosh., 1992. "Other figures in Other places: on feminism, postmodernism and geography." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 199-213.

Brunson, M. W., 1998. "Social dimensions of boundaries: balancing cooperation and self-interest", in *Stewardship Across Boundaries*. Edited by R. L. Knight and P. B. Landres. Island Press. Washington, D.C, pp. 65-86.

Burghardt, A., 1996. "Boundaries: setting limits to political areas", in *Concepts in*

- Human Geography*. Edited by C. Earle, K. Mathewson, and M. S. Kenzer. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Lanham, pp. 213-230.
- Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge. New York.
- Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies That Matter: on the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. Routledge. New York.
- Byrne, D. S., 1999. *Social Exclusion*. Open University Press. Buckingham, Philadelphia.
- Byrnes, G., 2001. *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*. Bridget William Books. Wellington.
- Cameron, J., 2000. "Focussing on the focus group", in *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Edited by I. Hay. Oxford University Press. Melbourne, pp. 83-102.
- Casimir, M. J., and A. Rao., 1992. "Introduction", in *Mobility and Territoriality: Social and Spatial Boundaries Among Foragers, Fishers, Pastoralists, and Peripatetics*. Edited by M. J. Casimir and A. Rao. St. Martin's Press. New York, pp. 1-26.

Chapkis, W., 1986. *Beauty Secrets: Women and the Politics of Appearance*. South End Press. Boston.

Chouinard, V., 1996. "Alice through the looking glass: accommodating disabilities in academe." *Resource for Feminist Research* 24(3): 3-11.

Chouinard, V., 1999. "Body politics: disabled women's activism in Canada and beyond", in *Mind and Body Spaces: Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability*. Edited by R. Butler and H. Parr. Routledge. London, pp. 269-294.

Chouinard, V., and A. Grant., 1995. "On being not even anywhere near 'the project': revolutionary ways of putting ourselves in the picture." *Antipode* 27(2): 137-166.

Chouliaraki, L., and N. Fairclough., 2000. *Discourse in Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh.

Clark, M., 1995. *New Zealand's Future in the Global Environment*. G.P. Publications. Wellington.

Clarke, J., and A. Cochrane., 1998. "The social construction of social problems.", in *Embodying the Social: Constructions of Difference*. Edited by E. Saraga.

Routledge. London, pp. 4-42.

Cloke, P., 2000. "Homelessness and rurality: 'out-of-place' in purified space?" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18(6): 715-735.

Cocklin, C., and O. J. Furuseth., 1994. "Geographical dimensions of environmental restructuring in New Zealand." *Professional Geographer* 46(4): 459-467.

Cohen, C., R. Wilk, and B. Stoeltje (eds). 1996. *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests and Power*. Routledge. New York.

Conversi, D., 1997. "Reassessing current theories of nationalism: nationalism as boundary maintenance and creation", in *Political Geography: a Reader*. Edited by J. A. Agnew. Arnold. London, pp. 325-336.

Cook, I., 2000. "'You want to be careful you don't end up like Ian. He's all over the place": autobiography in/of an expanded field", in *Placing Autobiography in Geography*. Edited by P. Moss. Syracuse University Press. Syracuse, pp. 99-120.

Cosgrove, D., and S. Daniels (eds). 1988. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Coutts, B. J., 1989. "Mean high water as a cadastral boundary." *Ocean and Shoreline Management* 12: 309-330.

Crang, M., 1998a. *Cultural Geography*. Routledge. London.

Crang, P., 1998b. *Displacement: The Geographies of Modern Cultures*. Edward Arnold. London.

Cresswell, T., 1996. *In Place, Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression*. University of Minnesota. Minneapolis.

Davidson, J., and M. Smith., 1999. "Wittgensten and Irigaray: gender and philosophy in a language (game) of difference." *Hypatia* 14(2): 72-96.

de Beauvoir, S., 1953. *The Second Sex*. London. Cape.

Dear, M., and S. Flusty., 1999. "The postmodern urban condition", in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. Edited by M. Featherstone and S. Lash. Sage. London, pp. 64-85.

Denning, G., 1980. *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774-1880*. Melbourne University Press. Carlton, Vic.

