

Pākehā Landhome-Making: Composting Arcadia with(in) Wairarapa

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Abstract

This article offers the notion of landhome-making as a way to compost arcadia. For my doctoral research, I interviewed Pākehā women from rural Wairarapa. Here I draw on fragments from three participants' stories to demonstrate how landhome-making can be a fertile way to trouble dominant understandings of arcadia by drawing on Donna Haraway's composting. Arcadia, which can be understood as a rural paradise, was a key way Europeans settled New Zealand, and is still a formative way in which Pākehā relate to land. Although immersed in colonial mythologizing, in which the arcadian ideal is an intimate part, I suggest participants' narratives also have the capacity to disrupt this problematic colonial ideal. I found this out by using feminist more-than-human ethnographic methodologies that helped me conclude that landhome-making possesses possibilities for composting dominant understandings of arcadia with(in) Wairarapa.

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Introduction

The women I interviewed for my doctoral research loved the land they storied to me. Here are just fragments from three of these women's stories, all from various parts of Wairarapa. Wairarapa lies at the southeastern corner of the North Island. It is predominantly an agricultural landscape with native-bush-covered mountains to the west, a few towns on the dried flood plains and hill country to the east, near the coast. Its varietal character enabled Wairarapa Māori to use this land to their advantage over several hundred years, by travelling from place to place according to the seasons. The various iwi (Māori tribe) and hapū (Māori sub-tribe) formed a sophisticated culture and economy based on cultivation and trade, which inevitably led to land exploitation. However, it wasn't until the British arrived in the nineteenth century that serious environmental change occurred. In fact, in a very short space of time, the majority of land in Wairarapa had been bought by the British Crown and on-sold to settlers, laying the foundation for a farming economy.²

A key strategy used by Britain to build such an agricultural industry throughout the colony was the "ideal" society of arcadia, commonly known as a rural paradise.³ To unearth if and how arcadianism was relevant "on the ground" in twenty-first-century rural New Zealand, I interviewed ten Pākehā women who lived on the land in Wairarapa. Drawing on the work of Donna Haraway, her ontological ponderings about knowledge production, "nature" and

“culture,” I devised a qualitative, partly collaborative methodology that required both open-ended interviewing and ethnographic wanderings around women’s land.⁴

In this article, I briefly introduce three of these women and partially relate how they made “land,” “home.” Exploring these narratives, I posit that by recalling childhood memories, reciting their ancestry and identifying rurality as “New Zealandness,”⁵ participants used the tenets of arcadia to “normalise,” “naturalise” and indigenise their belonging.⁶ Excavating these practises further, however, I also argue that alongside these stories being deeply problematic, they simultaneously point to Haraway’s composting, or a “re-turning” of arcadia that is worth considering. It was while composting these strands of thought that the concept of landhome-making arose. Landhome-making refers to the process by which women make a home on land, an implicitly political process. It is a term submerged in what Haraway calls “noninnocence” in that, in many ways, it is a process that continues the work of colonial conquest.⁷ At the same time, the composting of arcadia within women’s landhome-making generates a blurring of the boundary between human and non-human that has the potential to suggest new ways of becoming Pākehā on land in Wairarapa, New Zealand.⁸

Wairarapa, New Zealand

Wairarapa is made up of mountains, river-doused floodplains, hill country (both bushy and sparse), and a long coastline.⁹ Over millions of years, the many waterways that begin in the Tararua Ranges to the west, such as the Ruamāhanga River, have ground and freighted greywacke pebbles, gravel, silt, sandstone, mudstone and limestone over the plains, and these have in turn eventually formed the eastern hill country.¹⁰ Approximately twenty-six human generations ago the first people arrived.¹¹ Over several centuries, a number of hapū migrated at different times to Wairarapa and developed a sophisticated and flourishing political economy.¹² Presently, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa and Rangitāne are the principal iwi of the area.¹³

The dominance of Pākehā economically, culturally, and numerically in Wairarapa now is evident and significant. Census data shows that Māori only make up approximately 14–15 percent of the population, in line with the national average of 15 percent.¹⁴ Moreover, the colonial impetus to build a strong agricultural economy has ensured Pākehā farming remains a central part of the region.¹⁵ According to the 2017 agricultural production census, there was a total of 2, 265 farms across Wairarapa that included dry stock (including specialised) dairy, forestry, viticulture and horticulture operations.¹⁶ Sheep and beef predominated, but there was a decline in operation numbers in most sectors compared with the 2012 agricultural census.¹⁷

The first inland (pastoral) Pākehā settlement of Wairarapa began in the early 1840s, following the establishment of the New Zealand Company’s Wellington settlement.¹⁸ By 1847, 1,300 cattle and 13, 000 sheep had been introduced.¹⁹ An informal leasing system with iwi was swiftly formed, allowing pastoralists to run their stock on the eastern hill country.²⁰ However, such leasing agreements were illegal under Crown law, and so by 1853 the land was bought by the Crown land purchaser, Donald McLean (1820–1877), and on-sold to the former leaseholders. Such purchases were part of the bulk selling of most Wairarapa land at the time, which was negotiated at a komiti nui (large gathering) between the then governor, George Grey (1812–1898), McLean, and local iwi.²¹

Further negotiations were held in the same year at Ngāumutawa (near present-day Masterton) with Joseph Masters (1802–1873), Grey, and leaders of Ngāti Hāmua (hapū of Rangitāne). Masters was a working-class man from England who wanted to clear the forested

flood plains and set up a small farms association. The plan was to cut up the land into forty-acre blocks, with the owner of each block also owning an additional one-acre block in the planned townships.²² However, the promise that Māori would share in the wealth and development of farming and towns in Wairarapa was soon forgotten, as the more Pākehā began to control the region, the less visible Māori became and, to a large extent, less wanted.²³

The dominance of Pākehā, and Pākehā pursuits such as farming, seemed almost inevitable in Wairarapa and wider New Zealand, but this did not mean the colonial settlement of New Zealand was problem-free for the new settlers. Around the 1880s, the new colony shared in the global economic downturn. In response, colonial investors realised that political independence, like the United States had gained, was not going to be possible. Consequently, the new colony began thickening ties with Britain that in effect precipitated a renewed focus on New Zealand being “Britain’s farm.”²⁴ Such developments were significant in Wairarapa given the farming sector in this region was, along with the east coast of the South Island and the Hawke’s Bay, already core to the colonial economy.²⁵

