



Towards an understanding of the Māori (cultural) wellbeing and survival aspirations that Ngā Hapū o Heretaunga have for
Te Mata, Te Matā, Te Mata o Rongokako,
Te Karanemanema Te Mata o Rongokako
(Herein referred to as Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna)

2018

Prepared for the Hastings District Council
By Te Manaaki Taiao, Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga
In association with Te Toi Ōhanga

HE KARAKIA MŌ WĀNANGA¹

*Te Umu tīrama nuku
Te Umu tīrama rangi
Ko ahau kei te wetekia noa tia ahau
Whiwhia te ngākau te mahara
Kia puta ki te whai Ao ki te Ao marama
Tēnā te Umu ka eke te Umu kei a koe
Nā te Umu o ēnei kōrero
Ka mā ngā Koromatua
Ka mahoki ko ahau
I heke iho mai nā
E Rongo tūturu whakamaua kia tina ... hui e! tai iki e!*

*He aha te hau e pupuhi mai
He hau he raki he hau he tonga
E tikina atu e au he pou whakairo
Ka tū ki te Mata o Rongokako
I aka moemoe e*

*What is the wind that blows softly?
It is the winds of the north and south
And I place the carved post on Te Mata o Rongokako
Our dreams will be fulfilled*

*Ko Heretaunga Haukunui – Heretaunga of life-giving dews
Ko Heretaunga Ararau – Heretaunga of Arcadian pathways
Ko Heretaunga Haaro Te Kaahu – Beauty that can only be seen through the eye the hawk
Ko Heretaunga takoto noa – left to us the humble servants*

Mauri ora e!

¹ (Transl.) - karakia of beginnings that brings together the celestial and terrestrial elements.

WAIATA TANGI²

Ko au anake rā e tū kotahi nei e, taihoa au e mate
Kia kite atu au, i Te Matau-a-Māui
Kia titiro atu au, i Te Matā o te Tangata
Kia eke au ki runga rā, kia titiro iho au ki Heretaunga Rongonui
Ka huri au ki te maunga tapu rā Kahurānaki, kei reira a Te Hāpuku e kōmingotia nei, e te tau o taku ate
Ka huri au whakawaho e ki te toka rā Motu o Kura
Ka huri au whakauta rā kia inu atu au i te puna Waimārama
Ka huri au ki te oneroa, ki te kōkoru rā Rangaiika
Kei reira nei ōku mātua e aroha nei au

Here I stand alone, don't kill me just yet
That I may look upon Te Matau-a-Māui (Cape Kidnappers)
That I may look upon my tipuna Te Mata Peak
That I may climb to the summit and look down on the Heretaunga plains of great renown
I turn to the sacred mountain Kahurānaki, where Te Hāpuku resides and stirs my emotions
I look out to Motu o Kura (Bare Island)
I turn inland that I might drink from the freshwater springs, Waimārama
I turn to the bay, to the cove Rangaiika (between Ocean Beach and Cape Kidnappers)
That is where my parents are whom I love dearly

After the battle of Te Pakake (ca. 1820), some of the captives of Ngā hapū o Ngāti Kahungunu asked to be allowed to climb to the top of the peak of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna so they could see their homeland, some for the last time. Winipere Rotohenga was one of this roopu (transl. company or group). This waiata tangi (transl. lament) was said to have been sung at the Peak. The name of the composer is unknown but the lament has been passed down the generations to our time as a taonga tuku iho (inherited treasure). This lament encapsulates many of the key ideas and concerns articulated in this study, which focuses on understanding the urgent wellbeing and survival needs of our beloved maunga tapu (transl. sacred mountain), Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

First, this waiata tangi (transl. lament) draws our attention towards the sacred status of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a Tipuna (transl. ancestor) of ngā hapū o Heretaunga and Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Ahuriri. Second, this waiata tangi (transl. lament) anticipates an experience of pending captivity in which the survivors of the battle of Te Pakake express their grief and sadness at the prospect of being separated from their beloved tūrangawaewae, their whenua and the security of Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). This same sadness and grief are shared by Ngā hapū o Heretaunga today as they cast their gaze from the heights of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna upon the state of their homeland and its many whānau tīpuna (i.e. sacred mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, coves, estuaries, and coastal fisheries) following 178 years of colonisation. As recited in this waiata tangi (transl. lament), we remember the 'Heretaunga plains of great renown' the 'freshwater springs' from which our tīpuna once freely drank and our parents – Papatūānuku and Ranginui – whom we dearly love.

Finally, this waiata tangi (transl. lament) fills us with hope in anticipation of the return of the exiles - a future time in which the mana, wairua and mauri of our beloved maunga tapu (sacred mountain) Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna will have been reclaimed and reinstated. It is towards the realisation of this moemoea (vision) that this report is dedicated.

² (Transl.) – lament.

WHAKATAUKĪ³

Whatungarongaro te tangata toitū te whenua.

As man disappears from sight, the land remains.

This whakataukī draws our attention to an important understanding on which this report is based – namely the enduring nature of our relationship with the whānau (transl. family) of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. A Māori cultural conception of whānau (transl. extended family) embraces much more than a nuclear family. Through whakapapa, Tangata Whenua (transl. people of the land) trace their genealogy back to Papatūānuku - our Earth mother, Ranginui - our sky father and Atua Māori – the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui who are the kaitiaki of the various domains or ecosystems of the natural world. This understanding of the Māori family (i.e. whānau Māori) is central to the ideas outlined in this report and the emphasis it places on the urgent need that exists to focus attention on the wellbeing and survival of this entire family entity.

The narratives, myths and legends describing the origins of Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the family of Papatūānuku and Ranginui) form part of the central corpus of Māori knowledge that make it possible to understand what it means to ‘see the world’ (i.e. a worldview) through Māori eyes. As a contribution towards exploring this unique perception of reality, the following narrative from ‘*The Lore of the Whare Wānanga or teachings of the Māori college on religion, cosmology, and history*’ by H. T. Whatahoro. This narrative draws our attention to the loving regard with which Ranginui embraced and treated Papatūānuku - clothing her with plants and various creatures and this understanding forms the basis of kawa (transl. protocols, ceremonies for the appropriate treatment of tapu) that guides Māori behaviour towards our primal parents - Papatūānuku and Ranginui - to this very day. Kawa is the highest authority (Royal, 1996) that is used in guiding Māori behaviour and as such it cannot be disregarded without incurring consequences. The existence of this kawa provides Tangata Whenua with an enduring responsibility and obligation to ensure that the tapu of the members of whānau Māori (transl. the Māori family) - Papatūānuku, Ranginui, Atua Māori and Tangata Whenua is treated with appropriate respect and regard. This report may be considered as an expression of this kawa and many other related kaupapa and tikanga that have been elaborated by kaumātua who have contributed their oral kōrero to this study.

The Rangi-nui [great sky], which stands above, felt a desire towards Papa-tua-nuku [the earth], whose belly was turned up [towards him]; he desired her as a wife. So Rangi came down to Papa. In that period the amount of light was nil; absolute and complete darkness [pō-kutikuti kākarauri] prevailed; there was no sun, no moon, no stars, no clouds, no light, no mist—no ripples stirred the surface of ocean; no breath of air, a complete and absolute stillness.

And so Rangi-nui dwelt with Papa-tua-nuku as his wife; and then he set [hikaia = whakatō, to set, plant] plants to cover the nakedness of Papa; for her armpits, her head, and the body; and after that the smaller trees to clothe them both, for the body of the earth was naked. Subsequently he placed the upstanding trees of the forest, and now Papa felt a great warmth, which was all-embracing. After this were placed the insects of all kinds, the aitanga-pekepeketaua [the ancestors of the tuatara, great lizard], appropriate to the recesses of the smaller vegetation, the clumps of smaller trees, and the wao-tū-rangi, the great forests [whose heads reach the skies], (Whatahoro, 2011, p. 117).

³ (Transl.) - Proverb, significant saying, aphorism.

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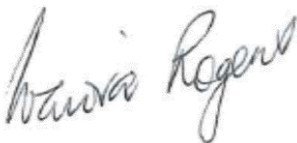
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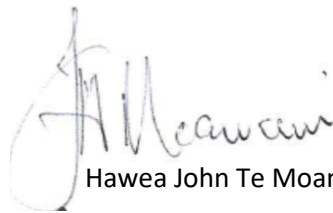
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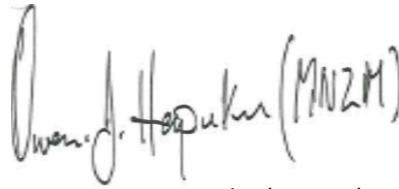
Waiora Numia Rogers



Hawea John Te Moananui



Robert MacDonald



Owen Jerry Hāpuku (MNZM)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“When everyone looks at the maunga everyone sees home⁴.”

‘Haukāinga’ or ‘papakāinga’ (transl. true home or original home) is a taonga tuku iho (transl. inherited treasure or gift) and concept that underpins the mātauranga, kawa, kaupapa, tikanga and kōrero contained in this report. For Māori communities, ‘home’ is a crucial part of their identity, their pepeha, their right to stand, the place they belong, and as expressed in this whakataukī - *while the land remains the inhabitants are gone*⁵. This report focuses attention on a home (i.e. Te Matā ... Te Mata o Tipuna), an ancestor and maunga tapu (transl. sacred mountain) that provided for the wellbeing and survival aspirations of both the celestial (transl. Te kauae runga) and terrestrial (transl. Te kauae raro) whānau of Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga for 800–1,000 years. In achieving this investigative and writing aim, this report makes an important contribution towards rethinking the role of ‘cultural impact assessment (CIA)’ in Māori community, planning and policy-making contexts. As such, this report is intended, both specifically and in its broader intent, as a taonga for future use. This contribution is made with the following written contributions that are elaborated in greater detail below (emerging theory, key changes in method, goal orientation, findings of this study and key recommendations).

Emerging theoretical developments

‘Mana Ake, an Expression of Kaitiakitanga’ (2008) was the first Heretaunga collective hapū management plan ever published. It attempted to provide information that would assist planners and policy-makers to integrate the voice of mana whenua into RMA related activities in Hawke’s Bay. This initial management plan was followed by other cultural impact assessments (CIA’s) that have attempted to achieve similar aims. This current report moves beyond these past documents with erudite explanation and instruction as to how the RMA does not legally recognise or adequately provide protection for the goal of Māori cultural survival. Given the central importance of this goal to Māori communities, this report begins to explore (in practical terms) what planning and policy-making activities might look like when refocused onto this critically important and urgent aspiration.

Key changes in method

This document is based on 3 key changes in ‘investigative’ method. First, the rationale and framework on which this report is based constitutes a new ‘tool’ for Māori communities, planners and policy-makers. It has been created from a ‘kaupapa Māori’ tikanga so as to ensure that it provides a culturally appropriate basis on which to bring together all the necessary engagement processes and communities⁶ that have a vested interest in the future of a culturally rich and ecologically sustainable place they call home. Second, a tāngata whenua landscape encompasses the path of a river through a landscape, the habitats and the remarkable diversity of a landscape’s component ecosystems, the journey of humans through time, the pursuit of survival, the need for spiritual and physical sustenance, whānau connection and relationships. In this connection, the planning ‘study area’ outlined in the terms of reference has widened to more effectively include these various elements that assist in defining a Māori cultural landscape. A final conclusion of this study is that even this adjusted ‘study area’ fails to adequately capture all relevant whakapapa and whānau relationships that are associated with local Māori occupation of the entire Tukituki catchment. For this reason, the

⁴ Statement from Rob McGowan (NZAMH)

⁵ Toitū he kāinga, whatu ngarongaro he tangata.

⁶ Te Pou Matakana whānau ora framework reiterates that only Māori can express what Māori need.

findings of this report provide important lessons for determining appropriate study area boundaries in future studies of this kind.

Third, in this study we have abandoned our previous use of ‘cultural impact assessment’ methodology. An implicit assumption of this approach is that we can unambiguously define what we mean by use of the word ‘culture’. Such definition is necessary because this definition forms a basis for ‘effect’ measurement. In ‘impact assessment’ studies (generally), values are considered to provide an appropriate means or method of characterising what we mean by the word ‘culture’. Impact measurement is then typically conducted by measuring changes in the state of ‘values’ as a result of the effects of a past, present or future economic/business activity. There are many problems with this approach and in this report, we focus on the following. First, as we show in the method section of this report, it is very difficult to define the English word ‘value’ in a Māori cultural context. The English idea of ‘values’ is a highly abstracted concept that provides a very incomplete basis upon which to think about holistic whānau Māori wellbeing and survival. Second, ‘value’ is not the only attribute of a worldview that can be used to define ‘culture’ and ‘assess’ effects via a measurement process. Finally, a cultural impact assessment approach is based on and derived from ‘meaning’ that is encoded in the English language. English is not an appropriate categorical (cf. ontological) basis on which to create a method for use in understanding Māori cultural wellbeing and survival priorities. In this study, we have relaxed the need to define Māori ‘values’ and concentrated on a much broader range of Māori cultural characteristics that assist in providing a more comprehensive understanding of the English notion of Māori ‘culture’ used in this study.

The goal orientation of this study

The ‘method’ or ‘approach’ used in undertaking a study of this kind must support the goal we seek to achieve. Cultural impact assessment ‘method’ was created to assist in understanding to what extent, past, existing or proposed economic/business activities are likely to involve unwanted impacts on a given cultural entity. Thus, the goal of CIA is ‘economic’ impact assessment. This particular method of assessment aims to inform and support achievement of the efficiency, sustainability and management (of effects) goals of the Resource Management Act (1991). While these RMA goals are not irrelevant to Māori communities, they largely reflect a Western scientific worldview, language⁷ and prioritisation that constitutes an incomplete basis on which to achieve the goals of whānau Māori wellbeing and survival.

Māori cultural survival is arguably ‘the’ aspirational goal that is of greatest importance and urgency to Māori communities. For this reason, we have shifted the goal orientation of this study and attempted to rethink our use of supporting methodology and method to make sure that we are generating study outcomes that *appropriately represent* and *directly benefit* Māori communities. As such, this report provides a more comprehensive understanding of the Māori worldviews in Heretaunga than would normally be associated with a CIA. This understanding is crucial, because for cultural survival to be achieved, these marae hapū worldviews must find a way to co-exist with the worldview/s on which the RMA and LGA are based. Thus, our broadening of goal orientation is not an attempt to be exclusive, but to find a confident, ‘inclusive’ space in which the co-existence of distinctly different worldviews is possible.

⁷ Definitions, terminology and procedures that are used in those acts do not fully represent Māori and limit the opportunity for Māori to engage.

Findings of this study

In exploring the questions of whānau Māori wellbeing and survival for the celestial (transl. Te kauae runga) and terrestrial (transl. Te kauae raro) family of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna we focus on essential aspects of:

- (i) 800-1,000 years of whakapapa (transl. genealogy)
- (ii) the current extent and wellbeing of Atua domains (transl. gods and spirits of the Māori people)
- (iii) efforts to re-instate kawa, kaupapa and tikanga (transl. kawa - ritual practices and customs, kaupapa - grounded principles, policies and tikanga - appropriate behaviours) and
- (iv) the wellbeing and survival prospects of Māori communities within the Heretaunga catchment.

Together, this kōrero provides a more comprehensive basis upon which to (i) understand the distinctive 'whānau' identity of local Māori communities and (ii) assess changes in whānau Māori wellbeing and survival.

The information presented in this report sub-section on the cultural wellbeing and survival prospects of Te Kauae raro whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) who whakapapa to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is very confronting. This is the 'real-world' context in which a conversation about the future of the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku o Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna must be based. This wellbeing and survival insight implies that there is risk associated with further efforts to trade-off local Māori cultural 'values' in future planning and policy-making activities. In this report we seek to show that justification now exists for the use of every available planning, policy and community contribution to assist local Māori communities to reclaim, reframe and re-instate the mana and mauri of whānau Māori. This new direction now forms an essential basis for achieving what can be described in English as the goals of local Māori cultural (cf. whānau) wellbeing and survival.

Key recommendations

The findings of this study documented in this report have been used to identify recommendations that can be grouped into 3 broad categories. First, **remedial recommendations** identify a set of corrective actions that will contribute towards (i) re-instating affected Atua domains, the mana, mauri, narratives and linguistic identity of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna and (ii) assist in resourcing future studies aimed at better understanding the nature of past, mana diminishing activities as a basis for re-instatement. Second, **Resource Management Act (1991) recommendations** offer guidance on changes that should be made to existing planning instruments (i.e. the district plan, rules and policies). Third, **co-governance and co-management recommendations** outline options for (i) the establishment of a future co-governance / co-management arrangement and (ii) priorities for ongoing collaborations that will be needed to support a **co-governance and co-management** arrangement. Finally, **planning zone recommendations** that provide suggested guidelines for the creation of planning zones that can be used to provide adequate levels of protection to this significant (Māori) cultural landscape.

1. INTRODUCTION

The kōrero (transl. speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information), mātauranga (transl. knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill - sometimes used in the plural) and recommendations contained in this report have been prepared and written by Te Manaaki Taiao, Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga in association with a Ngā hapū o Heretaunga and Te Toi Ōhanga. This report was prepared in response to a request from Hastings District Council for the creation of a cultural impact assessment to inform and guide Council in the creation of plans, policies, design principles and rules for Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. This current report builds on an earlier cultural impact assessment report created by Te Manaaki Taiao, Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga as part of a Resource Management Act 1991, section 32 assessment of effects relating to a new visitor information centre on the western side of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. This report was requested by Council following issues of public concern that arose in relation to the eastern face of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a result of the consenting and construction of a new walking track in late 2017 by Craggy Range Winery.

The terms of reference provided by Hastings District Council to guide the creation of a cultural impact assessment is based on the follow project goal:

This information will provide the basis from which to undertake a 'values assessment' in considering potential viable options for the most appropriate outcome for the future management of the east face of Te Mata Peak (Hastings District Council, 2018, p. 3).

Te Manaaki Taiao, the culture and heritage unit at Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga has been contracted to provide:

A report which documents the cultural values of the study area including historical associations and contemporary values. The report should identify both the wider significance of the study area and any particular sites of significance within it, including wāhi tapu and wāhi taonga. It is expected that the cultural impact assessment will include, but not be limited to, the following information:

- (i) Historical Māori associations, original land sales and treaty claim issues;*
- (ii) Interviews will be conducted with identified Kaumātua / people / groups for their cultural advice/guidance and input specific to the study area;*
- (iii) Inventory of hapū who identify with the study area;*
- (iv) Record of hui-a-hapū and hui-a-iwi undertaken in establishing the significance of the study area and report back conclusions and /or recommendations;*
- (v) Conclusions collated from the hui undertaken of the significance of the study area;*
- (vi) Recommended mitigation measures for any further work undertaken in the study area, including 'no go' areas for any earthworks, public access or landscape planting;*
- (vii) Documentation of the aspirations of tāngata whenua with mana whenua for the study area in exercising kaitiakitanga; and*
- (viii) Overall recommendations to the project team, land owners and regulatory decision makers regarding the future management of the study area (Hastings District Council, 2018, pp. 4-5).*

1.1 Site Description and Location

Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is a taonga i tuku ihō (transl. heavenly gift) etched from the earth by Atua and accorded names such as Te Matā (transl. flint, quartz, obsidian), Te Mata (transl. face) o Rongokako, Te Karanemanema (transl. sparkling/glitter) o te Mata o Rongokako. These names are part of the various stories still told today and all of which are respected and acknowledged equally.



Figure 1 A base map showing the location of te maunga tapu o Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, southeast of Havelock North.

Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is a maunga tapu (transl. sacred mountain) located at the south eastern boundary of the Heretaunga Plains where it provides a physiographic barrier between the Tukituki Awa (transl. river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow) and the adjacent urban environment of Havelock North (Figure 1). The summit of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna sits at approximately 400m above sea level and is visually significant in terms of its distinctive silhouette outlines and limestone rock (Forbes, 2018) escarpments (visible on the Eastern face). At this level of elevation, Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is visible as an outstanding landscape feature from the nearby Heretaunga Plains, while its ridgeline provides commanding views of the Hawke's Bay region and adjacent coastal environment.

The views from the east face of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are spectacular and wonderful. Looking down to the southeast we see the Tukituki awa, sourced from the Ruahine ranges and environs of the Makaretu, Mākaroro, Waipawa and Ruataniwha, and winding its way north between Kauehei and Kahuranake maunga (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012a, p. 7).

To the east coast, there are breath-taking views of Te Apiti, Te Whanganui a Tara, Waimārama, Te Motu o Kura (Bare Island), Waipuka. Turning north toward the Heretaunga plains there are commanding views of Te Matau a Māui, Mataruahou (Scinde Island), the mouths of the Ngaruroro, Te Karamu and Tutaekurī awa along with their pathways back to the hinterland. On the western side of the Heretaunga plains one can see the first hill crops of Oueroa (adjacent to Takitimu), Oingō to Te Popo (transl. Roys Hill), Maraekakaho, the Raukawa valley, Raukawa range top and Te Arai a Turanga. From there one is able to complete the full 360% turn back southwards towards Kaokaoroa and Kohinurākau – Kohinerākau (Mt Erin), (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012a, p. 7).

Rising to the lofty heights of Te Kaahu (transl. the hawk), one is able to see the panoramic backdrop of mountains guarding the Heretaunga Plains from south to north; the ranges of Tararua, Te Atua Mahuru o Ruahine, Timahanga, Tahuhunui, and even the awesome sight of the tipuna Ruapehu in the far west. Then arise the Kaweka, Maungaharuru, Te Waka, Huiarau, and Whakapunake maunga, till finally one's view is brought over to Waikawa (Portland Island) surrounded by Te Moananui a Kiwa, at Mahia. In the midst of it all Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna stands permanently and prominently (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012a, p. 7).

1.2 Whakapapa (Genealogy)

The holistic nature of a Māori worldview is captured in whakapapa, which when used as a noun refers to genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, or descent (Moorfield, 2005). While there is some very deep kōrero associated with the role of whakapapa in a Māori conception of the world, we here focus on one key characteristic. Whakapapa provides a genealogical table or family tree that shows the relationship between all members of Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the celestial and terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). In the time of our tīpuna, whakapapa played a crucial role in: (i) maintaining the wellbeing of whānau Māori⁸, and (ii) in tracing descent as a basis for clarifying rights to leadership, land, fishing rights, kinship, and status (Moorfield, 2005). Thus, there is a very real sense in which whakapapa provided our tīpuna with a remarkably complex, oral synthesis of reality that could be depicted at different levels of abstraction.

⁸ The Māori family includes Papatūānuku our Earth mother, Ranginui our Sky father, the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui (i.e. Atua Māori) who are the kaitiaki of the various domains (cf. ecosystems) of the natural world and finally, the descendants of one of the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui named Tāne-nui-a-rangi (i.e. Tāngata Whenua).

Whakapapa was used in many different ways to maintain the wellbeing and survival of all members of the family of Papatūānuku and Ranginui.

‘The Woven Universe’ also reflects the work of the tohunga whakapapa, the expert genealogist. This person, through their Reo, is able to weave people and all things together into a fabric of whanaungatanga or relationships. The tohunga whakapapa knows and understands the power of relationships as the essential nature of all reality. The ethical act, therefore, of the tohunga is the fostering of relationships for, as Toki Pāngari points out, humanity severs the fabric of the universe at our peril (Marsden, 2003c p. xiv).

In a modern-day context, the introduction of capitalist property rights has completely changed the nature and extent of the relationship between Māori communities and the natural world from one based on a ‘family relationship’ as defined by whakapapa, to one based on legal rights of use and extraction. It seems likely that at present, we poorly understand the long-term implications of these fundamental ‘identity’ changes in terms of the goal of Māori cultural survival. While the introduction of a capitalist model of economy (including individual property rights) has attempted to impose a new set of social relationships on Māori communities, this colonising influence has not successfully erased the ‘whānau Māori’ identity that still provides a categorical (cf. ontological) framework for how Māori communities see the world. Because whakapapa provides an evidential basis for establishing this whānau Māori relationship, it is just as relevant today in clarifying rights to leadership, land, fishing rights, kinship, and status as it was in the time of our tīpuna.

Whakapapa has also been used by the uri (transl. offspring, descendants, relatives, kin) of Ngāti Kahungunu to record and confirm the ‘whānau’ relationship that local marae hapū (transl. hapū members who whakapapa to and are actively involved in a given marae) have with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. These marae hapū who reside in the shadow of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna have woven strong whakapapa strands with the historical fabric of this maunga tapu (transl. sacred mountain). It also shows that all other Heretaunga marae hapū have whakapapa links to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna through their occupation of Heretaunga, shared whakapapa and mātauranga (transl. knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill), (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012a). The importance of whakapapa in understanding the ‘cultural’ relationship that marae hapū have with their tīpuna (transl. ancestor), Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, cannot be over-stated. Whakapapa records a complex family history that has been woven over thousands of years, all the way back to the emergence of space and time – Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

*“Io, the Creator and First Cause, beget: Te Korekore, Te Kōwhao, Te Pō. (Void, Abyss, Nights), The Realm of Potential Being, which beget: Te Pū etc. Foundation Principle of all things
The seeking, pursuit, burgeoning, increase, elemental energy; i.e. the realm of energy and processes, which beget:
Latent memory, deep mind, emerging consciousness, sound, the Realm of the Mind which beget: Word and Wisdom. Into that total milieu was infused:
The Breath of the Spirit and of life - the realm of Mauri.
Then was begotten light/shape/form; begetting in turn:
Time and Space. Into this framework of the Space/Time continuum was born:
Rangi and Papa - Sky Father and Mother Earth - the world of sense-perception (Marsden, 2003, p. 111).”*

As is so beautifully articulated by the late Rev. Māori Marsden (2003, p. 111), whakapapa flows from wairuatanga (transl. spirituality, the beyond) into the physical realm. It is all around us, within and upon the whenua (transl. country, land, nation, state, territory, domain), in the ngahere (transl. forest ecosystems), the moana (transl. oceans, lakes, awa), wai (transl. water) and within indigenous biodiversity with its myriad of species that are part of Te Ao Mārama (transl. the world of light or sensible reality). Whakapapa is crucial to one's status and relationship with the whenua. For Tangata Whenua with cultural interests in and traditional connections to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, there are differences in whakapapa. For example, those who acknowledge a strong Rangitāne connection express their cultural connections differently to those who affiliate more to Ngāti Kahungunu ancestry. This enables each to express their own reality. What is acknowledged by each, is that Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna and its surrounds are imbued with strong cultural significance that needs to be respected, protected, and considered whenever any activities are proposed that have actual or potential (adverse) effects on this taonga (transl. usually an inherited gift or treasure), (Black, 2018, p. 5). The cultural identity of marae hapū with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna has been woven with events of daily life for the last 800 to 1,000 years, prior to the more recent arrival of those whom our tīpuna referred to as 'Tauīwi' (transl. person coming from afar, Europeans, colonists).

1.2.1 Eight Hundred to a Thousand Years of Isolation

Our whakapapa to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna can be traced back to the occupation of the Māui, Tara and Rangitāne⁹ people approximately a thousand years ago, whose whakapapa is outlined in Figure 2. It is the Rangitāne story is held by the Waimārama people and describes Te Matā as one of many 'named pillars'. When looking along the Tukituki Valley towards Te Apiti, one can view the ascending peaks or pillars of a house, a place once inhabited by a giant eagle that cast its shadow [Haaro] as it flew. The importance of this kōrero is paramount to Waimārama mana whenua and the telling of it should come from them (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, p. 9).

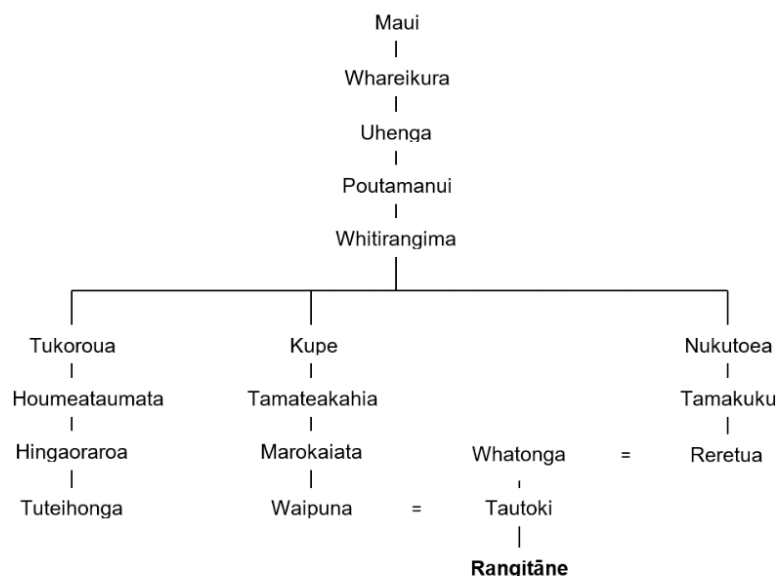


Figure 2 A visual depiction of the whakapapa of Rangitāne from Māui to Whatonga and Tautoki.

⁹ Parsons, P. and Ropiha, D (2003) Rangitāne Tamaki-nui-a-rua. Unpublished report.

Between layers of time and periods of occupation, many events have shaped and populated the legends of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna – romantic stories in kōrero (transl. speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information), pakiwaitara (transl. legend, story, fiction, folklore, narrative, yarn), kōrero tawhito (transl. old stories), and kōrero neherā (transl. even older stories). About the late 1300's, stories emerge of Rongokako – a student of the Whare Maire (transl. an ancient school of the black arts), along with Paoa – a graduate of the occult knowledge under the tohunga Tupai. Some accounts of Rongokako place him on board the Takitimu waka as a youth of giant proportion. Other accounts claim he was born after their arrival. Another story tells of a race between Rongokako and Paoa to win the hand (in marriage) of Muriwhenua. The eventual union of Rongokako and Muriwhenua establishes the whakapapa line through which the uri of Ngāti Kahungunu trace their ancestry (Figure 3), (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, p. 10).

Around the late 1400's, Taraia (a 5th generation descendant of Rongokako) arrived. He brought the Ngāti Kahungunu people into Heretaunga who were led by the generals of Taraia (i.e. Te Aomatarahi and Te Kahutapere). The arrival of Ngāti Kahungunu displaced the Rangitāne people. Taraia was married to two significant wāhine rangatira, Hinemoa and Hinepare. All Heretaunga marae hapū descend through Hinemoa and/or Hinepare lineage. Te Aomatarahi descendants, predominantly the Waimārama whānau, have a distinctive whakapapa/genealogy lineage. Testing times followed as the social enclaves of Te Hika a Papauma and Te Hika a Ruarauhanga fought against each other over a period of decades until the marriage Te Whatuiapiti of Papauma to Te Huhuti of Ruarauhanga.

Whatonga = Hotuwaipara
 Tahatiti
 Uenuku
 Ruatapu
 Rakeiora
 Tama ki te hau
 Tama ki te ra
 Tama ki te matangi
 Tama ki reireia ma hawaiki
 Te Kahu arero
 Pito
 Rere
 Tangi
 Maika
 Toto moe ana ia Tamatea Arikinui o te waka Takitimu ka puta
 Rongokako = Muriwhenua

 Tamatea pokai whenua = Iwipupu

Figure 3 *Depiction of the whakapapa of Whatonga and Hotuwaipara down to Tamatea pokai whenua and Iwipupu.*

With reference to the Ngāti Hinepare Pā sites situated along Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, it is necessary to differentiate between two different branches of Ngāti Hinepare. Those who come from the Moteo area through the principal tipuna Hikateko, and those who descend from the tipuna Rongomaipare¹⁰, wife of Ngarengare, who were referred to as Ngāti Pare (Figure 2). Their occupation,

¹⁰ Whakapapa given by Hemi Harris.

in terms of Ahi-kā (transl. burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation - title to land through occupation by a group) is significant in terms of the Pā they occupied under the Chief Rangiwahatuiapiti around the late 17th century and early 18th century. The names of these Pā are Tawekanui, Ngaruahikapuku (atop Horseshoe Gully), Hikaruatapu (along further from Horseshoe Gully), Kohinurakau and Iwipo (in Knobby Gully), (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, pp. 11-13).