- Dixon, D. P., and J-P. Jones III., 1998. "My dinner with Derrida, or spatial analysis and post-structuralism do lunch." *Environment and Planning A* 30(2): 247-260.
- Dixon, J. E., N. J. Ericksen, J. L. Crawford, and P. Berke., 1997. "Planning under a co-operative mandate: new plans for New Zealand." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 40(5): 603-614.
- Donnan, H., and T. Wilson (eds). 1999. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State at International Frontiers*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Douglas, J. D., 1985. *Creative Interviewing*. Sage. Beverly Hills.
- Douglas, M., 1966. *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London.
- Duncan, J., and N. Duncan., 1988. "(Re)reading the landscape." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 117-126.
- Dwyer, O. J., and J-P. Jones III., 2000. "White socio-spatial epistemology." *Social and Cultural Geography* 1(2): 209-222.
- Eagleton, T., 1991. *Ideology: An Introduction*. Verso. London.

Eagleton, T., 1994. *Ideology*. Longman. London.

England, K., 1994. "Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research." *The Professional Geographer* 46(1): 80-89.

Epstein, J., 1998. *Youth Culture: Identity in a Postmodern World*. Blackwell Publishers. Malden.

Evans, M., 1988. "Participant observation: the researcher as research tool", in *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Edited by J. Eyles and D. M. Smith. Polity. Cambridge, pp. 197-218.

Fairclough, N., 1989. *Language and Power*. Longman. London.

Fairclough, N., 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity Press. Cambridge, Mass.

Fairclough, N., 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. Longman. London.

Fairclough, N., and R. Wodak., 1997. "Critical discourse analysis", in *Discourse as Social Action- Discourse Studies: a Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Edited by T. A. van Dijk. Sage Publications. London, pp. 258-284.

Foucault, M., 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Tavistock Publications. London.

Foucault, M., 1977. *Discipline and Punish* (Trans. by A. Sheridan). Pantheon. New York.

Foucault, M., 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Harvester Wheatsheaf. New York.

Foucault, M., 1981. *History of Sexuality: Vol 1*. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth.

Foucault, M., 1986. "Of other spaces." *Diacritics* 16(1): 22-27.

Freyfogle, E. T., 1998. "Bounded people, boundless land", in *Stewardship Across Boundaries*. Edited by R. L. Knight and P. B. Landres. Island Press. Washington, D.C, pp. 15-38.

Frow, J., 1985. "Discourse and power." *Economy and Society* 14: 193-214.

Frow, J., 1986. *Marxism and Literary History*. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.

Gabriel, J., 1998. *Whitewash: Racialized Politics and the Media*. Routledge. London.

Gadet, F., J. Leon, D. Malidier, and M. Plon., 1994. "Pecheux's theory of ideology and the subject", in *Michel Pecheux: Automatic Discourse Analysis*. Edited by T. Hak and N. Helsloot. Utrecht Studies in Language and Communication. Utrecht, pp. 41-48.

Gamble, S (ed). 2001. *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism*. Routledge. London.

Gans, H., 1992. "Preface", in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Edited by M. Lamont and M. Fournier. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, pp. vii-xvi.

Gee, J. P., 1990. *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses. Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education*. Falmer Press. London.

Genocchio, B., 1995. "Discourse, discontinuity, difference: the question of 'Other' spaces", in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*. Edited by S. Watson and K. Gibson. Blackwell Publishers. Cambridge, pp. 35-46.

Gibson-Graham, J-K., 1994. "Stuffed if I know! Reflections on post-modern feminist social research." *Gender, Place and Culture* 1: 205-24.

Giroux, H. A., 1998. "Teenage Sexuality, Body Politics and the Pedagogy of

- Display”, in *Youth Culture: Identity in a Postmodern World*. Edited by J. Epstein. Blackwell Publishers. Malden, pp. 24-55.
- Gleeson, B. J., and K. J. Grundy., 1997. “New Zealand’s planning revolution five years on: a preliminary assessment.” *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 40(3): 293-313.
- Goode, E., 1984. *Deviant Behaviour*. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs.
- Goss, J., 1996. “Introduction to focus groups.” *Area* 28(2): 113-114.
- Gramsci, A., 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Lawrence and Wishart. London.
- Gregory, D., 1994. *Geographical Imaginations*. Blackwell. Cambridge, MA.
- Griffiths, V., 1991. “Doing feminist ethnography on friendship”, in *Rethinking: Feminist Research Processes Reconsidered*. Edited by J. Aldridge, V. Griffiths, and A. Williams. Feminist Praxis Monograph. Manchester, pp. 10-19.
- Grosz, E., 1990. *Jacques Lacan: A Feminist Introduction*. Routledge. London.
- Grosz, E., 1992. “Bodies/Cities”, in *Sexuality and Space*. Edited by B. Colombina.

