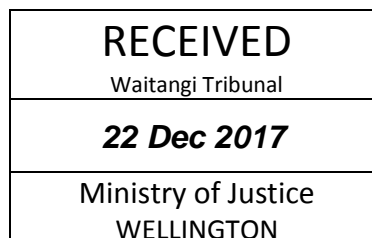


**Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry
Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives
Technical Report**

Te Rangitāwhia Whakatupu Mātauranga Ltd

By Associate Professor Huhana Smith

2017



A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Report writer

Taku turanga ake ki runga ki ngā maunga titohea o te takiwā nei, ko Tararua, Ōtararere, ko Poroporo, ko Pukeātua, ki ngā wai ora, ki ngā wai puna, ki ngā wai tuku kiri o te iwi, ko Ōhau, ko Waikōkopu, ko Kuku, ko Tikorangi, ko Mangananao, ko Te Mateawa, ko Te Rangitāwhia, ko Ngāti Manu, ko Patumākuku, ko Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti o te rohe ki te iwi nei o Ngāti Tūkorehe.¹

Ko Āni rāua ko Rameka Wehipiehana ōku mātua tupuna, nō Kuku, Horowhenua.

Ko Parewai rāua ko Arthur Holder ōku kaumātua, nō Kuku, Horowhenua hoki

Ko Netta (nō Kuku) rāua ko Adrian Smith (nō Savernake, Ahitereiria) ōku mātua

Ko Ngāti Tūkorehe te iwi, ko Te Mateawa, ko Te Rangitāwhia, ko Kapumanawawhiti ōku hapū

Ko Huhana Smith taku ingoa

My name is Huhana Margaret Smith. I have degrees in art and craft from Melbourne University, Melbourne, Australia. I also have a Bachelor of Māori Visual Arts (1997), a Postgraduate Diploma in Museum Studies (1997), and graduated with a visual PhD (featuring art works) in Māori Studies entitled ‘Hei Whenua Ora: Hapū and iwi approaches for reinstating valued ecosystems within cultural landscape’ from Massey University, Palmerston North, in 2008.

From 2003–2009, I was Senior Curator Māori at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa from. For that position, I was actively engaged in the intricacies of research surrounding the taonga Māori collection for publications, national and international exhibitions, and the collection’s online. I shared an interest and involvement in the contemporary Māori art/visual culture arena at Te Papa. I remain closely associated with Toioho ki Āpiti, or the Māori visual arts at Te Pūtahi ā Toi, Massey University, Palmerston North.

From 2007–2014, I was Chair of Taiao Raukawa Environmental Resource Unit who

¹ Composed by Sean Ogden and derived from a second round of funding application for *Te Hākari Wetlands Restoration, Poutu-te-rangi 2005*. This expression of belonging to place covers a wide region of responsibility for hapū of Tūkorehe.

worked with other trustees and Māori researchers on a range of regional resource management issues and environmental projects for the benefit of iwi/hapū from Raukawa ki te Tonga, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko.

During that time, I was also Research Leader Māori for the *Manaaki Taha Moana: Enhancing Coastal Ecosystems for Māori* (MTM) project (2010–2015), which was contracted to the School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University, Palmerston North, and funded by the Ministry for Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE).

I am a practicing artist, academic and am currently Associate Professor, Head of School for Whiti o Rehua within the College of Creative Arts, Toi Rauwhāangi, at Massey University in Wellington.

1.2 The team

For this report, Te Rangitāwhia Whakatupu Mātauranga Ltd's research team (trading as Te Rangi) is made up of predominately Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Te Āti awa, and Toarangatira (ART Confederation) researchers. The *Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* research team includes: Aroha Spinks (research leader); Moira Poutama (kaiwhakarite of hui and wānanga/researcher); Mahina-a-rangi Baker (researcher), Dr Gary Hook (researcher) and Lynne Raumatī (research assistant). While Mahina-a-rangi is contracted on the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* project, she has contributed to this research endeavour by attending the series of oral narrative wānanga. We also sought the expertise of Dr Mike Joy and Derrylea Hardy, from Massey University who are also contracted on the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* project.

There were some Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CRFT)-approved personnel changes early in 2016, when Caleb Royal and Ema Moore (who were originally listed as part of the research team) became unavailable. Their tasks were distributed amongst the other team members. Dr Huhana Smith took up a position as Associate Professor, Head of School of Arts at Massey University, which resulted in Aroha Spinks taking over the Research Leader role in May 2016. Dr Helen Potter came on board to support the Inland Waterways project and report writing for the later Historical project, due May–June 2017.

This report has been collated with the engagement of many iwi/hapū representatives across the inquiry region. We acknowledge that not all the regions' voices from all iwi/hapū are present in this report, however late requests for inclusion in July and August 2016 were picked up in further interviews completed in September for the complementary *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report.

In this inclusive manner, the team tried very hard to engage with the claimant community and gather region-wide voices in order to amplify their long-term pain and frustration as experienced over many generations. A range of complex land alienations and actions by Crown has led to a severing of iwi/hapū cultural relationships with, and greater knowledge of, freshwater species within once healthy habitats. The team tried to reflect these laments as so keenly felt by our informants in the present day, and the long term damaging effects waterway decline has had on their cultural condition. All voices raise issue with the compounding ill effects colonisation, which promulgated major shifts in power bases between Māori and Pākehā settler communities. This exacerbated conflicts in values over water thus enabling intensified agricultural land use, urban and peri-urban developments with associated infrastructures to expand across the inquiry region. These actions today have accelerated severe pollution of freshwater ecosystems. Claimants also raised concerns for impacts of large-scale drainage, stopbanking schemes and other damaging engineered modifications exacted upon natural waterways. The accumulated controls of Crown legislation compounded by Crown actions *and* inactions on inland waterways, cannot be underestimated within this inquiry region.

1.3 The purpose

CFRT commissioned the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report as one of its research projects, within a negotiated suite of related projects for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry. It is commissioned on behalf of *all* approved clients and *all* claimants in the inquiry, and not for individual claimants or claimant groups. This *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report heralds a range of recorded and compelling narratives from hapū members who are of/and affiliated to, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Muaūpoko, Ngātiawa and Te Ātiawa. The report refers to some aspects of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries – a region that is again, subject to a separate and more comprehensive research report.

The *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report is based mostly on oral narratives and is complemented by the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Collation of Oral Narrative* Report. Finalized in October 2016, this earlier report documented the actual wānanga and hui conducted. It contains approved transcripts of all those interviews collated. This *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report also shares some voice from various speakers from the Waitangi Tribunal Ngā Korero Tuku Iho site visits and presentations, which were undertaken around marae in the inquiry region, from June 2014.

The purpose of this report is to consider in detail the following key issues in the rohe (with some exclusions):

- The customary use and significance of the inland waterways;
- The impact of European settlement on this customary use;
- Efforts by iwi/hapū to ensure central and local government recognition of the cultural significance of the inland waterways; and
- Issues pertaining to mana wāhine and mana tāne.

1.4 Geographic Scope and Limitations

The geographic outline of what waterways are being considered in this *Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report, includes more than the original list in the research brief. At wānanga, hui and workshops the team were able to include and document more key waterways of significance as advised by each claimant or iwi/hapū community. The team collated them into a series of overview tables of waterways (see pages 48–66) with the key Māori values associated with them. Tables 2–5 are an overview of relevant waterways for each iwi/hapū-based group in each rohe. The lists start at the northern reaches of the inquiry region and makes their way south towards Porirua. The names are sourced from wānanga, interview information provided by representatives, from the Proposed Natural Resources Plan 31/07/15, Greater Wellington Regional Council, pp. 292–293 (which had hapū and iwi consultation), and George Lesley Adkin’s 1948 publication, *Horowhenua its Māori-place names and their topographic and historic background*. This list of waterways with associated values helped direct the most relevant of waterways as key examples for the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* project.

Note that while Waimarie Lake, Te Puna a te Ora Lake, Turakina River, Kairanga Swamp or Waiauti/Waiaute Stream (amongst others on the lists) do not feature at all or as prominently as other waterways with values, this reflects time constraints to fully complete this table for write up and submission of the report. The research leader and team acknowledges the considerable contributions made by iwi/hapū at each wānanga and hui, and the realities to follow up with many informants and finalise all details. No values listed does not equate with no values present. During further Waitangi Tribunal hearings and Crown Forestry Rental Trust funded research projects further evidence may be provided by claimants, iwi and hapū to support the cultural values of listed waterways.

1.4.1 Themes, topics and maps

This report examines the customary use of, and significance of waterways including ancestral relationships and the usufructuary rights of iwi/hapū to the waterways listed on the following Tables 2–5. The team examined the range of impacts in the research themes caused by colonisation, intensive land and water use changes over generations, particularly the effects of historic and contemporary agricultural or pastoral expansion upon the customary use and health of inland waterways. As raised in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* research project too, selected case studies on particular waterways chronicle the impact of changes or extent of loss of essential resources, particularly extensive drainage, engineering and modifications of made to waterways.

A complimentary mapping method drew together related environmental information to chronicle changes for significant inland waterways Research Leader Aroha Spinks guided the CFRT’s Mapping Facilitator Christine Vaughan and contracting company Jacobs² to produce high quality maps. The maps included have been produced for each iwi/hapū group who engaged in the project, based on their advice. Maps of significant rivers and historical wetlands have been developed to accompany the following tables (Figures 1–6).

² URL: <http://www.jacobs.com>.

Figure 1: Map of the Porirua ki Manawātū Inquiry District, with some waterways noted and associated local marae of Muaūpoko, Rangitāne, Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga, Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, Ngātiawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira iwi affiliations.

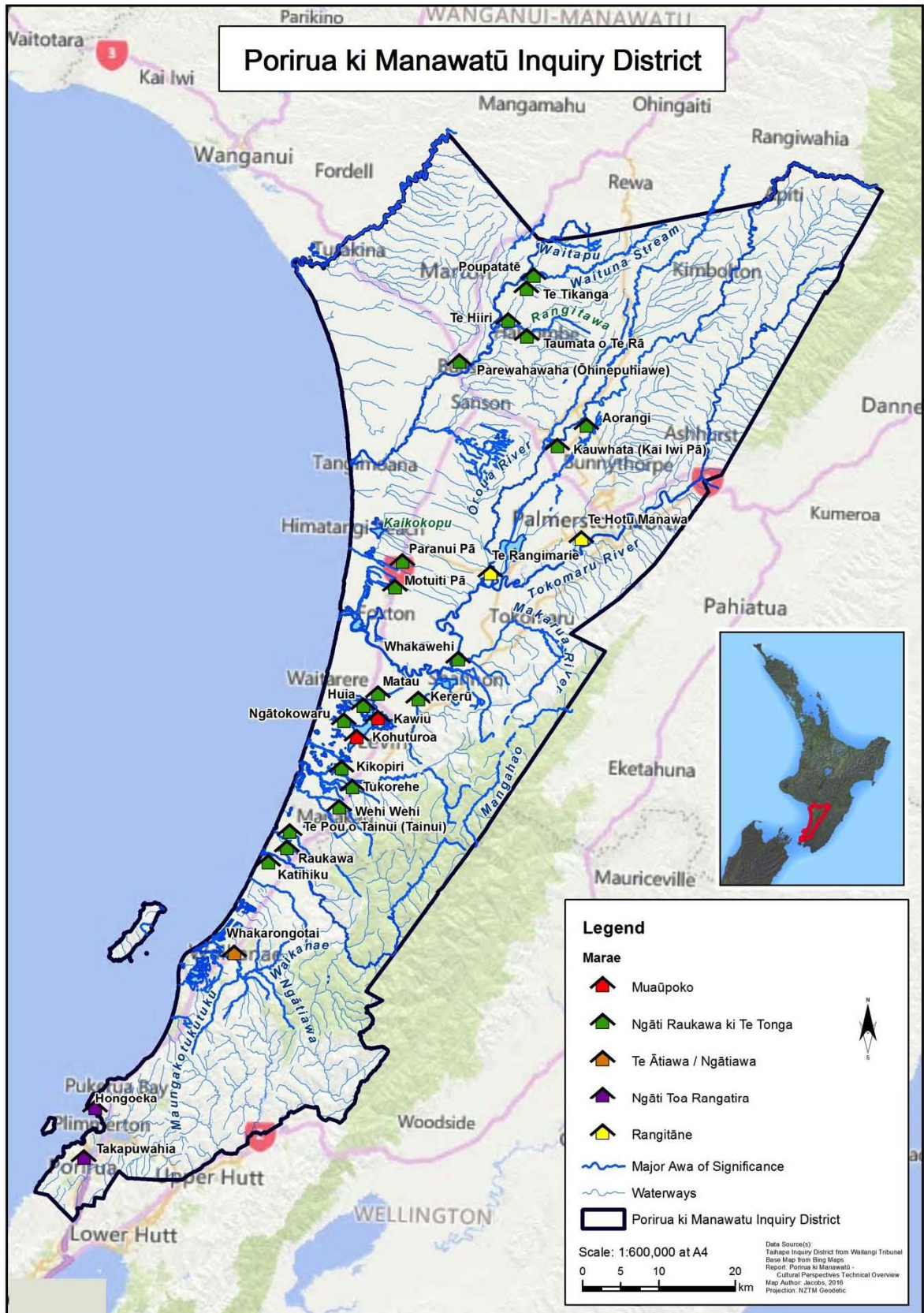


Table 1: Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga inland waterways of significance and their cultural values

Significant inland waterways	Values
Rangitikei River	Baptismal, tohi, kai/food source, ancestral travelling stream, swimming, nourishes whenua (land)
Rangitikei Tributary – Mahakikaroa	Wai ora, wai whāngai, eeling, fishing
Rangitikei Tributary – Makowhai	Pātaka kai species (tuna/eels, kākahi/freshwater mussel, kōura or kōura and freshwater crayfish, watercress), swimming, bathing
Karariki	
Rangitawa Stream	Historical/ancestral pā (e.g. Miria te Kakara)
Waitohi	
Kaikokopu Dune Lakes	
Turakina River	
Ratana Wetlands	
Kairanga Wetlands	
Mangahao	Kōura and freshwater crayfish, – including kōura gathering as a recreational past time activity for the tamariki or children
Rongotea Wetlands	Waterfowl
Waitapu stream	Glow worms, Tawhirihoe scenic reserve (white coprosma, katipō spider, pheasant bird)
Waituna stream	Tuna/eels
Pourewa	
Harurunui puna	Taniwha, collection of watercress
Koputara Lake	Mahinga kai (tuna/eels, kākahi/freshwater mussels, rakiraki/ducks), harakeke (NZ flax) for weaving, tī kōuka for rongoā, weaving, kai
Manawatū River	Pā (Te Ahitara Pā, Moutoa Pā, Puketōtara), papakāinga (Te Maire Kāinga o Manawatū, Otini, Tokomaru kāinga, Tutunanui kāinga, Whirokino kāinga, Pakingahau), wai ora, waimate, swimming, eeling, fishing (kōkopu/native trout, kahawai, grey

Significant inland waterways	Values
	mullet, flounder), kayaking, whitebait, he wāhi whakawhanaunga, Papangaio, Peketahi kōura and ika.
<p>Historical note from hapū and iwi representatives at the Mapping Sites of Significance Wānanga on 28 May 2016. The Manawatū River commences at the junction of the Tokomaru River and Ōroua River. Hence the Manawatū River is only from the Ōroua River to the sea. Prior to that the river was historically called Tokomaru River.</p>	
Tokomaru River	Mahinga kai (kākahi, whitebait, watercress, fish, eeling, ducks, kanga pirau), swimming.
Manawatū Estuary	Customary fisheries/mahinga kai: abundance of kai species (kahawai, mullet, lemon fish, grey mullet, eels, whitebait, herrings, toheroa or tohemanga, pipi, cockles, tuatua, kuaka, variety of manu, seagull eggs); harakeke; flesh-eating snail
Manawatū Tributary – Awahou	
Manawatū Tributary – Ōroua River	Swimming
Manawatū Tributary – Ōroua River Hoununui Spring	Eels, native fish, waterfowl, freshwater mussels, kōura and freshwater crayfish
Manawatū Tributary – Ōroua River, northern wetlands	Eels, native fish, waterfowl, freshwater mussels, kōura and freshwater crayfish
Manawatū Tributary – Ōroua River, Ahuatanga Taonui Wetlands near fielding	Eels, native fish, waterfowl, freshwater mussels, kōura and freshwater crayfish
Manawatū Tributary – Tokomaru Stream/Makarua River	Swimming, whānau gathering, ngā wāhi ‘free’ mō ngā whānau o Ngāti Whakaterere ki te whakawhanaunga, takano he wāhi kai hoki
Makurerua/Makarua Wetlands/Makerua Swamp	Eels, native fish, waterfowl, harakeke, raranga plants
Manawatū Tributary – Mangaore Stream	Mahinga kai (trout, eels), swimming, recreation (rafting), tourism
Manawatū Tributary – Ōtauru then Mangaore tributary – Pohatu stream	Kōura and freshwater crayfish

Significant inland waterways	Values
Manawatū Tributary – Pohangina River	
Manawatū Tributary – Tokanui/Otauru Stream	Wāhi karakia, wāhi whakanoa, wāhi whakawātea, mahinga kai (trout, eels, kōura and freshwater crayfish, access to watercress)
Manawatū Tributary – Kōputōroa Stream	Mahinga kai, tuna, whitebait, hauhau, kākahi, and giant kōkopu. Particular places were used for baptismal purposes and collecting fresh water for healing
Te Maire Lagoon	Papakāinga (Te Maire kāinga)
Manawatū tributary – Otauru tributary – Opapa Stream	Mahinga kai
Manawatū Tributary – Te Awa a Ihakara	Mahinga kai
Manawatū Tributary – Piriharakuki	Mahinga kai
Manawatū Tributary – Hakapurua	
Manawatū Tributary – Karaa Stream	Mahinga kai
Manawatū Tributary – Kaihinau	Mahinga kai
Manawatū Tributary – Buckley	Mahinga kai
Miranui Swamp	
Moutoa Swamp	
Swamp between Shannon and Poutu Marae – name unknown	Preservation of waka
Arapeti Stream	
Te Awa a Te Tau Stream	Mahinga kai (eels, kōura and freshwater crayfish, freshwater mussel)
Te Kai o te Kapukapu	
Po-a-rangi	
Whirokino (waterway to get from Matarapa to the mainland)	Boating, fishing
Koputara Lake and Stream	Pā (former Kererū Pā/Ihakara's Reserve)
Paewai Wetlands	

Significant inland waterways	Values
Mikihi Stream/Whitebait Creek	Mahinga kai, whitebait spawning grounds, tuna, mohoau (freshwater flat fish), huangi (freshwater cockles), and tuangi. Particular places were used for baptismal purposes and collecting fresh water for healing
Te Awahau Stream	Mahinga kai, whitebait spawning grounds, fisheries, tuna, mohoau (freshwater flat fish), huangi (freshwater cockles), and tuangi. Particular places were used for baptismal purposes and collecting fresh water for healing
Kiwitea Stream	
Mangakino Stream /Makino Stream	Mahinga kai (kōura and freshwater crayfish, eels, watercress, bullies, kōkopu or native fish)
Taonui Stream	Mahinga kai (eels)
Aorangi	Flora, fauna, tītoki, raurēkau
Maewa Stream (Feilding)	
Matahika (Bunnuthorpe)	
Ōtoko (Aorangi, Feilding)	
Onepū Lagoons (x2)	Mahinga kai (eels, kākahi)
Tangimate Lagoon	Mahinga kai (tuna/eels, kākahi, whitebait, watercress, puha), eel weirs, waka (preserved and found 30 years ago)
Wairarawa Stream	Mahinga kai (eels, whitebait)
Waimakaira spring	
Ngawhakahiamoe	Hoe waka
Aratangata Stream	
Kōuranui Swamp	Mahinga kai (kōura and freshwater crayfish)
Tepunanui	
Parawaiwai	
Oaio Lagoon	Pā (Rangihaeata Pā)
Wawa Lake	
Ngawhakahau Lake	
Kaikai Lagoon	

Significant inland waterways	Values
Ngakuta Lagoon	
Oneroa Lagoon	
Oporau Lagoon	
Otāniko Lagoon	
Te Kunanui	
Parekawau Swamp	
Maiarau/Kopuapangopango Swamp	Mahinga kai (eels, freshwater mussel, fish), pā tuna (at Ngatokorua), peace track (Muaūpoko and Ngāti Huia), harakeke
Ohiao	
Wetlands in the Waitarere Forest	
Lake Waipunahou/ Lake Horowhenua	Rongoa, variety of fish, sport (racing on the lake), kōiwi, hoe waka, wāhi tūpuna, kauhoe, battle ground, rongoā
Hōkio Stream	Mahinga kai – Te Rama Tuna, eel/tuna (puhi), pā-tuna (for trapping tuna), storage of tuna, inanga, whitebait, kōkopu, kākahi, kōura, watercress, harakeke rongoā, wāhi horoi, papakāinga (Winiata), swimming, waka (for various purposes), rongoā, water for marae uses.
Hōkio Stream tributaries	Mahinga kai
Pukemātawai Spring (in the Tararua ranges)	Sacred source of wai ora
Otawhaowhao Lagoon and Swamp	Mahinga kai
Paenoa	Mahinga kai
Reporoa Swamp	Mahinga kai
Waiwiri/Papaitonga Lake	Pā, whakamate/pā-tuna/eel weirs, mahinga kai
Waiwiri Stream	Mahinga kai, papakāinga (Pipikāinga)
Waiwiri Stream tributaries	Mahinga kai
Lagoons around Lake Waiwiri/Papaitonga	Mahinga kai
Swamps at Mahoenui	Mahinga kai
Ōrotokare	Papakāinga, mahinga kai

Significant inland waterways	Values
Waitaha	Mahinga kai, wetland resources
Waimarama	Mahinga kai
‘Blue Lakes’ ³	Paru (natural dye for puipui), puna wai, taniwha and kaitiaki
Ōhau River	Pā, papakāinga, mahinga kai, kokita/salt and freshwater river pipi, bubu/periwinkles, kākahi/freshwater mussels, piraroa/soft shelled oyster, tītiko, flounders/pātiki, kahawai, herrings, mullet, lemon fish, snapper, Tohemaro (Raukawa name for eel large male long fin with a green tinge on them), yellow eyes mullet. Swimming, recreational places, whakawhānaungatanga
Ōhau Estuary/Ōhau Backwash	Paru (natural dye used in weaving)
Ōhau Estuary Tributary – Blind Creek	Piraroa/soft shelled oyster
Ōhau Tributary – Patumakuku Stream/Kuku Stream	Mahinga kai (eels/tuna, eel boxes, kōura and freshwater crayfish/kōura, watercress, kangapirau/rotten corn, duck eels collected nearby), a kaitiaki present in a pool, swimming
Ōhau Tributaries – Kuku Stream Tributary – Waikōkopu Stream	Mahinga kai (kōkopu/native trout, tuna/eels, kākahi/freshwater mussels),
Ōhau Tributaries – Manganaonao Stream	Kōkopu/native trout giant kōkopu, kōura and kōura and freshwater crayfish, tuna/eels, watercress
Manganaonao Spring	
Ōhau Tributaries – Manganaonao Stream tributaries – Tikorangi Stream and tributaries	Eels
Te Awa a Tamati/Tikorangi Spring	Wai ora, hauora, healing
Springs by Soldiers Road and Hoggs Road	Watercress
Dune wetlands – Te Hākari	Mahinga kai (tuna /eels, whitebait up stream, mud

³ This is a whanau name for the Tumeke Wehipeihana block of land with waterways, located on eastern side of Ōtararere foothill, Kuku

Significant inland waterways	Values
	fish)
Dune wetlands – Ransfield’s	Mahinga kai (tuna /eels, whitebait up stream, mud fish)
Dune wetlands – Pekapeka Taratoa	Mahinga kai (tuna /eels, whitebait up stream, mud fish)
Waikawa River	Mahinga kai (tuna/eels, piharau/blind eel, inanga/whitebait, kākahi/freshwater mussel, kōkopu/native trout, watercress), drinking water, swimming.
Waikawa River tributary – Mangahuia	Mahinga kai (adult kōkopu/native trout, flounder, mullet, herrings, kahawai, kākahi, tuna/eels, kōura, watercress, puha), spiritual values, recreational places, whakawhānaungatanga
Manakau Stream	Kōkopu/native trout
Whakahoro Swamps	Whitebait, kōura and kōura and freshwater crayfish, watercress, tuna
Karuwha Lake	
Mangahuia Stream	kōura and freshwater crayfish, watercress, tuna
Waiauti/Waiaute Stream	Whitebait, kōura and freshwater crayfish, watercress, tuna
Waimarie Lake	Named by representatives from Wehiwehi for Stratnaver Drive coastal development
Te Puna a te Ora Lake	Named by representatives from Wehiwehi for Stratnaver Drive coastal development
Huratini Repo/Lake	Former Mahinga kai (tuna), puna rāranga (harakeke) and other resources
Kahuwera Lake	Former Mahinga kai (tuna), puna rāranga (harakeke)
Waiorongomai Lake and Stream	Mahinga kai (tuna), tanga i te kawa, puna rāranga (harakeke), puna rongoā (Mānuka), papakāinga, pā tohu ahurea, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Waitawa Lake (Forest Lakes)	Wāhi tapu, urupā, tohu ahurea, wai ora, puna rāranga, hoe waka, waka ama

Significant inland waterways	Values
Ngatōtara Lake and Stream (Forest Lakes)	Wai ora, mahinga kai, puna rāranga, puna rongoā, papakāinga, wāhi tapu, tohu ahurea, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Waiorangi (Pukehou)	
Waikato Stream	
O-te-pua wetland	Papakāinga, mahinga kai, puna rāranga, puna rongoā, puna uku, wai ora
Waitohu Stream	Ara waka, kauhoe waka, kaukau, mahinga kai, ngā mahi parekareka, pā, papakāinga, puna rāranga, puna rongoā, tohu ahurea, urupā, wāhi tapu, wai ora
Kōwhai Stream	Mahinga kai, ara waka, papakāinga, puna rāranga, tohu ahurea, kauhoe, wai ora, wai tai, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Haruātai Stream	Papakāinga, mahinga kai, tohu ahurea, urupā, wāhi tapu, puna uku, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite, waiora, kauhoe, puna rongoā, worms for bobbing
Mangapouri	Papakāinga, ara waka, mahinga kai – pā tuna, kangapirau, kōura, eels, wai ora, kauhoe, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Mangapouri spring (behind Ōtaki race course)	
Paruauku	
Mangahānene Stream	Mahinga kai, wai ora, ara waka, papakāinga, puna rāranga, puna rongoā, pā, tohu ahurea, kauhoe, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Maringiawai Stream	Papakāinga, mahinga kai, wai ora, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite, ara waka
Ngātoko Spring	Wai ora, mahinga kai, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Ngātoko Stream	Wai ora, papakāinga, pā, mahinga kai, ara waka, puna rāranga, kauhoe, tohu ahurea, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Rangiuru Stream	Ara waka, kauhoe, mahinga kai, pā, papakāinga,

Significant inland waterways	Values
	puna rāranga, tauranga waka, tohu ahurea, wai ora, wāhi whakarite, wāhi whakawātea, wai ora
Waiariki Stream	Papakāinga, mahinga kai, puna rongoā, tohi, wāhi whakarite, wāhi whakawātea, wai ora
Ōtaki River	Urupā, wai ora, wai tai, papakāinga, mahinga kai (tuna, inanga, kahawai, herrings, mullet), puna rāranga, puna rongoā, ara waka, tohu ahurea, kauhoe, kaukau, ngā mahi pārekareka i/ke te wai
Waimanu (upper reaches)	
Mangaone Stream	Swimming, wai ora, ara waka, mahinga kai, puna rongoā, puna rāranga, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Ngawhakangutu Wetland (Te Hapua Wetland)	Mahinga kai, ara waka, papakāinga, puna rāranga, pā, tohu ahurea, kauhoe, wai ora, puna rongoā, wāhi tapu, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Kukutauaki Stream	Boundary marker between Te Ātiawa and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga
Kāpiti – Okupe lagoon	Wāhi tapu, rich bird biodiversity
Kāpiti – Tarere Stream	Tuna, pā tuna, drinking water
Kāpiti – Kahikatea Stream	Tuna, pā tuna, drinking water
Kāpiti – Taiharau Stream	Tuna, pā tuna, drinking water

Table 2: Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai inland waterways of significance and their cultural values

Significant inland waterways	Values
Mangaone in Te Horo	
Ngawhakangutu – north around Peka Peka	
Kūkūtauaki – Olliver Crescent	
Karewarewa Lagoon	Wāhi tapu urupā, pā, wāhi mahara
Ngarara Swamp	
Ngarara Stream – Black Drain	Wai ora, mahinga kai
Ngarara Stream – Kawakahia	Wai ora, mahinga kai, pā harakeke
Moss Smith’s Lake/Totara Lagoon	
Te Puka Stream	
Te Uruhi Lagoon	Pā, kōrero pūrākau
Tikotu Stream mouth	mahinga kai, pā, wai māori
Nīkau Valley Streams	
Kebbel Farm’s puna – turf farm	
Greenaway Road puna	
Waikanae River	Mahi kauhoe, wai ora, mahinga kai, whanaungatanga, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite, pā tuna, kai awa, kauhoe, pā, ukaipotanga, pukengatanga
Waikanae River Mouth and Estuary	Wai ora, wai tai, mahinga kai, kaimoana, kaitiakitanga, wāhi hokohoko, pā, harakeke, mana, wāhi whakawātea, wāhi whakarite
Waikanae River tributary – Maungakōtuketuku Stream	Wai ora, mahinga kai, taniwha
Waikanae River tributary – Maungakōtuketuku Stream – East	Wai ora, wai māori, mahinga kai, pukengatanga, ukaipotanga
Waikanae River tributary –	Wai ora, wai māori, mahinga kai, kanga wai, pātaka

Significant inland waterways	Values
Maungakōtukutuku Stream West	kai, pā, papakāinga, tarai waka, ara waka
Waikanae Estuary	Mahinga kai, scientific reserve
Kaitoenga Wetland/Oxbow wetland	Wai tai, mahinga kai, pā, papakāinga, wāhi tapu
Te Rongomai puna – in Takamore precinct	
Waimahoe wetland	
Waimanu Lagoon/Te Kārewarewa	Mahinga kai
Waimeha Lagoon	Mahinga kai, pā tuna, ukaipotanga
Waimeha Stream	Wai ora, wai māori, mahinga kai, pā, mana
Wharemauku Stream	Mahinga kai, kanga wai, pātaka kai
Whareroa stream	Mahinga kai, pā, defence pā, waka, ara waka, rongoā, wāhi tapu, urupā, papakāinga, whakatupu kai, whi tūpuna, mahi parekareka, rāranga, kai māori, wai ora, wai māori, kanga wai, rohenga
Kowhai	
Muaūpoko stream	
Mazengarb channel/Black drain	
Reikorangi	
Ngātiawa river	
Kapakapanui	
Kākāriki	
Kawakahia wetland	
Kawakahia Lagoon	
Paetawa	
Weggery's Lake	
Rangiora	
Te Au Stream – on Waipunahau land, off the peak at Hemi Matenga	

Significant inland waterways	Values
Ratanui Stream – on Waipunahau land, near Otaihanga	
Ratanui Wetland	
Hadfield Road creeks – that flow into Kōwhai on eastern side of SH1	
Puna at Tukurākau	
Te Whare o te Kopete – by Southwards car museum	
Emerald Glenn Lakes and Streams	
Kaitawa reserve wetlands – behind the statue of Mary in Paraparaumu	
Paraparaumu wetlands – south western end of the airport runway	

Figure 4: Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Significant Inland Waterways.

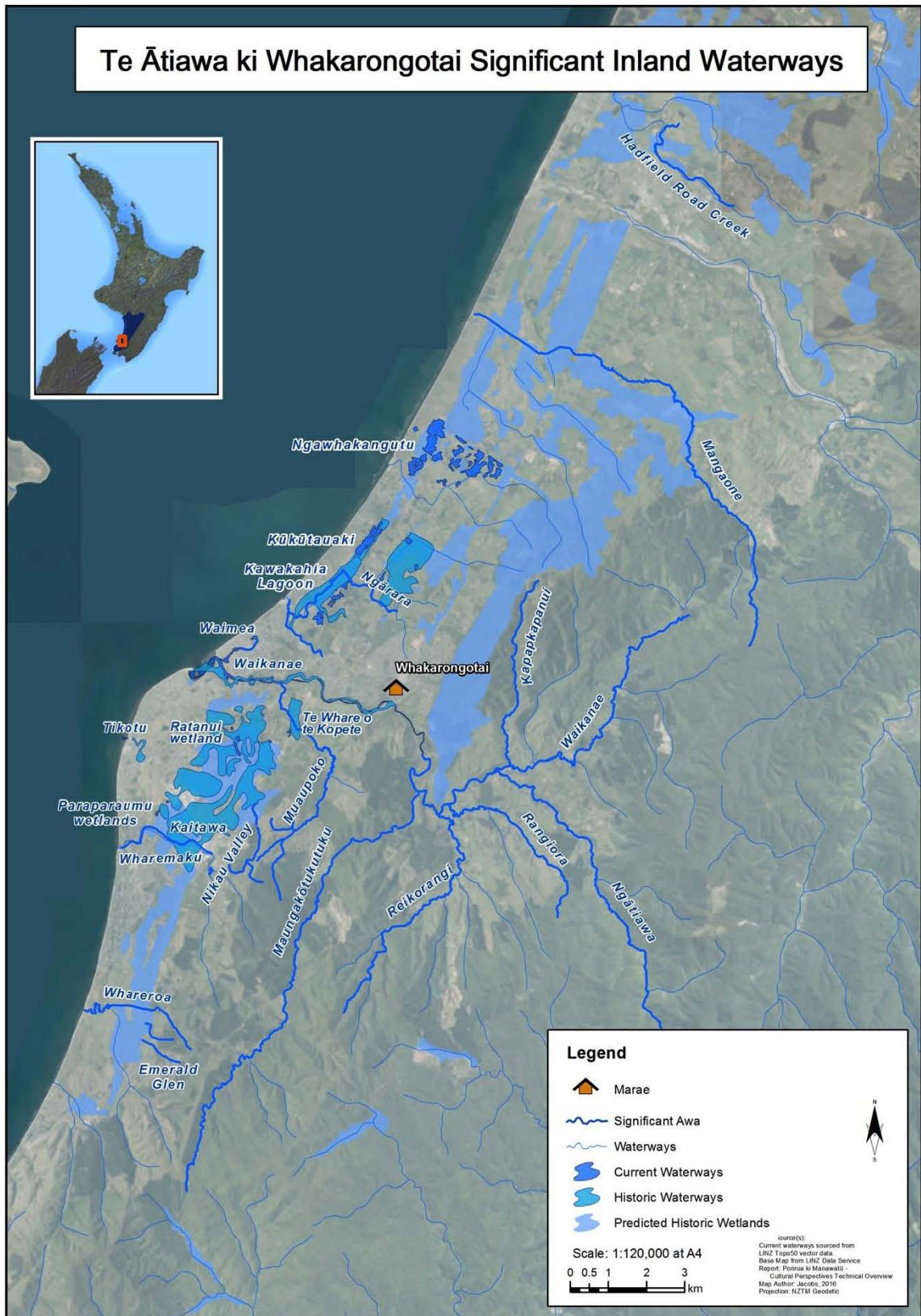


Table 3: Ngātiawa inland waterways of significance and their cultural values

Significant inland waterways	Values
Waimea stream/Waimeha Lagoon	Mahinga kai, pa
Reikorangi Stream	Mahinga kai
Waikanae River	Mahinga kai (eels, fish)
Pirikawau Springs	Healing springs, whakawātea, whakanoa
Wharemake Stream	Mahinga kai (watercress, eels, whitebait and nearby puha)
Whareroa Stream	Boundary, paru (natural dye for weaving), mahinga kai (watercress, whitebait, eels and nearby puha)
Tikotu Creek/Tikotu Stream	Whitebait, eels
Maungakōtukutuku Stream	Healing springs, watercress
Ngātiawa River	Papakāinga, mahinga kai (eels, watercress, and near by puha, kawakawa and other rongoā species)
Rangiora Stream	Papakāinga, mahinga kai (eels, watercress, and near by puha, kawakawa and other rongoā species)
Muaūpoko Stream	Nearby is the site where the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Ngātiawa tūpuna Used in the Native Land Court to confiscate land

Figure 5: Ngātiawa Significant Inland Waterways

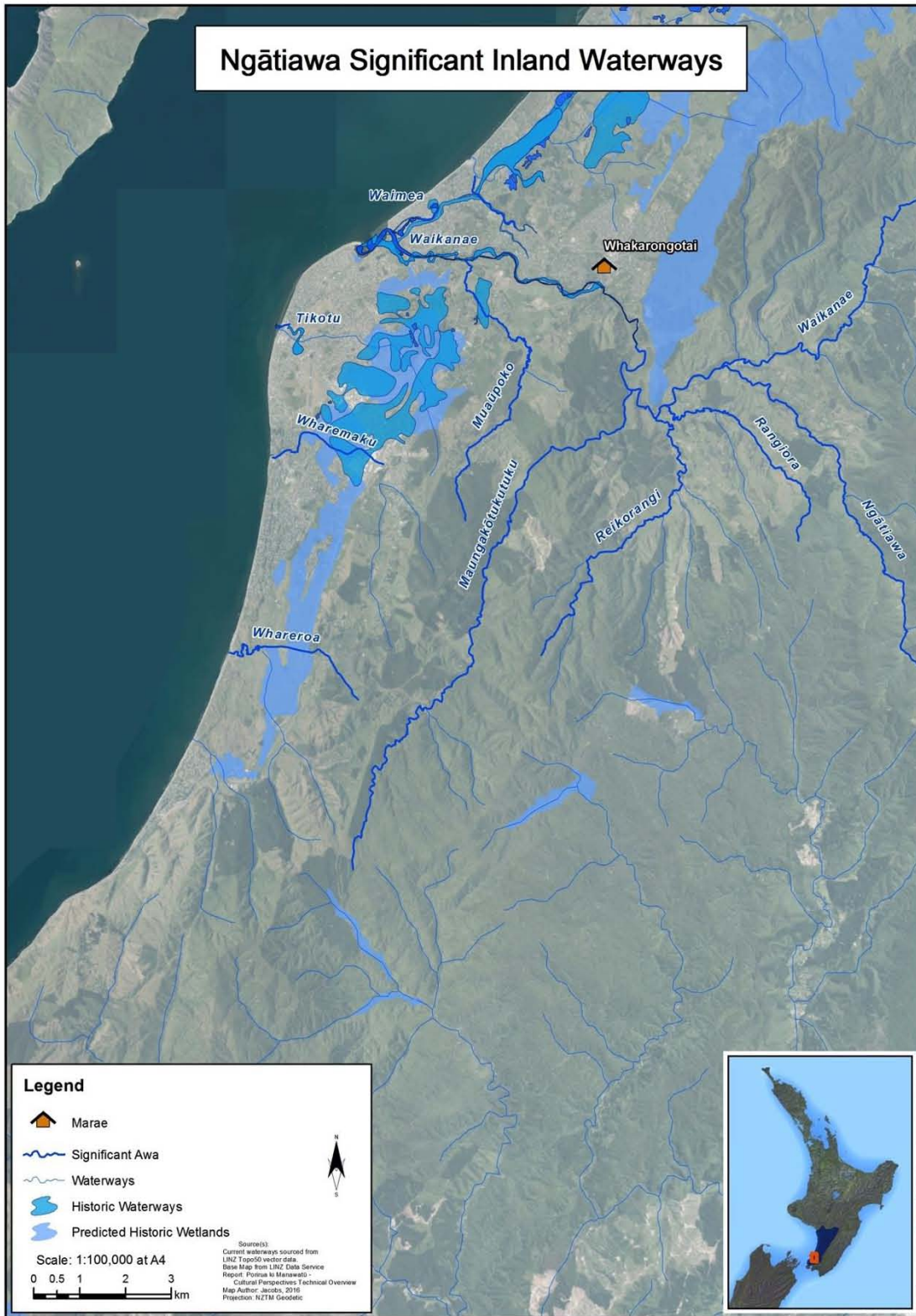


Table 4: Muaūpoko inland waterways of significance and their cultural values

Significant inland waterways	Values
Lake Horowhenua/Te Waipunahau	Mahinga kai (tuna, kākahi, kōura, flounder, whitebait, and birdlife such as whio); live tuna pātaka storehouses; surrounding pā sites and also island pā sites; travel across lake to different pā sites; wāhi tapu including urupā
Hōkio Stream	Mahinga kai (tuna, kākahi, kōura, flounder, whitebait, kōkopu, koaro, flounder, and birdlife such as whio); pā tuna along the stream; transport to the moana
Lake Horowhenua and Hōkio Stream – adjacent wetlands, swamp and marshlands	
Pātiki Stream (Kawiu Stream)	Mahinga kai (flounder, tuna, giant kōkopu), puha, watercress
Arawhata Stream	
Poupou Stream (Mangaroa Stream)	
Tūpāpakurau Stream	
Roto Hapuakorari	Muaūpoko headwater. A sacred lake up in the Tararua ranges.
Lake Waiwiri (Lake Papaitonga)	
Waiwiri Stream	Mahinga kai (tuna)
Ōhau River	
Lake Waitawa	
Lake Waiorongomai	

Figure 6: Muaūpoko Significant Inland Waterways

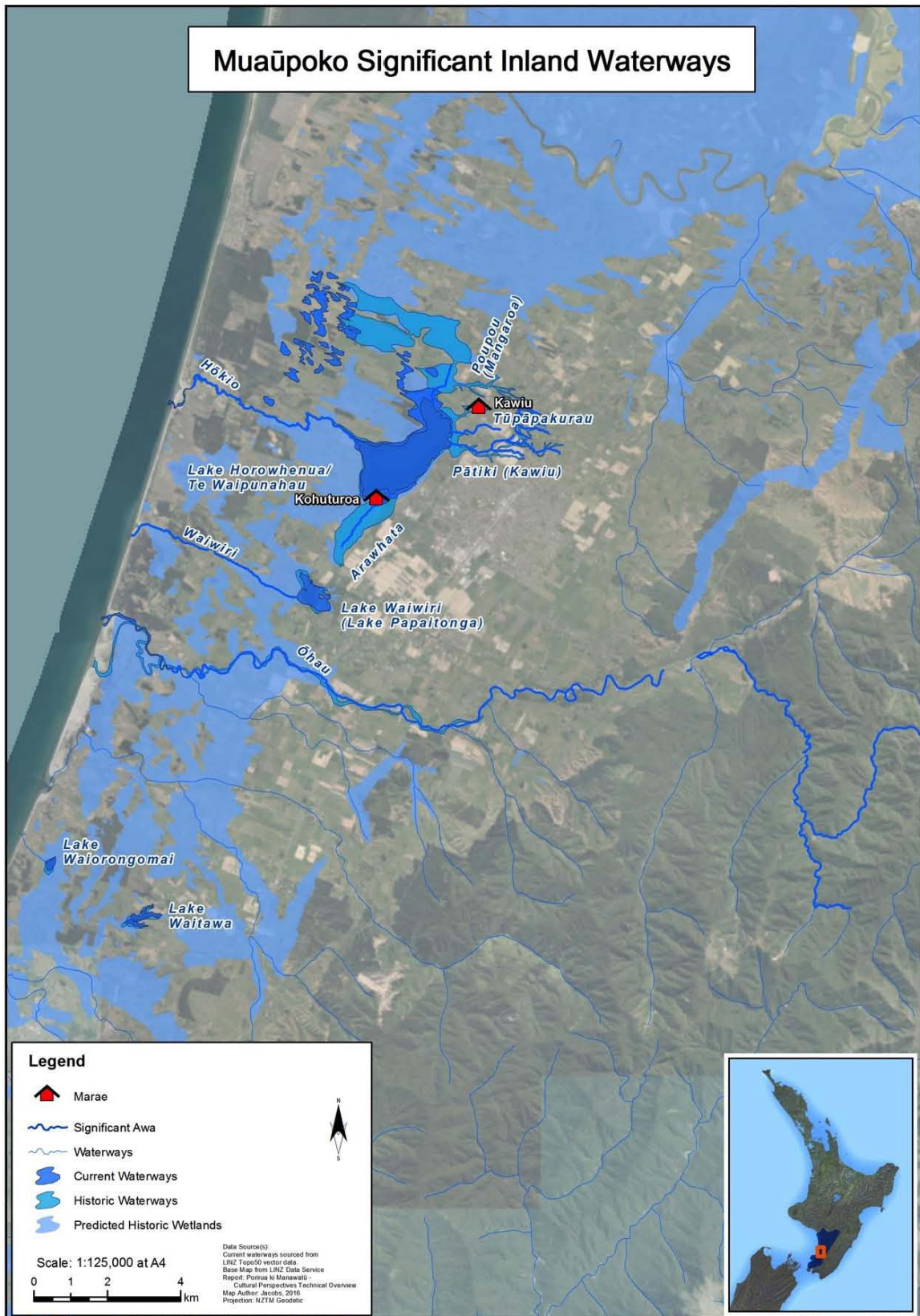


Table 5: The following general subject areas⁴ were addressed:

Theme	Topic
<i>The Customary Use and Significance of the Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ancestral relationship of iwi and hapū to the waterways listed above. • The traditional ways and usufructuary rights regarding how these waterways were used and relied upon prior to the arrival of Europeans.
<i>Impacts of Colonisation on the Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The impact that changes incurred from 1840 onwards had on the customary uses of the inland waterways in Porirua ki Manawatū. • The loss of essential inland waterways resources through drainage and other means, and the impacts of this on iwi/hapū. • Efforts by iwi/hapū to retain control of, and access to, the inland waterways in the district. • The relationship of Porirua ki Manawatū iwi/hapū with the Crown and local government with respect to management of the inland waterways. • An overall focus on the recognition by central or local government, if any, of Māori environmental cultural practices involving the waterways listed above. • Iwi/hapū involvement in efforts to restore the health and wellbeing of these inland waterways.
<i>Ownership Issues and the Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are iwi/hapū perspectives on issues relating to ownership and title of the Porirua ki Manawatū inland

⁴ Memorandum-Directions Commissioning Research, Wai 2200 #2.3.5, 9 December 2014.

Theme	Topic
	<p>waterways?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have iwi/hapū sought to engage with the Crown on the issue of ownership of the Porirua ki Manawatū inland waterways? • The range of relationships iwi/hapū have had with the Crown and local government with respect to management of waterways, including any recognition by central or local government of Māori environmental cultural practices involving the waterways.
<p><i>Resource Management and the Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relationship of Porirua ki Manawatū iwi/hapū with the Crown and local government with respect to management of the inland waterways. • An overall focus on the recognition by central or local government, if any, of Māori environmental cultural practices involving the waterways listed above. • Iwi/hapū involvement in efforts to restore the health and wellbeing of these inland waterways.
<p><i>Hapū and Iwi Perspectives on Species and Habitat Loss</i></p>	<p>The experiences of Porirua ki Manawatū iwi/hapū in terms of species loss and habitat destruction in the Porirua ki Manawatū inland waterways.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Porirua ki Manawatū iwi/hapū experiences of the impact on species and habitat of the following developments, as they relate to inland waterways:

Theme	Topic
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Deforestation ii. Gravel extraction iii. Localised pollution iv. Drainage of wetlands v. Fertiliser use vi. Insecticide and herbicide use vii. Introduction of exotic species viii. Pastoral farming ix. Damming of rivers and reductions in river flows.
Mana Wāhine and Mana Tāne ⁵ :	Any issues relating to mana wāhine and mana tāne will be considered throughout the research when evaluating the experiences of tangata whenua within the scope of this project.

1.4.2 Notes on the research themes

Ownership issues in the Porirua ki Manawatū region over inland waterways are complex and convoluted. While voices in this report relay aspects of this complex, the team will highlight ownership issues more fully in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report, and show links to other related reports. The key impacts on alienation of lands, and ownership or title of inland waterways are found in laws, policies and processes of local, regional and central government.

As negotiated with iwi, hapū and claimants, the team recognises the range of prejudices Māori women faced in early colonial encounters and the impacts this has in terms of Māori womens’ leadership today. This aspect is documented in dialogue of key informants in Chapter 8, but again will be addressed more fully in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report. At the wānanga held at Kereru Marae, Kōputōroa there was a strong recommendation by Yvonne Wilson-Wehipeihana and

⁵ This theme is only touched on in this report as it is addressed with examples in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report. Those examples look specifically at changes to the roles of Māori women, men and practice of tohungatanga in relation to waterways that were faced in early colonial encounters. This has had ongoing impacts in terms of Māori leadership today.

Jessica Kereama to include Mana Tāne into this theme as the two are interdependent, where ‘you can’t have one without the other’.⁶ This was supported by the representatives present at this wānanga and taken on board during the research conducted by the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* team.

1.5 Origins of Project

The Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry has been active since 2009. In December 2012, the Tribunal finalised the inquiry research programme after extensive consultation with Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT), approved clients, and participating claimants. CFRT agreed to fund aspects of this research programme in November 2013, including a mixture of overview and iwi-specific projects. CFRT therefore commissioned the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report as one of its research projects, within a negotiated suite of related projects for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry. It is commissioned on behalf of *all* approved clients and *all* claimants in the inquiry, and not for individual claimants or claimant groups.

1.5.1 Relationship to other reports and use of additional voices

The complementary *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* and *Natural Environment and Resources* projects emphasise more fully the anguish experienced by of particular hapū groups. While the voices of Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Dr Mereana Selby feature in this oral narrative report, their voices emphasise how environmental damage has had a negative effect on the transmission and retention of te reo Māori for their hapū, as recorded in Chapter 4. The distress and damage Ngāti Pareraukawa have endured over 150 years, due to Crown agents and agency over the Hōkio stream, which flows from Lake Punahou or Lake Horowhenua at Levin, is chronicled separately in a case study within the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report. Mereana’s tuakana or older sister Rachael Selby and nephew Pātaka Moore (Rachael’s son) provide a powerful documentary of the intergenerational struggles their hapū suffered. Their damning testimony of local and regional government disregard to their strident cries against the systematic destruction of their once revered source of sustenance and replenishment – the Hōkio Stream from Lake Horowhenua. The following excerpt from their chapter in the *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* publication, emphasises the serious extent of what they have

⁶ Communications at Kereru Marae wānanga at Kōputōroa, April 2016.

dealt with:

Over the course of 150 years Ngātokowaru Marae has become surrounded by other peoples' waste on all sides. To the east, the lake was Levin's septic tank for over 30 years, while to the north the stream was heavily polluted during that time and for a further 25 years has suffered from the impact of that discharge. To the west, the piggery grew for 50 years and forced Ngāti Pareraukawa to spend over a decade fighting to have the offensive odours eliminated. To the south, the sewage effluent has been sprayed on to land for over 20 years and the rubbish dump or landfill has grown into a site that the Council proposes should be able to receive the southern North Island's refuse. Our protests to the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment resulted in a review that began in 2004 and a report that was finally released in August 2008. In 2009, after years of failing to do so, the Regional Council is finally reviewing the consent conditions. The Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment found, among other things, that in 2007 the "Council was found to be non-complying with conditions 33–34, not having convened an NLG [Neighbourhood Liaison Group] meeting since 2005 and having failed to provide an annual report" (PCE 2008:17).⁷

The *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* is based on published and accessible records. That team have explored legislation in greater detail and the many actions of Crown that have impacted negatively on iwi/hapū and their waterbodies across the inquiry region. It provides background evidence to the expressions of outrage, dismay and pervading sadness relayed by the informants in this report. The *Historical* report highlights the policies and procedures of local and regional government's support of expanding pastoral farming models from historic to present day. It highlights the generally poor standard of water quality in range of systems across the region, due largely to agricultural and storm water pollution from intensified dairying, nutrification from overstocking, and siltation from hill country landuse and lack of riparian protection and. The *Historical* report also investigates the irrigation and stopbanking schemes that engineered water bodies so today they barely resemble natural systems anymore. They do not function hydrologically, hydro-ecologically or geomorphologically as intact systems, anymore.

All voices recount these damaging effects on iwi/hapū cultural conditions and their

⁷ Pātaka Moore & Rachael Selby, 2010, 'Nōku te whenua o ōku tūpuna: Ngāti Pareraukawa kaitiakitanga' in Moore, P., Mulholland, M. & Selby R., (eds.) *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*, Huia Publishers: Wellington, p 21. The document this reference refers to is the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE) 2008, *Levin Landfill Environmental Management Review*, Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment: Wellington, p 17.

survival as Māori.

1.6 Acknowledging active kaitiakitanga within the rohe

Despite the legacy of ignoring Māori values relating to their systems of protection for freshwater water, the team notes the previous agency and research conducted by Hapai Whenua Consultants. Over the years, they have completed a range of rehabilitation projects for water bodies within the rohe (region) too. This includes the Mangapouri Stream health assessment in Ōtaki according to Māori values; their extensive oral archiving work of intergenerational relationships to ancestral place and waterways, particularly for the Waitohu River, Lake Waiorongomai, Waikawa and Ōhau Rivers, and their regular shellfish and water quality health reports completed for Horizons Regional Council. They have also completed significant wāhi tapu projects for the benefit of iwi/hapū within the Kāpiti Coast District Council area. Hapai Whenua Consultants have advocated for others including the Waikawa to Mangahua waterways of Manakau. Members of the Hapai Whenua team have protested against the destruction of the health of the Hōkio Stream and have been active over the damage exacted upon the Manawatū River. As mentioned earlier, a more comprehensive Ngāti Pareraukawa experience with the Hōkio Stream from lake to sea case study, shall be chronicled in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical Report*.

The team recognizes concerted efforts activated by Ngāti Kauwhata in Feilding for the *Integrated Freshwater Solutions* (IFS) for the Ōroua River⁸ (2010–2013). IFS was a project that,

...combined stakeholder perspectives with current science to generate an action plan to protect and enhance the Manawatū Catchment. Research from multiple disciplines (natural, social and economic) was undertaken by iwi/hapū, Massey University, Horizons Regional Council and Crown Research Institutes. The Ōroua River component ran from Oct 2010 to Sep 2013 and addressed management issues such as: How the river responds to different contaminants; the environmental, cultural, economic and social consequences of good or poor water quality and

⁸ Integrated Freshwater Solutions (IFS)

See URL: <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/departments/centres-research/eernz/integrated-freshwater-solutions/integrated-freshwater-solutions>

how different actions potentially impact on river water quality, cultural values, economic growth and social factors.⁹

Muāupoko Tribal Authority led an action plan (2011–2014) that called for,

... a substantial decline in harmful sediments and pollutants entering the waterway along with habitat protection and habitat enhancement initiatives. Muāupoko Tribal Authority believes that the sediments and nutrients from non-point and point discharges flowing into the Manawatū River, is adversely affecting the moana [or sea], namely the Hokio Beach¹⁰

The team acknowledges the continuing efforts of all the Manawatū River Leaders Accord's iwi representatives, (including representatives from Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Whakare, Muaupoko, and Rangitāne o Manawatū) for striving to return mauri or health, not only to the Manawatū River, but also to other severely damaged tributaries in the catchment, including the Tokomaru River, near Shannon.

1.6.1 Acknowledging Mātauranga Māori within a highly compromised natural environment

This project recognizes Mātauranga Māori. Our iwi/hapū representatives understand that an interpretation of Mātauranga Māori relates to an evolving system of knowledge (te kauwae runga and te kauwae raro)¹¹ used by tangata whenua as indigenous people of Aotearoa and its islands, with associated rights to this place by right of first discovery. Mātauranga Māori is a means to interpret and explain the world, anchored by a whakapapa reference system (interconnected genealogy) where the system of kinship illuminates tangible and intangible relationships between Iwi, hapū and whānau, ancestors, lands, waterways and the natural world.¹²

Critically however, due to inland waterways degradation across the entire inquiry region, all inter-generational voices throughout this report emphasise the negative

⁹ See URL: <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/departments/centres-research/eernz/integrated-freshwater-solutions/about-the-project/muaupoko-coastal-research-project-2011-2014/muaupoko-coastal-research-project-2011-2014>

¹⁰ See URL: <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/departments/centres-research/eernz/integrated-freshwater-solutions/about-the-project/muaupoko-coastal-research-project-2011-2014/muaupoko-coastal-research-project-2011-2014>

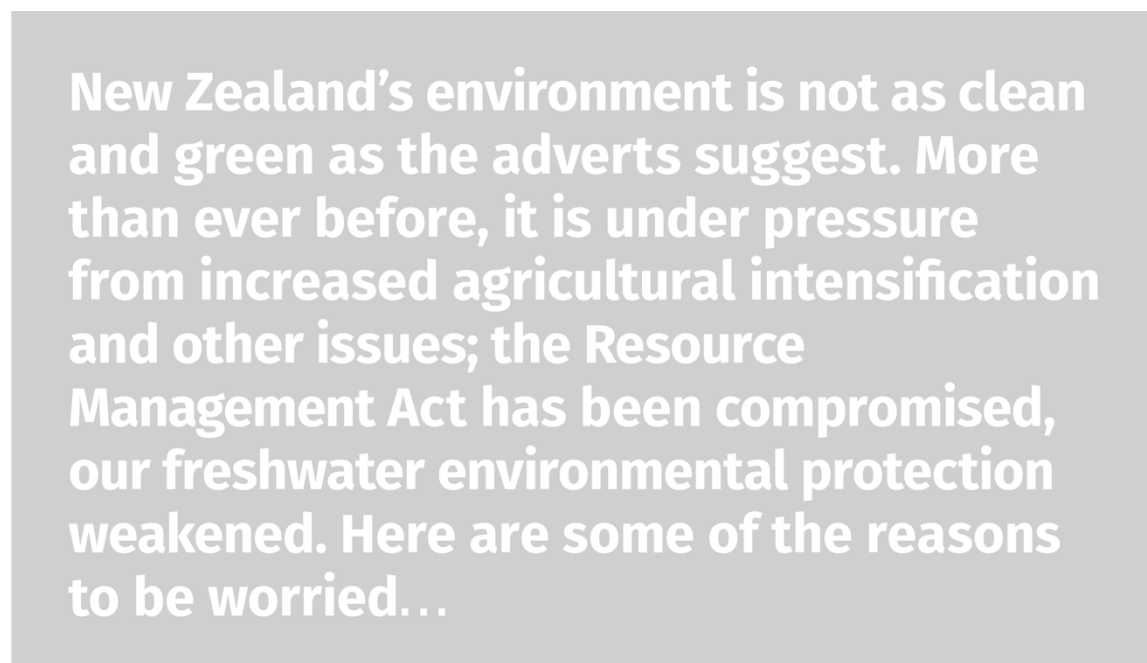
¹¹ The metaphor of te kauwae runga and te kauwae raro (the upper and lower jawbones) was traditionally used in whare wānanga (houses of learning) to distinguish between sacred knowledge and earthly knowledge.

¹² Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal, 1998, Unpublished Chapter 3.0 'Te Ao Marama: The Māori World View', p. 75.

impacts that decline in natural integrity has had upon a mātauranga Māori knowledge system, its holistic tangible and intangible inter-relationships between peoples and remaining indigenous flora and fauna. It is gravely concerning that transmission of related knowledge in this realm of understanding to the next generations, has been relentlessly compromised.

In the last forty years there has been an alarming biodiversity loss recorded in Aotearoa New Zealand, across all terrestrial and all waterbodies into the marine. The domains of atua (see Chapter 3) or natural character of the lands and waterways in the inquiry region have been drastically altered where remaining indigenous flora and fauna, their diverse communities and interactions with the environment that support them, are in crisis. This alarming situation for freshwater inland waterways today is contextualized in the posters overleaf. This considerable loss has not only disengaged iwi/hapū from healthier natural environments and freshwater ecosystems, but has also led to a disappearance of their original kai or food resources once gathered from mahinga mataitai (tidal gathering zones) or mahinga kai (food gathering areas), which once sustained and maintained their communities for generations.

Figure 7: Banner detail (above) for colour posters (overleaf). Courtesy of Dr Mike Joy,



Massey University, Palmerston North.¹³

¹³ See Appendix 1 for the full references that informed the posters from a science, economic and environmental perspective.

The Treaty partner has generally disregarded or disrespected iwi and hapū as active and key partners in biodiversity protection and enhancement in Aotearoa New Zealand. In a better informed world, bicultural approaches to decisionmaking and active conservation are increasingly important dimensions for biodiversity protection. In a recent publication on the crises facing biodiversity, ‘jurisprudence of the Environment Court has also recognized the unique relationship that Māori have with the natural world, and the divergence of their perspectives from traditional Western resource governance.’¹⁴ Whilst numerous Acts offer specific considerations to the relationship between Māori and the natural world, the reality on the ground is dramatically different. For example, biodiversity policies ‘might be saying the right things, but what happens on the ground can fail to implement it.’¹⁵

¹⁴ Marie A Brown, R. T. Theo Stephens, Raewyn Peart and Bevis Fedder., 2015, *Vanishing Nature: facing New Zealand’s biodiversity crisis*, Environmental Defence Society: Auckland.

¹⁵ Email correspondence. 4 June 2015 Wild Things: Addressing terrestrial, freshwater and marine biodiversity loss conference flyer.

Figure 8: Colour posters overviewing decline in freshwater species and impacts on New Zealand's economy. Courtesy of Dr Mike Joy, Massey University, Palmerston North.



CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND TO THIS PORIRUA KI MANAWATŪ INLAND WATERWAYS – CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES REPORT

2.1 Contextualising Tikanga Māori

In January 2017, an essential paper was ‘filed in the Waitangi Tribunal in relation to a claim that existing laws do not adequately accommodate the Māori proprietary interest in natural, water resources.’¹⁶ A critically important paper to contextualise or underpin the voices present within this report, it methodically outlines tikanga as customary Māori law. This custom law with a spiritual foundation is shaped by the customary use of water and water bodies. Therefore, water bodies were possessed by hapū as though they were property, even they were not so described as property by Māori (but simply as land and water). The paper provides an important overview of the cultural conflict between these certain key concepts of tikanga and te ture roia (state law), the latter which impacts negatively on the use and management of water bodies.¹⁷

Table 6: An excerpt from the *Ngā Wai o Te Māori: Ngā Tikanga me Ngā Ture Roia / The Waters of The Māori: Māori Law and State Law*.

‘Tikanga Māori offers an alternative view of what is sustainable development and postulates the need to constrain economic development and growth in the interests of human survival and the survival of the natural world. Māori possessed territory, or areas over which they had influence or mana, and the territory which they possessed was not just land but included the whole of the territorial resources of land, lakes, rivers, springs, swamps and inland seas.

The fish, water-fowl and water plants of the water bodies were especially significant because of the lack of land-based animals and paucity of crops; and for lack of horses and other beasts of burden, and the consequential lack of carriages and carriage-ways, the water bodies were singularly important for transport, trade and social intercourse.

Having regard to Tikanga Māori, the political assertion that nobody can own water is a trite response to a complex issue of cultural difference. It merely invites the equally unhelpful rejoinder that, if that is the Pākehā law, then let it be the law for the Pākehā, but it is not the law for the Māori who, by their own law, owned the water and water bodies.

Unlike English law, there was no concept of someone owning the bed of the river, lake

¹⁶ A paper prepared for the New Zealand Māori Council 23 January 2017 by Hon Sir Edward Taihākurei Durie; Dr Robert Joseph; Dr Andrew Erueti; Dr Valmaine Toki; Professor Jacinta Ruru; Dr Carwyn Jones, and Professor G. Raumati Hook.

¹⁷ Hon Sir Edward Taihākurei Durie et.al, 2017, *Ngā Wai o Te Māori: Ngā Tikanga me Ngā Ture Roia / The Waters of The Māori: Māori Law and State Law*, p 38.

or harbour but not the associated water. To Māori, the water was as much held or possessed as the associated bed, and it was held for so long as the water remained or flowed over the tribal territory.

The waterbodies were held by or for the hapū, as the autonomous, political unit along with the related hapū along the water's edge, with whom associations were made from time to time for defence, trade and social intercourse. The water bodies were symbolic of the identity and authority of the hapū and of the iwi of the combined hapū. The evidence of occupation of the water's edge was also evidence of their authority over the water bodies.'

Although there were private interests in the water, in the form of individual or whānau use rights, these were subordinate to the community of ownership represented by the hapū. In Tikanga Māori, Māori had the mana of their lands and waters... the absolute and exclusive power and authority thereover. That covers not only the private right to own but also the public right to control. It includes, but is not limited to kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga is an incident of ownership, not an alternative to ownership.'