Figure 5 A visual depiction of the Whakapapa of Te Rehunga from Rongokako and Muriwhenua down to Te Ikahoungata and Ngauao.

Another principal ripple of whakapapa coming from Waimārama to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is through their tīpuna, Te Rangitupuanuku, and Te Ramaapakura, who married Ketekai. As recorded at the Native Land Court hearing of August 1868, when the Waimārama blocks were being Crown granted, Harawira Te Taterē (i.e. the younger brother to Tiakitai), principal chief of Ngāti Kurukuru, referred to the lands Te Rangitupuanuku gave Te Ramaapakura as being Hinurākau, Tukituki, Kahurānaki, Te Wekanui, Oho and Te Waipiro. These were all given to her and have been distributed by her descendants. This account may also provide a whakapapa connection to a rock outcrop (possibly ‘putikitik’ – transl. ‘nose of the giant that fell off’) at the bottom of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as being a boundary point between the Waimārama and the Heretaunga peoples.

While mana whenua (transl. territorial rights, power from the land, and authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory) of this area share common whakapapa connections, most would have a preference to trace their lineage and hold firm to certain lines rather than others. From this perspective, Te Rehunga is a defining ancestor from the Heretaunga side (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, pp. 11-13).

Interneicine¹¹ hapū conflicts flared throughout the late 17th century, with the musket wars spilling into the early 18th century and bringing other war parties into Heretaunga. The battle and loss at Te Pakake resulted in a severe blow to Heretaunga, with prisoners taken back to Waikato, including the

¹¹ Destructive to both sides in a conflict.

Chieftainess Winipere Te Rotohenga, wife of Tinikirunga (who was killed at Te Pakake). Their daughter Winipere was the mother of Karaitiana Takamoana and Meihana Takihi at the time. With the prospect of captivity before her, Winipere requested that she be taken to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna before her departure to Waikato. She wished to farewell Heretaunga from the top of this sacred maunga. On the peak, Winipere recited a lament and lacerated herself with obsidian to ensure her blood was still connected to the whenua she was being taken away from,¹² (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, pp. 11-13).

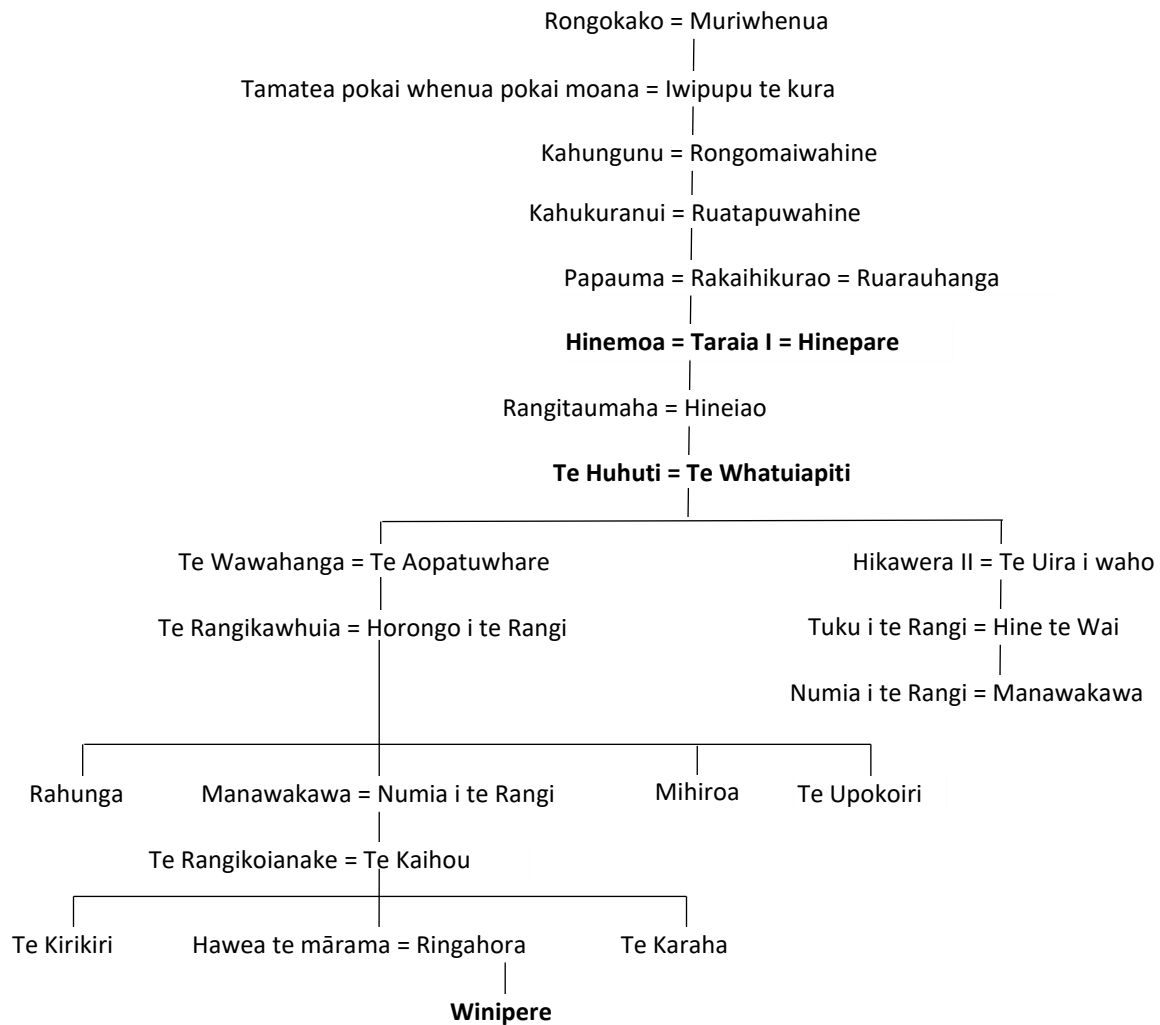


Figure 6 A visual depiction of the whakapapa of Winipere from Rongokako and Muriwhenua down to Hawea Te Mārama and Ringahora.

The following waiata was said to have been sung at the Peak. The name of the composer is unknown but the lament has been passed down to Te Akonga. Bayden Barber of Waimārama has a recording of Te Akonga singing the lament (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, pp. 11-13).

*Ko au anake rā e tū kotahi nei e, taihoa au e mate
 Kia kite atu au, i Te Matau-a-Māui
 Kia titiro atu au i Te Matā o te Tāngata*

¹² The waiata tangi (transl. lament) of Winipere Te Rotohenga may be found on page 2 of this report.

*Kia eke au ki runga rā, kia titiro iho au ki Heretaunga Rongonui
Ka huri au ki te maunga tapu rā Kahurānaki, kei reira a Te Hāpuku e kōmingotia nei, e te tau o taku ate
Ka huri au whakawaho e ki te toka rā Motu o Kura
Ka huri au whakauta rā kia inu atu au i te puna Waimārama
Ka huri au ki te oneroa, ki te kōkoru rā Rangaiika
Kei reira nei ōku mātua e aroha nei au*

*Here I stand alone, don't kill me just yet
That I may look upon Te Matau-a-Māui (Cape Kidnappers)
That I may look upon my tipuna Te Mata Peak
That I may climb to the summit and look down on the Heretaunga plains of great renown
I turn to the sacred mountain Kahurānaki, where Te Hāpuku resides and stirs my emotions
I look out to Motu o Kura (Bare Island)
I turn inland that I might drink from the freshwater springs, Waimārama
I turn to the bay, to the cove Rangaiika (between Ocean Beach and Cape Kidnappers)
That is where my parents are whom I love dearly*

It has been said that on arrival in Waikato, the prisoners were taken to Te Wherowhero¹³. When he saw them, he felt sorry as some of them were his own relatives, and decided to make peace (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, 2012b, pp. 11-13).

1.2.2 Ahi-kā the home fires of Te Matā ... Te Mata o Tipuna

Whakapapa is recorded in the whenua (i.e. cultural memory) in many ways, including the expression of Ahi-kā (transl. burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time). On Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, the fires of former occupation have long since been extinguished, however visible evidence of Ahi-kā (transl. burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time) can still be found in the physical remains and names of former Pā sites, tracks, and Waipuna (transl. spring of water) – all of which carry names of special significance to local hapū.

1.2.2.1 Pā Sites

There are a number of old Pā sites and papakāinga in and around Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, which are visible to the naked eye. One of the largest is behind the reservoir near Maurice Chambers' house, and was named Takoremu or Rimurapa¹⁴ and Hikanui – these names could possibly mean a person's name (Hāpuku, 1999).

Other Pā sites were called "Tawekanui, a hilltop Pā, on a spur running towards the Tukituki awa below the pine plantation on the river side of the Gap; and Iwipo, a very small fort overlooking the valley known as Knobby Gully (Buchanan, 1973)." Horse Shoe Bend on a spur running down the Peak was called Hikanui Tapu, and above the cliffs was Ngaruahikapuku, which to the Pākehā means 'Rifle Pits'. This Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city - especially a fortified one) commanded the passageway inland. In former times, the Tukituki Awa was one of the main means for transport inland. This part of the main highway is the river Tukituki, which is worth mentioning as the

¹³ Te Wherowhero was a leader of the Waikato iwi, first Māori King and founder of the Te Wherowhero whakapapa. He was first known as Te Wherowhero, but also took the name Pōtatau after he became king in 1858.

¹⁴ Rimurapa in Māori means Bull Kelp, so this name would likely not apply given that this location is so far from the sea.

journey inland where they had paddle ships and steam ships running from Clive (transl. Waipureku) to Waipawa. Kaiwaka was the Māori name for the horse shoe (Hāpuku, 1999).

Kahurangi Pā was built about the early 17th century and was occupied by the Ngāti Hinepare people. It was used in earlier days as a cleansing place for young warriors before they entered Maungawharau, the higher school of learning (Hāpuku, 1999). Kahurangi was also the Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city - especially a fortified one) of the official owner of the block (i.e. Karanema and his wife Te Urihe). Karanema died of measles and the Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city - especially a fortified one) was burnt in an attempt to destroy the measles epidemic (Hāpuku, 1999).

Within the land of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna there is also the grave of the Chieftainess, Merehine te Kaa, the mother of Tauhinu also known as Pukepuke Tangiora (the cry of the living) She is buried near Otu Pā occupied by Tunui, whose door to his whare was made of greenstone. Maungawharau, the higher school of learning was set up by Taewha, the Tohunga from the Waka Takitimu. Waiporepo Pā, the Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city - especially a fortified one) of the Te Rangihērāwera is also in close proximity. Kahurānaki Te Maunga is the spiritual guardian of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. From this hapū came the hapū of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, which was called Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Kurukuru, Ngāti Hawea, Ngāti Te Rangikoianake, Ngāti Te Whatuiapiti, Ngāti Mihiroa and Ngāti Whakaiti (Hāpuku, 1999).

In 1857, Karanema's block of land was sold. The sale of this land included various Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city - especially a fortified one) sites and boundaries that demarcated this block of land that comprised some 4,000 acres. The boundary commenced at Karituwhenua, then stretched to Te Hau and along the hill from Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna to Kahurangi, where it turns and runs to the source of Te Ngakauohape then to the Ngaruroro (Karamu Stream) and along the river until it meets the Karituwhenua again. Kahurangi was included as a boundary because it ran south of the Havelock Hills.

1.2.2.2 Tracks of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna

Following the ridge skyline along Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, a traveller is going along an ancient Māori track from East to South. This line is also the boundary of the Te Mata block. The high point, or face, is called Te Taumata (which means the lookout or view point). At the Kohinerākau end is the other face, and this is called Te Taumataopuku. The next name is Hikahika (Hāpuku, 1999), the name of the MacKenzie land. Hikahika is also the name given to the taniwha¹⁵ that dwelled in what was once a former wetland.

Above Kaiwaka (transl. horseshoe) Bend, on a spur running down the Peak, was called Hikaruatapu and on the cliffs above the Horseshoe Bend was Ngaruahikapuku, which to the Pākehā means Rifle Pits. This Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city - especially a fortified one) commanded the passageway inland. In Pākehā times, it was the main highway from Waipureku (Clive). This part of the main highway is the river Tukituki, which I am mentioning as the journey inland where

¹⁵ Taniwha transl. water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, something or someone awesome - taniwha take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory, but may also have a malign influence on human beings.

they had paddle ships and steam ships running from Clive (transl. Waipureku) to Waipawa (Hāpuku, 1999).

1.2.2.3 Waipuna of Te Matā ... Te Mata o Tipuna

From the Joll land came the spring named Waipuna which flowed into the Karituwhenua. The biggest spring was the Herehere, which flows below Iona College. The Mangarau spring flows down Lucknow Road. It was used by Māori to bathe and its water was of spiritual value to warriors that went into battle. Te Kahika spring runs down beside Hillsbrook (where the Hereworth roundabout and Presbyterian Support are now located). Three other streams crossing the flats on Tauroa Station are the Waitangaru, Makareo and the Marauaruhe (Hāpuku, 1999).

1.3 Names of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna

A Māori worldview employs the use of many different types of logic and to some extent this is reflected in our language. For example, our tīpuna had kupu (transl. words, sayings, messages, or statements) that recognised the importance of exclusive logic. An example here could be the use of the kupu (transl. word) 'tapu' (transl. be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection) which implies the existence of an area of exclusion that cannot or should not be included as part of entities that are noa (transl. to be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted). In other words, 'noa' can be thought of as a zone or area of inclusion. While the Māori language employs the use of both exclusive and inclusive logic, it is important to understand that inclusive logic is a central and dominant part of the way in which we see the world. For example, our kaupapa tuku iho are based on inclusive logic (e.g. whanaungatanga; all members of the Māori family, kotahitanga; collective effort, kaitiakitanga; caring for all existent parts of the Māori world, etc.) This inclusive characteristic is also reflected in our mātauranga (transl. knowledge) and this includes the use of naming conventions.

Given the central role of 'inclusive logic' in a Māori worldview, it should come as no surprise that very different names for the same entity co-exist and can reflect: (i) different local marae hapū (transl. Māori community) perceptions of reality; (ii) oral traditions – especially those based on whakapapa (transl. genealogy); and (iii) Atua¹⁶ experiences – names that honour or are conferred by an Atua¹⁶ or Taniwha. Thus, in a Māori worldview, names are more than just labels or discrete categories, they reflect an inclusion of the perceptual, relational, and sacred knowing of a particular rōpū tikanga Māori (transl. a kawa, kaupapa and tikanga-based Māori community). This explanation provides an important basis for understanding why the marae hapū of Heretaunga employ quite different name conventions to reflect their perceptual, relational and Atua Māori experiences.

For example, those hapū who whakapapa to Waimārama Marae, Ngāti Kurukuru, Whakaiti, Urakiterangi, Hikatoa employ the name Te Matā (transl. flint, quartz, or obsidian) to describe their visual perception of this tipuna and sacred mountain as seen from the south eastern ranges of the

¹⁶ Atua (transl.) - ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god' and now also used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. These atua also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world. Normally invisible, atua may have visible representations.

Tukituki Valley. This visual perception takes in Kohinerākau (transl. Mt Erin) and the ridgeline all the way along to Rongokako (transl. Te Mata Peak), (Figure 8).



Figure 8 A composite photograph of Te Matā that shows Kohinerākau (transl. Mt Erin) and the ridgeline all the way along to Rongokako (transl. the eastern face of Te Mata Peak).

The hapū from Pakipaki marae view this tipuna and sacred mountain from the lower reaches of the Heretaunga plains between the former Ngaruroro river course and the present-day Tukituki River. From this vantage point, hapū have stunning views of the ridgeline silhouette of a giant that at one time included the flickering fires of occupation (transl. Ahi-kā) and provided a stunning visual perception of the tipuna Rongokako lying on his back with blazing eyes – hence the name Te Karanemanema Te Mata o Rongokako. Hapū from Omahu and Bridge Pā marae located further back in the Heretaunga Plain have a view of the ridgeline silhouette of the giant ‘Rongokako’ lying on his back and hence the name Te Mata and Te Mata o Rongokako.

Over time, non-Māori settlers adopted the name ‘Te Mata Peak’, a name that drew on the Māori cultural legacy provided by the marae hapū of Heretaunga. This report embraces all these names and celebrates the wonderful cultural heritage associated with them. To assist in making this report more readable, we have abbreviated the inclusive name ‘Te Matā, Te Mata o Rongokako, Te Karanemanema o Te Mata o Rongokako’ as Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. The only exception to our use of this name is where we are quoting others who have preferred their own name convention.

2. TOWARDS A KAUPAPA MĀORI METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

The writing of a methodology section has been included because this report documents findings that are different to those normally associated with the creation and use of a ‘cultural impact assessment’. We have decided to discontinue using a ‘cultural impact assessment’ approach after becoming more aware of the limitations of this now well-established planning and policy tool (Partal & Dunphy, 2016). We are especially concerned that a cultural impact assessment largely fails to provide a satisfactory basis on which to assist Māori communities to achieve the goal of ‘cultural survival’. For this reason, there now exists an urgent need to create a new methodology.

What is outlined in this section should be considered as a ‘first step’ towards the creation of a new tool. It is our intention that the alternative emerging perspective provided here will be supported by a more detailed academic publication on this matter at a later point in time. In the meantime, what is outlined here is intended to provide a rationale that explains why we are moving towards the use of a new tool, and in practical terms just what this new approach will entail. The study findings/information contained in the remainder of this report has been organised in a way that seeks to give expression to this new approach.

2.1 What is a Cultural Impact Assessment?

According to New Zealand Quality Planning guidelines, a cultural impact assessment is a written report that documents Māori cultural values, interests and associations with an area or a resource, and the potential impacts of a proposed activity on these aspects of Māori community identity¹⁷. Cultural impact assessments are a tool that can be used by planners, policy-makers, and consultants more generally to help facilitate the participation of Māori communities in impact assessment activities (e.g. Resource Management Act 1991, s32). A cultural impact assessment is generally regarded as technical advice, much like any other technical or science report. In terms of ‘method of creation’, a written cultural impact assessment (report) usually provides a synthesis of numerous lines of supporting evidence that are created through separate investigative activities.

2.2 The Emergence of ‘Cultural Impact Assessment’ Practice

In New Zealand, there is no legislative requirement for the creation of cultural impact assessments. For example, the expression ‘cultural impact assessment’ is not mentioned in the Resource Management Act 1991. The emergence and use of cultural impact assessment as a tool coincided with a shift in public policy from an earlier focus on the importance of economic outcomes, to a more recent recognition of social/ecological considerations and in New Zealand – Treaty obligations. This broadening of public policy provides an important ‘wellbeing’ logic behind the perceived need for impact assessments (generally) and cultural impact assessments (more specifically).

In a New Zealand context, the Resource Management Act 1991 includes practice guidelines that are deemed to create a need for cultural impact assessment, including: (i) the assessment of environmental effects (RMA 1991 s32, s88(2)(b) and Schedule 4); (ii) requests for further information (RMA 1991 s92); (iii) the determination of notification status (RMA 1991 ss95 to 95F); (iv)

¹⁷ <http://www.qualityplanning.org.nz/index.php/supporting-components/faq-s-on-cultural-impact-assessments>

consideration of Part 2 matters when making a decision on an application for resource consent (RMA 1991 s104); and (v) consideration of appropriate conditions of resource consent (RMA 1991 s108).

The idea of creating an impact assessment emerged in the late 1960's as part of formal recognition for the role of 'environmental' impact assessment in developed nations, largely as a result of increasing concern about the impact of human economic activities on the natural world. During intervening decades, environmental impact assessment was gradually extended into the realms of social, ecological, and cultural wellbeing domains.

A key point from this brief history is that the idea of creating an impact assessment is still relatively new. Internationally, the use of cultural impact assessment methodology has only emerged over the past two decades.

"... The literature indicates that CIA has largely been practiced only in the last two decades, primarily for the purpose of understanding impacts of development, including mining, on indigenous communities, and, relatedly, has mainly been documented as occurring in countries with indigenous populations. The range of professional sectors engaging in CIA has significantly diversified since the mid-2000s, with cultural development, tourism and urban planning fields engaging in CIA more recently, although these are still the minority of CIA activities. Proponents range from consultants to governments to university-based researchers (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 4).

2.3 Key 'Assumptions' of a Cultural Impact Assessment Approach

Cultural impact assessment practice rests upon a number of key assumptions and in particular the idea that it is an assessment of past, existing, or likely future 'negative' or 'unwanted' impacts on a cultural entity. Those impacts which are perceived to be 'positive' or 'desired' are generally not the focus of an impact assessment.

Second, an existing or likely future 'impact' is usually measured in terms of a change in the state of cultural values. This idea assumes that it is possible to define unique cultural values, and assess and measure the extent of a given 'unwanted' impact on them. More fundamentally, this aspect of a cultural impact assessment also assumes the relevance of the English concept of 'values' as a basis for appropriately assessing impacts in a non-European context.

Third, the concept of a cultural impact assessment is articulated in the English language while its theoretical roots are firmly planted in a western scientific – environmental science – resource/environmental economics – planning and public policy – conception of reality. Given that cultural impact assessment has been designed for use primarily in non-English speaking cultural contexts, there exists a significant linguistic assumption concerning the relevance of western scientific conceptions of reality to other cultural entities. In practice, this assumption is extremely difficult to uphold, which is precisely why it has proved so difficult in cultural impact assessment to obtain basic agreement on what different cultural entities mean by the use of the word 'culture'.

Finally, there exists a need for the planning and policy-making fraternity to assess effects because:

"... culture is increasingly accepted as a domain of public policy, given its fundamental role in human wellbeing, considerations of culture and related impacts are vital (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 3)."

In a New Zealand context, this last assumption of public policy ‘responsibility’ is linked with the expression of *kāwanatanga* (transl. government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship, province). The fact that Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty of Waitangi provides permission for the expression of *kāwanatanga* in this way, should not be taken as a basis for assuming that the idea of having an external, non-Māori entity responsible for Māori cultural wellbeing rests easily or comfortably with Māori communities. A key tension here concerns the role of an external professional body in making plans, policies, and rules on behalf of a Māori community. In reality, *this is not possible*, which is precisely why hapū management plans and cultural impact assessments have been called for. This being the case, the effectiveness of this approach to planning and policy-making for Māori communities is entirely dependent upon the quality of supporting information provided by local hapū. For this reason, it is essential that we are clear about the intended role of communication tools, such as ‘hapū management plans’ and ‘cultural impact assessments’, along with their limitations.

The extent to which communication tools of this kind assist, either directly or indirectly in contributing towards the creation of plans, policies and rules that benefit Māori communities, is a question that could well benefit from closer and more critical academic investigation. Rightly or wrongly, a very real perception among Māori communities is that the preparation of hapū management plans and cultural impact assessments is part of a local government ‘box-ticking’ exercise that contributes very little, in practical terms, to plans and policies that benefit Māori communities. Our desire to rethink the design and use of a cultural impact assessment tool stems directly from concerns of this kind.

While ‘tool’ redesign and/or repurposing may well be appropriate, there is a limit to what can be accomplished by what are effectively written ‘information communication tools’ of this kind. The real solution to the perceived hapū ‘self-determination’ concerns outlined above, lies in the future role of co-governance and co-management arrangements. The fact is, written English (i.e. the language of planners and policy-makers), is extremely limited in its ability to communicate, both unambiguously and clearly, ‘meaning’ that is encoded in Te Reo Māori. If both languages shared comparative meaning and vocabulary, then we would not need the Māori language.

2.4 Key ‘Limitations’ of a Cultural Impact Assessment Approach

A cultural impact assessment rests upon a number of key limitations that may not be immediately evident from a non-scientific point of view. A recent, systematic review of cultural impact assessment practice has drawn attention to a number of ‘significant’ theoretical and methodological problems.

“... Methodological challenges for CIA documented in the literature are significant. These include lack of agreed definitions and indicators, the limitations of quantitative data, especially in explaining causality, the expense and difficulty of using qualitative data, the unmet need for assessors to have strong cultural sensitivity and timescales that are inadequate for reasonably tracking impacts (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 6).

2.4.1 Difficulties Associated with Defining the Word ‘Culture’

The first and perhaps most serious limitation of cultural impact assessment concerns difficulties linked with defining exactly what we mean by the English word ‘culture’ or ‘cultural’. Häyrynen (2004) suggests that most of the problems associated with cultural impact assessment are more or less results of the fact that “the concept of ‘culture’ is . . . imprecise, not concrete, ... vary(ing) not only in

its theoretical definitions, but also according to its linguistic and administrative uses (Häyrynen, 2004, p. 3).”

One of the major challenges of CIA is that defining ‘culture’ and therefore ‘cultural impact assessment’ is difficult. This may not be surprising, given that ‘culture’ is known to be one of the most contested words in the English language (Hawkes, 2001) cited in (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 3).

The reason why the English word ‘culture’ is one of the most contested words in the English language is because there are a documented 6,900 distinctive, living languages (and associated cultural entities) still in existence in the world today. Each of these languages constitutes a unique oral/symbolic basis for encoding differing worldviews that have been created by past human communities/societies. It is simply not possible *or even necessary* for this unique cultural diversity to be adequately defined and generalised into one English word (i.e. culture).

A further difficulty associated with defining exactly what we mean by the word ‘culture’ concerns the measurement of impacts.

As mentioned above, culture and cultural impact were infrequently defined, leading to the problem that few authors discussed specifically, the difficulty in measuring impact of a concept that has not been clearly explicated (Häyrynen, 2004; Sharma, 2008) cited in (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, pp. 5-6).

2.4.2 The Role of Values in Impact Assessment

A second limitation of cultural impact assessment concerns the central role of ‘values’ as a means of defining a given cultural entity, subsequent to corresponding definition and measurement of past, present or future effects (i.e. impact assessment).

“... if culture is defined as pertaining to values and norms of specific groups of people, assessment of impact is, by definition, fraught: seemingly similar cultural phenomena or institutions can have a totally different meaning for different groups of people (Keating, Loughlin, & Deschouwer, 2003) cited in (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 6).”

The use of ‘values’ in a Māori cultural context is problematic for a number of reasons. First, there is a translation problem. According to the late Rev. Māori Marsden:

“... There is no specific term in Māori for the word ‘value’. With his holistic view of the Universe the Māori idea of value is incorporated into the inclusive holistic term ‘taonga’ - a treasure, something precious; hence an object of good or value” (Marsden, 2003, pp. 38-39).”

Second, as part of efforts made to socialise the Māori language, it can be argued that the English word ‘value’ has been introduced into Te Reo Māori as a loan word. While this point is valid, this does not mean that an English conception of ‘value’ either belongs to, or contributes to, the survival of Māori cultural identity. An absence of direct translation for the English word ‘value’ (in Te Reo Māori) indicates a corresponding absence of *shared meaning*.

Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be; of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible, or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the ‘worldview’ of a culture ... The worldview lies at the

very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture. In terms of Māori culture, the myths and legends form the central system on which their holistic view of the universe is based (Marsden, 2003 p. 56).

Third, accepting the fact that as part of their engagement in a modern-day market economy, Māori communities have adopted the use of the English word 'value', there remains the problem of measurement. In Māori culture, the full expression of tino rangatiratanga (transl. self-determination) typically exists at the level of hapū (i.e. each hapū have their own values) and as noted earlier, this means that "... seemingly similar cultural phenomena or institutions can have a totally different meaning for different groups of people (Keating et al., 2003) cited in (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 6)." A further relevant question relates to just how diverse hapū perceptions of value are reconciled at an iwi level of organisational scale.

The definition of a 'value' in a community context essentially involves collective agreement on a particular perception of reality that makes the identification of a 'common' or 'collective' value possible. A western scientific conception of collective knowledge creation is based on the idea of a community of professionals working towards the creation of one 'superior' perception of reality (i.e. a theory). By contrast, in a Māori community context, multiple perceptions of reality co-exist together and the fact that they can be very difficult to reconcile with each other is not considered to constitute evidence of 'inferiority'. Quite to the contrary, Cole (2017) has argued that the use of perceptual diversity of this kind in knowledge development was a sure evidence that in 1769, at the time of the arrival of Captain James Cook in New Zealand, a Māori methodology of knowledge development was at least 216 years ahead of the latest methodological developments in transdisciplinary (i.e. the emerging frontier of western science).

Although traditional beliefs vary between iwi (tribes) and hapū (groups within tribes), and it is crucial to maintain awareness of diversity within the category of Māori (Wilson, 2010), there are also some values that are broadly held (Patterson, 1992) cited in (Love & Tilley, 2014, p. 41).

To require a Māori community to come to collective agreement on their perceptions of reality (i.e. a common set of values) tends to create division that works contrary to the expression of kawa, kaupapa and tikanga linked with maintaining community wellbeing. From this perspective, the perceived benefits associated with transferring an English conception of value into an indigenous (Māori) cultural context are difficult to see.

A further cultural 'value' assumption concerns the matter of representation, and closely linked to this problem is a related matter of investigative cost. At what point in a cultural impact assessment do we know that we have successfully collected a 'representative' sample of a given cultural entity's values? To what extent does the cost associated with further investigative inquiry become a barrier to the discovery of an accurate, representative understanding of local cultural values? How can we be sure that the study or survey method that we have used to elicit cultural values, has not biased the perception of value that we have created? When it comes to measuring values, how far down the methodological 'rabbit hole' should we be prepared to go to be sure that we have clearly defined 'cultural values' as a basis for impact measurement and assessment?

Given the above, in a Māori cultural context, we tend to agree with Keating, Loughlin et al. (2003) that the goal of measuring 'cultural values' is fraught with questionable assumptions and operational

challenges. This point raises an important question about the need for, and perceived role of, a unifying ‘cultural impact assessment method’. Furthermore, a focus of attention on ‘values’ limits our understanding of ‘cultural identity’. There is more to the definition of ‘culture’ and ‘worldview’ than just *values*. This is especially the case in a Māori cultural context that could be defined as ‘indigenous’ and/or ‘holistic’ in character.

If we accept that there is no one way of seeing things, then our methods need to reflect this and embrace rather than deny diversity (Barnes, 2000, p. 4).

2.4.3 Decolonising ‘Cultural Impact Assessment’ Methodology

There is a final limitation of cultural impact assessment that is not mentioned by Partal and Dunphy (2016) as part of their systematic review of cultural impact assessment literature. The linguistic and measurement problems associated with the adoption and use of ‘cultural impact assessment’ exist primarily because this is a western scientific (economic, environmental science, planning, public policy) framework and/or method being applied in a Māori cultural context. The existence of implementation problems of the kind outlined above raises a question about why it would not be possible for Māori communities to create and use their own culturally derived frameworks based on their expressions of *kawa*, *kaupapa* *tuku iho* and *tikanga* (i.e. a kaupapa Māori approach).

The central principle of Kaupapa Māori is resistance to any automatic or assumed ‘rightness’, ‘naturalness’ or dominance of Western ways. An assumption of Western models as ‘normal’ and indigenous models as ‘different’ underpins colonisation, and Kaupapa Māori rejects that basic assumption (Love & Tilley, 2014, p. 40).

The need to ask the question, ‘why would it not be possible for Māori communities to create and use their own culturally derived frameworks’ indicates the existence of a related problem that is likely linked with the perceived value of the Māori language, Māori knowledge and the perceptions of reality on which they are based.

Kaupapa Māori theory then provides a platform from which Māori are striving to articulate their own reality and experience, their own personal truth as an alternative to the homogenisation and silence that is required of them within mainstream New Zealand society. Inherent in this approach is an understanding that Māori have fundamentally different ways of seeing and thinking about the world and simply wish to be able to live in accordance with that specific and unique identity (Mahuika, 2008, p. 4).