Other factors also contributed to an increased focus on farming in the colony, such as technological developments and government support. In particular, refrigeration, by 1882, enabled the exportation of meat and dairy to Britain. Brooking and Pawson also point out that around the same time exotic pasture growth was intensified, largely owing to government subsidising and promoting, for example, lime fertiliser and later superphosphate.²⁶ Cathy Marr notes how this kind of intensification began occurring in the 1870s in Wairarapa.²⁷ More intervention was soon to come, in an effort to construct a farming nation, when Premier Richard Seddon (1845–1906) passed land reforms in the 1890s that broke up large gentrified stations, the land then on-sold to men with less means.²⁸

“Re-Viewing” a Scenic Rural Paradise

The years from 1880 to 1920 have been termed by Belich the “recolonial” period, in which the formation of New Zealand as an agricultural nation was conceptualised through the colonial strategy of arcadia.²⁹ Geographically, Arcadia is located in the Greek Peloponnesus and in ancient times a group of (purportedly brutish) shepherds lived there, off the meat and milk of their goats, and acorns from oak trees, ruled by the deity Pan.³⁰ Arcadia and Arcadians were popularised by the poet Theocritus (316–260 BCE) but more famously by the poet Virgil (70–19 BCE).³¹ In its fictional context, Arcadia became a paradise. The most common idealised image that arose from Virgil’s poetry was that of a small family farm. Thus, arcadia became commonly known as a rural paradise which, through centuries of retellings, developed into an ideal political economy. It was around the time of the Renaissance in Europe and the so-called civilising mission that arcadia, along with the ideal society of utopia, became a common colonial vision and strategy.³²

Of course, within the context of British imperialism, arcadianism was couched in Victorian Christianised terms. For example, one of the most common settler visions in New Zealand was that of the Garden of Eden or the Promised Land which reflected the classical arcadian tent of abundance.³³ The “land of milk and honey,” too, was a common way to express an arcadian Christian fecundity in New Zealand, a line paraphrased from the Book of Deuteronomy.³⁴

Arcadian propaganda in New Zealand can also not be understood without the influence of Romanticism.³⁵ For example, romantic views of a rural life—or the English “rural idyll”—as a salve from the city were used to entice potential settlers.³⁶ (Romantic) arcadian rhetoric also

drew on a sense of freedom and harmony with the land that had been “lost” through industrialisation, eliciting the idea that New Zealand was an empty paradise destined to be discovered by “virtuous” Victorians.³⁷ Arcadian advertising appealed to both the working and middle classes.³⁸ On the one hand, propaganda aimed at the working classes pointed to the possibility of private property ownership, an opportunity unavailable for them in Britain. On the other hand, middle-class populations were promised an escape from the anxiety of not being aristocratic, and with the money they already possessed, were assured they would become landed gentry in the new colony.³⁹

Framing New Zealand as an English rural paradise produced not just an agricultural export industry but a scenic tourism sector as well.⁴⁰ Marketing the more dramatic alpine vistas alongside the ostensibly “peaceful” farmland drew on the arcadian principles of abundance and the idea that man and land lived in harmony.⁴¹ Indeed, visions of sheep or cattle grazing on lush green grass with snow-capped mountains in the back ground were some of the most common marketing images of New Zealand in the nineteenth century.⁴²

Agriculture and tourism are not only still economically relevant in the twenty-first century, they are the nation’s top export earners, owing to a complex set of global and local circumstances.⁴³ For one, deregulation of the agriculture sector in the 1980s and an increasingly global market created a milieu for the formation of dairy corporation Fonterra, New Zealand’s largest business.⁴⁴ Fonterra was an amalgamation between two dairy cooperatives and the New Zealand Dairy Board and, at its inception, processed 98 percent of milk in New Zealand⁴⁵. At around the same time (1999), Tourism New Zealand spearheaded their 100% Pure New Zealand campaign, building on the romantic arcadian ideal produced in colonial New Zealand.⁴⁶

Both farming and scenic tourism industries, as practiced in New Zealand, reinscribe an arcadian colonial heteronormative masculinity.⁴⁷ Dominant farming discourse in New Zealand extols many of the arcadian settler traits fostered in colonial settler society, especially in the wake of the agricultural restructuring. In particular, the neoliberal ideals of minimal government regulation, self-responsibility or self-reliance, along with the commitment to “material progress” and private property ownership, echo the pastoral arcadian narrative touted in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Archetypes such as the kiwi bloke, that appear to show a close relationship to, or knowledge of, the land, echo the arcadian principles of harmony between man and “nature.”⁴⁹ The 100% Pure propaganda, then, not only fosters a sense of belief that New Zealand is “naturally” idyllic, but it also positions the self-contained white heteronormative person as the “natural” body to be seen in such a romantic arcadian paradise, from towering mountain and gushing rivers.⁵⁰

These arcadian practices and images are troublingly imperialist in the way they “naturalise” and “normalise” Pākehā occupation,⁵¹ dispossessing “Māori *even of the experience of being dispossessed.*”⁵² For instance, much of the arcadian literature in the nineteenth century centred on the colony as a “lost paradise” waiting to be “discovered.”⁵³ Idealising literature also propagated how fertile the land in New Zealand was and how it was “naturally” suitable for (European) farming and (European) farmers, and that, in turn, cultivated the arcadian belief that man and land lived in harmony.⁵⁴ In romantic terms, arcadian images in the colony of New Zealand also encouraged a viewpoint that positioned land as “naturally” scenic with its snowy mountains and clear lakes.⁵⁵ Pākehā have, collectively, inherited these ideas, which is how and why, in the twenty-first century, New Zealand is presented as an abundant, fertile scenic

paradise, through art, photography and video.⁵⁶ These colonial views are deeply gendered,⁵⁷ playing out the common conflation, and othering, of woman and “nature,” presenting land as either a pristine “virgin” (contained, “untouched” wilderness) or cultivated wife (farmland).⁵⁸

Such hegemonic interpretations of arcadia have influenced more recent land use practices, too. Specifically, Swaffield and Fairweather have examined the Western counter-urbanisation movement, which arose in the 1980s and 1990s, through the lens of arcadia.⁵⁹ They explain how since the 1980s (white) middle-aged urbanites with significant capital began looking outside the city limits for a “healthy, peaceful and natural way of life.”⁶⁰ Neoliberal reforms that removed government agricultural subsidies meant that small land blocks around this time became available, as many farmers subdivided their land to keep their farms afloat.⁶¹ Since this time, the rural New Zealand landscape has increasingly featured what are commonly known as “lifestyle blocks,” small, ostensibly “idyllic” sections of land owned by largely middle-class Pākehā who used to live in the city.⁶²