Princeton Architectural Press. Princeton, pp. 241-254

Grundy, K. J., 1994. "Public planning in a market economy." *Planning Quarterly* 114: 20-24.

Gugler, J. (ed) 1997. *Cities in the Developing World: Issues, Theory and Policy*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Hartley, J., 1992. *The Politics of Pictures: the Creation of the Public in the Age of Popular Media*. Routledge. London.

Helsloot, N., and T. Hak., 1995. "Pecheux's contribution to discourse analysis", in *Michel Pecheux: Automatic Discourse Analysis*. Edited by T. Hak and N. Helsloot. Utrecht Studies in Language and Communication. Utrecht, pp. 3-20.

Hetherington, K., 1997. *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering*. Routledge. London.

Hetherington, K., 1998. *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics. Theory, Culture and Society*. Sage. London.

Hill, D., 1988. *Living on the Queens Chain (Unpublished research report)*. Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Hopper Developments Ltd, "Pauanui Waterways: Where Dreams Become a Reality" <http://www.dmd.co.nz/hoppers/pauanui_waterways.html>. (January 11, 2000).

Hopper Developments Ltd, "Whitianga Waterways: time and tide wait for no man" <<http://www.hopper.co.nz/whitianga.html>>. (December 23, 2001).

Howarth, D., 1998. "Discourse theory and political analysis", in *Research Strategies in the Social Sciences: A Guide to New Approaches*. Edited by E. Scarbrough and E. Tanenbaum. Oxford University Press. Oxford, pp. 268-293.

Howitt, R., 2001. "Frontiers, borders, edges: liminal challenges to the hegemony of exclusion." *Australian Geographical Studies* 39(2): 233-245.

Irigaray, L., 1985. *This Sex Which is Not One*. Cornell University Press. Cornell.

Irigaray, L., 1993. *Je, touts, nous. Toward a Culture of Difference*. Routledge. New York.

Jackson, P., 1989. *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography*. Routledge. London.

Jackson, P., 1992. *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (reprinted). Routledge. London.

Jackson, P., 1998. "Constructions of whiteness in the geographical imagination." *Area* 30: 99-106.

Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, and D. M. Smith., 1994. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (3rd edition). Blackwell Publishers. Oxford.

Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts., 2000. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (4th edition). Blackwell Publishers. Oxford.

Katz, C., 1994. "Playing the field: questions of fieldwork in geography." *The Professional Geographer* 46(1): 67-72.

Kearns, R., 1991. "Talking and listening: avenues to geographical understanding." *New Zealand Journal of Geography* 92: 2-3.

Kearns, R., 2000. "Being there: research through observing and participating", in *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Edited by I. Hay. Oxford University Press. Melbourne, pp. 103-121.

Keith, M., 1992. "Angry writing: (re)presenting the unethical world of the

ethnographer.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 551-568.

Keith, M., and S. Pile (eds) 1993. *Place and the Politics of Identity*. Routledge.
London.

Kendall, S., and D. Tannen., 2001. “Discourse and gender”, in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Edited by D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, and H. Hamilton. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford, pp. 548-567.

Kitchin, R., and N. Tate., 2000. *Conducting Research into Human Geography*. Pearson Education Limited. Harlow.

Knight, R. L., and T. W. Clark., 1998. “Boundaries between public and private lands: defining obstacles, finding solutions”, in *Stewardship Across Boundaries*. Edited by R. L. Knight and P. B. Landres. Island Press. Washington, D.C, pp. 175-192.

Kobayashi, A., 1994. “Colouring the field: gender, race and the politics of fieldwork.” *The Professional Geographer* 46: 73-80.

Kobayashi, A., and L. Peake., 1994. “Unnatural discourse: ‘Race’ and gender in geography.” *Gender, Place and Culture* 1(2): 225-243.

- Kress, G., 1985. "Ideological structures in discourse", in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis: Volume 4- Discourse Analysis in Society*. Edited by T. A. van Dijk. Academic Press. London, pp. 27-42.
- Kristeva, J., 1982. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Columbia University Press. New York.
- Lacan, J., 1977. *Ecrits: A Selection* (Transl. A. Sheridan). Norton. New York.
- Lakoff, R., and R. Scherr., 1984. *Face Value: The Politics of Beauty*. Routledge. Boston.
- Larrain, J., 1994. *Ideology and Cultural Identity: Modernity and the Third World Presence*. Polity Press. Cambridge, MA.
- Laurie, N., F. Smith, S. Bowlby, J. Foord, S. Monk, S. Radcliffe, J. Rowlands, J. Townsend, L. Young, and N. Gregson., 1997. "In and out of bounds and resisting boundaries: feminist geographies of space and place", in *Feminist Geographies: Explorations in Diversity and Difference*. Edited by Women and Geography Study Group. Longman. Harlow, pp. 112-145.
- Laurier, E., 1999. "Kevin Hetherington: The Badlands of Modernity." *Antipode* 31(3): 334-336.