2.2 Contextualising Climate Change and Nutrification of Inland Waterways

This report focuses on key themes as outlined in the project brief, however the voices gathered are contextualized within local and global implications of climate change, which is another most pressing environmental issue for water, which cannot be ignored. As pronounced in the Millennium Assessment Report 2005 most of the important direct drivers of ecosystem change will increase in the first half of the 21st century. Climate change and excessive nutrient loading are the two main drivers that will become more severe.¹⁹

The local and regional forecast extremes of climate change for the coastal region of Rangitīkei to Porirua, predict wide-ranging meteorological hazards. They have been assessed as increasing threats to lifelines and services coming from more frequent heavy rainfall events and associated floods; sea level rises increasing the impact of high tides and storm surges on coastal erosion; flooding which makes groundwater aquifers near the coastline vulnerable to saltwater intrusion; and changes in temperature and rainfall regimes causing problems for plant and animal pest eradication programmes.²⁰

Nitrogen and phosphorus are also the key nutrient contaminants where the amount of one or the other is the factor that limits growth in healthy waterways. Where nutrient levels are high the most visible effect is massive growths of phytoplankton (algae) or water plants. The nutrients can come directly from manure from stock standing in

¹⁸ Ibid. p 23.

¹⁹ Walter V. Reid (et. al), 2005, *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Synthesis Report*, p 17.

²⁰ National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research Ltd, 2005, *Executive Summary: Meteorological Hazards and the Potential Impacts for Climate Change in the Horizons Region*, p xviii.

water, runoff from feed pads, intensive grazing, from fertiliser going directly into waterways or runoff from surrounding land.²¹

Figure 9: Kuku stream in flood, Tukorehe Marae on the left at least 1km of State Highway 1 under water, October 2016..



Anticipating changes enables more options for iwi/hapū on coastlines as more extreme rainfall and flood events are likely to occur and without much advance warning. Sea levels will rise directly affecting river estuaries and increasing the areas covered by floods. Storm wave height is increasing more than sea level, leading to erosion of sand dunes. Adaption requires identification of early warning signs for limits to sustainability of current practice and planning for a range of options.²²

²¹ Ibid. xviii.

²² Sourced from Martin Manning presentation for a wānanga held at Tukorehe Marae on *Adaptations for Coastal Māori Communities*, 3 November 2016.

The team notes that cattle effluent and urine are major culprits in nutrifying inland waterways, rivers, streams, groundwater, dune wetlands and lake systems today, however human effluent contamination in waterways remains overwhelmingly and utterly offensive to iwi/hapū. Such pollution has caused great consternation amongst iwi/hapū on lands and waterways who are affected by urban sewerage treatment plants across the region. For example, Ngāti Whakātere of Shannon lament the loss of once strong connections to local resources, recreational waterways and cultural understandings of place due to accumulated pollution. Today, Ngāti Whakātere carry their powerful cultural perspectives and realities to the Environment Court, to tackle severe environmental issues within their rohe, firstly on behalf of themselves, but also in knowing that their efforts will benefit the wider community.

In Chapters 3 and 5, Ngāti Whakātere provide intimate, recreational accounts with the Manawatū River that span from the 1950s through to the 1980s. During that period their close and personal engagement in the waters of the Manawatū River speaks volumes in terms of safe and healthy recreation undertaken by whānau. From that time on however, their inland waterways have declined steadily, whereby the Tokumaru and Manawatū Rivers are now heavily polluted waterway where hapū cannot connect with their waters or fisheries anymore. While subject to a major collaborative effort by iwi/hapū and other multiple entities to try and restore its health and mana,²³ for Ngāti Whakātere of Shannon (and other affiliates) this remains a considerable and extremely onerous task for current generations and for future generations to come.

²³ In August 2010, the members of the Manawatū River Leaders' Forum signed an Accord to take action to improve the state of the Manawatū River. The goal is to improve the Manawatū River, the mauri (lifeforce) of the Manawatū River Catchment, such that it sustains fish species, and is suitable for contact recreation, in balance with the social, cultural and economic activities of the catchment community. This goal represents a community opportunity to develop leadership in catchment improvement and capture the social and economic benefits of such leadership.

Specific goals set out in the Accord are:

- The Manawatū River becomes a source of regional pride and mana.
- Waterways in the Manawatū Catchment are safe, accessible, swimmable, and provide good recreation and food resources.
- The Manawatū Catchment and waterways are returned to a healthy condition.
- Sustainable use of the land and water resources of the Manawatū Catchment continues to underpin the economic prosperity of the Region.

See URL: <http://www.manawaturiver.co.nz/about/the-accord/>

2.3 Previous Related Research

A project like this cannot be completed without a deeper understanding of the state of inland waterways as revealed by former research undertaken throughout the inquiry region. The research team recognizes the work undertaken by Taiao Raukawa Environmental Resource Unit (trading as Taiao Raukawa) when they (including the Manaaki Taha Moana (MTM)²⁴ research team and its many hapū representatives for six projects), organised and led the Tokomaru River Hīkoi with Ngāti Whakare and funded by the central government Clean-Up Fund in 2013. There were associated, small and large-scale catchment plantings of native trees completed at three sites along the Tokomaru River with Ngāti Whakare, Rangitāne representatives, local Tokomaru community members, local farmers, with other local and regional government entities assisting.

By the close of the MTM research project in 2015, the research collaboration had achieved its objectives to assess key ecological decline issues between Hōkio and Levin and activate six more action/kaupapa Māori research environmental revitalisation projects, which included:

- Microbial source tracking of effluent contaminants in the Waiwiri Stream from Lake Papaitonga or Lake Waiwiri to sea;
- Protecting the Kuku/Ōhau River estuary frontage and coastal biodiversity from destructive vehicular access;
- Enhancing water health and white bait habitat in the lower reaches of the Ōhau River;
- Buffering coastal wetlands between Kuku to Waikawa;

²⁴ See URL: <http://mtm.ac.nz>

MBIE invested in the MTM research project led by Huhana Smith, Moira Poutama and Aroha Spinks who worked extensively with all iwi and hapū, kaitiaki (environmental guardians), and other end user groups within the case study region. MTM was a six year research project that investigated environmental decline issues for freshwater ways systems into the marine. The team worked with: Te Rūnanga o Raukawa; Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust (Mandated Iwi Organisation for Fisheries); Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki; coastal Māori farms such as Incorporation of Ransfield's, Waikawa and Tahamata Incorporation, Kuku; Te Iwi o Ngāti Tukorehe Trust; Ngā Kaitiaki o Ngāti Kikopiri; Ngā Kaitiaki o Ngātōkōwaru; Ngā Hapū o Hīmatangi; Ngā Kaitiaki o Ngāti Kauwhata, and Muaūpoko Tribal Authority, and amongst other hapū groups of Muaūpoko. Additional players within the MTM collaborative included: Taiao Raukawa Environmental Resource Unit; School of Architecture and Design, Victoria University, Wellington; Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki; Greater Wellington Regional Council; Kāpiti Coast District Council; Waitohu Stream Care Group, Ōtaki; Royal Forest and Bird Society, Horowhenua; Horowhenua District Council; Hōkio Progressive Association, Horizons Regional Council; Department of Conservation, Palmerston North; and local residents and relevant landholders between Hōkio and Ōtaki.

- Catalysing the Lake Waiorongomai revitalisation project with Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki shareholders, and lastly,
- Conducting a comprehensive coastal surf zone shellfish assessment (with numerous hapū representatives) of the accumulated land and water use impacts on the abundance and health of shellfish at 13 sites between Hōkio to Ōtaki, in April to May 2014.²⁵

Building on this work, Te Rangi Ltd team (Moira Poutama, Aroha Spinks and this report writer) with key hapū representatives, commenced a climate change project funded by MBIE. This collaborative project, *Adaption Strategies to Address Climate Change Impacts on Coastal Māori communities (2015–2017)*, relates to how Aotearoa New Zealand has significant levels of development in coastal areas already affected by sea level rise. Erosion of beaches and the collapse of some coastal infrastructure during storms are evident in several parts of the country. More subtle and widespread effects such as flooding, due to rises in groundwater can also be significant. The aim of the *Adaption Strategies* is to develop a framework for building resilience in coastal Māori farming communities by identifying culturally informed climate change adaptation strategies; and testing their economic, environmental and cultural implications through a series of designed, whole-of-farm scenarios. The team works alongside Massey University's School of People, Environment and Planning, Palmerston North and Victoria University's School of Architecture, Wellington. The research team is collating the particular risks and opportunities, based on projected future climate change-related impacts in the region.²⁶ Two case study farms and one Ahu Whenua Trust, (namely Tahamata Incorporation at Kuku, Incorporation of Ransfield's and Hatete Ahu Whenua Trust at Waikawa) are involved until March 2017.

²⁵ Allen C, Sinner J, Banks J, Doehring K 2012. *Waiwiri Stream: Sources of Poor Water Quality and Impacts on the Coastal Environment*. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No.9. Cawthron Report No. 2240. The largescale shellfish survey built upon the poor quality of water in the Waiwiri Stream and its impacts on shellfish, when results in shellfish from some sites exceeding WHO standards for human consumption. The methods and results are documented in two reports:

Newcombe E, Poutama M, Allen C, Smith H, Clark D, Atalah J, Spinks A, Ellis J, Sinner J., 2014. *Kaimoana on beaches from Hōkio to Ōtaki, Horowhenua*. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 22. Cawthron Report No. 2564.

Newcombe E, Smith H, Poutama M, Clark D, Spinks A, Ellis J, Sinner J., 2014. *Faecal contamination of shellfish on the Horowhenua coast*. Prepared for Taiao Raukawa and Manaaki Taha Moana. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 23. Cawthron Report No. 2573.

See URL: <http://www.mtm.ac.nz/publications/reports>

²⁶ See URL: <http://www.deepsouthchallenge.co.nz>. (Search for Programmes and Vision Mātauranga and then scroll to series of national Māori projects).

2.4 Outline of iwi representatives

The function of this section is to provide a general outline of the key iwi and related hapū who were invited to participate. It does not provide a deeper nor more complex whakapapa version of relationships to ancestral lands. This is the responsibility of more astute kaumātua or keepers of customary knowledge of the range of iwi/hapū relationships to place within the inquiry region. The team notes that each of these iwi/hapū have their own identity, values and associations within the Rangitīkei, Manawatū, Horowhenua, Kāpiti to Porirua regions. The team recognizes that differences exist between each iwi with respect to: their relationship agreements with Crown; their progress made on Treaty of Waitangi claims; any progress made in developing Iwi management plans and other matters of interest.

The iwi/hapū representatives are as follows:

- Muaūpoko
- Rangitāne
- Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga
- Te Āti awa
- Ngātiawa
- Ngāti Toa Rangatira

In keeping with a generally agreed upon tangata whenua or mana whenua understanding of place within the inquiry region, the following statements were prepared by representatives from different iwi authorities and used in the *Horowhenua District Plan (Proposed – Marked Up Decision Version) 1–1 Version: 16 October 2013*. The other statements were sourced from iwi websites.

2.4.1 Statement of Muaūpoko

Muaūpoko are the descendants of the original people who first occupied the Horowhenua District. The Muaūpoko whakapapa (genealogy) includes all the former people known by various names, such as Ngai Tara, since the time of Kupe. They named all the places in the District and Muaūpoko have an unbroken connection to these places, waterways, wetlands, coastlines, fisheries, forestry's and ancestral lands. Muaūpoko have many traditional hapū. Those currently active are:

- Ngāi te Ngarue
- Ngāi te Ao
- Ngāti Tamarangi
- Ngāti Hine
- Ngāti Pariri
- Ngāti Whanokirangi
- Punahau.

The Muaūpoko Marae are Kohutōroa and Kawiu. Muaūpoko acknowledges its neighbouring iwi, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. All of which have a shared history including whakapapa, alliances and even conflicts. This has provided a rich and diverse cultural landscape for all iwi. The Muaūpoko Tribal Authority encourages and invites consultation should people wish to know its views and obtain information regarding sites and areas of cultural significance to Muaūpoko. Similarly, when local or regional government is making a decision involving land or a body of water, it must take into account the relationship of Muaūpoko and its culture and traditions with its ancestral land, water, sites, wāhi tapu, valued flora and fauna, and other taonga.

Tāngata Whenua ki Horowhenua – Māori Land and Reserve Land

In 1873 Muaūpoko were confined to what is now known as the Horowhenua Block by the Native Land Court. The land was later subdivided and alienated from iwi ownership to individual ownership. The remaining Māori Land in the Horowhenua Block is now Private Land, governed by the Te Ture Whenua Act.

Some of the land is now in Reserve status; some of these contain the remaining endemic fauna and flora. Punahau (Horowhenua) Lake Bed and Hōkio Stream (including specific land adjacent to them) are owned by the Lake Horowhenua Trust. The status of Waipunahau (Lake Horowhenua) and the Hōkio Stream is described under the Reserves and Other Lands Disposal Act 1956 as follows:

‘Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act or rule of law, the bed of the lake, the islands therein, the dewatered area, and the strip of land 1 chain and with around the original margin of the lake (as more particularly secondly described in subsection (13)) are hereby declared to be and have always been owned by the

Māori owners, and the said lake, islands, dewatered area, and strip of land are hereby vested in the trustees appointed by Order of the Māori Land Court dated 8 August 1951 in trust for the said Māori owners. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act or rule of law, the bed of the Hokio Stream and the strip of land 1 chain in width along portion of the north bank of the said stream (being the land more particularly thirdly described in subsection (13)), excepting thereout such parts of the said bed of the stream as may have at any time been legally alienated or disposed of by the Māori owners or any of them, are hereby declared to be and have always been owned by the Māori owners, in the said bed of the stream and the said strip of land are hereby vested in the trustees appointed by Order of the Māori Land Court dated 8 August 1951 in trust for the said Māori owners’.

The Lake is also a Muaūpoko Fisheries Reserve and there are prohibitions associated with fishing in these areas.

2.4.2 Statement of Ngāti Raukawa

‘Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki’

Ngāti Raukawa and affiliates like Kauwhata in Feilding, Tukorehe in Kuku, and Wehiwehi in Waikawa and Manakau ‘descend from the Tainui waka traditions and ancestral bases. There has been a complex Māori history of warfare and conquest over land and resources in Horowhenua, which began circa 1819 with the migrations from Kāwhia Harbour by Ngāti Toa Rangātira, led by Te Rauparaha. The legacies set down by ancestral Māori land tenure activities during Te Rauparaha and his allies' time for Ngāti Raukawa and affiliates, continue to this day.

Ngāti Raukawa have two traditional homelands. The first, in the southern Waikato and northern Taupō districts, centres on Maungatautari – the ancestral mountain of Ngāti Raukawa. Many important sites, such as birthplaces of ancestors, related urupā (cemeteries), pā sites, battle sites, marae of origin, houses of learning, and more, are found here. In Ngāti Raukawa tradition, this northern region has four traditional districts. They are referred to as: Ngāti Raukawa ki Wharepūhanga – south and east of Te Awamutu between Maungatautari and Waipapa. Ngāti Raukawa ki Maungatautari, is centred around the ancestral

mountain for the Iwi, Maungatautari then extending north east to Cambridge. Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Kaokaoroa-o-Pātetere includes the mountain ranges stretching north of Tokoroa towards the Kaimai Range, west of Tauranga. Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Pae o Raukawa from Tokoroa, is located south along the Waikato River to Waihaha on the westside of Lake Taupō.

The second region is Ngāti Raukawa-ki-te-tonga – Ngāti Raukawa of the south. This region stretches from the Rangitīkei River, west of Manawatū, to Kūkūtauaki Stream just north of Waikanae. A large group of Ngāti Raukawa migrated there from the first region in the early decades of the 19th century, and to this day their occupation and settlement is reflected in the large number of Ngāti Raukawa marae between northern Waikanae, stretching to the Rangitīkei region. Historic (and more contemporary) meeting houses stand on land blocks within different environments that result from the actions of Ngāti Raukawa ancestors. Of importance too are the whakapapa (genealogical) and on-going relationships that have been retained between the two Ngāti Raukawa regions, to this day.

Ngāti Raukawa, and other politically affiliated iwi of the rohe, gained rights to land, resources and water bodies according to tikanga Māori and Māori customary land ‘laws’ such as take raupatu, the right by conquest, and take tuku for land allocations that arose from support of Te Rauparaha. Some other customary and descriptive ways in which our people and affiliates identify their rights to land, resources and environments in Horowhenua are listed as follows:

- Tuku Whenua – Gifting land;
- Take tupuna – Ancestral right, by reason of ancestry;
- Take taunaha – Bespeak, right through oral claim;
- Take noho – Occupation rights;
- Take rahui – Reason of reservation;
- Ahi kā – Right of occupation, and
- Ahi kā roa – Describes occupation over a long period of time.

In the wider ancestral region, there are 21 functioning marae reserves of Ngāti Raukawa interest. Despite land tenure changes over time, Ngāti Raukawa and their affiliates have held onto tracts of ancestral lands. Embedded cultural markers, whether urupā, burial grounds, cemeteries, wāhi tapu, pā sites, former

papa kainga, wāhi tūpuna, coastal, peat and wet land middens; important eel weirs at dune lakes, boundary markers, important foothills and mountain ranges, freshwater springs, marker trees, kauwhanga-a-riri (battlegrounds), cultivation sites, and many other sites of historic and ongoing significance across the Horowhenua region, still persist. There are also cross-iwi interests over various areas and natural systems in Horowhenua. To this end, there are cross customary interests in certain areas such as Omarupapako, Round Bush Reserve.²⁷

Raukawa hapū (affiliated iwi to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga) in the inquiry region [and marae]

- Ngāti Pikiahu, Poupatate marae, Te Reureu, Halcombe
- Ngāti Pikiahu-Waewae, Tokorangi marae, Halcombe
- Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Rangatahi of Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Hiri o Mahuta marae, Halcombe
- Ngāti Manomano, Taumata o te Ra, Halcombe
- Ngāti Parewahawaha, Bulls
- Ngāti Kauwhata, and Ngāti Kauwhata ki Aorangi, Feilding
- Ngāti Turanga, Paranui marae, Hīmatangi
- Ngāti Rākau, Motuiti marae, Hīmatangi
- Ngāti Te Au papakāinga, Hīmatangi
- Ngāti Whakatere, Whakawehi marae, Shannon
- Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Hinemata, Kereru marae, Kōputōroa
- Ngāti Huia, Matau marae, Kōputōroa
- Ngāti Huia, Huia, marae, Poroutāwhao
- Ngāti Pareraukawa ki Ngātōkōwaru; Hōkio
- Ngāti Kikopiri, Muhunua
- Ngāti Hikitunga, Ōhau
- Ngāti Tukorehe, Tukorehe marae, Kuku
- Ngāti Wehiwehi, Wehiwehi Marae, Manakau
- Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Pare, Raukawa marae, Ōtaki
- Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti, Te Pou o Tainui, Ōtaki

²⁷ This area will be referred back to Crown for further consideration, and if need be, for amendment of the Ngāti Apa legislation. The Ngāti Raukawa Treaty Claims team flag that the Ngāti Apa claim will be challenged before the Waitangi Tribunal. Ngāti Raukawa and affiliates are determining their customary interests and mana tuku iho, exercised by Iwi, hapū and whanau as Tāngata Whenua to certain areas of the marine and coastal regions.

- Ngāti Huia, Katihiku marae, Ōtaki²⁸

Mai Waitapu ki Rangataua Mai Miria ote Kakara ki Kukutauaki ko tenei te takiwa o Raukawa ki te tonga Waitapu Rangataua and Miria ate Kakara are tributies and marae which reside on the banks of the Rangitikei river these areas symbolize the boundies and the begining of our tribe of Raukawa the hapu who reside on the banks of the Rangitikei are Ngāti Pikiahu Waewae Ngāti Rangitahi Matakore and Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Manomano are hapu who affiliate to Raukawa.²⁹

2.4.3 Statement of Rangitāne

‘Tini Whetu ki te Rangi ko nga Uri O Rangitāne ki te Whenua’ ‘As numerous as the stars in the sky so are the people of great Rangitāne upon the land’

Kurahaupo Waka

Rangitāne came to Aotearoa on board the Kurahaupo Waka, which was one of the principal waka that brought ancestors from Hawaiki.

Whatonga

‘Rangitāne predominantly trace their origins to Kupe, discoverer of Aotearoa and Whātonga, one of the Principal Chiefs of the Kurahaupo Waka. Whātonga’s grandson, Rangitāne, became the eponymous ancestor of the Rangitāne tribe. Rangitāne was also known as Rangitānenui, Tanenui-a-rangi and Rangitānenui-a-rangi. Te Waewae Kapiti o Tara Raua ko Rangitāne (Kapiti Island) has an extremely significant place in the culture and history of Rangitāne. The Island was named by Whatonga’s sons, Tara and Tautoki to mark the boundary between Ngai Tara and Tautoki’s son and Tanenuiarangi people’s, Rangitāne.

Rangitāne Settlement

Whātonga was a great explorer and travelled from Heretaunga down the Wairarapa Coast to Wellington and then across the Cook Strait to the South Island. He then came up the West Coast to the Manawatū River up to the great

²⁸ Note that the list in the draft document had only those hapū listed in the Horowhenua district and contained some mistakes. For the sake of this document the list is expanded and corrected. See Objectives/Policies: Matters of Importance to Tāngata Whenua in *Horowhenua District Plan (Proposed - Marked Up Decision Version) 1–5 Version: 16 October 2013*, p 1–4 See URL: <http://www.horowhenua.govt.nz>

²⁹ Personal Communication, Bruce Smith, 9 January 2016.

forests in the heart of the Manawatū, which he called Te Tapere nui o Whātonga, the great district of Whātonga.

Through Whātonga's great explorations Rangitāne eventually settled in Tāmakinui-a-rua (Dannevirke), Wairarapa, Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington), Wairau in the South and on the West Coast in the Manawatū areas. Rangitāne's descendants began their full occupation in the Manawatū which endures to the present day. Rangitāne settled around the Manawatū River with settlements all along the River. Numerous settlements also existed around the mouth of the Manawatū River and coast due to the abundant supply of resources. Many of the pā and kainga were still occupied when the first Europeans travelled through the area.

Rangitāne hapū in Manawatū

The Rangitāne people have occupied the Manawatū and lower North Island for ~800 years and during this unbroken association with the land developed whanau based hapū descended from Tanenuiarangi and the Kurahaupo waka. The hapū were also responsible for certain geographical areas and natural resources. These hapū are outlined below;

- Ngāti Hineaute
- Ngāti Kapuarangi
- Ngāti Rangitepaia
- Ngāti Mairehau (also known as Ngāti Tuahuriri)
- Ngāti Rangiaranaki
- Ngāti Taurira

Each hapū had its own sphere of influence but reciprocity also existed as relationships were based around whakapapa. By the 1800's, Rangitāne had firmly established themselves on the ground with associated control over the resources within their rohe. Rangitāne o Manawatū prior to Crown purchasing in the Manawatū were a self-sufficient and economically prosperous Iwi. Rangitāne leaders fought tirelessly for the ongoing survival of Rangitāne o Manawatū with the advent of settlers and tried to maintain a tribal base through encounters with the Crown and other Iwi who eventually migrated to the Manawatū. The establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal provided an opportunity for Rangitāne o

Manawatū to formally register grievances against the Crown whilst the direct negotiations process has afforded Rangitāne o Manawatū the chance to finally settle these grievances. Upon settlement Rangitāne o Manawatū look forward to strengthening and growing their longstanding tribal base as kaitiaki for the future generations of Rangitāne o Manawatū. Rangitāne o Manawatū look forward to continuing to contribute to the economic, social, political and cultural development of the District.

Manawatū River

The Rangitāne domain comprised almost the entire drainage basin of the Manawatū River, including its tributaries on both sides of the Tararua and Ruahine mountain Ranges.

The name Manawatū was bestowed on the River by the Rangitāne Tohunga Hānui-a-Nanaia, whilst searching for his wife, Wairaka. Hānui travelled down the West Coast of the North Island crossing and naming many waterways. When he reached a turbulent flowing river, which caused his heart to sink as he thought he may not be able to cross it and continue his search, he called the River Manawatū.

The Manawatū River itself however was created through the spirit of Okatia, who gave life to a Totara growing on the slopes of the Puketoi Range in the Hawkes Bay. The totara made his way to the Mountain Ranges of the Ruahine and Tararua, and as it forced its way through the Ranges, it created the Manawatū Gorge and the Manawatū River as it made its way out to sea. For Rangitāne o Manawatū traditions such as this, represent the significant links between the cosmological world and the modern world, which have shaped Rangitāne o Manawatū. Rangitāne hold the Manawatū River in great reverence as the Mauri of the people are carried by the River, which has sustained and nourished the land and Rangitāne for centuries.

Rangitāne o Manawatū Rohe

The Rangitāne o Manawatū Rohe extends from the Southbank of the Rangitikei River from its mouth at the Tasman Sea to Orangipongo in the Northeast. From Orangipongo in a straight line to Te Hekenga in the Ruahine Ranges. From Te

Hekenga southeast to the headwaters of the Manawatū River following and including the Riverbed of the Manawatū River to its mouth on the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. From the mouth of the Manawatū River in a straight line east to the Eastern side of the Tararua Ranges at Aotea following the line of the Tararua Ranges to the Manawatū Gorge.’³⁰

2.4.4 Statement of Te Ātiawa

The earliest accounts of Te Ati Awa in the Kāpiti region go back to the Kāhui Mounga collective that had spread itself from Taranaki and the Central Plateau region through to Te Upoko-o-te-Ika, or what is now the Wellington region. One group of this collective were Te Tini-o-Pohokura, and were lead by the ancestress Piopio Te Kairākau.

Piopio Te Kairākau’s people migrated south to the Kāpiti region. The name of this ancestress was bestowed upon two pou, or pillars, that rested on each side of the Waikanae River. One of these pou, named ‘Piopio’, was located at what is now known as Piopio Place, near the Waikanae beachfront. The other pou, named ‘Te Kairākau’, was located at what is now the Camelot Subdivision in Ōtaihangā. The Te Tini-o-Pohokura people have direct connections with Te Āti Awa and coupled with the pou at the mouth of the Waikanae river, mark many traditional symbols of connection we maintain to some of the earlier occupant’s on the Kapiti Coast.

Preceding the Te Tini-o-Pohokura settlement was the journey of an ancestor named Haunui-a-Nanaia, who has a direct relationship with the ancestral canoes of Kurahaupō and Aotea. Haunui-a-Nanaia is well-known as the ancestor who pursued his wife Wairaka by following the path of a deity named Rongomai, who exemplified itself in the form of a meteor. Haunui-a-Nanaia is also well-known as the ancestor who named various tributaries and landmarks from Whanganui to Wellington. Within the boundaries of Te Āti Awa ki Kapiti, the rivers of Waimeha and Waikanae are no exception.

³⁰ Sourced from Objectives/Policies: Matters of Importance to Tāngata Whenua in *Horowhenua District Plan (Proposed - Marked Up Decision Version) 1–5 Version: 16 October 2013*, p 1–4
See URL: <http://www.horowhenua.govt.nz>

The naming of the Waikanae River itself symbolises the serene nature of this area. The term, Waikanae, has two proverbial meanings. The first:

‘Ka ngahae ngā pī, ko Waikanae’
‘Staring in amazement, hence Waikanae’

This proverb recalls when Haunui-a-Nanaia was crossing the river. It was during a cloudless night in which the stars and moon were prevalent in the skies. When Haunui-a-Nanaia stared into the river waters, he noticed myriads of Kanae, or Mullet, swimming in shoals. What startled him was that the eyes of the Kanae were gleaming from the reflection of the stars and moon. Haunui-a-Nanaia was ‘staring in amazement’. The essence of this proverb is also personified by the following proverb:

‘Ko tōku waikanaetanga tēnei’
‘This is my peace and humility’

This simple proverb captured by the naming of the river symbolises our relationship to the Waikanae area.

Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations

There were a number of migrations from Taranaki into the current rohe of Te Ātiawa. Migrations south were known collectively as ‘Te Heke Mai Raro’. They began with ‘Te Heke Tahutahuahi’ in 1821, and ended with ‘Te Heke Hauhaua’ in 1834. Much of these migrations took place with Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. Throughout this period the following iwi and hapū from Taranaki settled in Kāpiti:

- Ngāti Tama
- Ngāti Mutunga
- Te Āti Awa
- Puketapu
- Pukerangiora
- Manukorihi
- Otaraua
- Ngāti Uenuku
- Ngāti Kura
- Ngāti Maru Wharanui
- Ngāt Hineuru

- Ngāti Rahiri
- Ngāti Whakarewa
- Ngāti Kaitangata
- Ngāti Tupawhenua
- Ngāti Tu
- Ngāmotu
- Ngāti Te Whiti
- Ngāti Tawhirikura
- Ngāti Haumia
- Ngāti Haupoto
- Ngāti Ruanui
- Ngāti Tupaea

From the 1840's Te Āti Awa were permanently settled as mana whenua on the Kāpiti Coast. However, by the 1870s, Crown encroachment of Māori lands and customary rights was well underway. For the people of Te Āti Awa, this issue was compounded by internal struggles over rights of ownership to lands and other natural resources. In 1884, the house, Pukumahi Tamariki was moved from the original Waikanae Settlement. When the line was open for traffic, Pukumahi Tamariki was brought via bullock to its present site in which it still stands today. This is at Marae Lane in Waikanae, and is the meeting house now known as 'Whakarongotai'.

Twentieth-century Te Āti Awa history is diverse and complex. By this time, past conflicts and struggles between the people had been largely reconciled. These new relationships produced an important foundation for new collaborations ultimately leading to the exchange of gifts and marriage both internally and with their confederated partners Ngāti Toarangatira to the south and Ngāti Raukawa to the north.³¹

2.4.5 Statement of Ngātiawa

Ngātiawa Nui Tonu ki Kāpiti te Takutai

Mokopuna of the Original Ngātiawa Iwi Re-EST.2013

(Gov. Grey and Browne labeled Ngātiawa Rebels the NZ Government Exiled

³¹ URL: <http://teatiawakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/>

Ngātiawa to this day)

Ngātiawa ki Waikanae to Waitara 1819 to Eternity

Principle Hāpū Ngati Kahukura me Uenuku

Te Pukerangioa me Ngati Rahiri me Hinetua Hāpū

Tuiti (*pre-1860's original name of Otaraua*) Hāpū – Rangatira Aramai Te Tupe o Tuiti

Nga mokopuna Te Tupe o Tu, Te Hau te Horo, Te Paihia me Henare Te Marau

Puketapu Hāpū – Ihakara Puketapu, Paeroke, Tinikorehe,

Tahuroa

Ngātiawa Nui Tonu Board Est. 2013

The tupuna lead us on a journey of discovery of who they were and who we are today. The majority of Ngātiawa were displaced, disbursed our history distorted under the direction of the colonial government. On this pathway of discovery, many relationships were rekindled and new ones created. With a common quest re-establish, the whanaungatanga lost to some generations. The kaupapa, own who we are, stand tall and ensure our mokopuna do not walk through life lost. Many have gathered to embrace our prestigious whakapapa and history. Knowing our Tupuna lived as honorable people, with integrity.³²

2.4.6 Statement of Ngati Toa

Toa Rangatira who was the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Toa, resided at Kawhia on the west coast of Waikato-Tainui rohe around the 17th century. Ngati Toa occupied the coastline from Aotea to Huikomako, about 100km south of Kawhia.

In 1819 Te Rauparaha lead a scouting expedition to the Cook Strait. From a well known lookout point, Omere near Cape Terawhiti, Te Rauparaha noticed a trading ship passing through the Cook Strait. After identifying the strategic importance of the Cook Strait as a major trading route Te Rauparaha lead Ngati Toa in a historic resettlement campaign from Kawhia.

Te Heke Tahutahuahi (the fire lighting expedition) was the first stage of Te Rauparaha's resettlement which arrived in North Taranaki. Here Ngati Toa was

³² URL: <http://ngatiawakikapiti.org>

joined by Ngati Tama, and members from Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Awa.

Te Heke Tataramoa (the bramble bush) was the second heke which moved south from Whanganui to Ngati Apa towards the Cook Strait.

The defining settlement of Ngati Toa in the Wellington region was the battle of Waiorua on Kapiti Island in 1824. Ngati Toa defeated a combined alliance of Kurahaupo tribes and settled without protest from other Iwi in the region from Kapiti to Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

In 1827, the battle of Tapu-Te-Ranga sealed Ngati Toa settlement where an alliance of Ngati Toa and Ngati Mutunga defeated Ngati Ira, the residing Iwi on the South Coast of Wellington. Tamairangi, the Paramount Chieftainess of Ngati Ira was taken captive and presented to Te Rangihaeata of Ngati Toa at Ohariu where she acceded to his protection. Tamairangi and her son Te Kekerengu to settle on Mana Island.

During the early 1800's Ngati Mutunga and Te Atiawa moved into Whanganui-a-Tara and towards the Wairarapa with the support of Te Rauparaha . Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata allocated land to Ngati Tama along the south west coast (principally at Ohariu) in recognition of their support during resettlement.

Following the battle of Waiorua, and Te Rangihaeata continued south leading a number of campaigns gaining mana whenua in the upper South Island particularly in the Wairau Valley, Port Underwood, and Pelorus Sound.

By 1840 Ngati Toa Rangatira was established as the pre-eminent Iwi dominating the Kapiti, Wellington, and Te Tau Ihu (northern South Island) regions. Ngati Toa held a maritime monopoly in the Cook Strait including a de facto military, political and economic power in the region acknowledged by Māori and European settlers at the time.³³

2.5 Progress Reports

All Milestone Progress Reports to CFRT needed to include:

³³ URL: <http://www.ngatitooa.iwi.nz>

- A high-level summary of activities carried out, including any project hui and/or one-on-one interviews held and any issues or feedback raised at those hui;
- A draft interview schedule noting name/s, dates, location of proposed interviews, and associated Wai claims and Approved Client information if relevant;
- A general overview of research issues covered;
- Any primary, secondary and oral sources consulted to date for the project and a record of any research institutions visited;
- Any potential problems or risks to the research and/or project timeframes; and
- Claimant hui or wānanga attended, any issues or feedback raised at those hui, and how these had been attended to.

2.5.1 Timeframes

Timeframes for submission of Progress Reports to CFRT started (and with variances to contract) within an overall duration of 1 March 2016–27 January 2017.

2.5.2 The research approach and methodology

This section outlines the research approach and methodology; the consultation processes; the methods of wānanga; the interviews undertaken for the oral archive; protecting voices, cross-iwi dialogue; using existing oral narratives; safe recording and storage; progress reports, and the key sources and repositories investigated that examined claimants' issues relevant to the cultural perspective of inland waterways in the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry.

2.6 Consultation with other research providers in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry

The research team ensured that it kept up to date with the progress updates and technical reports of other projects undertaken in this inquiry. Contact with other research providers identified potential areas of issue overlap with other research projects in the inquiry district and, if such overlaps were identified. The Research Leaders discussed these and allocated case studies as evenly as possible. In particular, our Inland Waterways team liaised with the contractors commissioned for the Environmental and Natural Resource Issues, and Local Government Issues projects.

CFRT convened a teleconference with the principal researchers for the 10 CFRT-commissioned research projects for the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry on 26 April 2016. This was a timely hui for our research team, with the purpose of the teleconference being to discuss (amongst other notifications), the following:

- The Block Research Narratives project – its content and scope, and the supply of block dataset information to the other researchers
- Mapping – our research group Te Rangi Ltd (at the suggestion of iwi/hapū representatives in the claimant community) requested a workshop regarding mapping, to help our representatives (and those from all claimant groups), map their rohe earlier than CFRT anticipated. This was discussed and agreed upon by the lead researchers. Christine Vaughan (mapping facilitator) attended for CFRT. Other research teams were also invited to attend. Whatarangi Winiata and Rachael Selby attended from the Historical Issues Project 2 and 4 research teams.
- A Significant Sites Mapping Wānanga for any iwi/hapū members and claimants who wished to attend was held with two CFRT research teams: Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Team and the Environmental and Natural Resource Issues Team (see agenda in Appendix 1). This wānanga was advertised to claimants via CFRT progress reports, email, and locally in newspapers (Dominion Post, Horowhenua Chronicle and Kāpiti News). Aroha Spinks was the facilitator for this wānanga and Dr Vaughan Wood (research leader for the Environmental and Natural Resource Project) directed a section in the afternoon on Environmental and Natural Resource Issues of concern to those present. This wānanga was very successful with a turnout of over 30 iwi/hapū members, as well as claimants and their representatives in attendance. Those present identified key environmental sites and issues of concern to iwi/hapū, workshopped sites of significance in their rohe, and discussed key environmental impacts in the Porirua ki Manawatū region.

2.7 Wānanga, hui and consultation for iwi/hapū interviewees in the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry

Who were the representatives? As noted previously, this overview report is commissioned on behalf of CFRT Approved Clients and all claimants in the inquiry. It is not for individual claimants or claimant groups. CFRT currently has three Approved Clients participating in the inquiry: Te Hono ki Raukawa Historic Claims and Management Settlement Trust; Tūmatanui Incorporated Society; and Tū Te Manawaroa Trust.

The CFRT contract specified that all claimants participating in the inquiry were to have the opportunity to engage in this research project, including participation in district-wide and claimant group hui. Accordingly, at the start of the research process CFRT facilitated two research hui to introduce the researchers or contractors to the Porirua ki Manawatū claimant community. These hui were held at Feilding and Ōtaki on 13 February 2016, at which time the research team disseminated colour project briefs (see Appendix 2). These helped iwi/hapū claimant groups and their counsel to understand the details of each Inland Waterways project. Feedback raised at both hui was positive. Likewise, further such CFRT-organised hui were held after dissemination of the draft report to facilitate claimant feedback on the draft report.

The Te Rangi-led team met with CFRT's Approved Clients in the Inquiry to ensure robust engagement with client perspectives and claim issues. Key documents and possible case studies were identified in consultation with CFRT's Approved Clients and claimants, who also had the opportunity to provide written feedback on the Contractor's milestones, and have that claimant feedback attended to, to CFRT's satisfaction.

The main research approach for this report relied on gathering additional oral narratives and collating others from different research projects that have preceded this endeavour. Targeted oral narratives according to research themes were gathered within a series of hui and wānanga with claimants, and iwi and hapū representatives. The engagement took place from 13 February till 12 June 2016 as the initial cutoff date. This was set in order to give the team space and time to complete all scheduled interviews, write synopses of all interviews completed and gain approvals from all representatives to create these synopses, negotiate permissions on key quotes to be used with all representatives, and to consider the wealth of collated information for this report.

Organising and facilitating the wānanga or hui proved to be a very complex and demanding process given the busy iwi and hapū dynamic of multiple responsibilities and time constraints for the project team. Thirty wānanga and interview hui (including CFRT organised ones) were held with groups or individuals who chose to participate in the project. Thirty interviews were conducted in this project, with a total of sixty-five interviewees contributing to this oral narrative compendium. The team expended considerable effort and time to gain permission to use voices offered. This involved repeated communications via emails, multiple phone calls, texts and many physical

visits to achieve final synopsis sign off. This was vital to ensure that all representatives were in agreement to use their voice, which features so extensively in this report.

Table 7: Wānanga or hui (as convened by Moira Poutama) and supported by members of the team

	Dates (2016)	Locale and Interviewee(s)
1	12 March	Tūmatanui hui held at Tāringaroa, Ōtaki
2	15 March	Hui for Matau Marae, Wayne Kiriona, held at Jack Allen Centre, Levin
3	16 March	Te Hono ki Raukawa hui, held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki
4	22 March	Whakawehi hui with Ngāti Whakaterere, held at Shannon
5	23 March	Simon Austin Wallace whānau hui, held at Ōhau
6		Margaret Morgan Allen, Ngāti Hikitanga Te Paea hui, held at Ōhau
7	30 March	Te Hono ki Raukawa hui, held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki
8	2nd April	Tū Te Manawaroa with Kōputōroa, Koputara, Ōhinepuhiawe, Hīmatangi groups Wānanga held at Kereru Marae, Kōputaroa. Facilitator Dr Huhana Smith
9	12 April	Tūmatanui Inc. and Wai 1482 held at Wehiwehi Marae Hui, held at Manakau
10	16 April	Ngāti Whakaterere Wānanga, held at Poutu Marae, Shannon. Facilitators Dr Huhana Smith and Aroha Spinks
11	21 April	Ngāti Huia Wānanga, held at Huia Marae, Poroutāwhao. Facilitator Aroha Spinks
12	28 April	Ngāti Pareraukawa hui, Mereana Selby and Whatarangi Winiata, held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki
13	10 May	Te Āti Awa, Wai 88 and 89 hui, Āni Parata, Lois McNaught, held at Tāringaroa, Ōtaki
14	12 May	2 x Ngāti Kauwhata Marae and 5 x Marae in Te Reureu, held at Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Feilding office. Facilitators Aroha Spinks and Mahina-a-rangi Baker
15	18 May	Peter Richardson, Pat Seymour hui, held at Foxton Beach
16	20 May	Te Whena Lewis hui, held at Waikawa Beach, Manakau
17	26 May	Rob Kuiti hui, held at Tāringaroa, Ōtaki

	Dates (2016)	Locale and Interviewee(s)
18		Ngāti Pare Wānanga held at Tāringaroa, Ōtaki. Facilitator Mahina-arangi Baker
19	28 May	Sites of Significance Mapping Wānanga for iwi, hapū and claimants, held at Tatum Park-Kuku/Manakau. Facilitator Aroha Spinks
20	1 June	Te Waari Carkeek hui, held at Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of NZ, Wellington
21		Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal hui, held at Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of NZ, Wellington
22	5 June	Ngāti Te Au hui, held at Te Whare Manaaki, Foxton
23	6 June	Te Āti Awa iwi members wānanga, held at Whakarongotai Marae, Waikanae. Facilitator Mahina-arangi Baker
24	8 June	Phil Taueki, Peter Heremaia hui, held at Lake Horowhenua, Levin
25		Vivian Taueki hui, held at Lake Horowhenua, Levin
26	11 June	Ngātiawa Wānanga, held at Kāpiti Community Centre Paraparaumu. Facilitator Aroha Spinks
27	12 June	Ngāti Tukorehe Wānanga, held at Tukorehe Marae, Kuku. Facilitators Moira Poutama and Aroha Spinks

2.8 Protecting iwi/hapū voices

When compiling oral archives with hapū and iwi, protecting the voices of consenting interviewees forms a key component of robust research. This draft report was also reviewed and enhanced by key hapū experts. Different groups clarified their positions on protecting their iwi/hapū voices to the research team. Te Ātiawa sought to engage with the team who facilitated hui and wānanga. Ngātiawa engaged too, but sought a particular proviso that any use of their interview be based on protecting their shared voice or perspective as *their* intellectual property.³⁴ Similarly, Ngāti Toa Rangitira expressed their desire to have their iwi perspective included in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* project. However, due to time constraints this was not possible. It is noted here that this iwi has an interest within the Inquiry district where they have conducted a number of their own kaumātua interviews,

³⁴ In this report, the research team is permitted to reproduce the research synopsis and direct quotes from key informants of Ngātiawa. The team also notes that Ngātiawa copyright is to be respected at all times. Any request for use of any of their quotes requires Ngātiawa Trust's permission.

and have also settled their Treaty claim with the Crown.³⁵ The team therefore recognised this proviso for *all* representatives, whereby kaupapa Māori principles and ethical research guidelines were followed.

2.9 Important cross-iwi dialogue and liaison with representatives

As mentioned, the team noted that there are a number of iwi and hapū who share interests in the large Porirua ki Manawatū region, therefore meeting with the range of claimants due to cross-claims, was an important component of the research approach. The research team engaged with numerous claimants, who were invited to participate in research wānanga or hui. They were: Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Muaūpoko Tribal Authority; other Muaūpoko hapū members; Rangitāne ki Manawatū, Te Ātiawa representatives from different entities; Ngātiawa; and Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Key members of Rangitāne ki Manawatū advised that as they have settled their Treaty Claim with Crown, they requested not to include their iwi perspectives in this report. They suggested, however, that Rangitāne ki Manawatū be acknowledged as a vital member on the Manawatū River Advisory Board, which was a key provision within their settlement amongst others.³⁶ It is noted that Rangitāne ki Manawatū recognises the Board as a mechanism to ensure iwi engagement with Horizons Regional Council in the following ways:

The Manawatū River Advisory Board is intended to work in a collaborative manner with Horizons with the common purpose of addressing and promoting the health, wellbeing, sustainable use and mana of the Manawatū River. It is anticipated that all iwi which have recognised interests within their deed of settlement in the Manawatū River will become statutory members of the Manawatū River Advisory Board. Iwi groups who have known interest in the Manawatū River, but are yet to settle their claims with Crown, can join the Advisory Board as interim members.³⁷

Additionally, extensive evidence in relation to this kaupapa was presented by Muaūpoko before the Muaūpoko expedited hearings that took place between October

³⁵ The Ngāti Toa Rangatira claim was settled in 2014.

³⁶ Personal communication between Danielle Harris (General Manager), Jonathan Proctor (Resource and Environment Manager) of Tanenuiarangi Manawatū Incorporated and team members Aroha Spinks and Moira Poutama, on 5th of July 2016.

³⁷ Kara Dentice, Strategy and Policy Committee Minutes, 14 June 2016. Sourced 18th August 2016 from
URL: <http://www.horizons.govt.nz> and Media Minutes-Documents/Strategy and Policy Committee Meeting

and December 2015. The Muaūpoko Waitangi Tribunal report is due to be released in March 2017. That evidence contains a broad Muaūpoko perspective on the kaupapa of inland waterways. For the purpose of this *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report, some further interviews were conducted with individual Muāupoko members who readily shared stories, experiences and heartfelt concerns for the severing of their cultural and spiritual connections with waterways, and the effects ecological decline has had on waterways and their hapū within their area of interest.

When contracting was completed with CFRT for this project, CFRT provided the Te Rangi team with a list of claimants, WAI claims, counsel participating in the Inquiry and a list of claims comprising each CFRT Approved Client group.

2.10 Collecting, summarising and storing oral histories

As this project focused on information derived from oral interviews, the project team identified existing oral recordings and assessed their usefulness to this project, and to determine the general themes to be addressed in new oral interviews. To ensure adequate memory space to record interviews, the team used a video camera to capture the majority of claimant interviews. There was a secondary back up system for all information gathered during this project, which was an external hard drive that was housed in a separate location to the first back up system.

Ethical and legal considerations in relation to the interviews and confidentiality were carefully considered by the project team. Procedures were developed accordingly for maintaining records of interviews, including the preservation and security of recordings and transcripts, and access limitations as determined by interviewees.

The *Cultural Perspectives* project brief with information on the research approach was made available (see Appendix 3), along with an Interview information sheet and consent form (see Appendix 4). These forms were based on those used in previous research programmes conducted by members of the research team when conducting oral history research, and took into consideration the guidelines of the National Oral History Association of New Zealand.

A full list of all interviews conducted for this project can be found in Appendix 5. Moira Poutama was the lead person who ably organised all wānanga, interview

timetabling and provided catered for, delectable kai for each event. This was a very demanding process to arrange and execute. Aroha Spinks took a main facilitator role in the wānanga and at times others from the team took the lead role included Mahina-a-rangi Baker and this report writer. Moira Poutama led the interview process with some input at times from Lynne Raumati, Aroha Spinks, Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Associate Professor Huhana Smith, and Dr Gary Hook. Aroha Spinks and Moira Poutama lead the process of writing synopses for each interview with input in a few selected interviews by Dr Gary Hook, Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Dr Mike Joy, and Dr Helen Potter.

Video recordings were made of each interview, with copies kept on a central hard drive maintained by Lynne Raumati, and back-ups held by Aroha Spinks. A synopsis of the key information provided by each interviewee, including key quotes that related to the core themes of this research. Draft synopses were then sent to each interviewee for their review, and any feedback or edits they requested were made to the synopses. When interviewees were satisfied that the synopsis was an acceptable summary of their key kōrero according to the key themes of the research, they were asked to ‘sign off’ their synopsis. This process was time consuming, at times requiring up to 15 iterations between researcher and interviewee; and at other times requiring research team members to liaise with claimant lawyers to clarify issues related to how the information would be used, copyright and disclosure, and so forth.

Moira Poutama, Aroha Spinks, Lynne Raumati and Mahina-a-rangi Baker were tasked with gaining the sign off of synopses (as per CFRT requirement) often travelled throughout the rohe to visit with interviewees. Some representatives gave their sign off for their synopsis via the official forms provided by the team, others via email messages, texts or in one case a Facebook message. All approvals were only accepted when provided in writing and a copy (which at times included photos of the message). These were held on file by Aroha Spinks and Lynne Raumati. The project team did its best to be obliging and to accommodate interviewee needs as much as possible. Lynne Raumati collated and maintained the Interview Database with all signed consent forms, interview video recordings, approved synopses and additional material supplied for each interview. This database was submitted for CFRT at the completion of the *Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* project.

At times, issues were raised by interviewees including mis-spelt words, wrongly attributing certain quotes to one person at a given group interview when another person

actually said it (who was not in view on the screen at that time), or not including the information in the synopses that the interviewee deemed to be important. The project team corrected all synopses, based on such interviewee feedback, prior to sign off of all synopses. All feedback recommendations were accepted with changes made to the interviewee's satisfaction. When multiple people were involved in any given group interview, any change to a group interview synopses required all other interviewees who participated in that group interview to also approve and sign off on the updated synopses. These iterations took significant researcher time, and resulted in delays in the final completed synopses being received by the Report Writer who collated all the information and analysed the interview material in the writing of this technical report. Two interview synopses were not approved by the participants in time to be included and discussed in this report Rob Kuiti and Ngāti Te Au Whānau (Ted Devonshire, Pip Devonshire, Lorraine Bell, Sandra Hemara). The participants confirmed that they wished their interviews to remain in the *Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Collation of Oral Narrative* report once approved. The research team agreed and confirmed with these participants that their views will be discussed in the *Inland Waterways – Historic* report along with the September interviews. Only one participant withdrew during this process. All approved interviews including those completed in September will be sent to storage facilities as determined by the interviewees during the *Inland Waterways – Historic* research project. Options included nominated persons, Te Wānanga o Raukawa as well as the national archive facility – Alexander Turnbull Library.

2.11 Existing oral history records

At the Ōtaki Library, existing interviews were identified with John Huff, John Moffatt, Borgia Hakaraia, George Gray, Miki Rikihana, Retitia Raureti, and Anzac Winterburn. These interviews were conducted by the Waitohu Stream Care Group Oral History project and the team for this project 2004–2006 included: Caleb Royal; Frank Thorne; Pātaka Moore; and Rachael Selby. As these voices had already been transcribed and archived, our team wrote synopses of these interviews relevant to the key themes required for this project.. Ngāti Whakareke also supplied existing oral narratives from Lani Ketu, Louana Turner, Vinney Vinsen, Rata McGregor, Jason Takarua, Carl Rawiri Houston, Trina Lola McGregor, Kaipatu Kararehe Pilkz (Matthew Pilkington), Sidy

Nikora, Sarai Pilkington, Hannah Mae, Jorgi McMeekin, Te Meera Hyde as well as an emailed narrative supplied by a member residing in Australia, Arapere Ropoama.

2.12 Written records and documentation

How was this project undertaken? In finalising the list of questions and developing the interview schedule, it was important for the team to be familiar with the published literature on the key themes for this project. Thus, the research team did an initial brief examination of relevant records including:

- The Porirua ki Manawatū technical research scoping report;
- The Waitangi Tribunal Unit’s discussion paper on research and neighbouring Records of Inquiry including river and inland waterways reports from these inquiries;
- Waitangi Tribunal reports, other reports, briefs of evidence, historical and contemporary maps illustrating the changing extent of inland waterways in the district;
- Sources held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa Library (due to a fire in 2015 follow-up research was not conducted);
- Reports and documents of the CFRT-commissioned research assistance projects;
- Crown and Private Purchases Records and Petitions Document Bank;
- Newspapers Research and Document Bank;
- Native/Māori Land Court Minutes, Index and Document Bank;
- Māori Land Court Records Document Bank; and
- Te Reo Māori Sources Document Banks.

Analysis of these published sources were also conducted by the *Inland Waterways – Historical* researchers and will be incorporated into that report, which is planned to be disseminated in draft form to claimants in April 2017. Throughout the *Inland Waterways* projects, researchers have been entering all primary sourced literature, documents, maps, photos and unpublished material into a database that has been created to accompany this research. This will be included in the outputs that are submitted to CFRT at the completion of the Inland Waterways Historical project in 2017.

2.13 Progress reports on range of activities

The Progress Reports to CFRT were one mechanism that the research team used to share with iwi, hapū and claimant groups and to invite them to participate in this project. The project team provided CFRT with regular progress updates on key project milestones, which CFRT then forwarded to all claimants for comment. An open invitation, with timelines for engagement, were included in these progress reports.³⁸ All claimant feedback received at each stage of the progress reporting process was addressed by CFRT and the Inland Waterways Research Leader. As the research progressed, many iwi, hapū and claimant group members contacted the research team to request wānanga and/or individual interviews.

At the beginning of this research project, the team quickly realised that there was not widespread, detailed knowledge about these CFRT-commissioned projects within the rohe, and considerable effort was required to increase awareness, for example by sharing information about it at iwi forums, engaging with kaumātua and kuia, and so forth.

By the Milestone 3 deadline, significant progress started to be made with representatives arranging times for wānanga and interviews, so that people could share their cultural perspectives for this *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* project. At these wānanga, the team was able to dispel any misconceptions about what the projects were about and to clarify the collation process. Feedback was increasingly positive from the series of hui and wānanga held. The team was able to readily identify and address any possible issues at the point of contact with iwi/hapū representatives.

Scheduling and organising the wānanga and interviews was a complex process of sorting appropriate times and venues within the part-time and differing days that the team work, and within the busy iwi/hapū dynamic of multiple responsibilities.

³⁸ CFRT provided the claimant list that was used by our kaiwhakarite, Moira Poutama, as the basis for liaising with iwi, hapū and claimants and for inviting them to participate in the project. This happened through a series of requests via the first CFRT arranged hui, pre-research flyers, email callouts, phonecalls and invitations within milestone reports. The claims issues and the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report as commissioned here, is ultimately for the claimants.

2.13.1 Scoping reports and linking other projects

CFRT agreed to fund two scoping (planning) reports for Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata and affiliated hapū/iwi groups, namely the *Oral and Traditional History Scoping* report and *Historical Issues Scoping* report. These have been completed and substantive projects are planned for the Inquiry based on their recommendations. Additionally, CFRT approved funding for four main Historical Issues research projects for Ngāti Raukawa, Ngā Hapū o Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata, and affiliated hapū/iwi groups in November 2014.

The Waitangi Tribunal is also commissioning research for the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry. The Tribunal-commissioned research includes: a Nineteenth Century Land and Politics Overview report, a Te Ātiawa/Ngātiawa ki Whakarongotai Research Needs scoping report, and a suite of projects related to Muaūpoko claims issues in the inquiry. During 2014 and early 2015, five Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho ('NKTII') hearings were held focusing on claimants' oral traditions. The Tribunal has prioritised research and hearings into Muaūpoko claims issues and held three hearing weeks between October and December 2015.

As advised by each claimant or iwi and hapū community the team was able to add *more* key waterways of significance than to those originally listed in the Crown Forest Rental Trust research brief.

In linking this report with the other concurrent projects by different teams, these converging efforts document a range of difficult and challenging relationships iwi/hapū have had with the Crown and local government with respect to management of waterways, including any recognition by central or local government of Māori of environmental cultural practices over time.

In following a similar methodology to the tasks required for the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report, the team has been collating historical evidence available on species the loss of native freshwater species from waterways. The impacts on species and habitat loss due to deforestation; gravel extraction; localized pollution; wetland drainage; fertilizer use; insecticide and herbicide use; introduction of exotic species, pastoral farming; damming of rivers; barriers to reduce river flows and water abstraction were accessed by the team from many useful databases. Cultural Impact

Assessment reports; Masters and PhD theses; historic material and other related reports were useful when seeking relevant material. Desktop searches on historic impacts on waterways in the inquiry region were undertaken from Papers Past and the Ōtaki Historical Society online databases. Recent publications also documented significant forest loss and impacts on waterways, as well as current publications that address concerns for New Zealand’s biodiversity in crisis across the country.

All hapū research representatives within the regions have been gravely disturbed by particular taonga species losses that has impacted on their human condition and cultural survival as iwi/hapū.

Figure 10: Ōhau River mouth and Kuku Ōhau Estuary, Photograph by Lawrie Cairns, Palmerston North, 2009.



CHAPTER 3: CUSTOMARY USE

‘The waterways and our connection to them is not always about kai ... There are other resources that they brings us.’³⁹

This chapter on customary use of and significance of waterways highlights ancestral relationships to place and use rights of resources. It is informed by key representatives from the Claimant groups, who talked at length about the significance of their particular waterways to their whanau, hapu and iwi – and their customary use, either from their own experiences, or from the past stories of others. The list of informants in order of appearance are as follows: Wayne Kiriona, Ngāti Huia and Koro Joe Tukupua representatives in previous research work on Lake Tangimate; HIRAMA Tamihana; Pāora Tātana; Pat Seymour; Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson; Te Kenehi Teira; Zoey Poutama; Moira Poutama (interviewer); Te Whena Lewis and Charles Te Ahukaramū

Collectively, these voices cover the following key points, which encompass all aspects of life – economic, social, political, and spiritual and which are illustrated and further developed throughout the chapter.

- Waterways and identity: waterways as tūpuna, taonga tuku iho, identity inextricably linked together; most people talked of papakainga and family homes being by or near waterways.
- Waterways and use mediated by kaitiaki roles and responsibilities: reciprocal care for mutual wellbeing both physical and spiritual through the practice of tikanga (sustainable use practices, karakia, guidance by spiritual entities such as taniwha).
- Waterways and physical sustenance: source of drinking water and kai – fisheries as well as watercress and puha; bird life in the trees and plant cover alongside and around them; maimai for duck hunting, duck nests alongside river with eggs; source of building materials for construction and for clothing – raupo and harakeke and pingao – and also dyes.
- Waterways and whanaungatanga: tuna heke, significant seasonal event across rohe that helped enhance a sense of community; getting together to go fishing/eeling etc.
- Waterways and the expression of whanaungatanga and mana/manaakitanga: sharing of kai and resources with whanaunga and manuhiri.
- Waterways and kai storage: tuna boxes, kanga pirau.

³⁹ Date of Interview 16 March 2016 with Wayne Kiriona from Ngāti Huia, interviewed by Moira Poutama.

- Waterways and hauora, healing and wellbeing: source of rongoa.
- Waterways for spiritual health and wellbeing and safety: baptismal purposes; rituals; tohi rites/purification; spiritual cleansing.
- Waterways and wahi tapu: urupa adjacent to some waterways.
- Waterways and transport: inquiry district was a huge interconnected wetland/waterway, transport system for trade, maintaining relationships, warfare.
- Waterways and recreation: place for fun, swimming, celebration of close whanau ties.
- Waterways and independence: provided all that was needed, able to live off waterways and sustain whanau even in times of unemployment.
- Waterways and mātauranga: knowing when to fish when plentiful, knowing how to preserve and store for future use when not; knowing the environment, knowing how to read the signs; knowing traditional fishing practices and skills; knowing how to care for waterways and associated flora and fauna; knowing the importance of sharing your ‘catch’, and passing all this knowledge onto younger generations.

Each recall inter-generational customary use within the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District and how their hapū relied on the environmental basics of healthy waterways, coast and fisheries, forests and birdlife, rongoa as medicinal healing resources, weaving and carving materials and secure wāhi tapu for interring their dead. Each speaker had ancestors who revered wetlands, streams, puna wai or springs, rivers and coastal estuaries, where their hapū-based resource gatherers generated an intimate closeness with the environment and shaped the landscape, wetlands and waterways through their human actions and influences. These ancestors lived, procreated, died and sustained themselves by their seafaring, fishing, gardening and housing skills, using natural resources from biodiversity-rich wetlands, coastal and estuarine regions. They entreated spiritual entities with associated environmental properties. They supported themselves with knowledge systems based on generations of understanding brought about from talking about place, observing place and developing place in a detailed way.⁴⁰ These ways of knowing were prerequisites for maintaining a healthy environment and its customary knowledge rights⁴¹ They developed these relationships with natural

⁴⁰ This text is drawn from previous reports from 2008 (and updated in 2012) called *Hei Whenua Ora: Reinstating Mauri of valued ecosystems-history, lessons and experiences from the Hei Whenua Ora ki te Hākari/Te Hākari Dune Wetland Restoration project*, p 4. It also formed part of the submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Claim.

⁴¹ Ibid, p 4.

resources over time. There was considerable understanding and learning that came with these actions and it was incumbent upon resource gatherers from mahinga mataitai or (marine and tidal zones) or gardeners in mahinga kai (cultivation areas) to ensure that individuals and families learnt through observation and practical experience. These essential day-to-day activities were the fundamental skills for the welfare of iwi/hapū.⁴² Many informants referred to these aforementioned aspects of mātauranga Māori as a codified knowledge system of relatedness to environmental and life issues.⁴³

Today, however with current generations more disassociated from these once strong memories or deep impressions or expressions of place, the voices that follow in this report chronicle a dismantling of these critical relationships.

3.1 Interview with Wayne Kiriona

As the first recorded, Wayne Kiriona of Ngāti Huia of Porotāwhao and Katihiku leads the voices within this chapter. His interview is based on significant ways of being that his father Mr Whamaro Mark Kiriona led for his hapū and whanau, particularly within the Porotāwhao to Waitarere regions, and instilled in him. On behalf of his father Wayne refers to the WAI 757 claim (that was set up by Whamaro on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa), which was a claim about the damage exacted on the local environment, waterways and coastal regions. Of critical importance was how Ngāti Huia were prevented from exercising their customary use rights in their region.

Wayne's interview provides a wide range of impacts on the surrounding waterways northwest of Levin, Horowhenua. He highlights the impact of local economies; legislation; drainage; farming; deforestation and pine forests have on coastal water quality and tidal shellfish resources. He notes Pākehā attitudes towards Māori. Wayne's account laments the considerable damage land use changes have had on local customary food gathering practices and upon the tikanga or protocols associated with them. He criticizes the massive biodiversity loss in Porotāwhao, particularly the difference in species abundance as recalled from his father's time, to his own time growing up and to

⁴² Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, "Māori Education in New Zealand: A Historical Overview," The Wānanga Capital Establishment Report, Waitangi Tribunal, GP Publications, GP Print: Wellington, New Zealand. See URL <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports>.

⁴³ Sourced from: Smith, S.M., 2007, Hei Whenua Ora: Hapū and iwi approaches for reinstating valued ecosystems within cultural landscape, Unpublished PhD, Massey University, Palmerston North, p 39.

now in the present day. His interview also includes difficult interactions experienced with local government.

Wayne explained how his father Whamaro Mark Kiriona (b.1933 d.2009) had been involved in the Waitangi Tribunal claims WAI 757, which was submitted in 1999. Whamaro Kiriona's claim to the Waitangi Tribunal voiced concerns around legislation that did not reflect, follow nor allow for tikanga within customary practice when gathering kai (food resources) for iwi and hapū. In section 10 of the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claim) Settlement Act 1992 (which was made in accordance with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi) it clearly states that the Crown must:

- 'consult with tangata whenua about the use and management practices of Māori in the exercise of non-commercial fishing rights'.
- 'develop policies to help recognize these use and management practices of Māori in the exercise of non-commercial fishing rights,'
- 'provide for customary food gathering by Māori and the special relationship between tangata whenua and those places, which are of customary food gathering importance (including tauranga ika and mahinga mataitai), and where such food gathering is neither commercial nor for pecuniary gain or trade'.

3.1.1 Permits

Wayne's father Whamaro was gravely concerned by the aforementioned Fisheries's legislation, particularly the aspects that required Māori having permits for gathering kaimoana. As Mr Kiriona Snr. attested, the legislation

...did not permit the gathering of kai in a manner that was effective or useful for feeding our people. Kai moana is sporadic in its abundance... our tūpuna developed methods that allowed food to be stored when abundant [which was therefore] stored for consumption by the community at a later date.

Whamaro decried that 'if kai moana is scarce, a permit is of no value.'

His dismay was also leveled at the significant loss of local coastal lakes, lagoons and waterways in the Poroutāwhao and Waitarere regions due to extensive drainage of wetlands for agricultural purposes. These actions directly resulted in the loss of traditional food gathering areas and their associated tikanga practices. As Wayne

explained, ‘the Wai 757 claim was not confined to just our own hapū, but was developed as an iwi-wide claim, because he [Whamaro] knew that if destruction of the environment was noticeable here [Waitarere] then it was probably the same elsewhere.’