By 2011, there were 175,000 lifestyle blocks counted in the land valuation database, of which 75,000 had been established since 1998, roughly 5,800 new small holdings per year.⁶³ Martinborough in south Wairarapa is instructive here. In the past two or three decades the farming town has become a particularly popular area for (mostly) middle-class Pākehā to purchase a small holding.⁶⁴ Howland also notes the way Martinborough has emerged as a wine and olive tourist village, a place to fulfil the desires of the visitors which “in some respects . . . resonate back to the original Arcadia, the prototypical rural idyll believed to be the foundation of agriculture.”⁶⁵ In other words, Martinborough provides tourists and “lifestylers” with a feeling of “being rural” but within a picturesque, urbane setting.⁶⁶

Composting Arcadia

Building on the critiques of arcadian mythologies advanced by, for example, Belich, Evans and Howland, I enlisted the help of feminist philosopher Donna Haraway. I especially drew on Haraway’s composting, her latest call for challenging Western understandings of “nature” and “culture.” Haraway’s “composting” rejects the transcendent self-contained humanism of the West and presents worlds where humans are porous meaningful bodies always in a state of becoming through our relations with one another.⁶⁷ In other words, composting is an example of Haraway’s “becoming with” that she explains thus: “If we appreciate the foolishness of human exceptionalism then we know that becoming is always becoming *with*.”⁶⁸ Highlighting that such human exceptionalism came out of the European Renaissance and before that the ancient Greeks, Haraway’s thinking fruitfully touches on the problematics of arcadia, one of those Western mythologies that has tended to travel through these very histories informing Western ideas of “nature.”⁶⁹

Core to Athenian Greek intellectualism and philosophy was an ethos that ideologically separated “nature” from logic, rationality, intellect and “culture,” the latter of which was the preserve of Athenian Greek men⁷⁰. Revitalised, like arcadia was, through the European Renaissance, the separation of “nature” and “culture” formed a Western philosophy that privileged European men who, like their ancient forefathers, were believed to possess intellectual and rational “culture.” Such intellectualism and rationality was seen as a pathway for the human to get beyond earthliness and “man’s” bestial qualities. For the nineteenth-century Victorian settler, the Garden of Eden, a Christian arcadia, was a stark example of this desired place in that it symbolised transcendence—transcendence through the belief in “pure” nature and transcendence from necessity in the form of capitalist production.⁷¹

Juxtaposing or intersecting Haraway's concept of composting with the problematic qualities of arcadia has been a fruitful avenue to take in my research. Using the trope of the Garden of Eden throughout her work over the decades, Haraway's thinking is a fitting unsettling of the British colonial desire to find a divinely sanctioned arcadia and of the ongoing way in which settler Edenic discourses still "naturalise" and "normalise" white rurality in New Zealand.⁷² Haraway's ontology has also come to the fore when trying to reinscribe an arcadia with more fleshliness, which is to say, composting for the philosopher is not just a metaphor—Haraway is literally talking about compost piles. In that, as part of her ontological upheaval of what counts as "nature" and "culture," she produces a "fleshly, significant, semiotic-material" "becoming" which is a sense of being in the world with significant meaning "in the flesh."⁷³ Put simply, signification is felt through bodies; sign and flesh are one.⁷⁴

An early but ever useful evocation of composting is Haraway's "situated knowledges," which helped me frame my methodology for composting arcadia. Otherwise known as a "feminist version of objectivity," Haraway's situated knowledges value both multiple truths and visions, and the verdant materiality of earthliness.⁷⁵ Consequently, such "feminist critical empiricism" perceives knowing through a body by "reclaim(ing) the sensory system," thereby encouraging a knowing and viewing to be conducted from a place that is meaningful and only ever partial.⁷⁶ Vitality, situated knowledges staunchly counter the transcendent "god trick," that illusory state of seeing and knowing across all times and spaces from nowhere.⁷⁷

Accordingly, my own view is necessarily partial and requires situating. I identify as Pākehā. My maternal ancestors arrived in New Zealand in 1850, Lyttelton Banks Peninsula, and I use this ancestry to enrich my belonging to land in Aotearoa. Thus, as I critique participants' stories in this article, I am also critiquing my own position as Pākehā, recalling childhood memories of running through the land of Banks Peninsula. In this sense, I am just as complicit as this study's participants are at reinscribing the "naturalising" and "normalising" tactics that arcadian mythologies offer Pākehā.

I conducted fieldwork with ten Pākehā women who lived on the land in Wairarapa. Using Haraway's composting as a foundation, I developed a feminist more-than-human ethnography. More-than-human geographies is a recent lens devised by geographers that has been produced from Haraway's ponderings and was a valuable geographical tool for decentring the human during interviewing.⁷⁸ A method I used to conduct such decentring was to pay attention to the detail I encountered whilst on ethnographic excursions, thus using my body as research instrument.⁷⁹ Ethnography also allowed participants to express more freely their land, home or work, as they were able to show me and invite me to feel what they were feeling.⁸⁰ I found creative nonfiction techniques to describe these moments both effective and affective. Semi-structured and open-ended sit-down discussions, and researcher- and participant-generated photography also helped me recount the potency of participants' stories.⁸¹ To describe in more detail this methodological journey, brief accounts follow of the fieldwork I conducted with three participants who all chose not to take pseudonyms in my research.

Sarah lived with her husband and children in the Waiohine gorge. When I arrived at her place one very windy day in spring 2014, the equinox gales prevented us from going out onto her farmlet. The gusts were throwing loose objects around the property and it felt precarious staying outside being so close to a cliff's edge, where her property lay. So we sat inside drinking coffee. Sarah answered the pre-prepared semi-structured interview questions that I had given

her, some weeks previously, in less than thirty minutes. They were answered with rich depth but succinctly. So, we spent the next two hours talking about her childhood and her family farm in Taranaki. It became clear to me from this situation that a more open-ended approach to interviewing was much more productive. I also felt that an open-ended approach gave women more autonomy, which complemented the collaborative photography technique I used.