- Lee, D., 1992. *Competing Discourses: Perspective and Ideology in Language. Real Language Series*. Longman. London.
- Longhurst, R., 1996. "Refocusing groups: pregnant women's geographical experiences of Hamilton, New Zealand/Aotearoa." *Area* 28(2): 143-149.
- Longhurst, R., 2001. *Bodies: Exploring Fluid Boundaries*. Routledge. London.
- Male, K., 2001. *Good Old Kiwi Baches, and a Few Cribs Too*. Penguin. Auckland.
- Massey, D., 1997. "The spatial construction of youth cultures", in *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. Edited by T. Skelton and G. Valentine. Routledge. London, pp. 121-129.
- Massey, D., 2000. "Entanglements of power: geographies of domination/ resistance-Reflections", in *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*. Edited by J. P. Sharp, P. Routledge, C. Philo, and R. Paddison. Routledge. London, pp. 279-286.
- Massey, D., and J. Allen., 1988. *Uneven Re-development: Cities and Regions in Transition*. Hodder and Stoughton. London.

- Maxey, I., 1999. "Beyond boundaries? Activism, academia, reflexivity and research." *Area* 31(3): 199-208.
- May, J., 2000. "Of nomads and vagrants: single homelessness and narratives of home as place." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18(6): 737-759.
- May, T., 1993. *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Open University Press. Buckingham.
- McCarthy, C., 1998. "A summer place: postcolonial retellings of the New Zealand bach." *Jouvert: A Journal of Post-Colonial Studies* 2(2): 1-21.
- McDowell, L., 1992. "Multiple voices: speaking from inside and outside the project." *Antipode* 24(1): 56-72.
- McLeay, C., 1995. "Territories of refrain: space and popular music." *Proceedings of the Institute of Australian Geographers Conference, Monash University, 1993*, pp. 198-201.
- McNamee, S., 2000. "Foucault's heterotopia and children's everyday lives." *Childhood* 7(4): 479-492.
- McRobbie, A., 2000. *Feminism and Youth Culture* (2nd edition). MacMillan Press.

London.

Mead, S. M., 1997. *Landmarks, Bridges and Visions: Aspects of Maori culture*.
Victoria University Press. Wellington.

Megill, A., 1987. *Prophets of Extremity*. University of California Press. Berkley.

Meidinger, E. E., 1998. "Laws and institutions in cross-boundary stewardship", in
Stewardship Across Boundaries. Edited by R. L. Knight and P. B. Landres.
Island Press. Washington, D.C, pp. 87-110.

Memon, A., and B. J. Gleeson., 1995. "Towards a new planning paradigm?
Reflections on New Zealand's Resource Management Act." *Environment and
Planning B: Planning and Design* 22: 109-124.

Merriam-Webster Inc., 2000. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*. Merriam-
Webster Publishing. New York.

Miles, M., and A. Huberman., 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: an Expanded
Sourcebook*. Sage Publications. Beverly Hills.

Minichiello, V., R. Aroni, E. Timewell, and L. Alexander., 1995. *In-Depth
Interviewing: Principles, Techniques, Analysis*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne.

- Mitchell, D., 1995. "The end of public space? People's Park, definitions of the public, and democracy." *Annals - Association of American Geographers* 85(1): 108-133.
- Mitchell, D., 1996. "Introduction: public space and the city." *Annals - Association of American Geographers* 17(2): 127-131.
- Mitchell, D., 2000. *Cultural Geography: a Critical Introduction*. Blackwell Publishers. Malden, Mass.
- Montgomery, M., and S. Allan., 1992. "Ideology, discourse and cultural studies: the contribution of Michel Pecheux." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 17(2): 1:-19.
- Morgan, D., 1988. *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications. London.
- Moss, P., 1999. "Autobiographical notes on chronic illness", in *Mind and Body Spaces: Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability*. Edited by R. Butler and H. Parr. Routledge. London, pp. 155-166.
- Moss, P., 2000. "Writing one's life", in *Placing Autobiography in Geography*. Edited by P. Moss. Syracuse University Press. Syracuse, pp. 1-21.