Wayne explained further:

Wai 757 ... was the claim that dad put [in] originally, not myself. When Dad passed away... I inherited it, not necessarily willingly but I inherited it. His full name was Whamaro Mark Kiriona... why he originally put in the claim he was involved Wai 113 and the claimants and Iwi (Iwikatea Nicholson) and Ran Jacobs [b. 1927 d. 2014]... [Dad] was a forester and he had been in the army, he served overseas. He was a fisherman and a gardener and those were all the things that he did and he was passionate about it. In his claim what he saw was the destruction of the environment and the impacts it had on all those things that he loved to do. So, when it got to the time of a settlement for the fisheries and [with] legislation coming out, he was unhappy. He had been involved in the Raukawa fisheries settlement as a negotiator and part of that was to then settle customary fisheries and legislation around customary fisheries. He was really unhappy with that in terms of how it impacted on his tikanga and what he had known and how he had gathered kai and kaimoana... In a broader sense it’s become a bit more generic [as] it was for the whole iwi. Ngāti Raukawa [at that time did not know] what claims were about, not [really] knowing how they would operate. We’re talking 20 plus years ago... but what [Dad] did... was to ensure that the environment and waterways were included in the claim somewhere. So Wai 757... was a vehicle, [so] that should anyone not have a Wai number or a claim, they could certainly claim around their own environment, their own fisheries, their own take really.

Wayne father’s concerns echoed his own on the increasing decline of species in the region. He was infuriated by the senslessness of this decline, particularly on the hapū way of gathering kai for sustenance.

There are so many different reasons around the decline so it wasn’t now just an issue of how you got it but where to get it and was there any there ... when you did go to get it. So what was the point of having a permit, you can’t get it anyway?... also another impact, has it been overfished? Who manages that, or was it managed at all? Probably the answer was [no], it was never managed properly and that’s why there is none. There [are] a whole lot of impacts ... starting to come together to create a situation.

[Dad] often talked [about] tuna... if we go back to legislation, the Customary legislation allowed for gathering of kaimoana by permits... however a permit could be issued, there’s a hui coming up next week, seven days and then you can go and gather. Take your permit and gather what you need for your hui. Well, it doesn’t work like that... it’s just the

timing doesn't. Just because you are having a hui next week doesn't mean the kai is going to be there waiting for you, that's not the right time and his practice [was] what he was trying to reflect in the legislation. That you gather [kai] when it's there in abundance at specific times, as we all know. You go and gather it then, and you preserve it or store it and then you put it away. And then should the time come if something comes up, hui, tangi. We can't know next week there is going to be a tangi so we need [to] gather this week. Aue, if a tangi happens we have got to gather right now, we've got nothing, it's not there. The legislation didn't follow the practice of the tikanga and didn't allow for it. So here's something that he used to do... He would go and get the tuna. He built a pond and he would keep them live. He captured them and kept them in his pond. He would keep them alive and when a hui came along, there they were and he would take them to the marae. There would always be a supply for the marae and we did that with all our kai whether that be pipi, we used to dry it. Nowadays we've got freezers, we don't have to dry it. Our techniques of preservation may have changed but what we did with it, didn't.

3.2 Customary storing of tuna (eel) as kai

Like other informants in this report Whamaro built storage ponds where he could keep alive the tuna or eel he gathered until such time that sufficient were present to be of use.

Wayne explained:

My father never gathered kai specifically for himself or his whānau. He gathered kai moana for all the people; basically, he thought that gathering was...always for the marae. His view was "if I gather for everybody, I am also part of everybody then I also share it... so when it went to the marae we all got to have it..." Today for me it is really still the same... I will gather and take to the marae, and maybe I will eat there...

While Wayne followed his father's lead in exercising the Māori cultural value of manaakitanga, he (like many others informants in this report) was particularly disturbed by the inability of hapū to gather healthy kai,

...when kai moana was no longer available due to the loss of a suitable environment. The swamps and waterways were drained. People were forced to change their natural diets to those of Pākehā. The impact of farming was huge as our wetlands, lagoons, and lakes were either drained or contaminated by farm run-off.

Figure 11: Huia Marae in the background surrounded by farming.



Today, iwi/hapū clearly lament this change in diet as a leading cause of current Māori health inequality, whereby obesity, diabetes, vascular disorders and heart attacks beset Māori communities. The ‘issue of obesity and related illnesses look to become an increasingly significant burden on New Zealand, with a greater burden on Māori communities.⁴⁴

Wayne critiques the huge impact farming and drainage has had at Poroutāwhao, including the dramatic decline in tuna stocks and other freshwater fish:

Where Poroutāwhao was situated – the impact of farming was huge. There is strip where the highway now goes through. Huia on one side, Matau Marae on the other. There was a huge water system on one side where all tributaries ran into Horowhenua and into the lake. On the other side, the tributaries ran into the Manawatū. The Kopuapangopango swamp disappeared. Waimakaira – a huge system Ngawakahiamoe, Lake Tangimate, Kaikai Lagoon was around 80 hectares – that was drained. Today, Kaikai has been reduced to around two acres. Adkin⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Radio New Zealand *Intervention vital to curb Maori obesity* in Te Ao Māori news section broadcast in 10 August 2015, by Andrew MacRae. See URL: <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/281014/intervention-vital-to-curb-maori-obesity>. Sourced on 27 December 2016.

⁴⁵ Leslie Adkin sourced most of his land based information for his publication *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-names and their Topographic and Historical Background* from a range of leading Māori informants of the time.

See G. Leslie. Adkin, 1948, *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-names and their Topographic and Historical Background*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

described a series of interconnected lagoons connected by the Wairarawa Stream. Kaikai, Ngakuta, Onerau Oparau – over 20 hectares – Otāniko. Pākehā did not value the land except... in growing stock. So the impact was huge.

Figure 12: Irrigation unit operating on a farm next to the Oroua Downs School



Wayne talked of the ‘thousands and thousands and thousands of tuna and they would fill up a truck if need be... and how [his Dad and others] would just go and deliver [them] around the whānau ... now I go out for the tuna and there is not much!’ Wayne added that the ‘thousands’ that were:

...just unstoppable! Just huge amounts in [a] tuna heke, to one, to some!
... [The tuna heke] never happened in my time. That would be in the 1950s and 60s the last of that. Then licences came in and people started selling them and they were depleted... So, not only now have we [reduced] wetlands, the Lagoons [are] depleted, now [tuna] are getting sold, now they are getting taken away ... if we looked at the mana of our Marae... [One] of those things that [Mataua] were known for was the tuna [then] I guess that [loss] is the same for a lot of Marae. To not [being] able to get them to put on the table. That’s the decline and even now I still go and gather... [They are] few and far between. You do struggle and if I get 20 I have done really well! That’s a good day... there is only enough for hui and it’s not easy to get and what is there, we’ve got to try to protect. And I guess fishing... I guess it was around abundance. Dad worked in the forest, and spent most of his career in the Waitarere forest and so he was on the beach a lot and they did a lot of fishing so after work they would go out and they would haul. He talked about a haul and pulling in a net with 5,000 fish in it... huge abundance of what was once there.

3.3 Case Study of Lake Tangimate – the destruction of a significant dune lake with eel weirs

Within the last forty years, there have been many major concerns raised by iwi and hapū for diminished or destroyed cultural and ecological sites, though their concerns have been devalued, ignored or viewed as vexatious by local authorities. For example, over many years there had been opposing interests over the former Lake Tangimate region within the Horowhenua dune belt, located near Porotāwhao, between Waitarere and Foxton.

For a little background on this issue, it was in 2000 that the Department of Conservation, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Fish and Game and Horizons Regional Council representatives met with Ngāti Huia kaitiaki and other Māori kaitiaki from around the region at Tukorehe marae in Kuku. All agreed that great damage had occurred to Lake Tangimate – the once significant and ingenious eel trapping area. Ngāti Huia kaitiaki and those before them, had been lead kaitiaki or environmental guardians responsible for this specialised eel trapping area within ancestral landscape. At that time, their dismay for the continuing destruction of Tangimate clashed with the perspective of then landowners. Despite the region being regarded as one of the most remarkable group of whakamate⁴⁶ or artificial eel-trapping channel systems in Horowhenua,⁴⁷ systematic drainage regimes from the 1940s, caused Tangimate to shrink greatly. In 1981, when another prominent farming family applied for further water rights to the Manawatū Catchment Board to continue modifying sections of Lake Tangimate, the subsequent draining of the lake and excavation of ‘archaeological’ finds, reduced the original 100 hectares to a mere 2.5 hectares.

⁴⁶ According to Koro Joe Tukapua (b.?-d.2005) at a Te Kupenga meeting at Tūkorehe marae, July 2000, the term whakamate meant to ‘remove the mauri, to put to death or to determine that everything that was in abundance had now gone’.

⁴⁷ G. Leslie Adkin, 1948, *Horowhenua: its Maori Place Names and their Topographic and Historical Place Names*, Department of Internal Affairs: Wellington, p 357.

Figure 13: Drainage scheme example by Horizons Regional Council



Due to this dramatic reduction in size, Lake Tangimate became a severely fragmented ecosystem. Its serious decline impacted on the human condition of those kaitiaki once charged with its care and protection. At the wānanga, it was clear that they were angered and dismayed as they tried to revive their Māori guardianship obligations and values in order to restore a balance to the ecosystem. Despite intentions to improve the depleted Tangimate, their Māori views were deemed untenable (to the then landholders and Crown authorities), and Ngāti Huia concerns were effectively discounted and ignored.

Lake Tangimate as a former natural and cultural asset was effectively disconnected⁴⁸ from its people. The severe indifference Ngāti Huia representatives experienced over its decline, indicated the burden they bore for this once culturally valued area. Despite the transfer of ownership away from hapū, as kaitiaki they were not released from exercising a protective role in their environment. Their tasks were made extremely difficult and disheartening since others had an expressed interest⁴⁹ in Tangimate, and did not recognise the local Māori view or knowledge of the area. Ngāti Huia from Porotāwhao tried hard to be heard and to rekindle their once intricate relationships with

⁴⁸ This Lake Tangimate situation emerged from a wānanga that was held at Tukorehe Marae, Kuku in July 2000, where there were competing values for lands and waterways that kept kaitiaki and landholders apart. Despite airing their concerns to other authorities present at that hui, Tangimate became an especially challenging situation for Ngāti Huia in terms of both ecosystem and cultural site destruction. There were many difficult relationship issues to resolve between peoples.

⁴⁹ Mason Durie, 1998, *Te Mana te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Sovereignty*, Oxford University Press: Auckland, 23

Tangimate, in order to save the last vestiges of this former, highly-famed system. They sought to reconnect with its resources and related mana for the sake of their own sense of identity, their authority, and obligations to protect and enhance it for present and future generations. Key kaitiaki were also aggrieved that ‘archaeological’ finds still remained with the landholder, and that the landholders deliberately limited access to the Māori owners of the remaining riparian tenure around the lake. At that wānanga in 2000, when kaitiaki learned that cultural material removed from the lake had been assessed by conservation representatives from the Māori Heritage Unit of the former Historic Places Trust/Pouhere Taonga without their or any local Māori involvement, they experienced first hand the difficulties of how local and national authorities failed to meet their expectations of protection and support.⁵⁰

Renowned tohunga and Muaūpoko elder of the time, Koro Joe Tukapua (?-2005) was present at the July 2000 hui in Kuku. He offered his view on how perpetual development on environmental and cultural issues could improve practices and relationships between peoples and their environment. He articulated how timely it was to identify the benefits for all involved in the Lake Tangimate situation. Potential collaborative research programmes or efforts that combined ecology, spiritual aspects for cultural material, farming interests, water health for biodiversity or wetland management, could achieve more positive outcomes for water health, cultural heritage protection and enhanced wellbeing – for all peoples associated and involved. Based on the depth and dimension of his Māori knowledge, ‘Koro Joe’ insisted that the situation for Tangimate was not to be oversimplified. A strategy had to be determined whereby both kaitiaki and landowners’ needs were met. At that time, he believed that the farmer had much to gain by enhancing lands and restoring the lake system as part of an interconnected waterway with associated health benefits. A restored and revegetated Lake Tangimate would become a potentially meaningful indicator of successful relationships brokered between both Māori and non-Māori interests.

The learning that emerged from that multifaceted wānanga indicated how vital it was

⁵⁰ The relationship that kaitiaki have with sustaining their environment is enshrined in Part 2 of the Resource Management Act, particularly Section 5, 6(e), 7(a) and 8. Resource management agencies are required to recognise and provide for the culture and traditions of Māori relating to ancestral lands, waters, sites, wāhi tapu and other taonga. They must also have regard to kaitiakitanga and take into account Treaty of Waitangi values. Māori expect that they will be included and actively involved in environmental management taking place.

Gail Tipa & Laurel Teirney, 2006, *Using the Cultural Health Index: How to assess the health of streams and waterways*, Ministry for the Environment Manatū Mō Te Taiao: Wellington, 1.

for tangata whenua, local entities and communities to work collectively and collaboratively for each distinct local region. By listening and paying greater attention to local Māori concerns about their understandings of the environment in hapū areas, better overall community-based management programmes would emerge. As stated at that meeting, ‘all generations deserve a restored, respected and clean environment in which to live well’.⁵¹ Disappointingly, the destruction of Lake Tangimate was an extreme case of disregard to all Māori cultural values and a grave loss of ecological values and services. If beneficial actions described above had been taken years ago to catalyze an active revitalization opportunity with Ngāti Huia leading all parties involved, such actions would have only benefited the region by now.

3.4 Other related interviews about Poroutāwhao region

Two more interviewees from kaumātua, Hirama Tamihana of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Huia ki Poroutāwhao and Pāora Hirama Tātana of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Huia ki Poroutāwhao, spoke at length with Moira Poutama. This interview took place at Huia Marae, Poroutāwhao on 21 April 2016. They both related former customary practices and engagement with particular resources from significant inland waterways like Lake Tangimate, Lake Ngawhakahau, Lake Wawa, Lake Horowhenua, a series of local swamps and the Ōhau and Manawatū Rivers. As Hirama and Pāora’s dialogue is so interwoven and in support of each other, the following is a close transcript of their important recollections around customary use of specific resources. They made special mention of the Kopuapangopango ‘peace’ track too as a boundary between once rival iwi.

Hirama: ‘I was born in Poroutāwhao, been here all my life building on the lands of my [mātua] tūpuna whenua. I actually whakapapa back to my Ngāti Toa on my father’s and on my grandfather’s side and whakapapa back to Ngāti Huia on my grandfather’s side again. I was born 31/1/1943. That’s how old I am. I’ll talk in regards to fisheries and that. In them days all around here was swamp and because the availability of tuna[,] and when we talk about the raurēkau tuna we talk about the migrating, tuna heke, which is the migrating eel. That is the tuna they use for raurēkau... they sent us out to get the raurēkau leaves in the bushes that were around at that time. One area was up there at Poroutāwhao by the school there and part [of the forest] is still there. This was a significant ngahere [forest] then, and today it would be diminished by more than half. I haven’t been back there for years so not

⁵¹ Statement by Stephen Palmer, Hutt Valley Regional Public Health, derived from notes taken at 8–9 July 2000 meeting at Tukorehe Marae, Kuku.

sure if there would still be raurēkau there. We had two kaumātua out here in them days that did the raurēkau eels and they [taught] us how to do it but as soon as they passed away, the raurēkau seemed to be forgotten. Although we can still do it today, if ... need ... be.’

Figure 14: Epiphytes in the ngahere



‘Put it this way they had a team that went down and came back with lily leaves because they didn’t know what the leaves looked like until someone went out and showed them.’

Pāora: ‘That’s another story. He was an uncle to me and he’s hanging up in here (inside meeting house) [-] we used to call him Jack. He was called Popo.’

Hirama: ‘At Huia they had certain [‘]haere[’] teams and they say. ‘You go with them’, and they could go and do the raurēkau. Another team will go out to get toheroa, tohemanga. They’d send these specialized teams out. Popo was in charge of the raurēkau.’

Pāora: ‘Then we had our kuia [-] they did the vegetables and the taewa and while they were doing that they were singing these waiata. Sing away there, but they do all the vegetables.’

Hirama: ‘And they use to peel them with a Pipi shell or a Mussel shell, not a knife.’

Pāora: ‘The raurēkau was the mantle of what Ngāti Huia could offer, the highest [delicacy].’

Hirama: ‘And they do their Whāriki [fibre mats] that came from the bush. They stripped that with kuku shells.’

Pāora: ‘I want to go back to the toheroa, tohemanga. We call it tohemanga... Well, then the tohemanga saying sort of, you know, phased out and this toheroa business come in. You know this toheroa comes from up north – that’s what they call it but down here we call it... tohemanga. I’d rather we stick to what we know it as – tohemanga.’

Hirama: ‘Our old people never took these when the tide was out. They always went into the water. That is why our old kuia always had wet edges of their skirts.’

Pāora: ‘I used to collect Tāmure or Snapper you know that fish, Pipi. They’d stay out there for a week or two. They dry the old pipi out on the iron, shell them and put them on the flax. They only went out there to get kai and when they came back they would distribute it around – share it out.’

Hirama: ‘Any whānau went out ... We were all one whānau out here. Our kaumātua were pretty good at everything. They did look for gifts and talent in people.’

Pāora: ‘I remember that when we were out there gathering, I was out there with them, no trouble [Pāora signals an area between himself and Moira, 1 to 2m in diameter]. in a circle... get as much tohemanga... we wanted. Well we could get enough tohemanga in that radius... and when I say tohemanga they were the yellowy ones. Today you don’t get many or very few.’

Hirama: ‘They had [tohu or] signs here at Huia. The old people had signs. They would say ‘Oh time to go out,’ when they used to see something. They used to say ‘Oh you see that, time to go to do that’.’

Pāora: ‘Other species collected were Frost Fish... and the Sand Shark. They did a lot of fishing for Sand Shark and Snapper. Frost fish during the winter. They come up on the beach. You had to get the Frost Fish before the seagull got them. We would go from here just with our flour and they’d bake out there. We used to have what we called a ‘camp oven’ the old camp cast iron over. Now to sleep they just made a lean to out of the driftwood. Lit a big fire, dug a big hole, put all the kono (hot coals) in there and it heated the sand up and that’s all you did, lie on the sand keep you warm all night. That was the way. They relied upon nature in other words, just natural resources. Like I say they used to light a big fire, dig a hole where they were going to sleep of course! Put the kunga/kono in there, bury it, cover it over again and sleep on that. Now the heat from the kono coming up through the sand kept you warm all night.’

3.4.1 Māori ritual and water

When kaumātua like Pāora and Hirama retell stories of their elders' encounters with local taniwha or spiritual guardians, they highlight a Māori value system based on sustainable resource use and protection of place, in the belief that spiritual entities within specific areas (and the dialogue around them) guide their practice. They recalled how tohunga were highly revered for their knowledge and abilities. Kaumātua were also taught to respect resources within the natural environment – a reciprocal respect that sustained them as part of the collective. These are Māori values that are fundamental in forming principles and guiding philosophies for culturally-based sustainable management strategies.

In Chapter 7 of the WAI 262 Claim report *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei*, compelling leaders like Sir Professor Mason Durie highlight the importance of tohungatanga and the 'wider philosophical and theoretical context' of tapu and noa, particularly for public health. His five stage assessment of healing undertaken by tohunga include: karakia and ritenga or incantations and rites; rongoā or rākau rongoā; mirimiri and romiromi; water used in cleansing rituals from puna wai or clear, natural springs, and other minor surgical procedures.⁵² These rituals also have correlations with environmental and human well-being, as referred to by Hirama Tamihana.

Hirama: 'We got our kaitiaki. One was here before when you came. She was out here. ... Our people were quite tapu out here, aye.' (Pāora nods in the affirmative)

Moira: 'Did Ngāti Huia have a tikanga/kawa around tohorā/whale stranding?'

Pāora: 'I can't remember any whale strandings out here.'

Hirama: 'When they did have anything like that they went to 'the old man D'.'

Pāora: 'Rawiri Tātana. He was the tohunga here and so was his father.'

Hirama: 'Tātana Whaka-upoko was a seer for Ngāti Toa and would see anything that would stop them going to war. He (Rawiri Tātana) was the grandson. The job would have been left up to him.'

⁵² Sourced from *Ko Aotearoa tēnei: a report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity*. Te Taumata Tuarua., Waitangi Tribunal.: Wellington, pp 602–604.

Pāora: ‘I don’t recall if more were involved because the occasion never arose. Even with the old people. We had Rawiri.’

Other informants within the research inquiry region are anxious about the loss of ritual for increasing wellbeing or for ensuring spiritual safety through the pure or tohi rites or rituals for safe guarding of spiritual places. HIRAMA noted how,

Poroutāwhao was a place where the old people conducted sacred practices. You were not invited to be part of it. It was like a closed door. You didn’t go in there!

Other renowned and knowledgeable people in the rohe like Miki Tainui Aonui Rikihana (b. 1952–d?) recalled the spiritual significance of areas around the Waitohu Stream, near Ōtaki. In a recording made by Caleb Royal in 2004, he recalled the spiritual significance of areas around the Waitohu Stream – a stream named after a tohu or sign of peace that was made on the side of the stream, which commemorated the ending of factionalisation or infighting between different hapū of Ngāti Raukawa.⁵³

There were three areas on the Waitohu that we never fished. We’d have to get out of the water and walk on the hot sand, on the banks, because there were urupa there.⁵⁴

Borgia Kurupae Hakaraia (b.? d 2013) also reflected on the changes in belief systems when she highlights the importance of waiora or healthy water as sourced from the Waitohu Stream for spiritual cleansing today.

I don’t remember them using the stream water for spiritual purposes in the old days. I think they were too close to church and indoctrinated that it was paganism. Only recently has it been used for spiritual cleaning – when they go out ghost-busting and stuff like that.

In referring to correlations between environmental health and human wellbeing again, Sir Professor Mason Durie writes how ‘a secure Māori identity appears to be positively correlated with good health, and with better educational outcomes even in the presence of adverse socio-economic conditions’.⁵⁵ He continues,

⁵³ Miki Rikihana in conversation with Caleb Royal for the *Waitohu Stream Care Group Oral History Project*. Interviewed at Mill Road, Ōtaki on 11 November 2004. Sourced from Ōtaki Library.

⁵⁴ Sourced from Synopsis of Miki Rikihana by Dr Helen Potter. Original reference is from oral narrative as listed above.

⁵⁵ Sourced from Ko Aotearoa tēnei: a report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity. Te Taumata Tuarua., Waitangi Tribunal.: Wellington, p 559

The results of cultural dislocation and the ensuing loss of strength in identity may be observed in the numbers of Māori in prison, reliant on state-funded benefits, and otherwise failing to reach their potential. Exactly the same phenomenon is observable, and with similar intensity, wherever colonisation has displaced indigenous peoples and broken their connections with their culture. The after-effects of this dislocation are now proving expensive for the post-colonial State. In reality, the Crown cannot afford to do nothing about it. The cost is already too high and it is increasing. The most cost-effective way of addressing the social effects on Māori of cultural dislocation is to address the dislocation itself through state expenditure.

As succinctly described above, the correlations between environmental health and human wellbeing are also clear. Secure safe waterways are indicators of sound environmental health, and related human health. Displacing peoples from socio-cultural relationships with waterways due to extreme pollution and loss of safe, healthy biodiversity, creates the similar after-effects Sir Professor Mason Durie refers to. To reiterate, the ‘Crown cannot afford to do nothing’ about the ongoing damage to waterways and their impacts on Māori cultural, spiritual and social wellbeing. This also ramificates for all non-Māori communities.

3.5 He Maungarongo or the Peace Treaty track

Hirama and Pāora made special mention of the Kopuapangopango ‘peace’ track that ran through the Poroutāwhao rohe. Hirama recalls that the track was a peace making opportunity between once rival iwi/hapū.

Hirama: ‘Pareraukawa – they never use to come here on the road they use to come across the paddocks.’

Pāora: ‘They had a Kopua Pangopango track [which] was a local track. It was a peace treaty track between Muaūpoko and Ngāti Huia. Now the saying was that if you strayed off that track you’re gone. But whilst you were on that track you could use it. That’s how the Kopua Pangopango track started. Now, I remember my cousin Iwi Nicholson coming out. He had heard about this [Kopuapangopango] track. One of our Auntie’s had married a local boy and she [told] Iwi about this track. He didn’t know anything about it, so he called a meeting. He asked for a meeting of the elders from around here ... I was here at the time and we came down. All our old people at that time... and they recalled how this track eventuated... then it goes without saying that there was a lot of intermarriage with Muaūpoko. Now that Kopuapangopango is pictured up on that mahau (verandah) at Matau there. It’s like a snake – that’s the Kopuapangopango track. As far as we are concerned [and according] to

our Māori custom it still exists today... as far as our Māori tikanga is concerned, you'll only hear that track used here at Matau or up at Kawiu, where they refer to [the track too].'

Figure 15: Kopuapangopango Swamp presently drained and converted to farmland



3.6 Impacts of Drainage

Like his kaumātua HIRAMA and Pāora from Ngāti Huia, Wayne also recalled the drainage impacts that had been exacted on Tangimate, Ngatokorua and the other lakes in the area. He recalls,

I remember as a child that farm runoff use to run straight into Tangimate. That's before the days of ponds and things so from the cowshed, [it went] into the drain and the drain went to the back of the farm, and where it ended up was in Tangimate. As a child, I haven't been to Tangimate for quite some time but I went there as a child and I remember it was stink. That was my memory of going there as a child.

At Ngatokorua there was an eel weir. Ngatokorua was in the Kopuapangopango swamp... Ngatokorua was also the boundary between Muaūpoko and Ngāti Huia and so at that side there was an eel weir... if we looked in there now there will be no eels and no weir, only

farmland, drained like so many other sites. They are all suffering the same. They just don't exist.

Wayne could also name many of the dune lakes and lagoons, including Tangimate and Kaikai:

We actually have a reserve at Tangimate of five acres. Obviously, around the turn of the century if our whānau put a reservation there, there was a reason for it. You'd be lucky if the water even reaches the reservation now. The other issue we have is actually getting access to it [as] we have to ask permission to get there. It has its own driveway, which is all fenced off anyway. It has a legal title on paper then it gets to the block which is a reservation but the lake doesn't reach it anymore. So even if you get to the block you still can't get to the lake ... because of how [it's size] has decreased. You can't even get to it ... unless you ask permission and then maybe, you're allowed.

Some of the other areas include Paruwaewae Lagoon, which is... dry. It gets a bit of water if there's some heavy rain in winter. Te Konganui [is] another lagoon. [Again] access is an issue [or it and others do not] exist. I think they are gone. We have two lagoons (or had) at Poroutāwhao called Wawa and Ngawakahiamoe, a name that suggests something. I don't know why there were two but there were... Ngawakahiamoe is where Rangihaeata is said to have had his Pā... it's part of Aratangata Stream that would connect right from Poroutāwhao... back to Manawatū River. [You] could come from the Manawatū [by] waka all the way up to Poroutāwhao and you could get to Ngawakahiamoe [with] access through Aratangata, where is it now? It's a bit wet there but I don't think you could bring a waka up. I imagine it being like a port with high occupation, because from there you can access anywhere by waka. You can get out to the Manawatū – up the river... down the river to the coast, the highway basically.

...Waimakaira is a huge [wetland] system that... connects from Poroutāwhao right back to Kōputaroa. All connect right across to Tokomaru – a huge big waterway, drained! Certainly where we are they have been drained, that's farmland now. Huge areas. So in my time I've seen it continued to be drained. At Poroutāwhao I've watched the farmers get in there, dig the drains to drain the water out! [They] get in with diggers and... they pull all the wood out... The effects is even on the bush because all the land that dries out, it sinks and then more wood comes up! So they pull more out and apparently from what I've heard from other sources ... there are areas there that could be 50 feet deep of peat and swamp. Some of the areas were like quicksand – bottomless. Dad used to talk about them being tapu. What he actually said was there was a reason... they were tapu. You didn't go there because if you did, you might not make it out. You might just disappear, ... I watched a digger sink, working in there clearing – a whole digger – a big 20 tonne digger working in the swamp. It was working on some pads [then] it slipped off these pads [and] sank so quickly that the driver was trapped

in there! He couldn't get out. That's how quick it went down... they had to get the emergency services in and cut him out! [That was] a big machine and this [was] in a part that's already drained.

Some of the other areas [include] Kōuranui. I guess that [name] explains itself ...I guess today it's been drained, a drain dug through it. It's been redeveloped! What you see of it – it's like a manmade lake on the corner of Kawiu and Te Whanga Roads. If you know there's a little lake down there – that's the remnant of Kōuranui.

... What happens when you... redirect that water as soon as it rains, instead of filling up the [lake systems]... it runs straight out... quickly.... So now we are getting a lot more water going out all at the same time. It's not doing what it does naturally, which is fill up and at its own pace run out again. We've actually interfered with it... It used to have somewhere to go and sit, now it doesn't... Again when it was all sitting there, there was habitat. What you see there now is farms mostly and the lakes are dry. Most of these areas they would sit in between the sand dunes and the water would sit in there but a farmer will come along, run a drain down the centre of it then the water runs in there, and then runs away. Now he can put his stock in there because obviously they don't want areas covered in water. The stock can't eat [water].

Figure 16: Digger in the middle of a paddock used to clear drains



Hirama and Pāora reiterate the damage to these waterbodies.

Hirama: ‘All our ngahere, all our waterways, everything was used. We would utilise them [and] ... told to go here or go there. Watercress. Everything. You can’t get that now.’

Pāora: ‘Today, I wouldn’t trust the water quality. Different too.’

Hirama: ‘The main waterways that we used to use were the rivers out here ... and our lakes, Tangimate and the other one, Ngawhakahau was one, Tangimate was the other, Wawa next to Iwi and them there. They said that the tuna was different in those lakes. You could tell the tuna were different from any other lakes. And today, they only exist when the rain falls then you don’t see them, they dry up.’

Pāora: ‘Now what do I think about this draining? I feel it was very significant. It has had a significance on our kai... We can’t get the kai that we were used to; our watercress, because they’re all dried up so it is very significant [now].’

Hirama: ‘... about 1968 we had about a group of twelve of us in this creek over here, clear and these Carp were spawning. you could see them. Introduced Carp – they come up from the lake. Orange Carp – they were spawning in the creek and we were throwing them out onto the bank. We had no underpants in those days and the boys were getting in there and they come across here to get some sacks to take back. Uncle George was fishing down for tuna down the line. I went back there twenty years after and it’s all polluted. No kai for the marae, cow poo from the cowshed all through that side. A very significant impact. If that creek had a name it would be on a map.’

Like his whanaunga or relations Hirama and Pāora, Wayne recalled the impacts exacted on Tangimate, Ngatokorua and the other lakes in the area:

I remember as a child that farm runoff use to run straight into Tangimate. That’s before the days of ponds and things so from the cowshed, [it went] into the drain and the drain went to the back of the farm, and where it ended up was in Tangimate. As a child, I haven’t been to Tangimate for quite some time but I went there as a child and I remember it was stink, that was my memory of going there as a child.

‘At Ngatokorua there was an eel weir. Ngatokorua was in the Kopuapangopango swamp ... Ngatokorua was also the boundary between Muaūpoko and Ngāti Huia and so at that side there was an eel weir ... if we looked in there now there will be no eels and no weir, only farmland, drained like so many other sites. They are all suffering the same. They just don’t exist.

3.7 Puna wai (springs) from Porotāwhao region

Right across the inquiry region there have been detrimental effects on known significant springs. Later in this chapter more informants refer to important springs from ground water aquifers. Wayne Kiriona from Porotāwhao adds:

There were a lot of springs in the area... at the base of Paeroa urupā there was a spring... and it used to just run... there was a wetland there [too]. It doesn't run anymore. I know at the base of my parents house there, as a child I remember – there was a spring, that doesn't run anymore. I imagine it's indicative of quite a number [of then]... What has happened to those springs? Where have they gone? Why don't they run anymore?

... If the springs had names I don't remember the names... These springs were supplying fresh water and again... water was running through these waterways... so even if it was dry in the summer, there was still water coming through – they didn't completely dry up, because the springs were still running.

3.8 Gifts of resources for customary use

Despite the legacy of biodiversity and species loss, lowland forest clearing and where most swamps have been drained, Wayne talked of the special gifts of natural resources and how they present themselves.

The Totara for our carvings at Matau came out of the [Manawatū River]. When Matau was being built [our kaumātua] decided that they would have carvings. Now the old Matau marae didn't have a carver. [The house] wasn't carved and when we built Matau where it is now, the decision by the elders (and those older than me at the time) was to have some carvings. One of the issues we had was we had no tōtara so what do we carve?... What are we going to carve? We've got no tōtara. There was a storm (and I was with Dad at the time), when you have a big storm where the the Manawatū River floods. While Dad was working in forestry, we would go up around the beach [at Waitarere] and through the forest. This particular day after the flood... there is this huge tōtara... and I mean huge, washed up at the river mouth. We picked that up and [it] became the carvings for Matau. What happened was they cut that up and started the carvings but the decision was made to have some more carving. Again we haven't got any more timber but the same thing happened. There was a storm [and] a flood and up comes another log. That that happened three times, not once, that happened three times!

I know the value of Tōtara coming out of that river, but I go down there after a flood and people are putting their chainsaw through... big logs, cutting it up for firewood! Chucking it on their trailers. [People] seek it out because it is good firewood... and yet we have our Te Wānanga o

Raukawa, we have carving and we can't get this timber... and not firewood size. I'm talking some big logs still coming down that river.

Figure 17: Drift wood on the Waitarere beach with front dune belt behind



3.9 Streams at Waitarere

Because Wayne learnt from this father about the series of inland waterways in the Porotāwhao region, his father instilled a system of understanding in him that comes from close observation. Wayne was annoyed by the attempts to clear waterways for water flow that actually damaged the way the systems functioned for tuna.

In talking about Wairarawa Stream, the driftwood at its mouth gets washed up there... I guess for years. Even now [local residents] still want to keep going in there and dig it all out! They pull all the driftwood out and why do they do that? Because the water is not running out fast enough, so they take all the driftwood out to try and get the stream to run faster. Because they have altered all the land and all the whenua and it all drains out, they need the water to get out faster! The driftwood ... sits there and stops it from running fast enough... This is something that happens naturally –the driftwood has always gone [upstream], has always been there so I don't think it just started going upstream in the last 50 years. So, by clearing the driftwood out are we damaging the natural environment and altering it! [This has an impact on the] species [that] are not coming in there.

I have some theories [on this] particularly about tuna and the tuna heke. Tuna come up and they sit and wait, and guess where they all sit and wait? I know... they wait hiding in amongst all that driftwood. Now, if we take it out, where do the tuna sit and wait? They've got no shelter, they've got no cover... A culvert's been put in and the driftwood only goes up that far, it would go further if it could get past the culvert. so another part of pulling it all out is you have to keep it clear to keep the water running. Can I prove it? ... I have seen the tuna sitting there waiting amongst the driftwood, waiting for it to rain then they will start running. They are just waiting there, biding their time and when the time comes they are off. [Removal of drift wood and] other impacts are happening but... if that's something that happens naturally, why would we want to change it? Yes, there are pressures – financial and economic pressures that want to change [the way water runs]. Personally, for me I would rather leave it in its natural state because [that] is how it is, how it always was, it's not broken. It's us who do that damage. Those effects in terms of the wider [context of this research for the claim], I guess everything we do has an impact.

Pat Seymour and Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson (whose whanau originate from the Kuku region in Horowhenua and who provide more detailed information later in this chapter) amplify Wayne's concerns about deterioration in species abundance and the ill-health of freshwater ecosystems, due to major agricultural modification. Pat echoes Wayne's apprehensions,

With regards to what's gone on in our rohe within our waterways systems... is something I've noticed with the tuna. I've noticed it more and more particularly with the short finned tuna that live in roto (lakes) or muddy drains. There are certain diseases they are picking up, which is more prolific than ever. I've noticed this over my whole life time, so this isn't a five second thing. One in particular is the worm. It's thin like a needle and reddish in color. I see them now in the gut of tuna. They're actually in the flesh of the gut cavity in tuna – you never saw those 30 years ago. I know when I go to those places to catch tuna that is what I expect now – that they will be in there. To find a tuna without one is very rare... I believe it is all part and parcel of what we have been talking about and that's the degradation of our waterways. Wholly and solely, these tuna never had these inside them before.

The Roto or lakes have got shallower due to drainage schemes, which is normally to appease farmers. This hasn't been healthy, particularly in the summer months with absorption and soakage in the ground... some of our Roto you wouldn't want to go there and put a hinaki in 'cause in the morning all the tuna would be... dead – there's no oxygen in there. The lake levels are low, the oxygen levels are reduced, so those tuna die of oxygen starvation in that hinaki.

Yvonne: ‘That is significant for Māori because in the old days when they went out of the area they took tuna and tohemanga because they were the kai of this area. So in that way, that’s detrimental.’

Pat: ‘It played a huge part for us as a hapū as tuna and toheroa were two of our main staple diets. Most people have a story to tell about a tuna somewhere. They either saw it or caught it. That’s how important they are because we keep bringing them up and talking about them.’

3.10 Interview with Te Kenehi Teira, Kererū Marae and Kōputōroa

Moira Poutama interviewed Te Kenehi Teira at the Kereru Marae Wānanga on 2 April, 2016. Te Kenehi Teira of Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Ngārongo, Ngāti Hinemata, Ngāti Tukorehe and Ngāti Kauwhata anchored his interview with the meaning behind Kererū Marae at Kōputōroa.

This area was a clearing called Kererū – so it’s an old name for here. It’s also significant because we’ve also got these stories of Maui and Tāwhaki, turning into a rupe or big kererū, traditions which are still retained in Ngāti Raukawa carvings. When Ngāti Raukawa arrived in this area there were lots of large bird snaring trees all around the clearing, which were also mahinga kai – and were all named. One large tōtara was hollowed out in the middle and was so big a person could lie in it – and it was used for shelter before there were buildings. The tree was called Te Ana o Taikapurua, after the chief Taikapurua. Coming down the [Manawatū] River, the main bird species that were and are still taken are ducks.

Te Kenehi focused his dialogue on the Kōputōroa Stream, a tributary running into the Manawatū River from the Tararua ranges, which is main mahinga kai or food gathering area for Kererū Marae and local hapū. He talked of the decline in the Kōputōroa Stream’s water quality through farming, and impacts on local fisheries, particularly from commercial eeling. Tuna stocks were still plentiful in the early 1980s, but are very low now. Other species still in the stream include whitebait, hauhau, kākahi, and giant kōkopu. He also talked of the work of local hapū, DOC and Horizons Regional Council to restore the stream and surrounding wetlands, particularly Te Ripo o Hinemata. Other streams that were important mahinga kai and whitebait spawning grounds were Mikihi Stream (Whitebait Creek) and Te Awahau Stream – whose fisheries also included tuna, mohoau (freshwater flat fish), huangi (freshwater cockles) and tuangi. All three streams had particular places that were used for baptismal purposes and collecting freshwater for healing. In terms of the Manawatū River, Te Kenehi talked of fishing (kahawai, mullet, lemon fish) in the Foxton Loop up until the

early 1980s, before the pollution became so great that council erected warning signs. He noted the now limited nesting sites for birds in the Manawatū Estuary and surrounding wetlands due to habitat loss. Local hapū have been cleaning up the Foxton Loop of the Manawatū River, which has included working with Horizons Regional Council and Horowhenua District Council:

For the hapū of Kererū Marae, the Kōputōroa Stream is still a very important fishery as it represents our immediate mahinga kai – the place where our people still find some of the kai that is kinaki for our marae and whānau. The sad part about that though, in terms of tuna, the commercial licence holder for the streams of the Manawatū/Horowhenua/Kāpiti area has decimated our tuna stocks... You'd be very lucky to catch a couple of tuna in your hinaki in the stream today. He's wiped out a whole fishery.

Figure 18: Kōpūtoroa Stream in Waiopēhu Scenic Reserve



Of all the streams that run into the Manawatū River, I think the Kōputaroa is the cleanest – but it's still not the same clear water it once was because you've got nutrient run off from farms. In the early 1980s, we got into a covenant arrangement with DOC [Department of Conservation] and worked with the Horizons Regional Council and DOC staff to get funding to develop a plan for re-establishing the 35 acres of wetlands we call Te Ripo o Hinemata. We now have 2,000 trees and plants along the stream, which also provides for the spawning of whitebait. The surrounding land has been retired from farming. Out of that project, we've also got landowners involved in the restoration. They no longer bring their cows down to the stream. Slowly, we've been working to bring everyone together to recreate the wetland. The stream quality has improved heaps as a result.

Figure 19: Kōputōroa down stream alongside farmland



With the wetlands project – relationships with some of the farmers was strained from time to time, but they had to get on board because we

weren't going away. We also had the might of the government behind us, because this is one of DOC's projects.

Figure 20: Draft Kōpūtōroa sign erected as part of Manawatū River Leaders' Accord projects, 2016. [N.B That designer is putting marcons in right place.]

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THE MANAWATŪ RIVER LEADERS' ACCORD

North of this sign are several significant sites. Kereru marae (Kōpūtōroa Rd) belongs to Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Hinemata and Ngāti Ngarongo – three closely related hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. Its name originated in the former Kereru clearing, a place where these birds were plentiful. The two urupa for the people of Kereru marae are Papakiri (across the railway line to the north-east) and Puaotau (drive down Paiaka Rd and turn right). The wider area was allocated by the Native Land Court in the 19th century as a reserve for Ihakara Tukumarū and his people.

Part of the reserve is a significant wetland area – Te Ripo o Hinemata – owned and managed by Ngāti Hinemata. Te Ripo o Hinemata is 18.9 ha of freshwater wetland and low hill slope on the floodplain of the Kōpūtōroa Stream about 2km north-east of here. In 1992 the Manawatū-Kukutauaki no 3 section 2E5 Trust was set up as kaitiaki for the area, and in 1999 the trust agreed that the wetland should be protected under a Department of Conservation Covenant. A ten-year restoration plan has involved the planting of thousands of native plants, including harakeke (flax), tī kouka and kahikatea. Ecological, cultural and spiritual values are integral to the project.

Some of the threatened or rarely-seen species which are present at Te Ripo o Hinemata and the Kōpūtōroa Stream are: the giant carnivorous snail (Puwelipahapa or pōpūrangū); the various kōkōpu; mudfish (hauhau), and kākahi (fresh-water mussels). The latter three species were significant kai resources, but have become rarer due to poor water quality, changed water levels and the decline of other species that affect them (eg the kakahi, in its larvae phase, needs to attach itself to a small fish like whitebait in order to find new living areas). Tuna (eels) are also important.

KŌPŪTOROA – 'the breast of the albatross'

This description relates to how the mist forms in the valleys and lowland swamp of the area and rises to the Tararua Ranges in the east, resembling the breast of an albatross.

Map from G.L. Adkin's book "Horowhenua, its Maori place-names & their topographic & historic background" (1948, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington). Creative Commons Attribution - Non commercial Licence

Kākahi (fresh-water mussels), formerly eaten, were plentiful in the Kōpūtōroa Stream and a few remain there still.

Banded Kōkōpu is one of five species that make up New Zealand's venobal catch. The newly hatched larvae swim out to sea and return to freshwater rivers and streams about four months later to mature. The adults can grow to between 20-30 cm.

The giant carnivorous snail (Puwelipahapa or Pūpūrangū) is nocturnal, eats earthworms, can weigh up to 50gms and live for 20 years. Their eggs are hand-shelled and can be up to 14mm long. The photo of Puwelipahapa snails which is found in the Horowhenua. (Owner Copyright: Department of Conservation Te Papa Ataturu October 2015)

Tuna or eels have long been gathered for customary purposes. Above is a long-fin tuna, an at-risk species, also found in the area.

Hauhau (mudfish) still live in the Kōpūtōroa Stream and wetlands. They are nocturnal and can tolerate times of drought, finding a moist, dark place to hide until the waters return.

Members of Ngāti Hinemata, of at least three generations, enjoy a planting day at Te Ripo o Hinemata (2011).

Kei te ora te wai, kei te ora te wihenua, kei te ora te tangata.
If the water is healthy, the land and the people are nourished.

Supported by:
horizons regional council
Environment
Fresh Start for Fresh Water Clean-Up Fund
Department of Conservation
Te Ripo o Hinemata
Taiao Raukawa

What we've been doing in Foxton, at Te Awahou, is joining up with other people who want to clean up the Foxton Loop. We've been looking at how we can dredge the silting up of the loop or Whirokino cut and planting out all the wetlands right around both sides of the loop. A Channel Committee was formed with the regional council. Horowhenua District Council and our hapū representatives are part of that too – to try to get more flow through the loop and get it cleaned out. It's taken a long time. Thirty years ago we started protesting at Parliament but politicians were not prepared to listen to us. The hapū here in Foxton have always been active on this and 10 years ago this led to the formation of the Save Our River Trust – with all the local marae represented as trustees.

Figure 21: Matarakapa and Piriharakeke (Manawatū Loop) sign

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THE MANAWATŪ RIVER LEADERS' ACCORD

MATAKARAPA & PIRIHARAKEKE (MANAWATŪ LOOP)

Matarakapa, now an island, was a kāinga occupied by Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Takihiku & Ngāti Hinemata from the early 19th century. It was across the river loop from the existing town of Te Awahou (Foxton). It included a whare tūpuna named Te Āputa ki Wairau and a church named Te Ūpiri (the Jubilee). Ihakara Tukumarū, Renata Te Roherohe, and Poutu Hairuha were rangatira there. Other kāinga on Matarakapa included Kapaahaka (west side), Kimimai-tāwhiti (north end) and Upoko Poutu of Ngāti Whakaterē (middle).

Kai from waterways and coast was plentiful in those times and the land, while sandy, could be cultivated. Generations were raised at Matarakapa, and some were buried there. Even after the settlement of Te Awahou grew, several families remained at Matarakapa.

The church, Te Ūpiri was built there in 1880 to commemorate 40 years of Christianity in the region. It blew down in a storm in 1968. The whare tūpuna, Te Āputa ki Wairau (see right), was built by Kereopa Tukumarū in 1877-8, with carvings added later by Hokowhitu McGregor. It lasted until the late 1940s.

In 1942-3 the Public Works Department of Central Government decided to tackle the problem of flooding by making a cut to shorten the river and increase its rate of flow. A weir was planned to control the flow. After the channel was dug, people heard an "explosion": the river broke through the new cut, and its flow has continued that way ever since. It also made a new, more southern, outlet to the coast.

As a result of the cut, the river loop began silting up and the port of Foxton came to an end. Consequences of the Government's decision to make the Whirokino Cut were also devastating for the hapū who lived on Matarakapa, leaving them stranded on an island, with boat access only and no service provision (electricity or water supply). The Government initiated a Māori farm development scheme on the island, and most families left. ▶

The whare tūpuna (top right) was carved by Whirokino Taylor. Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Hinemata, and the rest of the Piriharakeke whānau, at the south end of Foxton.



Te Ūpiri Church was built in 1880 to commemorate 40 years of Christianity in the region. It blew down in a storm in 1968.



An Anglican church confirmation gathering at Te Āputa ki Wairau meeting house, in the 1940s, not long before it was destroyed by fire. The kōia (far left) is Hopana Te Hana, and the man at far right is Poutu McGregor, oldest son of carver Hokowhitu McGregor.

▶ Those who remained included Hokowhitu & Kereopa McGregor who stayed there until their deaths. A wastewater treatment plant with oxidation ponds (now under Horowhenua District Council) was first placed on Matarakapa in 1970 with further work to the plant in 1997.

The whole island of Matarakapa is considered wahi tapu by local hapū. About a hectare of land remains in hapū ownership, and there are plans to redevelop the kāinga there.

Kai te ora te wai,
kai te ora te whenua,
kai te ora te tangata.

If the water is healthy,
the land and the
people are nourished.

Supported by:





3.11 A Ngāti Ngarongo perspective

Sylvia Gamble of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Hinemata along with Wiremu (Willie) McGregor of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Ngarongo were some of the team's earliest interviewees. In April 2016, Moira Poutama interviewed them at the first wānanga held at Kereru Marae.

They had considerable knowledge of the Manawatū River, Manawatū estuary and Lake Horowhenua. They talked of the impacts of colonisation; loss of management and control; declining water quality and pollution; loss of abundance of kai species including eels, whitebait, herrings, toheroa, pipi, cockles, tuatua kuaka, and seagull eggs. Sylvia and Willie spoke of the pristine state of the Manawatū River, the estuary and beach, which was abundant in [many kinds] of kai as children. They had detailed stories of collecting kai with whānau members. They both described the dramatic

changes they have observed in their lifetimes. In particular, their kōrero focused on the area significant to their whānau and hapū – Matararapa Island and the Manawatū River mouth area (south of the Whirokino Bridge). They talked about the Whirokino ‘cut’, the historic as well as the current interactions that their whānau and hapū members had with local councils. They agreed that the actions and decisions of council had ruined the Manawatū River, and to date their messages to council have still been ineffective in changing the state of environment and water quality of the Manawatū River, which also affects their local ecosystems.

Willie McGregor: ‘The area we speak of is where we were originally from Matararapa, which is in the lower estuary of the Manawatū awa. From the Whirokino Bridge south is very, very significant, specifically to our family given that our tūpuna actually resided on the biggest area of Matararapa. Our Koro Kereopa was at one end and our Koro Hokowhitu the carver was at the other end. They looked straight across the awa to the township of Foxton. That was where my mum was born, raised, and brought up. That’s where many of the whānau of the Makarika or McGregors’ hail from. The biggest part of the descendants of Te One Makarika was part of Matararapa, which was on the northern end of the southern side of the Manawatū River. That was very, very significant to us for our kaimoana. During the Depression, and just after the depression many people hungered, because there was no such thing as a benefit of any sort. So their kōrero got back to our Granny Kereopa and Hokowhitu was ‘we have nothing’. They would go out in the morning and there would be some flounders hanging on the doorstep and they didn’t even have to ask – they knew that Granny Kereopa and those of that generation would just go out and just quietly bring it. Humble men. They fed the whole whānau and the wider Foxton community during that Depression time. When there was nothing. The whitebait was plentiful and it was actually the Taylor’s side of the ‘family’ that really had the knowledge of where the whitebait was as thick as jelly. They would go and fill up the nine-gallon kerosene tin and think nothing of it. So plentiful and the water was so clean. The tuna, the eels, for me specifically and I’m talking about the end of the 1950s early 60s. We used to tie a shoelace around our the bottom cuffs of our jeans and we use to swim across the awa. We used to... put [a] hand down a hole and when we chased the eel up through the other, we would jump on it and we would put them down our pants and they’d wriggle around, wriggle around and we swim back over the awa. We used to sell them to our aunties and uncles. If they didn’t eat them, they give them to the cat. We used to catch Herrings. We use to stand on the bridge where the flax mill took the slush over Matararapa, and we would catch our Herrings. Once again they would either eat them or if they had too many, they would feed them to the cat, but they were plentiful.’

Figure 22: Whirokino Bridge



Then we had the estuary out at the beach. Many a time we would walk with our kuia, walk out there they had the kete, pick up the cockles, thousands, thousands. And you know the migration of the Kuaka... they are a bird from over in the United Kingdom and they come this way once a year – the ‘godwits’ by the thousands. I seen them this year lucky if there’s two or three hundred because the pollution of the awa now. They used to put the sewerage in the middle of the awa. This is going back then. We didn’t know, no one told the people. It was just done automatically by the succession of councils. They didn’t consult no one they just did it but I remember Dad said when he went down to Auntie Bella’s down by the water tower there, he said the maggots as thick as a thumb. He said ‘I have never seen maggots bigger than that’! They ate from there! They destroyed that whole thing.

When the river used to run around passed the township of Foxton it was pristine, it was untouched and this was the Manawatū River ... Then it came to the boom of the Foxton Flax period, where the council decided to put what they called the ‘cutting’ and ‘the cut’ of the awa coming past the Township and took it straight around the back and it cut something like eight kilometres off the awa. The agreement was they would put a Sluice in that could be opened up at any given time to back flush to keep it flowing, unfortunately they just put the cut in and a big flood came and it washed the machinery out of it, it washed everything out and it was at that time that Granny Kereopa said to my Dad, Dad said ‘What happens now Kere?’ And old Granny Kereopa said ‘Son, they reneged on us’.

That was the government. They reneged on us. Meaning they came here with a plan, they gave us the guarantees and the promises. They never went back, they didn't even pull the machinery up out of the water. To this day they just walked away and no one held them accountable. No one and that river now, you can go down and around the mouth of Foxton and it's green sludge, it is stagnant and you've got Horowhenua District Council signs everywhere saying; 'Do not swim', 'Do not take the Kaimoana', 'Do not fish', 'Do not paddle'. These are the very ones that did all this and showed no accountability to their agreement. We have fought day and night ever since just to bring our awa back even just to a swimmable level.

I spoke with Nick Smith two or three weeks ago in Palmerston North. He gave us a wonderful kōrero about how his river in Nelson. They can only swim in it for 260 days a year and I said 'Is that right sir, we can't swim in ours at all. We can't swim in ours at all. You fullas took our awa. You took our blood-line. You took our source of pride, our flounder, our whitebait, everything.' That estuary... they even robbed the godwits from the United Kingdom. They robbed all our natural integrity and even to this day, they deny there's a problem.

Silvia: 'It is actually the government that is responsible for that.'

Willie: 'Even in talking with the present Mayor. We have sent them videos. We have had their own councilors take them videos and right to this day, still he denies... He said 'I can see what you're saying but that does not convince me that, that is raw sewerage.' What does a tūtae look like when it's floating in water? It was Ross Campbell who actually took it and Michael Feyen has done the same.'

Sylvia: 'It is quite sad actually, when I think about it. I think about it, from the point of view that we shifted here from here. I was brought up here, in Koputoroa. My Father was working for Mr Laws, shearing, contracting and fencing. That was the first decent lot of jobs that they got after the recession and all of what went on, the Depression. He was working for Laws and it was a fantastic life for me. I thought it was wonderful. I was the first of the four of us that were born up this way but to me it was heaven on earth. It was a playhouse, it was a playground, sheep, everything you could think of, but we always had food. The water when we shifted from here over to Foxton at Matarapa was clear, well it was clear perhaps to a point. They had the town dump there on the corner of the riverbank. If that went into the river you have stinky water and all sorts. This was around the late 1950s.'

Willie: 'It went right to the river's edge it was right where Turks got their farm now, it was the town dump.'

Sylvia: 'We shifted to Foxton and the first lesson we got of getting to town from Matarapa, we learned how to row a boat. That's the first lesson, but there was a bridge that went across the river that you could

walk to Granny Kere's home so that was okay... Granny Kere taught us children. Anyone that wanted to learn to swim got chucked in the river. That's your swimming lesson 'cause you knew you had to save yourself so I got chucked in one day and I got the cramp in my leg and I thought oh no 'What happens now' and I turned over and I thought there's only one way to go I think I rolled over on my back and looked up. I thought as long as I could see the sky I'd be right you know as long as I'm not underneath the water. But those were the learning lessons for us on the river.'

'Then Granny Kere would say to us on the weekend... He took all us children to town first to go and see the movies. Twenty odd children lined up at the picture theatre and he paid for every child, shouted them an ice cream and we all behaved ourselves, believe me, because he was a big man and you don't argue with Granny Kere. So, that was his contribution to our growing up. We thought he was just wonderful but then come the weekend when we were not going to the movies. He would say... 'We are going down to Foxton Beach'. You can imagine our thoughts... 'Foxton Beach is a long way away. How we going down there?' Rowing the boat. Couple of boats lined up children in one and the other. We rowed down there, parked the boat and out we got we had to go and pick pipis, cockles and things like that. The water was quite clean because it was coming off the sea. We'd go down there when the tide had come up so you got the clean water. So for us that was heaven on earth, rowing the boat and finding something to take home. We were collecting pipi and very big tuatua. There were toheroa up from the river mouth but you had to get off the boat and walk to find toheroa... they were there, they were always there. For us toheroa was north of the mouth. They were always there and I used to love going 'cause I thought I was clever finding these things! Wow! Going and digging up toheroa and that was wonderful so, 'We only took what we needed'... There was always enough there for what we needed and if we had some leftover any of the whānau that were around close, handy they would know who to give it to. We never went without pipi, cockles, tuatua, and toheroa – they were just there.'

Willie: 'Even the eggs, you could go up in the sand dunes and get the eggs from the gulls and that's heaps. It was just like having a poultry farm out on the sand hills and that was the food basket. They actually took that from us when they polluted the awa. Tuna runs.'

Sylvia: 'Frost fish.'

Willie: 'Even the Taylor's especially. Uncle Poodle, Uncle Adam McDonald, Uncle Bob, Uncle Dick, your Dad (Sylvia). They knew where the flounders were. They worked to the Māori tides and to the moon and everything else, it wasn't a wasted thing. You didn't just go down any day and say 'I feel like fishing'.

Sylvia: 'They knew when to go. Well Granny Kere was a real expert.'

Willie: ‘They said he was real uncanny. Read the cloud formations. He could read weather.’

Sylvia: ‘Then there was the boy Williams, he used to go out with Granny Kere, and Swat McDonald. They use to go down with them, down the river and that young man learned how to read the water, to read where the whitebait were... there’s a special way of knowing where the whitebait would come around the curves, and where you have to set your net. I got excited about that ‘cause I was always looking for the whitebait and like Granny Kere said, I think he was joking but he used to take Auntie’s big knickers down to the river cause we had that many fish we caught we had to pour it in something, so we poured it in her knickers. I think he only told us that just to shock us.’

Willie: ‘Now this is actual fact, this is not folk lore, there was many, many times where you’d see nothing in that Estuary then all of a sudden you would see Uncle Adam McDonald’s buoys out there. I tell you within an hour or two of seeing Adam McDonald’s buoys out there, there would be 20, 25, 30 nets all out. It was just the locals knew. You don’t just go and hit and miss, just keep your eye out for Adam McDonald’s buoys and when they went out! BANG!! Everyone was out because they knew it was the time and that’s how our Māori whānau knew that awa, they knew it like they knew the back of their hand and they knew the tide to it, they knew the weather to it and that was our blood line that was our existence. Our life force.’

Sylvia: ‘Granny Kere taught all of us how to whitebait. He said ‘you all have to learn how to whitebait, you girls too’ and we’d get taken down the river with our nets. We had to carry our own nets, it’s not I carry it for you [as] you carry your own. You got to learn how to carry it and how to put it in the river and do all of those things. So we learnt.’

Figure 23: Signs at the Manawatū Estuary



Willie: ‘Simon, Auntie Girlies’ boy Simon, only a little kid, must be in the late 50s now. Dad took him down and he was sitting down by the wharf in the Manawatū awa and he said ‘Uncle Bill there’s no fish,’ and he said ‘Simon you know what you do, you got to do make a noise like a worm’. He looked at the water and he looked at my Dad and Dad said ‘Simon listen can you hear it’. Simon said ‘No’. He said ‘I’m making a noise like a worm, can’t you hear it?’ ‘Yes, Uncle I can hear it’. He said ‘You make that noise’. So, he stayed there in dead silence. He said ‘next minute there’s a little Herring on his fish hook and Simon thought I was the God’. He said ‘he thought I was a God’. He went around everyone in Foxton showing this little two inch long Herring. ‘I made a noise like a worm’. He said. Now Simon is getting close to his 70s now, but he was convinced. What Dad was really saying was ‘Make a noise like a worm, silence’. Don’t talk. He thought he was making a noise like a worm and he got the little two inch herring. He thought Dad was a God. He was just a little four or five year old boy, never forgot it. Magic moments on the awa and you can’t go down there at all now, you can’t even put your hand in the water now.’

‘It wasn’t our whānau who were the invaders to the rohe. It was our little round pegs got overtaken by some big square pegs, and they’re saying we want you to be square like us. They are saying you have to conform. They are not saying ‘How about we all become triangles and try and fit in’. Change the shape of the holes so we can all fit that same mold. They say ‘no, no we want to stay squares so you round ones change your shape to fit our pegs, our holes’ and it’s not working and they can’t see the [simplicity] of what I’m saying. They don’t want to. It’s you conform to our, you conform to us and all we’re saying is ‘Just leave us alone and let us be what we are.’ We are round pegs. We don’t want to be square pegs.’

Sylvia: ‘Granny Kere, for them at that time before we even shifted to Matarakapa, whitebaiting was, everybody could catch whitebait, everybody. Everybody could go down there with a net even if you didn’t know how to whitebait. If the whitebait was running you only had to drag your net through and you were taking it home. Enough for everyone.’

Willie: ‘But the unemployment today. Think about it... even if the river was still as good as it was back then, our unemployed could at least go down and catch a fish for their family. They could go down and get a flounders for their table. They could go down and get some tuna and smoke it. They could go down and pick some tuatua, cockles and make a fritter or something. We can’t touch it [now], it is toxic! You be lucky if you found anything now. And so even if you went down and touched it and I do know of different ones that have gone down and said ‘I still eat out of there’ but and they are the ones that go backwards and forwards to the doctors and say ‘I don’t know what’s happened’ and we’re saying ‘You don’t understand’. Look at all the Pākehā signs telling you ‘don’t touch it’. It’s for a reason. All we’re saying is, ‘we want our awa back’. We just want our stuff.’

Sylvia: ‘If it went back to healthy water you wouldn’t have trouble with fish coming up the river.’

Willie: ‘I had this meeting as I say, three weeks or so ago with Minister Nick Smith and I questioned him on Oravida – the Chinese company who are taking the water out of the Heretaunga. They are taking out 900 tankers of water a week free gratis – all they have to do is pay the \$252 water permit and then they bought out a kiwi factory in the Hawkes Bay and now they’re doing that. I said to Nick Smith ‘How can you justify letting this country come in and take our only resource,’ and he said ‘It’s just a spit in the bucket.’ I said Nick ‘900 truck loads a week’ I used the government’s statistics they equated that if they or between them and us if they charged China or Oravida one cent per litre they would have a yearly income of \$40 million. I said to him ‘So, Nick charge Oravida China and any other country that is not from Aotearoa, charge them 20 cents a litre’. They’d get it still at a very basement price or as I said to him, ‘You’d have enough money to build a brand spanking new sewerage system for every single town in New Zealand in next to no time, because these water permits last till 2035.’”

‘The bottom line is, what I was trying to say to Nick Smith was: ‘If you charge them you could build your new sewerage systems and never have to put tūtae or mimi into any river in New Zealand and we would have our rivers back to pristine right there.’

‘All those things were robbed of us at the change of the Whirikino and it severing. Even the various types of harakeke we were known for in the Manawatū... we know there are many types of harakeke for various things, some for piupiu, some for ropes, some for nets for this, that whatever. We had them all here, and today we don’t have them. It is few and far between to even find. In fact some of the species no longer exist now because if you drive across the Whirokino Bridge, look to the left, look to the right, you be lucky to see a flax bush anywhere. It was a source of income and now it’s been stripped off the land like a desert.’

Sylvia: ‘When they brought the flax down, it came down by barges from up here and went down to Foxton. It got there and what happens? It’s Saturday, Tiu Carter, lovely man. Him and his band they use to load up their barges and get it all ready for the ones that wanted to go for a trip around from town, round the river and up there and turn around and come back again... they would have music on board in front of the boats and the music would be going and everyone would be dancing and going on. This went on during the daytime. You would catch the boat again and go picnicking. Bring your picnic lunch with you. So this is Tui Carter. He’s telling me the story and he said ‘I use to come in and all the people came with their picnic bags’ You could also get across, you walk across if you wanted to. A lot of people liked the idea of the trip on the boat.’

Willie: ‘I think more than anything the Manawatū is the vein, and we can talk about the little arteries that come off it. That was the lifeline... back then... even into our swamp down here at the bottom. It does have a name, Te Kenehi can tell you. That’s the only place that still has the

flesh-eating snail and that's ours. It's special too and that's one of the reasons why we don't want to give it to DOC, because we did that to Kāpiti Island and we never got it back.'

'It's a matter of lining up the cemetery down here by the railway track with the one up here on the hill and then over to Poroutāwhao. They all line up and there is a thing that we actually came from Tokomaru, we came from Matararapa over here. This is where Te One McGregor was brought up here by our Ngarongo line and he is the fore father to all of us that whakapapa back here.'

Sylvia: 'That had the same problems, pollution in their lake. It was deliberately put in there by the council, for getting rid of [Levin's] sewerage. That was their river for their kai and all that and these people, which I presume are still part of us, Muaūpoko, Kikopiri, Pareraukawa they are all part of us, it's all whānau part and parcel.'

Willie: 'Uncle Towser Ranginui used to have the whare right there. He used to go up that he had his hīnaki across there. A lovely, lovely man and he was Muaūpoko but him and his lovely wahine... was a hard nut. They had no electricity. Everything was cooked over an open fire outside. He used to hang all the tuna up in the trees. You go out there and smell the smell of smoked tuna and that's what he did all day, he just fish, fish and more fish and even then he was, I'm talking early 60s, he saw the demise of that lake and where it was going because although people knew what was going on, this is when that take was going down about who was the kaitiaki and everything else, and he said 'Our days here are numbered'. Our elders could see what was coming but you see there was no law to say we had to be consulted or anything, it was: We are going to do this so step aside we are going to do it, and that is all there is to it. We didn't even realise that the sewerage that was going over our urupā at Matararapa. We didn't realise that it was actually flowing into the lake. We have wāhi tapu out there and they are ignoring it. Horowhenua District Council will not listen. And in fact our cousin Robert, he said to him (and I reiterated it to Nick Smith), that 'he's telling us that the water is almost pristine now, almost back to how it was'. I said, 'If that's the case then how come your signs are still up'. I said, 'I'll tell you what, you drink the first glass and I'll drink the second.' Didn't take the challenge.'