I drew on the activist research tool Photovoice, which “allows people to identify, represent and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique.”⁸² My research is not an activist project like the research of Wang et al., and therefore does not employ Photovoice as it was intended. Rather, I have adapted the approach of Wang et al.⁸³ to allow women to tell their own pictorial story as a potential method of literally revisioning dominant understandings of arcadia. A notable divergence from the approach of Wang et al. was how most participants decided to use their own digital devices as this felt most comfortable for them; a sign of privilege that the participants in the study of Wang et al.⁸⁴ did not possess.⁸⁵

For instance, Gaye was a keen photographer, so from the outset she made the decision to use her own camera. Gaye lived in rural Carterton with her husband Michael who also participated in one of the meetings held between Gaye and myself. Together the couple raised Finn-cross sheep and some cattle and fowl. When they first arrived on the property, they also planted an olive tree orchard along with a vegetable garden, trees for wood, weather protection, and enjoyment. They made the property their home which Gaye signified by taking a photo of the scene she came across outside her gate (see figure 1). Participants’ engagement with photography in this way was illuminating. If participants used a digital camera I asked them to send their photographs to me through email and I then printed them out and took them with me to our next arranged interview.



Figure 1. “Coming Home.” Source: Gaye.

The number and length of interviews varied with each participant for the main reason that I needed to work around their busy schedules. A case in point was Lynne, who lived relatively remotely. She ran a sheep farm of about 2000 acres. Thus, I needed to interview her before all

the “big jobs” started in spring and summer so I stayed with her over a couple of days at the beginning of September 2014. During this time Lynne narrated to me an intensely sweet ripe story of love towards land. Equally vital was when the coffee had been drunk, Lynne and I went out to explore her farm. During my ethnographic encounters with Lynne I was reminded of Janet Shope’s fieldwork experiences.⁸⁶ Shope, using the metaphor taken from the Zulu proverb “You can’t cross a river without getting wet.” explains her fall from the “dry riverbank” of pontificating “expert” into sodden transformed researcher. In the paddock patting lambs, riding up hills to see the view of the valleys below or feeding dogs, I became sodden with Lynne’s life and acutely aware that I was being led: Lynne was the expert and I was the amateur in these special spaces.

Flesh and Blood: Lynne’s Story

Lynne farmed hill country in the Tiraumea district with her husband Rob. They ran Romney-cross sheep, and only recently had secured the property in their own names, even though they had been farming the land for seventeen years. Lynne was keen to show me her land, so I took a ride with her on the back of her quad bike in the late afternoon. The scent of spring flowers was around, but there was a winter chill in the wind. From the farmhouse, we sped past the dog kennels and the smells of dried sheep carcass, dog faeces and plum tree blossom filled the air. As we flew over the cattle stop and across the road and abruptly ascended, I tried to frantically move into a more secure position as I felt myself slipping off the back. However, I was unable to do so without risking falling off and tumbling down the very steep hill we were climbing. Relief came as I jumped off at every gate to open and shut it, as I had an opportunity to sit back down in a safer position: But the relief did not last long as the steeper we climbed, the more I slipped. I dared not say anything to Lynne, as although I felt discomfort and a little fear, I did not want to say anything that would compromise the time Lynne was giving me to understand her land.

The bond Lynne had with her land was as intense and was—almost ineffably—described as “it’s my inner feeling. It’s who I am,” as she rubbed her chest struggling to communicate the words. Why and how this connection to land was cultivated requires recalling Lynne’s childhood. For example, feeding the working dogs, orphaned lambs and horses, riding around the farm during spring checking on lambs (a “lamb beat”), and mustering stock for market, drenching or shearing, were tasks learned from her father. Thus, each of these tasks as an adult was imbued with significance as Lynne shared with me how she often accompanied her father on the farm even though she was “encouraged” to carry out house chores:

I guess my dad had a real passion for farming—my mum was a city girl but dad just loved it and I guess that rubbed off—and like we [Lynne and her brother] would always go out with dad when we were around, especially doing the stock work. I was encouraged to stay inside and make beds though. Like my brother fed the dogs which used to make me very cross ’cos I’d much rather be out feeding the dogs and stuff . . . so right from an early age there was that affinity with my dogs and my horses. I had a pony when I was four so that love of horses and animals has been very strong for a long long time.

The “long long time” Lynne had felt strongly towards agricultural life dictated how and why she farmed but the sincerity and significance she felt was coupled with complex colonial politics. By drawing on her childhood, I suggest, Lynne conveyed an “innocent” connection to land, which Wevers argues is a form of Pākehā indigenising in the way that it obscures any colonial violence or contestation of ownership.⁸⁷ Moreover, as I sat down to talk to Lynne about

the process by which she became the owner of her farm, she and her husband seemed to “naturalise” their belonging by recounting their familial—flesh and blood—history.⁸⁸

It all began with one of the second wave settlers that arrived in the Tiraumea area in the 1890s, John Garner (or Jack) Woodhouse (1874–1957). He was born in 1874 in Wellington and as a landless labourer he travelled to Eketāhuna as a young man looking for work. He soon found a job in a local stable and eventually got promoted to packman; packing meat and other goods on a horse from one farm to another.⁸⁹ The route he travelled overlooked the farms of Tiraumea and triggered in him a desire to own and farm land himself.⁹⁰ Such a Victorian arcadian ambition was soon realised, when a 200 acre section came up for sale in 1895, and the story goes that Jack sealed the deal with a one pound note.⁹¹

Rob, Jack’s great grandson, was determined to carry on the family farm, which is why he and Lynne ended up buying the original property, along with the additional paddocks that had become part of the enterprise over several decades of expansion. Back in 1995, one hundred years after Jack first purchased their farm, Lynne and her family inscribed Jack’s details on a plaque and stuck it up on a monument that Rob built out of rocks on top of “the Cracker” (see figure 3). The Cracker was one of the highest peaks on Lynne’s land; standing on top of it, the valley Lynne lived in could be seen from every angle. Nearly twenty years later when I interviewed Lynne and Rob they still talked of the family event with affection even though an earthquake had dismantled the site. What made the area even more special was that they had both decided—when the time came—to be cremated and their ashes scattered around the peak:

That’s going to be our family place. Rob several years ago had them stacked up, but the earthquake—the last earthquake—they all fell down. So they are not quite the pile they were! But when the digger comes home Rob will stack them up again. But yeah that’s pretty intense having your own family place. So I guess that gives you—because your family are here—that gives you a very strong close tie to the land as well. Yeah. So we will be spread out up there.



Figure 1. The Woodhouse family on top of “the Cracker” on Lynne’s farm. Taken 1995. Reproduced with permission from Burns and White, Tiraumea, 9.