By recommending the use of a cultural impact assessment framework, planners and policy-makers also seem to ignore the fact that even in western science, method and outcomes are inextricably related. This point is no less so in a Māori cultural context. The recommended adoption and use of a western scientific impact assessment framework (cf. method) that is defined by the English language effectively pre-determines the results and outcomes that must come from the use of such a tool in a Māori community context. This fact raises the question of why it is necessary for a Māori community to be constrained by the use of an assessment framework or approach of this kind? In kaupapa Māori-based approaches to knowledge development, method is subordinate to the issues being addressed. This means that only a Māori community can define an appropriate method/framework to be used in investigating an issue of Māori concern.

While kaupapa Māori research may be seen as taking a distinctive approach and having

underlying principles or aspects which are based on a Māori worldview (L. T. Smith, 1999), methods are likely to be subordinate to the issues and utility of the research and may be drawn from a range of methodologies (Barnes, 2000, p. 4).

A further key point about the role of Māori communities in choosing frameworks and methods that are most appropriate to their needs, is that kaupapa Māori approaches focus attention on more than just knowledge outcomes (i.e. that which is primarily of interest to planners and policy-makers). The involvement of a Māori community in a collective knowledge-creation activity should strengthen that community and their relationship with the whenua. By contrast, cultural impact assessment activities focus attention on the fact that we all have different 'values' and this tends to be divisive in a way that does not enhance the expression of kotahitanga (transl. unity). When Māori communities are given the opportunity to focus their attention on the expression of kawa, kaupapa and tikanga, this typically has a transformative and unifying effect that heals and strengthens.

Finally, kaupapa Māori as a concept must not be captured by academics working solely from within academic institutions. Its transforming purpose must continue to be driven by Māori community and iwi interests from which it has evolved (G. Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012, p. 20).

2.4.4 The Problem of Measuring a Cultural Impact

The linguistic and methodological problems associated with using cultural impact assessment in a cross-cultural context (e.g. the adoption of this method by Māori communities) also contributes towards difficulties in impact assessment *measurement*. Measurement problems concern both (i) what is measured (i.e. selection of appropriate indicators) and (ii) the use of appropriate metrics by which to conduct measurement. While it is reasonably easy and common to measure the past and present extent of heritage assets such as buildings, graves or archaeological sites, these constitute a very small part of cultural identity.

"The elements of culture considered most frequently in the literature about CIA were tangible, such as heritage resources of gravesites or archaeological sites ... But intangible elements of culture, things that cannot be seen or touched but are essential to maintain and practice culture, such as spiritual beliefs, language, traditional knowledge, oral history and inter-generational relationship patterns, were also considered important. Gibson et al. (2011) particularly recommend that CIA consider both tangible and intangible elements, with culture being 'much more than stones and bones; ... a living, continually adaptive system, not a remnant of the past' (2011, p. 1800) cited in (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 4)."

The measurement of intangible cultural elements (cf. indicators) is challenging. This is particularly a problem in an indigenous cultural context in which a higher degree of discomfort exists in trying to reduce the measurement of an effect into indicators based on discrete numbers or estimates of spatial extent. Māori cultural knowledge is holistic, relational, spiritual and linked with prohibitions on its use. By contrast, a discrete number or indicator is a simplification of reality that largely fails to capture these intangible dimensions of knowing and permission. As noted by the late Rev. Māori Marsden (2003), this simplification tendency limits the usefulness of the English conception of 'value' in a holistic Māori cultural context. The idea of a discrete 'value' poorly captures the full range of intangible elements (e.g. mana, wairua, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, tikanga) that are considered essential to maintaining the Māori cultural identity that supports a Māori cultural perception of reality.

“With his holistic view of the Universe the Māori idea of value is incorporated into the inclusive holistic term 'taonga'.

“These taonga refer to the cultural tradition, lore, history; corpus of knowledge etc, with which the descendants can identify and which provide them with their identity, self-esteem and dignity; that which provides them with psychological security. Even death was regarded as a taonga for that is the 'greenstone door' that led to ultimate reality and rest. Processes of assimilation and cultural genocide imposed upon tangata whenua have robbed them of much of their taonga resulting in the loss of dignity, self-esteem, and identity. This loss results in the displacement due to cultural erosion, under assimilationist policies, of the basic metaphysics by which members of a culture guide their life” (Marsden, 2003 pp. 38-39)

2.4.5 The Goal Orientation of a Cultural Impact Assessment

The impact assessment method was created to support the achievement of desired goals that are deemed important to society. Societal goals deemed as essential to the future wellbeing of New Zealand society are defined in the Resource Management Act 1991. The need to ensure that local government plans and policies contribute towards achieving these goals (esp. RMA 1991, Part 4, section 32) provides a central ‘RMA rationale’ for the use of social, ecological and cultural impact assessments. It is important to understand that the current ‘goal-orientation’ of the Resource Management Act 1991 is itself an additional assumption that is not necessarily beyond question. The three core goals of the Resource Management Act 1991 are defined in part 2, section 5(a-c) as:

- (a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and*
- (b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems; and*
- (c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.*

We can summarise these three goals as follows: (a) social fairness, (b) ecological sustainability and (c) ‘management’ – *that does no more harm*. In seeking the achievement of these core goals, the Resource Management Act prioritises five further goals as being matters of national importance:

- (a) The preservation of the natural character of the coastal environment (including the coastal marine area), wetlands, and lakes and rivers and their margins, and the protection of them from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development;*
- (b) The protection of outstanding natural features and landscapes from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development;*
- (c) The protection of areas of significant indigenous vegetation and significant habitats of indigenous fauna;*
- (d) The maintenance and enhancement of public access to and along the coastal marine area, lakes, and rivers;*
- (e) The relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu, and other taonga.*

While the current goal orientation of the 1991 Resource Management Act supports *the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu, and other taonga*, it stops short of providing explicit legal recognition of, and protection for, the goal of Māori cultural survival. This point is important for a number of reasons.

First, the goal of Māori cultural survival is arguably the goal that is *most important* to Māori communities. After the mana diminishing and damaging effects of 178 years of colonisation, it would be unwise to assume that the survival of Māori culture is a given. Internationally, human cultural extinction is a matter of grave concern. While there are a documented 6,900 living languages in the world today (and by implication at least 6,900 distinct cultural entities), the average rate of language/cultural extinction is one every three months. This means that within the next 100 years, the world currently stands to lose somewhere between 50–90 percent of its current linguistic diversity (Romaine, 2015).

Second, the goal of cultural survival highlights a serious limitation of current cultural impact assessment frameworks, which were created to support the achievement of social fairness and ecological sustainability outcomes in a modern-day market economic (efficiency¹⁸) context. While not irrelevant, the achievement of these goals constitutes an incomplete contribution towards the goal of Māori cultural survival. This cultural survival goal is not just a concern for Māori communities in New Zealand. To a certain extent this point has been recognised by the Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity (2004) who has proposed that the scope of ‘cultural impact assessments’ involves “... *to narrow a focus*” for achieving the holistic wellbeing needs of indigenous communities.

Validation for the close connection between EIA, SIA and CIA is also provided by the Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity (2004). They acknowledge that, as most indigenous and local communities live in areas where the vast majority of the world’s genetic resources are found and they have used biological diversity in a sustainable way for thousands of years, their cultures are deeply rooted in the environment on which they depend. This interconnection was the organization’s impetus to develop guidelines that involve all of these types of IA, the ‘Voluntary guidelines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and SIAs regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities’ (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2004) cited in (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 7).

Finally, one of the primary reasons why cultural impact assessments have been used to define cultural ‘values’ is so that this information can be used to create trade-offs. Trade-offs are deemed to be a necessary contribution towards the ‘efficiency goal orientation’ of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA 1991, Part 4, section 32(3b)). As noted earlier, the use of a cultural impact assessment framework involves acceptance of an implicit assumption concerning our willingness to participate in activities linked with assessing the impact of economic activities *on culture* – as a basis for informing decisions regarding what levels of impact are acceptable (i.e. the creation of a trade-off).

While Māori communities can and are willing to make trade-offs in some areas, the goal of cultural survival is not one of those areas. Our cultural decline and the looming threat of cultural extinction is

¹⁸ RMA Part 4, section 32(4a) and Part 2, section 7(b).

a cumulative effect of 178 years of trading-off Māori cultural wellbeing and identity - one (political, plan, economic, legal and policy) transaction at a time. The time has now come for legislators, planners, and policy-makers to come to terms with the fact that Māori cultural survival is a legitimate and 'non-negotiable' aspiration of Māori communities. There is an urgent need to provide legal recognition and protection for this goal and this is going to mean that we need to create new assessment frameworks, not for use in legitimising cultural impacts, but for use in ensuring cultural wellbeing *and survival* outcomes. This is a very different 'resource management problem' to the one that we have been pre-occupied with since the introduction of the Resource Management Act in 1991. This is a challenge that will require vision and leadership on the part of Māori communities and enabling support on the part of the planning and policy-making profession.

Bishop (1996) supports the involvement of non-Māori people in Māori research for two reasons. Firstly, he is appreciative of the highly skilled, professionally trained non-Māori who are becoming bicultural and are willing to work in Māori-controlled contexts. These researchers are committed to the betterment of Māori people and present their work as koha (gift) for Māori people. Secondly, Bishop argues that for non-Māori people to "leave it all to Māori people is to abrogate their responsibilities as Treaty partners" (R. Bishop, 1996, p. 18) cited in (McNicholas & Barrett, 2005, p. 400).

2.5 Kaupapa Māori as an Alternative to Cultural Impact Assessment

If we accept the idea that a cultural impact assessment approach is not ideally suited to the cultural wellbeing and survival aspirations of (all) Māori communities, then what might an alternative look like and what does the use of a different approach imply for existing planning and policy-making activities? In this sub-section, we explore these questions.

In a cultural impact assessment, an approach to assessing the likely effects of a development activity is predefined by English terms and western scientific assumptions about the nature of reality. The assessment of an effect is measured by changes in the state of what ideally need to be 'clearly defined' cultural values. One of the ways to relax some of the need for cross-cultural acceptance of the predefined ideas and assumptions of a cultural impact assessment tool, would be to allow a given cultural entity to define key terms according to their own worldview reality and language. By doing this, we ensure that operational assumptions are clearly understood and the choice of preferred method or process is consistent with basic worldview assumptions. As noted by Barnes (2000), "*If we accept that there is no one way of seeing things, then our methods need to reflect this and embrace rather than deny diversity*".

In a Māori cultural context, it would be possible to encourage an approach of this kind by allowing a Māori community (i) to use the Māori language to define their own investigative terms, and (ii) the expression of their own preferred behaviours (i.e. kawa, kaupapa and tikanga), as a basis for creating a collective method that addresses perceived concerns or answers emerging questions. Our Māori pūkenga (transl. scholars) in western academy refer to an approach of this kind as kaupapa Māori. In addition, and if need be, it is a quite simple matter to provide the members of a Māori community the opportunity to engage with non-Māori expert advice from other leading specialists if they feel that this is necessary. An approach of this kind would provide a culturally responsive alternative to the existing prescription of cultural impact assessment. Most importantly, an approach of this kind does not require a given cultural entity to define a problem in terms of discrete values that really only make

sense in a western scientific frame of reference based on exclusive logic. In an indigenous cultural context, the abstract western idea of 'value' is typically an implicit part of ritual, belief, relationships, responsibilities, the use of language and communal behaviours.

While a kaupapa Māori approach to exploring the implications of development options would be more ideally suited to the needs of a Māori community, it creates problems for planning and policy staff, unless they have the requisite cultural knowledge and language skills needed to bring these two worlds together in an appropriate way. This is an area in which the planning and policy-making profession needs to work on creating appropriate co-management and co-governance spaces in which cross-cultural dialogue and sharing of this kind can occur. Furthermore, as noted above, the orientation of these co-management and co-governance spaces needs to shift from (i) a planning and policy-making logic based on the creation of trade-offs that further diminish cultural survival options, to (ii) a new logic in which the focus of joint activity is on how to enhance options for improving Māori cultural wellbeing and survival. This shift in logic must reflect a 'coming to terms' with the idea that in the future, Māori cultural survival is no longer a negotiable commodity.

Three related English concepts provide a helpful basis by which to understand key priorities associated with a Māori community approach to what our Māori pūkenga (transl. scholars) in western academia refer to as 'kaupapa Māori'. While there are exceptions to this framework, in general it provides a useful way of understanding a modern-day Māori cultural prioritising of investigative activities.

(a) Reclaiming – the mana diminishing and damaging effects of 178 years of colonisation mean that achievement of the goal of Māori cultural survival is now critically dependent upon the efforts of Māori communities to reclaim their language, knowledge, cultural institutions, and worldview. Reclaiming Māori cultural identity will thus be a central focus of any methodology that guides Māori community members in their response to planning and policy questions, problems, and conversations. For this reason, it should come as no surprise that Māori community members may well demonstrate a disinterest in adopting non-Māori language, concepts, theory, and methods. This is simply because the most pressing priority that they face at present involves reclaiming their own identity. This operational context needs to be patiently respected.

(b) Reframing – the efforts of Māori community members to reclaim their ancestral identity and language forms the basis of efforts to 'reframe' this ancestral identity and heritage in a modern-day, market economic context. This is an extremely challenging aspect of collective effort by Māori communities. The world in which our tīpuna lived and created their language, kawa, kaupapa and tikanga is very different to the world that we live in today. Reframing can be as simple as the transfer of language and customs from the past into the present. At the more complex end of the 'reframing continuum', Māori communities can find themselves grappling with modern-day phenomena that are inconsistent with the cultural practices of our tīpuna. Reframing in this context means creating new knowledge and understandings about how things should be done in ways that effectively give expression to a Māori worldview. This can take time and this means that it is not always possible to provide instant answers to external questions. Hesitancy of reply on the part of Māori community members, also needs to be patiently respected.

(c) Reinstating – colonisation has resulted in the decline of some aspects of Māori culture to the point of extinction. In these cases, the work of reclaiming and reframing lays a necessary foundation for the task of reinstating what has been lost. Beginning in the 1970s, efforts made to revive the Māori language would be a good example of what is involved, practically speaking, in the work of reinstating. Another example of reinstating effort would be the activities of Māori communities in Te Iho matua whānau-ecological restoration projects.

It is helpful for policy-makers and planners to understand that any conversation that they initiate with a Māori community will be positioned in relation to these three, key, Māori cultural wellbeing and survival priorities. For this reason, it would be very helpful if planners and policy-makers can begin to think about how they can shift their planning paradigm, goals and methods in a way that supports the efforts of Māori communities to achieve the goal of cultural survival as aligned to these three general priorities.

2.5.1 Kaupapa Māori - the Expression of Kawa, Kaupapa and Tikanga

While there will always be exceptions to this rule, in many cases it is likely that Māori communities will feel most comfortable with the opportunity to investigate a planning/policy question, grapple with a planning/policy problem and co-create planning/policy relevant knowledge, through the expression of their kawa, kaupapa and tikanga. Our Māori pūkenga (transl. scholars) who work within western academia have characterised an approach of this kind as ‘kaupapa Māori’, a framework that also embraces decolonising activism.

It is possible to identify two key Kaupapa Māori elements—a cultural element and a political (or maybe a political–cultural) element. These are related, and both have a praxis, or an analysis and action aspect. The cultural element involves the assertion or reinvigoration of cultural ideas in action such as ideas of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and reciprocity as social capital. The political element foregrounds economic power and historical analyses, and the related actions of economic self-development. Both elements are crucial to the radical potential of Kaupapa Māori (G. Smith et al., 2012, p. 13).

In a Māori community context, we can think of a kaupapa Māori approach as the daily expression of kawa, kaupapa and tikanga by the members of a Māori community. These daily behaviours provide what could be thought of as a ‘methodological/method context’ for the co-creation of knowledge, often through investigative activities. Because a kaupapa Māori approach is based on Māori behaviours, protocols and language, its use will have the effect of enhancing the mana and mauri¹⁹ of a Māori community. This is a desired outcome that supports the goals of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival, and adds an important level of legitimacy to the planning/policy question, problem or conversation being addressed.

2.5.2 Kaupapa Māori - Empowering and Culturally Safe

A ‘kaupapa Māori’ approach is also empowering because it means that a project can be hapū-led. Hapū leadership of a project creates a ‘culturally safe’ space in which the members of a Māori community (i.e. Te Aho Matua whānau members) can work together to (i) define their own terms and

¹⁹ Mauri (transl.) - life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions - the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located.

questions; (ii) preference the use of guiding principles (transl. kaupapa) and methods (transl. tikanga) that they think are appropriate for a given problem; (iii) make decisions on who best to involve in a project given available time and resources; and (iv) collectively agree on what benefits the project will produce and for whom these benefits are intended. Given that whānau members are usually the participants and key beneficiaries of a kaupapa Māori project of this kind, it is important to explain exactly what is meant by the use of the term 'whānau'.

"As an aspect of Māori philosophy, values and practices 'whānau' is central to Kaupapa Māori research, which is derived from different epistemological and metaphysical foundations (McNicholas & Barrett, 2005, p. 401)."

2.5.3 Reclaiming 'Whānau Māori' as a Basis for Wellbeing and Survival

A common, modern English translation for the Te Reo Māori word 'whānau' is nuclear family. While not wrong, this translation is incomplete and therefore unhelpful as a basis for understanding all that is implied by a Māori cultural understanding of wellbeing and survival. The Māori dictionary defines 'whānau' as:

"... extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society (Moorfield, 2005).

The idea of an 'extended family' moves us closer towards a Māori cultural understanding of the English concept of 'family'. However, even the extended nuclear Māori family (cf. hapū) is only one small branch of a Māori family tree (cf. whakapapa) that includes Papatūānuku - our Earth mother, Ranginui - our sky father and Atua Māori – the various children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui.

One of the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui is named Tāne-nui-a-rangi and it is through this tipuna (transl. ancestor) that tāngata whenua trace their 'genealogy' back to Papatūānuku and Ranginui, of whom they are descendants. In other words, tāngata whenua do not consider themselves as a senior member of this family (transl. tuakana), but rather as one of its youngest siblings (transl. teina). This understanding of the correct meaning of the expression 'whānau Māori' has a number of important implications for the way in which we think about a Māori cultural contribution to planning and policy-making.

First, when the authors of the Resource Management Act 1991 refer to 'safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems' in Part 2, section 5(b) of the Act, from a Māori cultural perspective they are referring to safeguarding the life-supporting capacity (cf. mauri) of the members of Te Iho Matua whānau Māori (i.e. the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). This point is important because damage done to what western scientists refer to as 'ecosystems' can likewise be thought of as a 'mana-diminishing' act towards all whānau Māori (i.e. the members of the Māori family) members.

Second, when we talk about the goal of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival, we are really talking about 'whānau Māori' wellbeing and survival. The English word 'culture' can be translated as 'whānau' in a Māori context because it is this extended whānau (i.e. the children of a family entity defined by the various domains of the natural world) that provides us with our unique 'indigenous' (Māori) identity. Thus, ecosystem decline can be thought of as whānau Māori wellbeing decline. One of the most effective ways of assessing whānau Māori wellbeing (in a modern-day context) is to measure the remaining spatial extent of forest, lake, river, wetland, grassland, and/or marine ecosystems in a given

area. When we do this, we discover straight away, that 178 years of colonisation in this country has reduced Te Iho Matua whānau Māori (transl. the celestial members of the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) wellbeing to threshold (i.e. near extinction) levels.

Third, the expression ‘whānau Māori’ not only assists in providing understanding about the meaning of the English concept of ‘family’ in a Māori cultural context, it also assists in defining the *Māori cultural economy* that existed in the time of our tīpuna (i.e. before the arrival of Tauīwi). This point is made very clear in the preface to the book by Raymond Firth, first published in 1929 under the title – ‘The Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Māori’.

“The life of the Māori, cannot be explained on the assumption that economic interests and needs have created their social structure ... Though modified by them, that structure had biological and social foundations of its own ... The economic activities of the Māori were developed, in short, within a framework set by the family ... (Firth, 2011)”

In Te Reo Māori, we can describe the Māori economy with the name - whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (i.e. the celestial and terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). Reclaiming the Māori economy is thus a further important dimension of Māori cultural survival. In order for a culture to survive, it needs the freedom to give daily expression to its language, systems of knowledge development/learning and culturally derived institutions. For Māori communities, this is a defining lesson of the last four decades that has emerged from efforts to reclaim, reframe and reinstate the Māori language - Māori responsive approaches to education, healthcare, social welfare, and knowledge development (cf. western science). An urgent need now exists to expand this reinstating and decolonising effort into the domain of the Māori economy. The work of planners and policy-makers is central to the achievement of this Māori cultural wellbeing and survival goal.

2.5.4 Towards the Goal of Cultural Co-existence in New Zealand

By reclaiming the Māori language and whānau Māori identity, we find ourselves confronting yet another interesting question concerning just how a Māori cultural model of economy, based on a Māori family identity, will ever be able to co-exist with a market-based model of economics. It seems likely that our tīpuna anticipated this problem and provided an answer in their support and signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty provides support for the creation of zones of what could be described as ‘cultural exclusion’ and ‘cultural inclusion’ that are critically important for achieving the goal of cultural co-existence.

The ‘Treaty House’ at Waitangi (in Northland) is perhaps our most powerful national symbol of a metaphorical ‘zone of cultural inclusion’ in which Māori and non-Māori work together for the benefit of our nation as a whole. In this zone of ‘inclusion’ in which we work together to build a shared national identity as Kiwis, or New Zealander’s, through the expression of generosity, trust, and goodwill. This zone of inclusion thus provides a space for co-management and co-governance arrangements, the building of a common language and collective aspirations. However, the inclusive character of the Treaty House space does not ideally support the goals of Māori or non-Māori cultural survival. This requires the creation of additional ‘zones of exclusion’.

The expression of kawanatanga (transl. government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship) as provided for in the Treaty of Waitangi is a good example of a ‘zone of cultural exclusion’ that provides a space for the English language, the market economy and the rule of ‘British’ law as created by our

legislature and administered by our nation's courts and local government entities, etc. Over the past four decades it has become increasingly clear to Māori communities that while this zone of cultural exclusion is necessary for the expression of kāwanatanga (transl. government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship), it ideally supports the goal of 'western cultural survival' and as such, is an incomplete and inadequate solution to the goal of whānau Māori wellbeing and survival.

The achievement of the goal of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival ideally requires the creation of a further zone of cultural exclusion for the expression of tino rangatiratanga (transl. chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the rangatira, noble birth, attributes of a chief) and the operation of the Māori cultural economy (i.e. te whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku) in a way that incentivises the use of the Māori language and the daily expression of Māori behaviours (i.e. kawa, kaupapa and tikanga). Much ground has been made over the past four decades in creating this metaphorical 'zone of Māori cultural exclusion' including the growth of distinctly Māori cultural approaches to education, medicine, whānau-ora, law and knowledge development. This is the emerging planning and public policy context in which it will be increasingly necessary to understand how to support, (i) the reclaiming of a Māori cultural identity; (ii) the reframing of existing planning and policy practice, tools, theories and methods in ways that support Māori cultural wellbeing and survival outcomes; and (iii) the task of reinstating 'Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku' (transl. the celestial and terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) as a basis for the operation and survival of the Māori cultural economy.

3. FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY

The central aim of this study was to bring together information that would *document the cultural values of the study area including historical associations and contemporary values. The report should identify both the wider significance of the study area and any particular sites of significance within it, including wāhi tapu and wāhi taonga. It is expected that the cultural impact assessment will include, but not be limited to, the following information:*

- (i) Historical Māori associations, original land sales and treaty claim issues;*
- (ii) Interviews will be conducted with identified Kaumātua / people / groups for their cultural advice/guidance and input specific to the study area;*
- (iii) Inventory of hapū who identify with the study area;*
- (iv) Record of hui-a-hapū and hui-a-iwi undertaken in establishing the significance of the study area and report back conclusions and /or recommendations;*
- (v) Conclusions collated from the hui undertaken of the significance of the study area;*
- (vi) Recommended mitigation measures for any further work undertaken in the study area, including ‘no go’ areas for any earthworks, public access or landscape planting;*
- (vii) Documentation of the aspirations of tāngata whenua with mana whenua for the study area in exercising kaitiakitanga; and*
- (viii) Overall recommendations to the project team, land owners and regulatory decision makers regarding the future management of the study area (Hastings District Council, 2018, pp. 4-5).*

This section provides an outline of the findings of this study. As noted in the methodology and method section, the findings outlined below constitute a shift away from the now well-established use of cultural impact assessment method towards the use of a kaupapa Māori approach. This in turn means that the findings of this study are based on a corresponding shift in thinking. In particular:

(a) Concerning values – we have shifted our attention away from the identification of ‘values’ towards an alternative focus of attention on reclaiming, reframing and reinstating our distinctive, holistic, cultural identity as whānau Māori (i.e. whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku – the celestial and terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). We do not wish to say that the English concept of ‘values’ is irrelevant to whānau Māori identity, but that we have great difficulty defining and attaching meaning to the English concept of ‘values’ in a way that is consistent with the holistic nature of a Māori worldview.

(b) Goal orientation – the goals of social fairness, ecological sustainability and ‘management that does no more harm’ that are articulated in the Resource Management Act 1991 are not irrelevant to this study. However, they form an incomplete and inadequate basis on which to achieve the goal of Māori cultural survival; a goal that is currently at risk. In this study we have reclaimed the goal of whānau Māori survival as legitimate and paramount.

(c) Trade-offs – the identification of community, economic, social, ecological, and cultural values form an essential part of impact assessment method. The elicitation of values in this manner is needed to

support collective thinking around the creation of trade-offs. In our experience, the use of a ‘trade-off’ based approach to planning and policy-making has diminished the mana and mauri of whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku to threshold (near extinction) levels. Therefore, in order to achieve the goal of whānau Māori survival, our focus of attention has shifted from the creation of ‘trade-offs’ to the urgent task of reclaiming, reframing and reinstating our cultural identity.

(d) Te Reo Māori – as noted in the methodology section of this report, it is extremely difficult to communicate Māori cultural reality using the medium of the English language. We have reclaimed the Māori language as the only legitimate basis for understanding a Māori worldview and for communicating meaning that belongs to and supports the goals of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival. In this report and supporting study we have preferenced the use of the Māori language where ever possible. This is a first step towards greater preferencing of Te Reo Māori in future studies of this kind.

(e) Tino rangatiratanga²⁰ - as noted in the methodology section of this report, the expression of kawanatanga (transl. government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship) in New Zealand is well-established. Furthermore, the expression of kawanatanga (transl. government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship) constitutes an incomplete and inadequate approach to the goal of Māori cultural survival. In this study we have reclaimed the central role of ‘tino rangatiratanga’ (transl. chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the rangatira, noble birth, attributes of a chief) in achieving the goals of whānau Māori wellbeing and survival and recognise that this must now be a central priority in the achievement of these goals.

In summary, our approach in this study focus’ on the wellbeing and survival of Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the celestial and terrestrial members of the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku), by using a kaupapa Māori approach that is hapū-led.

Section 1 of this report provides an outline of the whakapapa (transl. genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent) of whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (the terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) who arrived on the Takitimu waka, settled, and transformed the Heretaunga landscape.

The five areas of our emerging ‘shift in thinking’ outlined above (a-e) assist in explaining the rationale behind the findings outlined in this ‘study findings’ report section number 3. Given the urgent need that exists to focus attention on Māori cultural wellbeing and survival, this report section takes an initial, incomplete step in exploring the wellbeing and survival prospects of the Te kauae runga (transl. the celestial) and Te kauae raro (transl. the terrestrial) whānau (transl. extended family) of Ranginui and Papatūānuku that we commonly refer to as Ngāti Kahungunu.

First, in sub-section 3.1 (below) we focus attention on the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the family members of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who dwell in the celestial realms). This tātari kōrero Māori (transl. a perception based in our oral traditions and present-day investigations) focuses attention on the current wellbeing and implied survival prospects of Atua domains (transl. ecosystems) on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

²⁰ (Transl.) - chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the rangatira, noble birth, attributes of a chief.

Second, in sub-section 3.2 (below) we focus attention on efforts that kaumātua have made in this study to reclaim, reframe, and reinstate kawa, kaupapa and tikanga that can be used to guide appropriate behaviours between all of the members of the whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the celestial and terrestrial members of the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). This information is relevant to both Māori and non-Māori communities who interact with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

Finally, in sub-section 3.3 (below) we focus attention on Te kauae runga whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the family members of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who dwell in the terrestrial realms). This tātari kōrero Māori (transl. a perception based in our oral traditions) focuses attention on the current wellbeing and survival prospects of some of the marae hapū (transl. Māori communities) of the Heretaunga plains.

The findings outlined in this report section provide a perception of whānau Māori wellbeing that is of deep concern. We have gone to the trouble of documenting this information because we believe that it is an *absolutely essential* basis upon which to start conversations about a future co-management and co-governance of the whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. members of the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku), and in particular, Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna aroha nui (transl. much beloved ancestor).