Willie: 'It's not the end at our generation. It must go on, we must carry on the fight, [The river] has to come back.'

Sylvia: 'And the Bible tells you: God looks down, he's watching his people and if you're looking after the land, he'll will look after you.'

Figure 24: Manawatū River



3.12 A Ngāti Tukorehe perspective

‘Water is gold. Not that other stuff’⁵⁶

Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson, Pat Seymour and Zoey Poutama from Ngāti Tukorehe have had long-term relationships with waterways in the Kuku and wider regions. They represent whānau who have had long associations with the customary gathering of kai. Each spoke of significant inland waterways including the Kuku Stream, Waikōkopu Stream, Tikorangi Spring, Tikorangi Stream, Te Awa a Tamati Spring, Ōhau River, Hōkio Stream, Lake Horowhenua and Mangananao Stream. They all met with Moira Poutama at ‘their home of homes’ Tukorehe Marae, which is located at Kuku, Horowhenua on 12 May 2016. Each shared their concerns over water quality issues; loss of mahinga kai; decline in species such as tuna/eels, inanga/whitebait, kōkopu, and kōura and kōura and freshwater crayfish; the collection of duck eggs, or tohemanga,

⁵⁶ A strong and prophetic statement made to a 12 year old Yvonne Wehipeihana Wilson in 1955, by her grandmother, Mrs Āni Wehipeihana (nee Richardson), wife of Rameka (Tumeke) Wehipeihana of Kuku.

toheroa for sustenance, and the impacts of exotic aquatic plants like parsnip weed in freshwater systems.

Yvonne, Pat and Zoey also offered insights into kaitiaki (spiritual guardians), and the healing springs located near the local streams of significance to Tukorehe. They recalled the significant tuna heke runs and what a community event the heke was. Pollution of the waterways had seriously affected freshwater and saltwater species, whereby there are diseases in eels now.

3.12.1 Case study of taniwha and waterways in Kuku

At Kuku and in many areas within the inquiry district, certain knowledge about entities within a spirit world remained in the cultural memory of elders and others. Their experiences supported the position that Māori continue to believe that certain trees, or spots, or other objects had guardian spirits dwelling there. According to Māori scholars, this did not mean that the spirit was the spirit of the tree. Rather a spirit could use a tree or place, a river, or even a person as a 'home'.⁵⁷ Certain kaitiaki may be described as taniwha or spiritual entities or beings, ancestral guardians or other local spiritual keepers.⁵⁸

In Kuku, local kaitiaki, taniwha or guardian entities took various forms not only at the coast but further inland in the waterways traversing that region. The taniwha ranged from an inverted log with exposed roots that could travel up river and indicated an abundance of kaimoana. Another was a taniwha in an area known as 'The Deep' in a bend in the Ōhau River,⁵⁹ to another, which was a flounder with specific facial features. Other taniwha were a fresh water crayfish in particular waterways or a large eel that cried out at times of weather disturbances at sea from its dune wetland home⁶⁰ near the coast. Some informants knew of the dangers of the last three. They spoke of experiences with the wailing eel as a sure sign of danger – a portent that the adjacent

⁵⁷ Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003, in *The Woven Universe - Selected writings of Rev. Maori Marsden*, (ed.) Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, Te Wānanga o Raukawa: Ōtaki, p 44.

⁵⁸ Merata Kawharu, 1998, *Dimensions of Kaitiakitanga: An investigation of a customary Māori principle of Resource Management*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis in Social Anthropology, Oxford University, England, p 12.

⁵⁹ Based on information transferred from Karanama Lewis to Mr Neil Candy (a former Kuku based non-Māori farmer). Personal communication between Huhana Smith and Mr Neil Candy, 5 September 2005.

⁶⁰ As requested by informants and other community members, greater details of these entities in Kuku region have been restricted.

beach environs would be imminently unsafe for humans, due to tidal waves coming to shore.⁶¹

The aforementioned inverted taniwha log moves with its roots exposed along the south-west coast and comes up the Ōhau River. According to other informants the story of this taniwha goes as follows:

At the side of the lake trees grow, shrubs, flax according to the male and female elders who grow there, these are supernatural trees and supernatural flax. Trees down here might only grow six feet down here, flax they are of an enormous [size] 12–13 feet tall. There was a tree that grows there and when it floods the tree, perhaps in the past fell and was fetched by Tararua the God of the sea and made the supernatural being each marae, each hapū, each iwi has its own discussion with this taniwha but here is my version of my hapū, people of Tukorehe, I am putting before you, Tangaroa changed this tree into a taniwha.

He heard the name Mukukai, that's why he noticed the name Mukukai, this land becomes of my iwi, all of the hapū from Rangitīkei down to the furthest extent, the spiritual force of the taniwha fell to us so I'm giving you directly the explanation of this from our people Tukorehe. My time of growing up here I heard all of the stories about Mukukai -a taniwha of mercy, the taniwha of showing kindness. A taniwha that brings food, when he is seen at the coast, Ngāti Tukorehe knows Mukukai has come and has brought sources of food. ...there was a cave and this is where we have slightly divergent stories from others. There is a cavern that can go right under the land here through to the Wairarapa, Mukukai travels in this underground channel beneath the land to the Wairarapa. When he gets there he is able to return and come back down and re-emerge in the coast on this side... The land came to us, the taniwha is not ours it belongs to the land, all of this land, came with its provenance with its bounty along with the taniwha. Sometimes it is a flounder, sometimes it is a tuatua. Sometimes a freshwater crayfish, sometimes it shows himself to you as eel, all these taniwha are here.

I'm not just talking about just the grass here and about the marshlands, Tukorehe talk about the spiritual life force, the spirit itself and the spiritual authority in relation to the land and the earth as living forces.⁶²

⁶¹ Based on personal communication between Huhana Smith and Mrs Rita Tawhai, and Mrs Maire Johns, in 2002 and 2005 respectively about a tidal wave incident at Kuku Beach, which happened in the 1960s while people were out white baiting.

⁶² Sean Bennet Ogden, 2014. WAI 2200 – Porirua Ki Manawatū District Inquiry Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tukorehe Marae, 24–27 June 2014, #4.18.

Figure 25: Ōhau River



When this taniwha is sighted it indicates an abundance of kaimoana or seafood into the marine and within the tidal region. Although there have been reported sightings of a log encrusted with shellfish at Ōtaki beach in late 1990s (and even more recently too), local Tūkorehe elders (who had physically experienced the inverted log) insisted that the taniwha or taonga they knew was only shared by coastal hapū of Tūkorehe and hapū of linked tribes in the Wairapapa. What was described or experienced at Ōtaki beach was not the kaitiaki these elders knew, however the visits of that encrusted log were regarded as special by those who experienced it. To this end, probably every iwi, hapū and whanau within the inquiry region had their kaitiaki, each with special stories about them and the signs by which they were recognized.⁶³

The Kuku Stream flows to the Ōhau River through the turangawaewae of Ngāti Tukorehe and related hapū. Pat Seymour initiated the Tukorehe interview by referring to the upper Kuku Stream or tributary that flows from up the back of the foothills, known as Ōtararere and Poroporo behind the village of Kuku.

⁶³ Cleve Barlow, 1991, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*, Oxford University Press: Auckland, p 35.

The one I'm referring to is in behind Aunty Sues and Rāmeke [Wehipeihana] where their whare was up the top. There was a pool up there in the stream. This was the home of the long-finned tuna with horns on it, 'he nui'. It was a pool of water where the water came down and flowed very slowly there. When the tuna came into this pool it was like an awa-iti – opening up into a bit of a pool, a lagoon, a couple of feet deep. I remember Alvie and I going up to take a look for that tuna. And something dropped in. I think [it might have been a watch] but no one was game enough to get in and get it. That kaitiaki had been there for a very long time. Long-fin can live in excess of a 100 years... No one ever went there. It was renowned that you never went there to catch it, or to harm it or do anything un towards it. It was known before you went there. You didn't go there with a gaff. This was common knowledge. Just seeing the tuna come out in the pool of water in this lagoon was reward enough – it was a large tuna.

Moira: 'Would you say the care of those tuna was active kaitiakitanga asserted by our kaumātua and kuia that they actively protected that as a taonga?'

Pat: 'I would have to say, yes.'

Yvonne: 'They said it would never hurt us. We weren't allowed to frig around with it either. We had to have respect.'

Yvonne relates the spiritual importance of the stream and refers to the known taniwha or kaitiaki again.

We used to swim down by Aunty Letty's. We were told the story about the tuna but we saw it up the top that tuna. The water was pristine – absolutely crystal clear. The old people wouldn't let us swim in paru water, they wouldn't, so the water was clean. We were told the story of the kaitiaki and I guess they were trying to instill it in us. We weren't afraid.

Pat: 'One should also remember with a kaitiaki like that, [or] call it a taniwha, call it what you may – it lived in this pool... But they don't always stay in the pool – they travel up and down a certain area or an awa-iti or wherever it makes its home. This is the reason why as Yvonne said, where they swam was quite a way down stream.'

3.12.2 Experiences with tuna heke, eeling and kanga pīrau

As raised by previous informants, tuna heke were significant seasonal events across the inquiry region. Many informants told of its importance for providing sustenance for hapū, the sense of community the event created and the inference that everyone in the community was well fed.

Pat: 'The tuna heke I'm referring to was at the Hōkio Stream from Lake Horowhenua going there with my father several times on tuna heke and they went out by the thousands literally you filled up not only chaff sacks but 44 gallon drums. 60 fisher people on the awa-iti out toward the sea on a single night catching. Thousands were caught.'

Yvonne: 'Talking about tuna heke, I remember going out to the beach – all of Kuku went out, all of Levin and Manakau were there. We were only young, but everyone was out there catching tuna, picking up tuna out at Hōkio Beach, the whole community went. I also remember by the factory, you guys remember the runs we had there.'

Pat: 'Absolutely we all agree, we remember it.'

Zoey: 'I remember over the jungle by the bridge either side the bridge. I remember setting hinaki with Uncle Jim Poutama. At that time I remember as a kid we used to bomb off that bridge. That's how deep it was.'

Pat: 'My grandmother, Katarina Tamihana lived over here by Joe Cuts's paddock beside the Kuku Stream. She raised my mother and her siblings there among other places. When the Kuku Dairy Factory was going, they used to let the whey go down the Kuku Stream and it would run sort of white in color. The whey flowed through a pipe into the stream and away it went. My mother told me that at those times they never went near the creek until the whey went, when the whey went they'd go back and swim in it, it was clear again... that went on for years and years and years.'

Yvonne: 'Talking about that Kuku Stream when it used to come round under the bridge they've redirected it around behind Joey Cuts's because that's where they used to put kainga pirau or the rotten corn down there at the creek. There were tuna boxes there too. The water was clean and there were pools that went deeper – that's where they used to have it.'

Moira: 'Do you recollect, as I can recall that as a kid when we walked that creek with Dad (Jim Poutama) he'd have a matarau and the base of the creek was stony, no sediment you had a firm footing in the center of that creek.'

Pat: 'I used to go up and down that Kuku Stream with a spear looking for tuna but mostly we ended up spearing rats, water rats, we used to get the water rats in there. By crikey, there used to be a lot of them.'

Moira: 'They came about by the introduction of the whey into the water aye Pat?'

Pat: 'Correct, because they were not always there.'

Yvonne: 'There were wild duck nests there, where duck eggs were collected.'

Figure 26: Kuku Stream near ‘the jungle’



3.12.3 The Mangananao Stream

Pat turned his attention again to the important confluence of springs and waterways including the Tikorangi rising from the ground as a spring near inland Waikawa River, that joins the Waikōkopu Stream, and which then meets the Mangananao. The Kuku stream traverses land to join the Mangananao, where this combined confluence of waterways then flows into the Ōhau River.

Pat: ‘The only time the Mangananao will ever flood is if the Waikawa breaches its banks, even with a flood in the Waikawa the Mangananao still stays clean, a beautiful clean spring-fed creek, hence it’s a home to our fresh water kōura, also to our kōkopu, the home of our giant kōkopu.’

‘The conditions of the Mangananao has changed, it’s like a lot of our waterways now its intensive dairy farming, horticulture, pesticides, plus to appease the dairy farmers whose land borders on to it. The Horizons Regional Council sends contractors in to clean out the weed. Free them up of weed so the water gets away quicker and doesn’t cause flooding

problems on the farmer's lands. They spray the smaller one's, the smaller drains run out there, but with the larger drains they use mechanical excavators now and dig all the weed out. When they do that it may help the water get away more quickly, but it also alters the water level. When you hopped in there it was as deep as your head, six foot deep. When the weeds go, the Mangananao is only a foot deep in places, so hence there is no home or whare for the tuna to live in. You know, tuna are shy animals that's why they only venture out at night. So in saying that, it effects a lot of things, the fact of the constant cleaning of these awa-iti and so forth. What used to grow there was watercress in bulk, now you get parsnip weed, inedible, in bulk, so these are things I've seen that have had a huge impact on our waterways and our hapū. You know, we used to go there and it was full of watercress now you've got this parsnip weed – a prolific grower it gets in there and takes over. There's nowhere left for the watercress to grow.'

'The streams are not in pristine condition like they were, due to... intensive dairy farming [and] horticulture sprays. When you disturb flora and fauna and trees... you get the silt washing down from the Tararua and... slips that also enter our waterways. It was controlled before by the rākau growing on there... Soils that are heavily laden with pesticides and fertilizers [and]... washing into our waterways. [Silt] works its way all the way to the Ōhau River... our largest awa... It also works its way through to our awa-iti... the paru ends up down there out on our coast and into our kaimoana beds. The effects are just horrendous. It's effecting the health of our people, because if our waterways are healthy and the food we eat out of them is healthy, then our people will be healthy.'

'The tuna heke came down the Waikōkopu Stream too. We used to catch the tuna heke there, the eels ran down this stream besides Huhana's and Richard's [in Kuku near SH1]. We used to catch them in a whitebait net over there, facing upstream as they came down. We used to catch them by hand too when it was just a stream. We'd go all the way along there under the banks feeling with our hands too. Through under the culvert pipe we used to get a lot of kōura out of that pipe under the railway lines. That was a good favourite spot.'

3.12.4 Puna wai (springs) from Kuku region

As mentioned earlier, puna wai or freshwater springs were very present in the ancestral landscape but have been impacted upon by agricultural expansion over many generations.

Moira: 'There was something else special about Tikorangi as well, it was used for waiora, hauora and healing.'

Yvonne: 'There was Tikorangi Spring.'

Pat: ‘‘Te Awa a Tamati’ it is of significant importance even though it went underground. It’s virtually done what I was saying... happens with the Mangananao, how that comes underground and comes up through spring heads. [That’s] exactly what happened to ‘Te Awa a Tamati’. Biological changes in the waterways and the buildup of river shingle.’

‘On the northern side of Huhana and Richard’s place is the Waikōkopu. The Tikorangi is the one that flows down from the Bevan’s farm estate through the back of Dorne’s farm then down through Jim McDownell’s farm and into the Mangananao Stream. The Tikorangi runs into the Mangananao and the Waikōkopu also runs part way through Huhana and Richard’s property. The Waikōkopu then meanders through a culvert under the railway tracks in behind the Lawton’s, the Patuaka’s and the Gardiner’s homesteads. It then goes under Kuku Beach Road and reappears just slightly west of Lindsay Burnell’s cowshed. The Waikōkopu doesn’t flow for some parts of the year but at other times it has quite a good flow. It then flows through Alex Hogg’s farm, then through a culvert under Hoggs Road over more farmland and finally joins up with the Kuku Stream. Tikorangi Spring is a wairua spring too.’

This last point is backed up by the whakapapa understandings of place and how that manifests for today’s generations. Sean Bennet Ogden offered the following on the confluence of the Mangananao/Kuku stream areas at Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho held at Tukorehe Marae from 24–27 June 2014.

Ahau nei a Te Mateawa, te take i whakanohongia au ki tātahi, kua rongona tātou mō te nohanga o Rangitāwhia ki tātahi. Ko tāku he tautoko. Rongo nei tātou mō te noho o tēnei iwi nui nei o Tukorehe ki tātahi, ko tāku he tautoko. Ko au hoki ko Patumākuku tētehi o ngā hapū i heke mai i Te Kaokaoroa o Pātetere. Ko au hoki tērā i noho ki tātahi ki ngā whenua i rāhuitia e ngā tūpuna o Doug [Kidd], e tana koroua ki te takiwā o Mangananao ki te wāhi ka tatū ai te manga o Kuku ki te manga o Mangananao, ko te nohanga tēnā o Patumākuku. Ko te mate ia e rangahaua tonutia ana ahau, a Ngāti Tukorehe, ko wai ngā uri o tērā hapū, me he uri tonu e noho mai ana ki waenga i a mātou, ki Te Kaokaoroa o Pātetere rānei. Engari kua whoatu rā i tērā o ngā ingoa ki runga i tētehi o ngā whare o muri nei, tō mātou marae, hei whare kura, hei kura tērā e ako ana i ngā uri o Tukorehe ki tēnei mea ki te mātauranga.

The reason why my hapū were settled on the coast... Te Rangitāwhia was settled down there... was to settle. Tukorehe was down there, Mateawa was in support and Patumākuku, another hapū, which came from Te Pātetere, my hapū were so settled down there. On the land that was farmed by the family of Sir Doug [Kidd], my elder down in the district of Mangananao and the place Te Manga o Kuku and Te Mangananao, two streams. That was the living place of Patumākuku. The problem is we are still researching who are the descendants of that hapū if there are there descendants of hapū living here, or among Te

Kaokaoroa o Pātetere. We have given that name to one of the houses at the back here Patumākuku, at the back of our marae here which is an educational building where the descendants of this hapū follow education to come back to Mateawa.⁶⁴

3.12.5 Customary use of different resources from awa-iti or streams

Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson, Moira Poutama and Pat Seymour recalled other different resources from streams in their rohe.

Yvonne: ‘Past the Blue Lakes, Kuku East Road they used to collect the paru for the dye to do puipui.’

Moira: ‘We have paru at the beach in the backwash too.’

Pat: ‘We utilized the Kuku Awa-iti for mahinga kai. They used it not just for swimming in but... utilized by my mother’s whānau for existence. They carted buckets of water to boil up in the old copper. This was particularly tough during the cold winter months for my mother and family. They had an old hand pump to pump the water up, but in the winter time you couldn’t hand pump any water because the pipes would be all frozen – they used the awa-iti for watercress. It grew plentiful in those days... very clean not just small bits but lots. Mum and them were always gathering watercress, duck eggs, tuna and kākahi out of the Kuku awa-iti. That’s how important it was to them because they lived right next to it. That was their garden right beside them.’

Yvonne: ‘Even the spawning of the whitebait needed those little creeks to come back up the big river for us to catch them.’

Pat: ‘I can remember Kainga Pirau being over there when I was a boy all the time – I ngā wā katoa.’

Despite these customary activities described as having taken place further upstream, unfortunately according to recent research at its lower reaches the Kuku Stream where it meets the Ōhau River is in severe bad health. As Moira attests, ‘The lower reaches of the Kuku Stream are highly toxic.’

Yvonne: ‘And yet they were used for a whole lot of things for our survival, for our health and wellbeing, our good.’

Pat: ‘Not only was there Kainga Pirau over there but there was a wooden tuna box there for years and years and years.’

⁶⁴ Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho transcripts, pp 201–201. Sourced from one of the series of regional hui held at Tukorehe Marae from 24–27 June 2014.

Pat Seymour supplied a list of significant resources as follows:

Kōkota – salt fresh water pipi

Piraroa – soft shelled oyster found in the blind creek and clay bank area at Kuku Beach

Bubu, Periwinkle and **Tītiko** – found on tidal mudflats they look like a small snail shell, the meat is extracted from the shell using a small pin or needle.

Pātiki /flounders – varieties include: Brill, Diamond, Sole, Yellow and the Black river flounder found as far up Ōhau River as Whare-ao.

Tahimaro – large eel black in colour that can weigh in excess of some 20lbs.

Tohemaro – large eel light greenish in colour with light coloured spots found in estuaries.

Hao – mature short fin eel, blackish in color and silver or whitish underneath

Puhi – similar to **Hao** but refers to both eel species short fin and long fin.

Pāpaka – golden or yellowish eel can be short fin or long fin

Tuna-Tuoro – a black eel with a large head, skinny body and tail (a Tohu)

Yellow eyed mullet – once plentiful in the Ōhau awa, depending on the tides they could be netted or taken by a hook as far up as Anga-Kākahi.

Figure 27: Ōhau River and Bridge



3.13 Interview with Te Whena Lewis regarding certain waterways and beaches in Waikawa region

Another renowned kaitiaki or local resource gatherer for marae is Te Whena Lewis, who is from Ngāti Tukorehe and Ngāti Wehiwehi.⁶⁵ He is highly knowledgeable about the Waikawa and Ōhau Rivers, the Kuku, Ōhau and Waikawa Beaches, the impacts of river mouth diversions; the former Huratini Repo/Wetland area; the Mangananao, Tikorangi and Kuku Stream confluence; the Mangahuia systems at Waikawa, and Lake Waiorongmai near Ōtaki.

Te Whena spoke at length about inland waterways, lakes, wetlands and beach areas of significance to Tukorehe and Wehiwehi. He recognised the detrimental effects of drainage and dairy effluent. In his words ‘right now the worst thing that could have happened to our streams is the tūtae of cows’ and, ‘when they drain our whenua their killing our kai.’

⁶⁵ This interview took place at Te Whena’s home on Waikawa Beach Road on 20 May 2016 with Moira Poutama recording the conversation.

Te Whena laments the loss of traditional fishing practices; the detrimental effects of vehicles on the beaches; the turning streams into recreational areas, and farming practices in combination leading to the loss of habitat for fish species, Ngahere or native bush reserves and the practice of raurēkau tuna for kaumātua, are seriously threatened. Taonga species like tohemanga and their habitats are being destroyed and then there are the modern day fishing practices with torpedoes off beaches, which are adding to the damage.

My kuia Miriama Ngamoana Waitohu Te Wharekaii held ... eels in high esteem. She reckoned they were placed there by my koro Ihaka Ngapari. Those eels were shortfin; you used to get the long fin as well. My brother owns the Manakau Dairy and behind it is the Mangahuia Stream. Out of those streams they used to catch flounder and big kōkopu (the adult white bait). There were plenty in there. Kākahi could be found in the culverts and as kids we were always taken over there by our fathers. The streams are probably only about two feet wide at the widest. Hunting tuna and kōura in that stream was just a normal exercise for us. We were taken out by our parents. [Later] they didn't have to come out once we knew where to go and they'd just kick us down [there] to catch the kai. You always got plenty! It wasn't only just for you – it was to feed all the old people that lived around here. You could do swapsies with them like swap a pawhara or raurēka tuna and they would give you a rēwana or Cartwheel bread. It was a real good swap you know.

My koroua Ihaka Ngapari created all these reserves around here in Manakau. There are three bush Reserves and in those ngahere [there] is plenty of Raurēka. To the untrained eye you probably don't know what you looking at. I always used to prepare raurēka tuna for my kuia. I thought she was the only person that qualified for that.

The Mangahuia ran into the Waiotu, which started in the Waikawa ... They had a drain that ran off the Waikawa up high. It then ran through Manakau – it actually split into two [flows] – a stream called Patumakuku and ... [another] stream also had the same similar eels. As you got closer to the hills you got the big long-fin and they got be anything up to 30, 40 pound – they are huge as big as my body!

The Mangahuia Stream used to run into big pools. In the summer the water would run underground under the stones. It would be just pools of water not very big but if you were game enough you could get in there and pick up big eels. You could ... lift them up and hold them up. We never used to take so many of those very, very big eels. Also the Mangahuia had a couple of lakes, which were situated on the foot of the Tararua. Apparently years ago there was a landslide (hence our name Horowhenua), which filled in a huge part of that lake. There are still lakes there now about 200 meters around and the eels run out of there, around 'bout this time of the year actually. The eels run into that stream. As kids [in the 1960s and 70s] we were always in there.'

‘We didn’t have any games, as [gathering kai] was our game. We were either getting watercress (which I hated) but those streams provided all of our watercress. The pūhā along the banks too, so you were blessed with two kinds of vegetable.

3.13.1 Loss of habitat in Waikawa and Ōhau

Te Whena continues his narrative of decline of waterway health and loss of related resources:

Down in the lower half of the Managhuia there were cowsheds and the effluent wasn’t treated like it is today ... They had settling ponds and they ran effluent into those streams a lot of times. They just flushed it straight into those streams, especially during the floods.

Right now, it seems the worst things that could have happened to our streams, is the tūtae of cows.

Back then in those days too, they did a lot of top dressing so that ended up leaching into our waterways as well.

I could go down there now and I’ll probably be lucky to get a dozen eels. Back in the day we could just catch ‘em by hand – no sweat, in an hour’s time walk home with a sack of tuna. That was very sacred to my whānau, to the Eru’s and my dad.

The habitat is the biggest loss for our kai, the introduction of Pākehā [farming practices], which were very very arrogant... it was suggested to them that what they were doing was detrimental to our kai.

The Waikawa... is our biggest stream. We got a lot of kai out of there! A lot of whitebait! Our old people used to talk about how they could catch whitebait by the time! Basically it was about knowing when the tides were pushing. They would go out and catch a kerosene tin full so much so, they used to bury it in their gardens as manure if they didn’t use it all! Because of the abundance of it! Now with modern day fish apparatus and greed, we are lucky to catch two pound of whitebait and that’s a good catch.

Back in Dad’s day everybody was a fisherman. You were a hunter. If you weren’t working you always had kai to supply your whānau. It was our food cupboard and still is to me. I can live off our rivers but not too many of us left that do it. I’m an older man now and I still go out by myself, [sadly] it’s a dying art.

The Ōhau River is very similar to Waikawa – huge shoals of whitebait. I’ve been out there when everyone has caught a hundred pounds, but even there [today] it’s becoming scarce. In the Ōhau and the Waikawa you got the booboo/periwinkles, mussel/kākahi, or river pipi that live in that saline, fresh water situation ‘cause it’s intertidal. People don’t know that they’re there. The pirarua/soft-shelled oyster is very similar to a

tohemanga – the shell is very brittle, breaks like an egg shell. They live in the mud in the estuary area. You probably walk over them and never, ever see them unless you know what you were looking for, they a very nice shellfish. I'm glad people don't know, because they'll be another shellfish that will be very scarce to find.

Figure 28: Waikawa River mouth and nearby housing



3.13.2 Chemical pollution and non-point source pollution

The direct effects of reactive nitrogen on ecosystems include acidification and deoxygenation effects on forest, soils and fresh water systems; eutrophication in lakes and coastal ecosystems; nitrogen saturated soils; biodiversity losses; invasions of nitrogen loving weeds and changes in abundance of beneficial soil organisms.⁶⁶ Non-point source pollution from farming systems remains the most significant risk to New

⁶⁶ The experts who compiled the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment's Growing for Good publication recommended that more proposals were required for integrating sustainable farming within a wider indicator programme to assess the state of the environment. Actions in these areas would be taken up by the Ministry for Agriculture and Fisheries (now Ministry for Primary Industries) alongside Ministry for the Environment in order to place farming firmly within a broader environmental context in New Zealand. See Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 'Growing for Good: Intensive farming, sustainability and New Zealand's environment', Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment Te Kaitiaki Taiao a Te Whare Pāremata, Wellington, 2004, p. 187.

Zealand's environment and to the future of farming itself. Nutrient management, faecal contamination from animals, the fresh water quality decline for the coastal region, still requires significant and immediate focus. Whena Lewis still recalls when the pollution activities were quite blatant!

All the different chemicals that were pushed and flushed into our rivers, common to find big bloody drums of insecticide floating down the river! You'd know where they'd used it and turfed it to the side. The chemicals have been flushed down in the floods that we've had. If you spray it on a bush within an hour of sunshine it's shrivelled up and dead. That stuff in those drums was bloody lethal, and apparently there was traces of all of those things in some of the fish that we ate.'

3.13.3 The loss of habitat and taonga species, whether fish or shellfish

Te Whena Lewis continues:

As a young fulla us cuzzies would be taken out to the beach by our Uncle Bob Rori. He could spot a fish a hundred feet away in both the moana and awa. Our mahi was to set up the ahi or fire. While we did that our uncle would be looking and reading the moana and the awa. When the time was right he would direct us to do the mahi! We would haul and drag out 3–4 sacks of herrings, kahawai and mullet, even the odd lemon fish and snapper. Flounder and Whitebait were part of our stable diet and were easy to catch in those times.

There's a lot of laws now pertaining to DOC and council that have restricted a lot of our take of kai. They even put a bloody quota on tuna! I'd like to see them take my tuna off me when I'm catching tuna heke 'cause I wait all year for that then once or twice to three times a year when I go get that kai. I'd like to see them try and stop me because that was a gift that was given to us by our people, our old people – all the tribes... the whole family... would go out the beach when the tuna heke would run and dig big holes. We'd dig a big hole and by the time we were ready to go home, it would be full of tuna.

The eel or tuna was a stable diet, with fry bread and cold spuds. We are talking about a time when we could have it as part of our stable diet.

... One fish we used to get bloody heaps of too was Herrings, I have not seen herring on our local beaches for over 15–20 years not in big numbers. We catch the yellow eyed mullet up our streams chasing the Whitebait, but Herring we'd get 3–4 sacks of herrings so much so that they're smacking into you, jumping over your net. It's probably an experience you'll never ever forget if your ever lucky enough to be involved in that! Mullet is still accessible out her but only in certain times when the water's dirty and you see the brown sludge – it's what they eat. They eat the green brown sludge that's agitated up by the rough weather.

Pipi, tohemanga, tuatua – plenty of pipi and tuatua – [they're our shellfish but] people are lazy; they rather dig up all the tohemanga. There are very few out there now. I still get some for the old people but you know you got to be special... or you get nothing.

The worst thing that could have happened along our beach is the access of vehicles. It just highlights how lazy people are by driving all over our kai. Not only Māori but Pākehā too and they claim it as a right! If there's a driveway to your beach then they drive over it!

'The constant changing of the river mouths is another thing. Ōhau and Waikawa Rivers were both diverted, and the course of the river was changed in Waikawa settlement built out there, and they redirected the Waikawa Stream past the township. So the original stream in itself has been totally changed.

Figure 29: Approximate Waikawa and Ōhau River mouth movements 1842 to 1980
 (sourced from Averages, R., 1982, pp. 80–81)



The Ōhau and Waikawa Rivers run exactly the same. When it changes in Ōhau, it changes in Waikawa as well. They have both have been redirected, they have been setup how regional councils want it.

I am Māori and tangata whenua. I believe they're trying to turn our streams into recreational places. Now they're areas where people go dump all their rubbish.

When our whānau come home, whanaungatanga kicks in and the first thing we do is go out and get tohemanga, pipi and fish. There is nowhere near the same amount of fish that can be accessed from our moana and awa now, in saying that there's not too many traditional fisherman as there were in the past either.

You don't even need a boat but you got bloody torpedoes that go out there now. Stand out there and you got 20–30 torpedoes going out the beach. All these people have heavy 4 x 4 wheel drives vehicles and they park up on our tohemanga beds – they run over them! Up and down the beach, it's like a motorway. Summer is the worst; they even have jeeps pulling parachutes up and down the beach. I followed one! It was sucking up tohemanga out of the sand. It was because of those heavy vehicles, they are the cause of killing a lot of the smaller baby spat and that's bad news [for the resource].

Figure 30: Waikawa River mouth Āwhina and Kiinui (Aroha's children) watch the recreational motorbike rider drive by



3.13.4 Loss of special places, particularly wetlands

Te Whena Lewis knows his whenua well. As a key supplier of local delicacies (when he can get it) to the marae of the local Ōhau, Kuku, Waikawa regions, he knows what was special and what no longer exists.

The Huratini swamp was regarded as a special area. It was surrounded by a Kānuka forest. Those rākau were over a hundred years old, It was an area known for its historical significance and for the waka that we would use to spear tuna with a traditional matarau. This ngahere was the only one of its kind at that time. Today it's been totally drained and turned into a subdivision, much like what has occurred in terms of drainage at Lake Waiorongomai. That lake is now only a shadow of its former self... It's a trick by Pākehā around here to take those lakes and drain them.

With this Transit Gully and roading going through, they tried to close down all our waterways that run parallel to this road and under it – that's their plan. They were going to shut down the Mangahuia. They tried it once before and I told them that stream was spiritual to us. That was where we got our kai and they couldn't touch it. They [HDC] waited 10 years and just came in – didn't ask. This time they sent a letter in the post telling everybody they were going to close our stream down, claiming \$20k to maintain those streams. I've fished in those stream all my life and never once seen any council person walk along those streams or even attempt to do anything in there.

All these wetlands run into the Waikawa, as the wetlands have disappeared so has all our kai. I'm really worried this year, about our whitebait because of the methods they use these days [to fish]. I don't know how our fish are going to recover. They don't have that habitat like they did in the old days, which used to stretch all the way out to the Waikawa Bridge and road bridge.

There is a lot of paru [dirt, mud] in the Ōhau and Kuku streams, there is sediment out there. It's a sandy beach – when you walk in those streams now its mud. You probably got 2–3 inches of mud on top of the sand.

Everything that's happening in society today is impacting on our streams.

3.13.5 Faecal contamination in the Waiwiri Stream and shellfish.

Before revealing the narrative of Professor Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal overleaf, historical data indicates that Waiwiri Stream in the Kikopiri mana whenua domain, is in poor state health, with total phosphorus, ammoniacal nitrogen, total nitrogen, dissolved reactive phosphorus, carbonaceous biological oxygen demand and faecal

coliforms all above guideline values.⁶⁷ Between Lake Waiwiri and the coastal mouth of Waiwiri Stream there is a longitudinal decline in some water quality parameters (*i.e.* total coliforms, nitrate and total dissolved solids). According to the MTM research project and investigation into this region in 2011–2012, it was found that since these parameters were not source specific, the decline was due mainly to pastoral land use with cattle effluent the main culprit, some human effluent input from The Pot and avian sources, in that order.

Microbial source tracking (MST) was used to link faecal contamination with host organisms to identify the dominant source of faecal contamination and determine if human faecal matter enters the stream. From a cultural perspective, any faecal matter (particularly human) anywhere in the stream is offensive regardless of whether there is ‘longitudinal decline’. The inability to manaaki (care for) guests with healthy, local delicacies at marae is a grave loss of mana or standing.⁶⁸

The *Waiwiri Stream: Sources of Poor Water Quality and Impacts* (Allen *et.al* 2012) provides key details and wider, related concerns for shellfish health between Hōkio and Ōtaki. Initial actions in Waiwiri led to the more comprehensive shellfish survey, which clearly showed how poor water quality impacts on the tidal zone with effluent contaminated shellfish sourced from various sites after different rainfall conditions. The fuller report, *Kaimoana on beaches from Hōkio to Ōtaki, Horowhenua* (Newcombe *et.al* 2014), investigated land use changes and coastal land cover, which also highlighted associated impacts on freshwater input to beaches. There are numerous factors that possibly affect toheroa and other shellfish populations. The MTM team characterized the current land use and changes in key landscape features (primarily wetlands) from historical information. They then sought relationships between land cover and current shellfish populations.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Allen C, Sinner J, Banks J, Doehring K., 2012. *Waiwiri Stream: Sources of Poor Water Quality and Impacts on the Coastal Environment*. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No.9. Cawthron Report No. 2240

⁶⁸ Ibid, p vii.

⁶⁹ Original reference is sourced from general material gathered from: Emma Newcombe, Huhana Smith, Moira Poutama, Craig Allen, Javier Atalah, Aroha Spinks, Joanne Ellis, Jim Sinner, 2014. *Kaimoana on beaches from Hōkio to Ōtaki, Horowhenua*. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 22.

⁶⁷ This reference is sourced from: Smith, H., Spinks, A. & Poutama, M., 2014, *HE TIROHANGA WHĀNUI: An Overview of Ecosystems undergoing Rehabilitation within Manaaki Taha Moana, Horowhenua Case Study*, Manaaki Taha Moana Research Project, Massey University: Palmerston North/Taiao Raukawa Environmental Resource Unit: Ōtaki, p 9.

Further results in the *Faecal Contamination of Shellfish on the Horowhenua coast* report (Newcombe *et.al* 2014), not only highlighted how bivalve shellfish such as toheroa/tohemanga, tuatua, and pipi are important kaimoana species for Māori, but also that their depletion in quantity and degradation in quality is of immense concern to them. Degradation can be caused by toxins (*e.g.* heavy metals) and / or biological (*e.g.* faecal bacteria) contamination, either of which can make kaimoana unfit for human consumption. Additionally as highlighted in that report,

Faecal contamination of kaimoana is of major concern to Māori both as a health issue – because of the presence of pathogens – and because contact of faecal material with food sources is culturally offensive. Sources of faecal contamination in the coastal marine environment include human sewerage / wastewater infrastructure, farmed animals, and wild animals such as possums and birds. Faecal contamination of coastal waters is higher after rainfall, when effluent deposited on the land during dry periods, is washed into rivers and the sea.

Local kaitiaki Rob Kuiti of Ngāti Kikopiri says the beaches near Waiwiri Stream were revered in recent memory as an abundant food resource that provided local Hapū with a plentiful supply of shellfish, including toheroa, but this is no longer the case today.

The inability to offer tuna (eels) and local shellfish from what was once an abundant resource is a grave loss, which we feel deeply every time we have visitors at our marae at Muhunoa.

Tipene Perawiti, also of Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Hikitunga and Ngāti Tukorehe, says it is alarming many locals continue to harvest shellfish from these beaches unaware of how contaminated the local waterways are.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Smith, H., Spinks, A. & Poutama, M., 2014, *HE TIROHANGA WHĀNUI: An Overview of Ecosystems undergoing Rehabilitation within Manaaki Taha Moana, Horowhenua Case Study*, Manaaki Taha Moana Research Project, Massey University: Palmerston North/Taiao Raukawa Environmental Resource Unit: Ōtaki, p 50.

Also sourced from press release on Monday 30 June 2014 at http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/news/article.cfm?mnarticle_uid=7BD22AF3-9C85-D485-666F-E7E3C0E388B0

3.14 Interview with Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal

On 1 June 2016 at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Moira Poutama and Aroha Spinks conducted their interview with Professor Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal. He is of Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga genealogical connections to the inquiry region. He spoke of the sacred spring high in the Tararua ranges called Pukemātāwai. He regarded it as a source of mauri and ‘the Breastmilk of Papatūānuku’ – a watershed that feeds the Waikawa, Ōtaki, Mangahao, Ōhau and Ruamahanga Rivers, which in turn became the boundaries of the different hapū in the area. His comments related to how health is connected to the waterways, where if they are clean, they then nourish the landscape and related peoples.

‘Lake Waiwiri [Papaitonga] has been abused over a period of time, where the eels are tiny and impoverished. The Ōhau River, like many others along the coast were artificially engineered, where council [local government] enabled these changes to happen.’

Modification stories like this one are repeated for all the hapū and iwi all along the coast in the inquiry region, where the degradation of ecosystems, health of whenua and related mana go hand in hand with the desecration of wāhi tapu or sacred spaces. Charles recalled the spring-fed lake named Rotokare or Ōrotokare that like others in its vicinity had been drained and turned into farm land. The Ngāti Kikopiri ancestor Te Ahukaramū had his whare next to this lake. There are other places in the region too where different whānau had their papakāinga. Charles also discussed the importance of groundwater to the entire ecosystem, known as ‘he wai manawa whenua’.

In his interview, he also raised the importance of the huia to our iwi/hapū. He shared the story of the killing of the last huia in the Horowhenua area. Sir Walter Buller established his estate and bird aviary in the Kikopiri takiwā by Lake Waiwiri (Papaitonga). What is not so well known are letters by Hēnare Roera (of Ngāti Huia) to the government to preserve and protect the huia.

Charles continued to highlight the ngahere and the importance of the atua Tāne Mahuta to Māori whakapapa where Tāne is a critical character and identity in the traditional Māori worldview.

Our people moved from being a sea based people (where Tangaroa was the preeminent atua) to being a forest based people where Tāne was/is

the key atua. Thus deforestation and the decline in waterways have led us to experience a ‘massive calamity’ in two decades.

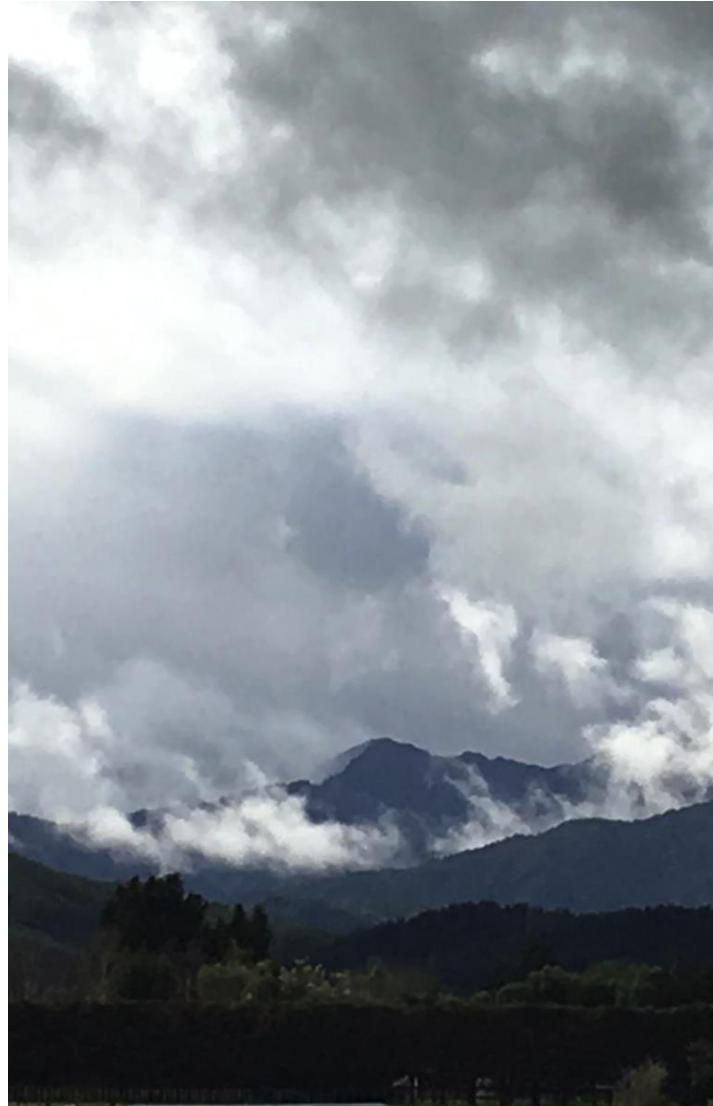
In Charles’s understanding, this affects the Māori worldview: ‘It’s the death of the gods. It’s the death of life itself.’ He began to offer more details:

Perhaps the place to start, [or] a place that really interests me is Pukemātāwai, which you may have come across in recent times. Pukemātāwai (being the puke obviously) but it’s a spring, a well spring of water that is right up the top in the Tararua ranges. I have heard it referred to informally in our family kōrero in the past as being the ‘puke’ for Ngāti Kikopiri. But it is actually shared with a lot of different hapū along the coastline because it is a classic watershed – it’s a classic peak upon a mountain range and it’s the source of significant rivers – the Waikawa, Ōtaki, Ōhau Rivers – I think the Mangahao gets up there or close to there too. But it’s the puke with a well spring of water that flows out into the landscape that creates the significant waterways along our entire landscape. I have long thought that because of the way the puke is up there with the water coming out and the major waterways, this makes our little hapū region an island because it is completely surrounded by water, [with] the Ōhau River on one side and partially, the Waiwiri on the other, but the way the waterways come down from the hills, they divide the landscape up into little motu [islands]. These little islands of land [are] all the way across the landscape... It is not surprising that these major waterways became the boundary points between our respective hapū. Obviously the Ōhau is shared by Ngāti Tukorehe and Ngāti Kikopiri, so that’s a place to start.

Of course the health of the environment is so critically connected with those waterways; if the water is good quality and it’s flowing clear and there is plenty of the water then, it feeds and nourishes all the landscape around it. If it’s getting messed up then the landscape – the whenua become unwell because it doesn’t have a good water supply.

I think of Pukemātāwai as this beautiful mauri-filled water [where] pristine water flows out – like the breast milk of Papatūānuku. This is the old whakaaro for our important puketapu or our important and sacred peaks of the mountains – they’re the breasts of Papatūānuku. The water that flows is the breast milk of Papatūānuku. That’s why our waterways are referred to as ‘he waiū nō Papatūānuku’ ... Not all waterways, but those that flow from those sacred peaks.

Figure 31: Mist rising from the Tararua Ranges



The two other big inland waterways in our area are Ōhau River and Lake Papaitonga or Lake /Waiwiri. These are places where our tūpuna lived. We had carved wharenuī right on the edge of what is now known as Lake Papaitonga. There were two carved wharenuī right on the water's edge and the Tūmaiteuru canoe landing area was by the Matāpounamu, down where the Kuiti whānau are now.

Lake Papaitonga/Waiwiri has been terribly abused for along long time ... it's been an unwell waterway for a long long time. The original course of the Waiwiri stream is different to where it is now as it was artificially moved. Some of our whānau may have been representatives in that. Where the sites of our whakamate or our eel weirs once were are all dried up now. They are not where they were in history. Where the stream goes now is not where our whakamate used to be. The stream has been pushed northwest but the original came a bit closer down by where Matāpounamu is. It came around that way and that's where the whakamate used to be. Each whānau had their own whakamate or pātuna, which is the other expression. So Waiwiri is quite a sad story in that respect and the water quality is very poor. The pollution in the lake

you can see it in the tuna itself. I haven't had tuna from Papaitonga for a long, long time but the tuna that I saw when I was younger were tiny and very impoverished. That's why there had been a claim filed on the health of Waiwiri/Papaitonga on the basis that the local government had allowed this situation to arise. This was one of the treasures [taonga] of the estate of the tangata whenua, very similar to Horowhenua in that local government had allowed this situation to arise through the sale of land and poor land management activities, it is an old story, a very familiar one.

... I didn't grow up in Waiwiri; I grew up in Wellington, and later on when I was 19 or 20 I started going to Te Wānanga o Raukawa and this is when I started connecting to Kikopiri. I can't claim to have grown there, but I spent a lot of time there over the years ... [I have] done a lot of stuff and seen a lot of change. The Ōhau River, of course, it changes too. This has been an issue with rivers for quite some time. The attempt to try and harness them and chain them in place, to flow in one direction in one place! Just a ridiculous thing that we think we want our rivers to only flow in the direction that pleases us, in nice straight lines. Like all of our rivers ... are braided and they all have huge amounts of kirikiri [gravel] in them so they move around, and then there is the extraction issue.

So the things that we have at Kikopiri and Muhunua are the same issues that all of our hapū, all away along the coastline share these issues of poorly managed waterways, polluted water, and desecration of wāhi tapu so the landscape and the inland waterways are not in great state at all. I'm not saying anything new or radical at all, we all know this. This is a no brainer.

Our tūpuna, Te Ahukaramū lived in a place called Ōrotokare, which is a lake that no longer [or barely] exists [today]. It's right at the end of Muhunua West Road when you go down Muhunua, past Kikopiri, past Muhunua kāinga, go up [further], and there's a little knoll called Kebble's knoll. Go over the knoll, and come back down the other side to the seaside to the flat, and you will see just to the right – there you can still see the outline of the lake. But the lake is no longer there. It has been drained and is now farmland. You can see that there was once a lake there. That's all Ōrotokare and that's the original kāinga of Te Ahukaramū when he first came south to this place, sometimes known also as Rotokare. That was his original home. The Tūianuku which is where the Kuiti whānau were at Papaitonga itself ... [A]t one point the land was sold on the seaside and [all] the families consolidated to Muhunua kāinga. The Tūianuku whānau lived more on the Papaitonga Waiwiri side and our mob, Te Roera Hūkiki, were more on the Muhunua kāinga. They had a house on the flat at a place called Calvary or Kawari, that's where Te Roera himself lived.

3.15 Memories of Manawatū awa with Ngāti Whakatere

Arapere Ropoama of Ngāti Whakatere (who is known by many as Winston) was born 21 Aug 1957. While he lives in Australia now as a young boy growing up in Shannon he recounts his times at home and in his beloved waterways of the Manawatū River region,

...on the marae [of] Whakawehi Ki Poutu – toku tupuna. It was fun when all the whanau came together on happy and sad occasions. We as young tamariki would go over to Manawatū awa with our older cousins or our Kuia – Nanny Lucy Whiti Rowe, Nanny Rosie, Aunty Omaki, Uncle Colman (Koroheke) Rauhihi, Aunty Manu and Anle Dave (Rewi) Hurunui, my mum Kuraarangi Ropoama and all the cousins swimming, jumping off the bridge, playing tag getting up the courage like our Hurunui cousins to swim across the other side and back! I left that for the older cousins until such time I achieved the crossing. [All of us] enjoying company of all the whanau.

Eels, trout, ducks, mullet, flounder, inanga, whitebait were plentiful any where along the Manawatu awa. When we were picking potatoes out at Kōputōroa, our dad Bob Ropoama would always make sure we always set our lines and sinkers when the whitebait were running. We used stockings to scoop the bait before during and after a day on the spud paddock. Same thing when we were picking spuds out at Ōpiki right beside Manawatū awa. [We'd] drop in lines sinkers among the trees – guaranteed eel on each line.

All the rivers and creeks that ran off Tararua ranges into Manawatū awa were all good for hīnaki, spear and gaff – [they] were the tools used. I have memories of Dad setting steel hinaki with chicken wire on the Makerua creek running into the Manawatū awa. When he went pull it out he found it bit hard, he had to go back to the pā for help. These are the names: Uncle Len Te Tomo, Uncle Colman Rauhihi, Uncle Dave Hurunui, Uncle Maunga Puti. They were big men and it took a lot to pull a steel hinaki out of the water. Was all worth it. Hīnaki was full! Smiles and laughter all around – job well done Dad and uncles!

Times when we used to go out catch flounders mullet and trout ... with Uncle Len Tetomo and Brian Batt. When it was duck shooting season Uncle Len Te Tomo, Brian Batt, Uncles Colman Rauhihi and Dave Hurunui would build maimais along the river shooting for hours.

Another time some Uncles and us young fullas would go out to the Ōpiki bridge on the Makerua stream, which runs into Manawatū awa following the digger that was cleaning the weeds. There were heaps of us – my brothers Thomas and Tuatete Ropoama, Richard Poaneki, Leo Wade, Roger Tutara, may have been some Hurunui bros. We were the bag carriers and put the eels in the bags. Tua was always the game one he would jump in do some spearing [to] give the old fullas a break. The

olds were Uncles Len Te Tomo, Dave Hurunui, Mona Tutara, Koroheke Rauhihi, Henry Wade, Wally Turner, our Dad. There may have been few I missed long time ago, but stil hav memory of those eeling moments.

Kaihinau Road, Kingston Road, Kara Road, Mangaore, Pretoria Road – there was a good little stream, narrow as I was out with cousins eeling for Poukai. There were quite a few of us. We split up, where cousins Robert Ketu, Mark Sprott and myself jumped across from old Buckley Golf Club and followed the stream between Aunty Urikore Kokika and Gilbert Timm’s farms. Robert had torch. Mark the gaff and bag, I the spear. Wasn't much light coming from torch. Robert had good eyes spotted big mother eel. ‘Here's one cus put your spear down here’. I couldn't see a thing. Robert saying ‘yeah it's there cus just put your spear down here’ so I got my spear down there. Robert says ‘when you spear it make sure you touch the bottom. POW! Strike! When we got it up, man she was big mother! Mark put her in the bag.

The creek at the bottom of Julyan Street runs through south end Shannon, goes past the sewage treatment plant into the Ōtauru River. Buckley Road and Potts Hill creek -are all good eeling streams and creeks, which all had connection to Manawatū awa. Some of these creeks we would follow behind digger, pick them up off the ground, bag them there.

The digger was out a Buckley Road cleaning the drains on Snow Richardson and Ashley Smith’s farms, making its way across to Main Road. There were only three of us following it for 3 days – my brother, Thomas Ropoama, myself and Uncle Tap McDonald – hard case! We got heaps. We followed the digger when it cleaned the creek at bottom of Julyan Street all the way along old Foxton Road to the Ōtauru. Man never seen so many eels, plenty plenty.

Spotlighting with spears and gaffs on a Sunday night with many of us cousins, in a big group. We would split up into groups of 5. Take a stream each and go for it. To many names. You know who you are if you reading this. We had some mean catches Sunday night spotlighting.

Whitebaiting was a favourite along Manawatū awa. Many stories to tell going out with Nanny Lucy Whiti-Rowe, Aunties Omaki Rauhihi and Aunty Manu Hurunui. Our mum Kuraarangi Ropoama and all the cousins. Was hard for us young kids keep still when whitebait were running. Used to get told off if we were playing too close to the nets. Used to hear from the olds ‘hey you kids get away from the nets go play down the other end away from nets’ Always we baited under the bridge. Later years baited on opposite side under the bridge from Poutu with cousin Jack Rauhihi. many times we would catch heaps of whitebait there would be many of us out there brothers Peter (Paeroa) Hirawani, Tom Ropoama sis Diane Hurunui cousin Pirimona Nepia uncle Buck And Aunty Eve Nikora Muffy and Lou Hubbard and all the kids. We would make camp under bridge in weekendswhen it got to crowded.

As the years rolled by, every whitebait season I would drive out looking for spot to bait. [On the] boat ramp on the Mangaore River mouth. Ol' Jack Young would be out there his spot marked. Borrow Robert Wiki's boat, row down stream found a nice spot (had my son Rangi, Andre and Ramonde Houston with me). They came out few times with me to catch some bait for their whanau. Found out how I could drive down, so went see Farmer Brown that was his surname, said it was ok. Dropped him some whitebait on good days. The boys came out until they got hōhā.

Cousin Jack Rauhihi, bro Tom Ropoama, sis Diane Hurunui, Lorraine Taituha, Joe Taputoro, Hohepa Taiaroa, cousin Stephen Puhipuhi, Brian Te Tetomo, Mike Roache – all came out with me a few times at the back of Brown's farm. Even set dutchman's net few times in his pond. Caught some big ones in there ae Brian Te Tomo. If I caught small eels in hīnaki from Karaa creek, I would drop them in the pond on Brown's farm. Old Mac Higgie would be baiting out there and Uncle Claude Ketu would be baiting in among the trees or on sandy beach. It was mean as spot anywhere along the Manawatū awa. Can remember one day Tom and I went out early morning, got few pound so we went to Levin for couple hours. Went back out uncle Claude Ketu was out there. His bucket was full! Missed a good run that day – awesome Unc. We caught many kilos of bait, many out there.

Snow Richardson's farm was next door, so went across there done some baiting. Man I would get some awesome catches anywhere along Snow's farm. I would take out Scotty Houston, Pirimona Nepia, James Houston when they wanted a feed of bait.

Scored a lil' motor for us. When we had Bob's boat so Tom, Joe Taputoro and my self ventured further down from Snow's farm found a nice beach, put in our nets. Who should turn up Kuta John Wilkinson been baiting there few years just him then the bait started running man it was awesome more than enough to do a deal with the 'kuda they were swimming between our legs, shoals and shoals of bait.'

We ventured further down Moutoa past shearing quarters by flood gates Tom and Cousin Dion Whiti would be fishing in the drain. The 2 Joes and I would boat it across the Kōputōroa side mean as beach along there mean as catches also this spot is well known for floundering spent many times up and down Manawatu awa between Poutu and Kōputōroa. There are not too many names I missed. When you read it you know who and when we were together. I left for Australia on 16/09/1997. Since then when I'm home for couple weeks, I would set dutchmans net in Kara stream – get a feed and take back to Sydney. Now, I can only dream of the good times on Manawatū awa.⁷¹

⁷¹ Material sourced from email communication between Moira Poutama, Te Meera Hyde and Arapere (Winston) Ropoama dated 13 May 2016. Subject: Re: My Memories Manwatu awa by Arapere Ropoama, who lives in Australia.

In picking up on where their cousin Arapere's written email account leaves off, Lani Ketu spoke about her experiences that spanned the 1970's right up until 2013. These are close recreational experiences in the Manawatū River that could support health, sustenance and celebrate close Māori whanau ties.

Lani Ketu: 'I grew up swimming in the river in Shannon and beside the Marae. Back then in the 70s-8's the river was healthy and clean. The water was crystal clear, where you could see the bottom clearly. I tell my children of this, and they don't believe me how clear the river used to be! They think it's a myth! Now, the water is murky, frothy and stinks! Fishing was a normal occurrence in our whānau. My father/brothers sourced a lot of our kai from the awa. Eels, mullet, kahawai, whitebait, trout... but this practice has depleted somewhat. I believe due to the pollution that has been allowed to be discharged into our River! For the past 20 plus years, the Manawatū River has never been the same... [not] as I knew it.'

Louana Turner: 'In the 1980s to 1990s, we used to swim at Macgregor's River and Hyde's River, the lighthouse and at times in the river by Poutu Marae by jumping off the bridge. It was freaky and we enjoyed it! We were invisible! Got us away from doing dishes and getting bossed around! Oh the good old days! Now... our kids well never experience what we had as kids, because of the pollution in our awa. Manawatu cuz! Those were the days alright. Our cousins would hookup with their mates from school at the rivers. Eels steering you in the face or biting your feet! You could see the bottom of the river! The rocks we used to throw... the cans... to the bottom of the awa and dive down to get them. They were our games. We had swimming races in the rapids. Camp out at night saying 'we staying at the cousins, not even! Lol! If we were up by the Hyde's we used to go to Auntie Anna's for a feed or Auntie Gloria's 'cos Lola was always with the cousins! Lol!'

'My old man Wally Turner used to take us up to the dams swimming, eeling... The things u could do [in] beautiful scenery. You could see the fish just looking into the dam. I think it was number 1 or 2 dam, but we always bumped into a lot of the whānau up there. Was awesome! Swimming by the power station waiting for them to open the gates... real mischief. We [were] on makeshift things like polystyrene or the [rubber inner tubes] of tyres floating down the river to see who could get the furthest! Man was it cool! Freshwater crawlies but you can't get those anymore. You can't get anything these days! My old man used to take kids out eeling in the river, the streams or even setting the hinaki – he always had his moko's with him Peter and Hauiti!'

Vinny Vinsen lived in Stafford St. 'We used to swim in the river behind Sid Kopua's house. When you were swimming you could see the eel looking at you from under the bank. We used to catch fresh water crawlies. Any explosions towards Mac Higgie's was Wally fishing... We used to accidently put the net across the mouth of the river and catch trout. One day we put the net across and it rained like hell and flooded

and we caught a big tree. It put up a fight, didn't it! ... This was in the 1960s and 70s. You could stand on the bank and see the bottom of the river. You could fish at night with a torch and see the eels easy. It was awesome.'

Rata McGregor: 'Also down by what was known as Hyde's River jumping off the bank but there were too many car wrecks in the water. We used to go under the water through the bonnet and come out the boot, and the eels you always saw them before you even got in the water. Last time I swam in that river was when we stayed at Grand St jumping off the bridge. Remember getting fresh water mussels in the Manawatū by the bridge you had to cook them first... you tried them raw – you never did it again yuck a taste you never forgot. Swimming behind the Wade's jumping off the bank go further up before the dairy company. Yes cousin, Robert used to walk across the river back in days but not now.'

Jason Takarua: 'We used to go white bait fishing with Winston and Widgy, camping on the river and swimming.'

Carl Rawiri Houston: 'He kaupapa kōrero tēnei e pā ana ki te awa me kii mai te kahui maunga ki Tangaroa – ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au. Tihei mauri ora!!! Awesome kaupapa whānau. Yep, I jump on this bandwagon. Heaps of good memories from the Manawatū awa. Like the previous kōrero, the awa was beautiful, clear and rich [with] its natural resources. I grew up on the awa between 12–17 years, even though we would sneak over there in our younger years. I personally did not experience the essence and power of the awa until my teens. I remember games we would play such as tag or hide and seek. We would dive under the water hold our breath and pull ourselves along the bottom hiding from whoever was in... sometimes under the water for up to 2 minutes. Also thinking back now the first time you would swim across the river. [There were] a lot of emotions running through your mind... fear, uncertainty, hope, faith, excitement and [you] didn't want to feel like a failure in front of your cuzzies, to the point when you reached the other bank – a sense of achievement and pride! I wonder if our tūpuna had that same challenge laid in front of them when they were young? Lol. Being accepted into the Whakatere cool clique!'

'A couple not so memorable moments however. I think it was the Peni's polystyrene canoe, which was well crafted. We found it on the awa and decided to do bombs and dive of it. I remember it floating above where the other river connects! Dumb boy me [tries] to see if I could touch the bottom... realising I was running out of breath and I was not even close to touching [the surface] I started to make my way to the surface, as I started losing face realising I was not going to make it to the top. I blew out and just making it with the canoe approxiamtely half a metre away from me. Looking back if I had come up under the waka. Kaput not Kraut!'

'We did a fundraising run for our softball team. On our way back... me being the blowass that I am, decided to be the first to jump in only to

realise that I had not jumped our far enough and landed in the mud up to my waist (ironically the beginning of my back probs.) Looked up to the other crew still standing on the bridge... ‘Ummm don’t jump in here you might want to go a little further to the left.’ Finally last thing... was talking to Uncle Robert saying that while in the UK I used to laugh and mock the English about the state of their awa telling them stories of our upbringing in both rivers, I could tell they were envious. Used to point to my tamoko and say this is how significant it is to me, my brothers and our people and this the taniwha/guardians who protect this awa Papangaio and Peketahi. Let’s do this whānau! Mauriora!!!’

Trina Lola McGregor: ‘Last time I went and saw kids swimming in the river at the end of Grand Street, was in 1998. I just had just Papangaio – 6 weeks old. The kids were swimming then but river had changed. Since we were kids swimming ’n camping down there, wasn’t as clean as we had it in the 80s. But the kids were swimming in the ‘started-going, murky waters’... Sad thing, never went back again.’

More members of the Ngāti Whakaterere whānau from the Shannon region speak out about their close relationships with the Manawatū River, associated streams, waterways and resources over many generations.⁷² Their voices again speak volumes to the land use effects on the health of waterbodies whereby today, noone can safely relate to, recreate in, or engage with their waterways, anymore.

Kaipatukararehe Pilkz (Matthew Pilkington): ‘In the early 2000’s we drifted from Ōpiki to the flood gates on a raft with Uncle Rob. Schools of mullet and heaps of trout around. We went past the old pou boundary markers between the iwi (guessing Rangitāne and Raukawa). I probably wouldn’t do that trip again because of the pollution in summer with the low river levels. You are just about guaranteed to get sick. The Shannon River I have seen all sorts of rubbish in there, car wrecks, dead animals, a lot of farmer rubbish, bobby calves, fertilliser bags, even a 303 rifle! But sadly some rubbish from our Shannon whānau too. Household rubbish in bags that we pulled out, found whose they were and chucked it on their lawn! Won’t name and shame on here, but sadly that wasn’t the last time either. Despite that, the Shannon river is actually not in bad health because of the turbines. It ‘cleans’ the river out... that is, washes it all down to the Manawatū so not really cleaning just shifting. We used to snorkel as kids and teenagers from Mangaore to the the mouth of the Shannon river. The closer to Mangahao you got the cleaner the river, however once you get past the Shannon sewage pond where the run off from there meets the river – one word YUCK! The river turns to shit literally, visibility underwater goes to about half a metre. The water is green and yuck it stinks. The fish are sluggish! I also once found a trout with a large growth on its head, just above its eye like a giant cyst. It was

⁷² Lani Ketu and Te Meera Hyde provided the Research Team with permission and the following quotes by Ngāti Whakaterere whānau to be posted on their hapū Facebook page.

disgusting and I can't prove it, but I've got a feeling it's to do with the pollution.'

Siddy Nikora: 'We did some white baiting at the Manawatū 1 yr (the B's) it was a bonding session. We had heaps a Kai, plenty of berries and I think it was 8 nets! Heaps of us went down. Was down there for about 8hrs. And we caught 8 wait... bait. Lol.'

Sarai Pilkington: 'We used to go swimming in at the gravel. So you can't drift down to the bridge... stand on dead blown up sheep and cows that pop and stink lol, and cut your legs on barb wire. Jesse Ketu cut your legs on tin sheets. [We ran] to Uncle Roberts for a Tutai! Good times lol and have clay facials!'