Lynne told a tale that illustrated how through her family's hard work, a farm was built up from a mere 200 acres to ten times that size. Material progress, a key Victorian arcadian goal, was a focus of this story and echoed the classical arcadian tenet of abundance.⁹² Jack, a single working-class settler male, also evoked what it means to be a New Zealand arcadian man: A colonial masculine individual with aspirations to own a small owned-and-operated family farm.⁹³ In fact, through childhood memories, biological ancestry, cultural norms and intergenerational stories, Lynne seemed to draw on arcadian mythology to "normalise" her connection to the farm she called home.⁹⁴

Conversely, there were earthly signs in Lynne's story that presented a potential composting of a New Zealand arcadia. For one, the stoic masculinist individualism, so central to the arcadian narrative,⁹⁵ is refashioned in Lynne's tale by the intensity of emotion she expressed and the large extended family now attached to this land. Indeed, the emotion Lynne felt towards her farm and the way she wanted to become ashes on the farm's dust, rocks and grass seemed to evoke a "becoming with" that uprooted the self-contained individual of a Victorian arcadia.

Lynne's desire to be "spread out" on her land also indicated how fleshly materiality and its symbolism can "become with" each other.⁹⁶ In Lynne's world, this simply denoted that the meaning she felt towards her land was laid within that land as well as in her body. Importantly, such "becoming with" does not alleviate the arcadian "normalising" at play in this narrative. However, the way Lynne disrupted the boundaries between her and her land renders, I argue, her story as compostable. Most potent, I suggest, was the way Lynne's story seemed to resonate with Haraway's significant-material composting as Lynne herself pointed to how one day she will not only become compost (through cremation and being scattered on her land) but will also literally "become with" her land.

Flesh and Soil: Gaye's Story

Gaye's story is interesting to compare to Lynne's, as Gaye was raised in Wellington, although she expressed fond memories of visiting her relatives' farm as a child. It was largely owing to this childhood experience that Gaye articulated a very strong affinity for living on the land and, like Lynne, concomitantly demonstrated an intriguing Pākehā identity politics, grounded in the soil where she lived. As introduced in the methodology section, Gaye and Michael had a technically mixed small farm of about thirty acres. Reminiscing on why and how she bought the block in rural Carterton, Gaye recalled driving around the Wairarapa on the weekends (whilst residing in Wellington), observing small blocks and pointing out what the imagined owners were getting "right" and what they were getting "wrong." Yet as Gaye explained, that desire was not just a personal hankering; it was a common "dream" that many "New Zealanders" possessed:

But I think a lot of New Zealanders have that dream and it's based on [pause] it is based on those childhood fantasies . . . there's something very rooted about having a piece of land [pause] yeah yeah and it does give you a place to stand. [pause] And we always say we will be carried out in a box we don't want to go anywhere else. . . .

Rebecca: Fair enough. . . .

Michael: Well if they change the burial law. . . .

Gaye: We will be able to get buried here. . . .

Gaye felt that wanting to live on a rural property was part of a common New Zealand fantasy many Kiwis had as children. Drawing on the arcadian ambition of owning private rural property,⁹⁷ Gaye "naturalised" the idea of "New Zealanders" living outside of the city.

Moreover, relating her desires for rurality through “childhood fantasies” Gaye’s story also potentially expressed a sense of Pākehā indigeneity by evoking an “innocent” connection to land she forged as a young person.⁹⁸ Interestingly, much like Lynne, Gaye expressed her wish to be buried on her property, such was her attachment to the place. Comparably to Lynne too, Gaye pointed to the importance of her home on land being a place for her wider family:

So now our nieces and nephews—they’re in their twenties now but when we first came here [to her farm in rural Carterton] they used to come as little kids to give their mothers a break and come out and stay for the weekend. And they tell stories now about how much this property means to them. And so I think that’s quite intrinsic with being a New Zealander.

“Intrinsic” New Zealandness, for Gaye, was about owning rural land. Interestingly, by again “naturalising” her belonging as a (Pākehā) New Zealander, Gaye’s narrative underscored the personal and cultural connection behind wanting to own private rural property. In other words, Gaye’s story was about making a home on land and a “landhome.” This theme resonated with Lynne’s story as well, in the sense the farmer’s story narrated ancestry that recited her familial connections whilst also evoking the cultural settler arcadian ideal. These accounts presented a way to illuminate the problematic ideologies within Pākehā connections to land from situated perspectives. They also, I maintain though, offer ways in which arcadian feelings for land are compostable.

For example, echoing Haraway’s call for understanding the world as “fleshly meaning” or material that is always significant, Gaye, in her account illustrated how arcadian ideals are able to be felt “in the flesh.” Such a revisioning with a sensory system contests both the disembodied gazing of arcadia and the self-contained individual masculine settler.⁹⁹ To elaborate, even though Gaye professed a desire for owning private property and even gazing at it (see figure 1, for instance) the affective expression of “home” she exuded pointed to how the separation of “nature” and “culture” within dominant understandings of arcadia may be challenged. In particular, building on Lynne’s comment about when she passes, Gaye also inferred that she ultimately wanted to “become *with*”¹⁰⁰ the land she called home when the time came. To explore these compostable arcadian ponderings a little bit further, one more story may help.

Landhome-Making with Sarah, Gaye and Lynne

Sarah closely knotted and knitted the reminiscing of childhood, her ancestry and feelings of what it means to be a New Zealander within her tale of family and home in Taranaki. Fortuitously, during my interviews with Sarah, she visited her family farm during the primary school holidays with her sons. During this time Sarah chose to take photographs of sites that were of particular significance to her so she could show me how she identified with land. For example, she presented me with photos of the Stratford Cemetery in Taranaki and elucidated why she thought this place was important (see figure 3):

One of the photos I took was of the Stratford cemetery because all my family are buried there. Everybody is buried there. . . . So when you said take photos of pieces of land that were meaningful I thought “oh its such a morbid thing” but I just kind of took a picture [of the cemetery] because it is where all my family are. And my children and my brother’s children can go in and find the same names as them, which is really cool, which is a connection for them. It gives them a depth I guess to your family. So that piece of land, the Stratford cemetery, although it’s communally owned, is significant for that fact I think for me . . . so Dad’s family came in 1841 and settled in Taranaki

pretty much straight away. My mother's family came a little later in 1860s and they came up through Nelson and then finally settled in Taranaki.



Figure 3. "Stratford Cemetery." Source: Sarah.