- Murphy, J., 1988. "Making sense of postmodern sociology." *British Journal of Sociology* 39(4): 600-614.
- Newman, D., and A. Paasi., 1998. "Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 22(2): 186-207.
- Nicholson, L (ed). 1990. *Feminism/Postmodernism*. Routledge. New York.
- Oakley, A., 1981. "Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms", in *Doing Feminist Research*. Edited by H. Roberts. Routledge. London, pp. 30-61.
- Paasi, A., 1991. "Deconstructing regions: notes on the scales of spatial life." *Environment and Planning A* 23(2): 239-256.
- Paasi, A., 1996. *Territories, Boundaries, and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Boundary*. *Belhaven studies in Political Geography*. J. Wiley & Sons. Chichester.
- Paasi, A., 2000. "Classics in human geography revisited - human territoriality: its theory and its history - commentary 2." *Progress in Human Geography* 24(1): 93-95.

- Pais, J., 2000. "Transitions and youth cultures." *International Social Science Journal* 52(164): 219-232.
- Pecheux, M., 1982. *Language, Semantics and Ideology: Stating the Obvious. Language, Discourse, Society*. Macmillan. London.
- Pecheux, M., 1995a. "Automatic discourse analysis", in *Michel Pecheux: Automatic Discourse Analysis*. Edited by T. Hak and N. Helsloot. Utrecht studies in Language and Communication. Utrecht, pp. 63-122.
- Pecheux, M., 1995b. "Three stages of discourse analysis", in *Michel Pecheux: Automatic Discourse Analysis*. Edited by T. Hak and N. Helsloot. Utrecht Studies in Language and Communication. Utrecht, pp. 235-242.
- Pellow, D., 1996. "Introduction", in *Setting Boundaries: The Anthropology of Spatial and Social Organization*. Edited by D. Pellow. Bergin & Garvey. Westport, pp. 1-8.
- Phillips, R., 1995. "Spaces of adventure and cultural politics of masculinity: R M Ballantyne and the 'Young Fur Traders'." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13(5): 591-608.

Phillips, R., 1997. *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure*. Routledge. London.

Pile, S., 1996. *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity*. Routledge. London.

Pile, S., and M. Keith (eds). 1997. *Geographies of Resistance*. Routledge. London.

Porteous, D., 1988. "Topocide: the annihilation of place", in *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Edited by J. Eyles and D. M. Smith. Polity. Cambridge, pp. 75-93.

Prescott, J. R. V., 1987. *Political Frontiers and Boundaries*. Allen & Unwin. London.

Public Access New Zealand (PANZ), 1994. "Taylor's Mistake: A legacy of civic dereliction." *Public Access* 4: 7-8.

Purvis, T., and A. Hunt., 1993. "Discourse, ideology, discourse, ideology, discourse, ideology ..." *British Journal of Sociology* 44(3): 473-499.

Reichert, D., 1992. "On boundaries." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10(1): 87-98.

- Robson, C., 1993. *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford.
- Rodman, M., and M. Cooper., 1996. "Boundaries of home in Toronto housing cooperatives", in *Setting Boundaries: The Anthropology of Spatial and Social Organization*. Edited by D. Pellow. Bergin & Garvey. Westport, pp. 91-110.
- Rose, G., 1993. *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.
- Rose, G., 1997. "Situating knowledges: positionalities, reflexivities and other tactics." *Progress in Human Geography* 21(3): 305-320.
- Rose, G., N. Gregson, J. Foord, S. Bowlby, C. Dywer, S. Holloway, N. Laurie, A. Maddrell, and T. Skelton., 1997. "Introduction", in *Feminist Geographies: Explorations in Diversity and Difference*. Edited by Women and Geography Study Group. Longman. Harlow, pp. 1-12.
- Rosier, J., 1993. "Coastal planning in New Zealand and the Resource Management Act." *New Zealand Journal of Geography* 96: 2-7.
- Rosier, J., and W. Hastie., 1996. "New Zealand coastal planning: an issue-based approach." *Ocean and Coastal Management* 33(1-3): 147-165.