Hannah Mae: 'I remember we went canoeing somewhere behind Poutu with the Shannon youth 2000, on one of our noho the marae, was so cool! Not too sure where but was with Uncle Rob, etc. Also remember jamming the river every day in summer. Just hanging out, swimming 'til it went dark. I wasn't confident at drifting so as soon as river went up, I was out proud of our awa. Sad to see it so polluted now. I now warn my children not to ever go swimming down there due to pollution. Sad as they won't ever enjoy the freedom of floating in our awa, wasting the summer days away...'

Figure 32: Mangaore Stream today with warning signs



3.16 Some Muaūpoko perspective

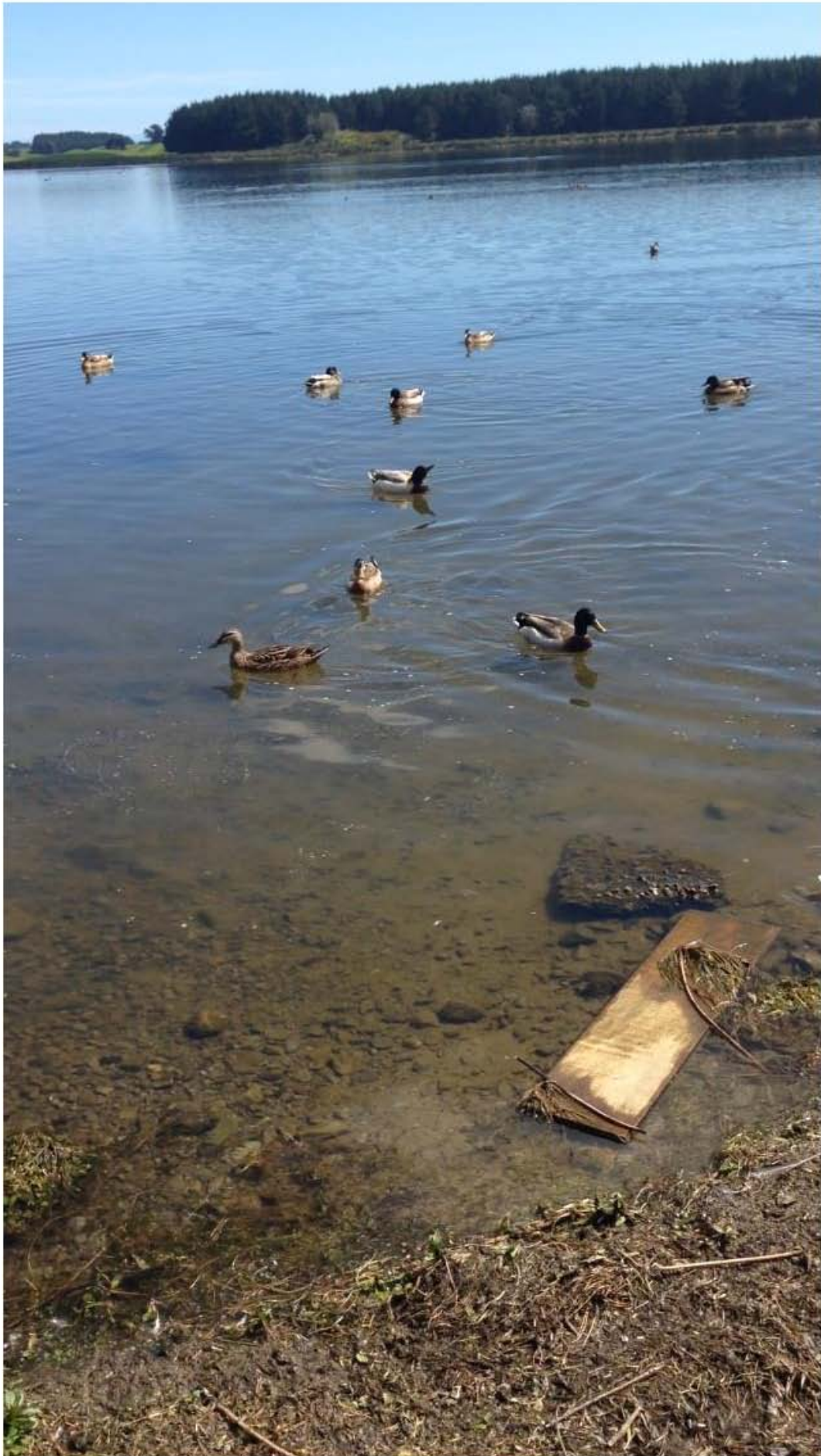
Phil Taueki is a longstanding advocate and activist against environmental degradation. He offers a Muaūpoko perspective when interviewed by Moira Poutama at the Taueki whānau homestead in June 2016. More reflections and concerns from Phil are voiced in other sections of this report in relation to different themes too. To begin with, he notes:

Phil: ‘I was born in Levin 1959, I’m 57... My father was Hohepa Te Pae Taueki. My mum was Maureen May Taueki. Dad’s father was Te Kekeke Taueki, his Dad was Hapeta Taueki and his Dad was Ihaia Taueki; his Dad was Taueki; his Dad was Tapawae, and his Dad was Potangotango.’

‘We were disconnected from our culture so to speak growing up as kids. Didn’t learn the language or much about our own history. Dad just was too busy I think. But we were often going out to get kaimoana. If we start from what’s known as the Pātiki Stream now, which is on the north eastern side of Lake Horowhenua just below what has historically known as the Pā o Potangotango that is the ancestor that I mentioned. [It] would have been 1835 and that site still exists for us. Now, below that hill at the northeast end of the lake is the Pātiki Stream and we didn’t even know that’s what it was. We lived up in Kawiu Road about a kilometre back from the lake and the Pātiki Stream ran straight into Lake Horowhenua. So, as kids we were regularly assigned a job to go and get the puha and watercress ‘cause our meals in those days wasn’t McDonalds and KFC – we had boilups! We had roasts and stuff on the weekend. The land right next to the house was leased to the market gardener so we had all the veges we needed and to cap it off, we had a bountiful supply of fresh clean puha and watercress. Us boys used to have to go down and get it so probably every couple of nights we’d go down there and we’d jump in the stream, and quite often it was quite dangerous. We couldn’t swim or anything. I remember I almost drowned a couple of times but that’s just the way you were in those days – you didn’t worry about that kind of thing.’

‘In that stream was like having just a constant supply of beautiful fresh clean puha and watercress and then it was complemented by what we could get from the Chinese market gardens and then on some of the land the mushrooms were plentiful too. So we were blessed to have that.’

Figure 33: Lake Horowhenua



Peter Heremaia is another Muaūpoko member who spoke with Moira Poutama at the Taueki Whānau Homestead earlier in June 2016. He provides a Muaūpoko perspective of local waterways and their degradation along with associated species. His recollections of significant inland waterways include the Arawhata Stream, the Waiwiri Stream, Lake Horowhenua, and other local puna or springs.

Peter: ‘My recollection[s] goes back 50–60 years to when I was a youngster being brought up by the lake (Horowhenua). Food was in abundance in the lake. When you went fishing in the lake it was cold, clear freshwater. There was heaps of carp, eels, kākahi. It was just like with our tūpuna, when they fish they had their weir on the stream [and] they fished the whitebait that came up and all of that. At certain times they would only fish one side of the creek. They would give whatever came up, an opportunity to go up the other side and into the lake. They were very conscious about the future of the kaimoana that they went out of their way to take enough to survive but let the kaimoana survive for future use. When I was a youngster we use to pack up on a Friday night and go out to the beach and you knew that you could stay there for two days and have kaimoana. My Uncle used to row out and set a line out to sea. You had toheroa, pipi, you do a haul and you had flounders, you had kahawai, you had mullet and it was just a matter of taking bread butter and maybe onion and dripping out there. I mean you just throw an ordinary roofing iron over the fire and you cook your pipi and toheroa on that. I mean you would basically spend the weekend there, and when you came home you had kaimoana to last you for the week.’

‘Then I had a bit of a break. I came back here in 1994 and the dramatic change in the (Lake) Horowhenua was amazing to me, because when I came back how can I put it. When I left here I was under the impression that Section 18 of the ROLD (Reserves and Other Lands Disposal) Act, that protected our lake. The lake trustees in those days in my mind was to protect Section 18 of the ROLD Act which was ‘To protect Muaūpoko right to fish on that lake and the stream and keep the kaimoana there.’ Then over a period of forty years you had government departments. First off, they changed the Hōkio Stream for the sake of drying up the wetlands for the early settlers. That started the [degradation] of our lake system. They cut off all the waterways. Then it became a matter of the township being built and that was virtually a blockage of the fresh water coming off the Tararua ranges into our lake. I’m afraid after sixty years of the infrastructure that’s under this township, which was clay pipes in the old days. Well between the shifting sand and erosion my question to the council today is: ‘Have they replaced every pipe, sewerage pipe, storm water pipe, drainpipe that existed sixty years ago under this township’ because in my mind the pure water coming from the Tararua’s then coming from the township to the lake somehow, it is polluted. And what is the ongoing effects of all these storm waters being put into our lake?’

‘Who in their right mind would put a treatment sewerage plant near a lake? But it’s been there for about forty years. It’s never, in my mind, to my knowledge – no effort has been made to take the effluent from the lake. There’s three or four overflows into the lake, there’s been no effort whatsoever to take that effluent out of the lake, there’s been no effort whatsoever to advise the farmers to stop putting stuff into the stream or the market gardeners. There’s been no effort at all to help that lake and yet I was brought up with the knowledge that, that lake is a spiritual lake to Muaūpoko. That lake is sick.’

3.17 A Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai perspective

In interviewing members of Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai at Waikanae, Mahina-arangi Baker and Moira Poutama spoke with Rawhiti Higgot, William Carter, Les Mullens, Tutere Parata, Andre Baker and Kristie Parata (of Kaitangata too) at Whakarongotai Marae in Waikanae. Their voices are present throughout this report according to different themes.

This group of interrelated whānau members talked of significant inland waterways that included: Whareroa, Wharemaukū, Waimeha (Waimea), Kōwhai, Mangaone (Te Horo), Waikanae, tributaries of Waikanae (Mangakōtuketuku or ‘Mangatook’, Muaūpoko), Mazengarb Channel (referred to by engineers as Black Drain); the third tributary that comes from old Ōtaihanga tip site and adjacent to the sand quarry), Maungakōtuketuku (not to be confused with Mangakōtuketuku), Reikorangi, Ngāti Awa, Kapapakanui, Kākāriki (that runs from Hēmi Mātenga reserve and goes underground); Ngārara swamp; Ngārara/Kākāriki/Smithfield drain (lower Ngārara Black drain) that drained from Field’s lake/then became Moss Smith’s Lake/Tōtara Lagoon; Kawakahia wetland; Kūkūtauaki (where Oliver Crescent is); Paetawa; Waimanu Lagoon; Te Kārewarewa; Weggery’s lake; Rangiora; Waipunahau’s land (two streams on there); Te Au (off peak at Hēmi Mātenga); Ratanui Stream (near Ōtaihanga); Ratanui wetland; Kawakahia Lagoon; Hadfield Road creeks that flow into Kōwhai on eastern side of State Highway One; Kaitawa reserve wetlands (behind statue of Mary); Tikotu Stream next to Te Uruhi pā; Paraparaumu wetlands on the south western end of the runway; Kebbel Farm’s puna (turf farm); Greenaway Road puna; Nīkau Valley streams; Emerald Glenn lakes and streams; Waikanae Scientific Reserve (estuary); Kaitoenga (Oxbow); Te Whare o te Kopete lake (by Southwards Museum); Ngāwhakangutu (north around Peka Peka); the puna in Takamore precinct named after Te Rongomai the comet near the Waikanae awa (it has a fence around it); and the puna at Tukurākau.

Tutere Parata, Rawhiti Higgot and William Carter spoke at length in their overview about the customary use of freshwater resources in their Waikanae rohe.

My father had a smoke house and he used to pāwhera eels as well for the marae. So eeling was on top of the agenda quite often. Mainly out of the Waikanae, mainly out of the mouth. We also used to do rotten corn. That was common, he used to put them in sugar bags because the water was nice and clear, nice running water.

Tutere also knew of the importance of customary practices to support families.

My father was an avid eel catcher and with the market gardens we never starved, but it was part of living in those times. We never had a lot of money, you know family benefit day we were lucky to get an icecream. In those days you could go to the shop and everything was on the book until family benefit day, and that's how it was ... But those times were pretty tough for Māori in general, the 50s, when I was a kid. It must've been even harder in the 30s. That's what I mean about living off the land ... you never got paid the same as others, so because [my father] had a big family he had to feed them. Where he was working he questioned his pay one day because his colleague that worked alongside him was getting more money. And his boss said, 'well you Māori can live off the land, that's why you don't get as much as your colleague here.' That's something I'll never forget being told that. So I guess that's where it started, he had to feed his family and that's the way it ways.

Rawhiti Higgot recalled the customary use of eels and other resources;

'I too used to eel down the (Waikanae) river with my uncle and we would go over to the Ellison's place where they lived, and they had harakeke there ... He would dig under the harakeke to get long worms and that's where we used to get the bait for eeling. The flax would go through the worm and then it would go into the river. We also used to eel down at the Waimeha Stream where the Expressway is now, and at the same time we would also get watercress. Even going up to the streams off Ngārara Road you used to get sole. And as I got older, my kids started to grow up I used to take them down eeling and my son and his mates used to put a hinaki down. Just to get enough for a feed.'

Figure 34: The new expressway along with new wetlands being re-established just out of Waikanae towards Pekapeka



Rawhiti shared the Māori worldview of water to the research team, as he mused with the following:

‘I think ownership is a Pākehā term. When you look at Article Two, it promotes the undisturbed possession of our property and water is one of them. The Māori approach is one that requires respect, for spiritual reasons, of that property. That for us is not that word ownership but its ‘possession of’. And I think we have to be careful about using the word ownership for possession. When the British people came here to New Zealand, they came from a society where they had cattle and sheep and theirs was an agricultural focus on land. But water to them was merely ancillary to the land. Whereas Māori came from a completely different tradition. Māori were focused on water, which was their number one priority. Or better put, the land is surrounded by our water. Putting water at the top, rather than used as just part of our land. Water was the most precious thing to us.’

Figure 35: Waimanu Lagoons in Waikanae



William Carter shared the understanding of the importance of water.

I think you've got to go right back to the state that existed in the 1820s. You could paddle a waka from Paekākāriki all the way to Ōtaki. As the forests were cleared, people looked for cultivations and you get drains, and gradually you get subdivisions, and those drains are what we inherit 100 years later as 'oh well that's a man-made channel'. Well the whole place was water. It doesn't matter if the water is in the stream or underground, it's all part of the rohe and we want it dealt with in that way. It's not just confined to the water running down the channel.

These lengthy but undeniably persuasive voices converge to emphasise Crown actions and state-sanctioned agricultural expansion as critical impacts upon customary use, species abundance and the crisis of these concerns today. Such a resonating litany of voices chronicle successive and destructive actions as a methodical dismantling of Māori values, cultural context, use rights, customary use protocols and iwi/hapū relationships to waterways. This is disgraceful.

In closing, Wayne Kirona refers back to his father, his relationships with species abundance, but also the attitude of ignorant others, where there is an ongoing whanau hurt that persists today.

In terms of some of the impacts that I've ever heard about or seen I guess, a good example would be our toheroa or tohemanga. In my time obviously that was legislated and you could not go and get it. I remember sometimes actually going out when there was an open day. Other than that we had permits where we could go and get them. However, Dad talked about as a child going out to Waitarere Beach up to the Manawatū River. He said as a child when he got to the bend, he would start digging. He said you didn't have to walk anywhere you just dug and you got one and the next one was just beside it, and they were packed that thick that you couldn't get your hands in... so you just stayed where you were and dug and there [were ones] jammed in, side by side by side. You see there was so much of it. They just filled up a sack or a chaff sack or whatever they needed, and threw it on a sled and took it back home. Now, has anyone in our day ever seen it like that? It's only been described, I have never seen it like that in my lifetime, ever. So that's from when Dad was a child in the 1930s' to now, where they were just thick.

One of the things he used to talk about that hurt him was, I don't know how he heard it but he said that the Pākehā saying 'Look at those dirty Māori digging those things in that sand.' And it must of hurt him, because he use[d] to mention it. Why? I don't know but obviously they weren't those dirty things after all aye, because there are none left now, or next to none. The tuna heke that he would talk about too was, the tuna came so thick and so fast you couldn't stop them, nothing you could do, you certainly wouldn't put a hīnaki in, because it just couldn't cope.

This chapter on customary use, points to the centrality of waterways to claimants as a most precious resource, an environmental first priority in their everyday lives. This chapter clearly indicates the extent of what has been taken from informants and what, their hopes and plans for what should be restored. So many of these voices resonate on the former pristine quality of the waterways and wider environment, along with the abundance of kai and resources – all of which were key sources of mana and their iwi and hapū identity.

However, the voices are strident in their disgust, anger, mamae or pain, pervading sadness felt and expressed over the destruction of the wide range of once revered waterbodies, the subsequent decline in kai sources, access to and engagement with their waterways. In the next chapter, these points are substantially developed.

Figure 36: Sign at Waikawa although it is ignored many times



CHAPTER 4: IMPACTS OF COLONISATION

Colonisation has affected a devastating and wholesale transformation of customary use; it has severely compromised or prevented customary use – and subsequently affected a devastating pain on claimants throughout the Porirau ki Manawatū inquiry district.

Change in land ownership in much of the district away from Māori has meant a corresponding change in how water is valued. Not as a tūpuna/taonga value but as a commodity for developing land for farming, settlement, market gardening, and other industry – and as a drain for farming waste. Thus much land was subsequently cleared of native forest, and where wetlands were drained to create land for farming and market gardening. Towns and associated infrastructure severely reduced waterways and their health through creating multiple sources of pollution. Similarly, access to waterways on such lands became problematic.

In this chapter, the key points that these voices round up are as follows:

- Farming has intensified in the district over the last 30–40 years.
- Drawing from customary uses discussed in the previous chapter, all have been reduced, compromised or removed by pollution and/or access issues:
- Mahinga kai – fisheries, kai moana, birds, watercress, pūhā
- Practice of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga
- Kai storage
- Rongoa
- Harakeke and other precious resources like dyes for clothing, piupiu
- Physical health – none or less availability of healthy kai, and risk of contaminated kai
- Spiritual health and wellbeing and safety practices
- Waterways and transport
- Waterways and recreation – pervading sadness that kids of today won't have the same fun experiences and learning
- Waterways and independence – living off the land and water, no longer able to do so, so moving to live elsewhere where there was (more) paid work – away from living communally, creating a further limiting/severing of use and transmission of te reo Māori and tikanga.

- Waterways and mātauranga and inability to pass on practice-based knowledges – and also a subsequent decline in te reo Māori and tikanga as a result of learning opportunities being limited or curtailed.

The voices in this chapter navigate these complexities of past and current situations for tangata whenua in the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry. They bemoan the polluted state of inland waterways due to the legacies and impacts of colonisation. This report documents the effects of how fragmented ecological systems with a focus on inland waterways have affected the collective Māori cultural condition. The research team pays tribute to the following voices from key representatives: Whakarangi Winita and Mereana Selby (as interviewed by research team Gary Hook, Aroha Spinks, Lynne Raumati and Moira Poutama); Simon Austin, Pat Seymour on behalf of Lake Koputara Trustees; Michael Cribb; Lorraine Searancke; Tasha McMeekin; Raumati Royal; Claudine Thompson; Hara Willimas; Wehi-o-te-rangi Royal; Caleb Royal; Te Waari Carkeek; Rob Warrington; Albert Gardiner; Arapere Ropoama; Iani Ketu; Louana Turner, Vinny Vinsen; Rata McGregor; Carl Rawiri Houston, Trina Lola McGregor, Kaipatukararehe Pilkington; Siddy Nikora; Sarai Pilkington and Hannah Mae.

Iwi/hapū representatives have often become dislocated from cultural significance within whenua or lands for a ‘range of complex legacies that remain from inter-generational and continuing control of colonial regimes, alienation of lands, reinterpreted histories or other disturbances when ancestral landscapes are appropriated away’ from Māori or tangata whenua.⁷³ For this report, it is the dramatic changes exacted by pastoralism, agriculture or intensive land use over generations, which shape the challenging realities facing contemporary Māori today.

To begin, this chapter highlights displacement and language loss, due to environmental degradation and impacts of colonisation that forced peoples from their homes. Moira Poutama, Gary Hook, Aroha Spinks and Lynne Raumati undertook an interview at Te Wānanga o Raukawa with Whatarangi Winiata (an esteemed kaumātua and Māori educator) and Mereana Selby (a current CEO of Te Wānanga o Raukawa) – both from Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Pareraukawa – to discuss the decline in use of Te Reo as directly related to inland waterways or environmental degradation and loss of

⁷³ Content sourced from Huhana Smith, *Hei Whenua Ora: Hapū and iwi approaches for reinstating valued ecosystems within cultural landscape*, and also the co-authored pending chapter with Professor Penny Allen for the ‘He Whakawhiti Kōrero’, a Victoria University Press publication on the legacy of Jonathan Mane Wheoki.

associated cultural use. This proposed new theme aligns with other thematic impacts of colonisation, pollution, loss of management and control, loss of ownership and loss of species (eels, kōkopu, pipi, toheroa, kākahi, kōura).

4.1 Separating people from their papakāinga and loss of Te Reo Māori

Mereana spoke of her whānau experiences at Ngātokowaru spanning the last 120 years. The Winiata whānau have witnessed a major decline in the resources due to state sanctioned pollution of the Hōkio Stream flowing from Lake Horowhenua for sewerage purposes for development of Levin, which in turn resulted in the loss of their papakāinga. Whatarangi's grandparents had to go find jobs because they could no longer live off the land and sustain the whānau. Mereana felt strongly that there was a direct correlation between the decline in the environment and the dismantling of te reo Māori and holistic cultural context. She provided a number of whānau examples. Firstly, her great grandmother was a fluent Māori speaker who communicated most of the time in te reo Māori. She married a Pākehā man where their daughter was raised to speak both English and Māori. Then in 1920, that daughter (Mereana's mother) was raised only speaking English. This carried on with Mereana, also raised speaking English but she enrolled her children in kōhanga reo and raised them immersed in te reo Māori. Mereana spoke about the collective language revival in Ōtaki and the Māori Education Institutes.

Mereana: 'The [Hōkio] stream was regarded as the fridge, is my understanding of how I've heard it was described. Eels, fish. Down to the beach pipi's and toheroa. Also the place of recreation. Swimming holes, certain places for hīnaki etc.' An example, the George Hoe swimming hole.

'The connection with the stream was extremely strong. We all grew up knowing you had to really respect water. You had to really respect the power of water. The healing power... but also the destructive power.'

'There was a time the stream was pristine. So the stream provided all sorts of services, functions, for the extended family. Drinkable in my mother's time. Not when I was a child.'

Figure 37: Hōkio Stream today next to Ngātokowaru Marae



This interview with Whatarangi and Mereana relates to aspects of ‘customary Māori society that valued knowledge as generated through integrated ways of knowing. A notion of bio-cultural diversity’⁷⁴ in landscape recognises inter-linkages between linguistic, cultural and biological diversity.

Mereana: ‘If you look over the last 120 to 130 years within our own hapū of Pareraukawa it is as plain as day to me that the decline in the environment largely impacted upon by the water of Pareraukawa. The decline in the water quality of the Hōkio stream from Lake Horowhenua [deprived our people] of the ability to live as a papakāinga [or] as a community who can live off the land. All [this was] compromised in the early 1900s [whereby] dispersal occurred and [our] people had to leave and go and find work. That was my grandparent’s experience because the land could no longer sustain them ... Uncle Whatarangi’s family was the last to live ... in a house by the marae, which was once part of the community, [the] papakāinga.’

⁷⁴ Extract sourced from Smith, ‘Hei Whenua Ora: Hapū and iwi approaches for reinstating valued ecosystems within cultural landscape’; and Tove Skutnabb, *Linguistic Genocide in Education – or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., Mahwah, New Jersey, 2000, p. 65.

In former times around Hōkio, iwi/hapū would have embraced an integrated bio-cultural system as a means of maintaining the mana or authority of peoples to place and enhancing the quality of life within healthy, sustained environments. Bio-cultural knowledge has been apparent throughout human history, especially amongst indigenous, minority, and local societies who maintained close material and spiritual ties with environments. Over generations different indigenous communities around the world accumulated wisdom about their environments and its functions, management, and sustainable use.⁷⁵

As Mereana asserts:

It is very obvious to me that there is a direct correlation between decline and environmental quality; the ability for our people to sustain for themselves and their families, and the dismantling of language and culture. The two possibly ran parallel side by side... to the point where the stream was no longer able to provide any food, which was probably around about the time that Uncle Whatarangi's family finally left Ngātokowaru. By then too the language had also disappeared from that generation and subsequent generations – no more language. I suspect that there is a very close correlation with the loss of language directly related to the ability for our people to live in traditional communities of extended families on our own land and in a way that we are able to provide food to sustain families in the community.

If I look at my own line of Ngāti Pareraukawa to my great grandmother and then my great great grandmother, I understand that my great grandmother spoke Māori as her first language and possibly didn't speak much English at all. [She] managed to communicate with her Pākehā husband in some way, because they produced children but [I] can't find anything much that says that she had ability to speak English. Her daughter Hapai could speak English but definitely her first language was Māori. Then my grandmother's first language was Māori. She was born in the late 1890s and so was my grandfather – his first language was Māori but by the time 1920 came, [when] my mother was born, they raised my mother speaking English and the subsequent generations followed that pattern. I think that is one example or one family's example that you can see the timeline of increasing impact of the Pākehā settlement and [their] influence on the land, and the direct correlation [with] dismantling... the hapū structure of the extended family, a, whole papakāinga existence and all of the things related to that: language, culture and identity, and that it happened quite quickly.

⁷⁵ Derived from Terralingua, a non-profit, international organisation founded in 1996 by a group of professionals working in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, biodiversity conservation, and human rights who share a fundamental belief that the challenge of protecting, maintaining, and restoring the diversity of life on earth is the challenge of supporting and promoting diversity in nature and culture. URL <http://www.terralingua.org>; Skutnabb, p. 87.

I don't know too much about the environment but it [is] fairly clear from an observer's point of view (if you look at our experience) ... that that experience [of language decline] is fairly typical for most families of Ngāti Raukawa with a few exceptions such as the Kereama's. They might [have been one whānau who has retained their language and culture... The loss of the language and...encouragement for everyone to be learning English, why, why would they be doing that? It's because there was no perceived survivability in staying with our own language and culture, which had lost its ability to sustain us as a people and be equal for us to survive. There must have been a strong fear among our people.

4.1.1 Journey towards language retention

Mereana continues with the significance of her whanau journeys to te reo Māori:

My husband and I came back to Ōtaki to be by grandparents and extended whānau. It was early Kōhanga days [and] [w]e put our kids into Kōhanga. We realised later actually that we enrolled our families[,] we learned too. You couldn't just drop kids off and bake a cake now and then ...

In Ōtaki we have this interesting and dynamic bubble [in .language revitalisation, use and retention]. I am not aware of it being replicated anywhere else in New Zealand or the world. It is possibly one block here in Ōtaki... [with] the Kōhanga reo, Kura and Wānanga making an impact[,] which over 40 years [is] slowly building and growing [a] collective now. A critical mass [of language use] is being generated.

I think we are now getting families with two or three generations of Māori speakers in a family.... A bubble of language, culture, normality... has been generated... There is this ground swell with the language becoming more solid each day [and] there is an expectation by Māori children in Ōtaki that Māori adults can speak Māori! In 2013, we had a national census. We have found that in Ōtaki, 50% of Māori can speak Māori and that is against the national level of 21%. The national level is on the decline and in Ōtaki the level is on the rise. There are 2,000 Māori in Ōtaki and 1,000 of them can speak Māori!

[Today] my kids see the world from Māori eyes, that lens. It didn't come from us, it came from their Kōhanga experience. An example my daughter told me 'Shhh, Mum your yelling is disturbing the Ruru (owls)' and another child one day in Wellington city saw a McDonalds wrapper on the ground and said 'Ka aroha Papatūānuku'. They had that kind of relationship with tua and the environment. In the tangata whenua space, the point of difference is... the connection with culture and the environment.

Therefore, Mereana's children have been raised with te reo and the exercise of

kaitiakitanga. It arises from the Māori worldview and is expressed through everyday environmental activities from the most sacred or tapu aspects of Māori spirituality, to simple acknowledgement of codes of behaviour associated with manaaki, tuku and utu – respect, reciprocity and obligation to the natural world.

I feel my kids have been terribly lucky not just because of the [Māori] brand in education, but because of the way they see the world and the connection with the environment, [which] they take for granted. I don't have [that]. I try to, but it is not naturally in me. I will always be grateful. That was a winner for me.

4.1.2 The recollections of Whatarangi Winiata of Lake Horowhenua and Hōkio Stream

Both Whatarangi and Mereana noted the respect their elders had for Muaūpoko by attending their tangihanga. Whatarangi mentioned that with the current Lake Horowhenua Restoration Project, there is the 'potential to strengthen the relationship' between Pareraukawa and Muaūpoko.

However, Whatarangi recalls the serious, ill-effects of the Horowhenua District Council's decision to empty Levin's sewerage into Lake Horowhenua and the detriment these actions had on the Hōkio Stream – an the outlet that ran right past their papakāinga to sea. He recollected species within the Hōkio Stream, whilst Mereana recalled the Hōkio Stream as a place of recreation – a swimming hole, 'a time [when it] it was pristine' or even drinkable in her mother's time. Whatarangi recalled local wetlands and groundwaters that were affected by drainage and water abstraction, the damming of waterways and farm run off. He spoke of Muaūpoko and although Ngāti Raukawa/Pareraukawa once had ownership after it was taken through the Māori Land Court, whereby Lake Horowhenua is now owned by Muaūpoko.

Whatarangi: 'We once had control of the lake but now it belongs to Muaūpoko. We didn't relinquish it but was taken in the 1870s after a court decision. There was a lot of arguments at the time. Raukawa came down and Ngāti Toa. They had their squabbles and Muaūpoko were damaged by it, but they retained enough occupation there so that when the Crown got into the act of conducting court cases over the lake in that area, there was enough in that for them to conclude that is was Muaūpoko territory. We finished up with very little. There's a bit of land ... where our cemetery is and a bit of land out there at Ngātokowaru, but a pretty small amount. Much smaller land than Te Whatanui occupied. Te Whatanui was protective of Muaūpoko and I think the absence of Te Whatanui there would have encouraged Muaūpoko. That's the way it was but we have survived.'

Mereana: I think about what the Māori Land Court said about ownership of the lake itself – it is still the life source for the Hōkio Stream and what happens to the lake can't be separated from what's impacting on, or what's happening to our stream... [If] the lake gets cleaned up we're on a track to recovering the stream for one and the same thing.'

'I also think it represents a really strong relationship... we have with Muaūpoko and once again, the restoration of the lake. I think it has the potential to really improve and strengthen the relationship with the other iwi... in our space. I think that is an important thing... that we understand that, that was once the domain of Muaūpoko prior to the arrival of our tūpuna and in order to have quality relationships going forward. Then the way that we are interacting with Muaūpoko is essential to that. I really support what they are doing to restore Lake Horowhenua.'

Whatarangi: '... Muaūpoko have been vested with an authority to oversee the lake. The lake was (historically) very active for bathing and collecting kai. I don't feel uncomfortable about going into the lake.'

Mereana: 'I think that...mutual respect relationship...was definitely there a few generations ago. We grew up understanding that our grandmother went to tangihanga at Kawiu. If there was tangihanga at Kawiu, our grandmother went. That was the respect that she had for the Muaūpoko people. So there wasn't a standoff as far as I know. I didn't grow up as a child thinking there is this big standoff. I always knew that our grandmother went to tangihanga and always spoke in respectful terms. And maybe the movement each way was greater in the past than it is now.'

Whatarangi: 'Some areas of the lake... are especially tapu to Muaūpoko. But we lost people there too, [but] I think the damage to them was much greater...'

Moira: What was the water quality like in the Hōkio stream when you were growing up Mātua?

Whatarangi: 'When I was growing up [encroaching damage] in the lake (Horowhenua) had begun to occur. The lake was severely damaged by the public and the Pākehā management of the lake. [It] became the sewerage outlet for Levin. You began to worry about eating the eels and other things coming out of the lake. The battle started to try to stop local council... using the lake as an outlet for all the local toilets.'

'Just at the time our whānau was moving from Ngātokowaru and the Hōkio area, the state of environment was changing. We could eat the puhi eels and we would not get ill from them. The puhi tuna were highly regarded eels – vital to our survival. I remember my father and other men going to the stream and hauling out 100s of eels. We left [Ngātokowaru] about 1948 to 1950, to Ōtaki. It wasn't until in the mid-1950s that the local body was convinced to stop using the lake as the outlet for sewerage. It was bad.'

4.1.3 Special birds, trees and shellfish in the Hōkio rohe

Kaumātua like Whatarangī Winiata and those before him, had once been in full dialogue with what Hōkio and its natural resources had to teach,⁷⁶ Their distinct and close relationships with place allowed for a knowing of all aspects of the environment, ranging from the rational to transcendental,⁷⁷ to the immanent. Many accounts of such relationships recognised a spiritual, philosophical and metaphysical attitude that was often beyond the material world... In a local, rural community with a long-term Māori presence, such relationships between the human, natural or spiritual entities were experienced and expected. These stories of encounter were acknowledged as ‘messages’ or ‘signs’ to be heeded as guides in life.

Moira turns the interview towards these kinds of special bird life, trees and other shellfish. She directs the dialogue towards Matua Whatarangī.

Moira: ‘Manu, were they significant for Pareraukawa?’

Whatarangī: ‘There was one that used to come and sit on the fence, at night, looking at you, a kaitiaki.’ ‘They used to give you the willies, [they’d⁷⁸] sit on the fence and look in the windows!’

Whatarangī: ‘Around Pareraukawa, Mānuka was a popular wood.’

Mereana: ‘There was nīkau there too, because there was a nīkau whare. Mum talked about a nīkau whare that had a dirt floor.’

Mereana: ‘We used to get tohemanga at Waitarere. My Aunty would walk up the beach – Aunty Aroha and she would have a stick and would draw circles and we would run along behind her and dig and every time. 100% every time there was one there. We were never allowed to use an implement or anything; always had to use your hands so we would be scampering along behind her simply like that. They weren’t far and few between – they were all there in a very small patch.’

‘I get so irritated when I see vehicles on beaches especially if I see Māori in them too. We were never allowed vehicles on beaches; when we were kids we were never allowed to drive on the beach. The rule, ‘Don’t take your car onto the Beach’ because that’s where the pipi spawn. Leave the beach alone.’

⁷⁶ After Manulani Aluli Meyer, 2003, Ho’oulu Our Time of Becoming: Hawaiian Epistemology and Early Writings, ‘Ai Pōhaku Press Native Books: Hawai’, p 63.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p 63.

⁷⁸ Ruru, peho or morepork.

Moira: ‘The olds were like that at home [Kuku] too but you were allowed to take a vehicle out on the beach but they knew where to drive on the beach, they knew where those beds were so of course everything was up on the sand dune or the high tide mark.’

Whatarangi: ‘There was a pool there now that’s pretty well dried up and that’s the only one that I can recall ... just remnants of pools of water. That one still fills alright and becomes very shallow ... during the summer you see very little water. I think that’s been part of, I don’t know, this is my guess, that those pools that did exist then; [they] were drained ...

4.2 Dislocation from turangawaewae

Simon Austin of the Wallace whānau offered a very personal account of how he and his whānau were dislocated from their tūrangawaewae or place to stand due to Crown legislation, which directly impacted on his whānau and their maintenance of identity with whenua and awa.

‘The Crown took 820 acres off us when they turned Kāpiti Island into Reserve in 1897.’

This loss of ownership and loss of management, meant loss of control of their land, streams and waterways. He reacted quite strongly that this had affected his Māori cultural condition and impacted negatively on the Wallace whānau interests to Kāpiti Island and Ōtaki. The effects of pollution resulted in the loss of species, particularly tuna/eels. Simon also provided specific insights on the inland waterways of the Tarere Stream, Kahikatea Stream and Taikarau Stream.

‘My thoughts are mainly about Kāpiti Island and ... having particular whānau interests in streams. While on the farm, there were various lagoons and my Great Grandfather was a keen fisher of tuna.’

Figure 38: Kāpiti Island



Simon provides some background context to his interview too:

What happened [back] in 1897 when... the Kāpiti Act was passed... our particular part of Kāpiti Island that was lost, was Block Rangatira Number 4. [It's the] middle part of the Island around Rangatira Point and 1,100 acres... [Simon indicates to a map]. We still have interests in two of the off shore islands, so when [the Crown] took Kāpiti Island they took from us the ability to access water... that's a loss in itself... that they could take the water, [as] quite apart from taking the land – they took the water [too]. [This] has ramifications for the whānau lands that we have left, because without water it is very difficult to exist. I've got a list of the ways that it has affected us.

First of all, I will tell you about the streams, as I believe that what we are looking at on Kāpiti – Terere Stream, Kahikatea Stream and Taikarau Stream [indicating to map], those are in the middle there.

[Just to background this kōrero my ancestors] came down in the 1820s or thereabouts. Te Akau was the principal wife of Hape ki Tuarangi and after his death, she became the principal wife of Te Rauparaha. Hape and Te Akau had a daughter called Pipi Kutia. Te Akau named Rangiuru Marae at Ōtaki. Te Akau's daughter, Pipi Kutia also became the principal wife of Te Rauparaha and they had a daughter called Paranihia. Pipi Kutia had a child with William Wallace – a boy called James Howard Wallace. He was the owner of Rangatira Block number 4. So, we were right in the center of it [i.e. Kāpiti]. We first moved to Ōtaki we were based between Waikanae and Ōtaki, right where Marycrest convent

is or just a little south of that. It has now been turned into a new subdivision, Te Hapua.

We used streams in Ōtaki the same as everybody else. We lost access to those fresh water resources including streams, springs, wells, rainwater from roof collection, bores – all those things... we lost access to... On Kāpiti we lost access to that sort of water too. We also lost access or the ability to dam water and thereby save it for dry periods. We lost our independence – that was a real kick in the guts to have it taken from you. The land and the water. We lost the spiritual power of the water and being able to provide ourselves with sustenance and wellbeing. It was a loss of identity to lose land and water and the ability to share this water resource.

The loss of water meant that if we want to have crops on our little offshore islands we can't. Even a small garden that could sustain quite a few people – there's no water for irrigation. We can't clean food. We can't clean ourselves. We can't wash clothes and there is no water for drinking. If we wanted to have stock or crops, we can't do it either... If we wanted to use water for food like storing the tuna or kōura, we can't do it on the islands... even if we wanted to, we can't. Water can also be used for construction so if we wanted to build something out of concrete like foundations for putting up a whare we can't do it. We [would have] to bring it over from the mainland... a lost commercial opportunity too.

The offshore islands include Tokomapuana and Tahoramaurea... that we still have current interests in. So having no water there means it's very difficult to utilise those islands as we would want to. There is no freshwater there so you've got to take everything there.

Those waterways are a very integral part of our identity. They were a gift [therefore] we have a very strong connection to them. We're not just some people that happen to be there – it means something to us. More especially since the Crown took all that. So yes there is a strong connection there, everybody is very, very proud of being part of it all. There's a very strong sense of identity derived from them and the Crown has attacked that spirit by its unilateral taking of the land. This is one act in itself. The taking of the water associated with the land on Kāpiti is another thing but quite apart from that, there are [reverberating effects] for what's left. So land and water were the two things affected – the original taking which... exiled us and there's also the effect of what we've got left.

We've had a significant attack on our sense of empowerment. We've been disempowered. We've had a loss of independence, [including] spiritual wholeness, and a loss of identity. The Crown's actions left us "waterless".

4.3 Patrick Seymour and Lake Koputara – he taonga tuku iho, he mahinga kai

From Kāpiti Island and Ōtaki to Lake Koputara north of Himātangi, is another compelling example of intergenerational disassociation to a former mahinga kai due to the combined impacts of colonisation; complex land tenure changes; legislation; pollution; loss of management control of the lake; loss of access to the lake; significant loss of surrounding wetlands and lakes; loss of mahinga kai values around tuna, and the effects of drainage over time. Some of these long-term ill effects are being turned around by current restoration efforts.

Patrick (Pat) Seymour of Ngāti Tukorehe, Te Mateawa, Ngāti Te Rangitawhia, Kai Tahu, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa, Ngāi te Rangi and Ngāti Raukawa ancestry, uttered these closing words of his interview:

‘Whakahokia te wai Māori, Whakahokia te mauri ... To me it’s all about rekindling the Ahikaaroa.’

They resonate for the insights he provided when he spoke at length with Moira Poutama, at Foxton Beach, about the taonga tuku iho or natural treasure handed down – Lake Koputara. Pat highlighted a range of historic issues and provided a background narrative to the access difficulties to Lake Koputara despite being a designated Māori reserve. There were also concerns around the surrounding land blocks (including neighbouring blocks in Pākehā ownership). Fortunately, the block is currently undergoing restoration efforts as led by trustees and hapū members.

Lake Koputara lies in an area between Te Awahou Moana and Hīmatangi Beach. The two areas are joined by Wyllie Road. Our Māori Reserve land block now borders the western side of Lake Koputara. The lake lies 1km westward of Wyllie Road and approximately 2½ km from the Tasman Sea. Lake Koputara was a significant wetland in days gone by. In my estimation, it was huge in size – all the lakes between Foxton Beach and Hīmatangi Beach Road where probably all joined as one... There are seven smaller lakes in that area now and two of them today are definitely part of Lake Koputara.

In 1870, the land was set aside as a Māori reserve for Ngāti Raukawa hapū. It was set aside as one of the conditions when the provincial government of the time wanted to purchase the Rangitikei-Manawatū Block consisting of several hundred thousand acres of whenua. One of the conditions of sale by the Crown was [to set aside] reserves. A brief history follows that in 1858 the Crown sought to purchase the Manawatu Rangitikei Block. In 1862 the Native Lands Act prevented Ngāti

Raukawa from selling the Manawatū to any other than the Crown. In 1863–67, in spite of protests by Ngāti Raukawa non-sellers and the Crown committing numerous breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, a sale was finally engineered. As mentioned, one of the conditions of the sale was the laying off of reserves – Koputara is one such [reserve].

I've said this kōrero before but I'll say it again. To me [reserves were] like dangling a carrot on a string in front of a rabbit. That's what I believe these were – a means to an end for the government to be able to purchase that land block off Māori people. I'm referring to Ngāti Raukawa as they had lordship of that whenua under the Ngāti Raukawa rangatira, Nēpia Taratoa.

Now back to Lake Koputara. Lake Koputara has diminished significantly in size. The earliest known map that I have seen is dated 1865. These lakes were all joined at one time prior to this time. So we would be talking about a lake that was hundreds of acres in size literally. That 1865 map shows Lake Koputara's size then at around 100 to 130 acres. A significant area of Lake Koputara was located within the blocks when it was set aside and note also there are two blocks, 382 and 383. The land blocks and... a significant part of Lake Koputara was intended to provide for the traditional and cultural needs of the hapū the land being important to our cultural identity and the lake and its riparian vegetation our taonga. In 1890, the Crown granted land to the Wellington-Manawatū Railway Company to the west and formally granted land to Frances Robinson to the east of Koputara. [This action] thereby land-locked the reserve in 1895 whereby the Crown as legal owner of the reserve, failed to lay off a roadway within the five year period that the Railways Construction Act allowed. Koputara was [then] land locked and there were no laws... available to the beneficiaries to gain access. At this point, I'll just stress this land was set aside from a Māori perspective or through Māori eyes as an area for mahinga kai. Many years passed by until ... the title to that land was handed over to the beneficiaries of those 20 original tūpuna, whose names were recorded in 1886 by Mr. Alexander McKay a representative of the provincial government at the time.

It is important to acknowledge Te Whaaro (Boy) and Ada Winiata. These two special elders of their time... initially began the process to reclaim Koputara on behalf of the named beneficiaries.

...over time the railways on sold most of that land and in the end all of that land went into private Pākehā ownership... They set up to farm that area with cattle and so forth. The neighbouring farmer's cattle then trespassed onto the Māori reserve land blocks. They trampled the delicate infrastructure on the dunes, they ate the flora and fauna and opened up larger areas of raw dune sand. The westerly winds did the rest and blew that sand inland covering all of the lake area that was set aside [for] our Māori reserve... That wasn't the only factor in ... us having no lake left on that reserve land. It was also due to the county council and drainage boards back in the 1950s who implemented large drainage

schemes, [which] I say [was] to appease the Pākehā farmers that bordered Lake Koputara. Yes, they did drainage schemes and the lake was lowered in 1958 in excess of one metre. They state it was lowered less than that, but we have written reports that it was lowered in excess of one metre, so the combination of the raw blown dune sand with the lowering of the lake level severely impacted upon Lake Koputara. We now only have remnants of smaller lakes that were once a magnificent roto [lakes]. So that is the hurt, the mamae and whatever you might like to call it, that has happened to our people. Obviously ‘i ngā rā o mua’ in bygone days the outlet drain in those former times flowed out through the reserve. That is on Block 383 of the Māori reserve land. It passed through a swamp there then out to the Tasman Sea. Some of the descendants who knew about the reserve still went there to gather tuna and so forth, some of them knew the access way given from their tūpuna. They went through from the Tasman Sea side... on the coast... you walked up the outlet drain onto your own whenua but the Drainage Board acting under the county council in 1959 re-dug the outlet drain out through a neighbouring farmer’s property to where the outlet drain flows to this very day. According to some recollections, some of the descendants came up that drain to go to catch tuna in the lake but they were stopped and ordered out because now the outlet drain was on private property so the people stopped going there because they had no access to get in there. The only access... was through the outlet drain that flowed out through the Māori reserve land on Block 383. The county council decision to revert the outlet drain through a neighbouring farmer’s property took away the rights of the Māori owners of the Reserve as Kaitiaki. So now, there was no way to get access into Lake Koputara, which was set aside for Māori to do what Māori [as hunter-gatherers within] mahinga kai.

It has been a battle ever since trying to get some access or right of way into that whenua. We are bounded by Pākehā farmers on all sides. Just one small, well it’s not really small but I’m going to mention it. Where the outlet drain flows through the neighbouring property now, that farmer saw it upon himself to use at his will and for his own needs without permission, to graze [our] Māori reserve with his cattle. There was no compensation to the beneficiaries or owners of that whenua, and he would not allow them access onto their own whenua! ... Some years later the trustees *almost* had access through another neighbouring property owner, but could not get onto their land because the previously mentioned neighbour’s cattle trampled that land. He used it, abused it and ring-roaded all the reserve land blocks by retaining a chain strip all the way round, so the trustees were able to get to within a chain but could not cross that chain strip to get to their whenua, so once again they were impeded severely. This has had an effect for our Māori people for the roto and for our whenua – a huge effect.

4.3.1 Restoring the mana of Lake Koputara

On behalf of the Lake Koputara trustees, Pat continues with the processes that are leading to a revitalisation of Lake Koputara and the reinvigoration of its cross hapū

significance. The five named hapū and kaitiaki for this whenua are Ngāti Parewahawaha [chairman/trustee] Peter Richardson; Ngāti Kikopiri [trustee] Ngawini Kuiti; Ngāti Turanga [trustees] Toha Eparaima and Nicholas Tūroa; Ngāti Pareraukawa [treasurer/trustee] Pātaka Moore/Ani Mikaere; Ngāti Tukorehe [farm liaison/trustee] Pat Seymour, and Jessica Kereama [Trust secretary]. ‘The wetland is a real taonga for us all.’

... [The lake was a] mahinga kai for resources, whether it be the gathering of tuna, of kākahi (freshwater mussels), rakiraki (ducks), harakeke for weaving, tī kōuka (for rongoā and weaving and kai.) All these were in abundance there, but the people or beneficiaries who owned this whenua could not get access in there. They were blocked every which way. [It’s] a very sad tale – the actions of the Crown, local authorities and surrounding owners since 1867. [They] denied the owners of Koputara the right to use their land as a source of food. The Crown’s actions and its failure to honour its purchase obligations... is the subject of a substantial claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Figure 39: Koputara Trust representative Pat Seymour in the Ōtaki Mail June 2016, p6



‘I’d like to just mention my Dad’s older brother, Uncle Peter Seymour. He was one of the first trustees and represented our interests for Ngāti Tukorehe back in the 1960s ... I guess I’m just following on in those footsteps.’

I spoke to our chairman Peter Richardson and it was agreed that I could do stage two [of the restoration] while the bulldozer was on site.... I’m speaking about our wetland in comparison to our mahi at Lake Koputara.

It is situated probably half a kilometre south westward of Lake Koputara area, towards the Tasman Sea... This wetland was defined by myself and the current lessee in 2013. After permission from the other trustees at a hui, [we agreed to] follow what our forebears or trustees [had established by] restoring water to our whenua back in the 1990s. Anyway, we did stage one out there with a large bulldozer. In recent times I've managed to do stage two with another large bulldozer and with the lessee's 20 tonne excavator. He spent two days battering back and digging the toe out from around the bottom or base of the wetland. The wetland now is down into the water table by half a metre so it should always retain water... We had a planting day on Saturday 30th of April 2016. I was very humbled as over 60 people turned up including kaumātua. This was a joint venture [with] Barnados [who the grant came from for the plants]. Besides the trustees there were also many whānau connections present on the day.

4.4 A Te Āti Awa perspective

Increases in population and urbanisation of the Waikanae and Paraparaumu areas has put significant pressure on the health of inland waterways and impacted the abundance and diversity of mahinga kai species. Where mahinga kai has persisted, there are significant issues around the toxicity of resources once gathered there, and therefore risks for human consumption. Firstly, the changes to the geomorphology of the waterscape through drainage has limited the carrying capacity of the catchment and water supply, and increased the velocity of water flow to the detriment of many mahinga kai species who require slow flows. In some cases, whole waterways have been culverted. The flood protection regime of instream works has involved: movement of gravel, that has disrupted natural features like puna; excavation of gravel, with no royalties being paid to iwi, and; dredging in streams like the Waimeha or smaller, which has negatively affected mahinga kai flora and fauna. Secondly, pollution appears to be a significant concern for this area. Small waterways have been treated like drains by councils, who have used these to convey sewage, stormwater polluted with contaminants from roads and households, discharges from water treatment plants, and leachate from contaminated soils from retired market gardens and a number of heavily contaminated landfills. There are also concerns about the health of groundwater, as leachates from contaminated sites have seeped into groundwater, and council has historically not kept any records or estimations of the allocation of groundwater. Invasive species are also a significant problem in waterways; species such as hornwort and celery weed have infested many waterways, and introduced trout have been found to limit the persistence of native trout species.

4.4.1 Changes in relationships to water

The impacts to inland waterways described by Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai representatives throughout this report has significantly altered the relationship of the people of Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai to water. Representatives gave many examples of Crown agencies assuming ownership of either river and stream beds or water itself. They emphasised their position that Crown was yet to prove any rights to water and representatives agreed that Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai had a guaranteed right to tino rangatiratanga, or possession of water as a taonga. There was a general sense that the use of a property right and the concept of ownership was problematic in that it didn't guarantee their full relationship with water which included the right to customary practice and spiritual respect for water. The assumption of successive council's rights to water through the rates system appears to be a significant issue of the iwi, with many landowners from Te Āti Awa having lost land as a result of refusing to acknowledge the Crown's right to charge for water rates. Two representatives provided evidence of Te Āti Awa rangatira Wi Parata charging for rights to take water to the railway company of the day. Representatives also discussed how the capitalist market and commodification of food and water had impacted their customary relationship with water, with several referencing the Quota Management System (QMS) as a mechanism that has been used to disrupt this customary relationship. The environmental degradation of waterways and economic system enforced by the Crown has limited not only the access people have to food, but also the opportunities for cultural practices and language associated with mahinga kai to be passed on to younger generations. Representatives gave the impression that this change has seriously impacted on the identity of the people of Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai as a whole.

Like his whanaunga Andre Baker highlighted in Chapter Four, Tutere expresses his concerns around the Quota Management System (QMS) on the availability of resources.

One of the biggest effects has been the QMS that was brought in. In the old days we could get as many paua and other kaimoana as we like, but now you're only allowed 10, and its through the QMS that we've lost a lot of our kai through commercialized take of eel, and well, everything.

Figure 40: Whitebait season 2016 with seabirds are enjoying the delicacy also. Taken from a bach on the edge of Waikanae Beach. Kāpiti Island is in the distance.



William Carter of Te Āti Awa remains concerned with the effects of pollution on customary use, when he recalled:

If you look at the Wharemauku, there's no shortage of eels. I stood one Sunday morning and watched somebody pull three nets up and they would've got at least 500 kg of eel. I watched them take it. I reckon they were commercial [as] he and his mate were retreating as quickly as they could. But the thing about the Wharemauku: the first major source of pollution is from Coastlands car park, all the run off... then you start looking at the smaller man-made tributaries, even before you get to Ihakara, you can see just near the Community Centre, there's a junction of one of these drains, and boy oh boy, some of the stuff you see there. And going further down Ihakara (Street) you start getting more of those drains before you get to the end of the runway. There's some nasty bits of stuff going into those drains. So the Wharemauku has life in it but it's polluted quite badly. The next lot comes from stormwater that can have people washing their paintbrushes and tipping paint down the drains. You get a whole range of chemicals from a carpark, you get pyradines from petrol vehicles. When it rains all these areas wash chemicals from the wear of rubber tyres. As far as the stormwater is concerned, you get people washing their cars. All of that is going straight into the stormwater drain. You also get the chemicals that are used to spray fruit trees and pesticides. There's a whole raft of house water chemicals. Even

though the council has put little signs up people don't see them, they just go ahead and do it. Car washing and pesticides. Car parks are probably the worst source of them. There is from time to time industrial effluent getting into the water. If you've had no rain for some time it gets quite badly polluted, and then when you get rain it flushes it out. The pollution builds up very quickly.

Kristie Parata spoke about the impact on customary practices from adverse attitudes towards them.

Changes of the cultural values around us in the community has had an impact. I remember Dad telling me a story about getting told off by residents for trying to access our mahinga kai. Attitudes from the changing population impacted us, [which] made us feel whakamā about doing these practices.

Les Mullens related his concerns from the impacts of flood protection works:

With the watercress, on some years when I fish the Kōwhai I've got watercress and tuna in the same basket. And that's only certain years. It hasn't happened for three years now. It's still there but not as plentiful. We're trying to get them to change how they are cleaning the streams out to put their bucket in and lift up. The cleaning out of the drains is responsible for less watercress. It's the way the council does their cleaning.

Andre Baker voiced his concerns for the degradation of Māori relationships to water, particularly for how an:

...increase of population as a result of the land being stolen, taken or bought, has meant that you have to put the infrastructure ... all those utilities have to go in, and the intensification of community growth, urbanization, has led to the land being polluted and the water being polluted. Where are we in that conversation? We've lost our inheritance, which is the whenua. Then all the things attached to industry, all those things have led to the pollution of the waterways, because the growth of the community became more of a priority [rather] than protecting our water. Then on top of that taking our water, and selling it [back] to us.

In summary, these compelling voices combine as a reverberating rumble of dissent to Crown agents and entities. Water health is connected to the health of people – thus destruction of waterways and severing of customary relationships and uses has exacted a devastating cultural dislocation and loss of identity for iwi and hapū across the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry region. There has been a huge cost to environmental and mana

whenua wellbeing with further impacts on the wellbeing of sustainable economies. The Crown cannot afford to do nothing.

Figure 41: Waikanae River mouth estuary



CHAPTER 5: TITLE AND OWNERSHIP

5.1 Ngāti Kauwhata and the Ōroua River

The chapter overviews a perspective of Ngāti Kauwhata and notions of title and ownership to the Ōroua River. It also features some other voices that pipe in from other regions. The very convoluted arena of title and ownership from an alienating Crown legislative perspective is covered more comprehensively in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Historical* report.

At Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Office in Feilding in May 2016, Moira Poutama interviewed Michael Cribb of Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Turoa, and Lorraine Searancke of Ngāti Kauwhata. Both Lorraine and Michael had long term relationships with a range of significant inland waterways in the inquiry district. They included: the Ōroua River and its tributaries; the Kiwitea and Makino Streams; the Pohangina River; Pukepuke Lagoon and one swamp that was present when Lorraine was young. They also acknowledged rivers and streams in whole Feilding to Palmerston North region, out to Mangone, Tiakitahuna towards Rongotea and all the side creeks and drains from Halcombe, Kiwitea, Waituna West, Āpiti to Pohangina within the tribal boundaries.

The key themes they referred to were: pollution of waterways; loss of cultural practices; changes in community/interpersonal relationships; loss of mauri and mana; loss of ownership and loss of the rights to exercise kaitiakitanga.

In particular, both Lorraine and Michael spoke about their deep relationships with their Ōroua [River]. Despite growing up a generation apart, the river was a huge part their everyday lives. Each learnt to swim and gather kai there, drink the water, gather firewood and learn to light fires. In those days, there would be families all along the river and it was open to everyone. The river was full of bends and different holes and they dived off trees. The awa brought many families together and people didn't leave because it was a drawcard for them. Everyone had a deep knowledge and respect for the awa. They used the river to sustain and nourish, to trade but not to sell as no money changed hands. The main species they remember collecting were tuna, kōura and kōkopu.

To their dismay, the freezing works close to the marae discharged into the river, impacting upon the water quality downstream. From that point, the hapū were not allowed to swim there. It was a major source of employment but the hapū paid the price for having the works where it was, where they were not able to use the water closest to them. In town they could swim in every stream right up to the early 1980s and catch big tuna from there.

Lorraine and Michael lamented the decline in health of their river over several decades, as caused by several major land use changes. The vegetation that used to cover the banks of the river was cleared in the 1990s and a massive flood (not long after) eroded peoples' land away. Pollutants came from the farms, and when it rained the river was dirty. There was a serious decline in tuna numbers, in particular Michael recalls dead eels going past him. Now it is very rare to see tuna in the Ōroua River. Now 50, Michael hasn't touched a tuna since he last went out when he was around 25.

An overflow drain now flows into the place where they used to swim. From this point back to Āpiti there are about eight or nine sewage wastewater discharges into the river. There used to be enough water going down the river so they could still use it but with a diminished flow, the river is 'just a trickle in places'. The river bottlenecks in places so when it floods badly whereas it used to spread out over the flood plains.

Today, both their families no longer swim in the river nor utilise the river like they used to. The generation after Michael didn't go down to the river but went to the swimming pool. If kids go in the river, they get sick. Access to the river is now restricted by land owners and the council. People used to be able to walk freely along the whole river. Hapū have been denied access to land that was once their land. The hapū say they haven't been able to assert their kaitiakitanga over the river. Consultation from the council is only at the iwi level not the hapū level. It is often hard for them to attend meetings and hearings as they have to take time off work. Disproportionately, council members are paid to attend. For the hapū, the Ōroua River used to have mana, something which they are trying to bring back. They want to return and re-establish whānau, marae and the connection with the awa – the intrinsic aspect that keeps them all together.

Lorraine: 'The first thing I remember about going to the awa, Ōroua, was [with] our Dad teaching us to swim [by] throwing us in the river to swim

back. For us, it was the first time I'd ever seen water of that magnitude... that awa still runs through here and that area is still there, but it's not the same now'.

'The other thing I remember about it was that a lot of people went down there, Pākehā and Māori... I didn't know the distinction of Māori race, Pākehā race; we were all one. We never said we 'owned' the river but we knew the significance before we ever went there, because our mother had told us the significance of the Ōroua River to our marae.'

'What I know now is that we looked after [the awa]... we understood it. What was used in the paddocks. Where we used to go through to get there is now a park, and the mischief we used to have to get through! We used to run through the Pākehā paddock to get onto the street to get back home. 'Get off there you Māori's', but we were told that that's our land back in the day and we said 'Well, who are youse to tell us!' We're going home, we'll go back through what was our land to get onto the streets to get back to our homes!'

Michael: 'I came after that, after the big families [of Lorraine]. They saw the river totally differently to what I saw when I started growing up. My Nana still lived at Awahuri. Basically from Kitchener Park down and all the way downstream was all off limits to us. We lived not even a kilometre away from the creeks in that area but we weren't allowed there. That's because of what had happened before my time, the freezing works and when all that started happening.'

'In town, you could go to every stream. There's a place called Makino Stream and right up until the early 80s we were catching tuna from there. And they weren't small, they were big. Every kid in the neighbourhood would've done it... The quality of the water too was totally different... You could drink it.'

'All my cousins and that knew when to go, what to do. It was really fruitful. A line would be hanging up with tuna when I arrived there. That's all I remember – these two big macrocarpa trees and these lines. There would be tuna everywhere. That was a big part of our diet out there.'

Lorraine: 'The staple diet... it was free and it was clean'.

'We all put our energy into doing it.'

Michael: 'I don't think we ever had any restrictions except for the freezing works downstream – that was a no go. But when we head up that way, you could never see the end of the river or the end of the park because there was so much vegetation. You'd walk along the river and they'd be families, families, especially in summer, families, families, families... all the way up.'

'It was basically us who used the whole river. For me right up until the early 1980s, maybe going into the early 1990s... But I watched it starting to decline when a group of my friends stopped eeling. We were going to places where we used to go to and we used to see things like...

being the only one that caught a live eel in one place... I lifted it up and it was only about that big [indicating a small eel] and when you looked up we saw tuna coming down. We said 'oh hey here they come', but they weren't alive, they were dead.'

'[There must have been runoff or something] coming from the farms'.

'If we were really looking hard for tuna, we'd go into the drains where all the watercress is and we used to do the spearing. If we wanted something fast, the drains were there. All the drains now if I go to them now, some would be dry, and some would be non-existent.'

'The trees along the awa that we had in our area, I remember when they cut them all down there was a massive flood and that took away quite a few peoples' land... those trees protected the banks [and that erosion] would've been in the 90s... Nothing was ever replanted'.

'Some people do swim there, but I wouldn't swim there. I haven't touched a tuna since the last time I went out... back when I was 25. If I can't see no tuna at my marae, I don't touch tuna.'

'There's a family, the biggest family we have in our area is the Mataki family. I remember one of my cousins talking about when they used to go and swim down, especially where Kauwhata [Marae] is – go swim down at the river and it used to be running red. You knew that they been dumping all their crap. The other thing was with all that blood and guts coming down you knew that they'd be getting the eels. The eels would be coming to eat. I look at them today and they are surviving ok. My cousin said 'yeh we swam in all that blood and guts, but we knew what was going to come after – the eels'. These are the things that they'd said they'd seen [when] that awa turn red.'

Michael: 'Over the years our kaumātua they fought hard... Ya' know they're fighters, and if we can get one, two, three steps [forward], just to show that their thinking and their mahi [gone] beforehand, isn't for waste.'

'The generation after me didn't have that knowledge about the river. 'Oh that river, nah, we don't go to swim in the river, it's too paru, we go to the swimming pool.'

Lorraine: 'I took my mokopuna down there as they were growing up, and they said 'Nan, why don't you let us in the river?' I said because its paru, it's not right, not like when we used to swim. I lit a fire and taught them how to light a fire, but that's all I could do and then it was off to the swimming pool.'

Michael: 'We can't afford to pack five kids, or three kids to drive all the way up to the river to a place where you think it's safe to jump in.'

'They've put an overflow drain from the outlets, all the road drains into a dirty big pipe right at the beginning of Seddon Street. Where [the] Higgins concrete plant used to be and polluted the river, now they've got

this drain. When it floods it just goes straight into the river. And that's all the floods from the roads, all the water from the roads! For the iwi that was pretty shocking.'

'They changed the Kiwitea... by using gates. The Kiwitea will never be the same because they've controlled it... The district council have just kinda put their head in the sand and said we just wanna keep the same old same old.'

Figure 42: Kiwitea Stream



'I haven't walked the river for over two years now and it's only because if you're walking down there and you walk on a property and the cocky sees you, straight away, he's straight over there, 'What are you doing on the river, what are you doing there', treating you like a criminal. Even when you get a bridge area, there's police standing there waiting for you, wondering what you're up to.'

Michael: 'You used to be able to float down on tyre tubes ... without walking. Now it's hop off, walk, hop off, walk.'

‘That’s the sort of thing we put up with. That’s the sort of things and me and my cousins have come to realise what we’ve lost. We never utilise the river like we used to. Not even our aunties, my old man, my old lady – we were always down there. High school, the old lady wanted to know where I was, down at the river, that’s where I got taught, down at the river.’

Lorraine: ‘The awa got really ripped up too, it got raped, trucks and jeeps and that would run through the awa, out the other side, motorbikes come through while you’re swimming there. Ya’ know people with, rich people, that would come down on to the awa.’