3.1 The current state of te whānau of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna²¹

The marae hapū who have participated in this study consider Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna to be a member of their whānau who is inextricably related to their whakapapa (transl. genealogy), mātauranga (transl. oral traditions) and atuātanga (transl. daily Atua experiences). What western scientists refer to as the ‘ecological wellbeing’ of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna provides a simple and easily understandable starting point for measuring the current wellbeing and survival prospects of this Te Iho Matua whānau (transl. celestial family) entity. Measurement of this kind is fundamental to understanding, from a Māori (worldview) perspective, what is involved in achieving the goal of Māori cultural (whānau) survival. To further explore this matter, we present the findings of an investigation into the current spatial extent of what western scientists call ‘indigenous forest ecosystems’ on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

3.1.1 The Pre-European Settlement Korowai of Papatūānuku

In order to provide an insight into the ‘Atua domains’ (transl. landscape ecosystems) that existed during the 800 to 1,000 years that our tīpuna step in Heretaunga, we have employed the use of the potential natural vegetation GIS layer created by Manaaki Whenua (transl. Landcare Research). The potential natural vegetation layer for New Zealand entire has been derived from the Land Environments of New Zealand layers (LENZ). While these map layers cannot be considered as 100 percent accurate, they provide us a useful starting point or ‘window’ that we can use to gain access to the world of our tīpuna, and in particular the nature and potential extent of Te Kauae raro whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the celestial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). Use of the potential natural vegetation GIS layer provides a first step towards a longer investigative process during which an effort can be made to ‘ground truth’ this spatial information through additional fieldwork and reference to historical documents, maps, survey notes and photographs, etc. This is a

²¹ The current state of the celestial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

future activity that local hapū wish to engage in once this current study is finished. In addition to the potential natural vegetation GIS layers, we have also used the potential natural wetland GIS layer, also produced by staff at Manaaki Whenua (transl. Landcare Research) to provide a starting point for inferring the location and extent of potential former wetlands of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

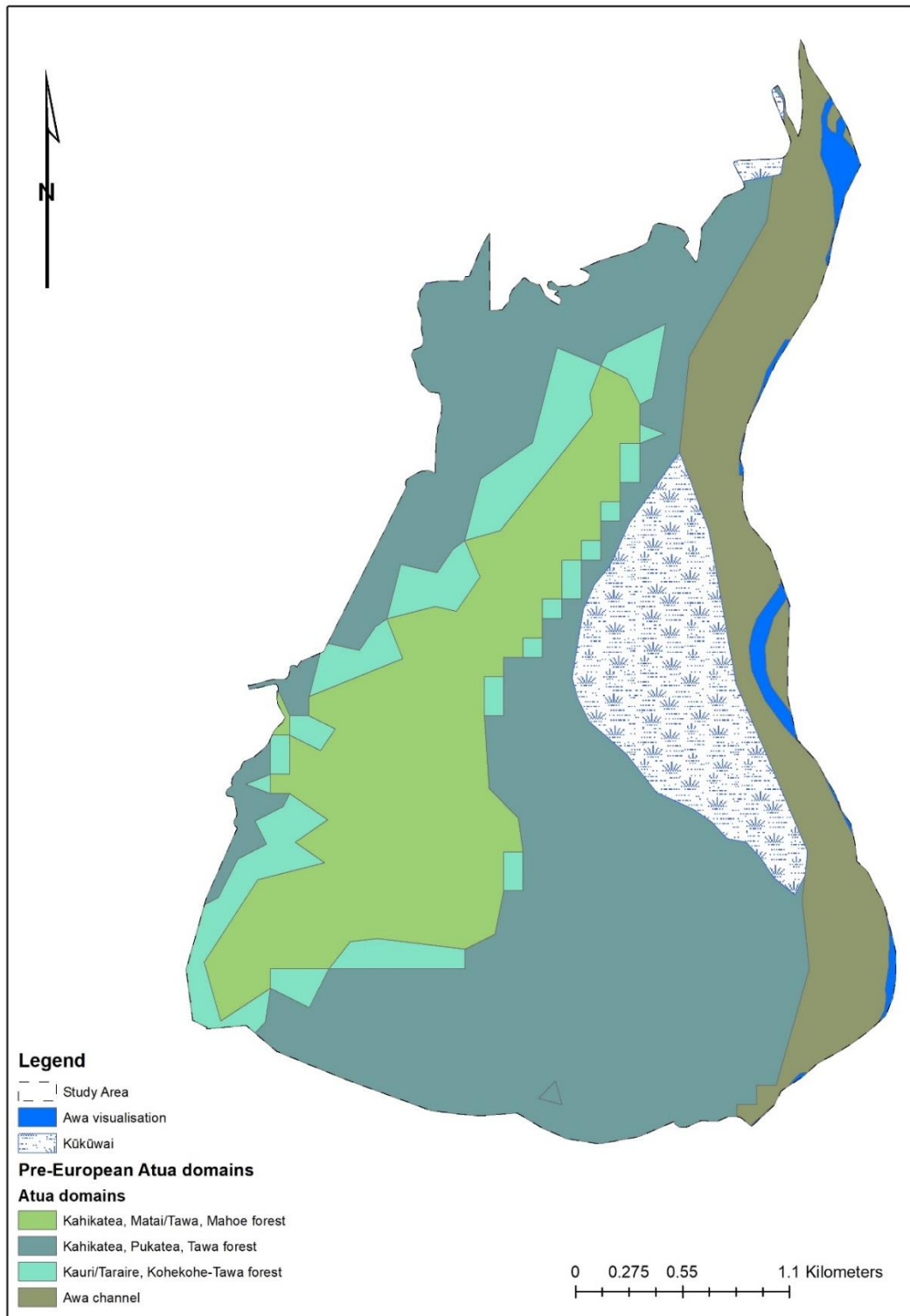


Figure 9 A visual depiction of Atua domains that previously provided a korowai for Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna during the 800–1,000 years of relative isolation that our tīpuna spent in Heretaunga (Source: Landcare Research PNV, PNW)

The map shown in Figure 9 is an attempt to visually depict the family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku or more simply, Atua domains (transl. landscape ecosystems) that *previously provided a korowai for Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna during the 800 to 1,000 years of relative isolation that our tīpuna spent in Heretaunga*. In order to obtain an indication of the spatial extent of the Atua domain korowai depicted in Figure 9, Table 1 provides a more explicit list of different Atua domains (transl. ecosystem types) and their spatial extent or area as measured in hectares (column 3) and implied percentage of total area (column 4).

Table 1 A table that shows the spatial extent, in hectares, and implied percentage of total area of Atua domains (pre-1800), rows 2–6 and remnant indigenous Atua domains as measured in the recent Ecological survey work and GIS layers of Adam Forbes (2018), rows 7–14.

Period	Atua domain	Area (Ha.)	%
pre-1800	Kahikatea, Matai/Tawa, Mahoe forest	233	20
pre-1800	Kahikatea, Pukatea, Tawa forest	648	56
pre-1800	Kauri/Taraire, Kohekohe-Tawa forest	102	9
pre-1800	Awa channel	170	15
pre-1800	Wetlands/open water	127	11
2018	Native forest	7	0.59
2018	Native shrubland	11	0.92
2018	Native treeland	0.05	0.00
2018	Muehlenbeckia	0.33	0.03
2018	Shrubland	0.80	0.07
2018	Reitred wetland	0.90	0.08
2018	Seep wetland	8	0.65
2018	Boulderfield	5	0.42
2018	Exotic grass	1129	97

The information presented visually in Figure 9 and as area measurements in Table 1 combine to indicate that Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna was previously fully draped in Kahikatea, Pukatea, Tawa dominant, semi-swamp, ngahere urutapu (transl. primary forest) that once covered much of the lowland Heretaunga plains. Furthermore, the eastern face of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna likely had numerous, active, Waipuna (transl. freshwater springs) that appeared to feed and support a ‘blanket’ kūkūwai²² (transl. wetland). The information presented on the former spatial extent of Atua domains in the pre-1800 (i.e. pre-European settlement) period suggests that 85 percent of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna was covered in Ngahere Urutapu (transl. primary forest) with an additional 11 percent of kūkūwai (transl. wetland cover). Table 1 also indicates that approximately 15 percent of our study area was Awa channel. The percentage estimates presented in rows two to six do not add up to 100. This is because we have assumed that the kūkūwai (transl. wetland) depicted in Figure 9 was typical, ‘Kahikatea’ dominant lowland semi-swamp forest. In this case, the kūkūwai likely formed below a canopy of Kahikatea, Pukatea, Tawa dominant, semi-swamp, ngahere urutapu (transl. primary forest).

²² Likely the result of impeded movement of water across the Tukituki floodplain.

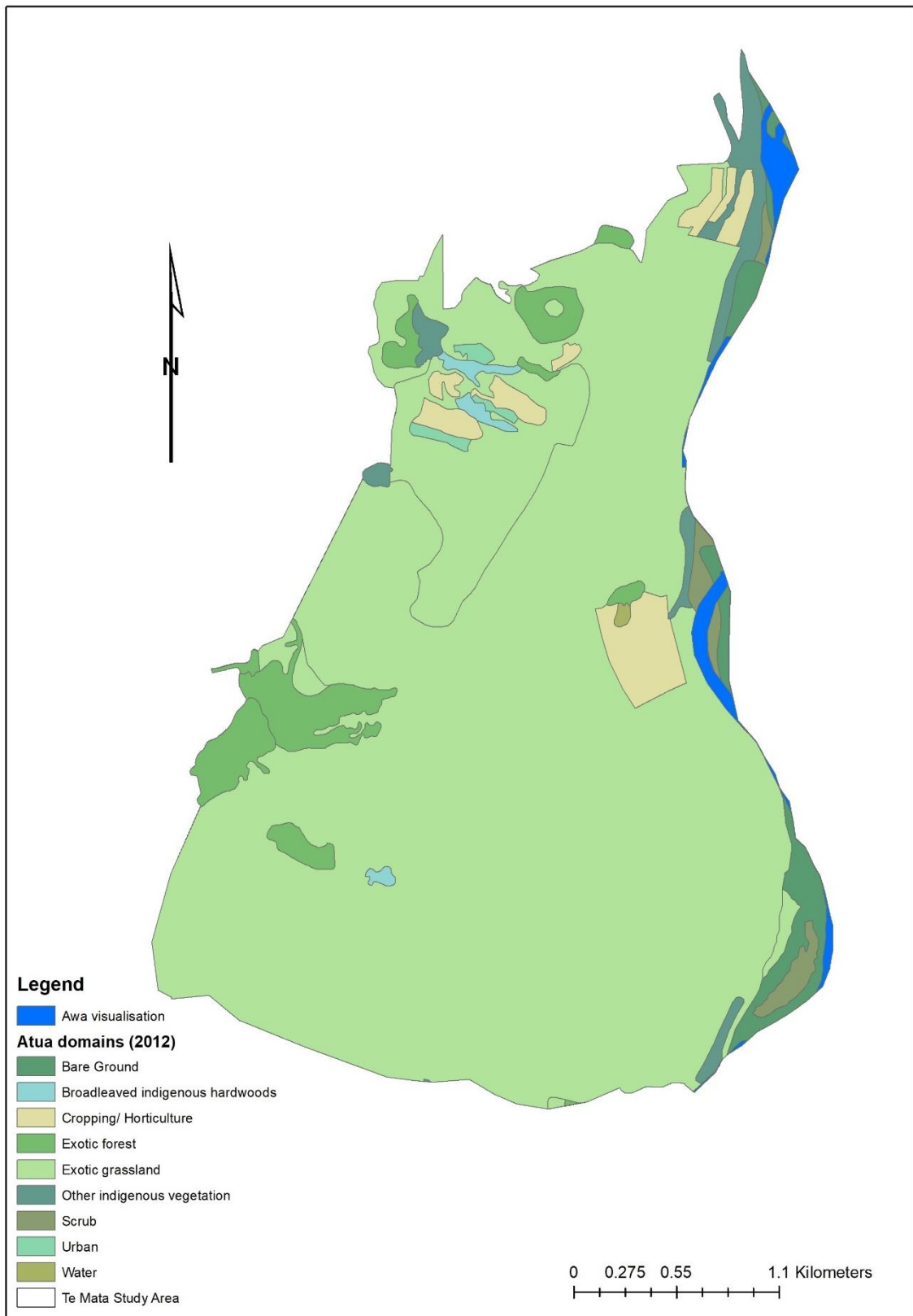


Figure 10 A visual depiction of Atua domains that provided a korowai for Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, as mapped in 2012 in the Landcover Database GIS layers (Source: Landcare Research LCDB)

This must have been a fascinating ‘ecosystem’ that provided an ideal location for Pā (transl. fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city (especially a fortified one)) sites (i.e. with nearby access

to food, freshwater and resources). It is little wonder that this sacred maunga attracted the attention of our tīpuna.

Figure 10 provides a more recent visual depiction of Atua domains in 2012, as part of mapping activities that contributed towards updating the pre-existing, Landcover Database GIS layers created by staff at Manaaki Whenua (transl. Landcare Research). Figure 10 shows that the Ngahere Urutapu that once covered Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna has been removed and replaced, predominantly with exotic grass species that were introduced as part of the expansion of pastoral farming across the Heretaunga plain and nearby foothills. In Figure 10, 'indigenous forest hardwoods' (forest tree cover that is similar to the pre-European Atua domains) is visually represented as being a very small part of a landcover that now includes bare ground, cropping and horticultural activities, exotic forest, exotic grassland (dominance), elements of other indigenous secondary vegetation (i.e. mainly indigenous shrubs), scrub, urban residential areas and open water.

In order to obtain a more accurate assessment of the location and nature of indigenous plant cover, the Hastings District Council commissioned an ecological survey by Adam Forbes (2018). We have used the ecological GIS layer created as part of this recent study to create Figure 11. This recent ecological survey information offers much more precise area estimates of remaining indigenous plant cover on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. That which is visually depicted in Figure 11, is also included in Table 1 as hectare and percentage of total area estimates. What Table 1 shows is that remaining indigenous plant cover now totals less than three percent of the former extent of pre-European Atua domains. This estimate does not include seep wetlands.

The assessment of Atua domains outlined above provides an insight into the current wellbeing and survival prospects of the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. From a period of pre-European extent that was likely based on an estimated 90 to 100 percent cover of Ngahere Urutapu, on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna has been reduced to an estimated cover of less than three percent. This percentage reduction in the area is a matter of deep concern because it indicates the existence of an uncomfortably closeness to extinction.

The pre-European plant cover of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna formed the basis of what could be described in English as the local 'Māori economy' that was inextricably linked with shaping and maintaining the behaviour, symbolism, language, spirituality, and character of our whānau Māori cultural identity. It is therefore very difficult to see how what is commonly described in English as a distinctive Ngāti Kahungunu version of 'Māori culture' (generally) will be able to survive (practically speaking), when the celestial members of this Māori family cease to exist on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. This situation involves much more than decline in the former extent of indigenous plant species. The ngahere urutapu was home to our precious manu (transl. indigenous bird species), invertebrate insect communities (transl. Te whānau aitanga pepeke), the whānau of Tū-te-wehiwehi (transl. the Atua of reptiles) and the whānau of Rongo (transl. the Atua of medicinal plants). Thus, the visual depictions of decline in Atua domains on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna imply the loss of much more than just tree and wetland cover – as important as this was.

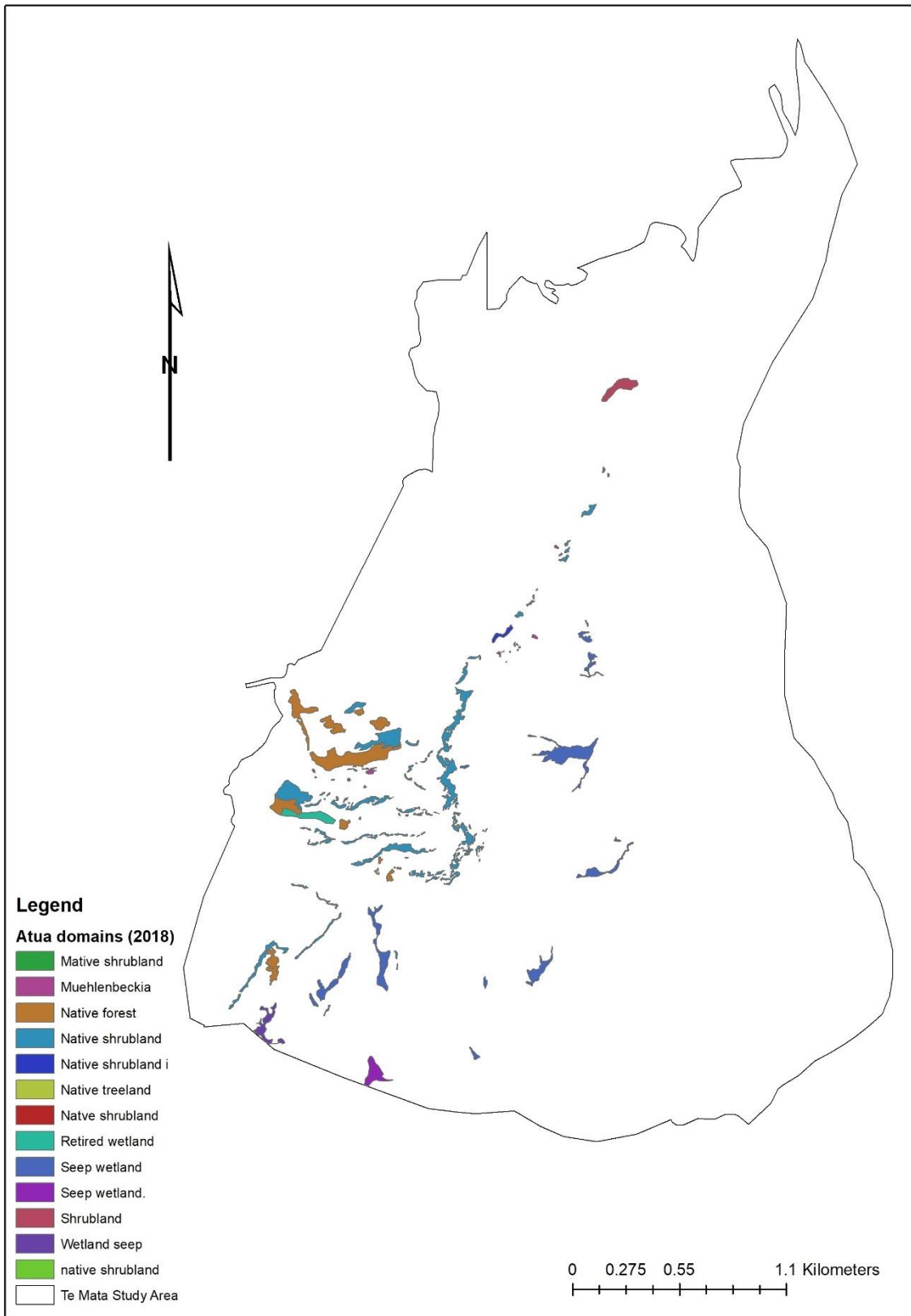


Figure 11 A visual depiction of Atua domains that provided a korowai for Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, as mapped in 2018, as part of ecological survey activities commissioned by Hastings District Council (Source: Adam Forbes 2018).

This attempt to measure the wellbeing and survival prospects of the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the celestial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna focuses attention on a very small, representative part of the plant diversity of this sacred maunga tapu. A much more detailed description of individual plant communities, threatened plant species and areas of significant ecological habitat on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna, are provided by Walls (2006), Forbes (2018), Waland Grant (1996, pp. 66-69).

3.2 Reclaiming, Reframing and Reinstating the Expression of Kawa, Kaupapa and Tikanga

Our tīpuna occupied the Heretaunga plains for somewhere between 800 to 1,000 years and no doubt had to learn to adapt to periods of constancy and rapid environmental change linked with tectonic, climatic, sea level, biological, fire disturbance, hydrological and volcanic variability. However, during this period of relative isolation, they developed their expressions of kawa (ritual practices and customs), kaupapa (transl. grounded principles, policies) and tikanga (transl. appropriate behaviours) in ways that assisted in maintaining the wellbeing, mana and mauri of all members the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (the celestial and terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku). This was a remarkable achievement of ‘human-ecosystem-family’ sustainability, the guiding ‘blue-print’ of which is still indelibly etched into the genetic makeup of Māori communities, intuitive behaviours, preferences, language and worldviews. Thus, a focus of attention on Atua domain (transl. ecosystem) wellbeing and survival, while important, still provides an incomplete basis for achieving the goals of whānau Māori wellbeing and survival.

In the time of our tīpuna, their daily interactions with ecosystems (transl. Atua Māori – the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui) was guided by the expression of kawa, kaupapa and tikanga. These taonga tuku iho (transl. inherited treasures) were passed onto us by our tīpuna because these ‘treasures’ (transl. taonga) were found to be a time-proven, reliable guide for maintaining human-ecosystem-family wellbeing and survival. The modern-day challenge of Māori cultural survival thus focuses on the questions of how to **reclaim** this identity and **reframe** it in a modern ‘market economic’ context as a basis for **reinstating** the mana and mauri of the whānau Māori. In this study, a central outcome of our oral interviews with Kaumātua and whānau members focuses on reclaiming and reframing kawa, kaupapa and tikanga that will assist in reinstating the mana and mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

3.2.1 Reclaiming the kawa, kaupapa and tikanga to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna

As part of this study, a small group of Ngāti Kahungunu pūkenga conducted eight oral interviews with Kaumātua representing the various marae hapū of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. These interviews were directly transcribed into written form. The kōrero contained in these oral interviews was also supported by various written contributions from our Kaumātua. While our interview tikanga provided for the use of questions to assist in prompting conversation with our Kaumātua, they were given full freedom to direct the course of the conversation in whatever direction they felt was appropriate as a contribution towards understanding our study kaupapa (i.e. the wellbeing and survival of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna). This tikanga is important by way of clarifying that it was not our intention to bias or pre-determine the outcome of these oral interviews. The various transcripts created as part of these interviews were read three to four times. At first, it was difficult to see a clearly visible unifying thread across the various written contributions. However, it eventually became clear to us that our Kaumātua

were using accounts of their Atua²³ experiences (i.e. atuaanga), life experiences (i.e. mōhiotanga) and learnings (i.e. mātauranga) to draw attention to what they perceived to be important kaupapa and tikanga that would be needed to maintain the wellbeing and survival of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. As such, these oral interviews constitute an important step towards reclaiming and reframing Ngāti Kahungunu kawa, kaupapa and tikanga as a vital contribution towards reinstating the mana and mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. In the text that follows we provide an account of 11 kaupapa and associated tikanga that we identified as part of our reading of the oral interview transcripts. To assist the reader, we have provided (i) definitions of the 11 kaupapa outlined below and (ii) supporting quotes from the transcripts for each of the tikanga listed below.

3.2.1.1 The Expression of Mana Ake

To achieve Mana Ake, marae and hapū understand and embrace the fundamentals of manaakitanga. 'Mana' refers to the binding of, and commitment towards, the kaupapa and, most importantly, to upholding the integrity of the collective; 'aki' refers to the encouragement of each other no matter how difficult the task may be at hand; and 'tanga' is the action taken to ensure a positive outcome for all. Mana Ake represents ngā hapū o Heretaunga taonga, knowledge and perspectives on whānau ora, wairuatanga, whakapapa, taonga, kaitiakitanga and mātauranga, shared by marae hapū (Heretaunga, 2015, p. 4).

The word 'manaaki' is commonly understood as, (i) a verb that describes actions that support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect and look out for; and, as (ii) a noun for these same activities - support, hospitality, caring for (Moorfield, 2005). An important aspect of manaakitanga that is not captured in these dictionary definitions is that an act of 'manaaki' focuses attention on tikanga that provide for the appropriate treatment of 'mana' – prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power and/or charisma (Moorfield, 2005).

It is possible to identify two key Kaupapa Māori elements—a cultural element and a political (or maybe a political–cultural) element. These are related, and both have a praxis, or an analysis and action aspect. The cultural element involves the assertion or reinvigoration of cultural ideas in action such as ideas of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and reciprocity as social capital. The political element foregrounds economic power and historical analyses, and the related actions of economic self-development. Both elements are crucial to the radical potential of Kaupapa Māori (G. Smith et al., 2012, p. 13).

That which a dictionary definition of manaakitanga describes as an act of generosity (i.e. support, hospitality, caring for) provides an abstracted perspective on quite a broad range of tikanga relating to the appropriate treatment of those aspects of human status (i.e. mana) considered by hapū to be confirmed (in some cases) by Atua (transl. mana atua) and Māori communities (i.e. mana tangata). This clarification is important because a lack of manaakitanga is more than just a want of generosity (important as that is) – it reflects a failure or, worse still, an unwillingness to treat with appropriate

²³ Atua (transl.) - ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god' and now also used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. These atua also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world. Normally invisible, atua may have visible representations.

behaviour, the prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power and/or charisma of others.

Tikanga 1 – *Appropriate treatment of the mana of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

In Heretaunga, there is no greater. Those are the greatest mountains. They are the symbols of our tribe, they are expressions of our mana. That is its importance; that is why we want these sites back. It is a simple thing. It is important. Our people died for that place, our people cried for it, our people spilt blood for it, we practice tikanga (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p.17).

Tikanga 2 – *Reinstate the mana of the iwi by ensuring that greenstone taonga are returned to an appropriate location.*

‘Auntie Peggy’ was a highly respected kuia of Omahu marae, Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngai Te Upokoiri, and was told by her Kuia how the old people put greenstone in the ground “to hold the mana of their tribe” and “anything they put down in the ground the mana motuhake (eternal power) was forever and ever.” (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 15)

3.2.1.2 The Expression of Whanaungatanga

While the expression of manaakitanga lays an important foundation on which engagement with hapū is possible, it is equally an essential part of maintaining balanced reciprocal relationships between members of whānau Māori (transl. the Māori family). The Māori dictionary defines ‘whānau’ as an extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society (Moorfield, 2005).

As an aspect of Māori philosophy, values and practices whānau is central to Kaupapa Māori research, which is derived from different epistemological and metaphysical foundations (McNicholas & Barrett, 2005, p. 401).

In common usage, the word whānau is generally used as a translation for the English word ‘nuclear family’. While this translation is not wrong, it is conceptually incomplete and therefore unhelpful as a basis for engaging with whānau Māori. In English terms, the nuclear family is only one small branch of a whānau Māori family tree that includes Papatūānuku (our Earth mother), Ranginui (our sky father) and Atua - the various children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui who are invested as kaitiaki (transl. guardians) over the various domains (cf. ecosystems) of the natural world. In order to avoid confusion with the nuclear family, it is possible to describe the wider Māori family as the ‘whānau Māori ecosystem’. The use of the English word ‘ecosystem’ in this expression refers to the fact that the Māori family fully embraces all domains of the natural world. As an alternative to the expression ‘whānau Māori ecosystem’ which is a mixture of Te Reo Māori and English, a Māori expression for this extended family would be ‘Te whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku’. This Te Reo Māori expression not only defines and describes the Māori family, it defines the Māori ‘cultural’ economy (Moorfield, 2005).

Drawing on this literature, we have argued that kaupapa Māori is both a set of philosophical beliefs and a set of social practices (tikanga). These are founded on the collective (whanaungatanga) interdependence between and among humankind (kotahitanga), a sacred relationship to the ‘gods’ and the cosmos (wairuatanga), and acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga), combining in the inter-connection between mind, body and spirit. Taken together, these ethics inform traditional Māori ontology and assumptions about human nature; that is, ‘what is real’ for Māori (Henry & Pene, 2001, p. 237).

There is another dimension to whānau Māori that it is helpful to understand as a basis for engaging with hapū. The expression of whanaungatanga involves the creation of a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging, kinship and family connection. When you work with hapū in a reciprocal, mana enhancing way, you become a part of whānau whānui (transl. an extended family in its broadest sense) or what might be described in English as an extended or adopted Māori family ecosystem.

Bishop (1995) reiterated this point: “As the identity of Māori people is tied up with being part of a whānau, a hapū or a iwi, in the research relationship, membership of a metaphoric whānau of interest also provides its members with identity and hence the ability to participate (R. Bishop, 1995, p. 157)” cited in (McNicholas & Barrett, 2005, p. 401).

Tikanga 1 – Appropriate treatment of the tapu of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

Understand the tapu of our tīpuna. That’s not just a maunga, it’s our tīpuna and for someone to put a zigzag on his face ... how dare they? That hurt when I saw a zigzag on my tīpuna’s face, his beautiful face, the face of earth. Why do you have to go and do that rubbish? Understand our tapu here, understand our beauty of that site, the magnificence of our tīpuna there. We thought he was safe, but someone comes along and zigzags your ancestor. That cut me. My cultural value was hugely attacked here (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 23).

Tikanga 2 – Appropriate treatment of the tapu of all whānau Māori resting places on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

And the thing that we are reluctant to do in the Wāhi Tapu identification plan with the Council is to say ‘x marks the spot.’ And so and so is buried here, and so and so is buried there. You can name a dozen people who have been buried in the last century and a half, and where their bones were. This is a thousand years. This is a thousand years of burying bones. That whole area is where bones are likely to be buried and so that whole area becomes, not an archaeological site because an archaeological site is where you have a Pā site or a midden. Not where you bury people, because those were hidden. And our people would abseil down these steep cliffs. Put the bones in and climb back up so they weren’t going to come across by accident. You had to abseil down to get them or cut steps up and put the bones in and then cut the steps away when they came back down so that no one would come across them. Those are the lengths we went to protect our Wāhi tapu. So, when we said that whole face is Wāhi tapu, we meant it. And we didn’t want anyone to go fossicking or come across it by accident, because some of the Tohi and the takutaku and some of the karakia placed on the bones are still living alive today (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p. 11).

Tikanga 3 – Restore ecosystems to ensure the wellbeing and survival of Te Iho Matua Atua domains on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

Of absolute importance to Ngāti Kahungunu is the preservation and protection of mauri. To see to this preservation and protection is to provide for conservation of bio-diversity, the outcomes of which are the restoration and regeneration of ecosystems. “This is the least of our collective community duties to the future generations of our region – of our country (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 16).”

3.2.1.3 The Expression of Te Reo Māori

Language plays a crucial role in cultural wellbeing and survival. Our worldview perceptions are encoded in the unique language of our culture and for this reasons language is the ultimate

‘ontological’ framework of (Māori) culture that provides a fascinating insight into our worldview assumptions (Romaine, 2015; Waitangi Tribunal, 1989). We name what we perceive, while what we perceive is a logical consequence of our worldview assumptions. As such, language provides a useful diagnostic tool for inferring worldview assumptions. The distinctive language of a culture provides ontological building blocks, for the creation of knowledge through the use of culturally distinct epistemologies. Cultural knowledge is used on a daily basis to give expression to agreed cultural practices (i.e. values) which through the amazing creativity of culture transforms our world in ways that create distinctive ‘cultural ecosystems and landscapes’ (Demerath, 2002). As such, the Māori language is a kaupapa *tuku iho* (transl. inheritance from our *tīpuna*) that plays a crucial role in achieving what might be referred to in English as the goals of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival, or outcomes that enhance the *mana* and *mauri* of *hapū*.

Contemporary expressions of Kaupapa Māori have been summarised by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990): “A Kaupapa Māori base (Māori philosophy and principles) i.e. local theoretical positioning related to being Māori, such a position presupposes that: the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted, the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is imperative, the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival” (G. H. Smith, 1990, p. 100) cited in (L. Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004, p. 9).

In the time of our *tīpuna* and before the arrival of *Tauīwi* (and the English language), any form of engagement with *hapū* would have involved the exclusive use of the Māori language. After 178 years of colonisation following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, it is fair to say that the spoken use of the Māori language is still in decline²⁴ nationally, while in some cases at least, local *hapū* struggle to keep their Māori language traditions alive. The loss of indigenous language is generally considered to be a key indicator of ‘cultural extinction’ and for this reason, the wellbeing and survival of the Māori language is crucial to the wellbeing and survival of local Māori communities (esp. *hapū*). A reading of the book ‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’ (Freire, 1993) provides an important theoretical underpinning for this thinking and is therefore highly recommended as an essential part of preparing to engage with *hapū*.

Te Reo can provide a pathway to the histories, values, and beliefs of Māori people (Powick, 2003). The ideal therefore is to conduct research in the Māori language to gain some information and perspectives which otherwise would not be possible. The reality is that many Māori researchers are not fluent in Te Reo, and many Māori people who might be research participants have only a basic working knowledge of the language. Hence, a mix of English and Māori may be used, but kaupapa Māori research aims to encourage the revitalization of Te Reo (Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006, p. 334).

Generally speaking, the state of the Māori language is a cause of deep concern and often ‘grief’ for local *hapū*. For some (individual) *hapū* members, their relationship to the Māori language can evoke feelings of awkwardness, embarrassment/shame and grief that are linked with participation in a State directed education system that forbade, and punished the use of the Māori language in public school. The jurisdiction of this educational legislation may seem like a distant memory now. However, while Te Reo Māori is recognised as an official national language today, it is largely neglected and ignored

²⁴ As evidenced by count data from the last 3 national census surveys conducted by Statistics NZ.

by: (i) the majority of English medium schools in this country, (ii) businesses and (ii) political leaders (i.e. central and local government). It is not uncommon to hear planners, policy-makers, western scientists, business leaders and political leaders neglect the Māori language or use it in a way that demonstrates a fundamental ignorance of its most basic rules of pronunciation and grammar. This is the real-world, Māori language wellbeing and survival context in which it is helpful to consider the expression of Te Reo Māori as a kaupapa that is central to engagement with hapū. We identify two important tikanga that are ideally needed to guide engagement with hapū in a way that will contribute towards mana and mauri enhancing outcomes. These tikanga concern the varied roles of spoken and written Māori language.

In placing the validity and legitimacy of Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga at the centre of Kaupapa Māori theory we are challenging the assumed supremacy of English by saying that we as Māori have a fundamental right to our language and our culture, and that the call for the revival is a valid and legitimate one (Pihama, 2001, p. 119).

Tikanga 1 – *Sustain our ‘whānau’ relationship with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna by name and waiata.* During the Waikato wars a famous Chieftainess was captured (here) and asked to be taken (before being carried captive to Waikato) ... to the top of Te Matā. Her capturers agreed and as she gazed across the plains she recited her farewell song to her home. It was a beautiful thing and brings in (by name) all the places that we know so well. E noho ra, Heretaunga, Ōtatara, Titiokura, Tanenuiarangi, Kuripapapango, Waimārama, Te Matau a Māui, utmost of all Kahurānaki ... This waiata is still sung by or at least chanted by old people at Tangi (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018d p. 22).