Sarah's relationship to Taranaki, long embedded there, was "meaningful" and "significant." Notably, the significance of the cemetery—a core part of her identity with Taranaki—was not a disembodied sign, it was a sign connected to the "flesh of settling."¹⁰¹ Sarah's story also indicated an intimacy that subtly but compellingly conflated ideas of familial home to broader cultural notions of "becoming Pākehā" in statements like: "so Dad's family came in 1841 and settled in Taranaki pretty much straight away." Interestingly, the idea of becoming "settled" is comparable to Gaye's story of becoming "rooted" to a place; expressions that ignited both personal and political affects as Sarah explained:

My identity would be most influenced by my childhood and the fact that I lived on my parent's farm. And that farm was owned by their parents so that's how I guess [pause] when I think about my identity, or where I came from, or what it means to be a New Zealander, I have those kinds of thoughts and images.

Like the affective symbolic power of the Stratford Cemetery, Sarah's "thoughts and images" were not disembodied: They, for Sarah, were filled with the flesh and blood of her family and her corporeally felt childhood, been raised on the farm in Taranaki. In this context, Sarah's narrative, like Gaye and Lynne's, seemed to claim a sense of indigeneity in the way her story of settlement and her evocation of childhood expressed an uncontested relationship with the family farm, which appeared to be "naturally" part of her New Zealand identity.¹⁰² At the same time though, there were fleshly signs that intimated something more was going on. For one, the affect Sarah felt towards the land she called home disrupted the boundaries of what counts as "human" and what counts as "land," intensified by the Stratford Cemetery wherein human and non-human comingled.

Sarah, Gaye and Lynne's stories practised what I call in this paper, landhome-making. Landhome-making is what erupted whilst writing women's stories, as I contemplated the non-innocent connection they had to land and the coincident naturalcultural relationships they

formed.¹⁰³ Initially, participants' stories reminded me of a kind of "homemaker" by how they recited their family commitments. For instance, in their stories, Lynne, Gaye and Sarah recounted their roles as daughter, mother and wife and stated how central their family was to them. Notably, however, women's embodied roles of being daughter, mother, wife, were discernible contrasts to the Victorian heteronormative "arcadian wife" who "made home" inside the house. In fact, more often than not, the making of "home" and family was imagined as, and carried out on, land for these three women.

Thus, I thought rather than use the term "homemaker," perhaps women's home-on-land-making was describing a kind of "homeland." The term "homeland" is commonly defined as nationhood beyond the parameters of modernity.¹⁰⁴ In particular, homeland often refers to those nations that are built on ancestral lineage and that have a common culture and mythology. The evident problem with "homeland"—and "homemaker"—is how these terms can "normalise" and "naturalise" nationhood and gender roles through imagined or material biology. Homeland does not quite resonate with what women told me either. Homeland implies a sense of nationalism that was not present in women's articulation of "New Zealandness." What's more, women's stories emphasised "land" as "home" that eventually yielded the idea of landhome. Recognising too that women were not just "makers" but also being made and remade by each encounter with their land, urged me to also unsettle the term "maker."

Landhome-making is a natureculture. As a naturalcultural practice, landhome-making inherits the encounters of colonialism as a compost pile of Pākehā affect towards land. Crucially, landhome-making, like any good compost pile, is "constantly in-the-making,"¹⁰⁵ troubling the boundaries between human and not, always turning over flesh, blood, soil and non-innocent meaning. A common thread among women's stories that demonstrates this idea of landhome-making rather potently was the recalling of final resting places that bound women, or their families, to land indefinitely that literally called for a composting between human and land. Indeed, by melding human ("culture") and land (or "nature") through a shared discussion of cremation, burial and cemeteries, familial cultural and embodied connections to land were communicated that opened up possibilities for composting dominant understandings of arcadia. Thus, whilst landhome-making inevitably inherits and freights a certain amount of problematic colonial politics, it also holds potential for disrupting, to a degree, essentialist ideas of "normal" and "natural" New Zealand arcadian belonging. Such disruptions, in turn, enable the recitation of fleshly stories of living on land (re)producing notions of "becoming Pākehā" with(in) Wairarapa.

Conclusion

Wairarapa land was routinely made home for people long before Pākehā. Bushy mountains, gushing water ways, fertile plains, undulating hills, and an expansive coastline served iwi and hapū relatively well even if it required customary trekking over centuries. In contrast, Pākehā landhome-making was much more dramatic. In fact, it took just over a decade for the British Crown to purchase most Wairarapa land from when the area was first surveyed. A farming economy and culture was quickly established and still underpins Wairarapa economy and culture to the present day. Wairarapa agriculture was not just about making money, though. There was an unequivocal desire, stemming from the British Empire, to create an ideal society colony-wide.¹⁰⁶ Both utopian and arcadian strategies were used but as I trace in this article, ultimately Pākehā relations to land depended upon the mythology of arcadia. The idealism of arcadia "normalised" and "naturalised" settler occupancy through both scenic tourism and

agriculture, both of which remain cornerstones of New Zealand's economy and culture in the twenty-first century.

Therefore, I decided to explore the meaning of such hegemonic discourses with Pākehā women who lived on the land in Wairarapa. Accompanied by Haraway's ontological contention that "nature" and "culture" do not exist separately,¹⁰⁷ I developed a feminist more-than-human ethnography to record and understand women's stories. This article recounted just fragments of the interviews I recorded with three of the women. Drawing on open-ended interviews, participant-generated photography and ethnographic excursions, I argue women performed landhome-making. Landhome-making honours Haraway's call for viewing the world with naturalcultural sight but acknowledges this vision as non-innocent and in many ways colonially problematic. Nonetheless, by arguing that these women and my analysis have "naturalized" and "normalized" belonging, I conclude that landhome-making holds potential for composting arcadia in the way it recognises the colonial complicities that are routinely enacted through meaningful connection to "home" and "land" in women's stories. Moreover, Lynne, Gaye and Sarah's accounts—core to the formation of landhome-making—showed signs of disrupting the binary between "nature" and "culture," which fostered an emerging response to arcadian narratives and new ways of "becoming Pākehā." Thus, in conclusion, I suggest landhome-making as a tool for composting arcadian belonging with(in) land in Wairarapa, New Zealand.

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¹ "Found poem" formed by research participants' narratives from this article.

² Cathy Marr, *Wairarapa Twentieth Century Environmental Overview Report: Lands, Forests and Coast*, (research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, WAI 863, A25, Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry, 2001), 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, vol. 1 (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 2010), 23–36.

³ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Ealing: Penguin, 2002), 27–86; Patrick Evans, *The Long Forgetting: Post-Colonial Literary Culture in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2007), 47–98; Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850–1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), 13–24; Allan R. Ruff, *Arcadian Visions: Pastoral Influences on Poetry, Painting and the Design of Landscape* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2015), 1–14; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995), 517–71.

⁴ Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Free Association Books, 1991), 183–203; Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003); Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 285–303; Donna Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 30–99.

⁵ A term used by Jane Sayle in "Women by Water: Notes Towards a New Zealand Sublime" (master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2001), 68.

⁶ For the process of naturalizing, see Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 60; for the process of indigenizing, see Lydia Wevers, "Being Pakeha: The Politics of Location," *The Journal of New Zealand Studies* 4/5 (2006): doi: <https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.v0i4/5.104>.

- ⁷ Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, 183–203; Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 30–99.
- ⁸ John Newton, “Becoming Pakeha,” *Landfall* 218 (2009): 40.
- ⁹ Boffa Miskell Ltd., *Wairarapa Landscape Study 2010: Landscape Character Description* (report produced for Greater Wellington Regional Council, 2010), 92–100; Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ¹⁰ Miskell, *Wairarapa Landscape Study*, 92–100; Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ¹¹ Miskell, *Wairarapa Landscape Study*, 92–100; Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ¹² Miskell, *Wairarapa Landscape Study*, 92–100; Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ¹³ Miskell, *Wairarapa Landscape Study*, 92–100; Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ¹⁴ For full details and a breakdown of the different regional population statistics, see http://archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/data-tables/tables-about-a-place.aspx?request_value=24467#24467. For statistics on Māori and non-Māori population figures nationally, see http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/maori-population-article-2015.aspx.
- ¹⁵ Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ¹⁶ For the purposes of this article, Wairarapa refers to four districts: South Wairarapa (which includes Featherston and Martinborough), Carterton, Masterton and Tararua.
- ¹⁷ For full information about this previous census, see http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/industry_sectors/agriculture-horticulture-forestry/2012-agricultural-census-tables/farm-counts.aspx.
- ¹⁸ Jim McAloon, “Resource Frontiers, Environment and Settler Capitalism, 1769–1860,” in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2013), 70–85.
- ¹⁹ Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking, “Introduction,” in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2013), 17–31.
- ²⁰ McAloon, “Resource Frontiers”; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ²¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ²² Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 23–36.
- ²³ For example, when in the mid-twentieth century the government was inducing Māori into leaving their rural marae to live in urban areas such as Masterton, there were issues. Specifically, the Pākehā-run Masterton Borough Council and many Pākehā Masterton residents became “openly suspicious and antagonistic” towards Māori buying houses (Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 81). More tension arose as the council discovered the government was planning to build a designated area for Māori social housing. In 1945 the council wrote a letter to the Native Department elaborating on its concern that such housing would be located too close to town and suggested it be built on the outskirts where it would be “easier to supervise” as there were no “blighted or neglected” dwelling areas in Masterton and they wanted to keep it that way (Masterton Borough Council, 18 May 1945, quoted in Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 81). The residents agreed and were also worried that Māori moving into town would reduce the value of their houses. Even the Borough’s engineer wrote in a memo that he had “no time for natives” and insisted that any housing built for Māori needs to be a separate site “exclusive from Europeans” (Cooper, 31 May 1945, quoted in Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 82).
- ²⁴ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86.
- ²⁵ McAloon, “Resource Frontiers,” 81.
- ²⁶ Tom Brooking and Eric Pawson, *Seeds of Empire: The Environmental Transformation of New Zealand* (London: Tauris, 2011). See also Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 60.
- ²⁷ Marr, *Wairarapa Report*, 8–16, 58–95.

- ²⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86. Though married women in New Zealand could own property in their own name from 1884, it was unusual for women to own property until much later (see Anne Else, “Gender Inequalities—Sexuality,” Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, revised 20 June 2018, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gender-inequalities/page-2>).
- ²⁹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–98; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ³⁰ Ruff, *Arcadian Visions*, 1–14; Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 517–71.
- ³¹ Ruff, *Arcadian Visions*, 1–14; Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 517–71.
- ³² Ruff, *Arcadian Visions*, 1–14; Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 517–71; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ³³ Fairburn, *The ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ³⁴ See Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 24, which quotes the full passage from Deuteronomy 6:3: “Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the LORD God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey. The King James version which details how Canaan, the Promised Land has been pledged to the Jewish people.”
- ³⁵ Evans, *The Long Forgetting*.
- ³⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Rorgetting*, 47–98; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24; Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 151–93.
- ³⁷ Rose, *Feminism and Geography*, 151–93.
- ³⁸ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ³⁹ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁴⁰ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–98.
- ⁴¹ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–98; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁴² Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 84.
- ⁴³ Eric Pawson and The Biological Economies Team, *The New Biological Economy: How New Zealanders are Creating Value from the Land* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018), 1–40.
- ⁴⁴ Pawson and The Biological Economies Team, *The New Biological Economy*, 1–40.
- ⁴⁵ Pawson and The Biological Economies Team, *The New Biological Economy*, 1–40.
- ⁴⁶ For example, see Pure As, Tourism New Zealand’s 10 year marking of the campaign: <https://www.tourismnewzealand.com/media/1544/pure-as-celebrating-10-years-of-100-pure-new-zealand.pdf>; Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*; Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*; Rose, *Feminism and Geography*.
- ⁴⁷ See Evans, *The Long Forgetting* (135–66), for a critique of the heteronormative masculinist ideologies that constructed both the farming and tourist sectors in New Zealand. For a feminist queer critique on the New Zealand tourist industry see Susan Frohlick and Lynda Johnston, “Naturalizing Bodies and Places: Tourism Media Campaigns and Heterosexualities in Costa Rica and New Zealand,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 38, no. 3 (2011): 1090–1109; Lynda Johnston, “Queering Skiing and Camping up Nature in Queenstown: Aotearoa New Zealand’s Gay Ski Week,” in *Sexualities, Spaces and Leisure Studies*, ed. Jayne Caudwell and Kath Browne (London: Routledge, 2013), 43–58; Lynda Johnston, “‘I Do Down-Under’: Naturalizing Landscapes and Love through Wedding Tourism in New Zealand,” *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 5, no. 2 (2006): 191–208.
- ⁴⁸ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁴⁹ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁵⁰ Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 13–24; Frohlick and Johnston, “Naturalizing Bodies and Places.”
- ⁵¹ Evans, *The Long Forgetting*; Sarah Leeuw and Sarah Hunt, “Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies,” *Geography Compass* 12, no. 7 (2018), doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12376>.
- ⁵² Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 127; emphasis original.
- ⁵³ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–134; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.