Michael: ‘The awa was the biggest thing, the drawcard for our people. It looked like home, where we come from. We never left and through history that’s what they told us. This was the basket for all the iwi, Raukawa, us, and generations coming down the line – we slowly lose.’

Lorraine: ‘I do remember some of the schools used to open up their pools... for the Pākehā ‘cause the Māoris, we didn’t have the money to get in there. A shilling it would have cost to go there. The Māoris all wandering off to the rivers.’

‘Back then there was racism. Ya know? ‘We don’t want those Māoris in here, so we’ll charge this and those Māoris won’t be able to afford it’. We didn’t mind, we were off down to the river.’

Michael: ‘The river was ours... that water brought us all together, a whole generation.’

‘The Ōroua, it had the mana. It still could have mana, but we’ve got a lot of work to do. It’s come to us my generation, and that’s why I go hard.’

‘If they want to call these meetings about the river we want to get paid as well. I’m working my arse off to use annual leave to go these meetings to listen to these people who say they care about our awa, but they still do the same old, same old. They haven’t thought about choices, a million dollars could come up with a new way of doing things.’

Lorraine: ‘The awa was a good place for learning when it comes to sports... but it doesn’t happen that much now, because they of it being paru. They don’t want to be sick with it. So, these are the things that have changed, whether it be forever, the next generation, it’s going to take a long time [to improve] and it might not be in our time.’

Michael: ‘We go through the same fight as other small iwi, as other small hapū, whānau. I read about it all the time and that encourages people.’

Lorraine: ‘I used to think ‘Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au’, was only meant for Whanganui people but it’s for all our awa, for all our people... It was sustain and nourish – not to buy, but trade, there was some trading

for those that couldn't get access to them... no money changed hands – it was food for sustenance.'

Michael: 'Water rights, the Oroua River has the only tradeable water rights in New Zealand. We haven't even got water out at our Pa. We have to tap into the farmer who can just turn it on and off when ever he wants. He's a pretty good farmer and he will never do that to us. But we rely on the farmer you know and whoever will own that land in the future.'

'And another thing, the land that's taken by flood and how the river changes direction and this land over her loses 20 acres and the farmer here gains 20 acres but no ownership well those fullas can apply to gain ownership of it. That's happened over the last 5 years there's two of them – 10 acre blocks that came up and we've stopped one. When we told the people that this isn't right. How can you say that you want to own that land when we are still going through a treaty settlement and you're selling land along our awa.'

Lorraine: 'My son and his haka (group – not kapahaka) were taken down there to learn their haka at the awa. Even if it was raining, cold, they were put in the awa, put on those stones. To learn their haka. Early in the morning late at night. Cops went down there to find out what was going on because people were complaining of the noise, chanting and wondering what was going on. The kaumātua said "I am training them. This is the way they are going to learn not on the grass, not on the land, in their awa." He made them learn their haka in the awa up to their waste in the water. On the stones. Mau rākau. Today they still remember that it was one gift that was given to them. They didn't know how to eel they weren't taught that but to learn haka that way. It was special. That was in the mid 1990's, maybe 1996. That was the last time it was practiced. It was only for that generation. The women were not allowed down. But photos were taken. Their haka were used at tangi etc the boys would break out. They were old haka. The boys are in their 30's now.'

Michael: 'It brought the river to them.'

Lorraine: 'Taught them respect for our awa.'

Figure 43: Oroua River in Feilding



5.2 A Te Āti Awa perspective on title and ownership

Andre Baker within the Te Ātiawa group interview, critiqued ownership and title including relationships with central and local government on management of waterways and recognition of cultural practices.

Well, I think the Quota Management System is an explanation for the change of culture... All of a sudden the Crown found a mechanism to control our customary take. And even though they have legislation that recognizes it, when on earth did we have to go and get a piece of paper to get a kai? It's a completely foreign concept. It has a negative impact on our ability on us to educate our moko on what the customary practices are. That's the impact. The legislation of the Queen sitting in England, has impacted upon our ability to exercise our customary rights. That's one of the explanations why we might not have those of our family members that are seen as the hunters and gatherers. Because the opportunity to educate them has been lost, because of the imposition of Pākehā law. In order to survive, we had to sacrifice some of those customary practices to adopt a foreign cultural practice that was all about having a house, living in a town, having a job to earn money so you could go and buy those things, instead of continuing the practice of hunting or gathering to put a kai on the table.

So, it's a completely different set of cultural values that has impacted on us, and we haven't recovered from it. To the extent where it goes beyond that where our reo me ōna tikanga are under threat. We are at the point where we have almost seen the loss of our language and culture. If we lose our reo, we lose that element of our culture and we lose our identity.

5.3 A Ngāti Huia Perspective

The kuia from Poroutāwhao also relate the changes in what they used to be able to do.

Kiri: 'You would get in a truck and you would go to pick up watercress and today, oh well, when these guys (Pauline and Mere) were grown up a bit I tried to go back in that paddock and a Māori lady told me that I was to go and ask the Pākehā farmer next time. I had got in there just to pick watercress.'

Pauline: 'This was a Māori person who told mum off for going on the land when they used to go all the time.'

Kiri: 'If you can't pick watercress, not far off the road, for me and my kids, and my man. I got told I can't go in there without permission. Fair enough I guess.'

Pauline: 'But you see you never had to do that. They just used to let you do it.'

Figure 44: An example of access denied to the Manawatū River



5.4 Ngāti Whakaterere perspective on ownership

Te Omaki Rauhihi of Ngāti Whakaterere and Miriama Rauhihi Ness of Ngāti Whakaterere provided details of their relationships to waterways at Poutu Pā, Shannon with Moira Poutama. They talked of their close associations with the Manawatū River, and the Tokomaru Stream, whereby certain impacts of colonisation; pollution; loss of management and control; depletion of food sources including kākahi, whitebait, flounder, watercress, fish, eeling, ducks, kanga pirau, and the effects of flooding were clear. As attested by many of the other Ngāti Whakaterere voices for the natural fisheries that the Manawatū River provided for their health, these kuia clearly assert that the river was their source of sustenance for physical and psychological wellbeing.

Te Omaki: ‘We used to get fresh water mussels. We called them kākahi, we found them at the mouth of the Tokomaru and Manawatū River. We also went whitebaiting down there. In those days the whitebait was nice and white or silver but today they are brown. I put some in the freezer pulled them out a week later and they went green, so the river is polluted. I remember my husband going floundering. They did a lot of hauling down at Paiaka Road or Springs Road as it was known. They used to do a lot of hauling down there for flounders, any kind of fish that was there. The water was clean and pure. Its not like it is now – a dark murky colour. My husband [and others], they all used to in those days, go down to the river and use [it] like their bathroom for a wash. They did a lot of duck shooting down there too, and eeling. What they caught they used straight away for hui here.’

Miriama: ‘The water was beautiful [and] we were allowed to swim in certain places and only allowed to wash in certain places.’

Te Omaki: ‘My grandfather used to put hooks on his boat. Tie the hooks on his boat row across the river and get the wood come back and unload his load because he had a horse and sledge. He would pull the hooks up and there would be fish on them. That’s how he would fish, that was koro Tom. That kōrero was shared with me by his mokopuna my cousin Moana Maunsell. There was plenty of fish in the river at that time.’

Miriama: ‘Where we lived in Vogel Street we had a creek behind, plentiful with watercress. They used to put their kanga pirau down there. All families used to put them there. No kai grows in there what so ever, no watercress. It’s really sad. When I drive over and come home, really makes me sad, makes you angry.’

Te Omaki: ‘Dont think you’ll ever get it back the way it was.’

Miriama: ‘I think we can have a good try... You cant fix Māori take and put it right within a Palangi system.’

In summary, these compelling voices combine as a reverberating rumble of dissent against Crown agents and their entities.

With water health so inistricably connected to the health of people, the destruction of the mauri or health vitality of waterways severs customary relationships and uses for iwi and hapū. This exacts a devastating cultural dislocation and impact on identity across the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry region. Additionally, the systemic ‘failure to provide adequately for Tikanga Māori is considered to relate to assumptions that Māori did not have mana in relation to water, with its twin components of political authority and exclusive possession, but had only kaitiakitanga, or an interest in management.’⁷⁹

There has been a huge cost to environmental and mana whenua wellbeing with further impacts on the wellbeing of sustainable economies. To this effect, the Crown cannot afford to do nothing.

Figure 45: Māori and Pākehā values and wordviews sometimes differ.



⁷⁹ Hon Sir Edward Taihākurei Durie et.al, 2017, *Ngā Wai o Te Māori: Ngā Tikanga me Ngā Ture Roia / The Waters of The Māori: Māori Law and State Law*, p 3.

CHAPTER 6: RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND GRAVEL EXTRACTION

The key elements present in this accumulation of voices that follow, the Crown (national and local government) has mis-managed water across the wide district of inquiry, over a wide range of policies and practices commented on previously by claimants. The key points included in this chapter, reveal the impacts of :

- Deforestation, sediment and silt from erosion
- Drainage of wetlands for farming and settlement of towns
- Pre-1995, regional and local councils have not truly valued wetlands, they have instead valued pasture lands
- Pollution from farming, market gardening, discharges (treated and untreated)
- Recent intensification of farming; water use allocation
- Further problematic policies in support of values of farming and settlement – flood control and gravel extraction, and other engineering works (culverts, drains and barrages).

Claimants consistently raised the difficulties they have had and continue to have in working and interacting with local government, where they are routinely ignored or their views and values are discounted. There is often none, limited, little or token consultation, therefore no involvement of iwi and hapū in decision-making. There is no recognition as mana whenua, as Treaty partners who hold rangatiratanga over water and resources. Rarely across the region is recognition or rangatiratanga upheld. This disregard is all pervasive and strips one of identity and generates feelings of powerlessness. Furthermore,

- Legislation has generally not reflected, followed or allowed for exercise of tikanga, kaitiakitanga – such as for QM system and customary permits, which cuts across tikanga;
- Poor management of noxious weeds/invasive species, which effects native flora and fauna species.
- When legislation does make such acknowledgements, they're insufficient or are not practiced on the ground.
- Regulatory regime impacts also on Māori land-owners, who do not have the power to make decisions over their own lands and waterways.

6.1 The inland waterways of Ngāti Pare

Within the Tāringaroa meeting place built on ancestral land, opposite Raukawa marae in Ōtaki, Mahina-a-rangi Baker interviewed a large group of Ngāti Pare–Ngāti Raukawa representatives over their inland waterways. The group included Claudine Thompson, Andre Baker, Ricki Baker, Tasha McMeekin, Hara Williams, Hira Royal, Wehi-o-te-rangi Royal, Rumaiti Royal, and Caleb Royal. They each acknowledged the following waterways that resonated in both their relationships with them and also their concerns: the Ōtaki River, Waitohu Stream, Mangaone Stream, Lake Waiorongomai, Ngaitōtara Stream, Rangiuru Stream, Lake Waitawa, Lake Inspiration, Waikato (back of Waitohu area), Waimanu, and the puna wai or spring at the beginning of the Mangapouri Stream.

This group of Ngāti Pare representatives described the original landscape of their rohe as being dominated by waterways that flowed through the district supporting a range of traditional food species including toheroa, tuatua, pipi, flounder, kōura, stingray, crab, kahawai, whitebait, flounder, watercress, and tuna. The representatives' relationships with waterways have always been intimate ones; not just in that it has been critical to the physical survival of Ngāti Pare, but because waterways are special places where whānau and the wider community spend time together. They emphasised that being able to carry out this relationship was critical to their spiritual or wairua and mental well-being.

A number of examples of the Crown mismanaging or neglecting to protect water were given. Pollution of waterways has occurred due to pesticide use in market gardens; the intensification of dairy farms and orchards; untreated discharges to water from the milk factories; the abattoir, and a chicken farm. The geomorphology of waterways has been altered through channelisation for stormwater management; drainage of land and wetlands for farming and development; an increase of sediment filling in gravel-bottomed streams, and gravel being extracted at an estimated rate of 50,000 cubic metres a year.⁸⁰ The Crown's flood protection regime has also significantly reduced the flood carrying capacity of the catchment. There are poorly managed invasive species which have had a significant effect on fish biodiversity and abundance in the rohe. There is also evidence that the development and growth that is occurring in Ōtaki has

⁸⁰ Personal Communication, Caleb Royal, 26 May 2016.

not been well-planned, and is not adequately taking into consideration the effects to the sustainability of water.⁸¹

Water allocation is a critical issue for Ngāti Pare. The Crown has illegally assumed the right to allocate and charge for rights to water use, despite Ngāti Pare being clear that they held the property and tino rangatiratanga rights to water. Water takes have occurred historically without consideration of their sustainability or environmental effect, and contrary to agreements between local hapū and the Crown. Representatives were also aware of water being removed from aquifers and taken out of their rohe.

The actions and neglect of the Crown had profound effects on the lives of the people of Ngāti Pare. Aquatic species that were once relied upon for food are now less abundant and diverse. Representatives described that the pollution of water affecting the taste of fish in the rohe and they held genuine concern about the long-term effects of heavy metals in water and fish flesh on human health. There was much evidence provided that their Treaty rights to partnership and/or tino rangatiratanga of the management of water and resources connected to it are rarely, if ever upheld. The degradation of waterways and decline of species meant that current and future generations of Ngāti Pare had become disconnected from their taonga that have been central to their identity.

Representatives associated some of the mental well-being issues observed in their communities with this loss of identity; the denial of their human rights to enjoy safe and clean resources, and general feeling of powerlessness in the face of ongoing oppression from the Crown.

Tasha McMeekin: ‘When we were little our Uncle would have three big wine barrels at the back of his house, and I came home and put my arm in it and just feel that it would just be swirling with eels. And he would have three barrels at the back and usually something was on at Raukawa where he needed that many. Until one day one of them split and they were all swimming down the main street to town. But that’s how I remember them, my family would catch them and put them in wine barrels.’

Rumaiti Royal: ‘The scary thing is that fish is supposed to be healthy food to eat but the water is being poisoned and so are the fish. That’s the scary thing, the water is polluted.’

⁸¹ Personal Communication, Andre Baker, 26 May 2016.

‘I don't sell whitebait. What I catch I go around and give to whānau, friends, kaumātua and sometimes tangi if I have had enough, last year I caught a good lot and so that went to tangi and our reunion also. I'm happy if I can put some in the freezer for Christmas. The river is what brings our whānau together, not the whitebait. Our Grandad was born on the river, apparently our kui gave birth, cleaned him up, cut his pito and carried on whitebaiting, our whānau grew up on the river’

‘Out by Katihiku when you used to shine the torch on the water you could see heaps of [tuna]. Now you shine the torch, you're lucky if you see any. But to me the size hasn't changed, because one day Andrew and I walked up the back of the river where he knew of a hole with a tuna that's obviously really old, he showed me and managed to get it to poke its head out. It was huge.’

Claudine Thompson: ‘They take water from down by the council depot in Aotaki Street, out of the hydrant, with a water truck. We own the water. When we said no to taking it from the river and piping it down, they decided to charge. So it's our water we are paying for.’

‘I remember standing in the waves at the river mouth and being able to grab whitebait. In the waves – not in the river. I mean to the side of the mouth. And we could scoop our nets through the waves and get bucket loads. As teenagers.’

‘There is still pollution in the main river itself because on this side of that bridge there used to be a pipe from the milk factory. And every now and again you could see it falling out. It used to fall from the top of the bridge straight into the water. The factory was over the railway lines on the other side of the tracks. Rahui Road. They would discharge twice a day.’

Hara Williams: ‘The bore on the straight – where that tower's just gone in, the council put that there. So the [Ōtaki Porirua Māori Trust] Board gets no money for that. There's no rent or anything that goes with that, but the agreement goes – as far as I know – that the water that's extracted is not to leave Ōtaki. And that's in the agreement – one of the conditions. But it's clearly leaving Ōtaki. It's probably always left Ōtaki.’

‘The river has changed as an effect of taking the gravel, particularly at the river mouth, as now we are seeing different fish come through such as stingray.’

Ricki Baker: ‘Part of the mental health issue is displacement, being displaced from where you come from, who you are.’

‘Back in the day the farmers didn't mind you going into their farms to get watercress as long as you asked them. But today they just spray the whole lot. So that friendship between Māori and farmers has disintegrated.’

‘In the past there was lots of waterways around, there were a lot of frogs as part of the life cycle. Since I’ve been here, you used to hear frog, but over the years and I’ve only been here for 15 years, the number of frogs is only a few.’

‘I think the important thing at the end of the day – life has changed – but those are still our pātaka kai. From our Māori perspective. Every time they do something like that there are species that die. That’s a concern because in the future how are we going to teach our kids their natural species in their rohe when they’re not here. And if those species are disappearing then we need to go somewhere else to get it.’

Wehi-o-te-rangi Royal: ‘There used to be a well out Tasman Road, today that well’s gone.’

‘Before the restrictions you’d get a sugar sack [of toheroa]. As much as you could carry. It would take me all day. Because in these days I would walk to the beach. Because you would walk out, the tide has to go in then come back out, you’d get your toheroa, by the time you get home that’s your day.’

‘Eel is the most versatile fish in the world... it’s the way that you cook them. You can boil them, put them in raurekau leaves, quite a few other ways.’

Andre Baker: ‘This whole community’s been through council signalling that we would need to consider allowing water to be taken from the aquifers to support those communities in Ōtaki. And then there was a suggestion of piping. Ōtaki was absolutely opposed to it. Massive consultation went on and the answer was ‘no, you’re not taking our water’. There’s also a puna on the straight. A lot of people talk about that. As there are on the river. There’s got to be concern about that resource diminishing. In my time on council the question was raised, what’s happening with all these water trucks? They would park around the corner of Riverbank Road, a couple of sites. And they were drawing water, and there was no meter on those. So the big issue for us is Ōtaki has continued to provide resource to the District.’

‘I don’t agree that we have enough water, the council has put money aside to build a reservoir... So the question is why would you make provisions for a future reservoir if you thought you had enough water? The intensification of growth will happen here. One of the reasons that I was opposed to the pipe is that in the future we may need every drop we have. Because the projections are showing that all the growth will be happening north of Waikanae, so that’s here.’

‘We’re allowing all these subdivision consents, but we don’t have the infrastructure to support it. We can report on the use of water, and we’ve set a measurement of what you should use, so if you use over that you’ll get charged. Then the council has imposed restrictions. If you use that allocation you need to start paying. We have a good idea of what the consumption is. But we should not be constrained by what the council

says about how much water we can use. I think we've demonstrated that we have been responsible guardians of water.'

'In the summer there was that flooding, there's that stuff that comes out the bottom of the Whanganui, raw sewage and stuff. There's the Manawatu. And we know that that floats down here and I remember being told not to go pick the pipi because there was stuff that was discharged from the Manawatu and we know that stuff comes down from Whanganui. So we didn't. And there was always brown foam and stuff around after the floods and we just heard don't go and get pipi because it will be contaminated.'

'Greater Wellington are using their authority as a regional power to [remove gravel]. But I would like to say that we could never agree that they have the authority to do that because they have some form of guardianship over that. So I'm saying they might be using their power with legislative stuff as a regional authority to take it. But I don't think we would say they have the right to take that. The hapū of Ōtaki own that as we are kaitiaki of that.'

Caleb Royal: 'Our whenua backs onto those streams and now we're at a point where we can't contact those streams. The opportunity to learn about species is gone. It's funny because when we grew up you'd go to Nana and Granddad's house and you'd go down to the creek. And it had the little stone wall down there. And so we'd go down there and play, well if you go there now it's the exact opposite. Kids are not allowed to go down to the stream. Kāpiti Coast District Council KCDC Stormwater has modified it and if your kid goes in there it's a metre and half down to where the stream is, so kids can't get out. So it's the polar opposite of how we grew up. How you relate to it now is 100% different, and so the stream itself is different. It's also polluted, it's full of weeds, it's terrible.'

'At the end of the day this is the work of the Crown, whether it's the regional council, the district council, the Ministry of Fisheries, whoever it is who is selling quota for tuna to be fished out of our awa, people selling quota to fish for crabs on our beaches, whether it's the regional council pulling stuff out of the rivers, you know, actually it pisses me off that our kids are going to be the ones that suffer, and not have the experiences and not have the education and the connection to our environment because the Crown has failed to manage our waterways, our beaches, our rohe as Ngāti Pare, they've failed us.'

'The time our whānau is the happiest is whitebait season, that's the annual family reunion. There's a few jokes made this season, there must've been a dozen Royal nets in a line, and that day there wasn't even any bait! That's a wairua thing eh; going out there as a family like that, going and have a fire, washing in the river, having a feed off the river, everyone feels better at the river.'

Figure 46: Renata Royal whitebaiting at a whānau spot near the Ōtaki Floodgates



‘This year the river’s been green, and that’s only happened about three times in my life [roughly 40 years]. I think generally there’s less water in the river.’

‘I caught a bunch of eels lately from three different places, and I didn’t tell anyone, I cleaned them I gutted them and I smoked them, and I was getting people to taste test them to see what they thought of different sizes. I had a three kilo eel down to a 500 gram eel, and they didn’t mind so much the size. But the ones that came out of the Mangapouri people would say ‘oh no that one’s muddy, that one’s yuck, these other ones are primo, and those ones were actually out of the Ōtaki. And some out of Kuku, but the ones from the Mangapouri they could taste the mud. And I was surprised that they could taste that over the smoke as well.’

‘[The river] is straighter now and its constrained, it doesn’t get to wiggle and move so it doesn’t provide the same habitat. So you don’t have all the backwashes and the pools that you could fish from in the backwashes. There are a couple around but not many up the back. And when it is swift like that it is easy for people to slay it. As far as whitebaiting goes there will be one point where there will be current, and they can sit on that point and it in fact stops the fish migrating up and down. There is now only one channel rather than several.’

‘There are huge amounts of noxious weeds now in a lot of smaller streams especially which is blocking them up. Such as parrot feather and duck weed which is everywhere. It’s also growing really quickly. Also

the oxygen weed. It also traps the sediment, it traps the mud underneath it which builds up and we get more and more mud. Then the council come in with their diggers, dig it all up, dump it on the side of the bank, and during this process they pull up thousands of eels. I have seen in the Mangapouri, in the lower reaches of the trust board land, a weed that grows about 30cm on the surface of the water, and the little baby eels will live in the top layer of that weed instead of down lower to the mud. So the diggers are pulling up thousands of eels and dumped. Down by the golf course in Waikanae in the stream there, we have looked at roughly 140m, and in there we ended up getting half a dozen kōkopu, dozens of bullies, dozens of kōura and I think roughly 300 eels of which mainly were babies. That's what we recorded, there were thousands that I didn't bother recording which seagulls were feasting on. I saw the exact same out the Mangaone stream. Out there are a couple of bends towards Katihiku Marae with a line of willows down by the old chicken factory. I was out there one day following behind a digger, were there were hundreds of eels most likely getting ready to run out to sea. I picked up 60 which is all I could manage at the time, and I threw as many back as I could, but there were hundreds of them. Fully grown ready to head out to sea.'

'In the course of two generations we've gone from families having their pātaka kai, their eel boxes in the stream that would hold the eels for the year. Where you could go gather your kai, where the kids like me as a child would swim in, in the Mangapouri and dam it up with stones, only enough to be sitting up to your shoulders. Main point being you could still be swimming in the stream. So you don't have that same relationship with the stream anymore. You can't go down there now and store your food in there safely, you cannot leave your tuna in there as there's not enough oxygen in the water with the silt and all that and they would die. If you put your corn in there well you can't eat your corn. Because it's been sitting in water that's toxic. And you can't bathe in it. It's not just you can't store your kai in it, you can't gather your kai from it; it's that you can't even associate with it. You could have a relationship with the Ōtaki River but that's too aggressive to use that way which is why the small spring fed streams were used. It's a disgrace really.'

Figure 47: The Mangapouri Stream choked with the invasive exotic weed commonly known as Hornwort behind Raukawa Marae in Ōtaki.



6.1 The ill effects of drainage

As declared earlier in the report, Wayne Kiriona critiqued the impacts of drainage on the Poroutāwhao region, which had almost severed the Ngāti Huia hapū and their human ties to natural resources, especially those that were collected for kai.

There were some landlocked lakes. They would catch the tuna and release them in there... they were easier to go and catch later if we needed to go and get them. Dad was still practicing this in his time up until the early 2000's and always for the marae. I guess that was

everything he did. His view was that not so much about individual gathering, but ‘If I gather for everybody [as] I am also part of everybody, then I also share it’... When it went to the marae we all got to have it.

I guess the huge impact in terms of loss of swamps and lakes was... farming. [That had a] huge impact certainly at Poroutāwhao, where we had huge wetlands, swamps, lakes, and lagoons... I have been around at the time [when] there was so much kai... Even right up to the 70’s and 80’s to now, I still see the areas that were our swamps that were the habitat [for our species] now I see just decline, decline, all drained, all for farming. You walk on Kopuapangopango swamp now? There’s nothing there. There’re drains, which run the water away from it but now, it’s dry. Waimakaira was a huge water system, also Ngawakahiamoe, Lake Tangimate, Lake Kaikai, and well obviously when you hear that name, what does that tell you?

... There is an archaeological assessment of the Waitarere Rise development at Waitarere Beach. It was done by Michael Taylor and Anita Sutton in October 2006. In it, it describes the series of lagoons [and knowledge about them that G. Leslie Adkin collated from Māori informants]. The lagoons connected by the Wairarawa Stream that once extended along on the eastern edge of the development area and were the focus of pā settlement. The collated information names five lagoons; Kaikai, Ngakuta, Oneroa, Oporau and Otāniko. The lagoons were large, Kaikai Lagoon was 80 Hectares and Oporau was over 20 Hectares. I’ve been up to Kaikai and I know how big it isn’t [now]! So if you go on talking from 80 hectares to an acre maybe it’s 2 acres now – all drained! At Tangimate there’s an ancient eel weir or pā-tuna and they were there long before Ngāti Raukawa came here, and possibly even pre-Muaūpoko. They’re really ancient and yet they were hand dug. They’re up on dry land, no water in them, so I guess degradation is the value. I guess what happens with the attitude of the Pākehā was that if we make it good productive land, then it has a value. As a wetland, as a Lagoon – it is worth nothing and guess what? If it’s worth nothing we can buy it cheaply. I guess that attitude, in some instances was believed by our own people at the time, yet these lagoons had huge value. What we see today is we’re fencing off the rivers and the waterways. Why are we doing that if these areas have no value? Why are we trying to restore wetlands if they have no value.... So what was the impact in drainage? It was huge.

Like Wayne, the kuia at Poroutāwhao also recall Lake Tangimate:

Kiri: ‘We had a lake down Waitarere that dried up. Lake Tangimate.’

Pauline: “Farming has had a big impact on this area around our Marae.”

Figure 48: An overflowing drain in farmland just north of Foxton



6.2 A Te Ātiawa perspective on resource management

Andre Baker is genealogically related to Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai from Waikanae too. He denounces the actions of local government, when he explains the basis of their whanau claim WAI 1628, as submitted by this grandfather Matenga Baker..

Our whānau claim ... is based on the fact that Matenga ([our] grandfather) refused to pay the county council to use water. He refused to allow water to be seen by him as a commodity that he needed to pay for to supply our papakāinga. And they used the Rates Act in the end to take the land. Haua (Grandmother) came down here (Waikanae) and saw her cousin and said ‘Cousin, they’re wanting to take Matenga’s land’, and she was given some land so she could say ‘I’ve got something worth this much money to Pākehā’, to try and protect the confiscation of papakāinga. But the reason why the land was eventually taken under Pākehā law, under the Rates Act, was because Matenga refused to pay for the water and for those utilities that were going into that property. And ultimately, mysteriously our whare was burned down and taonga were lost, which Matenga was kaitiaki for. That was all about water coming into the property and Matenga said why should we have to pay for that utility? Then in 2015, the Mayor and his council decided they have the right to charge us for water. I can’t agree with that. I can’t give them my permission.

Rawhiti Higgot too has had long experience contesting council's right to charge water rates in the Kāpiti region.

When we gave land for the railways, the steam train stopped in Waikanae ... The railway company in those days had a water right to take water from the Kakariki Stream that ran through the Waikanae School. So they had to pay Wi Parata for that water right. Another example is the marae reservation. We've been arguing for 12 years now because we refuse to pay water rates or for services for the water to come here (to the marae). It was because of our old people and discussions with the local council in the old days, (that is) Marae Lane here. Our people gave up a lot for this community and we flatly refused to pay the rates. The development of Waikanae... our people's land was taken through the rates, so our town could prosper. And here we are arguing with the council about the good our people have done for the community and its come back and bitten us. I'm looking for something to say that because of the generosity of our people, we don't have to pay rates. We're fighting a battle over the water rates.

Charlotte (Nanny Sharkie) Andrews of Taumata Parawera, Ngāti Raukawa and Pourangi and her husband Cyril (Uncle Corny) Andrews have been fierce fighters over critical resource management issues in their Shannon region. On the 16th April 2016, at Poutu Pa Mahina-a-rangi Baker and report writer, interviewed these two well respected community leaders, environmental champions or local kaitiaki. Their issues revolved around resource management and impacts of local government.

Cyril and Charlotte gave an overview of their community-based work in and around Shannon and Foxton over the past 40 years – including their efforts to help clean up the Manawatū River. This has included being involved in challenging resource consent processes and the enforcement of consent conditions, riparian planting schemes, and more recently, the upcoming installation of monitoring stations along the river.

Cyril: “What gives me sleepless nights is that we have very few protections in the law that actually have any teeth. We feel very naked in the world of the law because there is really nothing we can hang our hat on. Every time we try to challenge them in some way or other. We are dealing with learned professionals. We are normal lay people, speaking with our hands on our heart. After all these many years being involved in this, I recently spoke with a council member. There are eight sewerage ponds in the Horowhenua and almost every one of them is in breach of their resource consents. The one here in Shannon hasn't had a resource consent legally now for almost 13 years. What I can't understand is that if the regional council is the issuing authority and the

local district council applies to them for consents, then there are certain rules and regulations that they have to abide by – but the Horowhenua District Council just seems to get away with impunity. They give us the thumb and say ‘tough, we can do what we want to do’ and they just do it. When we talk about the sewerage ponds and the rivers, streams, lakes they are all connected the water all ends up on our beaches. It all ends up on our beaches. It all ends up in the same place. An injury to one, is an injury to all. What they are doing in Palmerston North we are copping down here. What they are doing up in Feilding in the freezing works we are copping it all down here. You even go as far north to Woodville, Pahiatua, Eketahuna and as far north as Dannevirke they send it all down to us, we get everything.”

‘What I am trying to point out is, I know what raw sewerage is. What I’ve seen out here is no way that anyone can convince me that I didn’t see what I saw and smelt it, was raw sewerage. This recent event where the council had got resource consent to do up the farm, but they were in my opinion still in breach of the resource consent conditions and we’ve been everywhere to try and get them enforced – but we ended up with nowhere to go – we’ve been to the Minister, to Parliament, under the Heritage Act. Everyone tells us, sorry there is nothing we can do. Recently I asked the Environment Minister, Hon Nick Smith, what can we do? And he basically said, you can go back to the Environment Court. And that’s true, but here’s the snag – you need to put a deposit first before you can take the case back there to court, and the rationale as I see it if I’m unsuccessful, they wish to hit me up for costs which sometimes they do...’

‘So, I said to the Hon Nick Smith there’s potentially eight breaches in the Horowhenua and that is only one council, eight ponds with eight breaches and the only path I can take is to take them back to court, here is me an old age pensioner where the heck am I going to get ... finances for that. So, in the real world, we have no right of redress. But local councils, regional councils, government departments they have unlimited funds unlimited resources, and access to all the experts. We have absolutely nothing. Again, we are behind the eight ball where ever we go. My wife and I are not the only ones, there are quite a few of us. But it is costly getting to meetings, costs us petrol money, the experts are all sitting on the other side of the table getting paid to be there. Their role seems to be to make pollution legal – and I’ve got a problem with that! It’s our children who’ll end up paying the price. I want to say this much a lot of these meetings my wife and I go to we make it known from the outset we also represent those who can’t attend the hearings those that can’t have a voice and can’t have a say. We are here to speak for them too, we are here to speak for our children, not just our own kids but every kid. Every kiwi kid. You imagine if they went to the college kids and said ‘do you agree with them putting tutae in the water?’ You imagine what the kids would say, I know what they would say ‘like heck we want that’. When my wife or I suggest something like that we get accused of being radical. Its outrageous, its plain common sense.’

Cyril: ‘One important thing that’s been happening is that we’re now working with other marae.’

Charlotte: ‘Other iwi.’

Cyril: ‘We have a close relationship with other iwi and hapū and we’re starting to share knowledge with each other.’

Charlotte: ‘It’s for everybody, not just us.’

Cyril: ‘It’s a nice, warm feeling to go to these meetings and have the insulation of other iwi there also.’

Charlotte: ‘And the Pākehā.’

Cyril: ‘You don’t feel so alone.’

‘We’ve signed our house over to our kids, because at the Environment Court the Council told us they’re going to get us – and that they’ll get us in the Courts by hitting us with lots of charges, and taking our house to pay for it. So I said thank you for that, and we came home and decided to sign our house over to our kids. We own nothing now, so they can threaten us with nothing, there’s nothing they can take from us.’

Charlotte: ‘My poor first home.’

‘For me with the water ‘Calamity Jane, Peskers Bill’ remember the comic? That’s where I’m coming from, all my time being married to my husband it was about we have got to protect the water. It’s about the water. I go right back to them for when they were fighting for the water. And the powers to be were stopping the people from having it, which is still continuing. It’s crazy.’

Cyril: ‘The water we get in this town comes from the Tararuas – beautiful water. Tararuas, the rain comes down this side to us, the other side goes to Pahiatua. The council came along in its wisdom put down a bore into the aquifer without even consulting us. Just over the road. 40,000 year old water the experts tell us. The reason why they put that down. A local farmer, a sitting councilor she asked to put that in. It is 40,000 year old water you don’t know what’s in it. Could be a cure for cancer. Then she got to put her cow sewerage into our sewerage ponds, which meant they all filled up and it cost \$7million to fix up. Total disrespect. Now I’m touching on the collusion around here with local council and regional council, the corruption, the corrupt practice that has been taking place, the sweetheart deals that have been being done behind closed doors. The inability of anyone to get any information out of council and anything to do with money they won’t tell you and you get told ‘it infringes on commercial sensitivity’. They hide behind all this terminology all the time.’

‘We were commissioned by the Environment Court to be part of the Shannon wastewater working party – but the council has kept us out.

More recently, the CEO of our local council has issued a trespass notice on the farms of the sewerage ponds so we can't get out there to check them. We can't get speaking rights at council anymore either – and they also continue to use the tactics of divide and rule, such as by refusing to meet with some and not others.'

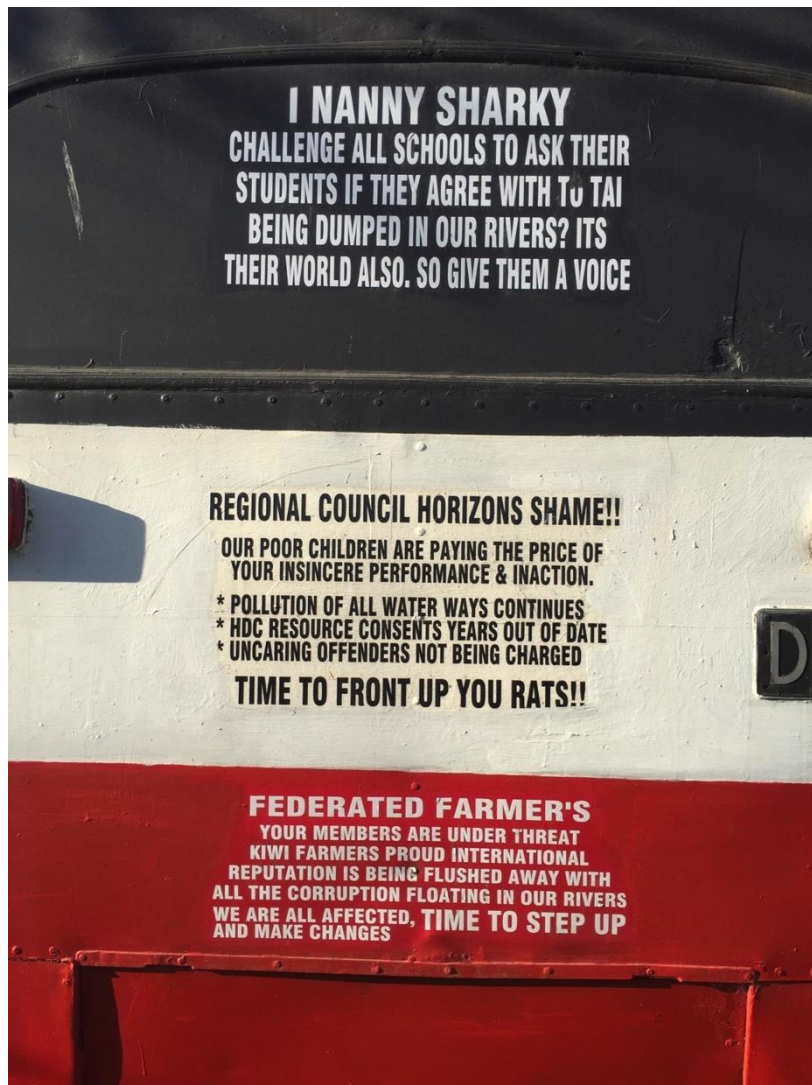
Charlotte: 'That is a little touch of what we have been though.'

Cyril: 'You have a look at our house you see what we believe in.'

Charlotte: "We are not shy."

Cyril: 'You see what she has written on her bus. That's where we tell the world it's that Horowhenua is the pollution capital of New Zealand.'

Figure 49: Rear of Nanny Sharkie's bus parked at their house in Shannon.



Cyril: 'In recent times we've been involved in doing a lot of riparian planting in various places. We've also been looking ahead, and we're in

the process of organising to put in monitoring stations – eight are going to be put in along the Manawatū River, with four more next year and another four the year after. Hand in hand with that, we're also trying to get the schools involved and have the monitoring as part of their curriculum. So the idea, long term, is that Horizons and HDC won't be able to hoodwink our people into the future. That's where we're heading to – we're looking to the future with our tamariki in mind.'

Figure 50: Side of Nanny Sharkie's bus parked at their house in Shannon.



6.3 Te Waari Carkeek on gravel extraction

Te Waari Carkeek of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku, has been a long-term participant in, supporter of and advocate for the various environmental projects underway within the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district. In particular he has had long associations with the resource management needs for the Ōtaki River, Mangapouri Stream, Lake Waiorongomai, Lake Kahuwera, Rangiuru Stream, Ngatoko Stream, Waitohu Stream and the Kuku Ōhau Estuary. Te Waari is currently kaumātua for the Ngāti Toa Rangatira exhibition at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington. He spoke with Moira Poutama and Aroha Spinks at Te Papa in June 2016. Te Waari and Rupene Waaka were noted

advocates for raising concerns over gravel extraction from the Ōtaki River and where iwi/hapu rights were considered in this resource.

The next part for us to consider and to think about, is that the regional council want to build another stop bank and bring it south to encompass our Katihiku wetland so that the river somehow comes further south and eats at our land again – the remaining whenua that we've got out there. So they are quite brazen about telling us that that's their intention, so 'kōrero mai o koutou whakaaro', give it to us, tell us. We don't agree, we definitely don't like that, and they haven't given us any consideration into the discussions around these plans, we ask 'Where do these plans come from?' and 'when did you tell us?', 'Where's the consultation?' There hasn't been any consultation – it's very arrogant actually. To assume that we were in favour of it? That's the thing about bureaucrats. They are like these people that live in their ivory tower, thinking up plans, then they spread them about their colleagues. Then the colleague comes out to where the landowners are and goes 'we are going to do this and we are going to do that'. Of course they haven't figured out that the landowners are sitting right there listening to them as they are giving their ideas which have been formulated for a long time in their workspace, in an urban environment, not the environment that's out at the river mouth. They are in an office, four walls, computers, lighting and things, when they are talking about something that's out there. They need to know how things are tied into that local environment, for example, who owns it, who is living there and how their plans will impact on the people living there? It's not good enough to have these plans or not so wonderful especially when they haven't been discussed and thought out [or in] dealing with tangata-whenua just because they want to meet milestones. They left out the major part of seeking opinions from people first about what it is they want. So that's what's been happening and it's going to be folded into our Treaty claims [too]. This project can't go any further as they forgot one really important point, we are not a stakeholder! We are a Treaty Partner in this discussion, who lives on Māori freehold land. When they wrap their heads around that, it might be too late. And, don't come telling us that you are acting in good faith because good faith starts at the beginning [of the engagement] not at the end...

The gravel extraction from Ōtaki River – we had talks about who owns the gravel? Greater Wellington Regional Council claim they own the river bed and the water in it, they have taken them by proclamation. Another issue that must be tested in the Tribunal hearings. The laws and rules tell us that they own it but in the negotiations for our Treaty claims as we know that the ownership debate can be engaged and turned on its head. It can be shaken because of our strength of how we live on the river and have an unbroken connection with the river. How we view the river and the river bed! So the taking of metal out of the river there are some royalties that get paid, [but] not a lot of money. The iwi doesn't get any money. The council gets paid the royalties. They say it's not a lot... but how much is not a lot? Then they show us figures and say that they are selling the gravel at a much reduced rate, so for example instead

of \$4 a cubic metre its 4 cents that they charge, something minimal like that. So a reduced value of the resource means that it can't be worth that much because they are only selling it for 4 cents a cubic metre but the reality is that the resource is worth \$4 a cubic meter out there on the open market, so who's getting the benefit? The council says it's a finite resource, but when are they going to recognize the depletion of a resource. It might be finite by saying that it's replenishing itself. So every flood brings more gravel down the river, they say that it builds up in the river corridor. The gravel deposits build as small islands and they take it all back again to level the river bed. Because if the level gets too high then the likelihood of the river flooding and overflowing its banks is more likely. So, that's the work they do on the river management, they keep the level gravel down so that when they have the big floods, the river doesn't become dangerous.

Figure 51: Ōtaki River mouth looking over towards the Tararua Ranges



6.4 Michael Cribb with a Ngāti Turoa hapū perspective on gravel extraction

Michael: 'There's a fund that Horizons had (He Awa Tini Fund) and that was from the taking of the gravel. Do you know where that started from? Awahuri. Awahuri my hapū land. To stop us from getting that they put it into a fund and everything (stones and gravel) that's come off that river its meant to help us but every time we went to apply for it they turned us down.'

They've put an overflow drain from the outlets, all the road drains and that, they've put a dirty big pipe right at the beginning of Seddon street. Where Higgins concrete plant used to be and used to pollute the river, now they've got this drain when it floods it just goes straight into the river. And that's all the floods from the roads, all the water from the roads, for the iwi that was pretty shocking.

The district council have just kinda put their head in the sand and said we just wanna keep the same old same old.' 'We've been battling, battling and battling.'

Lorraine: 'There wasn't any raruraru we were all one whanau. I don't remember internal battles amongst ourselves. The other thing was it wasn't a sandy awa, because you had to go across like this (motions) walking on the stones.' (A bit of laughter from Michael.)

Michael: 'Oh it was stoney!'

Lorraine: 'There was a stone company that was taking gravel out. So there were some areas we weren't allowed to. I would have been 8 in primary school to intermediate it was operating there. It would change the flow of our river at times.'

Michael: 'When I had just started going to the river it would have just stopped.'

Lorraine: 'Yes, they were closing it. It wasn't viable.'

Very simply, these powerful testimonies in this chapter decry the all pervasiveness of the Crown's regulatory regime, which overtly supports the value of farming, industry and commercialism and not the tikanga value system of Māori over their waterways, particularly those subjected to human wastewater treatment infrastructures and gravel extraction.

The actions or neglect of the Crown in these matters has had profound effects on the lives of iwi/hapū across the inquiry region.

Figure 52: Oroua River in Feilding



CHAPTER 7: SPECIES AND HABITAT LOSS

Tangata whenua in the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district,

...have been concerned for some time about the degradation of coastal resources, the loss of kaimoana (seafood) or the increasing toxicity of remaining marine species, sedimentation, pollution, eutrophication of waterways, and the associated negative impact that such issues have on cultural identity and sense of pride (mana).⁸²

The degradation of resources and loss of habitat has alarming cultural implications for Māori. The loss of cultural resources negatively impacts on local communities who are increasingly unable to access the services that they have long relied upon for cultural traditions, sustenance and recreation. Things such as the provision of food, the culturally-relevant traditions associated with collecting kaimoana, and the spiritual benefits associated with a healthy coastal environment can also be thought of the cultural 'ecosystem services' that are provided by coastal ecosystems.⁸³

Poor Crown (national and local) regulatory schemes and environmental management has led to wide-scale habitat loss and destruction – and is ongoing. Across the inquiry region, devastating habitat loss – both through annihilation (e.g. deforestation, and drainage of wetlands and dune lakes) and through contamination from pollutants in stream and rivers, is rampant.

Habitat loss has led to species loss (tuna, whitebait, fish, kaimoana, birds, healthy supplies of watercress, pūhā, and also harakeke and raupo) is also ongoing, as outlined for some fish species in the earlier posters in Chapter 2. Accumulated species loss has meant the loss of kai gathering areas and associated tikanga practices.

⁸² D J Hardy, M G Patterson, H Smith, and A Spinks, *Assessing the Holistic Health of Coastal Environments: Research Design and Findings from Cross-Cultural Research*, Manaaki Taha Moana Phase 1', Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 6. MTM Research Team, Massey University, Palmerston North, 2011.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 6.

7.1 Loss of biodiversity through pollution of whenua and awa

The whanau from Shannon speak volumes in regards to the loss of services, decline in water quality and related biodiversity in the Manawatū River through to the destructive transformation of whenua and awa. Jorgi McMeekin of Ngāti Whakatore recounts:

Everyone swam at Hyde's River behind Uncle Henry Wade's hardly did anyone go to the pool well most of the Māori families always met at the rivers... from kids to our parents who used to swim also else the guys would go further up the river eeling with their snorkels... the turbines would come on and it was still fun cos now you got some action with the rapids... My only memory of the Manawatū River was once we went whitebaiting never done it before. After a few I never wanted to do it again 'cos it was boring for me. But you could swim in it then... We never hesitated to go for a swim. [It] didn't matter which river it was, be Mac Higgie's, Hyde's, McGregor's, Wades – they were all heading to connect with the Manawatū... last I was in Shannon I was showing my partner where we used to swim behind Wade's and make a fire to have a feed so we could stay all day... To my dismay there's a sign that says 'Do not swim there', now polluted. How sad to read. I was really annoyed.

Te Meera Hyde: '[I] would walk behind my brothers to the river and ask them 'You's going to 1st pool or 2nd pool?' Haha! We only got one memory of Manawatū awa really. Was very early Poukai 'bout 1979–80 and heaps went over four a swim. Didn't hesitate, was clean as! Swam and walked across and back to cool off. Had names for the swimming holes....

I heard some awesome stories from older whānau 'bout catching up to fifty flounder in the Manawatū River back in the 60's and 70's then giving 10 to this whānau, 10 to that whānau... 'cause that's how many mouths they had to feed! Sharing the kai! The awa was like a pantry to some. Funny how progress (farming and industry) screws it for some, destroys it for more, and then makes those few stinking rich!?!?

Simon Austin raised similar concerns for loss of species when he spoke about:

The waterways runoff from the rivers and streams on the mainland and the pollution of the aquifer affects us. I believe it also has an effect on the shellfish among other things around Kāpiti. I remember some years ago, perhaps a decade ago people couldn't collect shellfish because of some toxin in the shellfish due to algae blooms. So that's something that affected not only the mainland but the islands too.

Similarly, Margaret Morgan lamented the loss of species, including the:

‘White heron, kingfisher, takahe, and weka, which used to be abundant – are not seen anymore.’

Across the inquiry region and as illustrated in the maps, other regions was renowned for its many streams and tributaries running from the Ruahine, Tararua regnaes and foothills. The team acknowledges that water drains out quickly to sea, and due to modification it deos not not settle and create habitat in between dunes. Waterways are defitiely shallower from drainage and water abstraction where low oxygen levels mean fish can’t survive or flourish. Sediment from deforestation and toxicity from soils washes directly into waterways. Despite some wetland or riparian stream restoration in the region, the take-over by invasive species such as aquatic hornwort, celery weed and terrestrial carrot weed, is disheartening to the efforts of many active kaitiaki who are trying to ameliorate these accumulated effects.

To further highlight the historic and current loss of significant taonga species disappearing from the forests and waterways, the report also returns to the interviews of Charles Royal and the kaumātua Hirama Tamihana and Pāori Tātana. Charles relates his dismay at the loss of the huia and his whanau connections to the petitions of his ancestor, Henare Roera.

The older waterways, which are now long gone or have now been turned into farmland, and the particular point that I wanted to make about that was, waterways that are based upon the puna and springs and the water table underneath. You have Papaitonga, Ōhau, Horowhenua and these big places but there are also a lot of different eco systems and habitats which are based upon puna, springs of water coming up from the water tables and Ōrotokare was an example. The draining of swamps was just such a terrible thing to do to the health of our whenua. Birds could no longer make their homes. We lost so much in terms of pīngao, harakeke.

The huia of course was significant to all our people and the loss of the huia, is ironic of course, where this particular relationship with Sir Walter Buller as father of NZ ornithology, had his estate at Papaitonga, known as the Buller Estate. At one time, I believe he created an aviary there and tried to get all the different native birds all living in the one place. Of course it was a disaster because the birds that live up in the mountains don’t usually live with the birds who live by the sea! There’s stories around about Buller’s involvement in the killing of the last huia.

It is not so well known [though] about the petitions by Ngāti Huia [that includes] Henare Roera, who wrote numerous petitions and letters to protect the Huia. We have lots of copies of Henare’s writings, which is

about him complaining, the need to preserve the Huia and the reason [is] Henare... comes from the oldest line from Huia himself. Ngāti Huia was full of chiefs and chiefly women of course, but on this particular occasion it was Henare who happened to have written these letters in protest of the slaying of the Huia and the need for their protection.

While Ngāti Huia as a hapū within Raukawa ki te Tonga, are honoured to be bestowed the mantle of the iconic huia, they grieve its demise as an eponymous or once living, ancestral identifier. Both Hirama and Pāora recall the huia's significance to their people..

Hirama: 'Ngāti Huia were very proactive when they protested about the capture of the Huia. We protested about Buller condemning them because it affected our right to our name sake – the Huia.'

Pāora: 'I might be getting off the track here but there is some written documentation up here [Pāora points to a framed document on the wall]. With regards to the Ngāti Huia haki. Now that haki [flag] for Ngāti Huia was presented by Huia Onslow. To the naming of his son Huia and they presented Ngāti Huia with the flag. So that's the documentation up there, and I think Katihihi have got one too. Can I talk a bit more about that flag? Well that flag was quite a large flag and it had Huia written on it with the Union Jack. Now [with] this flag all the hapū within the union of Ngāti Huia iwi used to have turns at being the Kaitiaki [or looked] after the flag... Every time there was a tangi at their particular marae and they were in the uri of Ngāti Huia, the kaitiaki would take the flag there and they would fly the huia flag there. That would apply to Ngātōkōwaru, Kikopiri, Katihihi so all those – they all flew the Huia flag. It wasn't just given to one hapū it was given to the people and they were all the kaitiaki of it. And of course it was quite an old flag [and] got dilapidated... It got burnt at one stage so we had to arrh... my mother, we buried it with her. She wanted the flag to go down with her. It was all torn and ripped. I got a bit of cheek back from my cousins down in Kikopiri what right have you got to do that. Our cousins at Ngātōkōwaru too, but you know...'

To round off their accounts, these Poroutāwhao kaumātua recall abundance of kai, where everyone ate well.

Hirama: 'We've had plenty of kai from local resources and for some strange reason and I'm not too certain why, but we very rarely went to Manawatū River only to get flounders. Yeah that's right. But around here when I was a kid all our resources for our tepu came from here.'

Pāora: 'I remember me and the old man going down to your fullas area [Ngāti Tukorehe] down Ōhau there, in the Ōhau River there and there's a reserve on the other side aye. We use to get flounders there, whitebait.

Old Gary (Wehipeihana) used to fish on the bank and say ‘come over here, come over here’. We would say nah we are alright.’

Hirama: ‘There was a certain time when at Waitarere, the kahawai used to come up.’

7.1.1 Changes for Ngāti Kikopiri

Charles Royal concludes this section with his heartfelt concerns for iwi and hapū and impacts on their Māori world view within the context of massive environmental challenges Ngāti Kikopiri (and other Māori around the country) are now facing for their futures.

Our people moved from a being seafaring people to being fundamentally a forest people. We originally were sea people and we lived in the middle of Polynesia. If you didn’t know Tangaroa you weren’t going to get very far ... When we came here to Aotearoa and started living in these incredible forests and massive mountains... our tūpuna in Polynesia didn’t know about... these incredible resources and... abundance... I argue that this is why Tangaroa was somewhat demoted in our whakapapa and Tāne was elevated because... the power and the mana of the forest. It’s only really by connecting and knowing Tāne and all his various manifestations that you can live a proper life of understanding birds, rongoā, plants, and all of these things, which are all ‘ngā uri a Tāne.’

The felling of the forests was... a massive calamity to our people because it was the felling of our world view... our understanding... and experience of life. If you come from a world view that believes that the father is the sky above and the mother is the earth here, and the child from Tāne is the one that separated the two of them and created Te Ao Mārama – if you come from a world view that not only believes that ... is fundamentally your truth... then have in the space of three decades to have Tāne felled like that – it’s a massive calamity and it is questionable that you ever recover from something like that. You have to become a new kind of human being to cope with something like that ...

It’s the death of the gods, it’s the death of life itself [where] something else has emerged... You have to become a different kind of human being to cope with a world that is no longer forested. A world where the waterways are polluted and the eels are so small. We have become a very different people to our tūpuna of 150, 200, 300 years ago. We live a fundamentally different life now.

The irony now is that we have killed all the forests. We are all panicking and running around saying ‘How do we restore the forests or restore the waterways’ in our human kind of arrogance and ignorance of life. We are now desperate to preserve whatever little we’ve got now, to reforest

things and recreate things if possible. It's a massive, massive challenge facing the planet now. What is facing human kind now is – what *is* our relationship to the natural world?

Figure 53: Fern in the ngahere



Figure 54: Larger native trees and vines in Waiiopehu Reserve



7.2 Te Waari Carkeek, a Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Huia perspective

As highlighted earlier, Te Waari Carkeek has been a leading advocate on behalf of his iwi and hapū in Māori resource management. While he now works in Wellington where he spends most of his time, Te Waari holds long term and grave concerns for water quality issues in the region; drainage of wetlands and loss of mahinga kai; associated impacts on species such as tuna/eels, inanga/whitebait, kōura and freshwater crayfish, watercress, puha, Māori potatoes (moimoi variety), kamokamo, tohemanga/toheroa, pipi, tuatua, pipitairaki, kahikatua, tipitipi, kaikaroro, bubu, herring, mullet, kahawai, raurēkau, kopakopa and mānuka.

He spoke at length about growing up in Ōtaki next to Raukawa Marae in a large Māori whānau. He noted how kai and resources were collected locally within waterways, along with the associated tikanga for gathering, preparing and serving. His interview covered childhood memories. He also spoke about the present day when amongst others of his hapū, they have negotiated terms under good governance Treaty of Waitangi principles and local laws with the Kāpiti Coast District Council and Greater Wellington Regional Council. Te Waari began his interview with his childhood recollections.

I was born on the 29 October 1960 as number 13 of 14 children ... I'm the 8th boy of 8 boys and we have 6 sisters. Today, there are 12 of us [as] two of my older brothers have passed away. I am in a unique position as a teina I suppose, [as] I was in the youngest set of siblings compared to my elder brothers and sisters. My experience is unlike theirs. They, my elder's siblings, were brought up in the 50's and 60's and I was born in 1960. They have a wealth of information about the kaumātua who were alive in their generation and who they interacted with regularly when they were growing up. Some of the kaumātua they knew had already passed on when I was born. We lived in a house across the road from Raukawa marae, which meant we were aware of what was going on at the marae. We were also aware of who was coming and going ... Often many of those people would call in and see our parents. Many of them were older relatives of our mother or our father. Some would stay at our home even though we had a full house. They would share their stories with our parents [and] we would listen when we could. So that's the context that I was brought up in. We were expected to work in the gardens, expected to go out and gather food, and that's what we did. All these activities were led by our father and our uncles and other cousins would come along as well as aunties. That line of kaumātua that often came to our house, brought things like food with them or they took us with them to go and collect food or to go out fishing or white baiting. There was a constant flow of people coming and going, bringing food and sharing food with us. I took this for granted it was what every family did, but that's what our family did and a number of other big families in our town behaved as our elders instructed. Later I realised that not all families behaved like ours ... I can remember our elders talking about the behavior of some people who were mean or greedy according to Māori tikanga. We thought we weren't wealthy like other people but in looking back at how we survived, we were brought up extremely well and the fact is that we knew our immediate environment that we lived in. We knew the landscape and we knew where to go because we were taken there by our elders and we were taught how to go eeling, how to go white baiting, how to go fishing, how to grow food, that was pretty much taken for granted in our daily life.

As a child in the 1960's... through the 70's, the environment as I recall it was mostly natural. We were brought up in a small town [which] is in a country setting. There were paddocks across the road, there were big

Chinese gardens in the neighborhood and streams flowed through the town. The town's main stream, the Mangapouri at that time we could still go down there and catch kōura. They were our play things and they were also food but we'd go down there and see dozens and dozens of kōura in that stream. There were also eels that we went to catch... We went bobbing and spearing or we'd put meat on hooks to catch eels, there was a lot of good food right at our doorstep. We just thought that it was natural and we naively thought that that it was going to be there forever. We also went out to Lake Waiorongomai. Our father would take us out there on his red truck. We'd go out there in the late summer set the hinaki and go out in the following early morning and wait, watch and be told about the tuna heke, which is the run of eels. I was really young just maybe younger than 10 years old. I went out there, bag carrier you know 'gofer' – carry this, carry that... I didn't do anything much for the capturing of eels as they were thrown up on the bank, we just put them in the bag. Lake Waiorongomai at that time looked really big to me, it was surrounded by harakeke, mānuka, native flora, and it was quite wild. The twin lakes of Waiorongomai and Kahuwera was still there and made the whole area look quite large to me as a child. In fact it wasn't such a big lake. The Catchment Board hadn't started the draining of the lake, but then in the 70's I believe a new drain was cut and the lake levels were lowered. It didn't change the fact that the place was still wild and that the place was still a place we went to catch eels for many years, [even] after the lowering of the lake.

Our extended family were everywhere and we were related to almost everyone... we would fish or we'd go eeling with extended family on the Ōtaki-Porirua Trust lands along Tasman Road. Those wetlands and waterways at that time were still bountiful. We also went out to Rangiuru Stream, to the Ngatoko punawai [spring] and stream, and up to Waitohu Stream. We went all over Ōtaki even over to Katihiku. Many families did this and each family respected each other's independence and the way that you stored your eels... in those boxes. I remember debates about who was allowed to go to Waiorongomai to fish. The thing I was told was that we had lands adjacent to Lake Waiorongomai and we had fishing rights there from our tūpuna.

The eels we caught at Lake Waiorongomai were brought back. We put them into the tank. As kids we'd sit on the edge with our feet dangling in the water allowing the eels to nibble at our toes and then we'd pet them. Even though we made pets of the eels, we knew in the end they would be eaten. The eels were kept for many reasons, the smokehouse being a favourite of mine. It was wonderful watching dad do the smoking of the eels. Getting the sawdust, letting it smolder slowly... there's nothing today that can compare to fresh smoked eel from a smoker. As kids we would be the first in to eat the tuna, we had so much tuna we got tired of eating them. As kids we'd want something different, we'd go and get fish and chips for a change, [while] in fact we had the best food at home. A lot of our diet consisted of fresh fish, tuna; it was part of our staple diet. We grew potato, mum taught us how to gather puha, watercress and kōrau it was plentiful with no concerns about pesticides or sprays in those days that I am aware of.

Figure 55: Lake Waiorongomai



I would say we probably produced 50 per cent of our own food. I could say at certain times especially in the summer up to 70 per cent. In the summer we ate much of our own food we just mixed western provisions like butter, bread, sugar, the normal stuff everyone had to buy, with our diet. We had our own eggs and chickens that we fattened up for Christmas. It was a treat and that was before the Te Horo chicken factory opened up in the mid-1970s. Our mother made preserves, jams, bottling even ginger beer; everything was made at home till about the mid-1970s. Our father died in 1975. Things started to change because the local shops started to offer more options. For a big family with lots of kids I believe we had really good food, wonderful fresh food when it was available. We were seasonal so the things that we stored were like potatoes, kamokamo and every variety of Māori potatoes that you could think of, the 'Moimoi' some other ones I don't even know the name of. Dad would grow them in big patches – kamokamo, pumpkin. We'd do all of that and then the perishables like peas, corn and beans. So that is what we'd eat when they were ready – that was the diet. The landscape that supported our diet... was untouched. There weren't lots of chemicals going into the streams as far as I can remember. There wasn't the level of pollution or sewerage going into waterways. This came a bit later in the 1970s. It just sort of happened! All of a sudden the Mangapouri turned into a very sad stream with very little in it and a funny smell would come from it at certain times. Ōtaki was on a septic tank system and everybody was on that so it was easy for someone to put a pipe down into the creek and let their sewerage befoul the creek. That's what I believe happened before they actually got the sewerage scheme up and running in Ōtaki. You had your own separate septic tanks and pits, even Raukawa Marae had its septic tank system.

If we were going to the beach for a swim we were always told to go out with a kete and to bring something home, not sticks or shells, but gather pipi. When we were growing up it was illegal to go out and get tohemanga, so when the season was open we'd go out in a big band and we'd be shown what to look for. Being shown and actually knowing are two totally different things. So it took a while to figure out what the holes and indentations looked like to know where the tohemanga lived and we had to dig really fast to catch them. Cos' we were only kids then with small hands. Two of us would really go for it and manage to capture a shellfish, a big tohemanga. But over years of practice you learned the technique. You understood how your elder siblings were able to get a dozen while you only found one and that's because of years of practice. What we were doing was the look, see, learn. We knew the tuakana had it covered and then when it was the right tide we'd be sent into the sea to get pipi. So we'd go in there and play, finish our play, get the pipi and take them back. That was normal for most Māori families to be doing back then. I can't think of a Māori family in particular who didn't do that. That is what we did naturally mostly in the summer so it was a summer activity. I don't remember going out in winter only when it was tohemanga season and if it was open. The other thing was we got into a habit of calling them toheroa because we heard everybody else saying it but in actual fact our kaumātua called them tohemanga. So we re-trained ourselves to repeat the right word and say tohemanga. Toheroa, they'd tell us was the term used from North Auckland. The expression for tohemanga I think is something that our kaumātua used. Those whānau who lived nearer to the sea had a better knowledge of what terms were used and when to gather those delicacies. Even pipi's when discussed in depth with our kaumātua I remember they had other words for pipi, the tuatua, the pipi tairaki, the kahikatua, the little tipitipi and the kaikaikaroro – all of those names for the different shapes and the little round one's the seagulls eat. Then I also remember we'd go to the Ōhau estuary to get pupu (bubus) and I thought to myself at the time what are these snails. They were bubus and we were taken there to collect them. They were only small but they were really sweet so we'd eat those too. I remember you had to eat a lot to get a good taste for them.

The ngahere wasn't something that we were close to and we only went to the ngahere to do certain things. Some of my elder sibling used to go pig hunting but we didn't do it as a group. So we went to the bush when we had eels and Dad wanted to gather raurēkau and make raurēkau tuna. He took us to Haruatai or up to Ōtaki Gorge and showed us how to pick them then he brought them back and showed us how to plait them onto the eel. Then we'd watch them being roasted, standing them next to an open fire. Dad told us some tikanga about how you present the tuna to manuhiri. I heard the same thing from other Ōtaki kaumātua so it was a fairly common topic of discussion. You never cut it up you present it whole, you present the head first to the manuhiri and make sure they take the juiciest sweetest piece first, the head. You take the tail and that's to show that they're the special manuhiri, the special person... you just take the tail where there wasn't much meat. But there were so many eel's people could have one each. There was etiquette around eating raurēkau

tuna, which tuna people knew in Ngāti Raukawa. The stories were also accompanied with the importance of eating everything you were offered so as not to insult the hosts. A hard thing for kids to get their heads around when you didn't grow up in times of hardship!

Going to the ngahere for rongoā wasn't a thing we were into, the only rongoā we seemed to get was kopakopa and that wasn't in the bush – it was on the ground everywhere. The people that actually did the rongoā were our cousins the Rikihana's who actually made rongoā because they followed a tikanga or a practice that was passed to them from our elders, down that line and they did all of that very well indeed. So if you didn't have that knowledge or have that understanding then you'd go to the people who did know it. Then they'd say what's the matter and you'd say I've got this infection, or this cold or my puku's feeling funny and they'd say you need this, this and that. Then they'd go into the ngahere because there was a ngahere behind where the Rikihana's lived called Haruatai and they knew it like the back of their hands.