Tikanga 2 – *Special regard and protection should be given for the names of Waipuna on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

When we were researching we found there is a spring there called ‘Waipuna’, which is also a landmark up on the hill Te Puna and that’s a significant drinking place for our tīpuna who lived there. All these sorts of things are part of the names that are significant with Te Matā. The spring is on the west face (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018g p. 4).

Tikanga 3 – *Ensure that the mana and wairua of Tangihanga rituals on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are maintained.*

Like all these old things that are relevant to the whole of Te Matā, are all these old Waiata that represent stories of the maunga. Yeah tragedy, when someone dies, the twinkling of the stars, the dullness of everything else that comes with it, and they relate to the people who were here, these are their stories (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018g p. 4).

Tikanga 4 – *Reinstate the mana of Te Reo Māori o Ngāti Kahungunu me Te Reo Māori o Rangitāne as a basis for protecting and fully instating our kawa and tikanga.*

Te Reo is encoded with teachings that instruct Tangata Whenua on tikanga and kawa in order to safeguard people and nature. Te Reo Māori is an essential component of mātauranga Māori and Ngāti Kahungunu cultural knowledge. In the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi summary of WAI 262 Flora and Fauna Waitangi Treaty hearing, it is clear that unless there is ongoing support and encouragement of Te Reo Māori, the loss of Ngāti Kahungunu cultural knowledge will worsen (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 18).

3.2.1.4 The Expression of Rangatiratanga

The kaupapa 'rangatiratanga' is derived from the root word 'rangatira' which was used by our tīpuna as (i) a verb to describe the efforts of one who seeks to be of high rank, ennobled, noble, esteemed, revered and (ii) as a noun to describe the status of a chieftain, chieftainess or master (Moorfield, 2005). The addition of the suffix '-tanga' is generally considered to make a verb into a derived noun that usually refers to the time and place of the verb's action. Hence, the kaupapa 'rangatiratanga' refers to chieftainship, the right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the rangatira, noble birth, attributes of a chief. The addition of the well-known preface 'tino' is used before an adjective or verb to indicate a high degree or absoluteness. Thus, 'tino rangatiratanga' — self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power. The expression 'tino rangatiratanga' is most commonly referred to in relation to the promises made by the Crown in the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi (i.e. Te Tiriti o Waitangi) that was signed by the British Crown and Māori chiefs (rangatira) in 1840.

One main focus of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is the operationalization of self-determination (tino rangatiratanga) by Māori people ... (Russell Bishop, 1998, p. 201).

In a modern-day context, the expression of rangatiratanga is commonly associated with two different, but related ideas. First, a desire on the part of Māori communities to be able to determine their own future (i.e. self-determination). Second, the leadership of a social group by one who has appropriate whakapapa and displays the attributes of a rangatira (i.e. a chief). Tikanga that give effect to these two related ideas provide a helpful basis for understanding the deeper implications of rangatiratanga in the domain of engagement with hapū. It is important to understand that while these tikanga reflect a modern-day reframing of this kaupapa, the work of a rangatira was central to organisation and activities of hapū in the time of our tīpuna. The Treaty of Waitangi attempted to articulate in written form, a model of communal organisation, wellbeing and survival that had been devised by our tīpuna over generations to maintain the mana and mauri of whānau Māori (i.e. Te Aho Matua, Te Iho Matua whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku). It is important to understand that this kaupapa is just as relevant to Māori society today and arguably more so, given the effects of 178 years of colonisation on Māori communities.

In the past Western researchers have assumed they know all that is possible to know about indigenous peoples based on their brief encounters with them, while at the same time denying them opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. Their research has perpetuated colonial values, which have led to an undervaluing and belittling of Māori knowledge and learning practices and processes (R. Bishop, 1995) cited in (McNicholas & Barrett, 2005, p. 397).

For the reasons outlined above, it is important to understand how to give a modern-day expression to this kaupapa tuku iho in the domain of engagement with hapū.

Tikanga 1 – Give priority attention to the goal of our survival. This tikanga assists in appropriately treating the mana of our tīpuna who were taken captive following the battle of Pakake.

We count our blessings because through her we survive. She was a survivor. That's something we have to teach our kids – how to survive, how to cherish everything. From someone who has everything, to someone who has nothing. I don't know if people appreciate we don't have whenua. So, when we say

if we can get that land back you will never understand someone who has no whenua. We want it back, even if it's the side of a cliff, we want it back. We want that stuff back, we want it back it was ours and it was taken from us we want it back. So those are some of our stories, these stories have come out of telling people our plight. They indicate to us, because we want those lands (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 21).

Tikanga 2 – *We need to reinstate our kaupapa and tikanga. This is especially necessary in regards to activities linked with whakatupu mātauranga.*

For someone to put this in front of me (indicating maps) whose research belongs to some other organisation, who's not Māori, defeats the purpose of us giving our mana kōrero here. Because to me this has more whakapapa, rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, here our Atuatanga. I don't see it on these documents until they start expressing where our tikanga is (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p.24).

Tikanga 3 – *There is need for responsibility and accountability in regards to the expression of kaupapa and tikanga that are needed to maintain the wellbeing and survival of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

It's got a lot better in the last few years, but they still got a huge way to go. Everything, for example, that the Council does, they should be thinking. Ok where is the cultural overlay in this? Everything, the Te Matā Trust board does, they should be thinking, where's the cultural overlay? How does this affect the cultural overlay? But they don't. They all the bits that they want to do and say they have covered it and then there's a little bit and they throw a crumb out there and they say, yeah, we done that (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 26).

Tikanga 4 – *Activities and comments that diminish the mana of our full expression of tino rangatiratanga must be politely, but firmly opposed.*

Māori who have been on the council have had a terrible time. They just get them to stand there for a karakia and then pretend it's good. (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018f p.22).

Tikanga 5 – *Reinstate the full expression of tino rangatiratanga as a basis for enhancing the mana and mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

Tangata whenua were given little or no opportunity in colonial times to exercise rights of kaitiakitanga or to have a meaningful say in the management of natural resources. The sometimes-terrible consequences for Heretaunga Māori of much previous environmental transformation cannot be easily reversed. Ownership issues and loss, early and ongoing environmental modification, pollution, and loss of access to traditional mahingā kai, as well as marginalisation of Māori in the development of the structure and economy of the Hawke's Bay region, has been the basis of protest and grievance over time, but the close identification of Māori with their ancestral lands and waterways has never waned (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 15).

3.2.1.5 The Expression of Wairuatanga

Expression of the kaupapa of wairuatanga is based on thinking that runs deeply into the very foundations of a Māori worldview. The acquirement of an intellectual understanding of this kaupapa would likely require some years of study and yet this kaupapa is generally recognised as a central, unifying strand of whānau Māori wellbeing and survival. For this reason, it is unhelpful and unwise to venture into the domain of engagement with hapū without an understanding of the role that wairua tikanga play in daily hapū activities. The online Māori dictionary simply defines wairuatanga as spirituality (Moorfield, 2005) and this is a common, modern-day, albeit incomplete understanding of

this kaupapa. According to the late Rev. Māori Marsden, wairua or hau is the 'breath of life' that is a characteristic attribute of all existent being while mauri is the elemental essence imparted by wairua. Mauri is the energy that binds all things together and gives each individual object its unique form (Marsden, 2003 p. 47). Thus, mauri is inextricably linked with diversity (i.e. the expression of rangatiratanga) and unity (i.e. the expression of kotahitanga). Given that we have characterised the aim of engaging with hapū as producing mana and mauri enhancing outcomes, then it must follow that the expression of wairuatanga is essential to the achievement of this purpose.

Tikanga 1 – *Protect and give expression to the wairua of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

So, like I said, we live and breathe it. We have it when born and our parents and tīpuna from way back lived and breathed it. And our mokopuna will live and breathe it. So, it is something in the air, something in the water, something in the land, and the personification of Rongokako, the sleeping giant. The maunga, is a personification of part of our psyche. We think we are a sleeping giant, we think we are ready to wake up and do all these wonderful things. We think we are ready to take on the world. We are just waiting for the moment when we turn from ordinary people in to extra-ordinary people in that moment of time. Just like Rongokako was, just like we, his uri his mokopuna are. Ready to spring into life and spring into action to do some amazing things. It's about our potential (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p. 3).

Tikanga 2 – *The wairua of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna must be respected and not diminished.*

You've gone up to Te Matā o Rongokako and you've felt the breeze and you've looked down on Heretaunga Haukunui and you've seen the magnificence of your Rangatiratanga, that's the importance of our maunga, we get cleaned by the hau of tawhirimatea purea nei te hau o tawhirimatea, the pepeha that's touted, and someone comes along and takahia (tramp) over all our traditions. You know, I know for all Māoridom our maunga has been there for millions of years, and we have associated the beauty of our maunga to our hearts for over a thousand of year, that's the significance of this place (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 24).

Tikanga 3 – *Maintain Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a place of sacred waters (wairua) by keeping her stories alive.*

When you visit Te Matā or when you go past Te Matā, do those stories resonate? All the time. You can't help but connect. It's like driving into a Wi-Fi zone. It's like 'zing'. You start connecting straight away. It tells you on your phone that you're in such and such a network and speed limit is like this, and when you're driving past places like Te Matā, it tells you the whakapapa. It tells you the speed limit. It tells you the sacredness or the specialness or the amazingness or the horror of this place and it becomes a natural thing. Area of the whenua sort of bubbles up like 'beam me up Scotty'. You know those bubbles that come "flpflpflp". When Scotty gets beamed up. Yeah, it's like that (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p. 7).

Tikanga 4 – *Maintain the tapu of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a place for Atua experiences.*

You see that is why. People ask why that is sacred to us because of the cutting and the blood. The blood that was spilt. That was born out of, you know Hinepare, but you know that was a place. It was always sacred and it was a place that you could always communicate with the Gods (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p.9).

Tikanga 5 – Maintain the mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna so that its attractive influence is enhanced.

You know one thing about the peak is that in one form or another we recognise it as a very special place. If they could understand the history. They might not understand anything about Māori but they might feel when they get there that this is a place of really significance because this is a place where you can breathe (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018ep. 25).

3.2.1.6 The Expression of Kaitiakitanga

In a modern-day (mixed) market economic context, the expression of kaitiakitanga is commonly associated with the human management of ecosystems as defined and described in the purpose and provisions of the Resource Management Act 1991. While this characterisation of kaitiakitanga is not wrong, it is incomplete as evidenced by a reading of the late Rev. Māori Marsden on this matter (Marsden, 1996).

The term 'tiaki', whilst it's basic meaning is 'to guard' has other closely related meanings depending upon the context. Tiaki may therefore also mean, to keep, to preserve, to conserve, to foster, to protect, to shelter, to keep watch over. The prefix 'kai' with a verb denotes the agent of the act. A kaitiaki is a guardian, keeper, preserver, conservator, foster-parent, protector. The suffix tanga, when added to the noun, transforms the term to mean guardianship, preservation, conservation, fostering, protecting, sheltering. Kaitiakitanga is defined in the Resource Management Act as guardianship and/or stewardship. Stewardship is not an appropriate definition since the original English meaning of stewardship is 'to guard someone else's property'. Apart from having overtones of a master-servant relationship, ownership of property in the pre-contact period was a foreign concept. The closest idea to ownership was that of the private use of a limited number of personal things such as garments, weapons, combs. Apart from this all other use of land, waters, forests, fisheries, was a communal and/or tribal right. All-natural resources, all life was birthed from Mother Earth. Thus, the resources of the earth did not belong to man but rather, man belonged to the earth. Man, as well as animal, bird, fish could harvest the bounty of mother earth's resources but they did not own them. Man had but 'user rights' (Marsden, 2003 p. 67).

While this clarification of the Māori cultural meaning of kaitiakitanga is important, its articulation by the late Rev. Māori Marsden emerges from a quite detailed consideration of 3 related matters: (i) the nature of fundamental knowledge in Māori culture, (ii) the nature of a Māori worldview and (iii) the role that kawa, kaupapa and tikanga play in maintaining the wellbeing and survival of what we have characterised in this report as the whānau Māori (i.e. Te Aho Matua, Te Iho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku). The significance of this holistic treatment of kaitiakitanga as a kaupapa tuku iho is easily missed.

... to try to understand the holistic approach to life and the application of the fundamental principles (kaupapa) to life situations through Māori customs (tikanga) integrated into the value systems of their culture (Marsden, 2003 p. 72).

The kaupapa of kaitiakitanga was created by our tīpuna to guard their 'holistic approach to life' which encompassed their unique perceptions of reality (i.e. fundamental knowledge, the 3 worldview of the Māori) that formed the basis for 'fundamental principles' (i.e. kaupapa) and 'customs' (tikanga) that maintained the wellbeing of all members of whānau Māori. In other words, kaitiakitanga applies to

much more than just ecosystem wellbeing, as important as this is. Engagement with hapū can thus helpfully focus around 3 different tikanga that contribute towards the expression of kaitiakitanga.

Tikanga 1 – *Ensure that the wairua dimensions of kaitiakitanga are upheld in our role as kaitiaki of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

Was there a practical application for Wāhi Tapu or was it always a spiritual? No, I think it was practical. I think, you know people nominated places and karakia was sort of said over those places to ensure they remained tapu and beyond, you know remained sacrosanct (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018ap. 5).

Tikanga 2 – *Ensure that our relationship to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna through kawa (i.e. ritual) is upheld and enhanced.*

The rituals carried out were really to sort of link the tribe to the spot and the spot to the tribe. So that it gathered. It gathered more meaning to the tribe concerned (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018a p.5).

Tikanga 3 – *Kaupapa-tikanga accounting is needed to ensure that the wellbeing of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is maintained.*

And I think, I think it's a wise move to have a registry of some sort and to make certain that it is ratified by the law or by whatever. But it needs to be done. It needs to be ratified in some way to ensure that it's not in any way desecrated by future generations or by current generations for that matter (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018a p.6).

Tikanga 4 – *Ensure that the rituals of death relating to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna continue to be expressed and are not lost or further diminished.*

When our Mother died from here we took her wairua up there. When our Father died we took his Wairua up there. It's a good place to start the journey to go home to Hawaiki. It's a great place. We chose those places because of its importance to us as a whānau, as a hapū as an iwi. So, we carried out a karakia there for our father, we then came back and buried his blood. We cremated our father, and so when we picked up his blood we sprinkled his blood on the land to make sure his blood is connected to the land, our peoples that's the importance in terms of the significance of that maunga to us (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 19).

Tikanga 5 – *Ensure that wāhi tapu of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are not desecrated.*

Now, yet, the people or the bones buried in there to us is still alive and still need their sacredness preserved and that's why we said that's all wāhi tapu without x marking the spot. Because planners would go, 'Where about exactly because we can GPS it or put a drone up or put a sign - 'bones buried here'. Well like hell, that's an invitation to come shopping and that's what's happened all around. All around our maunga, right along Kaokaoroa. There used to be a burial place there called 'Paretaonui'. That Uncle Charlie and Uncle Billow blew up and blew the entrances up so that no one could either get in by accident or design. So that's what happened all along there. So, we are protecting the general public for their own good. We are not just protecting the site. We are protecting people and places (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c pp. 12-13)

Tikanga 6 – *The mana and tapu of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna needs to be reinstated.*

For us the tapu was taken off the land with what they did (referring to the track). That was the whole part of our process is that they took away the tapu with what they did. You know they trampled over any mana that was within the land. So, it's important that we put it back (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 27).

Tikanga 7 – *The mana, tapu and mauri above the pounamu line should be reinstated.*

She indicated that that piece of pounamu that had come out was probably one of four. They would sit in four corners protecting the integrity of the air above, so it's not a place to mess with. It's a highly tapu place, a place for wānanga, noa happened below, and that the pounamu should go back in the ground (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018f p. 10).

Tikanga 8 – *Ensure that the mana and mauri of the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku is reinstated.*

Are you just leaving it there for your moko to clean up? I think we have to come up with a 21st century solution and there must be a way through it. There are enough Pākehā out there with good will who will help us get what we want if we know what we want. If we're going to say this is what we want to protect and how we're going to do it (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018f p.23).

Tikanga 9 – *Ensure that the mana and mauri of the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku o Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are maintain with appropriate atua experiences.*

The maintenance of mauri of both realms of this world is vested in the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, including mankind through Tāne. The siblings become atua over different aspects of Te Ao Māori. Alongside Tama nui te Rā (the great son/sun), Te Marama-i-whanake (the waxing moon) and their younger brethren, the stars, they bring mauri to this world we know (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 13).

Tikanga 10 – *The expression of kaitiakitanga extends from our sacred maunga to the domain of Tangaroa.*

E kore a Parawhenua e haere ki te kore a Rakahore (transl. "Parawhenua will not come out in the absence of Rakahore). Parawhenua-mea was the personification of water and mountain streams, while Rakahore was the personification of rocks. This meant that mountain springs and streams would not flow but for the solid rock from which they issued and over which they flowed. This whakataukī talks of the relationship 'ki uta ki tai' (from the mountains to the sea). In this, all-natural elements are interdependent and these relationships must be continued together. To eliminate or diminish one can cause imbalance, thus affecting the rest (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 16).

Tikanga 11 – *Reinstate the domain of Tāne-nui-a-rangi so as to prevent the local extinction of manu and the Reo of Ngāti Kahungunu.*

At the same hearing a statement of evidence presented: "There is a saying that one must learn from the birds to be able to be an orator, he manu kōrero. We must ask therefore how Te Reo o Ngāti Kahungunu survives when there is no bush for the manu to survive. The loss of the ngahere (the bush) is symptomatic of the loss of much of the traditions and knowledge of Ngāti Kahungunu. Language is important for the survival of rongoā Māori. It is an overcoat that can be effective if there are layers beneath it to keep us warm. Yet even the language struggles to survive" (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 18).

3.2.1.7 The Expression of Whakapapa

The holistic nature of a Māori worldview is captured in whakapapa, which when used as a noun refers to genealogy, genealogical table, lineage or descent (Moorfield, 2005). While there is some very deep kōrero associated with the role of whakapapa in a Māori conception of the world, in this kaupapa-tikanga framework we focus on 1 key characteristic. Whakapapa provides a genealogical table or family tree that shows the relationship between all members of whānau Māori (i.e. Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku). In the time of our tīpuna, this understanding played

a crucial role in (i) maintaining the wellbeing of whānau Māori and (ii) in tracing descent as a basis for clarifying rights to leadership, land, fishing rights, kinship and status (Moorfield, 2005). Thus, there is a very real sense in which whakapapa provided our tīpuna with a remarkably complex, oral synthesis of reality that could be depicted at different levels of abstraction²⁵. This was thus used to maintain the wellbeing and survival of whānau Māori (i.e. Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku).

... 'The Woven Universe' also reflects the work of the tohunga whakapapa, the expert genealogist. This person, through their Reo, is able to weave people and all things together into a fabric of whanaungatanga or relationships. The tohunga whakapapa knows and understands the power of relationships as the essential nature of all reality. The ethical act, therefore, of the tohunga is the fostering of relationships for, as Toki Pāngari points out, humanity severs the fabric of the universe at our peril (Marsden, 2003 p. xiv).

In a modern-day context, the introduction of Capitalist property rights has completely changed the nature and extent of the relationship between Māori communities and the natural world from one based on family relationships as defined by whakapapa, to one based on legal rights of use and extraction. It seems likely that at present, we poorly understand the long-term implications of these 'fundamental identity' changes on the goal of Māori cultural survival. This situation being what it is, what role does whakapapa play as a kaupapa that guides engagement with hapū in practical terms today? While the introduction of a Capitalist model of economy (including individual property rights) has attempted to impose a new set of social relationships on Māori communities, this colonising influence has not successfully erased the 'whānau Māori' identity that still provides an ontological basis/framework for how Māori communities see the world. Because whakapapa provides an evidential basis for establishing this 'whānau Māori' relationship, it is just as relevant today in clarifying rights to leadership, land, fishing rights, kinship and status as it was in the time of our tīpuna.

Tikanga 1 – Maintain the wairua and tapu of pakiwaitara linked with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

I am reminded and reflect upon my childhood growing up in Bridge Pā. We knew the mountain was our ancestor, but as children we didn't know the depth of this history. The stories of our ancestors were sacred, and children were not allowed to know of the sacredness of these things. It was indicated and identified to us this mountain belongs to all the sub tribes and marae of Heretaunga (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p.5).

Tikanga 2 – Maintain the Chiefly whakapapa line of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

This is why the people of this area need to help enhance the people of Mihiroa, and they with us, we are one family. So those are some of the genealogical chiefly lines of us, and we need to instil this into our children, so they know their connections of this area (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p.14).

Tikanga 3 – Ensure that our mokopuna have an appropriate relationship with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

... When the Kura goes up there, we make sure our kids have a relationship. It is an important site. We don't want that site back because it has commercial value. It has significant value to us as a people in

²⁵ According to Moorfield (2005) - tāhū (recite a direct line of ancestry through only the senior line); whakamoe (recite a genealogy including males and their spouses); taotahi (recite genealogy in a single line of descent); hikohiko (recite genealogy in a selective way by not following a single line of descent); ure tārewa (male line of descent through the first-born male in each generation).

terms of the wairua, in terms of mana o to whenua it is of importance to us (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p.18).

Tikanga 4 – *Appropriately treat the mana of the descendants of the captives whose blood was shed on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

Those people there are all part of us their part of our whānau cos they come from the women taken in that battle.... I can't talk on those others but I'm aware there are others that have a connection to that site as we do (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b pp. 19, 20).

Tikanga 5 - *Appropriately treat the mana of the hapū whakapapa lines of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

It's not just Ngāti Whakaiti It's not just Ngāti Kurukuru. That Maunga also belongs to us. We have a connection. We are Ngāti Hori. We are the descendants also of Taha-tū-o-Te-Rangi, Taha-tū-o-Te-Rangi ko Ngāti Hori, nō (transl. from) Waipatu, nō Kohupātiki, nō Ruahapia, nō Matahiwi. Nanny Sonny, he was one of the original trustees of Waipatu marae. Why? Because we are the same people (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p.20).

Tikanga 6 – *Do not neglect wānanga as a means of enhancing whakapapa relationships of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

I am a great believer of the whole concept of Māori Wānanga. When you gather a lot of people with their own perspectives, very often, it becomes a problem-solving process where some of these things come out. Sometimes you can hear a suggestion from someone else and think "what a load of rubbish" but someone else may say, by god, they have hit on this. (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018d pp. 24-25).

Tikanga 7 – *Ensure that positive childhood relationships with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are fostered.*

So for us Te Matā stands alone, stands by its self. So that special relationship that we have with the peak itself probably goes right back to when we were children (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 5).

Tikanga 8 – *Ensure that Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna hapū resource sharing relationships are not lost.*

And imagine the relationships, just thinking about the whakapapa of Te Whatuiapiti. The relationship with Waimārama was very close and strong... It was reciprocal arrangements they could always come across. There was always value in living close to the sea and because we had these strong connections it worked both ways (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 8).

Tikanga 9 – *Ensure that the mana, tapu and mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is not diminished ever again.*

... it's important to everybody who visit Hawke's Bay and culturally, this is where the blood of Hinerakau has been spread and to have this like (referring to the Craggy Range Track), umm ... well you can't breathe. It's that, your breath actually. It's a physical pain ... For me really, the only time I could rest was when we were protesting, because at least I was doing something because of that pain. The hurt was so great. I couldn't stay home and that was for our old people, they just had to do something and that was it yeah (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 15).

Tikanga 10 – *Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna should not be a place to build and live because blood was spilt there.*

All those things historians wrote about those time, they were told by men from Pakipaki, Waipatu and Waimārama. They told their stories about how this maunga is like a beacon or wāhi tapu, or beacon. When our people were taken away to Waikato, and when blood was spilt on the ground nobody went

back there, they just left it, 'cos once blood gets on the ground it's desecrated, it's tapu'. So that is significant in its own right. So, when our people were taken away nobody went back there to live. Slashing themselves and making themselves sad that they were leaving those places. Those stories been told by someone else connected ... (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018g pp. 5-6)

Tikanga 11 – *The tapu of final resting places must be respected on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

The significance was when they asked to be buried in those caves there was importance behind it, because of their association with the tīpuna who lived there before. That's the significance (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018g p. 5).

Tikanga 12 – *Ensure that the lore of Te Kauwae Runga, Te Kauae Raro is carefully maintained as a basis for understanding our whakapapa connection to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

Part of these teachings tells us the relationship of Māori to mountains hills and peaks is steeped in the genealogy, mythology and the lore of "Te Kauwae Runga, Te Kauwae Raro", in particular the deity and whānau of Hine-tūpari-maunga (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 11).

3.2.1.8 The Expression of Pūkenga (-tanga)

The kaupapa we refer to as pūkenga is a noun that refers to an individual who is a repository of expert or specialist skills and/or knowledge that they are able to impart to others (Moorfield, 2005). This kaupapa draws our attention to the role that teaching and learning plays in maintaining the wellbeing and survival of whānau Māori (i.e. the whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku). An interesting question concerns just how this kaupapa finds expression as an integral part of engagement with hapū. The answer to this question is related partly to the way in which our tīpuna thought about education. In Te Reo Māori, the word 'ako' is used as a verb to refer to the actions of teaching-instructing and learning-studying. In the concept of 'ako' the separately named English roles of teacher and student become one. The act of teaching is recognised as involving learning while the act of learning is recognised as involving teaching. In a Māori community, the distinction between teacher and student is less clearly defined. This understanding is crucial as a basis for engagement with hapū, especially for academic professionals who are used to being treated as a publicly recognised expert in their field. There are a number of ways in which pūkenga can find expression as a kaupapa tuku iho.

The idea of expert researcher, non-expert participant, is turned on its head in kaupapa Māori research, with the researcher being the non-expert and the one who has come to 'look, listen and learn' (L. T. Smith, 1999). Hence, the people are the experts; they will best know what their needs and concerns are and can tell the researcher if they wish (Walker et al., 2006, p. 336).

Tikanga 1 - *Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna pakiwaitara are passed on and recited.*

... And he's the one who starts feeding all the mātauranga to us. And we are so fortunate that he left snippets of kōrero for us. So for me I feel it's my role to pass it on, and that's what my sisters and I do. Every year we pass them on. We carry them in our whare kōrero, we carry them in our wānanga. We like to wānanga during the months of Piripi and Hongongoi. That's the time when we give back our stories to our people, whoever turns up (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 21).

Tikanga 2 – *Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna pakiwaitara are kept as an authoritative source of learning.* We know its wāhi tapu because of the stories (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 23).

Tikanga 3 - *Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna pakiwaitara are retained and secured.*

They just changed stories with successive migrations but the landscape never changed, and the landforms never changed. So they are still stand alive and well today. All through those successive migrations, Pākehā are here now, we need to tūturu those stories of our hapū and of our migrations and of our tīpuna for our Mokopuna (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p. 10)

Tikanga 4 – *The full, rich diversity of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna pakiwaitara are kept alive by being shared and taught.*

I'd like to see the stories being told. So that every angle you look at it, and every angle you walk on it, there's a story to be told. And so that resource or this taonga or this bank of memory is told at every school. That they learn and respect Te Matā o Rongokako when they are going into preschool, when they are going into primary or when they are going into high school. And learn the deeper meanings of it when they go into to Wānanga or when they go into University type projects (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p.13).

Tikanga 5 – *In the time of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna was linked with the Atua experiences of Taurira who attended local whare wānanga. The role of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a venue for higher learning is reinstated.*

Taewha, a Tohunga from the Takitimu canoe, set up a Whare Wānanga at Maungawharau. Today we honour this name, it being given to the Havelock North High School, it first began so many centuries ago. This also is the reason why the name Kahurangi was given to the whare tīpuna at the Havelock North High School (Hāpuku 1999).

3.2.1.9 The Expression of Ūkaipō (-tanga)

The kaupapa that we refer to as ūkaipō involves the use of 3 root words in the Māori language to draw attention to the relationship between 'ū' (noun – referring to the breast of a female), 'kai' – the act of eating, feeding or consuming (a verb) food or a meal (a noun) and pō - in a place of darkness. When combined, the word 'ūkaipō' is used as a noun to refer to (i) a mother as a source of sustenance and (ii) our place of origins (cf. tūrangawaewae) as the home environment that feeds and nurtures us. The reference made to pō in this case does not refer to the underworld or place of departed spirits but to a place of safety that is linked with the darkness linked with feeding at our mother's breast. Ūkaipō is hence a beautiful and powerful kaupapa that provides a fascinating insight into the way in which our tīpuna viewed the hau kāinga or papa kāinga (transl. home, true home, local people of a marae, home people). The expression of this kaupapa draws attention to tikanga that assist in maintaining the mana and mauri of the home or place of work (contemporary interpretation) as a safe, nurturing environment for te whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku.

Tikanga 1 – *Ensure that the attractive power of the mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is maintained as a 'heavenly (communication) pillar'.*

... My uncle Wi talked about the pillars of heaven. Well that's how I describe them as pillars of heaven and he talks about how they were raised, you know how, to make sure that the parents could get back together again, it was an interesting kōrero. You know it was one of those. You know you have a sense of the creation, that's why it's been important. Right from the beginning of time and any tribe who ever or who occupied there, I mean you only had to stand up on that highest point and you could see just how commanding all those views were.

Tikanga 2 – *Ensure that the attractive power of the mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is maintained as a support for our Atua experiences.*

Any anybody that strategically occupied that area had a huge advantage and so I can understand why it was always so important to a whole lot of tribes. But we bewildered a sense of the creation as well and that had things to do to with like the peak itself and Pani and Te Hukiterangi where the nose presses the sky and Papahope and Mt Erin, you know, the mother earth and Te Waewae o Tane that was Kahuranake where the feet, the foot of the Tāne holds up the sky, so for us there was always this view that as so long as the pillars were standing then we were safe. And I think that's an interesting view because where ever, even when we come on the plains, if we can see the pillars standing then everything is right. Everything is ok (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e pp.9-10).

Tikanga 3 – *Reinstate the waipuna used by our tīpuna as a basis for whanaungatanga and customary purposes.*

From the Joll land came the spring named Waipuna which flowed into the Karituwheua. The biggest spring was the Herehere, which flows below Iona College. The Mangarau spring flows down Lucknow Road. It was used by Māori to bathe and its water was of spiritual value to warriors that went into battle. Te Kahika spring runs down beside Hillsbrook. Three other streams crossing the flats on Tauroa Station are the Waitangaru, Makareo and the Marauaruhe (Hāpuku, 1999).

Tikanga 4 – *Ensure that the fires of occupation are kept alight in a way that nurtures all who whakapapa to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

Their occupation as Te Ahi-kā roa is significant in terms of the Pā they occupied under the Chief Rangiwhatuipiti ; Tawekanui, Ngaruahikapuku (atop Horseshoe gully), Hikaruatapu (along further from Horseshoe gully), Kohinurakau and Iwipo (in Knobby gully) around the late 17th century early 18th century (Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga 2012, p. 11).

3.2.1.10 The Expression of Kotahitanga

It seems appropriate to leave the kaupapa we refer to as kotahitanga until last in our kaupapa-tikanga framework. The reason for this prioritisation lies in the meaning of this kaupapa. The word 'kotahitanga' is derived from the preface 'ko' which is generally used as a particle to denote to and at. The root word 'tahi' has a number of different meanings, which in this context imply 'one' or unity. Thus, 'kotahitanga' refers to actions that assist in moving to (-wards) one, being single or united while 'kotahi' refers to a state of being one or united. The kaupapa and tikanga of kotahitanga are applied in many different ways in Māori communities and in many respects lie at the heart of a Māori worldview because they provide a basis for holistic unification. For example, whakapapa can be thought of as an expression of kotahitanga because it brings together thousands of individual whānau relationships in a way that created a unified, holistic knowing and whānau entity.