- Ross, A. (ed) 1988. *Universal Abandon?: The Politics of Postmodernism*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.
- Ryks, J., 1999. *Being, Time and Place: Investigations in Participatory Coastal Management*. Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Geography, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Ryks, J., 2000. "Castles made of sand: territoriality and exclusion in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand." *Paper presented at the Second Annual Conference of the Society for Philosophy and Geography, Baltimore, Maryland. April 2000.*
- Ryks, J., forthcoming. "Castles made of sand: territoriality and exclusion in coastal Aotearoa/New Zealand", in *Tensional Landscapes: The Dynamics of Boundaries and Placements*. Edited by G. Backhaus and J. Murungi. Lexington Books. Washington.
- Ryks, J., and R. Kirkpatrick., 2001. "The ethics of mapping the poor." *Paper presented at the 2001 Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society, Dunedin.*
- Sack, R., 1986. *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. *Cambridge studies in Historical Geography* 7. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Said, E., 1978. *Orientalism*. Routledge. London.

Sarantakos, S., 1998. *Social Research*. Macmillan Education Australia. South Melbourne.

Sarup, M., 1993. *An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism*. Harvester Wheatsheaf. New York.

Schoenberger, E., 1991. "The corporate interview as a research method in economic geography." *The Professional Geographer* 43(2): 180-189.

Schoenberger, E., 1992. "Self criticism and self awareness in research: a reply to Linda McDowell." *The Professional Geographer* 44(2): 215-218.

Seale, C., 1998. "Qualitative interviewing", in *Researching Society and Culture*. Edited by C. Seale. Sage. London, pp. 202-216.

Shields, R., 1991. *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. Routledge. London.

Shields, R., 1997. "Spatial stress and resistance: social meanings of spatialisation", in *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*. Edited by G.

Benko and U. Strohmayer. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford, pp. 186-202.

Sibley, D., 1992. "Outsiders in society and space", in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*. Edited by K. Anderson and F. Gale. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne, pp. 107-122.

Sibley, D., 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. Routledge. New York.

Sibley, D., 1996. "Problematising exclusion: reflections on space, difference and knowledge." *International Planning Studies* 3(1): 93-101.

Sibley, D., 1998. "Sensations and spatial science: gratification and anxiety in the production of ordered landscapes." *Environment and Planning A* 30(2): 235-246.

Silk, J., 1999. "The dynamics of community, place and identity." *Environment and Planning A* 31(1): 1-18.

Skelton, T., and G. Valentine (eds) 1997. *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. Routledge. London.

Slater, D., 1998. "Analysing cultural objects: content analysis and semiotics", in

- Researching Society and Culture*. Edited by C. Seale. Sage Publications. London, pp. 233-244.
- Smith, D., 1999. "Geography, community and morality." *Environment and Planning A* 31(1): 19-35.
- Smith, J. M., A. Light, and D. Roberts., 1998. "Introduction: philosophies and geographies of place", in *Philosophy and Geography III: Philosophies of Place*. Edited by A. Light and J. M. Smith. Rowman & Littlefield. Lanham, pp. 1-19.
- Soares, C., 2000. "Aspects of youth, transitions, and the end of certainties." *International Social Science Journal* 52(164): 209-217.
- Soja, E., 1995. "Heterotopologies: a remembrance of Other spaces in the citadel-L.A.", in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*. Edited by S. Watson and K. Gibson. Blackwell Publishers. Cambridge, pp. 13-34.
- Statistics New Zealand., 2002a. "Census of Population and Dwellings: 1996". <<http://www.stats.govt.nz>>. (June 5, 2002).
- Statistics New Zealand., 2002b. "Census of Population and Dwellings: 2001". <<http://www.stats.govt.nz>>. (June 6, 2002).

Stewart, D., and P. Shamdasani., 1990. *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*. Sage Publications. Newbury Park.

Surfing New Zealand Inc., "The Far North"

<<http://www.surf.co.nz/breaks/breakn1.html>>. (December 17, 1999).

Swart, C., 2000. *Mauao: Mount Maunganui*. Kale Print and Design. Tauranga.

Synnott, A., 1993. *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society*. Routledge. London.

Terry, J., and J. Urla (eds) 1995. *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

Tewder-Jones, M., and P. Allmendinger., 1998. "Deconstructing Communicative Rationality: A Critique of Habermasian Collaborative Planning." *Environment and Planning* 30(11): 1975-1989.

Thio, A., 1998. *Deviant Behaviour*, 2nd edition. Longman. New York.

Thio, A., and T. Calhoun (eds) 1995. *Readings in Deviant Behaviour*. Harper Collins College Publishers. New York.