In the 50s and 60s our father worked on building the present day Ōtaki River stock bank. He was the grader driver, building up the stock bank. That changed the way that the river worked forever, because it used to be a braided river that flooded. When it flooded it went all over the place so by channeling the river you actually inhibited it, impacting on the surrounding area. We would go to the river during whitebait season. That was the main time that we went to the Ōtaki River and we went out there and camped out there.

You didn't know what you didn't know. I think in that generation they thought 'well the waste products from the milk factory can't be dangerous, can't be harmful and because it's from a cow, it's just white milk, white water' but subsequent discussions have proved that it had quite a detrimental effect on the health of the streams it was going into. People looked at it this way it was a job, lots of our whānau worked at the milk factory so if somebody kicked up about it, then it threatened the livelihoods of quite a number of families and that's why I think people tended to not understand. There weren't scientists running around to test water samples and say this is no good. There weren't environmentalists jumping up and down saying 'you know we need to go and do this and we need to do that'. Many ordinary people we were in a vacuum of not knowing, no opposition, no-one knew any better... that awareness of environmental degradation has come in recent years, when we've realised how much we've lost. We should have been doing something in the 60's and 70's to protect what we had rather than trying to regain what we've lost now. So, we lost much before we knew we'd lost it.

Ōtaki River, well what I remember of the Ōtaki River mouth and being at the river in my childhood, the river flowed to the north, opposite the end of Kāpiti Lane out to the sea. It always flowed to the north – the lands over on the Katihiku side was always land. The river today in Ōtaki is channeled to flow the way it does being pushed by council to flow south and eat away at the Māori land on the Katihiku side. That is

farm land, and there where cows and things there. The river tended to follow the stock bank around and go out north. When I look at historical maps, pictures and compare where the river flowed in 1940 to 1950 to 1960 to 1970 it all goes north... What would happen was the river would overflow its banks but realign to its natural pathway. But there weren't any banks on the south side – there wasn't a stock bank so it flooded over at Katihiku, deposited river silt and then drain away. But the flow of the river went north... then in 1975 the river management people put in a new stock bank in to stop the river tending to the north. You can see a big lagoon there today that was actually part of the old river bed.

Figure 56: Ōtaki River mouth looking over towards Katihiku Marae



When we were young we would go out there and all that side of Katihiku, was land there was also a big lagoon out there and we'd go there with Dad to set herring nets and other fishing traps. We would set up in the evening to catch the night tide the herring would come in, and we would go back out before sun up and bring in the net and we'd have hundreds of herrings, mullet, and kahawai even. This was a spring time activity, it coincided with white-baiting and stuff like that. That's what we did on quite a lot of occasions, not only us but other whānau were there, maybe four or five nets in that area. Everybody got quite a good haul of fish in their nets out of that area, but the river wasn't as channeled as it is now at the mouth area. So, that's an issue especially for the land owner's at Katihiku because they've lost land, pā sites and urupā – they've been swept away by the river. They own into the middle

of the river. On the maps it can be shown where their boundaries are. They pay rates for those lands now in the river bed. I question why rates are being paid on land that's no longer used, which is now physically a river bed. The fact is – it's an opportunity for Katihiku to press traditional ownership rights over the river. When dealing with the regional council the issue of property right raises many questions. Who can say that they own this property? We say we own this property so there's the unresolved debate. The Katihiku view is that it's all Māori land including the beach, the sea-shore and half way into the river bed. An application is pending under the Marine and Coastal Areas Act. We have unbroken use and succession to that land. So that's one of the issues Katihiku are facing around Ōtaki River mouth. Who owns it, and where do we say our boundaries are? Well, we go right into the river and right out to sea – it's an unbroken connection to that place. I suppose the present day Ngāti Huia side of Ōtaki River, the south side and that they have had an unbroken connection with their practice, tikanga and the practices of fishing. It's never been broken and that goes right back to our tohunga who built their papakāinga out there, who put up their pou or their totem to their atua and to their taniwha. That practice has been passed down right to today, so we have a pretty solid understanding and are confident about who we are and what we know and what we believe. That another issue that we need to take to the Waitangi Tribunal around the destroying of our wāhi tapu, the destroying of our urupā and our pā. We actually know who was there and it's through the actions of Crown entities.

7.3 A Muaūpoko perspective

Rob Warrington is an active kaitikai from Muaūpoko, with Ngāti Raukawa affiliations through his mother. At this interview at Tatum Park in May 2016 with Gary Hook and Lynne Raumati, he referred to the sacred lake or Roto Hapuakorari and Lake Punahau/Lake Horowhenua, and the relationship these sacred lakes have to the Hōkio Stream and the Ōhau River. His recollections revolved around the impacts of colonisation and legislation and loss of ownership of taonga.

I just wanted to talk about the Muaūpoko headwater, this sacred lake up in the Tararua ranges. Hapuakorari is the name. Many years ago the Crown took it off Muaūpoko for a pittance as part of the Tararua 'waste lands.' There were two things they had to do, cut out two one thousand acre blocks as reserves for us. This roto is the physical and spiritual source of the water that feeds all other lakes and streams throughout the district. These lakes were so tapu to our family, so important that they were never to be sold, we still today wait for those reserves to be cut out. So, currently the Crown are saying 'hey can you tell us where these reserve are? And sorry 'bout that we have been a bit remiss but we are prepared to do it now.

Those headwaters are so important because they connect the mountain to the land to the sea. The underground waterways are the toto or the blood of those lakes that go to another particular water body – Lake Punahau or Lake Horowhenua... it goes down the arteries, which is the Hōkio Stream and various other [waterways like] the Ōhau River. All those are akin to the arteries of the body, [those] sacred lakes' lines.

7.4 Albert Gardiner of Ngāti Wehiwehi, Manakau

Albert Gardiner is of Ngāti Wehiwehi whakapapa who was interviewed by Moira Poutama at Wehiwehi Marae in April 2016. His dialogue revolved around the significant inland waterways of the Waikawa River, Tikorangi Stream, Manganganao Stream, the Whakahoro swamps and the coastal dune wetlands.

Albert recalled customary use practices and their significance, the impacts of colonisation, the attitude of councils, water quality issues, flooding, and mahinga kai. He paid particular attention to certain species (tuna/eels, piharau/blind eel, inanga/whitebait, kākahi/freshwater mussel, kōkopu/native trout, watercress). Of interest to the research team was the role of women in in the past cleaning the tuna. Albert talked of the inland waterways surrounding Manakau. He recalled their the pristine condition they were once in, and the abundance of kai collected from them. He provides an account of the loss of biodiversity he has witnessed in his lifetime to the current day.

... I know for over sixty years everything's declined, the water quality has gone backwards. You wouldn't go in there and put your glass and have a drink of water. No way.

As a young boy down at Manakau we lived beside the Waikawa River and when I was about eight or nine I can recall ...when we [went] swimming. Right beside [our house], about one hundred, fifty metres from the house, we had a big swimming hole. That swimming hole was a clay one. We use to stand on the bank and you have a look and the swimming hole was deep – about twenty odd feet deep. We would look in there and see six, seven or eight trout swimming around in the swimming hole. We were jumping in and swimming and all of that. Been brought up down Boulder Road (or Whakahoro Road it is called now) where we explored Waikawa waters, walked up and down then, with Mum and Dad – at say certain times of the year, the piharau were around/the blind eel.

I was born in 1950. The quality of the water, I tell you what we actually use to get buckets of water to take home and we could drink that water – pristine water. I'm talking sixty, sixty two or so years ago.

Getting back, there were tuna in there. Kōura, freshwater kōura, there was inanga or whitebait. Whitebait actually used to come way up outside our house. Mum use to put the whitebait net in and catch whitebait way up the Waikawa. Didn't have to go out the beach to catch it. We had plentiful tuna. We always had a kai out of the awa.

... I've seen that Waikawa, which I was brought up on and we swam in there untold times and caught trout. You name the fish that's in there – it was plentiful, full for anyone that came if they wanted to catch any [and] to take it home for kai. I remember going back down that same river... looking for eels about four years ago, went out with a torch and I'll tell you what, be lucky if we seen about six. You know what I mean? They were scarce. They weren't healthy looking [either] because over time that awa has... dried up because... of climate change, drought when there's been no water in the river! So, its dried up and the tuna are gone. So have all the fish. There is only tuna... [but] when it rains, they come back.

I know for over sixty years, everything's declined, the water quality has gone backwards. You wouldn't go in there and put your glass in to have a drink of water. No way.

Way back in the sixties, seventies, probably nearly 1975 after that – it's just gone – you know all the water. People notice that today that around the area their water bore is down. Even that, you can't really drink it you've got to boil it. The water in Waikawa from then to now and how the river's changed from some of the swimming holes, say coming right up to your fulla's place [referring to Moira's whānau] was clay not boulders. The boulders came down later say after around mid-60s to 70s. Sometimes we'll have like a flash flood 'cause the old house was near the awa and we'd hear a big rumbling! Loud, and it's big, because it rained up the hills and all the boulders are in the front and that's making that noise. All the boulders are coming from the Tararua, filling up all the holes with these big boulders. When we say that there were clay holes people look but the ones that lived down here knew like the Parata's, the Ransfield's, Cook's, Wallace's – they all knew, Uncle Harry, all knew it was clay. Today, you go down there it's just stones, boulders and metal everywhere, which is filling up the riverbeds. As soon as a flood comes it floods all the farmers properties, which is happening right today! It's been happening for the last, I would say twenty years. As soon as we have a flood it floods everyone's properties and it's getting worse. And as for water quality well from the 1950s to the 70s, you could put a glass into it. You wouldn't do it now, because it is all polluted through all different things happening, whether it's dairying [or] a bit of everything, really.

... we had a meeting with the Horizons guy to do with the Waikawa. I went to this meeting with the farmers and they could see what's

happening to that river and they can't really give an answer. I got pulled up down there and I said, 'What's happening to this river, it's filled up with metal and you guys are meant to be extracting it, helping to keep the water table down, [but] with it filling up now it's going to flood everyone. The next big flood, which happened last year, flooded and scoured and took out the Waikawa bridge and they couldn't get through the main highway! I then said 'You have another major like that mate it's going to flood all the farms right through to your fullas' land, right through ours and I said 'You guys are just sitting there trying to figure out what we're going to do'... You keep saying that and you planted a whole lot of trees... What you've caused and will cause is a big huge flood, 'cause there's only a little path for the water and it's going to block up with all the trees that come out! Big trees come down! You want to come down here when there's a big flood, I've got photos if you want them. I've taken them. It's been that far from coming over the stopbank.' [Albert indicates with his thumb and fore finger how close the water has been.] That far. (I showed the Horizons guy) and he looked at me. I said 'Cause it doesn't come over it goes to our relations to Antony and Awhina's place and floods them every time.' So they haven't given us a reply. They're trying to see who's responsible and he's got to really pay to fix it and I go, 'Well what we are standing on is a paper road' and I said 'Who stays over there is the Grays but doesn't mean they own it. It's actually a shared access road to get to all our whānau's lands.' I said 'We built a bridge about six years ago down from our cowshed, we had to because of dairy we couldn't walk our cows across the river that's a no, no.' I said 'We got an access bridge for our cows and vehicles but that's the paper road.' They haven't given us an answer and that was two weeks ago. They said, 'We want to know who owns it'. I said 'I don't know. Go back to the 1800s we could all own it, all us that live here.' But they want to pin point one to put the cost on. A big concrete slab like a ford – it's all deteriorating and what we are saying is that 'no fish, inanga can get over this slab'. They're thinking of putting pipes underneath then we go, 'well won't that pull up all the metal coming and block it up?'



Figure 57: Large tuna next to the Quarter Acre restaurant in Manakau

7.4.1 Decline in health of wetlands

Albert shifts his attention to wetlands or swamplands of his Waikawa region.

I'll go back to the swamp lands. When the swamp lands got taken out, down in Whakahoro [the area] really declined, the whitebait never came back, they never came up right up to where we lived in the house. So once the swamp lands were taken out the whitebait never returned because they had nowhere to lay their eggs. When the whitebait eggs go out to the sea then it brings the young ones back. That was down Waikawa, I think they called it Waikawa Clearance. That's how I recalled it. That's some of the land we lease now. That land was like the Mohi land. I think that joins up with your fullas' land (indicating to Moira) that we got at Pekapeka. There's a Mohi block, then the Wallace block at Pekapeka. Down that way to the Pekapeka land, which is say half a mile up from Waikawa beach we use to get in the backwash abundance of kākahi, freshwater mussels – plentiful! We used to go in there with bare feet and pick them up and put them in a bucket, that's where we got the most and then sometimes we use to stop in Waikawa beach Road, down by Bertram's house. There was a farm halfway down Waikawa. [I] remember that farm on the right. In the drain we used to get all our Watercress, both sides. Well in that drain was the kākahi

under the watercress... used to get them there. Now and again we'd go around the house, the house had a swimming pool. I think probably Lossie and Bob lived there, they farmed there. We used to go over the back to those culvert – kōura. We used to get them in there. I would have been 10 to 15 years old then... There was a whole lot of us that [did that], not just one on our own.

Then we would go up – we called it the Manakau Stream. That branches off and goes up by the urupā, goes over the Main Highway. We used to go up there and the beautiful trout in there – big brown trout, huge, we used to catch them. Then, they had tuna all in there. I was talking to someone [where] they went there about three years ago, they said they hardly seen a trout. That's three years ago. I'm talking about 2012–2013, from 1960s to then [2012] everything's really declined over the years. Water quality, maintenance of our streams and awa, haven't been looked after properly because a lot of places really are... What they are doing is putting all this willow in, which is causing the flooding – it's blocking up and not letting the water in and the wall of trees that come down out of those mountains. It's unreal what comes out and it's clogging up all the good land and next flood comes along everyone is blocked and it goes all across the whenua. Ruins all the crops [for] people that have got crops in. There's lots of wetlands gone... there are only a few wetlands left. What I was talking about. I call it Whakahoro Clearance, which was drained out and that's the Mohi land. Just behind our place way back next to Simon McCarley, it backs on to his place. You know Simon's way behind us. This is southwest of the Waikawa River. Simon McCarley, then Miritana family, Ranapiri land and so forth and it goes out to the Pekapeka, which is Gardiners, Mohi, Wallace lands, and way over in Ranapiri land – the lake I don't know much about that side. So whoever is involved can help talk about that lake. I know very well talking to Marshall last year, that they're restoring all the wetlands, bringing them back. Sounded really good what they're doing. I love what I heard. I really want to look at it for some of the land we've got 'cause it all connects. I would even think that some of your fullas' land that goes through part of it too. I'm sure it is, you fullas, then Mohi. There's a few blocks – they all run side by side all linked into where the wetlands are. I am personally keen but I haven't approached my family, we need to get a lot more information and then we can have a hui and talk about it. That's how you do it or bring someone in to talk to us. I'm really interested in forming a reserve because when Marshall told me last year about it and I met the guy that was heading it, last August or September 2015... Richard Andersen was his name. I shook his hand.

I probably should bring up about being brought up around the 1950s to say 1970s down Boulder Road, which was Whakahoro then, we actually went over two drains. We went to Tikorangi crossing, which runs through that Māori land we got there – that block we got it runs through Tikorangi Drain. We used to catch an abundance of tuna [in the 1960s, 1970s.] The watercress! Then we went to Mangananao. That stream had the real big granddaddy tuna... They were there because they couldn't get out to migrate so they just stuck, locked. Biggest tuna I ever seen are in that drain. You only there for half an hour and you got a kai for a

whole lot of families then we come home, but we always went there. I know today you go there and you hardly get a tuna because they're gone, they just gone. Back from 2000 to now, you lucky to catch one. I remember a relation put a hinaki in there probably about four years ago and I'll tell you what he got two eels. I'll tell you what! He come in and he showed me what he got and I said, 'Hey, cuz you should have put them back'. That's how small they were. They should have been put back but it was too late you can't put them back now they ka mate [dead]. So that's what I have experienced over that time even though I've been in other streams... I remember them really clear because we went there a lot. It's not that we went there weekly, I lost count, families all of us around, the cousins, whānaungatanga, we gathered the kai – all of us. We got a kai for all of us. The mothers were good at cleaning, the women were good at cleaning the tuna. Today the man sort of do that. In the old days, the women cleaned all the tuna. That's what I can recollect going back to my childhood around 1955 to 1970.

Figure 58: New artificial lake Waimarie (alongside another Te Puna o Te Ora) as part of Strathnaver Drive, Waikawa



CHAPTER 8: MANA WĀHINE/MANA TĀNE

Mana is a spiritual quality considered to have supernatural origin – a sacred impersonal force existing in the universe. Mana resides in people, animals and inanimate objects. Mana is a way of being. People do not bestow mana on themselves – their accumulated achievements and their ability to empower others in upholding their culture, are acknowledged by others.

There are many different expressions of mana that may be described as *ngā pou mana*, or Māori foundations of authority and leadership. They include Mana Atua, Mana Tūpuna, Mana Tāngata, Mana Wāhine, Mana Tāne, Mana Whenua, Mana Moana, Mana Tiriti and Mana Motuhake⁸⁴ to highlight a few. They are regarded as influential supports for Māori to build upon and achieve their goals of advancement, cultural affirmation and protection of the environment⁸⁵ in a local and globalised world.

From a Māori customary visual culture perspective, Mana Atua is present in *ngā taonga o nga tūpuna*, (tangible treasures of times before). Mana Atua is found inherently in the language of tā moko, carving, painting or weaving. Mana Atua is also carried into the contemporary art world by Māori artists who use a range of mediums and technologies today. Mana Atua describes influential connections with spiritual powers from the different environmental domains and their resource interests that sustained human wellbeing. In contemporary times too, Mana Atua may be expressed when people re-examine the interdependencies that exist between the ‘forests and oceans, fish and fowl, the rivers and the soil and between people and the elements.’⁸⁶

In taking up environmental challenges, active kaitiaki or caretakers restore cultural, environmental, spiritual and interpersonal health and functioning to lands and waterways again, for the sake of the future generations. Therefore, the well-being of environments and peoples are inextricably linked.

All the hapū interviewees in this report thus far, have had to re-examine the range of interdependencies they experienced with their waterways due to considerable damage

⁸⁴ M.H Durie., 1998, *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: the Politics of Māori Sovereignty*, Oxford University Press: Melbourne, v.

⁸⁵ Ibid.13.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 21.

exacted upon the vast network system with the expansive inquiry district, and as raised in all other related environmental reports in this inquiry.

Whilst Mana Tupuna is derived from immediate ancestors, parents and grandparents who impart knowledge and mentor their offspring through life, it also notes the inheritance of the entire natural world where all things exist in relationship to one another. Hence Mana Tūpuna includes not only human heritage, but the heritage of the entire natural world.⁸⁷

Figure 59: Rainclouds along the Tararua ranges, just south of Foxton



Mana Tāngata describes the influence that emanates from people. It may be inherited, or earned through the actions of a group or individual. Individual self-esteem is also a manifestation of mana.

Customary Māori society also acknowledged a natural order of the universe where

⁸⁷ Charles Te Ahukāramu Royal, 2005, *Aro-Mind Charles Thinks Out Loud*, Blogspot
URL <http://aro-mind.blogspot.com/2005/11/three-types-of-mana.html>

everything had intrinsic tapu. Each person within a collective had his or her own intrinsic value. This value was the potentiality for power that began with their existence or conception. Women and men were bonded to their source of being and therefore their mana.⁸⁸ In this way women and men were responsible for maintaining a balance not only in relationships between peoples of the collective, but also with the environment and all living things.⁸⁹ Sustaining resources depended on them getting optimal balance for survival. Such interdependency and complimentary roles to each other, was vital for the sake of communities.

Mana Wāhine is dedicated to affirming the roles of women within Māori society, and within whānau, hapū and the wider iwi. Mana wāhine is based on mātauranga Māori, where Māori women's knowledge of the world is articulated and asserted. Mana Wāhine overcomes the inequities that have impacted on Māori women through exposure to external influences. Mana Wāhine recalls the feats and traits of tūpuna wāhine and atua wāhine in order to reaffirm Māori women as critical agents for change,⁹⁰ to recognise them as as acknowledged leaders in the past, in the present, for and in the future.

Mana Tāne today can be expressed in many ways, for example it might be expressed when Māori men influence better health outcomes for themselves. According to Ministry of Health statistics, during the last two decades Māori men are more than twice as likely to die prematurely as non-Māori men with heart disease, cancer and type-two diabetes. Across the country, many Mana Tāne health workshops take place to encourage Māori men to talk about the issues that affect them in a positive way with health practitioners helping them to devise solutions for their health and well being, and for their whanau.

This report focuses on Mana Wāhine and Mana Tāne as customary influences that aim to promote a deeper appreciation and understanding of gender roles, health and sexuality (including BGLTG⁹¹ communities), based on principles of Māori culture for a

⁸⁸ Michael Shirres, 1997, *Te Tangata: the human person*, K&M Print: Palmerston North, 37.

⁸⁹ Charles Te Ahukāramu Royal, 2006, 'Māori creation traditions', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*

URL <http://www.teAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/Maoricreationtraditions/en>.

⁹⁰ Leonie E Pihama, 2001, *Tihei Mauri Ora Honouring Our Voices : Mana Wahine As A Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Unpublished thesis for Doctorate of Philosophy in Education, University of Auckland

⁹¹ Bisexual, gay, lesbian, transgender.

contemporary world. Both these concepts of mana are important stimuli for current understandings of Mana Tāngata.⁹²

8.1 Impacts on Mana Wāhine

To bring key informants into this chapter, Lois McNaught of Te Ati Awa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Āni Parata met with Lynne Raumati and Aroha Spinks to record their concerns for the Waikanae River, Waimea Lagoon, other inland wetlands/lakes/springs at Waikanae and Lake Waiorongomai

Both referred to the impacts of colonization, loss of management control, local government, water abstraction for township supply, water quality, loss of species and the fishery of flounder. However what they highlight here in the following are the impacts on mana wāhine and mana tāne.

Lois: ‘I affiliate to the ART Confederation Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa. I represent Te Āti Awa today as I’m working with Te Āti Awa on our Te Ati Awa Wai 88, 89 claims. That all goes back to my cousin Ani Parata who married my other cousin ... Pehi Parata. Also Whakarongotai was very close to my mum Teuruhina Baker and my Nana Haua Kiriona. Haua is the third daughter of Wi Parata and I am come from her second daughter Teuruhina. Nana grew up around Lake Waiorongomai at Raukawa as well as over at Katihiku. Her father is buried up there at Poroutāwhao, near Matau Marae. On our Raukawa side, we are Ngāti Huia. And we are Ngāti Pare on granddad’s side. Why am I even going there? Probably to give an idea [of] my interconnectivity with the thin threads of whakapapa. I’m very blessed to have the whakapapa I’ve got and to have come from the tupuna I come from. There is a little saying that I didn’t just pick up yesterday as Nana Haua Baker bought me up for the first 5 years of my life in Ōtaki. The saying is:

I am the product of the love of thousands and behind me [are] all my ancestors.’

⁹² The whole first section of this chapter is derived from draft chapter work by this report writer completed for the 2011 Te Papa Press publication *E Tū Ake: Māori Standing Strong*, pp. 92-174. It was an accompanying publication to the exhibition that travelled internationally from 2011–2014.

Āni: ‘My journey has been for the marae for Te Āti Awa.’

‘There are two families in Waikanae one of them is Irawini Te Marau families and Pehi (Parata, my late husband) is from Wi Parata Te Kakakura. My journey, my life has always been about being Pākehā ‘cos we were really good at it. My koro told my mother, he brought my mother up and we were told to be ... Pākehā’s because that was the world we were going into.’

‘He (Pehi) was always an environmentalist. Fighting way back then, the Paua, you name it, the waterways....’

‘He went on to build Whakarongotai. He took us on a journey that we were’re all not familiar with. We were really badly colonised, you know. We were really colonised early by Hadfield. The last fight we had with Raukawa, Hadfield arrived soon after that – the Kuititanga squirmish. We were encouraged not to go that way.’

‘In 1989 when we took this claim out he (Pehi) could see what was going to happen.’

‘He put the claim in, as Muaūpoko were going in, flying over to the island (Kāpiti Island) and no way was he going to agree to that. So we get in a silly little plane and we fly up over the top of them. He gets back, types up our claim and he sends it off to Iwi (Nicholson) and Matt (Rei) and says ‘this is what I’m doing and that was our claim lodged (Wai) 88 and 89. He ensured the other two iwi (Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira were aware). In those days we all wanted to go together. We remember the late nights 2 to 3 o’clock in the morning meetings over here at Raukawa (Marae).’

Figure 60: Kāpiti coastline along Raumati and Paraparaumu Beaches as well as Kāpiti Island



Āni also added about the work of her late husband,

But his (Pehi) report has never changed. And they (councils) keep going back to it. I was talking to John Barrett the other day and he said ‘I don’t know what they are going on about; Pehi did it in 1990, why don’t we just resurrect that one?’ And he’s right because what we were saying then to local government hasn’t changed. We said to Regional Council ‘if we can eat the fish and drink the water in all our waterways, only then have you got it right! If we can’t do that... you haven’t got it right. So get it right before you come back.

My daughter can tell you about fishing because her father used to make her go floundering. She used to say ‘how come the boys don’t have to go floundering mum? You know pulling the nets. Why did Peaches and I have to go dragging the nets with dad?’ But that was what the Parata men were like. They took their daughters out, that is what they did, their daughters, very matriarchal.

Lois: “We were just talking about Rawhiti Higgot – his daughter can fish anywhere. She lives here (Ōtaki) actually but she knows all the stories of the Waikanae River too you know.”

“My thoughts went back to Tukurakau ... [it] was the old village at Waikanae. See the waterways that went through there are no longer there and of course with the new motorway they are right on top of Tukurakau. So far as I’m concerned that changes a lot.

Ani: “They made up a story that the Waikanae River they came in and the people, [c]ould walk over the sand dunes. They actually came around another river, to come on to it [the Waikanae]. The Waimeha, it came in, it made sense, you know the shape of it. They actually paddled inland and went up it, not so much always the Waikanae River [as] there was another way in. You could see where it was. So where they are putting the new road in is very much on that place.”

Mrs. Morgan Allen of Ngāti Hikitanga Te Paea recollected examples where she felt mana wāhine had been asserted over kaupapa, but then subsumed by the changed context of the day. She told the team how her Uncle’s Des and Bernard talked of her tūpuna Rangiuira standing to speak at Kikopiri Marae in 1907. Margaret recounts that:

She had been taken there by my grandfather, David Morgan. But she was prevented from doing so. When this happened she removed her top and exposed her injuries that she had received during the war of 1865. Her injuries spoke silently for her not being permitted to speak.

Another example of loss of mana wāhine for Rangiuira that Margaret shared with the research team was how as recompense for military services rendered to her husband

Kipihana Te Kehe – he was awarded land. Upon his death in 1903, his wife Rangiuira succeeded to it. In 1912, after the death of Rangiuira, the court appointed as successor to the land Kipihana’s half-brother, on the understanding that Kipihana had no issue. Also the land was considered to be a ‘life interest’ to Rangiuira, so therefore her child was not deemed to be eligible to succeed. Redress on a range of judgements made over lands is still being sought by the current generation today.

Willie McGregor in his early dialogue with the team at Kererū marae, recalled an incident when the mana of Matarakapa Island and the Manawatū River mouth at Foxton was trampled upon by local government rescinding agreements over the management of Matarakapa Island. This incident broke his father’s heart – like a personal attack on his own mana.

The sad thing was when Granny Kereopa walked along the side, around the shore of Matarakapa. Dad said he was a very tall man of 6’2” or 6’3” somewhere up there, but he said that day “his shoulders were bent... like a defeat”, there was a hint of a tear in his eyes and you didn’t see that. Not in Kereopa Makarika, he was a proud man but his words were “They reneged on us”. In other words, he was saying “you are seeing the death of what was ours, seeing the death right here” and that broke his heart.

8.1.1 Impacts on Mana Wāhine: A Ngāti Pareraukawa perspective

Mereana Selby offered a brief response on impacts on mana wāhine as experienced in within their rohe.

Mereana: ‘I’m not too sure where we go back to, but there has to have been a conflict between the introduction of a new set of cultural norms and Pākehā roles... for the norms [of how] women [were] perceived and [what] was acceptable in Māori society. There [possibly] had to be some areas that would have been no go for Māori women in a Pākehā environment and vice versa. We seemed to have in our hapū, a history of strong female personalit[ies] and leadership. I don’t know how the intrusion of Pākehā culture and norms, would have disrupted the roles that our Māori female leadership held.’

Gary: ‘I think being Māori in the 19th century, women had land and when they married Pākehā male, he automatically assumed ownership... [Pākehā] were actually using Māori women to gain access to land. I have heard of a family being deprived of their inheritance simply because Pākehā was involved and took ownership of it.’

8.2 A Ngātiawa descendants' perspective

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Other examples of loss of mana wāhine and mana tāne due to disassociation to land holdings and inability to access waterways were shared by Apihaka Tamati/Pirikawau-Mack of Ngāti Kahukura me Tuiti and Ngātiawa; Yvonne Mitchell of Puketapu and Ngātiawa; Rawiri Jenkins-Evans (via Skype) of Puketapu and Ngātiawa; Muriwai Tamati/Pirikawau-Goodman of Ngāti Kahukura me Tuiti and Ngātiawa, and Hirini Jenkins-Mepham Puketapu also of Ngātiawa.

This Ngātiawa group were interviewed in June 2016 at the Kāpiti Community Centre in Paraparaumu by Moira Poutama and Aroha Spinks. They expanded upon the problems of colonisation and its effects on their loss of ownership, management and ability to gather food and resources such as tuna/eel, whitebait, watercress, puha, kawakawa, kangapirau, pipi, and other shellfish.⁹⁴

The inland waterways that are significant to Ngātiawa were shared verbally and pointed out on maps were listed as follows: Pirikawau Springs, the sacred waterfall at Waikanae Bridge that is fed by Pirikawau Springs; Otaihanga; Waimea, Mangaone; Tikotu; Whareroa; Wharemauku; Mangakotukutuku; Ngātiawa; Reikiorangi; Rangiora; Muaūpoko and Kapakapanui Streams; Rawakahia Lagoon; Ngawhakakangutu Lake; Waimea Stream pipe outlet at Waikanae Beach, and the Waikanae River.

Apihaka Mack, trustee of the Ngātiawa Iwi Charitable Trust described the whakapapa of Ngātiawa and the rivers that marked the boundaries to their rohe. She provided details that were historic to the current day on the impacts seen in their significant awa, including loss of access, loss of kai species and other resources such as rongoā, concerns for the water quality and pollution that exists today, as well as the general lack

⁹³ In keeping with the Ngātiawa express wishes for the research team to protect their voice, the report writer is keeping all their comments in one section, despite their testimonies traversing many research themes.

⁹⁴ To this end, Ngātiawa Iwi Charitable Trust and spokesperson Apihaka Tamati/Pirikawau-Mack specifically requests scientific research to be conducted on the damage done to these waterways, ‘‘as it is imperative to assessing the impacts of colonisation, and the current state of our food resources.’’

of respect shown by councils. Rawiri Jenkins-Evans, Co-Chairperson of Ngātiawa Iwi Charitable Trust was present at the interviews via Skype. Muriwai Goodman, a trustee to Ngātiawa Charitable Trust included the wairua and rongoā aspects to the discussion. Yvonne Mitchell, trustee of Ngātiawa Iwi Charitable Trust spoke of the impacts on mana wāhine when her grandmother's land was confiscated, causing loss of access to waterways.

Hirini detailed the roads and urban infrastructure around Paraparaumu Beach and how it is impacting on local fisheries. Ngātiawa Iwi Charitable Trust have a copyright on the use of their quotations. Reproduction of the following material requires approval, with direct enquiries to be made to Ngātiawa Iwi Charitable Trust.

Apihaka Mack anchors the groups' interview with whakapapa connections to Ngātiawa.

Apihaka: 'Because we were sent into exile due to the Waitara Wars with Te Rangitaake, who we are [in regards to] our whakapapa is that, we come from Ngāti Kahukura Hāpū o Whare Uēnuku ki Ngātiawa (People of the River). We are not Ruanui. We are Uēnuku. There was a big division between the two and they never came together again. So, we were brought up as Ngātiawa from the River of Waitara and Waikanae Rivers. We are a matriarchal society of Ngāti Kahukura from the house of Uēnuku. That is our whakapapa.

'Ngā Uri Te Iwipura [is the] first cousin of Te Reretawhangawhanga, father of Te Rangitaake (Wiremu Kingi).

Ko Iwipura, ka moe ia Te Kahutatarā te tuatahi, kia w'ānau mai tana, ko Pirikawau. Ko Ngāti Kahukura me Hinetua me Hāpu.

Ko Pirikawau, ka moe ia Te Kahutatarā te tuarua, kia w'ānau mai tana, ko Hoani me Wiremu Tamati-Pirikawau.

Ko Ngāti Kahukura me Hinetua me Pukerangiora Hāpu.

Ko Hoani, ka moe ia Ngarongoa Eruini Te Marau, kia w'ānau mai tana, ko Materei'ana me Api'aka me Hau me Puni.

Ko Ngāti Kahukura me Nuku me Hinetua me Pukerangiora me Rahiri me Tuiti me Hāpu.'⁹⁵

'Pirikawau's cousins [were] Te Rangitaake (Wiremu Kingi), Toto and Rev. Riwai Te Ahu. Their Grandmothers were sisters. A decision was made after the 1839 battle of Kuititanga that one was to learn about the church and study the Bible. He became one of the first Māori Bishops with Octavius Hadfield. The other one Piriwakau was sent to London with Judge Edmond Halswell's son Beauchamp and wife, where he studied English law. Judge Halswell was an Aboriginal protector in Wellington. Te Rangitaake (Wiremu Kingi) stayed to be the protector

⁹⁵ Renamed 'Otaraua' in the 1860's by Gov. Browne, McClean and Judge Fenton in New Plymouth.

and looked after our land. That's who we are as Ngātiawa. We were not brought up as Te Āti Awa ever. Our mother's birth certificate and grandfather's death certificate all say Ngātiawa.'

Rawiri Jenkins-Evans: '[Toku] Whakapapa: Ko Rawiri, ka moe ia Pakewa Nuku, kia whānau mai tana ko Paeroke. Ko Paeroke ka moe ia Willam Jenkins, kia w'anau mai tana ko Erina Jenkins. Ko Erina ka moe ia William Franklin Browne, kia w'anau mai tana ko Rawiri Jenkins-Evans he mokopuna nā Erina. Pakewa Nuku is one of the wahine who signed the Treaty of Waitangi for Ngātiawa.'

Hirini: 'The Tikotu Stream was significant to our iwi, now called Tikotu Creek on this map. It was diverted, straightened and culverted to the Paraparaumu Boat Club. It runs parallel now to the golf club and once went through the Paraparaumu Airport.'

Figure 61: Kāpiti Island and Tikotu Stream outlet in front of the Paraparaumu Boat Club



Apihaka: 'Right. The streams used to go across the airport land.'

Yvonne: 'There must have been water [in] there as my grandmother ran cattle or sheep on there. So they had to have water.'

Hirini: 'Teoti Ropata another also had cattle there.'

Yvonne: 'Kaiherau was my grandmother. She had the biggest land block at that Papaparaumu Airport Land that was taken. [It was] 98 acres at the seaward end of the Airport land. She got compensation when they

took it away from her. I can't remember how much but it was very little. Sheep and cattle. My uncle used to run it for her.'

Hirini: 'The story from the whānau is that this Tikotu Stream ran right next door to where Paeroke and Wiremu Jenkins had his liquor store, weigh station and accommodation. They used to fish in there to catch eels. Lots of eels ran through there.'

'So when the roads were developed the streams in this area (Paraparaumu Beach) were culverted and diverted. Now, there's a whole series of culverts right through to the golf club area and it runs parallel to Kāpiti Road and culverted under Ocean Road and links up with golf club land

'Again, the Tikotu Stream is also culverted all the way through to Gray Avenue Reserve, then culverted again under Gray Avenue. It was talked about being shut off at one point, as I understand. But there are freshwater springs further up that need to run free. So, somewhere up towards the head waters is the major change where our memories are concerned. Significant [changes].'

Apihaka: 'Whareroa Stream was our boundary line. It's probably good to note now the original boundary lines set up to stop the battle of Houwhenua was Ōtaki River and Pukerua Bay. That was the deal done with Te Rauparaha [and] Ngātiawa. That was the original boundary.'

Muriwai: 'That's Ngāti Toa's boundary – always was. Pukerua Bay.'

Apihaka: 'We grew up believing that the Kāpiti Coast started at Pukerua Bay. Our Kui lived right at that point. We lived in Pukerua Bay.'

'That's an interesting newspaper article in the Kāpiti Observer, it's just come out actually. The article is the one on Whareroa Stream is interesting. It's going to cost millions to clean it all up. Now [that] stream is where all the dye is. The black natural dyes [or paru] for dying Harakeke. Weavers have collected from here for many years.'

'There's one thing that is a major issue for us all along this coast we knew where there was a whole pile of streams where you used to be able to get a feed of watercress. Now we have to think about how far we have to go up in the hills to get a feed.'

'Wharemake Stream – that is just one polluted mess. Then the little tributaries too that come down Waterfall Road. So you need to know what's happening up there to know what's affecting and feeding down here towards the beach... Of course there is the new expressway going through that area at MacKay's Crossing.'

'The council has all but destroyed Maungakōtūkotū Stream. I believe they have a 20-year plan of putting a water reservoir up there. So, they went up and killed all our watercress. Cleaned everything out.'

Muriwai: 'I went up there the other day. It has changed. There's no watercress up there.'

Apihaka: ‘So, that was a major food resource for all our people. Now this stream Maungakōtutukutuku – the land goes down over here [pointed out on map]. The land is also called Maungakōtutukutuku. That was where my mum was brought up. Highway one was all confiscated. The damage to that stream is a major concern and all of the streams that feed into the Waikanae River. Then you get to this Water Treatment Plant. I have been told that Mahina-a-rangi (Baker) did a report [but] I haven’t read it yet, but there were some scientific concerns about that waterway. What is in it? People have been told not to swim in the Waikanae River.’

Muriwai: ‘They were told not to eel too at one stage.’

Apihaka: ‘...we don’t know the condition of that water any more. What we would like to see is up in the Kapakapanui Maunga area, Ngātiawa River, is clean water as [that] feeds into the Waikanae River. So, whatever is good up at Ngātiawa River should be the same as in Waikanae River. But by the time it gets to Waikanae River you have a few farms, you get run off and stuff. We would really like to see high-quality water from the top to the bottom of Waikanae River.’

‘We got rongoā around Maungakōtutukutuku Stream. It was somewhere where you took the whānau. You took the babies onwards, everyone went up to the top of Maungakōtutukutuku. You got told the stories of the area from tūpuna... Stuff like that.’

‘Our mum wasn’t brought up with her family when her Dad died in the 1918 flu epidemic in Waikanae. She was born after he died. What happened was her mum took four siblings back to Waitara, but left mum with her Granny Ngarongoa Eruini

‘Te Marau-Tamati – her name tells us a lot. Her name was Ngarongoa, daughter of Eruini Te Marau. She was a Tohunga lady [and] she was quite well known. Our mum was Nga-Mate named after her dad Matereihana. Our mum was brought up with Granny Ngarongoa – a Tohunga well known throughout the motu. A lot of people came. There [are] healing springs at Maungakōtutukutuku.’

Muriwai: ‘Rongoa has been collected in my time. We started in the 1990s. The Marae started getting back into rongoā. A well-known lady Te Awhina Riwaka she came and did training on the Whakarongotai marae. That put us back into those areas where our rongoā was.’

Apihaka: ‘Maungakōtutukutuku went right across, they put State Highway One straight through that land, paths got cut off. That was one of the main rongoā collecting ngahere. A very significant place where rongoā was grown and collected. You can still walk up into the bush at Nīkau Valley. We still own one forest, that’s our tūpuna Nīkau Reserve. That’s on State Highway [and] it is still [in] native bush. When we went in there, it didn’t look that healthy. Over that time there’s been a lot of people that have been travelling through here. They remember our Granny and how their parents used to come for rongoā. Pollutants from the road, metals, fumes that come off the highway has affected the native bush. I wouldn’t use the Kawakawa in there let’s put it that way.’

‘When they put the highway and the road in about the 1880’s there were streams that came down from Maungakōtukutuku and Muaūpoko Stream. The Muaūpoko Stream almost disappeared somewhere. That used to come right across and fed Pirikawau Springs. There were healing springs that were at the Waikanae Bridge, and they blew them up to put that bridge across. No wonder they had lots of problems with that bridge. That was the natural spring that visitors would tell us about, and people from my mother’s generation would say ‘Your granny used to take us to that spring by the bridge, is that spring still there?’ ‘No it’s not.’

‘The Muaūpoko Stream feeds into a Pirikawau Springs that they permitted a turf place to grow grass. So heaps of toxins [but] this pond still exists. Kapiti Coast District Council KCDC wouldn’t do a water test [in] 2015. I wanted a water quality test done one in it and of course they just didn’t want to know. They stuck a ‘Gargoyle’ in the middle of it. An Irish gargoyle in the middle of a Māori healing spring! I saw it. Yeah, I did a haka! I walk up there a lot as that was where Mum was brought up. A clean natural spring that was fed from Maungakōtukutuku and Muaūpoko Streams, it was obviously polluted with whatever toxins they use to grow fast grass. Then they insult us with the gargoyle being stuck in the middle of it. It’s called Pirikawau Springs. It’s the spring that went underground to the waterfall that was at the bridge. Pirikawau he was educated in London from 1842 to 1844 and he was hired by Governor Grey in 1844 in London and worked for him to 1853. So he’s well known, that was his land. His sons lived there too [and] they ran sheep on the farm. The gargoyle was put in around the 1980’s. The council now owns the land. We are not allowed to drive in there, but we can walk in there. The council won’t let us use the cabin either, which is quite usable.’

Muriwai: ‘It has to be corrected aye! In the sense that apart from all these other issues we have talked about – there is also the wairua aspect. There has been plenty of times around this whole community. I just heard last week how they want to do some other things and put up chairs on the river and things with the history of a w’ānau and... they don’t know all the history of the Kāpiti Coast. For me, it’s a wairua perspective, because when you walk those places you know what’s not right and our river is not right. I’ve been down there and have many experiences in that area with our (Waikanae) river. The flow, the water itself. It’s all very well making decisions for ‘all of us’ without consulting everybody. But at the end of the day when it comes to that stream, our river, our springs. It’s a big issue.’

Apihaka: ‘Ngātiawa River is a special place for us. Our people lived up there. Our people were very resourceful. It was an area with very good growing soil. It was confiscated in here (*referring to map*). They took it to grow fruit for Wellington – Ngarara Block 12. We have a thousand year lease going through this area too. Fertile growing area up there. Our people lived where food was, whether it came out of the bush, the rivers, or the sea. Our traditional kai is Inanga/Whitebait, Kangapirau. Coming from a large family, our Father had sheep on Maungakōtukutuku Ngarara Blocks 49 and 50. It was normal to come to

Waikanae [to] collect food, resources such as eels, puha, rongoā, kawakawa and kumarahoe.’

Muriwai: ‘We had an Aunty who virtually just lived off the Waikanae River. In those days they were pohara (cash poor). So, everything she fed her family came off that river. Everybody talks about Aunty Rita living off that River (Waikanae). You wouldn’t be able to do that now. We haven’t been able to do it, since their generation really.’

Muriwai: ‘Yvonne’s family fished the other side of the river.’

Yvonne: ‘Whitebaiting. We used to go eeling.’

Apihaka: ‘What concerns me at Kenakena and I had this conversation with my mokopuna the other day, nine years old. She said ‘what’s that pipe for Grandma?’ That’s the sewerage run-off that goes down onto the beach. She came up with a plan of how she was going to block it up. So the sewerage from down Paraparaumu Beach couldn’t go out down the beach into the sea. Because there are three pipes out there that with the overflow of the Kāpiti Coast Sewerage System – all goes out to sea and they are still doing it.’

Muriwai: ‘Polluting our moana.’

Apihaka: ‘So we know where not to go and get pipi in that area because you used to get pipi right along that beach all the way to Waikanae. So there are places you don’t go to now, and you can tell when you are looking at the shells it doesn’t look good. All the way to Kenakena is 5kms walking. So, the first pipe is two kilometres, the next pipe is another kilometre, and then you get to Kenakena, and there’s another one. So at Kenakena there is new housing developments, and they have overflow pipes. When it is high tide, it’s time to discharge. It’s the council doing this. What is it that they are discharging? And why are the drains overflowing? Who knows? We don’t know. We just know the shells in that area are a different colour, down by the boating club where there is petrol, etc. from the boats and around the overflow pipes.’

Apihaka: ‘When Ngātiawa came down with Ngāti Toa every pā was strategically placed. The two principle marae, Kenakena, all hāpu at the beach [were] on the south side of Waikanae River inlet. The next principle marae [was] Taewapirau of Ngāti Kahukura. [On the] Kuititanga north side of [the] Waikanae River was Pukerangiora Hāpu. Kaitoenga was up on the hill Tuiti (Otaraua). We had Puketapu down on the beach here keeping an eye on Ngāti Toa. The Haowhenua Tuiti hāpu were by the Ōtaki River. The Tuiti hāpu also lived along the river and intermarried with Rahiri, along the Waikanae River into the hills. Hāpu were all living on different hills – strategically placed.’

‘One thing is that you mentioned... pīngao. Our women fought with our men in the wars and their job was to tie the pīngao together. So the Toa or Raukawa ran away in the sand dunes they fell over. They were

standing there to whack them on their heads. That's what they did. We were brought up with these stories.'

Apihaka: (*Referring to Maps*) 'This used to be Waimea Stream, which has now been fenced off with a pipe. We would like to know the water quality in there that's in Waikanae Beach. The Waimea Stream went all the way up to the Waikanae Bridge and when we were young, it was wet and soggy behind the township. And where that carpark they are proposing to build [on] the old Waikanae pub... if they dig too deep, they will hit the water. A lot of other people and properties in this area of town, from the town centre towards the beach, hit the water when they dig. Sadly, over here where the expressway is currently going, that was Te Rangitaake Marae. It's like we got wiped out in every way shape and form. That was the main Ngāti Kurakahu hāpu marae for Waikanae. Kenakena was over here south of the Waikanae River mouth and we all met at Kenakena, and all stayed at Kenakena. The first church was built at Kenakena.'

Muriwai: 'It was a big church.'

Apihaka: 'The church was built with Hadfield and Ngātiawa over two years from 1839 to 1843. What is not told is, that if it wasn't for our rongoā and our tohunga, Hadfield would have died. They saved his life. He had consumption when he arrived. They saved him... due to our resources, our rongoā and so he lived. Te Rangitaake protected him. We didn't have a problem with Christianity. We still don't.'

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Figure 62: Waikanae River mouth and Waimanu Flood gate

In brief summation of the voices in this chapter, they express a range of impacts on their expressions or exercises of mana, both mana wāhine and mana tāne, even despite adaptations and changes to Māori world views or belief systems. What these informants do is highlight so clearly, the wide and damaging impacts of urbanisation on their lands and highly engineered waterways. The challenges their collective mana faces in attempts to alleviate such poor water quality conditions, are palpable.

CHAPTER 9: FISHERIES

‘Mana was... tied to human and economic resources. Human resources consisted of whānau, hapū and iwi. These resources blended different levels of reciprocity, depending on the proximity of relationships. Economic resources entailed jurisdiction over various resources such as land, food stocks, forests and fisheries. It was incumbent on the individual not only to protect those resources, but to add value to them.’⁹⁶

This chapter overviews wetlands and freshwater resources, eels, whitebait and the impact that contaminants have on fisheries in rivers and streams, including intertidal areas and shellfish beds. To begin this chapter, brother and sister Phil and Vivian Taukeki are of Muaūpoko ancestry. Phil recorded his oral narrative with Moira Poutama at their whanau homestead where the Pātiki Stream dominated his korero. It was a significant stream for the sought after pātiki or flounders, which were once abundant. The whanau Taukeki have been long-term activists against the damage excated upon their taonga species and waterbodeis withi their rohe. Vivian has had long term encounters with the succesive destruction of the food bowl of Lake Waipunahau or Lake Horowhenua. In her interveiw with Moira she also highlighted the impact on local fisheries.

Vivian: ‘Our whānau hapū have survived here since time immemorial and the kai that was here was sufficient to feed our people and feed others around. The fish, although its a small area it was a huge food bowl. Lake Horowhenua is a national treasure it fed everyone. Mum and Dad used to say a lot of families around here didn’t have to go to the butchers because they could get their food out of the lake and streams or from the beach. Like toheroa, pipi, eels, Dad used to come home with kākahi, as well as flounder – alot of kai from the beach, but that’s something that doesn’t happen much anymore. That’s because our waterways in terms of fish life and water quality are well above national standards that are dangerous for our fish. So its urgent that this stops. We need food, we need fresh water and here you’ve got these two valuable resources to us as a community as well its just being contaminated. What happens when there’s a food shortage? Wouldn’t it be good if we could go to the lake and get food and fresh water and feed everyone?’

⁹⁶ Wharehuia Hemara, 2000, Māori Pedagogies, NCER Distribution Services, Wellington, p 70

While Phil spoke across the research themes, the remainder of this testimony is kept together here to register the long litany of controls over freshwater fisheries of significance to iwi/hapū in the Hōkio area.

Brother and sister Phil and Vivian Taueki are of Muaūpoko ancestry. Phil recorded his oral narrative with Moira Poutama at their whanau homestead where the Pātiki Stream dominated his kōrero as a significant stream for the sought after flounders, which were once abundant. The whanau Taueki have been long-term activists against the damage excated upon their taonga species and waterbodeis withi their rohe. Vivian has had long term encounters with the succesive destruction of the food bowl of Lake Punahau or Lke Horowhenua. In her interveiw with Moira she also highlighted the impact on local fisheries.

Vivian: ‘Our whānau hapū have survived here since time immemorial and the kai that was here was sufficient to feed our people and feed others around. The fish, although its a small area it was a huge food bowl. Lake Horowhenua is a national treasure it fed everyone. Mum and Dad used to say a lot of families around here didn’t have to go to the butchers because they could get their food out of the lake and streams or from the beach. Like toheroa, pipi, eels, Dad used to come home with kākahi, as well as flounder – alot of kai from the beach, but that’s something that doesn’t happen much anymore. That’s because our waterways in terms of fish life and water quality are well above national standards that are dangerous for our fish. So its urgent that this stops. We need food, we need fresh water and here you’ve got these two valuable resources to us as a community as well its just being contaminated. What happens when there’s a food shortage? Wouldn’t it be good if we could go to the lake and get food and fresh water and feed everyone?’

While Phil spoke across the research themes the remainder of his testimony is kept together here to register the long litany of impacts on freshwater fisheries of significance to iwi and hapū in the Hōkio area, within the inquiry region.

Slowly but surely over time with the land being turned into market gardening ... most of [the run off] all runs into the Pātiki Stream — our own land included. The Pātiki Stream is spring fed. We believe the spring is located just down at the corner of where our block ends and where the Waho block used to be next door to it. [At] the north of those blocks on the other side of the Pātiki Stream, is Whetu Taueki and his land, and then Harvey and his land. They have about 60 acres over there, but all of that and the land as you move toward the lake there’s the land

behind the Kawiu marae, there's the Hereora block. All that land now, all you'll see is market gardens [and] at the same time a lot of the land was converted into residential housing, including the Waho block. That's all residential housing now. So all the storm water I think drains into there and so now, it's probably been like that for the last twenty years. There's no watercress to be got, there's no Puha to be got, just filled up with that monster weed (celery or parsnip weed), it's like Puha on steroids and it's blocked up all the drains that runs into the lake too. So that was the Pātiki Stream. We just called it the creek.

'So to clean it up, we have a plan. Most of the land that's being used for cropping is Māori owned. The Māori owners have got a bit of a dilemma, because they have always relied on the rent from those lands for some income. So we got to change our land use. The problem can't be just blamed on the farmers and the gardeners, market gardeners because quite often it's Māori land that has been leased. We all grew up working on the market gardens and some of us on the farms. We have quite a good relationship with those groups and they want to see those waterways cleaned up. Now, the only other fishing and stuff we did in the waterways as a kid, I remember going out to Hōkio Beach and in those days that beach use to be crowded [for] getting toheroa and pipi. At that time, it was just a trip out to the beach for us kids and we could get a feed walking ten yards. On the size of the toheroa they were bigger than my hand. With the pipi you just walked out and Dad used to always park where there were a lot of seagulls. That was a sign where the birds were feeding. So he would park somewhere like that and then we walk on there, ten yards and just wriggle your feet and we would all start giggling because it looked like you were doing the hula, while you were standing in the water but you know a couple of wriggles like that and you could feel the pipi under your feet so you just reach down and dig them up. They were big size pipi [then]. Anything small you just left it there and that was a good supplement for our food. We had eight kids and Mum and Dad so that meant that they could feed us without having to go out and purchase too much.'



Figure 63: Tuatua (*Paphies subtriangulata*) from Kāpiti-Horowhenua beach. Exact location of these beds as well as Tohemanga (Toheroa) are known by local kaitiaki

I remember one new year we went down and camped right down the southern end of Hōkio Beach next to the Waiwiri Stream and there was Uncle Gadge, Uncle Tom, Uncle Wally, Dad, Uncle Jack even. One of the first times they had all been together and all of us kids. They put tents up, we had nets and it was about three days because you know the uncles liked the beer and playing cards, so the kids tried to get in there. We put out nets and the other thing we caught was the little lemon shark – they were just beautiful once you filleted them. They used to leave them overnight, I think it was something to do with the mercury in them. So for three days we just had beautiful kai, good family get together and that's one of the best memories I had as a child growing up was that weekend with all my family and my Uncles. Nowadays, you go out there, you be lucky if you get pipi, you be lucky if you see toheroa. You got all these fishing boats just offshore so it's no surprise and apparently the pollution from the Manawatū River washes naturally down the coast south and pollutes the coastline. So, there's a number of things to be concerned about and the toheroa won't re-establish themselves unless we take some measures like banning cars, and banning horses, which is entirely possible.

The toheroa as you know was quite a delicacy. There's only certain beaches in Aotearoa that has them, so for Muaūpoko to have that delicacy in those numbers out at the beach was a part of their history. Would have been part of what they traded with other tribes. Plus the eels and the whitebait from the Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream were considered real delicacies so like I say, nowadays you can't get toheroa or pipi. The streams are polluted, [which affects] the whitebait. I've got some journals from Uncle Jack where he describes the eel run. They couldn't catch them fast enough. There were that many they'd just

put their nets in or sacks in I think, pulled them up as quickly as they could when they ran and that's an image anyone can conjure up... Apparently when the whitebait ran, they just fill them up by the bucket full and they just take what they needed. There was enough in those days to keep the kai, and feed the family but not any more. So the Hōkio stream was where we had a lot of the eel pā. The lake – we fished in, but the main source of food for us and Pareraukawa located on the shores of the stream, was the eel and the whitebait -- but not anymore.

So we're trying to work with others who are trying to recreate ... we need to recreate that habitat, which we will so that those species can come back. We've been trying to work with Mike Joy. He came down and luckily he has a particular interest in long finned eel. If you read some of his literature you can see why. One of the most ancient species that live to over a couple of hundred years some of them! So you got to respect them! So we hope to be able to fix up that habitat and get those running again.

As a child those are my memories of using those waterways and nowadays you just wouldn't do it. We went out and tried to get some to show Mike (Joy) some toheroa but we walked probably a kilometre up the beach, couldn't see a thing. You actually lose the skill of spotting them, but nowadays all of that is lost. Early 1970s we could still get a kai easily from our streams. We use to put nets in for flounder. I think it was down at the Ōhau, might have been the Waiwiri stream we did it ... That was flounder and the other thing I do remember, right at the mouth of the Hōkio stream when we used to go out with Uncle Tom, Uncle Gadge, Dad and get eels. We just had a two pronged spear [and] some of them were just gardening forks! All they did was stab underneath the flax plants that were sitting in the stream and every time there was an eel under there... My job was to hold the sacks while they put in the eels and take them to shore. I wasn't a good swimmer so that was a struggle, but I will never forget that either. That time of my Uncles doing that.

It got particularly worse probably in the last two decades. The last decade with all of the boom in agriculture in particular. I can't believe the size of some of these fields nowadays. They just grow on bulk and it's not rocket science then the runoff from farms [that's] poisoning all our inland waterways. It's not fair, it's not legal, it's not right. Farmers don't have a right to pollute our waterways nor do the gardeners... I said we all got to take responsibility for that. We've got to change this expectation or as the government tried to say 'it's just got to be wadeable', well we say 'no way'. We're not denying our kids the joys we had diving in and being able to swim in the creek. You could swim in the Pātiki Stream as much as you liked and go out and get kai at the beach and the lake at that time.

Figure 64: Tararua ranges with fog lifting and farmland, just south of Levin



The Pātiki Stream is in the north east corner of Lake Horowhenua. Behind me on the hill is our whānau urupā. That was where our old papakāinga was located behind that urupā where our cousins now live. So, it's a very special area. You can imagine in those days that location being next to the pātiki. I remember as a kid going down the lake to get kākahi (freshwater mussel). Didn't even know what they were called then, we just dug them up but you can't do that anymore either. That's why they have located the Pā o Potangotango there, because you had patiki below. The full name is patikirau. Mr Nicholson told me that. It's the stream of a hundred flounders so it must have been a real fine source of food... That's why the pā would have been positioned where it was. And that's very special to us. That's where we bury the dead up till the early 50s' when they put the sewerage into the lake. That had to stop and then we held tangi at home until Kawiu Marae was built.

So those waterways [and their fisheries] have got a lot of significance to our whānau and everyone within Muaūpoko and it's just a shame that the Crown is allowing it to happen and we got to take some major steps fairly quickly if we're going to save them, because it isn't going to get any better.

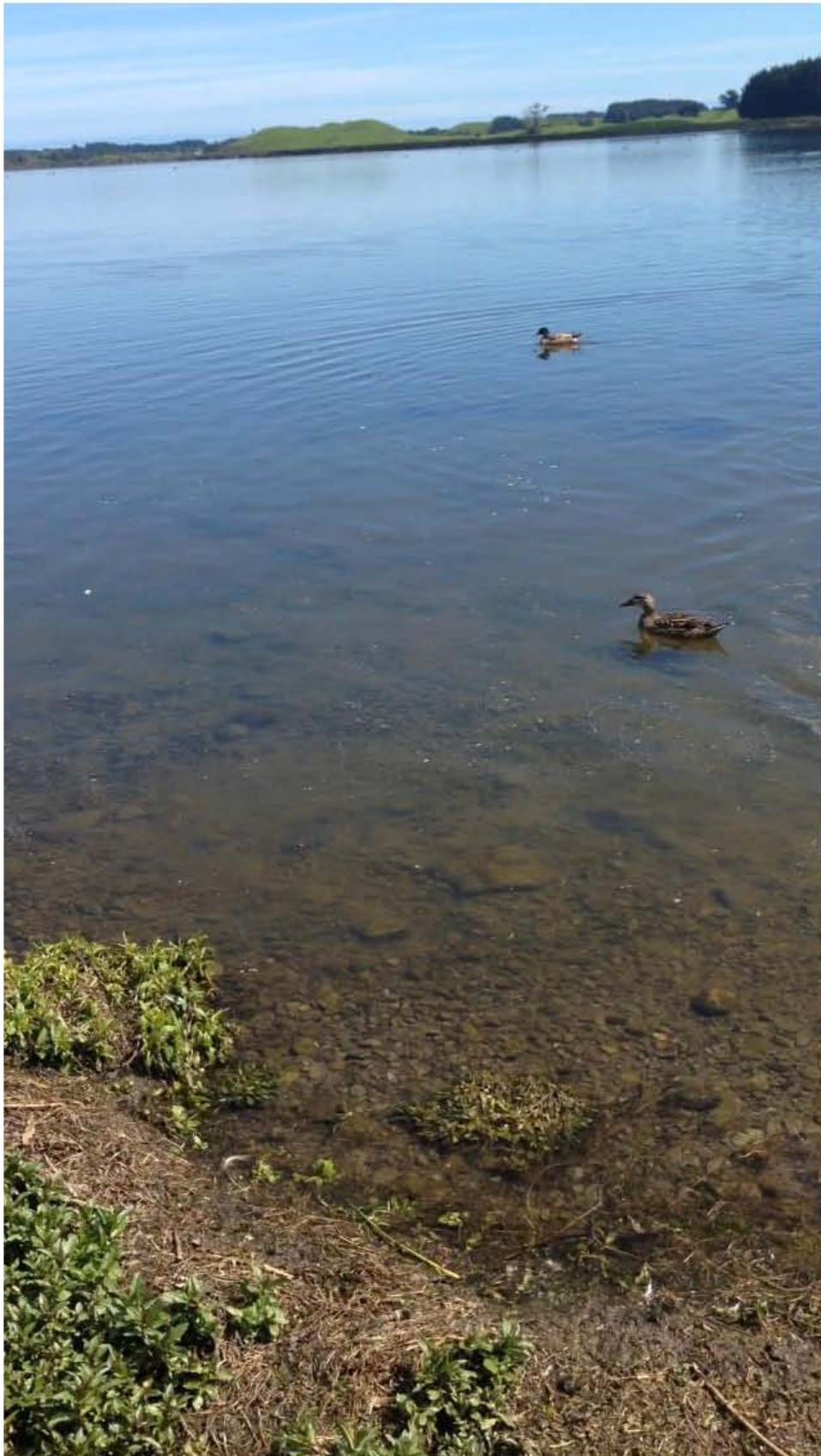
Vivian asserts for more positive actions for the fisheries of Lake Horowhenua and environs.

Its about us co-managing our resources in a way that provides for our kids – the vulnerable people with needs. It's about looking after all of us, its not about dividing things up. [That's] kaitiakitanga as far as I understand it.

This lake (Horowhenua) has spiritual values. All of the swamps and rivers join up with the lake and that enhances the quality of the lake. It is like the mountain here is the parent and the lake is the child and all of the waterways have enhanced the child who in turn keeps us healthy. They're just part of that whole system there, the catchment is quite large.

These waterways sustain a lot of life whether its the dunes, ngahere, fish, birds they sustain all that life and without that water they'd all die too. We got bugger all here now anyway, don't matter which spring or river you talk about they are all under threat and all under risk!

Figure 65: Lake Horowhenua



9.2 A Ngāti Whakare perspective

Ngāti Whakare whānau have presented compelling evidence throughout this report in direct relation to customary use of inland waterways and the impacts of Crown and local government actions have had inhibiting them to maintain close relationships with waterways. More Ngāti Whakare whānau members, including Robert Ketu; Mark Puti; Neville Adrian Hurunui; Troy O’Carroll; Nina Pilkington and Coleman Rauhihi advocate the importance of the Makerua Swamp; Otaura Stream; Karā Stream; Mangaore Stream, Taita Lagoon and Lake Waipunahou. Their emphaises revolved around the decline in customary use; pollution; loss of knowledge; loss of management control/kaitiakitanga, and loss of species.

Similarly, more Ngāti Whakare whānau members, including Robert Ketu, Mark Puti, Neville Adrian Hurunui, Troy O’Carroll, Nina Pilkington and Coleman Rauhihi attest to the importance of the Makerua Swamp; Otaura Stream; Karā Stream; Mangaore Stream, Taita Lagoon and Waipunahou. Their emphaises revolved around the decline in customary use; pollution; loss of knowledge; loss of management control/kaitiakitanga, and loss of species.

The wider whānau at Poutu Marae effectively describe how the pollution of the waterways has significantly affected their customary uses. There has been a major decline in the resources available, which in turn has resulted in a loss of their customary knowledge and tikanga. Because they aren’t carrying out their cultural practices, the tikanga and knowledge that is normally passed down is starting to diminish. Their life as Māori has changed. They also spoke about their battle and struggle with local authorities that still continues today. Their mana whenua status is not acknowledged and a lot of the time the iwi were not, and are still not, consulted on environmental issues. Local authorities do not acknowledge wāhi tapu areas of the hapū in the Shannon inquiry district. The whānau say there is an urupā that has been buried by the river. This is not acknowledged by the council. Wastewater discharges are a major concern for the whānau as they are the recipicants of not just one waste water discharge, but all of the ones upstream too. They spoke of their location as the ‘gateway’, meaning they are at the end of the river. Everything comes down to them so they are receiving an accumulated problem.