Drawing on this literature, we have argued that kaupapa Māori is both a set of philosophical beliefs and a set of social practices (tikanga). These are founded on the collective (whanaungatanga) interdependence between and among humankind (kotahitanga), a sacred relationship to the 'gods' and the cosmos (wairuatanga), and acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga), combining in the inter-connection between mind, body and spirit. Taken together, these ethics inform traditional Māori ontology and assumptions about human nature; that is, 'what is real' for Māori (Henry & Pene, 2001, p. 237).

Tikanga 1 – *Ensure that daily Atua experiences with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna continue so that our collective mōhiotanga is maintained.*

I grew up in the shadow of Rongokako, the Marae o Waipatu. So Rongokako has always been a giant looming over us as we grew up as children. So, it's not only in whakapapa, it's in landscapes, it's in touch, it's in feel, it's in do. So, it's not just a minor thing or something from the ancient past. It's something we touch every day. And i just had a moko last week and she will be touching it too, and her moko and her moko, all our moko (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p.3).

Tikanga 2 – *Ensure that we maintain our relationships with the descendants of those who were taken captive following the battle of Pakake.*

Those people there are all part of us their part of our whānau cos they come from the women taken in that battle (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 19).

Tikanga 3 – *We need to support every part of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a wāhi tapu because this is an essential characteristic of the entire area.*

I was just saying that the view at the meeting the other day that where he talked about Wāhi Tapu or talked about Wāhi Taonga, you know to me and I think it's the essence of the whole area that's important (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 11).

Tikanga 4 – *Provide for the recognition and protection of all pakiwaitara because this is essential to our unity.*

Multiple levels of reality: So, every angle. This is what they agree. Every angle has a different perspective and a different history, hence a different appreciation and a different interpretation. But every story is right. There is no one wrong story. So, that's the key. There is no one wrong story. The other key is that there is a sleeping giant within us; and the other story is we need something to trigger us to bring out that amazing rawness out of us as a people (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018c p. 6).

3.2.1.11 Tapu and Noa

A Māori worldview employs the use of many different types of logic and to some extent this is reflected in our language. For example, our tīpuna had kupu (transl. words, sayings, messages, or statements) that recognised the importance of exclusive logic. An example here could be the use of the kupu (transl. word) 'tapu' (transl. be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection) which implies the existence of an area of exclusion that cannot or should not be included be part of entities that are noa (transl. to be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted). In other words, 'noa' can be thought of as a zone or area of inclusion. Now while the Māori language employs the use of both exclusive and inclusive logic, it is important to understand that 'inclusive' logic is a central and dominant part of the way in which we see the world. For example, our kaupapa tuku iho are based on inclusive logic (e.g. whanaungatanga – all members of the Māori family, kotahitanga – collective effort, kaitiakitanga – caring for all existent parts of the Māori world etc). This inclusive characteristic is also reflected in our mātauranga (transl. knowledge) and this includes the use of naming conventions.

Tikanga 1 – *Ensure that all wāhi tapu on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are recognised and protected.*

Every tribe in the country has what we call 'Wāhi Tapu' and the reasons they are called that are many and varied but principally things like burial places, places where battles occurred and blood was spilt. A chief might have named a spot and as a consequence it became Wāhi tapu (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018a, p. 3).

Tikanga 2 – *Ensure that different types of burial sites on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna are recognised and protected as wāhi tapu.*

I think principally, one of the main one is, you know, burial places. Places where the pito was buried, a battle site and too many people were killed there and so there is still blood in the ground. Some places a chief may have nominated as part of his body, by saying te Mahunga or somebody or Te Matā up here (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018a, p.4).

Tikanga 3 – *Ensure that adequate effort is made to locate all wāhi tapu on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.*

But I think if we were to consider these places to be of cultural value and of tribal value, then we should be more aggressive in our trying to find them and sort of saying, right, these places is no longer going to be abused by you or by anybody else or by ourselves for that reasons or by other people coming in (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018a, .4).

Tikanga 4 – *Places of ritual significance on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna also need protection as wāhi tapu.*

But that's it in a nutshell to me. Places that are considered important to any tribe; culturally, ritually or tribally (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018a p. 4).

Tikanga 5 – *Ensure that wāhi tapu on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna have appropriate protection that maintains their tapu status.*

Can you confirm the archaeological sites on the maps? All I know is the importance of this site to us. But ... what I'm afraid of, when you start naming sites wāhi tapu, significant sites - I know you can make a site un-tapu. All you do is karakia and it's becomes noa. That's why I'm not into saying its wāhi tapu. It's because you're starting to fall into pākehā criteria. We know from our tikanga you can whaka noa (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 22).

Tikanga 6 – *Ensure that appropriate ritual customs are used in the treatment of wāhi tapu sites.*

When you are talking about tapu and noa you're actually talking about the balance of the universe. So you have an A category and an O category and at times you become transient and you're between those realms. So, when I'm looking up at my tuakana which that has a tapu I'm looking in the O. When I'm looking at my mokopuna and their tapu I'm looking in the A. So, when we understand the movement of tapu, cos it can be removed by Tohunga who start getting the balance, so when you go into urupā hei tauira then you have to break the tapu entering into the urupā. Karakia, karakia. The wai ko patapata, the sprinkling of the water, the tohi of the water cleansing. So, you go from a state between tapu to noa in our Māori ao (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018b p. 22).

Tikanga 7 – *The entire Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna site really needs recognition and protection as a wāhi tapu.*

It didn't come from our parents but we were told that it was sacred. The whole area was sacred. They didn't talk about why of for what reason we knew that it just was (Te Huia, Brown et al. 2018e p. 8).

Tikanga 8 – *Appropriate protection for places of ritual whakanoa on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna need to be provided.*

From the Joll land came the spring named Waipuna which flowed into the Karituwhenua. The biggest spring was the Herehere, which flows below Iona College. The Mangarau spring flows down Lucknow Road. It was used by Māori to bathe and its water was of spiritual value to warriors that went into

battle. Te Kahika spring runs down beside Hillsbrook. Three other streams crossing the flats on Tauroa Station are the Waitangaru, Makareo and the Marauaruhe (Hāpuku, 1999).

3.2.1.12 An Important Message

The kawa, kaupapa and tikanga outlined in this report sub-section and other parts of this report can be drawn together to highlight the existence of a critically important message that has emerged from this study. The marae hapū of Heretaunga have a wonderfully rich, deep, diverse and sacred 'relationship' with Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. This relationship has been carefully woven through events and Atua experiences of the last 800–1,000 years. The kaupapa, tikanga and oral contributions quoted in this report section indicate that the marae hapū of Heretaunga have every intention of reclaiming this 'whānau Māori' identity as a basis for ensuring their wellbeing and survival and that of Te Iho Matua whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku. Reclaiming and reinstating our kawa, kaupapa and tikanga is thus a vitally important contribution towards the achievement of these goals.

3.3 The current state of Te Aho Matua whānau o Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna

The impacts of 178 years of colonisation have pushed the pre-1800 Atua domains of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna to the threshold of extinction. Restrictions on the use of the Māori language in public schools, an educational (curriculum) preferencing of non-Māori history and knowledge traditions in public schools, the movement of whānau members away from their ancestral marae in search of employment (elsewhere) and the long-term effects of welfare dependency caused by unemployment are impacts of colonisation that have left a deep and lasting scar on local Māori communities.

The wellbeing and cultural survival prospects of individual Māori communities are probably best thought of as points on a long continuum that includes 'near-cultural-extinction' and 'culturally-resilient' extremes. The wellbeing and survival prospects of Māori communities on the Heretaunga plains vary, but tend to cluster around the 'near-cultural-extinction' end of a cultural survival continuum. We are currently taking our first steps in exploring and understanding how best to measure and assess the wellbeing and survival prospects of marae hapū communities. The holistic character of a Māori worldview means that assessment of this kind is a very challenging task and thus beyond the measurement of 'welfare' typically associated with economic and financial accounting. In this report sub-section, we present demographic, labour market and economic data that paints an incomplete, but important picture of the current wellbeing and survival prospects of Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku o Te Matā (transl. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori philosophical framework in relation to Ranginui and Papatūānuku) who still reside on the Heretaunga Plains.

3.3.1 Investigative Method

In order to define a study area for the collection of this local community 'wellbeing' information, we have used the Statistics NZ 'mesh-block' and 'area-unit' data for the Karamu catchment that includes the cities of Hastings and Havelock North along with the communities to the foothills at the rear of the Heretaunga plains including: Poukawa, Bridge Pā and Omahu etc (Figure 12). This catchment boundary (Figure 12) follows the Ngaruroro awa to the North, along to the northern ridgeline of the Tukituki awa (to the south) including Kohinerākau (transl. Mount Erin) and the western face of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

While this Karamu catchment boundary does not stretch as far south as Waimārama, it does include 90 percent of the local Heretaunga communities (i.e. populated areas) that are directly relevant to

this study. As such, we consider this to be a useful first step toward future, more detailed investigative work of this kind.

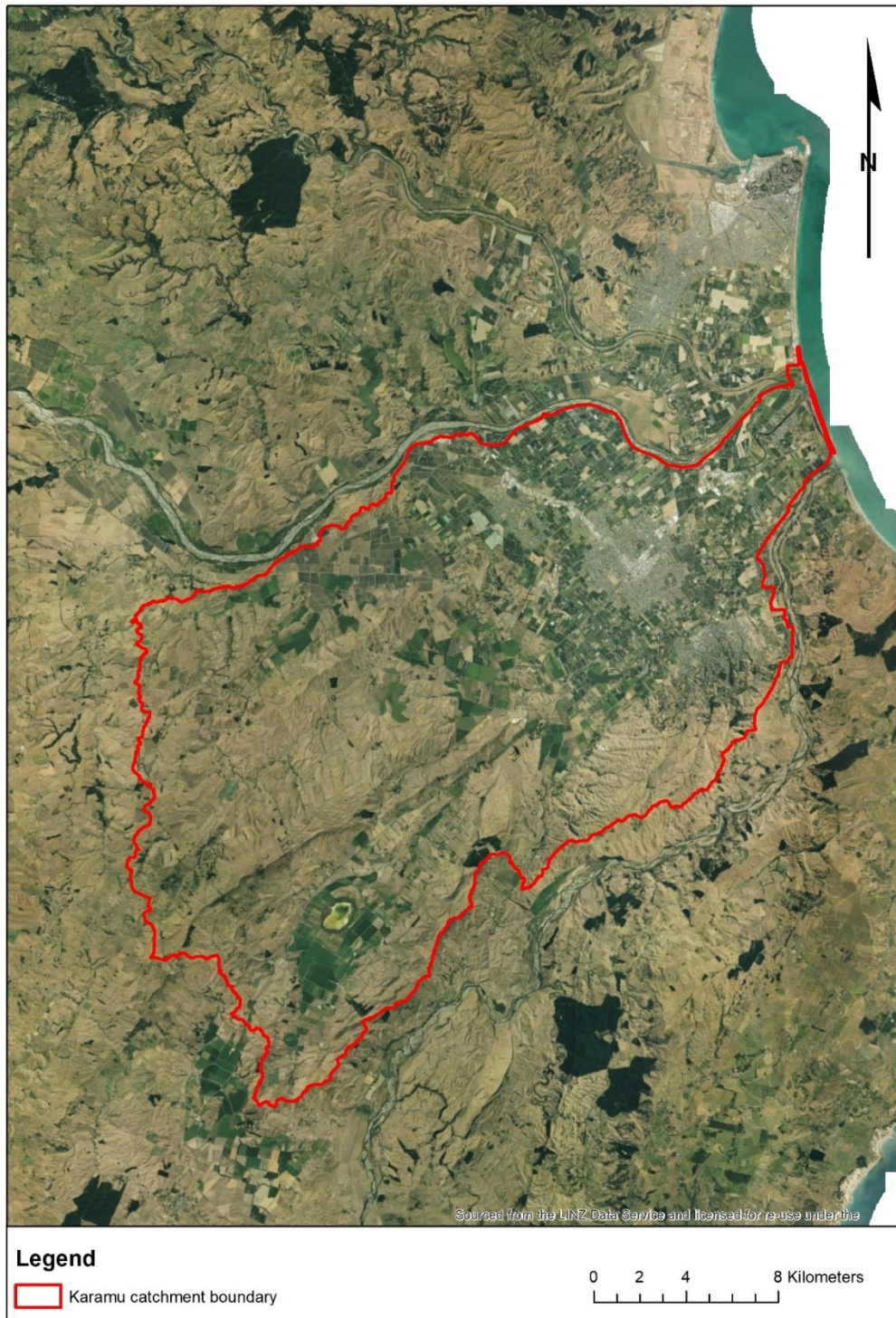


Figure 12 A LINZ base map of the Heretaunga plains showing the Karamu catchment boundary used to gather Statistics NZ data.

While it would have been technically possible to expand this catchment boundary so that it extended as far south as Waimārama, this would have involved additional work that is beyond the scope of this initial study. Accepting this boundary limitation, the Statistics NZ, economic, labour market, and

economic wellbeing data that we have been able to explore already provides insights that are directly relevant to this study. To make this catchment scale data visually accessible, we have plotted appropriate data in bar and line graphs. The data presented is derived primarily from the 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2013 Census of New Zealand. Unfortunately, the 2018 Census data is not yet available for public study purposes of this kind. Because Statistics NZ area unit boundaries do not perfectly match catchment boundaries, we have adjusted this data using spatial apportionment methods. Thus, the data presented below provides a wellbeing estimate that once again could be improved with additional resourcing.

3.3.2 Karamu Catchment Demography, Labour Market and Economic Indicators

Figure 13 shows a graph of past (1996–2013) and projected population change for the Karamu catchment. These population projection estimates have been created from averaged area-unit growth rates (1996–2013). More precise population projections really require the use of a mathematical model. However, this crude estimate is useful because it highlights the existence of an underlying demographic trend. Figure 13 suggests the existence of a future decline in catchment population growth that is a direct result of the fact that a number of the catchment’s local area-unit community populations are also in decline (Figure 14).

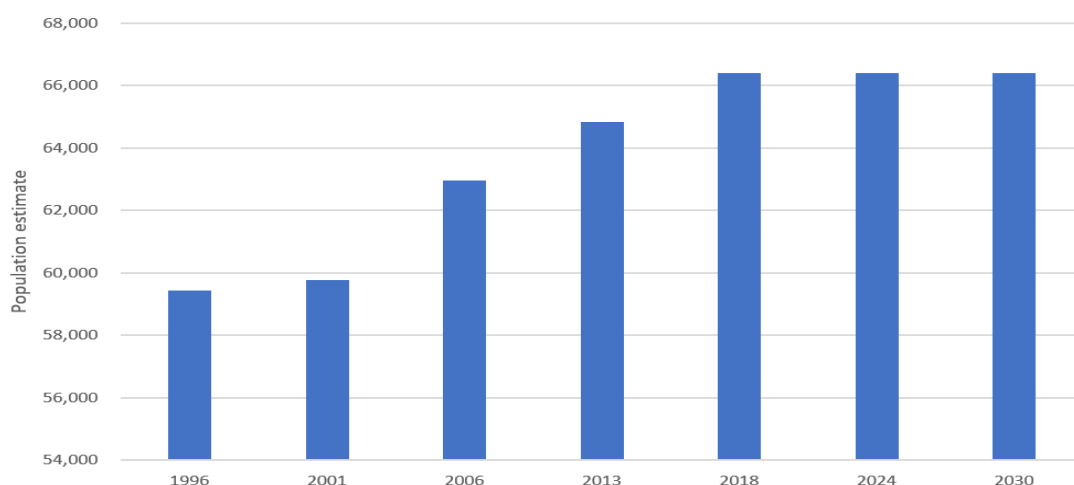


Figure 13 A bar graph of estimated past and future population growth for the Karamu catchment (1996–2030), (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

There are 36 area-unit sub-populations that make up the entire Karamu catchment. As Figure 14 shows, 12 of these area unit populations have been in gradual population decline since the 1996 Census. Gradual decline of this portion of the total catchment population will eventually have an effect of levelling of total catchment population growth (Figure 13).

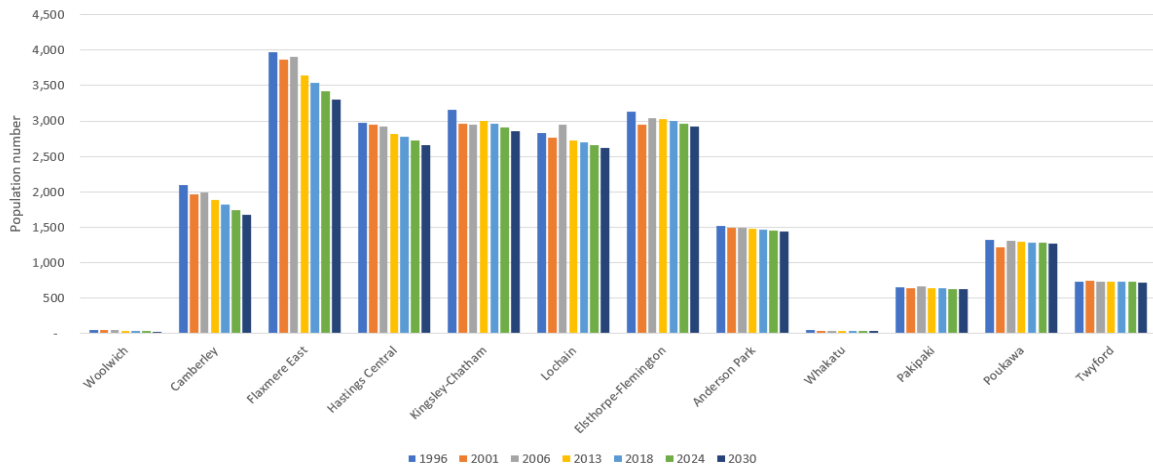


Figure 14 A bar graph of 12 of the 36 area-unit sub-populations of the Karamu Catchment (1996–2030) based on past and projected annual average growth rates. These estimates provide evidence of local population decline since the 1996 Census, (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

In addition to population decline in 12 of the 36 area-unit sub-populations of the Karamu catchment, Census data from the years 2006–2013 indicates the existence of a high level of population turnover between Census surveys. Figure 15 indicates that approximately 40–50 percent of the total catchment population was living outside of the Hawke’s Bay region at the time of the previous Census. These results do not shed light on the causes of this high level of population turn-over, however it seems likely that this is due to employment and housing market drivers.

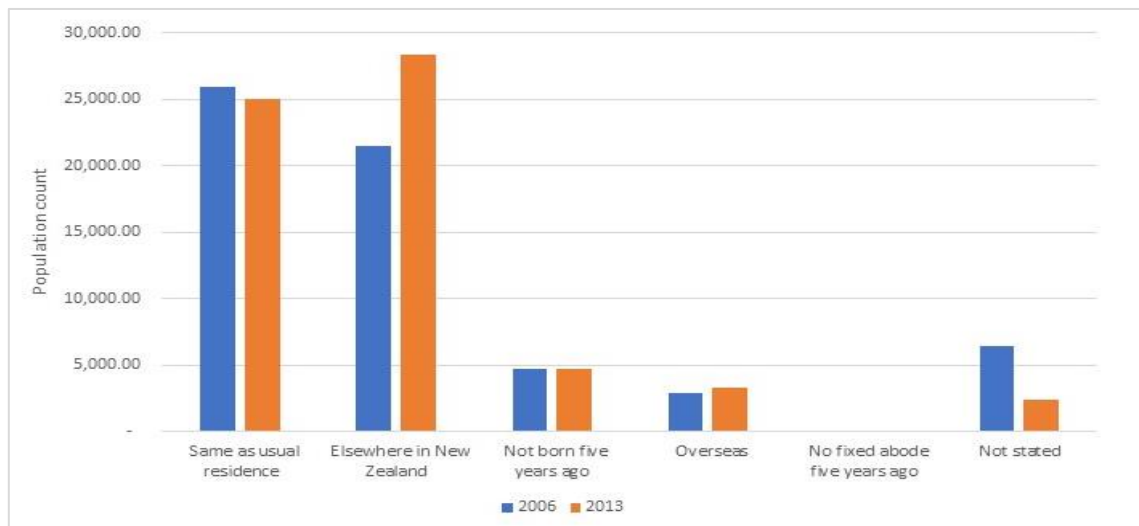


Figure 15 A bar graph that depicts answers to the Census question relating to your place of former residence at the time of the previous Census, (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

A high level of population turnover between Census surveys is also matched by a high level of turnover in terms of residential occupancy. What Figure 16 shows is that within a 0–9 year period, an estimated 66–68 percent of the population of the Karamu catchment has moved address. This provides clear evidence of the existence of a highly mobile population and this fact has implications for the maintenance of local (cultural) knowledge and memory.

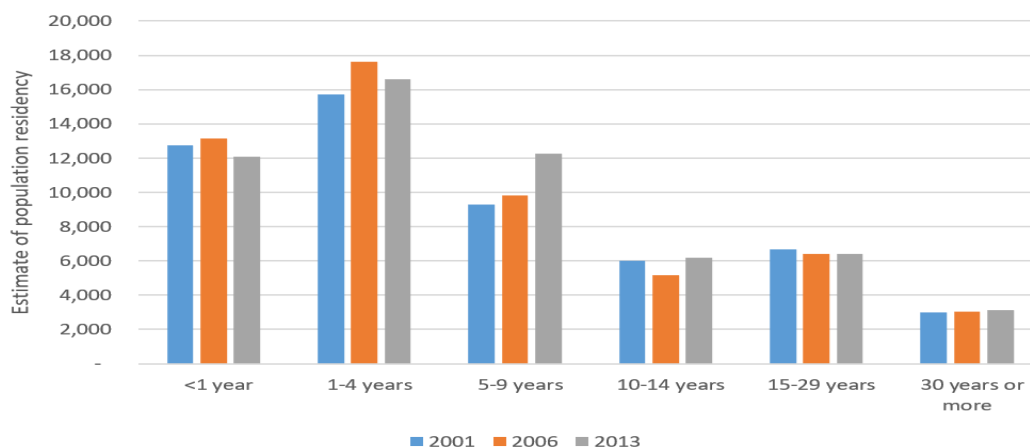


Figure 16 A bar graph that depicts answers to the Census question relating to the number of years residency at your current address, (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

What Figure 16 also shows is that a relatively small portion of the catchment population are staying at their place of residence for 30 years or more. This small portion of the population provide a critically important role in local communities because they are the custodians of local ‘cultural memory’. The small size of this group shows just how tenuous the current maintenance of local mātauranga Māori is. Cultural memory is critically important to the survival of cultural identity. Unfortunately, this dramatic decline in cultural memory not only impacts on the maintenance of cultural knowledge. What Figure 16 shows is that the greatest democratic influence within the local Karamu catchment population actually resides with 90 percent of the local population, 60 to 70 percent of which is a highly transient population who have not had time to accumulate local cultural knowledge. This means that democratic decision-making will tend to become yet another factor that works against local cultural survival and the maintenance of cultural memory.

A very important question concerns why it is that the Karamu catchment population is so transient. While demographic data provides evidence of the existence of a problem of this kind, it unfortunately sheds no light on causality. To better understand the drivers of local population change, we need to understand what is happening in the local labour market. Before doing this, we want to focus attention on one further aspect of the Karamu catchment population.

What Figure 17 shows is that approximately one third of all iwi members of Ngāti Kahungunu live outside of the Hawke’s Bay region in some other region of New Zealand. This proportional trend is consistent over the last three Censuses, even though the local Ngāti Kahungunu population shows evidence of net growth. While this trend is consistent with other regions of New Zealand, it is none-the-less a concern in terms of the goal of cultural survival. Māori cultural wellbeing and survival is based on the maintenance and integrity of ‘whānau Māori’. For whānau members to come home to their marae hapū they need jobs, homes and appropriate social and ecosystem services (generally). While all these areas of wellbeing present potential barriers to resettling in their ancestral whenua rohe, the most challenging barrier to relocation focuses on the limitations of the local job market. This is not only a barrier to those who would happily return home, it is a significant wellbeing problem for those who choose to stay in the Hawke’s Bay region to support their marae hapū.

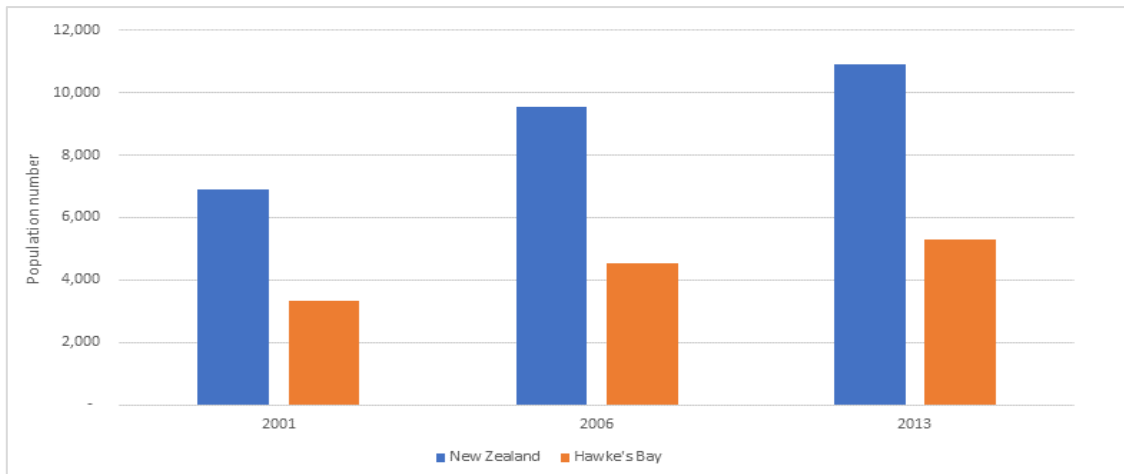


Figure 17 A bar graph of derived Census data that shows the number of members of the Karamu catchment population that whakapapa to Ngāti Kahungunu and their place of residence as being in Hawke's Bay or some other region of New Zealand (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

Figure 18 shows that an estimated 40 percent of the catchment population in 2013 earned less than \$50,000 per year. A corresponding 60 percent of the population earned more than \$50,000 per year. Averaged annual incomes for individual area-unit populations can be more or less than the averaged data presented in Figure 18.

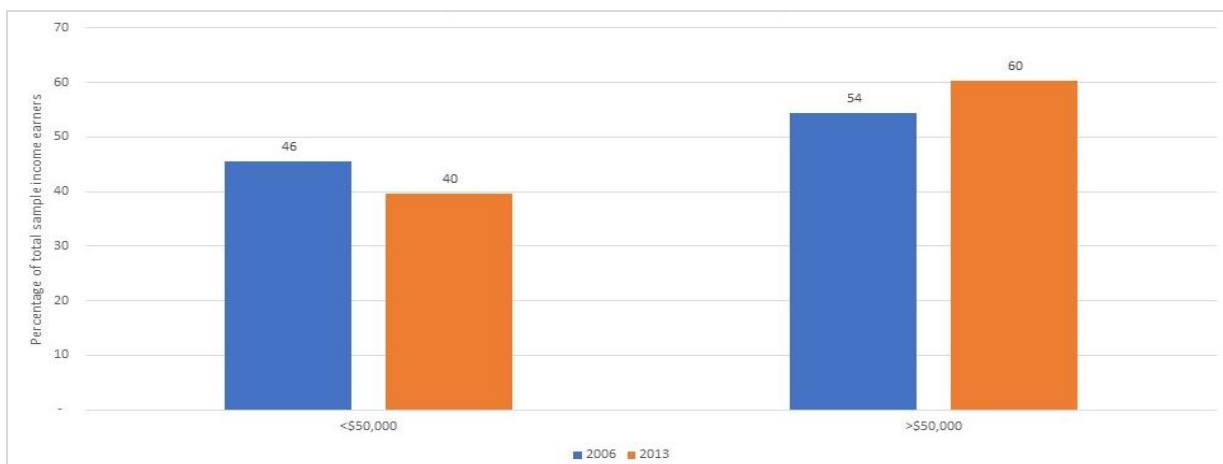


Figure 18 A bar graph of Census data depicting the average annual income of the population within the Karamu catchment (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

It is very difficult to provide for a family on an income under \$50,000 per year. In an employment arrangement of this kind it is generally necessary for both parents to work. An alternative is to generate multiple sources of income. Figure 19 shows that an estimated 35 percent of the catchment population have between two and six sources of income.

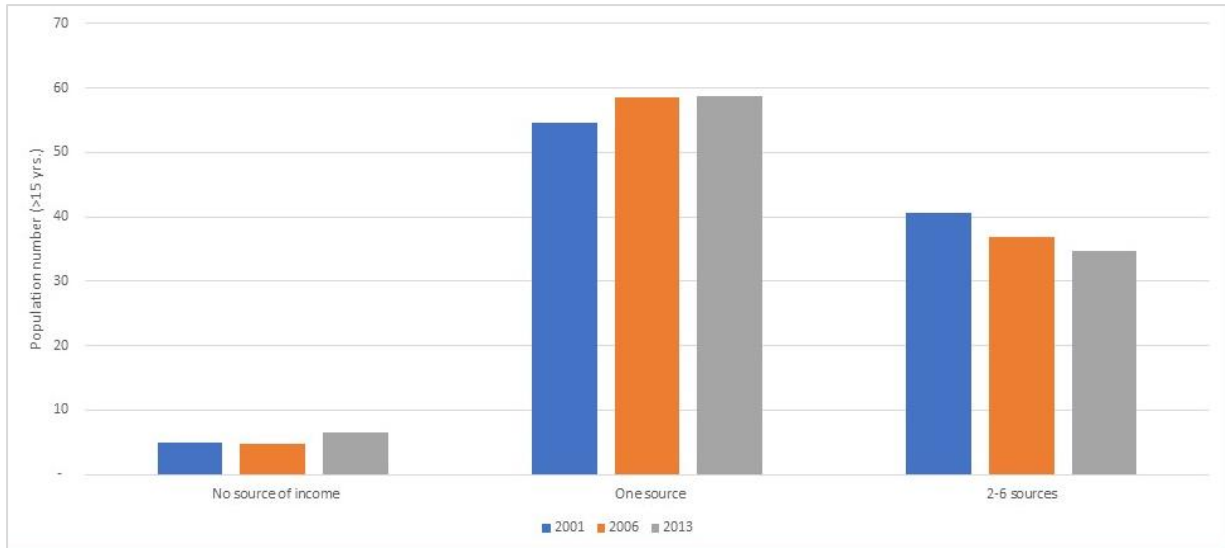


Figure 19 A bar graph of derived Census data depicting the number of different sources of income of the population aged 15 years or older within the Karamu catchment (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

What the labour market data shown in Figure 19 does not provide information on is the type or origin of different sources of income. We have attempted to elucidate this question in Figure 20 which shows a breakdown of sources of family income in the Karamu catchment for the 2001, 2006 and 2013 Census. What Figure 20 shows is that nine out of the 13 income sources depicted in the bar graph of Figure 20 are beneficiary payments of one form or another.