- Thompson, J. B., 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Polity. Cambridge.
- Thompson, J. B., 1990. *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*. Polity. Cambridge.
- Thompson, P., 1985. *The Bach*. Government Printing Office. Wellington.
- Thrift, N., 2000. "Entanglements of power- Shadows?", in *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*. Edited by J. P. Sharp, P. Routledge, C. Philo, and R. Paddison. Routledge. London, pp. 269-278.
- Titscher, S., M. Meyer, R. Wodak, and E. Vetter., 2000. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*. Sage Publications. London.
- Tonkiss, F., 1998. "Analysing discourse", in *Researching Society and Culture*. Edited by C. Seale. Sage Publications. London, pp. 245-260.
- Tonya, B., and R. Hatcher., 1992. *Racism in Children's Lives*. Routledge. London.
- TopoMAP New Zealand, 2001. New Zealand NZMS 260, 262 map series on CD-ROM. Mapworld New Zealand. Christchurch.
- Tronto, J., 1993. *Moral Boundaries. A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*.

Routledge. London.

Tseelon, E., 1995. *The Masque of Femininity: The Presentation of Woman in Everyday Life*. Sage Publications. London.

Turner, V., 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Cornell University Press. New York.

Valentine, G., 1989. "The geography of women's fear." *Area* 21(4): 385-390.

Valentine, G., 1997. "Tell me about...: using interviews as a research methodology", in *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*. Edited by R. Flowerdew and D. Martin. Longman. Harlow.

Valentine, G., 1998. "Public/private voices: 'sticks and stones may break my bones': a personal geography of harassment." *Antipode* 30(4): 305-332.

Valentine, G., 2001. *Social Geographies: Space and Society*. Prentice Hall. London.

van Dijk, T., 1984. *Prejudice in Discourse*. Benjamins. Amsterdam.

van Dijk, T. A., 1985. "Introduction: the role of discourse analysis in society", in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis: Volume 4 Discourse Analysis in Society*. Edited

- by T. A. van Dijk. Academic Press. London, pp. 1-8.
- van Dijk, T. (ed) 1997. *Discourse as Social Interaction*. Sage Publications. London.
- van Dijk, T. A., 1998. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Sage Publications. London.
- van Dijk, T., 2001. "Critical Discourse Analysis", in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Edited by Deborah Tannen. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford, pp. 352-371.
- van Gennep, A., 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago University Press. Chicago.
- van Roon, M., 1999. "Effectiveness of the New Zealand Resource Management Act 1991 and related statutes in facilitating integrated coastal zone management through the use of natural boundaries." *University of Auckland, Department of Planning, Working Paper Series 99(3): 1-17*.
- Wark, M., 1998. *Virtual Geographies: Living with Global Media Events*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.
- Webber, M., 1963. "Order in diversity: community without propinquity", in *Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land*. Edited by L. Wingo. Johns Hopkins

University Press. Baltimore, pp. 23-54.

Whitford, M., 1991. *Luce Irigaray: Philosophy in the Feminine*. Routledge. London.

Wright, E., 2000. *Lacan and Postfeminism*. Icon. Trumpington.

Yin, R. K., 1989. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Applied Social Research Methods Series; v. 5. Sage Publications. Newbury Park, CA.

Media Reports (television)

TV3 31.5.2000 "Pauanui: playground for the rich"

Media Reports (newspapers)

The Sunday News 5.1.97 "Ritual riot of passage".

The Evening Post 1.1.02 "Less booze, less trouble".

The Evening Post 28.6.99 "Revolting revelry".

The Waikato Times 3.1.97 "Drunk teens ignore safe sex safeguards, say doctor"

The Waikato Times 11.1.97 "On the beach".

The Waikato Times 21.7.97 "From the Mountains to the Sea".

The Waikato Times 29.12.97 "Mount fever".

The Waikato Times 3.11.99 "Mount campaign to target holiday hoons".

The Waikato Times 13.1.01 "Holiday arrests down: offenders getting younger".

The Waikato Times 15.1.01 "Boozing youths an adult problem"

The Waikato Times 31.12.01 "But a quiet night expected on peninsula".

The Waikato Times 5.1.02 "Booze ban may not extend to peninsula".

The Dominion 2.1.02 "Stabbings, rape and arrests, but liquor bans hailed".

The Press 8.7.93 "The City Council's efforts to fix the Taylor's Mistake row".

The Press 12.6.98 "Beach bach owners 'tangata whenua'".

The Sunday Star Times 31.12.95 "Day sleepy village hits headlines".