- ⁵⁴ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–98; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁵⁵ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–134; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁵⁶ Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–134.
- ⁵⁷ See Jo Little, “Constructing Nature in the Performance of Rural Heterosexualities,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25, no. 5 (2007): 851–66; Jo Little and Ruth Panelli, “Gender Research in Rural Geography,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 10, no. 3 (September 1, 2003): 281–89; Jo Little and Patricia Austin, “Women and the Rural Idyll,” *Journal of Rural Studies* 12, no. 2 (1996): 101–11.
- ⁵⁸ Frohlick and Johnston. “Naturalizing Bodies and Places”; Johnston, “I Do Down-Under”; Rose, *Feminism and Geography*, 151–93.
- ⁵⁹ Simon Swaffield and John Fairweather, “In Search of Arcadia: The Persistence of the Rural Idyll in New Zealand Rural Subdivisions,” *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 41, no. 1 (1998): 111–28.
- ⁶⁰ Jo Little, “Gender Relations in Rural Areas: The Importance of Women’s Domestic Role,” *Journal of Rural Studies* 3, no. 4 (1987): 335–42, in Swaffield and Fairweather, “In search of Arcadia,” 186.
- ⁶¹ Peter Howland, “Martinborough’s Wine Tourists and the Metro-Rural Idyll,” *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 6/7 (2008): 77; Sarah Johnsen, “Contingency Revealed: New Zealand Farmers’ Experiences of Agricultural Restructuring,” *Sociologia Ruralis* 43, no. 2 (2003): 128–53.
- ⁶² Howland, “Martinborough’s Wine Tourists”; Robert Sanson, Andrew John Cook, and John R. Fairweather, *A Study of Smallholdings and their Owners* (Wellington: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 2004); Swaffield and Fairweather, “In search of Arcadia”; Johnsen, “Contingency Revealed.”
- ⁶³ R. Andrew and J. R. Dymond, “Expansion of Lifestyle Blocks and Urban Areas onto High-Class Land: An Update for Planning and Policy,” *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 43, no. 3 (2013): 133.
- ⁶⁴ Howland, “Martinborough’s Wine Tourists.”
- ⁶⁵ Howland, “Martinborough’s Wine Tourists,” 77.
- ⁶⁶ Howland, “Martinborough’s Wine Tourists.”
- ⁶⁷ Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 161–303; Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 30–99.
- ⁶⁸ Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 244.
- ⁶⁹ Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 517–71.
- ⁷⁰ Howland, “Martinborough’s Wine Tourists”; Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Rose, *Feminism and Geography*.
- ⁷¹ Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, 69–103; Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*.
- ⁷² For Haraway’s deployment of the Garden of Eden trope, see her work from *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women* to *Staying with the Trouble*; for white rurality, see Ruth Panelli, Phil Hubbard, Brad Coombes, and Sandie Suchet-Pearson, “De-Centring White Ruralities: Ethnic Diversity, Racialisation and Indigenous Countrysides,” *Journal of Rural Studies* 25 (2009): 355–64.
- ⁷³ Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 165.
- ⁷⁴ Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*; Haraway, *When Species Meet*; Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*.
- ⁷⁵ Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, 186.
- ⁷⁶ Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, 188.
- ⁷⁷ Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, 188–89.
- ⁷⁸ Amanda C. Thomas, “Indigenous More-Than-Humanisms: Relational Ethics with the Hurunui River in Aotearoa New Zealand,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 16, no. 8 (17 November 2015): 974–90; Sarah Whatmore, *Hybrid Geographies: Natures Cultures Spaces* (New York: Sage, 2002).
- ⁷⁹ Gail Adams-Hutcheson, “Farming in the Troposphere: Drawing Together Affective Atmospheres and Elemental Geographies,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 20, no. 7 (2019): 1004–23; Robyn Longhurst, Elsie Ho, and Lynda Johnston. “Using ‘the Body’ as an ‘Instrument of Research’: Kimch’i and Pavlova,” *Area* 40, no. 2 (2008): 208–17.

- ⁸⁰ Longhurst, Ho, and Jonhston, "Using the Body."
- ⁸¹ Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*.
- ⁸² See Brigitte Krieg and Lana Robert, "Photovoice: Insights into Marginalisation through a 'Community Lens' in Saskatchewan, Canada," in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, ed. Sara Kindon, Rachel Pain, and Mike Kesby (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2007), 150–59; the quotation is from Caroline C. Wang, Jennifer L. Cash, and Lisa S. Powers, "Who Knows the Streets as Well as the Homeless? Promoting Personal and Community Action through Photovoice," *Health Promotion Practice* 1, no. 1 (2000): 82.
- ⁸³ Wang, Cash, and Powers, "Who Knows the Streets."
- ⁸⁴ Wang, Cash, and Powers, "Who Knows the Streets."
- ⁸⁵ They used disposable cameras received from researchers.
- ⁸⁶ Janet Hinson Shope, "'You Can't Cross a River Without Getting Wet': A Feminist Standpoint on the Dilemmas of Cross-Cultural Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (2006): 164.
- ⁸⁷ Wevers, "Being Pakeha."
- ⁸⁸ Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–98.
- ⁸⁹ Ngaire Burns, comp., and Jill White, ed., *Tiraumea: The History of Tiraumea and Districts including Rakaunui* (Tiraumea: Ngaire Burns, 2006).
- ⁹⁰ Burns and White, *Tiraumea*.
- ⁹¹ Burns and White, *Tiraumea*; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁹² Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
- ⁹³ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
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- ⁹⁸ Wevers, "Being Pakeha."
- ⁹⁹ Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 30–99.
- ¹⁰⁰ Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 221; emphasis original.
- ¹⁰¹ Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 161–303.
- ¹⁰² Wevers, "Being Pakeha."
- ¹⁰³ "Natureculture" is Haraway's term, in *The Companion Species Manifesto*, for describing the necessary entanglement of the natural and the cultural.
- ¹⁰⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2009).
- ¹⁰⁵ Franklin Ginn, "Extension, Subversion, Containment: Eco-Nationalism and (Post)Colonial Nature in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new series 33, no. 3 (2008): 336.
- ¹⁰⁶ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 27–86; Evans, *The Long Forgetting*, 47–98; Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, 13–24.
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