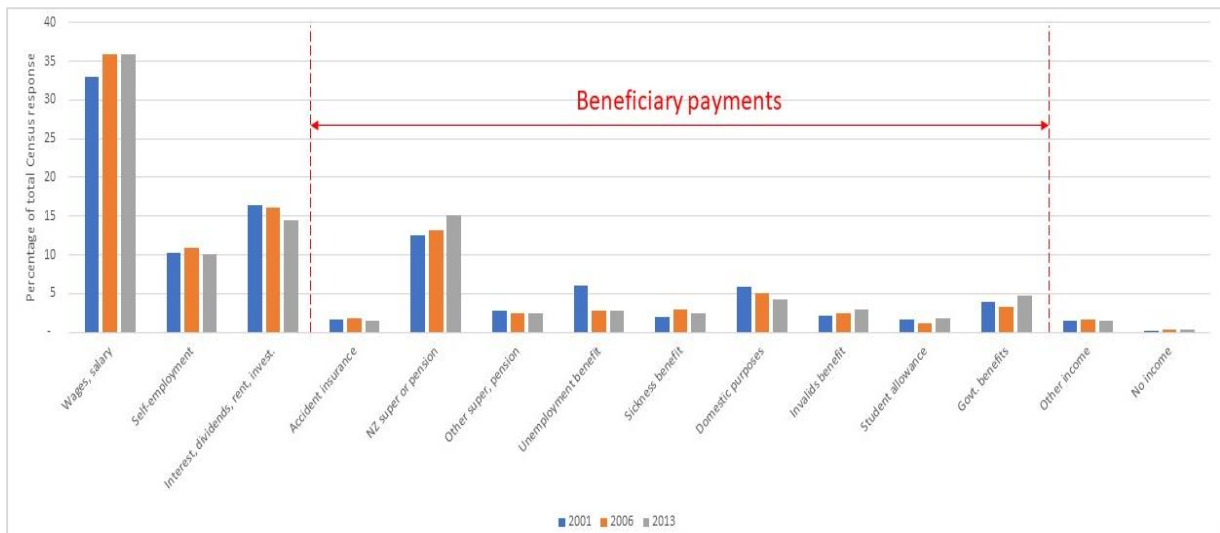


Figure 20 A bar graph of Census data that shows sources of family income (2001–2013) within the Karamu catchment (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

If we add together the percentage contributions of all beneficiary payments for the Karamu catchment, it is possible to generate a graph that shows the total percentage of the population receiving beneficiary payments compared to the total percentage of the population deriving their income from wages, salaries, self-employment, interests, dividends, rents and/or investments (Figure 21). The graph data presented in Figure 21 indicates that an estimated 40 percent of the population of the Karamu catchment is dependent on beneficiary payments of one kind or another. More than

any other statistic, this level of beneficiary dependency within the Karamu catchment indicates the existence of a local economy that is economically unsustainable.

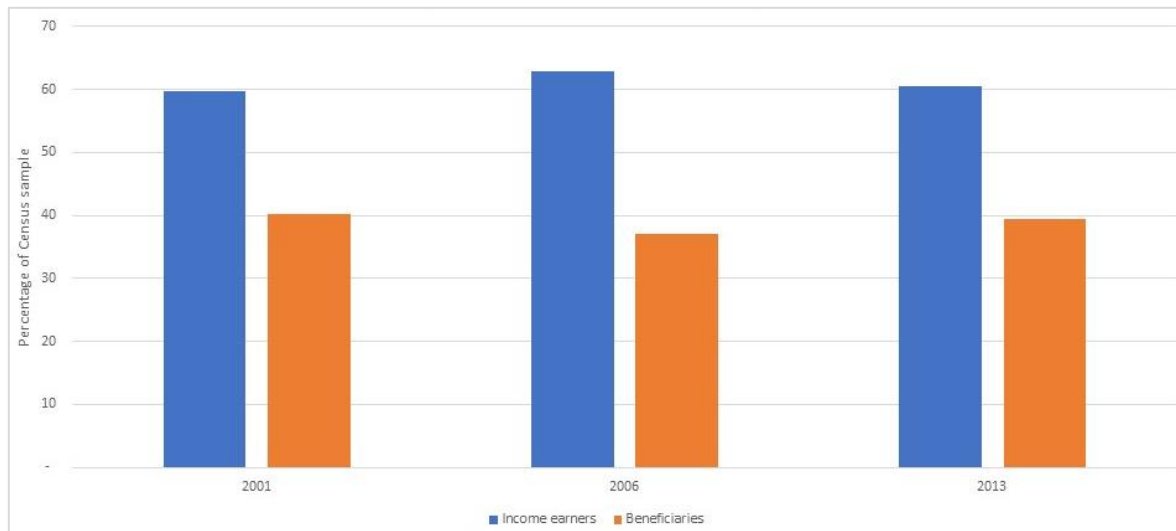


Figure 21 A bar graph of Census data that shows sources of family income (2001–2013) as a percentage of all beneficiary payments and all other sources of income – within the Karamu catchment (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

The extent of beneficiary dependency within the Karamu catchment hints at the existence of another serious economic problem related to income inequality. Between the 2001 and 2013 Censuses there was an increase in the Gini coefficient for the Karamu catchment from 0.67 to 0.85. The significance of this adjustment is difficult to understand in isolation from some points of income inequality comparison. A first important reference point for comparison is the Gini coefficient for New Zealand as a whole.

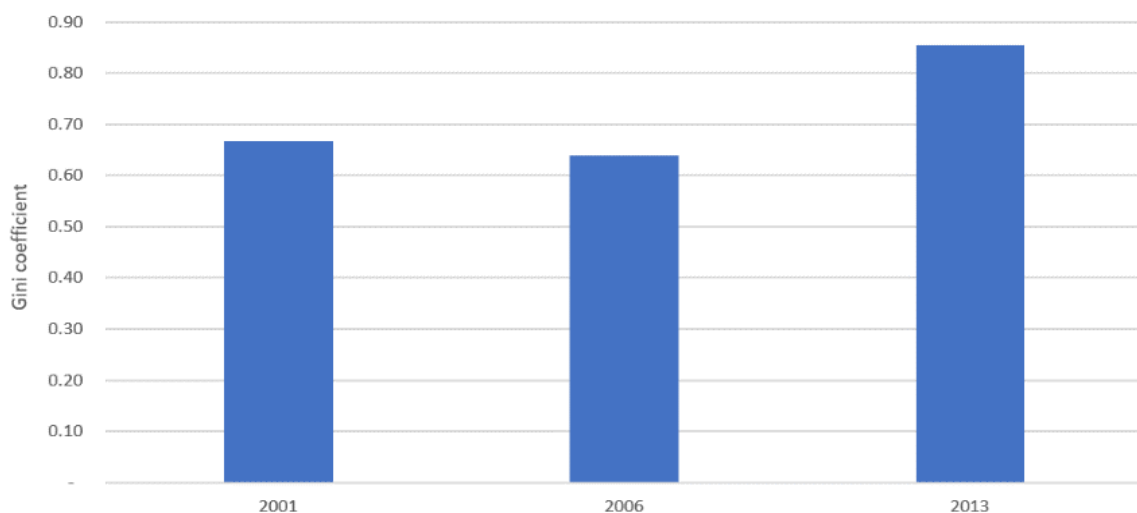


Figure 22 A bar graph of income inequality based on a calculation of a Gini coefficient with Census income data in the Karamu catchment (Source: Statistics NZ area-unit Census data).

Since 1935, the Gini coefficient for New Zealand has tracked back and forth between 0.4 and 0.5. As shown in Figure 23, it is currently tracking at around 0.475. By contrast, in 2013, the Gini coefficient for the Karamu catchment was 1.78 times greater than the Gini coefficient for New Zealand, which

has tracked back and forth between 0.4 and 0.5 for the past 78 years. Internationally, the New Zealand Gini coefficient for 2014 placed New Zealand as 28th out of 35 OECD countries in terms of the size of our Gini coefficient and implied level of national income inequality for that year. Thus, out of a total of 35 OECD countries, only 12 other OECD countries have Gini coefficients higher than ours.

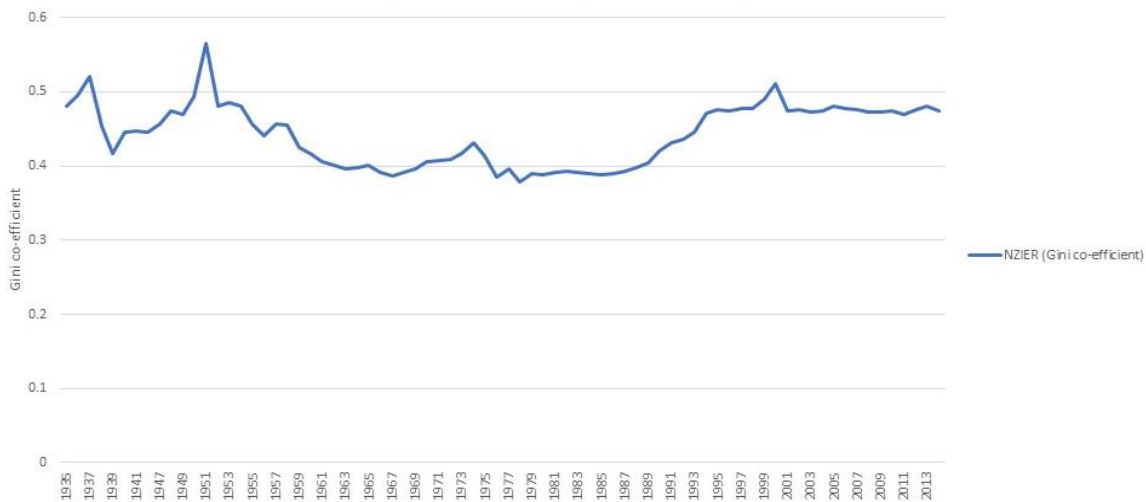


Figure 23 A line graph of the Gini coefficient for New Zealand 1935–2013 (Source: NZIER long-term data series).

The 2013 Gini coefficient for the Karamu catchment is a cause of concern and indicates the existence of a catchment economy based on unnecessarily high levels of disparity in annual income. Also, of concern is the fact that local Māori communities (i.e. as indicated by Statistics NZ area-unit data) are highly represented in the beneficiary and income inequality statistics outlined above.

3.3.3 The Recent Economic History of New Zealand (1985–2013)

In order to understand the causes behind the demographic, labour market and economic indicators depicted in Figures 13–23, it is necessary to elaborate on some aspects of New Zealand’s recent economic history. The current state of the Karamu catchment/Hawke’s Bay economy partly reflects a very challenging national economic context, the onset of which began in the mid-1980s with the rapid liberalisation of the New Zealand economy, and has been more recently contributed to by events such as the second major run on our currency (2000), the sub-prime mortgage meltdown (December 2007–2010) and the Christchurch earthquake (2011). To successfully navigate these periods of rapid change in New Zealand’s economic landscape, central government developed a number of policy and legislative ‘coping strategies’ that played out in: (i) the liberalisation of the New Zealand economy (1985-2000); (ii) government intervention in currency trading (1984, 2000, 2009) along with inflation and wage growth controls (The Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act (1989)); (iii) the sale of State-Owned Assets (The State-Owned Enterprises Act (1996)); (iv) free wage bargaining and decline in Trade Unions (Labour Relations Act (1987), Employment Contracts Act 1991, Employment relations Act (2000)); (v) the introduction of user pays in Education (1989–1990); and (vi) a public policy focus on ‘economic growth’ to support national debt reduction (The Business Growth Agenda Towards 2025).

The implementation of these government (policy and legislative) ‘coping strategies’ has radically changed New Zealand’s economic landscape over the past four decades. In order to survive this period of rapid economic change and uncertainty, New Zealand households have also had to develop ‘coping

strategies’ of their own. The passing of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act in 1989 has resulted in three decades of low inflation and corresponding low wage growth in New Zealand. Given that the medium household income for New Zealand (2015) was still only \$36,600 pa. (Figure 24), low wage and salary growth have resulted in cash flow and debt reduction challenges for New Zealand households. Evidence of this problem can be found in the emergence of at least five key ‘household coping strategies’.

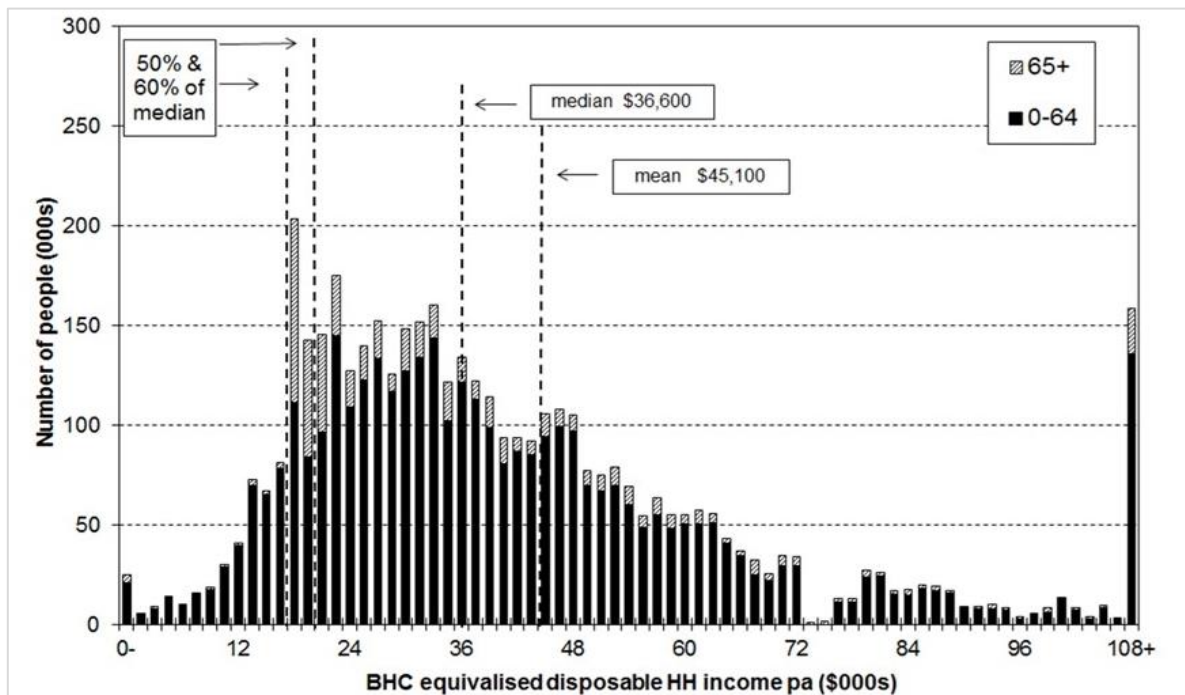


Figure 24 A bar graph distribution of New Zealand national incomes in 2015 (Source: Statistics NZ Household Employment Survey data).

In order to address challenges in household cash flow and debt reduction, the first household coping strategy involves a rapid increase in the ‘rate’ at which women entered the workforce (Figure 25) in the years following the last major meltdown of our stock market. The entry of women into the workforce could be used to effectively add a second income to the disposable spending of a two – partner household²⁶. This in turn helps to even out irregularities in cash flow and provides additional financial capital for long-term debt reduction (e.g. mortgage payments).

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of this initial cash flow and debt reduction coping strategy was relatively short-lived and this necessitated a second coping strategy. Household income earners started working longer hours. Figure 25 is based on Statistics NZ Census data (2001, 2006 and 2013) and shows the average number of hours worked per year by income earners in the Hawke’s Bay region. What this graph shows is that the majority of income earners are now working a 40 to 49 hours per week. In addition to this, a larger portion of the regional population are now working more than 50 hours a week. By working longer hours it is possible to raise total household income in a way that eases cash flow irregularities, and once again provides additional capital for long-term debt reduction.

²⁶ In the case of a solo mother with dependent children, not working is not an option without a benefit of some kind.

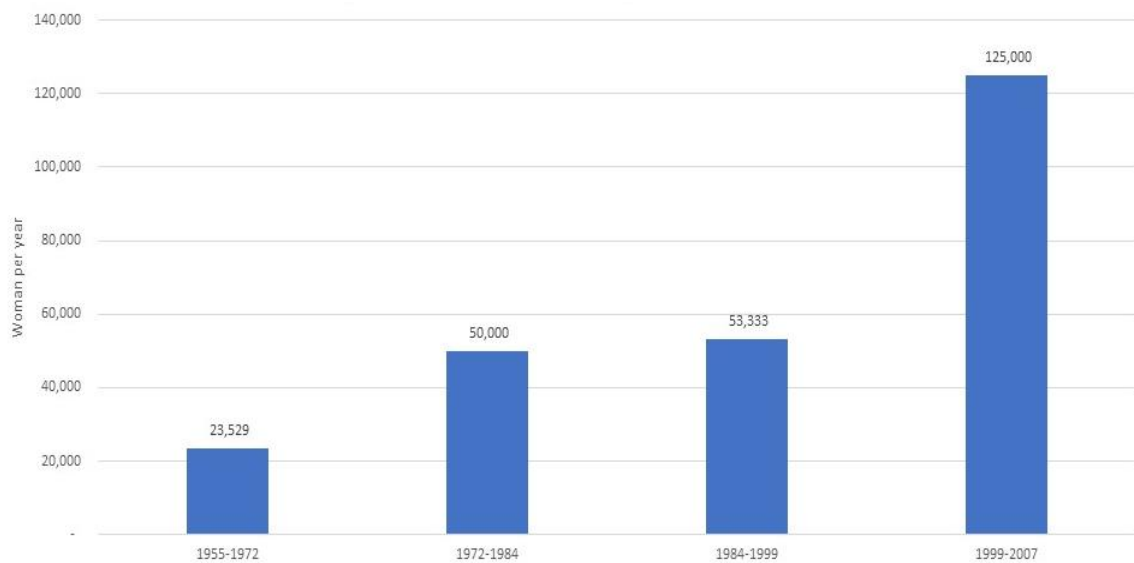


Figure 24 A bar graph distribution of New Zealand national incomes in 2015 (Source: Statistics NZ household employment survey data).

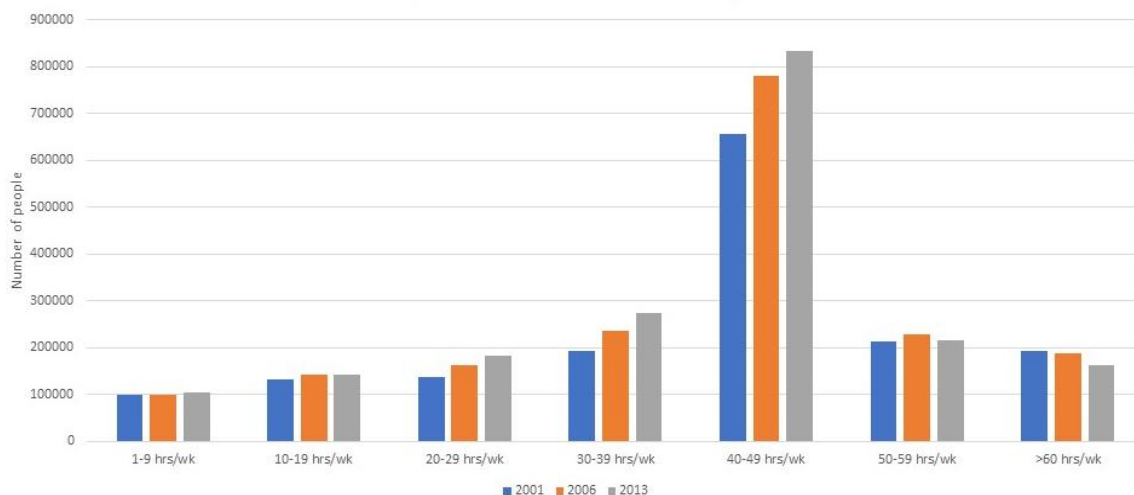


Figure 25 A bar graph distribution of hours worked in the Hawke's Bay region for the Census years 2001–2013 (Source: Statistics NZ Census data).

When it is simply not possible to work any more hours, there is a need for yet a further coping strategy (i.e. credit cards). Figure 26 is based on a New Zealand Reserve Bank, long-term, quarterly data (1981–2017) that shows two important trends. First, increasing adoption and use of credit cards in the years following the last significant run on the New Zealand currency in 2000. Second, between 2000 and 2017 there was steady growth in total outstanding advances in credit cards in New Zealand (i.e. in excess of \$7B NZ in October 2017). Credit cards can be a useful tool for managing cash flow irregularities, however they can also become a liability when there is a need to use them to cover income shortfalls. This leads to debt accumulation and high rates of interest that can be very difficult to manage. Seven billion dollars of credit card debt at an average annual compound interest rate of 20 percent is a substantial economic and financial liability (Figure 26).

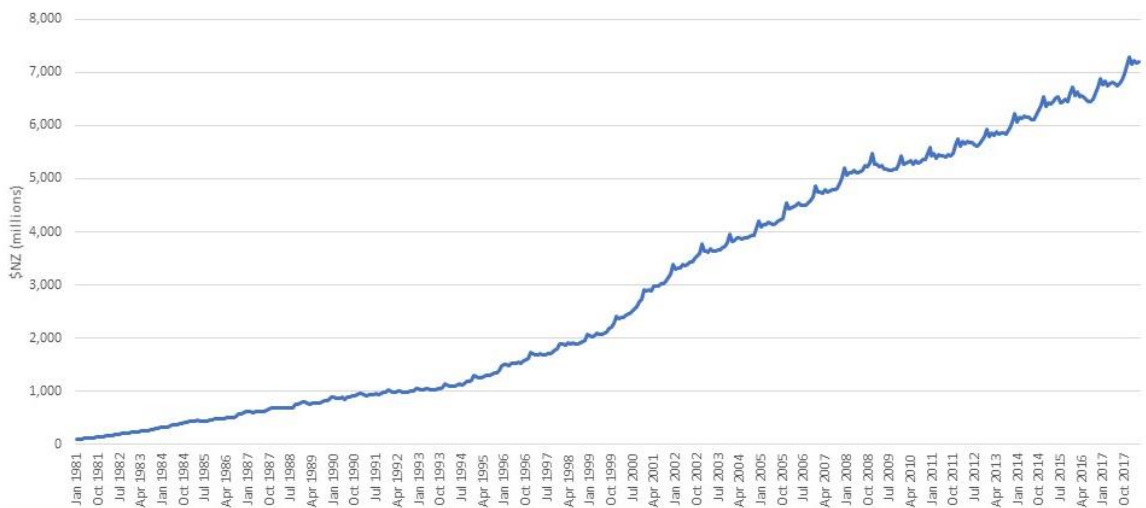


Figure 26 A line graph showing annual growth in total outstanding advances on credit cards in New Zealand for the period 1981–2017 (Source: Statistics NZ Census data).

When the problem-solving power of the household cash flow and debt reduction coping strategies mentioned so far (i.e. woman in the workforce, longer hours, multiple income sources and credit cards) has been exhausted, the only other realistic ways of generating wealth in New Zealand involves participation in the housing market. The absence of a capital gains tax in New Zealand means that it is possible to buy and sell houses for capital gain that is not subject into income tax adjustment. The fact that most New Zealand households have resorted to generating additional, long-term wealth in this manner has put unsustainable upward pressure on prices in our housing market. This has led to a shortage of housing stock (nationally), additional upward pressure on rental housing stock prices, and a situation in which the purchase of a first house in places like Auckland is now out of the range of university graduates who are entering the workforce for the first time. However, a problem that is of greater concern is the current scale of total housing and personal lending (i.e. debt) in New Zealand (nationally). In October 2017, housing and personal debt (excluding credit card debt) was in excess of \$250B NZ. The significance of this figure is that it is now equal to New Zealand’s national GDP in 2016 (Figure 27).

The scale of our national debt problem is perhaps easier to understand by looking at the national business growth agenda unveiled by the previous National government in 2011 (NZ Government, 2016). The key problem being addressed by this growth agenda is the need for a minimum level of economic growth (i.e. wealth generation) in order to service current debt and maintain our current standard of living.

The Government’s Business Growth Agenda calls for a trebling of the real value of food exports to about \$60 billion (in real terms in 2011 dollars) by 2025 if we are to achieve the standard of living to which we aspire. This is a real compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of around 7% over the next 13 years (Marshall, Avery, Ballard, & Johns, 2012, p. 4).

When all of the household coping strategies outlined above have been exhausted and the achievement of household wellbeing is still not realised, then crime, addictive and other forms of anti-social behaviour becomes a coping strategy of last resort. This coping ‘reality’ is reflected in crime statistics for the Hawke’s Bay region. The first confronting reality of the apprehended offence data depicted in Figure 27 is that the very first age cohort is 0 to 9 years. Likewise, between 0 to 30 of age,

45 percent of all the apprehended offences committed in the Hawke’s Bay region are by those of Māori ethnicity. Region-wide, those of Māori ethnicity contribute towards 60 percent of all apprehended crime. Given that Māori constitute approximately 24 percent of the total regional population, this level of involvement in criminal activity is disproportionately high. At this point we could also look at other aspects of this final coping strategy for Māori communities. (E.g. drug use, incidence of obesity/diabetes, incidence of domestic violence, suicide rates especially among rangatahi, participation rates in higher education, labour market participation, incidence of mental health problems, homelessness, and indebtedness).

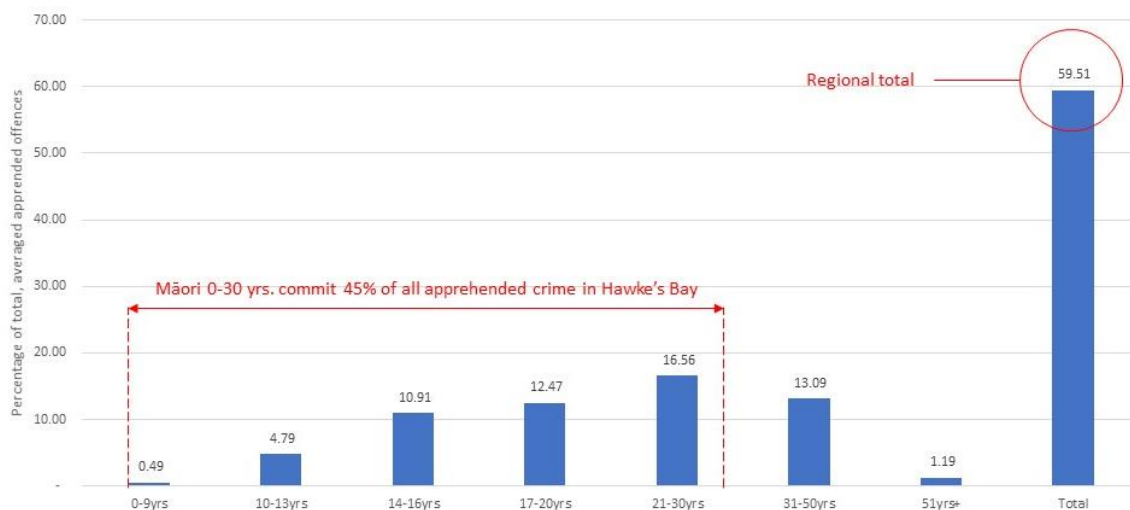


Figure 27 A bar graph of the percentage of total, average apprehended offences in the Hawke’s Bay region by age-cohort by those of Māori ethnicity (Source: Statistics NZ Census data).

The information presented in this report sub-section on the cultural wellbeing and survival prospects of Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku (transl. the terrestrial family of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) who whakapapa to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is very confronting. What is of greater concern is that this wellbeing and survival ‘reality’ has persisted for such a long period of time. The very first Hui Taumata (transl. Māori Economic Summit) that was held at Parliament in 1984, drew the attention to an urgent for Government policy to reduce Māori community dependency on central Government ‘welfare’ funding. This same message was repeated by the second Hui Taumata in 2005 (MORST, 2007). Māori scholars have also been foremost in raising these concerns, none more so than the late Rev. Māori Marsden whose earlier writings on this matter were published in 2003 in the book ‘The Woven Universe’.

The Māori ‘reality’, assimilationist policies, the basis of Government legislation and socio-political mechanisms of control concerning Māoridom have resulted for them in: The massive development of underdevelopment. The almost total loss of their lands and resources created social conditions which have resulted for Māoridom in the high incidence and excessive over-involvement in the negative areas of crime, violence, ill-health, unemployment, etc. It is our contention that there is a direct link between economic deprivation, oppression, dispossession, manipulation, intrusion and other racist impositions; and the development and escalation of social ills within Māori dom. This link has long been recognised by sociologists (Marsden, 2003 p. 133). The reality for Māoridom is:

- (i) *That having lost his lands, estates, forestry's, fisheries and other 'taonga' he has been pushed to the extreme lower end of the economic spectrum. He has no resources whereby he might build an economic base for himself. Despite political rhetoric about democratic principles, the Māori can understand and sympathise with the Fijian 'tāngata whenua', in their move towards self-determination (Marsden, 2003 pp. 133-134);*
- (ii) *That his last remaining resource; namely, his labour, is no longer a viable option. The introduction of high tech/the streamlining of business operations/cost-cutting methods/the centralisation of corporation and company operations with the phasing out of unprofitable branches, e. g. Post Offices, thereby creating redundancy, has put pressure upon the labour market and attempts to provide employment (Marsden, 2003 p. 134);*
- (iii) *That the education system orientated as it is towards servicing the white, male middle class sector has failed miserably to provide the necessary skills by which Māoridom can cope with the modern economic demands for management and administration skills, for high tech skills, - for coping with a 'Symbol Economy' (Marsden, 2003 p. 134).*
- (iv) *That in a receding job market where once he was at least in the category of 'the hewers of wood and drawers of water', that category has now denied him because of the influx of Pākehā under 'Rogernomics' policies into that lower economic strata pushing the Māori further out into the new category of 'dependency'. He must now rely upon Government charity to survive. Even here, there is cause for concern. Under a 'User Pays' system how can Māori pay for health and other welfare services (Marsden, 2003 p. 134)?*
- (v) *Recently, I joined the Cultural Development Unit teams setting up District Executive Committees for the Department of Social Welfare. The districts covered were North Auckland, Auckland, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay, Upper Wairarapa. The work involved talking to and briefing office staff, community groups and Māori communities. On the basis of talks with the various sectors together with Department of Social Welfare Directors and management, with Māori leaders, together with a study of the percentages of client groups serviced at the local level by Department of Social Welfare, my estimate of Māori living below the bread-line is in the region of 75-80%. Some offices informed me that the Māori client group they serviced was as high as 85% (Marsden, 2003 p. 134).*

The reference to 'Rogernomics' in this quote places this manuscript as being written in the years following 1985 (i.e. the beginning of the then Labour Government's liberalisation of the New Zealand economy). What is of concern to this present study is that this quote, written approximately 30 years ago, still accurately describes the wellbeing and survival prospects of Māori communities in the Hawke's Bay (generally) and Karamu catchment (specifically). This is the 'real-world' context in which a conversation about the future of Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau o Rangī rāua ko Papatūānuku o Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna must be based. There is risk associated with further efforts to trade-off local Māori cultural 'values'. In this report we seek to show that justification now exists for the use of every available planning, policy and community contribution to assist local Māori communities to reclaim, reframe and reinstate the mana and mauri of Te Iho Matua, Te Aho Matua whānau Māori. This new direction now forms an essential basis for achieving what can be described in English as the goals of local Māori cultural (cf. whānau) wellbeing and survival.

4. FINAL COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are predicated on the fact that within tikanga Māori terms, and from the perception of tāngata whenua, Te Mata te Tipuna is part of a wider outstanding landscape feature that encompasses the whole escarpment extending out to Kohinerākau (Mt Erin). This unique landform is of cultural significance to the marae hapū of Heretaunga, and is enshrined in their cultural traditions and relationships with the whenua.