Robert: 'When dad used to take us down to Tokomaru, we were collecting kākahi. We were also collecting them on the old bridge over here (by the marae). They were growing in that area. We [went] eeling, that is part of our pātaka. That was always part of our role, collecting from mahinga kai for the whānau. I didn't like the kākahi, you had to cook them in a soup or stew. That is what we did right up to Ōpiki turn off and at Makerua we were collecting them there along that stream too. Also along the Otaura Stream. That is where I remember we collected them all the time. Now, fortunately our boys have found a bed. I have asked the boys to GPS those sites so we can go back there and do measurements and study those areas. Because one of their functions ... you can check the toxicity of the water. They are filter feeders. They give us an indication of the quality of the water. So that is part of our monitoring program in the future that we want to bring our kids and mokopuna back to kaitiaki mode.'

Nina: 'There were Inanga in our waterways.'

Robert: 'Kōkopu.'

Coleman: 'Piharau.'

Robert: 'Yep, lamprey eel. Black flounder/pātiki, grey mullet.'

Coleman: 'Trout just out here in the Manawatū River. Last year was a good year for whitebait.'

Nina: 'He was out there every day.'

Mark: 'It makes you question the pollution level though doesn't it?'

Nina: 'I thought they started spawning more because the tannery over here closed down. So we had less stuff going into the river, so the whitebait returned. One way perhaps of explaining it.'

Mark: 'That seems to say 'no matter what level of pollution is going on', we may still get a big hit of whitebait.'

Robert: 'But in saying that Aunty Maki (Te Omaki) did say her whitebait turned green.'

Coleman: 'What they are taking in is going up the river obviously there is a combination of slime and everything else. So, it is going through them. The pure clean whitebait we haven't see for a long time. You look at the small species and there has been more available just in the last season, why because temperatures have changed, climate change as well, bigger tides, so you are going to bring them in. As we know with our fishing the full moon and spring tides will bring them right in, then you had an abundance but you also had their digestion, which includes a combination of what is in the river. In the last year there has been a significant change in the river and water quality. The whitebait have come back to breed. Once the bait is caught and frozen, when it is

extracted from the freezer and thaws it has turned a lime green colour. Meaning the whitebait are taking in something as they swim up river. ‘

Mark: ‘Algae.’

Coleman: ‘Yep, algae. A noticeable change we never had that before. The quantity of bait is coming back, but the quality is not there. That is right up the Manawatū River from the mouth to the Shannon Bridge is 25 miles, at Kōputōroa, Moutua also. So not just one place it’s many places. The closer to the mouth, the cleaner the bait. The whitebait we used to catch was pure, clean ready to eat. This time around plenty of it, but contaminated.’

Mark: ‘It is something for us to think about though aye, the toxins that may be sitting in those whitebait.’

Coleman: ‘When you come back to purity. A lot of us used to swim there, that was our bathroom. Prior to our homes being built in town so all us 50 plus, that was our source of kai to sustain us. We relied upon it together. What I have noticed is the difference in the size of the tuna. They were big, mature, heavy tuna. And the length was long. Today, you don’t get those ones. Whether the commercial fishermen have been in there with their nets or not, you don’t get the big, long ones. The commercial effect has been mammoth. They robbed them. We would follow the drag line as well as they were cleaning it out. We would put them in the bags and drop them off at different homesteads. That was the old way of doing things. Kaimoana that was how they provided. Drop off so much here and there and everywhere.’

‘There was kanga pirau as well. The spring heads [was] where the kanga pirau were placed locally, [but they] don’t exist today. The watercress was abundant [when] the waters in the streams were flowing. We were told to put that corn in there. To put it in and get it out when it was ready. That was our porridge. I didn’t like the job, but I didn’t mind the taste. But, quite honestly the green life is taking a turn and has taken a change there’s not as much watercress. There’s watercress around but there used to be truck loads here. We could just go down there and get a feed, jump in any day, the tuna in the karā (Stream) were so big, they would wrap around you.’

Robert: ‘You can get kōura.’

Coleman: ‘Yes you can still get some now, in the Tokomaru.’

Nina: ‘Not as much in our awa now. You have to know where to go.’

Robert: ‘We have a breeding stream up in the Mangaore. Because of the development that breeding stream is a trickle now. That is something our group would like to restore and revitalise because they are still there. Kōkopu are still there as well. If we go back to the hills the puna are still there. It’s like our fathers and our mothers that are still with us, they know they are there. In terms of the tikanga and the knowledge that’s normally passed down through being with your father, or your uncles, or

your aunties, in trying to get a kai for your whānau, all that knowledge is starting to diminish.’

Figure 66: Mangaore Stream at Shannon



Nina: ‘My dad still makes kanga pirau. He is 85 and still does it. He puts it in the creek for 3 months. He puts it in a bag and ties it to a tree. The water flows through.’

Robert: ‘The creek is up the back.’

Nina: ‘The water comes straight from the mountains. He was teaching mokopuna until recently when he couldn’t get around so much.’

Robert: ‘We are taking some tamariki up there soon, up the back there to the source of the Tokomaru Stream. That is where he used to do the kanga pirau. To show the tamariki some of the practices that we still practice today.’

Nina: ‘The biggest flax mill was here called Miranui.’

Mark: ‘At Makerua, the swamp there.’

Nina: ‘Just up the main road there. Early use of flax was clothes, rope etc.’

Robert: ‘At the Tokomaru there, as little kids your uncles and your dads would say ‘hey boy go over that creek there and get that bird.’ So you had to learn how to swim, you couldn’t swim, you learnt and you had to snare the duck or swan or other birds on the other side. You had to learn

all of that at Tokomaru River and bring them back to the marae. We went back further for the pigeons.’

Nina: ‘Kereru.’

Robert: ‘We had to do that at certain times of the year. I’m laughing at that memory. You were told ‘you there boy, you go and do it.’

Coleman: ‘You get the fish.’

Robert: ‘You get the kai. I have already shown you how it’s done so you go and do it.’

Coleman: ‘It wasn’t something where you had a choice. In those days aye? You were told ‘full that bag up with puha, watercress come back with a load’ and if it wasn’t pressed down you were told ‘way you go again.’ Adrian will remember aye.’

Adrian: ‘Yeah bro.’

Coleman: ‘It was the days where you had to go and get it, clean it, bring it back and then there were others out there getting kaimoana, fish, meat. Everybody had their duties. After a certain period of time it became normal, that’s it – this is locked and loaded for you. You automatically just did it. The same for if you couldn’t swim you learnt to swim by being thrown in. You know, way you go (the action of being tossed into the river).’

Nina: ‘Oh you learnt to swim that way too.’

Coleman: ‘Yep. It was the same with everything. You were so busy you never had any time for mischievous. Too busy doing positive things. We had big whānau to look after.’

Nina: ‘Going back to kereru. My dad told me about our tikanga for kereru a few years back. That you pluck it, fill it with Miro berries and then bake it for hours and hours, very slowly. He mentioned that the wahine always got to eat the kereru first. He told us that the miro berries flavoured the meat and to eat that part as that was the juiciest part of the bird. The kereru was a very precious manu to him. I know this manu was precious to him because I found a dead one under my kowhai tree one day and fully intact. He saw it and blamed my cats for its death and chastised me over it. I took this on board as to how precious the bird was to him because he was very emotional about seeing it.

‘Our dad’s a hunter gatherer and he lived his life in the bush, rongoā Māori the whole thing. Mum and Dad taught us how to treat ourselves, you know when you scrape your knees and they go into a big hakihaki, we didn’t have any medicine for that. We had these big green marshmallow leaves and you’d soak it in the hot water for five minutes and boom onto your legs. You changed it two to three times a day and bandaged it up again, and that’s how we healed. I don’t have any scars on my legs because of the way we were taught to treat our hakihaki. I decided one day I was going to plant this native bush at the marae, the

koromiko. Dad he would boil it up and keep it in the fridge for a sore stomach. You dare not complain of a sore stomach because you know what would happen next 'here drink that'. He would drink it all the time. Anything rotten he ate it, the more rotten it was the better, like rotten paua guts, rotten crayfish guts, he would eat it. That was the best food to him. The fermented toroi, the trout eggs, the fish eggs – all fermented.'

Coleman: 'Adding to her story, the dock leaf. We still use it today in practices. Then rongoā for warts.'

Nina: 'The white sap of the puha.'

Coleman: 'Another one is snails. The snail slime. Then there was eczema. We had lots of beautiful potions.'

Mark: 'Spider web for bleeding.'

Nina: 'Māori used to use snails to eat away at cancer as well.'

Troy: 'Aunty Manu, Adrian's mum. She told us that when she was a child. She had TB and that was one of the cures, a slug. She had to swallow it, it almost choked her because it had to go down into her lungs. She said it ate the mucus. That is what they told her the purpose of it was. TB was rampant.'

Nina: 'My mum and her siblings spent many years in a sanatorium.'

Adrian: 'My mum was on her back for seven years. She wasn't meant to live, but she did. She got better. When you're a teenager and you are travelling from here to Ōtaki on a train. It was one of the hardest things ever. And you are right bro. She took the advice from an old kuia she met at the Sanatorium. She had no choice but to take it. Then she was given the all clear. As you know I'm one of nine.'

Nina: 'She was the same age as my mum who had TB from eight years old to 13, 14. Mum came out of the sanatorium and came home, which was hard for her because she was used to pristine white sheets. She had 21 siblings and they lived in a one room bach in Ōpiki. Where they all lived. They called them kainga but they were sheds with compacted dirt floors, open fires with a hole in the roof for the smoke to get out. It was settlement, Coleman's family, all the Māori families went there to work the market gardens, picking that was how they earned a living then. That's where they got TB when they first lived there. The living conditions were paru.'

Troy: 'Because I didn't grow up around here and wasn't brought up around here. I don't have that kōrero or knowledge. But what I do have a little bit of knowledge around our battle with the local bodies in fighting the environmental issues that we have as an iwi, a hapū, and the battle and struggle that that's been for us and still continuing on now. For years and years, they've used a system where they'll go in the back door to get a 'yes' or an agreement for a consent or work that they're

looking to do, which is not uncommon, this is done all over. They will trample all over the mana whenua, in this case it's us, all over our mana whenua, in seeking that from another iwi, from another hapū. That's even if they would even consult. A lot of the time, early on, I'm talking about 15 to 20 years ago, and even though the RMA was brought in around that time, they were still in the practice of not consulting. A lot of the time they just wouldn't consult, or if they were pushed on the matter they would go and seek those back door, those yes men who would sign on behalf. That was the major battle for Ngāti Whakare, is establishing that mana whenua. That's still the battle. That's still going on, and that's happening all over.'

Nina: 'How we got involved in environmental issues we were attending a Waitangi Treaty meeting, a casual one in the kitchen and we got a visitor Ross Campbell from the Shannon Community Progressive Association. He came to us and said look, there is a resource consent going on in the environment court in a couple of days. Have you been told about this? It had to do with the Shannon wastewater treatment plant that Horowhenua District Council were intending to build and do right here in the river, in the bank and we knew nothing about it. Our visitor said 'but the court case is in 2 days haven't they consulted with you?' We said no. From that meeting, I was commissioned to write a letter on behalf of the hapū to the Environmental Court, stating that we opposed this sewage [Shannon's wastewater] going into the river, because of the economical and the status for us as a hapū going forward, the stigma of sewage going into the river, and all of our historical significance to the land. We hadn't been included, we hadn't be consulted, no one had ever come to the table to tell us anything about this and yet it was already at the Environment Court. We managed to get the letter in. I stayed up almost all night to write it. It went to court and the judge said that they had to consult with us before anything happened. From that Te Taiao o Ngāti Whakare was formed to look at this issue and all the issues around our environment and the Manawatū River. It has been huge. I'm not the one to talk about that it has been led by Robert, Mark and Adrian and some others including Coleman and Troy have all had bits and pieces to add to it. It has been a long journey.'

Troy: 'If I just go back first to what I was explaining, which was the fight that those before us had gone through too. Our aunties and uncles and the struggle for them was much harder, because they were actually doing it on an individual basis. They didn't have that support. They weren't able to fight as a rūpū. They had to take time out of their jobs and fight individually. Because there wasn't this awareness now by the general community and the public around the pollution and the effects of pollutants and all that to the environment. You didn't have that supportive mentality [that] you get a lot of that now. In those days you were just a native who was trying to stop progress, causing trouble. When you turned up to these hearings, they knew who the native was that had come to cause trouble. Because you were the only one speaking out on behalf of the awa, of the waterways or whatever it was. The troublemakers were stopping progress in their eyes. This is the problem we are trying to fight today. In retrospect of all the problems that are

created now, [they] were done without guidance or without seeking kaitiaki, without seeking that consultation, without allowing hapū, iwi, Māori to be a part of that picture. So we're trying to fight all of that history. We were talking of Matarapa before. When those decisions were made to build the sewage plant there, Māori weren't even part of that, iwi weren't part of that. It was one guy who said 'oh we're going to build a sewage treatment plant there'. And so [Māori] disregarded in that whole process.'

Nina: 'And they lost the records. They lost the records at Foxton District Council. All records pertaining to that.'

Mark: 'Back then there were pipes straight from the ponds to the river. Now they want to go from the ponds, irrigate the island.'

Figure 67: Manawaū Estuary



Coleman: 'What you have got now is a collection of information that is not only stored, but we are able to talk about it, we understand it. Prior to that the dictators tried to walk over us. In summary, what is up the river must come down. We are the gateway, so really, we're getting everything, toxins, you name it. So what's happened in the last 55 years of my life on the water, and everybody else's, yes you would be able to swim, yes you would be able to go and get a kai, yes it was abundant, and yes it wasn't contaminated. That's a different story today!'

'Contamination is number one. If it wasn't contaminated everybody would be swimming in the river, and fishing. All you've got is jet skis and everyone just making a mess. They try to compensate by some sort

of riparian planting, a token gift. How has it sustained us in our lifetimes and our siblings, not much in the later years. There have been choices, do I eat that kai or do I not. What is our motive? Our motive is primarily that we have survived not only through the talents of our parents and those who guided us. We have survived because we are survivors. If you want the hard truth of Ngāti Whakare, what we have inherited from them we can only pass on the truth, and that is that this will not last forever.'

Troy: 'There are four waste water treatment plants along the river, Feilding, Palmerston North, here and Foxton. For them to say we are not reviewing that, it's ridiculous.'

Coleman: 'That is why we are recipients. Not just one. We are getting the whole lot.'

Robert: 'The accumulative affect. We have told the councils that. They know that.'

Troy: 'That's the difficult part. It's getting them to acknowledge that.'

Mark: 'It is unfortunate that it doesn't stop them. It carries on right through Dannevirke.'

Nina: 'Kahungunu.'

Mark: 'Eketahuna.'

Adrian: 'Pahiatua. So it all comes back and it has to go past us.'

Mark: 'So we've all got our names on those consents that we oppose them.'

Robert: 'They have to consult now.'

Adrian: 'Continuing on with the four waste water treatment plants there are four more, if you go the other way. They all come in and feed our Manawatū River. So we are getting double smashed.'

Nina: 'I said to my 16-year-old the other day, 'you see the Manawatū River, I used to swim in that, I could swim backwards and forwards, just here at the marae, and I could see clearly in front of me about half of the river, I knew where I was going'. I was shocked, when we were down at the river for something, I put my hand in the water and I couldn't even see it. She said 'true mum could you swim in that river?' 'Yes,' I said 'and you could jump from up there'. I'm 54, I was a child when I used to swim that river, that's how the effect that has happened during my lifetime.'

Adrian: 'We used to drag that river. Our family with a net. Walk it. I knew exactly how it used to feel. Slippery, slimy, slimy, keep going as you go in the centre it goes hard so you know where the centre is, then it goes slippery, slimy, slimy will you get up there grab your net then say

‘go on brothers’ and away you would go. There’s old Captain Shore at the back of us, that’s the old man, ‘come over here my sons, pull it’. All of a sudden you know there’s your kai.’

Robert: ‘We have been setting nets there, now we are too afraid to use them, the fish. We have got the Kingitanga, it comes here every year, the poukai and we want to be able to manaaki our whānau from the resources gathered in our area.’

Adrian: ‘We can’t do that.’

Robert: ‘The species of fish we were talking about earlier, they were here at one stage. Out of those five species I spoke about earlier only the grey mullet and the trout, which is an introduced species is here. All those other species are not here. Carp is another introduced species as well.’

Adrian: ‘I thought the carp was a big goldfish. I did as a kid. As soon as I tasted it, ‘oh too bony’. It’s a pest.’

Mark: ‘It’s eating all our natives.’

Adrian: ‘Our Taita Lagoon over here, it’s stagnant, it looks funny our lagoon. When you walk or travel around it the water looks very airy. It does. There is a flow there. There is a history there that’s why it is there like that. That place means a hell of a lot to us. That site is wāhi tapu. There was a pā over there.’

Mark: ‘Taita Pa.’

Adrian: ‘Kainga. Our local authorities don’t accept there was, no occupation there they say. Because that is where our waste water irrigation system is and they are going to continue to irrigate on that site.’

Robert: ‘That’s part of the reasons why we’re saying the consultation mechanism that you’re using are contrary to what the hapū is saying. We have gone through the process of the legal way, and that’s using the law, and even through Pouhere Taonga. No one’s enforcing that law. We know in Taita Lagoon, we have always been told that it’s a wāhi tapu, there are reasons for that, and there’s taonga that are buried in there, there are people who have died in there, those are really significant to Ngāti Whakare, there is urupā in that area. We’ve told commissioners all this information as well and they are still making decisions through the Environmental Court, through due processes, where councils are still trying to get away with all those sorts of mechanisms that they’re using.’

‘Even to this day they are having an opening of Shannon’s waste water treatment plant ... For us, we say we still haven’t got to the point where you are acknowledging Ngāti Whakare as mana whenua. Those are the sorts of discussions we are trying to have with that. It’s ongoing, in terms of breaches of conditions that have been set by Environmental Court decisions. We have seen many, many, many of them and they are

still going ahead with those sorts of things. So these are ongoing discussions for us.'

Robert: 'All that area they call it Velvaleen Farm, which for us was Te Maire. The block was Te Maire. There were kāinga there. That is what we are saying to councillors and government is that under your own law we are looking for protection of those sites of significance to Ngāti Whakare. Then you have the river (Manawatū River) itself.'

Adrian: 'That's had changes. That's man-made change.'

Robert: 'The stop banks how they were put in.'

Adrian: 'Imagine those when you drive passed. Imagine there were no stop banks.'

Robert: 'The straightening of the river.'

Adrian: 'They deliberately diverted it somewhere else then smashed it. All of our tūpuna. They were right there.'

Robert: 'The urupā that is now in the river because of that.'

Mark: 'This section over here actually (pointing) that part of the river behind us, it bows out there is an urupā under part of the river. I want to see in the future that Whakare has the authority to move that river off our ancestors. Bring that urupā back. Give it the honour that it deserves. Get the river off our tūpuna.'

Adrian: 'If it's not our tūpuna we absolutely care.'

Mark: 'It's someone's tūpuna, so get it off.'

Adrian: 'It is also known as a battle site there too'

Figure 68: A riparian strip of willow and stopbank along the Manawatū River



Mark: ‘We stood over an old map. It had ancestors there on this area where they are going to irrigate. We looked it up we didn’t know who they were we just knew it was someone’s ancestors. Our tūpuna but also others lived here too. But they need to be looked after whoever they are. And honoured. But as we found out a lot of them were our own.’

Adrian: ‘Well as children you know your parents tell you ‘don’t go there’. You know when you are kids and you are saying ‘what’s up with over there?’. You don’t always listen to your parents aye. I know some who never listened. They didn’t listen and at some point went over there to fish. But they don’t know. As we get older we have found out the history with those sites. We are learning. When we find out authorities don’t recognise it. They bring in their archaeologist or whatever they bring in and copy and paste whatever and say there was no occupation there.’

Robert: ‘The big issue is that HDC haven’t been consulting with Ngāti Whakare from the start.’

Coleman: ‘What is annoying is that the government (who is National at this present point of time) are trying to fast track things, that is push out this, this, and this, and that is why we have these monstrosity of problems that they need to solve. But the next government will do the same thing anyway because they’ve been duplicating each other. So their mind set is focused on one thing fighting the river, never mind about what it was like years ago. But when you’ve got the cry of the people who are hurting and saying that... this is how it was and now this is how

it is. No government, no amount of money will shift but the cry of the people. And for the next generation to come in, if we don't clean up what we can, they will reap the consequences. So it's a pathway to them to get as much rarururu, teko out of the way.'

Robert: 'My memories of hunting in the Tararua Ranges comes through walking with my dad, Claude Ketu, and Wally Turner, Tau Te Wiata, Nui Kuanaiti, Len Te Tomo, Tom Puhipuhi, Rata McGregor and all the other uncles. As a boy hunting in these areas, I was going up to the tops of the Tararua Ranges – deer stalking, pig hunting and at those times I could drink from the waipunahou, which feeds this whole catchment that we call 'The Kingdom of Whakatere'. All the waterways are supplied by this waipunahou. That puna also supplies the three dams now that were developed for power production. From our iwi perspective 'how does that impact on us as kaitiaki?' That is the question we have been asking ourselves for years. So development has diminished our right to govern, manage and cultivate our ancestral lands, waterways and to practice our tikanga and intrinsic values as Ngāti Whakatere. Our whakapapa links as kaitiaki. I think about Kaihino and Te Paki that we hunted [on], within the boundaries of Tokomaru Stream. That stream that begins from Number Three dam. Te Paki one of the puke connected to Number Three dam, the highest point in the valley. That stream runs past our marae. Ngāti Whakatere were regularly used the Tokomaru as our pātaka kai. The Tokomaru is the place where I used to swim with the eels. Mukupai is one of the places where me and my cousins used to swim with the eels. Our kaitiaki. Makerua is another area of the Tokomaru, which also held a lot of our fish, kōkopu, lamprey eels, mudfish, kōura, all of those were in our stream. Which is why we fished that area regularly. I remember my uncles with us as kids got sack loads of eels in Kara.'

'My wife's koro (Iraia Penei) was one of the first Māori Wardens in this area. He used Tokomaru Stream to travel up to go hunting in the gorges. I used to swim up in those areas, and [where] dad and I used the river to come out of those hunting areas. I was 10 years old, following my father who had a pig on his back. We swam through those gorges. Why I'm talking about those things is the pollution and contamination that now exists in that stream. Those areas I used to hunt with my father that when they took me to those places where pristine, flourishing pātaka kai.'

'Uncle Nui, my Dad, Uncle Motu Te Pēti, Wally Turner, and I used to fish from Whirokino using the river loop, fishing for three days. Using that pātaka kai as a resource to sustain our whānau. We used to go on Matarapa to shoot ducks with Uncle Nui, where I learnt my shooting skills. At that time at the river mouth we collected cockles, flounder, mullet, river pipi (freshwater pipi). These freshwater pipi and cockles are no longer there. North and South of the Manawatū River mouth we gathered toheroa. Uncle Henry Wade, Uncle Motu, Uncle Nui and Dad we went fishing along the coast, dragging nets at night time catching kahawai. My job was to spear the kahawai within the nets as they were dragging. Hōkio Stream during the tuna run that was a lot of fun. It wasn't just our whānau though, there were the whānau of Levin. We

also went to the Waitarere Estuary for flounder, trout and eels. Where ever we went we were going as hunter gatherers. So my mention of this kōrero is to show our Whakatere connection from the mountains to the sea as well as our whakawhānaungatanga with other iwi that have close connections to our marae.’

Adrian: ‘What we are talking about is our awa. Born 1962, my memory 1966 when my nana died. I didn’t know much about her, but I know she took occupation in Poutu Pā (Hori Te Rauhihi). Hori’s dad, Te Rauhihi built the wharenuī for his sister, left for Hori and Ema Makareta Te Rauhihi. My mum, Manu she was a child who lived in the wharenuī with nana in the early days. My sister Wikitoria was the last to be born in the wharenuī. I know my dad and the rest of our family were behind the kaimahi area, to do the mahi for the whānau wharekai. Gathering for the tangihanga. After the mahi at the marae we all got together and I thought we were going home. We didn’t, we checked the fishing nets, [the] hīnaki. I stood by my dad and watched my siblings check all our nets. The fishing was plentiful and what was left over we shared with our whānau around the rohe. That’s what I remember as a young child. A lot of giving. At the age of about eight to 10 years old I became one of those kai collectors. It was common to go three times a week. Every time we had functions, events it was the norm for our family to set the nets. It was our kai the awa. My mum in whitebait season, she would go where her mum fished. All those seasons, 4 am in the morning. First one there until she was finished and her son would pick her up. She would leave her net by the bridge there at Shannon and no one would take it. I honestly remember that from the age of four to 12 myself was down there with my mum whitebaiting until school started. Mum would stay there.’

Figure 69: The bridge in Shannon



‘The day I become a kaimahi fisherman with my brothers we would drag that river. Walk across the river to drag. My dad would be on the bank giving orders. We would see fish flapping, trout, flounder galore. We only took what our family could eat and would give the rest to our extended whānau. I am the father of 4 children, 4 moko. My eldest daughters ask me ‘have I ever been in the Manawatū River’. I can’t teach any of my daughters like we used to. They can’t believe we fished in there, to this day. There is no where I can teach them or my moko due to the conditions of the river. If everyone plays their part to clean up the river. Maybe I can teach my family. I feel that my dad left me with a memory of teachings of skills that I know today, fishing, duck shooting and other life skills. I got the best memory a son can ever get from his dad. Out with my uncles Coleman Rauhihi Senior and Brian Batt as well as cousin Len Te Tomo. Another memory is my father and I used to go snorkelling in the awa. We had a spear each and we used to go upstream to spear tuna. So I used to go everywhere my dad went. He was a self-taught builder for our marae, he used to also take care of Mums marae along with my uncles. My dad is a Muaūpoko descendant but his heart was with my mum’s marae and his own marae (Parere, Kawiu). His name has David Rewi Maniapoto Hurunui (Hurinui). We also fished Lake Horowhenua, Ōhau River as a family as well. The Hōkio Stream and Hōkio Beach we collected kaimoana to feed our family in Muaūpoko as well. Dad was a butcher and also cut meat for Kawiu, Matau, Huia, Kereru and Poutu Pā. We were a very busy family. That memory will still be with me forever and I am so grateful for the status my father held for both pā, Muaūpoko and Ngāti Whakaterere.’

These collective voices derive from experiences of considerable struggle and battle with authorities. This has not dampened their collective spirit to continue to fight injustices around how their water bodies have been treated over many, many years. These representatives from differing hapū have not given up on returning health to their waterbodies.

To reiterate, when mana or authority is tied to human and economic resources through whānau, hapū and iwi and their jurisdiction over various resources such as land, food stocks, forests and fisheries, therein lie unique opportunities to protect and enhance what remains of these resources and associated ecosystems as taonga.

CHAPTER 10: WATER QUALITY

10.1 Koro Peter Richardson: A Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga perspective

In this chapter it is important to note that impacts on water quality are implicit in all voices, and will also feature largely in the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Wateryways – Historical Perspective* report. That more extensive research work does not detract from the hardworking and highly respected kaumātua from Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Koro Peter Richardson who spoke with Moira Poutama and his nephew Pat Seymour, at Pat's home at Foxton Beach about their dismay at the decline in water quality in natural systems.

To begin, Koro Peter is a knowledgeable man on many fronts who has local Māori and inter-related knowledge based on once intimate, physical, cultural, inter-generational and spiritual interfaces with lands, water and resources. He is well aware of the eroding understandings of place, about local biodiversity, plant resources and special areas due to polluted water quality, where iwi/hapū are inhibited by nitrification to safely fish, gather or recreate in local waterways anymore.

Over time key informants like Koro Peter Richardson have helped devise better ways to protect cultural and natural landscape. His work and dialogue over many years has helped retain and enhance what remains of natural integrity in the Bulls region. Koro Peter is the Chair of Lake Koputara. He is a humble man so for this interview he concentrated his dialogue on the significant inland waterways of the Makowhai Stream and the Rangitikei River. The interview focussed on the place that Koro Peter and his tūpuna (of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Te Mateawa) were born and raised from within in the Bulls and Rongotea region. He details the Makowhai Stream and the impacts he has seen in his lifetime. His dialogue centered around issues for water quality; pollution; drainage; deforestation; gravel extraction; kai species such as tuna/eels, kākahi/freshwater mussel, kōura and freshwater crayfish and watercress.

As you know I was born in 1935, the one still living in the area where our mātua were born and bred. The Makowhai (Stream) was our pātaka kai. My father and uncle's and other members of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Te Mateawa used to go to Makowhai for tuna. The landscape has changed dramatically from quite a forested area even at our place when

we were kids. There were streams running through the farm, native bush and lots of kai.

The quality of the water was such that we swam in it, we drank it, we bathed in it. It was, I use that pākehā word ‘virtually pristine’ and it was used for everything as you know water is a source of life. Without water we can’t survive as people.

What I have noticed over the years is the continued degradation of water, as it becomes [more and more] polluted. Now most of our streams are polluted for many reasons such as drainage, deforestation and farm runoff or leachate.

Figure 70: Makowhai Stream



At the mouth of the Makowhai Stream there is metal extraction and it [has an] impact. One of the problems, if I just talk about the Rangitikei in [related] sense to Makowhai – if there is a metal extraction flood ... it runs into the Rangitikei. The Makowhai is where they take metal out as

it runs down the river, as it gets closer to the sea with the erosion and of course there's more, how shall I say? There's more silt. The closer you get to the sea the more silt you get with the metal, the contractors and the extractors don't like going so close to the sea as they get less metal. They want 100% metal when they put a drag line into the river but when you get down to 50%, half silt and half metal they don't want to extract it because they're losing the economic advantage value for themselves.

The bed of the river builds up and then they have to build the banks higher in order to keep the river in check. There are stop banks all the way up the river. The stop banks are put there to hold the river in. Because of economics, there's not enough metal for them to extract, so they won't go there.

Moira: 'Tell us about the water quality Uncle.'

Peter: 'I wouldn't drink it. We know our Māori kai like tuna can adapt, they can adapt to different areas where the water may be polluted. We also know, the Māori kākahi the Māori mussel are filter feeders – they can adapt but normally have to have clearer water. Kōura and freshwater crayfish and watercress were plentiful also.'

'That area, the Makowhai stream is the largest catchment of water locally extending from behind Parewahawaha Marae at a place called Ngaio, (that's up on the ridge above and behind Halcombe), right out to Mt Stewart (known as Whakari). Mt Stewart's correct name is Whakari, back down towards Rongotea. It covers all that catchment area. At times, it won't flow because of the drainage. One branch of the Makowhai Stream flows near [the] Sanson effluent ponds. They're growing trees there but it doesn't work because it is heavy clay based soil and it doesn't filter down into the soil. The trees are growing in clay so that sort of system doesn't work there. So every so often when it floods it just flushes all that's been lying there into the Makowhai then further down into the Rangitikei. So that's Sanson's effluent system. It's not good and it doesn't work.'

'The Makowhai, is our main waterway. When we were kids there was a raupo swamp in that area. Patrick Seymour knows where my house is, there was swamp all the way back to Sanson, right through those plains. Now it's all open farmland. The water tables have changed. The whole environment has changed with more erosion and more runoff with more nitrates. The same is happening all across the country. To begin, if you fence the waterways the riparian areas off and plant them -- it's a start, it will bring life back into the area. We know if the creek is running through open farmland without cover the water temperature in the summer time warms up and you get algae growth and those types of things with adverse effects...'

Figure 71: A changed landscape in Oroua Downs



Water quality issues are reflected throughout the report from all key representatives. As Koro Peter reports from his perspective, science also tells us the direct effects of such reactive nitrogen on human health from intensive use of fertilisers or discharge from untreated sewage are very serious if nitrogen and phosphorus are discharged into rivers and coastal environments,⁹⁷ The worst effects for this can lead to nitrate contamination of the drinking water, certain types of cancer or ‘blue baby syndrome’, a condition where deoxygenated blood places stress on babies’ hearts. The later is a serious health issue for both infants and the elderly. Nitrogen and phosphorus encourages blooms of toxic algae in coastal waters, with resultant harm to humans through respiratory and cardiac diseases. is is induced by exposure to high concentration of nitrous oxides, ozones and fine particulate matter.⁹⁸

If local and regional councils, farmers and other landholders protected indigenous forest cover or planted extensive riparian areas alongside waterways, then significant buffer zones would limit the dangers of farm runoff into waterways. This is exactly what Koro Peter Richardson has been advocating for.

⁹⁷ Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2004, *Growing for Good: Intensive farming, sustainability and New Zealand’s environment*, Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment Te Kaitiaki Taiao a Te Whare Pāremata: Wellington, 86.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 87.

Both references are sourced from: Smith, S.M., 2007, *Hei Whenua Ora: Hapū and iwi approaches for reinstating valued ecosystems within cultural landscape*, Unpublished PhD, Massey University, Palmerston North, p 66

Other powerful statements are made by Vivian Taueki, when speaking with Moira Poutama at the Taueki Homestead near Levin. Like her brother Phil, Vivian spoke of the importance of water as essential to life, and how all communities now are dealing with the detrimental effects of water quality decline in their local waterways, with damaging effects on kai species.

Vivian: ‘... I want to say is that the waterways are in our whakapapa and whānau as well and it’s that relationship that we have with them that’s probably different to how a lot of other people see the water. Water is life. Without it we’d all perish and it’s a necessity. Without it we are sick. We can’t live so the pollution of those waterways is alarming because of our children’s needs and our grandchildren’s needs, it’s scary.’

‘Like in the Pātiki Stream here, the Queens Street drain, and the Arawhata Stream – all have high phosphorous. We get farm runoff into the drains. We get all the town runoff, from market gardens they discharge, there’s a lot of silt in the streams. The Arawhata and the Pātiki in particular are full of silt. They’re bringing a lot of silt in. There should be rules in our district plan prohibiting activities like this, so close to our waterways because it’s the land use that is affecting the waterways.’

‘There’s the Ōhau (River) that comes out from the Tararua’s. When you have a look, they’re dropping 1080 up there – that’s our town supply. Our bore water -when you see places like the meat works down here, they use pure water to wash down the cow’s bums... we get the contaminated water off them, because of the land use activity around the waterways.’

Like Koro Peter Richardson, other kuia from the inquiry region including Kiri Tamihana of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Pauline Green (nee Tamihana) of Ngāti Huia ki Poroutāwhao and Mere (Mary) Tatana of Ngāti Huia ki Poroutāwhao, were interviewed by Moira Poutama on 21 April 2016 at Huia Marae at Poroutāwhao. They talked about former clean waterbodies with high standards of water quality.

Kiri as a one of three kuia interviewed, spoke first of the clean waters present when she was growing up. She was born in 1940 so she could swim in the waterways in their region and had access to collect watercress and other wild foodstuffs. Pauline mentioned that she wouldn’t drink the water now, as a lot more restrictions exist. The interviewees pointed out that draining has had a large impact on the local waterways close to Huia Marae.

Kiri: 'The water was clean, we collected watercress and pūhā locally.'

Pauline: 'Eels.'

Mere: 'Carp, they were in the local drain down here by the marae (Huia Marae).'

Kiri: 'In the old days you could just put your hand in there and have a drink. Today, you just wouldn't do that. You would take your own bottle of water. The water today is no way as clear as it was in my day. You used to swim in the river, the creek, and catch whitebait and flounder and stuff like that. We lived near the river. We would always be out whitebaiting, in the season, and catching eels.'

Pauline: 'Over Bainessee.'

Kiri: 'Yes, on the way to Palmerston North, there was a factory there, and my sister used to go to the river on her horse. Shannon was on the other side. I was 6, 7 years old when we lived there. The water was lovely. I moved here at the age of 20 years old when I got married to my husband who was from this marae.'

'In our days we were caring. We always looked after our kids. Our kids never got hurt like they do today where they get beaten up. Nothing like that ever happened in my time. People were very caring in those days.'

'I used to pick pūhā and watercress. The water was lovely. They didn't dig up the drains like they do today. They didn't spray things either.'

Mere: 'Picked by hand aye. Māori always picked by hand. The watercress was clean then.'

Pauline: 'Today you really need to know where to go.'

Lorraine Searancke and Michael Cribb of Ngāti Kauwhata provide a similar concern to the water quality of the Oroua river and the health concerns of children swimming in the awa.

Michael: 'I did that (Aquatic Insect) survey and that generation after me didn't have that knowledge about the river, 'oh that river, nah we don't go to swim in the river, it's too paru, we go to the swimming pool.'

Lorraine: 'I took my mokopunas down there as they were growing up, and they said 'Nan, why don't you let us in the river', I said because its paru, it's not right, not like when we used to swim, I lit a fire and taught them how to light a fire, but that's all I could do, and then it was off to the swimming pool.'

Michael: 'We can't afford to pack five kids, or three kids, to drive all the way up to the river to a place where you think it's safe to jump in.'

‘Our kids are hardy, I know my moko’s are and they live at Seddon Street and they’ve jumped in. I’ve told them not to. But I go down there and I watch them ‘cause they are stubborn girls. They jump in the river and that and they get crook from swimming in the river. To me once they get sick they won’t get sick again but its only a couple of times that I have let them do that. The sickness is from the river.’

Lorraine: ‘Haki haki (sores) on their skin.’

Michael: ‘And the spewing and all that. Stomach bug.’

Lorraine: ‘Yep internal.’

It is clear from these voices about water quality that the practice of retiring riparian areas or streams and river banks on farms with native vegetation would improve the condition of waterways and help balance the uptake of nitrogen. In better understanding the dangers of nitrification, immediate action for constructive change is required in all these regions. As is often the case, local entities and Crown agencies are excruciatingly slow in actioning more expanded plans for waterways in this inquiry region.

These pressing issues over water quality however, challenge iwi and hapū to take action for their ecosystems within Māori land holdings themselves.



Figure 72: Kiwitea Stream

12. CONCLUSION

This *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways – Cultural Perspectives* report as commissioned by the Crown Forest Rental Trust (CFRT), honors the depth and breadth of all the persuasive voices of iwi/hapū participants. Each participant or group of informants from iwi/hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Muaūpoko, Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngātiawa and other affiliated iwi and hapū within the rohe, have combined to create compelling and critical evidence.

The voices clearly condemn the systems and procedures that have led to the decline of once intricate hapū knowledge of place and waterways, with associated effects, but in particular, the consequent inability to exercise tino rangatiratanga over rivers, streams, springs, dune lakes, wetlands and other significant waterways from mountains to sea, throughout the inquiry region.

As Sir Meihana Durie (quoted in Smith 2011) has noted,

Fundamentally, tino rangatiratanga is about the realization of collective Māori aspiration. And despite the many faces of contemporary Māori society and the wide range of views, which exist, there is nonetheless a high level of agreement that the central goal of tino rangatiratanga is for Māori to govern and enjoy their own resources and to participate fully in the life of the country. Māori want to advance, as Māori, and as citizens of the world.⁹⁹

As attested throughout this document, the ability for iwi/hapū to govern and enjoy their own resources, or actively participate fully in the care and protection of their waterways has been severely curtailed by a range of activities, procedures and legislation. As highlighted throughout this document, many interviewees had been denied access to inland waterway sites or their mahinga kai due to landlocking or impacts of pollution. Other kaitiaki remain angered by the denial of other authorities to enable them to take up comprehensive roles in overturning the sorry state of particular dune lake systems or waste water systems. These cases amongst others as reported, have resulted in serious disruption to food sources for related hapū. As recorded in the other environmental reports for the inquiry, many whanau have been displaced because of human sewerage

⁹⁹ Huhana Smith., 2011. *E Tū Ake: Māori Standing Strong*. Wellington: Te Papa Press, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

pollution flowing directly into their main food source streams or rivers. Some were forced to move from their papakāinga. Other hapū remain horrified that their current day food resources like shellfish in tidal zones are now deemed unsafe for human consumption even after light rain, because the water quality flowing into the tidal zones or through groundwater seepage, is breaching World Health Organization standards with unsafe E.coli bacteria content.¹⁰⁰ This is due to non-point source and point source pollution like cattle effluent and urine nitrification, especially where stock might still have access to waterways or where there is no fenced off riparian buffer planting.

Hapū have also been effectively separated from these ecosystems within ancestral landscapes and therefore unable to transfer knowledge about place and ecosystems due to the range of excessive pollutants. In just a generation (as highlighted by a range of kaumātua), sources of sustenance that kept them well-maintained and well-fed as youngsters or adults with growing whanau, are virtually non-existent today. Within only forty-five years or so, intensified agricultural activities have ignored complex Māori environmental values within lands and waterways. The effects of this accumulated disregard has enabled engineering of natural waterway systems for intensive land-based pastoral farming purposes, particularly for: beef, sheep and deer; more large-scale dairying with irrigation schemes; large-scale market gardening with extensive use of fertilizers, and coastal forestry developments. As these prioritized economic operations continue unabated, the impacts have all combined to create a tenuous balance between the cultural and spiritual needs of hapū and iwi as Māori shareholders, as proactive decision makers or as kaitiaki of their lands and waterways.

Clearly throughout this report, Māori values have been negated, dismissed as conflicting values or rendered invisible by Crown and other state actions. The inquiry region can now only be described as an extensively, modified agricultural landscape, virtually cleared of Māori cultural context and related natural integrity with important ecological services for human wellbeing. As the introductory posters demonstrated for

¹⁰⁰ Allen C, Sinner J, Banks J, Doehring K 2012. *Waiwiri Stream: Sources of Poor Water Quality and Impacts on the Coastal Environment*. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No.9. Cawthron Report No. 2240. The methods and results are documented in two reports:
Newcombe E, Poutama M, Allen C, Smith H, Clark D, Atalah J, Spinks A, Ellis J, Sinner J., 2014. *Kaimoana on beaches from Hōkio to Ōtaki, Horowhenua*. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 22. Cawthron Report No. 2564.
Newcombe E, Smith H, Poutama M, Clark D, Spinks A, Ellis J, Sinner J., 2014. *Faecal contamination of shellfish on the Horowhenua coast*. Prepared for Taiao Raukawa and Manaaki Taha Moana. Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 23. Cawthron Report No. 2573.
See URL: <http://www.mtm.ac.nz/publications/reports>

related biodiversity and current economies, iwi and hapū (and all who call Aoteroa New Zealand home), are the losers.

The combined expertise and knowledge gathered into this oral narrative research project, drew heavily on Māori local experiences and once intricate knowledge of place, where their recollections highlighted: the impacts of colonisation; loss of management and control over waterways; their concerns for water quality; pollution; drainage; impacts of weirs or barriers in waterways; loss of taonga species and the repeated disconnections created by land tenure changes and ownership issues.

There has been an over emphasis on economic models that are out of balance with aspirations for environmental rehabilitation, maintenance and sustainability. The interviewees' collective recollections deepen the pain of disengagement from their rivers, streams, springs, dune lakes, wetlands and other significant waterways from mountains to sea within the inquiry region.

Those iwi/hapū leaders who still maintain long standing relationships with their natural environment, are determined to affect significant ecological improvement where sustainability of both the environment and people can be enhanced. These collated stories could be the basis of transformative change through planned actions, shared vision, co-intelligence and co-management strategies. Today, Iwi/hapū are activating new ways of doing things for remaining natural areas within revered Māori ancestral landscapes right across the inquiry region. There are also many related actions and strategies that can reconcile with the Māori values as the interdependent means to heal communities and re-enhance iwi/hapū relationships with waterways within the inquiry district. To this end, far more well-resourced actions for enhanced kaitiakitanga could complement more assured holistic or ecologically-based developments that acknowledge Māori methods and systems of understanding, whilst recognising economic and cultural imperatives – all for the sake of future generations.

To conclude, the team dedicates this report to all our iwi, hapū and whānau kaitiaki, cultural advisors and interviewees who came forward for this inquiry. They supported the assurance that collective mana atua, mana whakapapa, mana whenua and mana tangata, mana wāhine and mana tāne can be enhanced through increased understanding of the degradation issues for inland waterways and the solutions required to ameliorate

them. Many thanks also to the formidable oral narrative research team, who by collating these voices, anchored this report with formidable evidence of enduring iwi/hapū whakapapa relationships that exist with freshwater and inland waterways, despite the critical environmental decline issues and related disassociations that these iwi/hapū informants face today.

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Appendix 1: Footnote to Posters

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Appendix II: Mapping Sites of Significance Hapū and Iwi Wānanga

Two CFRT Research Teams: Inland Waterways and Environmental and Natural Resource Issues

AGENDA:

- Karakia
- Mihimihi

WORKSHOP

- Introduction to the aim of both projects.
- Aim of this workshop.

Aim

1. To identify hapū and iwi sites of significance for Treaty Claims and the research being conducted for CFRT within the Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry.
2. Focus is on mapping significant sites of environmental degradation within the District.
3. Opportunity for other significant sites to be identified and passed on to other CFRT Research Teams.
4. Opportunity for group or individual oral interviews on environmental sites of significance including inland waterways.
 - Research outputs and examples.

Outputs

1. Information collated will contribute to large scale Maps produced by CFRT – Print and digital.
2. Oral and written information gathered with permission may be included in the Draft and Final Reports produced by both Research Teams.
3. Oral interviews, with signed consent forms and synopsis stored on External Hard-drive provided to CFRT and external archive locations as determined by the interviewee/s. Access restrictions also determined by the interviewee/s.
4. With permission documentary photos of the wānanga will be used for the Inland Waterways Research Team IBook/s.
 - Importance of the protection of iwi/hapū intellectual property.
 - Seek kaumātua or kaitiaki for oral kōrero interviews (in separate quiet location on site).
 - NB: Interviews will be conducted throughout the workshop and representatives may move between maps and regions to contribute to other areas.
 - Split into regional teams to view maps.
 - Review the current list of significant inland waterways and environmental sites.
 - Identify any missing significant sites on the maps.
 - Discuss the cultural values, uses and hapū and iwi concerns within the area viewed.

- Are there other kaumātua or kaitiaki not present to follow up with potential interviews?
- Any further questions?
- Karakia whakamutunga

What to bring: any written material on environmental issues already collated for Treaty Claims or hapū concerns. (NB: you decide during the workshop if that will be shared with the research teams for inclusion in the hapū and iwi resources they are producing. It is helpful to also know the reference that the research teams need to use e.g. individual author or a hapū collective report etc.)

Appendix III: Inland Waterways Project briefs



Project Brief:
Inland Waterways: Cultural Perspectives

Inland Waterways: Historical

Crown Forest Rental Trust has agreed to commission research for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry, 11 December 2015 – 12 May 2017




Tihei mauri ora!
E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e rau rangatira mā
Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa

We are pleased to let you know that a team has been brought together to help your hapū and whānau within the Porirua ki Manawatu claimant community, to undertake research of importance for your rohe.

The two technical reports our teams are undertaking are:

1. **Inland Waterways: Cultural Perspectives [PkM_IW_CP]**
 (Duration: 30 weeks until 26 August 2016)
2. **Inland Waterways: Historical [PkM_IW_HIST]** (Duration: 65 weeks until 12 May 2017)

- Ōhau 'loop', 2014
- Kuku Stream by former Kuku Dairy Factory, 2014
- Ōhau River towards the Kuku Ōhau estuary to sea, 2015

Other outputs with reports include:

- Large-scale maps for cluster groups
- Books that document the 40+ interviews either as one-on-one, or in small groups sessions.

Inland Waterways: Cultural Perspectives [PkM_IW_CP]

Our teams are committed to helping you...
Awhina mai hoki

Both research teams are made up of predominately Ngāiwi Raukawa ki te Tonga and ART (Te Ātiawa, Raukawa and Toarangatira) confederation researchers. Our research expertise covers Māori approaches to environmental, marine, freshwater, whenua, natural resources and land use issues, as well as intricate understandings of ecology and other sciences. We are well versed in ethical research guidelines, use of consent forms and interview questionnaires for iwi and hapū participants. We aim to gather oral narratives with a high level of integrity according to tikanga and kaupapa tuku iho.

PkM_IW_CP will seek oral narratives that examine the:

- o Customary use of and significance of waterways, including the ancestral relationships and use rights of iwi and hapū to waterways in their rohe
- o Impacts of colonisation on PkM inland waterways upon customary use
- o Loss of essential resources through drainage
- o Retaining control of, and access to, the inland waterways in the district
- o Ownership issues in the PkM rohe over inland waterways
- o Relationships iwi/hapū have had with the Crown and local government with respect to management of waterways
- o Restoring the health and wellbeing of various waterways
- o Loss of freshwater species and habitat
- o Hapū and iwi perspectives on species and habitat loss
- o Impacts on species and habitat
- o Range of prejudices Māori women faced in early colonial encounters and ongoing impacts in terms of Māori women's leadership today.

Contact:

Melita Poutama on
melapoutama@ive.com



Manawatu River by Shannon Fenton
Bridge, MRA planting day in 2012

2. Inland Waterways: Historical [PkM_IW_HIST]

The PkM IW-Hist project will focus on a range of generic and technical written sources that document and chronicle impacts upon an extensive range of inland water bodies flowing from mountains to sea within the Porirua ki Manawatu (PkM) enquiry region from 1840 to present.

The PkM IW-Hist will also use innovative, illustrative software and related expertise alongside CFRT's Mapping Facilitator to create a series of maps (both large print and digital) for each of the nine cluster regions, if hapū groups want them. With willing iwi and hapū input, each map is a tangible research output that will encompass all water bodies in the designated region. Each will focus on water bodies that hapū and whānau are interested in highlighting. Another very large map (print and digital) shall encompass the whole region.

Data is collated from existing data sets available from Council, research entities like Manaaki Whenua Landcare Research and other water body sources like Freshwater Environments of New Zealand (FWENZ), Land Environments of New Zealand (LENZ), the River Environments Classification (REC), the New Zealand Freshwater Fish Database (NZFFD), Wetlands of Ecological and Representative Importance (WERI), and many more sources and repositories. Graphic data can be transferred onto aerial photographs or used as graphics to carefully illustrate a research region. This approach engages the hapū groups within the clusters to better understand changes made over time and the decline in waterway health, from mountains to sea. Our teams will ensure the production of high quality maps that are useful for the research process and for the final report.

As the research progresses, the PkM IW-Hist team, our Mapping Expert and CFRT Mapping Facilitator will continue to work closely with the hapū and whānau to create a selected overview of a significant water body or a range of water bod(ies) in their distinct regions. This mapping approach creates land and water block studies, which illustrate key aspects of the research findings.

Themes and Topics for PkM_IW_HIST

The detailed maps (as research outputs within the final report) aim to not only help identify key sites and the relationships between these natural areas to hapū, but also document the range of impacts created by the following:

- Engineered channel modifications
- Gravel extraction sites in larger rivers
- Siltation and run off from quarries adjacent to water bodies
- Installed barrages on a range of streams
- Severing of river meanders from main river flows
- Water races
- Treatment and reference to natural stream systems as drains.

The PkM IW-Hist Report will examine the:

- Impacts of colonisation on PkM inland waterways, particularly at the time of European settlement and expansion of the economic and farming frontier.
- Extractive industries such as gravel extraction have also been a concern in past decades.
- Post-colonial impacts on lakes, river systems and tributaries through aggradation, erosion, water quality, wetlands drainage, physical changes in riverbeds and gravel extraction, and the impact these changes have had on the Māori communities in the district.
- Title and ownership with legal issues for water bodies will be addressed according to the *ad medium filum aquae* (to the middle line of the water) rule.
- Water power uses for particular water bodies such as hydro schemes or irrigation schemes.
- Water quality issues including general pollution, industrial and urban waste discharges, dairy farm run-off, wetland drainage impacts on water quality, etc.
- Flood protection work took place from the 1960s for many water bodies in the inquiry region, which had a huge impact on faunga species and other natural resources.
- Fisheries were vital for iwi and hapū wellbeing, based on various research activities on environmental impacts on fisheries undertaken overtime.

Appendix IV: Interview Information Sheet

Tihei mauri ora!

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e raurangatira mā

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa

We are undertaking a technical report for **Inland Waterways: Cultural Perspectives [PkM_IW_CP]**.

To this end, we are conducting interviews with claimants who were raised in, or engaged closely with inland waterways of specific interest to your hapū / whānau and tūpuna before you. While the research catchment area is extensive, we are interested in kōrero specific to your area. In this interview, Whakapapa relationships are also of particular interest to us.

We aim to determine what impact many changes to the Porirua ki Manawatu inland waterways have had on the cultural, physical, spiritual relationships of hapū and whānau from 1840 to the present day. We recognize that there will be both positive and negative impacts. It is our hope that we will gain a broader perspective from our hapū and iwi on these issues than we currently have available to us. Your participation will form an invaluable resource. We aim to ensure it is available for future generations of whānau, hapū and iwi to draw on.

This interview will consider the following research themes and topics:

- 1. The customary use and significance of the rivers, streams, lakes and waterways to the iwi/hapū that lived alongside prior to 1840.**
- 2. The usage of the waterways both before and after 1840.**
- 3. The impact of colonisation on the rivers, streams, lakes, and waterways and how that affected iwi/hapū.**
- 4. The experiences of hapū regarding species and habitat loss that resulted from colonisation and the impacts of the following:**
 - o Deforestation**
 - o Gravel extraction**
 - o Localised pollution from point source or non point source pollution**
 - o Drainage of wetlands**
 - o Fertilizer use**
 - o Engineering of waterways**
 - o Insecticide and herbicide use**
 - o Introduction of exotic species**
 - o Pastoral farming**
 - o Water races**
 - o Damming of rivers and reductions in river flows.**
- 5. The relationships between hapū and the Crown as well as local government and how that relationship changed with time.**
- 6. Issues with regard to range of prejudices Māori women faced in early colonial encounters and ongoing impacts in terms of Māori womens' leadership today.**
- 7. The influence of the Resource Management Act 1991 on the state and conditions on the rivers, streams, lakes, and waterways.**

Appendix V: Interview information sheet guide and consent form

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Nō whea koe?

1. Where are you from within the Raukawa ki te Tonga region?
2. What is your ancestral connection through hapū and whānau to the rohe?
3. He aha tou pepeha?
4. Where is your marae?
5. Do you live near the marae or in the general region?
6. How long have you or your whānau lived there?
7. If not, where do you reside?

In looking at the series of photos we have here for you ...

8. Do you have personal whānau stories regarding the significance of the waterways present in this image here?
9. Let's name them together to make sure we have the right names listed.
10. Do you have any kōrero tuku iho or stories that have been handed on, which your parents, or grandparents or great grandparents shared, with your whānau? We are interested in these kinds of stories about the cultural life as well as the physical health of this waterway
11. What did your whānau use the awa or waterway for?
12. What was significant about this awa or waterway to other local hapū? Are you aware of who lived along the waterway too? Are they related to you in any way?
13. What are the important rivers and waterways that remain pertinent to your whānau?
14. Why are these particular waterways important to you and your whānau? Is (or was) it for SPIRITUAL / PHYSICAL / KAITIAKI / MAHINGA KAI / TRAVEL reasons?
15. Are there other aspects of cultural significance within these waterways?
16. We are keen to know about any uses or influences that impacted upon, or changed the life/health of the awa or waterway. Are there any that you are aware of?
17. What would you consider we have lost in regards to local knowledge of place or

resource use relationships to this/these waterway(s), since colonisation and other impacts made over the decades?

18. Would you be willing to think further and write anything down about these waterways that we are showing you today, and then share them with us at a later date?

Impacts

19. In looking at the list of impacts over time (Point 4 in the green box) do you have experiences regarding species and habitat loss that resulted from colonisation or the effects listed?
20. In going through each one are there any historic impacts that you are aware of based on your whānau or hapū experiences?
21. Do you have any KŌRERO regarding habitat loss with regard to the list and general impacts of colonisation?
22. Has the influence of Christianity (in all its denominations) had an impact upon waterways (either historic or in your lifetime)? We are seeking knowledge on examples where areas might have been gifted to churches / missions / engineering projects or schools in the area.
23. What effect has species loss had on your whānau and hapū?
24. In going through the following list, please share your thoughts on the loss of, or dramatic impact upon these species from our rohe.

Huia	Ngutu Kākā
Pātiki	Rimu
Tuna	Mātai
Kōura	Hīnau
Kererū	Rewarewa
Tūī	Kahikatea
Harakeke	Toherora
Tuatua	Tohemanga
OR any others identified by claimants	

Local Government and the Crown

1. What has been the impact of Crown involvement in the life of the waterways (both historic and in your lifetime) through the mechanisms of local government or other national policies, legislations or by-laws?
2. Have you examples where the Crown specifically disadvantaged you, or your whānau and hapū?
3. Have ownership issues for your whānau and hapū ever arisen involving the Crown or local government?
4. What has the process of engagement between iwi, hapū and the Crown / local government been like (both historically and in your lifetime) when dealing with certain issues around waterways? Please give examples if you can.
5. What have been the local examples of efforts led by iwi, hapū or whānau to retain control of; have access to, or to exercise kaitiakitanga of inland waterways that are pertinent to you?
6. What has been done in your region to restore the health and well-being of the inland waterways?
7. Has there been any recognition by central or local government of Māori environmental cultural practices in your experience?

Loss of Mauri

8. To your knowledge have there ever been outbreaks of coliform bacteria in rivers, streams or lakes that have important to your whānau over the last decades?
9. Has anybody to your knowledge ever gotten sick as a result of swimming or gathering kai moana in those waters?
10. Has effluent management schemes and point source or non-point source pollution from surrounding farms ever been identified as contributing to health problems in your whānau?
11. Have you ever seen evidence of algal blooms within those waterways?
12. Has cyanobacteria ever been identified in water samples from the waterways in question?
13. Are the waterways in question free flowing or do they show evidence of becoming clogged with weed?
14. In your opinion has the mauri of those waterways in question improved or gotten worse over the years, and how would you make such an assessment?

We thank you very much for your participation here today.

Ngā mihi ki a koe, ki a koutou katoa.

**PORIRUA KI MANAWATŪ INQUIRY ORAL NARRATIVE AND
ARCHIVING PROJECT FOR INLAND WATERWAYS –
CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES**

CONSENT

FORM

This research project is very committed to looking after the knowledge imparted by claimants in both audio visual form, and in references within reports. We will protect your Information, as you desire. See the following and please tick the options that you agree to:

In order to achieve this we humbly seek your permission to:

Record your kōrero OR record your moving image and voice via iPad video. This will be edited to DVD with a copy made available to you, the interviewee.

Record your kōrero OR record your moving image and voice via iPad video with a Master copy retained for the purposes of the CFRT research project and outputs. Your kōrero and/or image will be uploaded to a CFRT storage file. Access will be restricted as you determine.

The long term storage options are:

Te Wānanga O Raukawa

National Archives

Hapū designated _____ (please name it and provide contact details)

Contact Name _____ Phone: _____

Email: _____

And what access restrictions (if any) do you request?

General Public

Iwi / Hapū

Print Name:

Hapū / Iwi:

WAI Claim (if any):

Signed by Interviewee:

Location of Interview:

Date of Interview:

Interview

Ref.

No:

Interviewer/s Name/s:

Signed by Te Rangi

Research Team Member:

Appendix VI: List of interviewees

File	Date	Interviewee	Hapū/Iwi	Interview Location	Wai Claim
C101	15/03/16	Wayne Kiriona	Ngāti Huia/Matau	Jack Allen House Levin	WAI 757
C102	23/03/16	Margaret Morgan-Allen	Ngāti Hikitanga Te Paea	Te Paea iti Whare Ōhau	WAI 977
C103	23/03/16	Simon Austin	Wallace Whānau	Te Paea Iti Whare Ōhau	WAI 2031
C104a	2/04/16	Sylvia Gamble	Kereru	Kereru Marae	WAI 1944
C104b	2/04/16	Willy McGregor	Kereru	Kereru Marae	WAI 1944
C105	2/04/16	Te Kenehi Teira	Kereru	Kereru Marae	WAI 1944
C106	12/04/16	Albert Gardiner	Ngāti Wehiwehi	Ngāti Wehiwehi	WAI 1482
C107a	16/04/16	Cyril Carr Andrews	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C107b	16/04/16	Charlotte Andrews	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C108a	16/04/16	Te Omaki Rauihihi	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C108b	16/04/16	Miriama Rauihihi	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C109a	16/04/16	Mark Puti	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C109b	16/04/16	Neville Hurunui	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C109c	16/04/16	Troy O'Carroll	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C109d	16/04/16	Coleman Rauihihi	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C109e	16/04/16	Nina Pilkington	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI

File	Date	Interviewee	Hapū/Iwi	Interview Location	Wai Claim
					1640
C109f	16/04/16	Robert Ketu	Whakatere	Poutu Pā	WAI 1640
C110	21/04/16	Hirama Tamihana	Ngāti Huia	Huia Marae	WAI 113
C110b	21/04/16	Pāora Tātana	Ngāti Huia	Huia Marae	Wai 113
C111a	21/04/16	Mary Tātana	Ngāti Huia	Huia Marae	WAI 113
C111b	21/04/16	Kiri Tamihana	Ngāti Huia	Huia Marae	WAI 113
C111c	21/04/16	Pauline Green	Ngāti Huia	Huia Marae	WAI 113
C112	22/04/16	Participant Withdrew	N/A	N/A	N/A
C113a	28/04/16	Mereana Selby	Pareraukawa	Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki	WAI 1580, 437
C113b	28/04/16	Whatarangi Winiata	Pareraukawa	Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki	WAI 113
C114a	10/05/16	Lois McNaught	Te Ātiawa	Tāringaroa, Ōtaki	WAI 88,89
C114b	10/05/16	Ani Parata	Te Ātiawa	Tāringaroa, Ōtaki	WAI 88,89
C115a	12/05/16	Michael Cribb	Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Turoa	Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, Feilding	WAI 1461
C115b	12/05/16	Lorraine Searancke	Ngāti Kauwhata	Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, Feilding	WAI 1461
C116	18/05/16	Peter Richardson	Ngāti Raukawa whānui	Foxton Beach	
C117	18/05/16	Pat Seymour	Ngāti Tukorehe	Foxton Beach	
C118	20/05/16	Te Whena Lewis	Ngāti Tukorehe	Manakau	

File	Date	Interviewee	Hapū/Iwi	Interview Location	Wai Claim
			Ngāti Wehiwehi		
C119	26/05/16	Rob Kuiti	Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa	Tāringaroa	
C120	28/05/16	Rob Warrington	Muaūpoko	Tatum Park	
C121a	26/05/16	Claudine Thompson	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121b	26/05/16	Tasha Mc Meekin	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121c	26/05/16	Hara Williams	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121d	26/05/16	Rumaiti Royal	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121e	26/05/16	Caleb Royal	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121f	26/05/16	Manihira Royal	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121g	26/05/16	Wehi Royal	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121h	26/05/16	Ricki Baker	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C121i	26/05/16	Andre Baker	Ngāti Pare	Tāringaroa	
C122	1/06/16	Te Waari Carkeek	Ngāti Raukawa	Te Papa	
C123	1/06/16	Charles Royal	Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Raukawa	Te Papa	
C124a	5/06/16	Ted Devonshire	Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Raukawa	Foxton	WAI 1618
C124b	5/06/16	Sandra Hemara	Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Raukawa	Foxton	WAI 1618
C124c	5/06/16	Pip Devonshire	Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Raukawa	Foxton	WAI 1618
C124d	5/06/16	Lorraine Bell	Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Raukawa	Foxton	WAI 1618
C125a	6/06/16	Andre Baker	Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Whakarongotai marae	
C125b	6/06/16	Tutere Parata	Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Whakarongotai marae	
C125c	6/06/16	Les Mullen	Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Whakarongotai marae	

File	Date	Interviewee	Hapū/Iwi	Interview Location	Wai Claim
C125d	6/06/16	Bill Carter	Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Whakarongotai marae	
C125e	6/06/16	Rawhiti Higgot	Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Whakarongotai marae	
C125f	6/06/16	Kristie Parata	Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Whakarongotai marae	
C126	8/06/16	Viv Taueki	Muaūpoko	Taueki Homestead	WAI 1629
C127	8/06/16	Phil Taueki	Muaūpoko	Taueki Homestead	WAI 2306
C128	8/06/16	Peter Heremaia	Ngāti Hine	Taueki Homestead	
C129a	11/06/16	Apihaka Tamati/Pirikawau-Mack	Ngātiawa	Kāpiti Community Centre	WAI 1018, 109, 263
C129b	11/06/16	Yvonne Mitchel	Ngātiawa	Kāpiti Community Centre	WAI 1018, 109, 263
C129c	11/06/16	Muriwai Tamati/Pirikawau-Goodman	Ngātiawa	Kāpiti Community Centre	WAI 1018, 109, 263
C129d	11/06/16	Hirini Jenkins-Mepham	Ngātiawa	Kāpiti Community Centre	WAI 1018, 109, 263
C130A	12/06/16	Yvonne Wehipeihana	Ngāti Tukorehe	Tukorehe marae	
C130B	12/06/16	Pat Seymour	Ngāti Tukorehe	Tukorehe marae	
C130C	12/06/16	Zoey Poutama	Ngāti Tukorehe	Tukorehe marae	