Promotional material

Pauanui Waterways: New Zealand's most desirable coastal development, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd.

Pauanui: just like the turning of the tide, a brochure sponsored by Pauanui Waterways, a subsidiary of Hopper Developments Ltd.

Whitianga Waterways: time and tide wait for no man, a brochure by Hopper Developments Ltd.

Case Law

Freeman vs. Savage

Gisborne District Council vs. Falkner

Wellington Regional Council vs. Riddiford

Save the Bay Ltd; Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand vs. Christchurch City Council; Taylor's Mistake Association Inc; Canterbury Regional Council

Statutes Cited

The Resource Management Act 1991

Birdling's Flat Land Titles Bill 1993

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview questions for coastal planners and developers:

1. How do you define/describe/understand the/this coast?
2. In your opinion, what are the major issues facing the/this coast?
3. What is your understanding of a coastal boundary?
4. Do you think that the construction of coastal boundaries by policy makers, and the maintenance and enforcement of these boundaries by planners, has an effect on coastal communities? If so, in what way?
5. Do you think that coastal boundaries drafted under the authority of government are, in effect, social boundaries, in that they help determine where communities may or may not live?
6. Do you think that a community's reliance on coastal boundaries increases as coastal planners dedicate more effort to the maintenance and enforcement of these boundaries? (perhaps as a result of increased pressure on the coast).
7. What is your opinion of those coastal communities that do not live by or recognise formal planning boundaries? (say, for example, coastal 'squatter' communities).

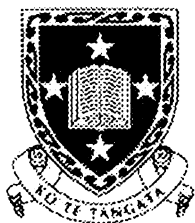
8. Do you think that issues of wealth/poverty, race and/or gender strengthens the resistance of those coastal communities described above?
9. What is your opinion of those communities that do recognise and live by coastal boundaries constructed under the authority of government?
10. Do you think that there are inconsistencies between regional authorities, in terms of the ways in which cadastral coastal boundaries are maintained and enforced? What about between local council's? Other authorities (e.g.: DOC, Mfish)?
11. Do you think there are inconsistencies in terms of the ways in which these authorities deal with boundary issues between communities?
12. Are there, perhaps, social boundaries that exist that do not conform/match the planning boundaries that are constructed, maintained and enforced by various levels of government?

Appendix 2: Questions for community/resident informants:

1. How long have you lived in this area?
2. How do you define/describe/understand this coast?
3. In your opinion, what are the major issues facing this coast?
4. In what ways (if any) do you think your community has changed during the time that you have lived here?
5. In what ways (if any) do you think the coast has changed during the time that you have lived here?
6. Can you give an example of where the views of your local or regional council have been in opposition to your own or the community?
7. In your opinion, what kind of talk is typical from local and regional council?
8. What is your understanding of a coastal boundary?
9. Are you familiar with any legal planning boundaries that exist for this coast?
10. Why do you think legal planning boundaries exist for this coast?
11. In your opinion, are these boundaries necessary for this type of community?

12. Do you think that the legal planning boundaries that local and regional councils attempt to enforce on the coast are in some way restrictive on your movements as a member of this community? If so, how?
13. Who do you think should have ultimate authority over this coast?
14. If your community had more say in terms of how the coast could be managed, would this in some way change the way you live on the coast? If so, in what way?
15. Following on from the last question, do you think that other members of your community feel the same way? Why/Why not?
16. Do you think that wealth, race or gender divides your community in any way? For example, can you think of cases where the wealthy are separated from the 'poor' within your community? Where Pakeha are separated from Maori?

Appendix 3: Agreement to participate



The University of Waikato Department of Geography

Te Whare Wananga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.
Telephone (07) 838-4466. Fax (07) 838-4633.

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

in the research

Land/seascapes of exclusion: social order on the coastal margins

I (your name) _____ **agree to participate** in the research which is being carried out by John Ryks, Department of Geography, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

I understand that:

- a) All the data collected will remain **secure** under lock or on a computer database accessible by password only.
- b) Research participants and their employers/employees will remain **confidential** and **anonymous**.
- c) Research participants have the **right to withdraw** from the research at any time without explanation. Tape recorded material will be returned if requested.
- d) **A summary of the research results** will be provided at the completion of the project on request.
- e) Information is likely to be used for **journal articles, book chapters** and newspaper/magazine reports. As stated earlier, individuals and companies will not be identified by name in the any publications or reports.

_____ (to be signed and dated by participant)

_____ (to be signed and dated by John Ryks)