Therefore, it is recommended:

4.1 Remedial recommendations

- (a). Removal of the Craggy Range Track and re-instatement of relevant soil and grassland ecosystems.
- (b). Re-instatement of local marae hapū kawa, kaupapa and tikanga as a legitimate and necessary step towards re-instating the mana and mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.
- (c). Re-instatement of the pounamu taonga upon Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna in a way and at a location that is preferred by local marae hapū.
- (d). Resourcing for a detailed and comprehensive study of the state of the current species, community, and ecosystem biodiversity (i.e. the wellbeing of Te Iho Matua whānau Māori) of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna along with known threats and a plan to guide the future re-instatement of indigenous biodiversity and ecosystems.
- (e). The creation of policies for the mitigation of the visual appearance of comms towers and related infrastructure and any future tracks created on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.
- (f). Ecological restoration zones to protect remnant Waipuna on both the Eastern and Western faces of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.
- (h). Whare kōrero sites across the rohe focusing on different perceptions of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a contribution towards re-instating the mana of the whakapapa, legends and myths of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as held by local marae hapū.
- (i). The placement of cultural markers (Pou) on the ridgeline and faces of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna to re-instate Te Reo Māori place names. Removal of existing place and feature names that are not part of the whakapapa of this tīpuna.
- (j). The setting aside of a place for wānanga that assists in re-instating the wairua significance of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.
- (k). The use of karakia to assist in re-instating the mana and mauri of the whenua on which the 'Craggy Track' currently sits.
- (l). Commission an investigation into the Te Aranga landscape design principles (adopted by HDC) to ensure that they adequately reflect kawa, kaupapa and tikanga of the marae hapū of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

4.2 Resource Management Act (1991) recommendations

(a). Hastings District Council (HDC) to commission Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga to undertake a cultural audit of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna ONF and Kohinerākau landscape that will include: -

- 1.1. *Arranging access, scope and timing of audit (to support ground truthing activities)*
- 1.2. *Providing drone footage from Waimārama Road and Kahurānaki Road*
- 1.3. *Tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori oversight by kaumātua kāhui*
- 1.4. *Appropriate consideration of information provision and management*
- 1.5. *Summary report of the outcomes from the cultural audit*

(b). Discuss with Hastings District Council / Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga outcomes from above, and register any (rediscovered) archaeological sites / wāhi tapu with the New Zealand Archaeological Association and Pouhere Taonga - Heritage New Zealand.

(c). Extension of the building restriction on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna and extension of its application across the whole of the Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna – Kohinerākau landscape to provide increased level of protection from subdivision, use and development.

(d). Increased protection criteria for the Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna ONF with emphasis on its cultural significance to Tangata Whenua, the requirement to prevent stock access to streams, springs and wetlands, and prohibiting any new subdivisions, and/or buildings.

(e). Draft new criteria applying to Outstanding Natural Landscapes for inclusion in a plan change to be notified at the earliest opportunity.

(f). Work on elevated levels of protection for significant sites that may not be wāhi tapu – wāhi tīpuna, wāhi taonga and wāhi whenua²⁷ areas etc.

(g). The inclusion of all remnant Waipuna, wetland and remnant forest into either wāhi tapu or wāhi taonga status.

(h). Planning (rule) and/or policy provision for the future re-instatement of Māori site names, tracks, mahara kai, places of customary practice and papakāinga at the discretion of local marae hapū.

(i). Official plan recognition for the legitimacy of the goals of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival. These goals should have a valid Māori cultural meaning that is grounded in a Māori worldview and understanding of the Māori language. This need reflects the fact that a Māori worldview and understanding of the Māori language is poorly and incompletely captured within the legal provisions of the current RMA and LGA.

(j). Official plan recognition for the legitimacy of a Kaupapa Māori methodology and method as a legitimate and appropriate basis for an assessment of plans, policies and resource consent applications by marae hapū of Heretaunga.

²⁷ A wāhi whenua is a Māori expression for the English word 'cultural landscape'

(k). Given 1370 visitors per day (0.5 M per year) – places set aside for cultural practices (e.g. sun and wind cleansing, wānanga, karakia, water available for removing tapu etc).

(l). Legal and/or plan recognition for the institution and enforcement, when necessary, of a Rāhui as part of the expression of kaitiakitanga.

(j). Commission a study of current RMA plan, policy and resource consent practice within the legal jurisdiction of HDC to understand to what extent this practice gives effect to the goal of ‘social fairness’ articulated in the purpose of the Act. From this study, derive recommendations for how RMA practice in this area can be improved so that: (i) it appropriately gives effect to this RMA goal, (ii) the relationship between the goals of social fairness and Māori cultural wellbeing/survival are clearly understood and (iii) future plans, policies and resource consent effectively and efficiently contribute towards the achievement of this goal.

4.3 Co-governance and co-management recommendations

(a). Establish a co-management and co-governance arrangement with HDC including a right as Tangata Whenua to sit on any governing boards that contribute to management activities on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

(b). The creation of a collective landscape management plan based on an agreed long-term strategy for the re-instatement of Te Iho Matua whānau o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku o Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

(c). Resourcing for the creation of an appropriate spatial-accounting framework that can be used to account for agreed indicators that measures progress towards the implementation and maintenance of plans, policies and rules relating to Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

(d). Resourcing for the development of a strategy that can be used to capture and store all relevant written and oral history relating to the history of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna (i.e. a Pataka kōrero).

(e). Resourcing for the establishment of a website that provides access to a Māori cultural oral and written history on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

(f). Consideration of the state of the Tukituki awa as an integral part of re-instating Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

(g). Undertake a study that explores, defines and documents a case for classifying Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna as a site of (i) national significance and (ii) world heritage status.

(h). Resourcing for the creation of a pest management plan for Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna and more generally a hazard management plan (e.g. fire risk, dumping of waste etc). This plan should provide recommendations for a tikanga, rules and policies that cover the presence of domestic pets on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

(i). As part of a cultural audit of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna (ref. item 4.3 (c)), commission appropriate archaeological assessment that includes provision for the assistance of a Matakite.

(j). Legal and/or plan recognition for the institution and enforcement, when necessary, of a Rāhui as part of the expression of kaitiakitanga.

(k). Official plan recognition for the legitimacy of the goals of Māori cultural wellbeing and survival. These goals should have a valid Māori cultural meaning that is grounded in a Māori worldview and understanding of the Māori language. This need reflects the fact that a Māori worldview and understanding of the Māori language is poorly and incompletely captured within the legal provisions of the current RMA and LGA.

(l). That an application be made to provide the wāhi whenua zone depicted in Figure 28 with full recognition as a 'legal entity' (i.e. a legal person) that recognises the full status conferred on this cultural landscape by the marae hapū of Heretaunga as a 'tīpuna' (transl. ancestors).

4.4 Planning zone recommendations

(a). A widening of the existing 240 m prohibited area (i.e. no go zone) zone towards the 200m contour line with adjustments that make it possible to include: (i) the known location of former Pā sites, (ii) the Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna escarpment as a wāhi tapu site and (iii) a key wāhi tapu site located at the northern-most end of the ridgeline. In Figure 28, this recommended prohibitive zone is symbolised using a 1pt black dashed line. Residential building in this area should be prohibited. Earth works, if required, should be undertaken in accordance with the 'Accidental Discovery Protocol' outlined in Appendix 2 (pp. 31-33) of the 'He Kōpua Kānapanapa' report published by Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (2012).

(b). That the existing 'Outstanding Natural Landscape' zone be retained as a planning zone.

(c). That statutory recognition be provided for 8 specific wāhi tapu sites that have been identified on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna that require a higher level of protection. These should ideally be zones in which all public access is prohibited. In Figure 28, these wāhi tapu sites are identified as dark grey features with black borders.

(d). That statutory recognition be provided for 17 wāhi taonga zones that are depicted in Figure 28 as pale blue features with dark blue borders. Wāhi taonga is needed to provide protection for Waipuna on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna. While human access to these sites may be permissible, these sites should ideally be fenced to prevent stock access (i.e. controlled under the Regional Resource Management Plan (RRMP)). These sites, including ephemeral water channels and/or drains that transport water from these sites to the nearby Tukituki river should be planted with appropriate aquatic, shrub and small tree vegetation that assists in offering shade to these areas and re-instating their mauri.

(e). That statutory recognition be provided for 1 wāhi atua zone that is depicted in Figure 28 as white feature 'swamp' and 'wetland' symbols. This Atua domain, a former Kūkūwai was known to have been associated with customary practices that rendered parts of this area as tapu. To this day, whānau observe this tapu by prohibiting cultural harvest in this area. There is also a high likelihood that cultural artefacts are buried in this area. The designation 'wāhi atua' zone indicates that this area should be accorded a legal status that: (i) recognises its cultural and ecological significance, (II) that recognises the need for the mana and mauri of this Atua domain (cf. ecosystem) to be re-instated at some future time and (iii) that further development in this area be 'appropriately managed'.

(f). That statutory recognition be provided for the Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna study area outlined in pale green in Figure 28 to be recognised as a 'wāhi whenua'. The Te Reo Māori expression 'wāhi whenua' could be considered as a near translation of the English expression 'cultural landscape'. In

this report we have drawn attention to the fact that this wāhi whenua is inextricably linked with 800–1,000 years of whakapapa. Its soils contain the blood of our tīpuna (transl. ancestors) and taonga (transl. cultural artefacts) that constitute a vitally important cultural heritage for the marae hapū of Heretaunga. This wāhi whenua represents a complex layering of domains of tapu and noa that are linked with the former expressions of kawa, kaupapa and tikanga by our tīpuna (transl. ancestors). The status ‘wāhi whenua’ recognises that this is not only an outstanding natural landscape, it is a landscape what has been shaped by centuries of human occupation.

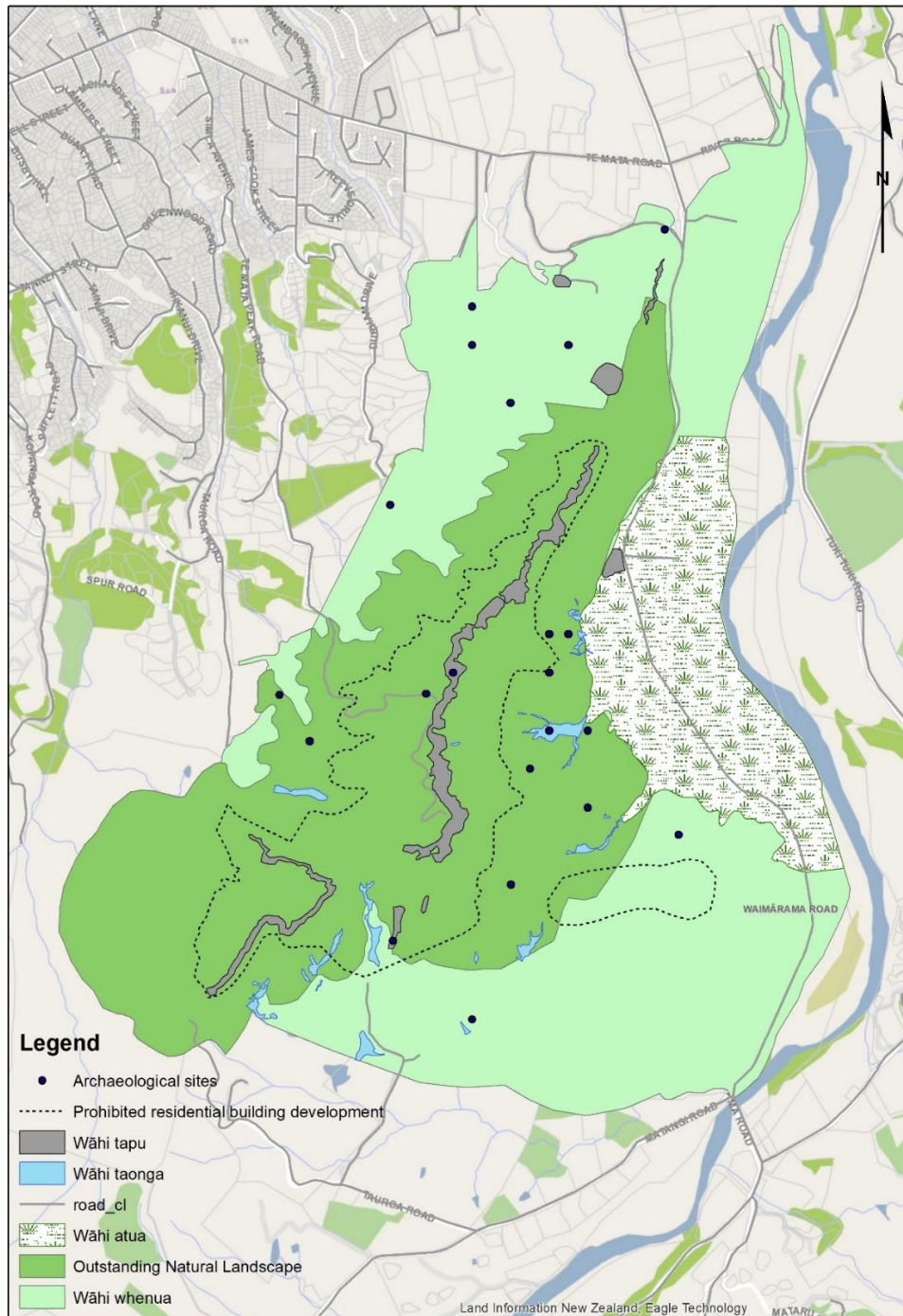


Figure 28 A map of the Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna study area that depicts recommended planning zones in addition to the existing Outstanding Natural Landscape zone and registered archaeological sites (Source: LINZ base map, Adam Forbes 2018, Landcare Research PNW).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Hui-a-hapū held 19 July 2018 (5.30pm to 7.30pm)

Karakia:	Matua Tom Mulligan
Himene:	He Honore
Facilitator:	Marei Apatu
Apologies:	NA.
Location:	Takarangi Room, Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga

Welcomed everyone along this evening explained the relevance and importance for the Hui a Hapu called to engage whanau with the cultural impact assessment (CIA) this evening

The CIA for Te Mata o Rongokako (TMOR) is for the Hastings District Council (HDC) through Te Manaaki Taiao (TMT) under the auspices of the TTOH. The report findings and recommendations will form to be the property of the HDC

Introduced members and named all the Kaumatua on their committee, Nga Pou Mataara who are providing cultural advice and guidance

The methodology undertaken and various parts that make up the framework of the CIA will be covered in the following chronology of events over the past 6 -7 months with an explanation of terms that follow;

- The Craggy Range track – the key suspect
 - Failure or gaps in planning procedure and/or process i.e. notification consultation
 - RMA requirements; ascertain impact on cultural values for Te Mata O Rongokako
- 1) History reflects the cultural memory of 1000 years
 - 2) The job of this CIA is to clearly extract the values associated with TMOR, hopefully to provide more definition, but to evidence and or confirm primary source?
 - 3) Interviews – Introduced Joella Brown and Bev Te Huia as the lead interviewers working with Awa Studios, Tareha O'Reilly. Commenced interviews interested in those that would like to be interviewed to come and have a kōrero.
 - Sites of significance, archaeological sites, Outstanding Natural Feature, Outstanding Natural Landscape
 - 1) Various sites that are wāhi tapu e.g. old pa sites
 - 2) No registered wāhi tapu – HDC plan have no recorded information
 - 3) Gems coming out of interviews that will support the significance of TMOR to Manawhenua.
 - 4) Summit, escarpment dominant feature, significant archaeological sites recorded by Robert Hunter. Cross reference with maps that identify blue crosses - sites could be within 100m of those identified sites
 - 5) TMPEF – Outstanding Natural Feature (purple line identifying escarpment). Not strong enough rules to protect this site

6) Outstanding Natural Landscape, discretionary activities e.g. most activities are non-compliant. E.g. 240 line – contradicts current encroachment

There is nothing in plan to identify

1) No go areas - where should these areas be located? In order to limit or ban public access? and why?

2) Wāhi tapu – Historically tangata whenua did not support this information being publicly accessible however we have moved to a time where “sensitive information” strategies should be developed and utilised to preserve mātauranga

3) Wāhi taonga

Feedback questions and answers

Q: In regards to this issue and further tracks in negotiation with Ngahiwi how safe are we?

A: I am unsure

Q: What is the difference between ONF and ONL

A: Altitude

Q: Did Robert Hunter identify sites on the top and both sides too?

A: Unsure

Q: For us in Waimarama Te Mata continues beyond the maps presented tonight, right around the corner. We see it in its whole a Whare tipuna including Mt Erin and Kahuranaki. We are stuck with protecting just a small part. (Robert)

Q: ONF and ONL – where do those designations come from

A: These have formed over the life of the district plan – goes back over a number of years. The Isthmus group were contracted and engaged to provide a report to HDC and made a number of observations and recommendations. HDC did not pick up on these and hired another lot of landscapers BOFFAMISCAL.

Q: If council had followed up on the Isthmus report and picked up on the recommendations the track would have never been put in?

A: Yes, we have now reached the point where we should now be identifying a number of wāhi tapu sites. The mechanisms were there but HDC have come out to admit there were failures to following process

Q: If we were to add our own mātauranga to this CIA the mechanism to prevent this happening again would be stronger

Asked the audience would they be in a position to provide advice on no go areas?

A: The following was stated, whenever I drove my mother in law in to town on many occasions she would say that’s our tūpuna as they passed Te Mata peak on the east face she would never refer the area as wāhi tapu.

B. This comment was followed up by a further speaker stating if there was an outcome for tonight's hui to state that our maunga Te Mata takes the personification of a tūpuna. Then this should be the outcome for tonight this statement was then widely supported.

Marei acknowledged

- 1) Rose Mohi work with land owners
- 2) MTT current registering of wāhi tapu/wāhi taonga sites, MTT fought unison and won regarding Titi-o-Kura range – recommend reviewing environmental court decision that could assist with this?

Follow up for interview from this evening

Ngā Moteatea series book – E to E te ra – Sir George Greys manuscript – written for the taking of the prisoners

Matohu – symbols of the tribe

Waihi pure – place of cleansing, the winds the sun the water

Wāhi tohi

You can get into protecting too much you actually lose the knowledge

Recommendations from meeting

No go zone areas to be workshopped with the cultural advisors

That Te Matā ...Te Mata te Tipuna is recognised as a tipuna

Meeting closed 8pm

Closing karakia: Tom Mulligan

Appendix 2: Hui-a-iwi held 7 September 2018, (5.30–8.00 pm)

Karakia:	Matua Jerry Hapuku
Himene:	He Honore
Mihi:	Mike Paku (Chair)
Facilitator:	Marei Apatu
Co-facilitator:	Dr Anthony Cole
Apologies:	Dr James Graham (Hastings District Council), Morry Black, and Sarah Reo.

The Chair welcomed everyone to the meeting and provided a brief explanation about the proceeding of tonight's Hui-a-Iwi. Copies of the Executive Summary and Recommendations were provided to those in attendance. These documents will be one of the main focus' of tonight's meeting.

M Apatu provided a brief update on key events that led to Te Manaaki Taiao being contracted to conduct the Cultural Impact Assessment on Te Mata Peak Eastern Face. While the Hastings District Council's (HDC) primary focus was originally on the eastern face of Te Mata Peak, the focus has now extended to the entirety of Te Mata.

Everyone has a different perspective regarding the name of Te Mata. This is dependent on where you are from and the view of the maunga from that standing point. For example, Waimārama's view is of Te Matā (inclusive of Kohinerākau) and from Pakipaki their perspective of Te Mata o Rongokako and from Waipatu Te Karanemanema o te Mata o Rongokako' (sparkling/glitter). While there was some diversity, which is a good thing, our Tīpuna was the common factor. It was for these reasons and the purpose of the report that it was fitting to use 'Te Mata te Tīpuna'.

A Project Team was formed along with the following key groups:

- Kaumātua Kahui 'Ngā Pou Mataara Hou'
- Technical Experts - Morry Black (RMA), Dr Anthony Cole (Transdisciplinary Scientist and Educator), Pat Parsons (Historian), and Dr Amber Aranui (Repatriation Researcher and Archaeologist) who is on standby to undertake the archaeological assessment. She is of Kahungunu descent and visited Waimarama previously with the repatriation group.
- Interview Team of Rangatahi – Beverly Te Huia, Joella Brown and Tareha O'Reilly (Awa Studio's).

The Kaumātua Kāhui were acknowledged; Jerry Hapuku, Rose Mohi, Waiora Rogers, Waa Harris, Hawea Te Moananui and Robert MacDonald who had been diligently working to get the HDC to engage on matters involving all of this area.

The assessment approach was restructured. The Cultural Impact Assessment is a westernised tool that does not fit with Māori values. We (Marei Apatu and Dr Anthony Cole) were able to refocus on the understanding of the Māori cultural wellbeing and survival aspirations that Ngā Hapū o Heretaunga have for Te Mata – Te Tīpuna.

Hui-a-hapū held 19 July 2018 - purpose of the hui was to inform the hapū of what Te Manaaki Taiao (TMT) were doing. In addition, that a Hui-a-iwi would be held at a later date to present the findings

and recommendations for feedback. Also invited anyone who had any other information that wanted to be interviewed.

Interviews - eight interviews were held with a number of local whānau. Some kōrero was conflicting but we saw this as a positive.

Other hui - a number of hui were held at Waimārama Marae around May. And there were some recommendations that came from that hui.

Question and answer session:

Q. How much weight does this have on HDC?

A. This is only the first stage of a wider strategy. What was not in the scope was the aspiration of further wānanga. Private ownership is the issue. This report will be going out to the community for feedback and discussions will need to happen with the owners. We are not accepting trade-offs and we have to be quite 'pono' and 'tika' to what has been presented.

Q. Where is the Iwi (NKII) and the PSGs standing on this? Do they have any interest in this? We are talking about our Hau Kainga, if we are wanting to be a strong force against the HDC, then we need to be united. Sad.

A. This is Marei's work. He was contracted by HDC to undertake this work.

Dr Anthony Cole gave a presentation on the landscape and what it looked like pre-1800 demonstrating the wetlands, lush native plant life, waipuna (water springs), channels that connected with the Tukituki, and most importantly the Pa sites and archaeological sites that have been identified through the oral research.

Final Comments and Recommendations

The following matters were discussed:

- Recreational Activities - not included in the recommendations. What's our whakaaro? Are we going to stop these activities? From someone who has been visiting Te Mata for 15 years, the number of Māori who use Te Mata are minimal. The majority of the ones who do use it are non-Māori. Those Māori who do use it respect and love our tīpuna. When I do see people doing things they shouldn't be, like having a picnic and drinking wine, I advise them that they can't do that here. That's just me.
- Identifying the archaeological sites, lowering the 240 line, and 'no-go zones' was interesting. Especially, when there could be more sites that haven't identified through this project.
- When the track was installed and how things were managed, Māori had a public argument and the Pākehā sat there and watched us. Discussions need to happen at Hui-a-Hapū. In regards to the Online Survey, a high percentage of those people didn't even know what they were signing. Craggy Range knew what they were doing and played an amazing 'PR' game. We need to be well prepared and have a great 'PR' team.
- A communication strategy to manage any risks and threats was suggested. Even something bigger than a communication strategy.

- The Iwi and PSGs need to come to the table. Were the Iwi communicated with about this? This part of the process to be included in the review of the document. M Apatu advised the report was being sent to Ngaio for his feedback.
- Reword 4.2.c – sounds like we are wanting to raise the 240 line to 280, whereas we are wanting to lower the 240 line.
- Reword 4.2.i - strengthen this paragraph e.g. “Māori survival is dependent on cultural wellbeing”. Review the RMA and LGA. A submission to the Ministry for the Environment has already been done with the intent to look at the RMA and look at a Māori model.
- Reword 4.3.i - sounds like we have already given them permission to install cable car and zip lines. Reword and strengthen this sentence.
- Would like to see the NKII strategy.
- Heretaunga Tamatea PSGs – marae have representatives on the board who should be communicating this work being done and making this piece of work a part of the strategies. Furthermore, shouldn't the PSGs be funding this work?

The Chair gave a summation of what was presented. Majority of those in attendance were happy with the direction this is moving. Time was requested to digest the Executive Summary, and Final Comments and Recommendations to feedback by 5.00pm on Tuesday, 11 September 2018. Paper copies will be made available on Monday at reception ACTION.

Meeting closed at 8.00pm with a Karakia by Matua Jerry Hapuku.

Appendix 3: Elaboration of important Māori concepts used in this report

A3.1 Mātauranga Māori

In Te Ao Māori (transl. the Māori world, all things Māori) the topography of the whenua is often explained in terms of the actions of Atua (transl. ancestors). The physical and metaphysical aspects making up the environment are inseparable and give rise to their status as taonga (transl. a treasure or gift). This understanding, or worldview, gave rise to ‘rules’ governing how Māori treat the land, water, and other natural resources. These rules were relayed from birth through teaching tools such as parables, story-telling, whakataukī (transl. wise, insightful or profound sayings), allegorical and symbolic names or descriptions such as personification to demonstrate applied practices for kaitiaki. The kaitiakitanga guidelines were for everyone. For example, to guard against abuse of the environment, Māori Rangatira applied non-negotiable restrictions such as Tapu (transl. a state of separation) and Rāhui (transl. ban, restriction) to protect people and environmental resources from natural mishap, human misuse and potential abuse. There is a rich inheritance and whakapapa connecting Māori to their own source of knowledge. Our tīpuna faced some of the very same issues that we face today and this mantle of knowledge has been passed on to us today.

A3.2 The Lore of the Whare Wānanga

This lore contains the teachings from tohunga (transl. priests, teachers, experts) on celestial and terrestrial knowledge passed down from ancient times. This lore is the only recorded Tangata Whenua doctrine in Aotearoa and was written down throughout the 19th century when it became apparent that much of the old Māori teachings may be lost through increasing loss of the Māori language. Part of these teachings tell us the relationship of Māori to mountains, hills and peaks is steeped in the genealogy, mythology and the lore of “Te Kauwae Runga, Te Kauwae Raro”, in particular the deity and whānau of Hine-tūpari-maunga. On this earth, the oceans and the rivers made the plains and open places that we see, however it was the atua Mataaho and Ru-au-moko who changed, and continue to change the landscape of mountains, plains, and rivers through naturally destructive forces and earthquakes. The maintenance of mauri of both realms of this world is vested in the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, including mankind through Tāne. The siblings become Atua over different aspects of Te Ao Māori. Alongside Tama-nui-te-rā (the great son/sun), Te Marama-i-whanake (the waxing moon) and their younger brethren, the stars, they bring mauri to this world we know.

A branch of Te Matorohanga school, Paewhenua, was situated at Maungawharau (Waimārama) where Taiwha presided. Another, Te Whariki – Awatea, was situated in the Okawa area where Te Haku-rangi presided. Meihana Takihi was said to have been one of the last ‘keepers and custodians of the knowledge’. He is the brother to Karaitiana Takamoana, Henare Tomoana and Peni Te Uamairangi, all descendants of the tīpuna Te Rehunga.

A3.3 Kauwae runga (transl. the upper jaw or things celestial)

Represents everything pertaining to the gods, the heavens, the origin of all things, the creation of man, the science of astronomy, and the record of time. Things celestial come from Nā te Kune (transl. the conception), Te Pupuke (transl. the increase), through to the core of Io. Then comes Ranginui (transl. our sky father) and Papatūānuku (transl. our earth mother) who begat seventy children. The children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku inherited responsibilities as deities and guardians over all beings and things, events and occurrences.

In ancient times a super terrestrial event changed the appearance of the surface of the earth, leaving in its wake the plains and the pleasant places in hills, valleys and mountains. The name of the event is described as 'the-overturning-by-Mataaho.' From Ruaumoko, one of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku originates the cause of the broken, mountainous appearance etched into the Earth, and sets in place those things terrestrial. It is from these processes that Te Matā, Te Mata o Rongokako, Te Karanemanema o te Mata o Rongokako (i.e. the many names of Te Mata Peak) is created.

A3.4 Te Kauwae Raro (transl. those things terrestrial)

Deals with the history of the people, their genealogies, migrations as well as tapu and all knowledge pertaining to earthly matters. In Te Ao Māori there is a connection between the celestial and terrestrial – the one does not exist without the other. This connection is evidenced in science, spirituality and nature. It is the foundation upon which healthy life exists for people and the physical world they live in. The teachings of Atua are translated into the physical world by various means. These include (i) rituals practised by tohunga/experts, karakia and incantations on a higher level and (ii) kawa, tikanga, parables or stories on an everyday level. There is a rich whakapapa connecting Māori to their own source of knowledge. Our tīpuna left or implanted in their wake, a footprint versed from various whare kōrero (repositories of knowledge). An example to demonstrate the Māori worldview and practice under Te Kauwae Runga, Te Kauwae Raro is a recorded interview with Kuia Peggy Kurupai Nelson (29 September 1998) relating to the Hastings District Council when the discovery of a greenstone rock on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna prompted the Kuia to write in a letter and submission. 'Auntie Peggy' was a highly respected Kuia of Omahu marae, Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngai Te Upokoiri, and was told by her Kuia how the old people put greenstone in the ground "to hold the mana of their tribe" and "anything they put down in the ground the mana motuhake (eternal power) was forever and ever."

To summarise the written record of the kōrero; on Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna a greenstone was placed to reserve areas, like a foundation stone, and it imposed tapu (restrictions) on what activities could be done there. No food could be grown or eaten there; the area was reserved for prayers and wānanga. The understanding was that you couldn't go past that stone; beyond it was a tapu spiritual zone, only the land below being concerned with earthly matters. People had no reason to go further up Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna than that, the stone being the limit of their daily activities in practical terms – traditional food sources like eels or birds weren't found that high up the Peak. The stone being greenstone is significant as it has its own mana which increases the spiritual significance of the place when it is used for that purpose. There would be four (one for each 'side' of the mountain) and probably the other three are still in the ground. The Kuia thought the one dug up during earthworks for a new house should be put back somewhere near where it was found. The people who removed it should know that. The greenstone was something that has survived and is a tangible symbol of the Māori spirituality of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

A3.5 Kaitiakitanga

The basic tenet of kaitiakitanga is the duty to look after the mauri in all things and to pass it undiminished to our mokopuna. This 'guardianship' is the duty of hapū today and means that no individual or generation is more important to the on-going life of Heretaunga. Tangata whenua were given little or no opportunity in colonial times to exercise rights of kaitiakitanga or to have a meaningful say in the management of natural resources. The consequences for Heretaunga Māori of much previous environmental transformation cannot be easily reversed. This includes land alienation, ongoing environmental modification, pollution, and loss of access to traditional mahingā

kai, as well as marginalisation of Māori in the development of the economy of the Hawke's Bay region. This has been the basis of protest and grievance. The close identification of our whānau Kahungunu with their ancestral lands and waterways has never waned. The Heretaunga whenua seen from Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna is described in the whakataukī "Heretaunga Haukunui, Ararau, Haaro Te Kaahu, Takoto Noa, Ringahora" and the whakataukī serves as an edict for tāngata whenua to watch over the land which their shadow will fall upon in their lifetime. Heretaunga possesses a life-giving dew to provide the bounty that is spread out as far as the eye can see, and must be taken care of for those still to come.

A3.6 Mauri

In a Māori worldview, everything has mauri and to diminish mauri is to diminish the life of all things. Excerpts from 'Kaitiakitanga Mo Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho' explains the importance of mauri to ngā hapū with regards to resource management as follows:

"Mauri is the life essence of nature itself on this planet. For example, once mauri is extinguished within a species, the result is extinction because the natural restorative and regenerative powers are lost."

Practices that would not interfere with mauri were instilled in hapū. If mauri was compromised, measures such as rāhui were put in place to allow opportunity for that which was not well, to recover. Of absolute importance to Ngāti Kahungunu is the preservation and protection of mauri. To see to this preservation and protection is to provide for conservation of biodiversity, the outcomes of which are the restoration and regeneration of ecosystems. This is the least of our collective community duties to the future generations of our region – of our country.

The following whakataukī provides the Māori worldview of natural relationships - to inform, guide or minimise risk in the modification of nature, or the creation of man-made objects and structures in nature, by remembering, respecting and in some cases utilising the many children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

E kore a Parawhenua e haere ki te kore a Rakahore

"Parawhenua will not come out in the absence of Rakahore

Parawhenua-mea was the personification of water and mountain streams, while Rakahore was the personification of rocks. This meant that mountain springs and streams would not flow, but for the solid rock from which they issued and over which they flowed. This whakataukī talks of the relationship 'ki uta ki tai' (from the mountains to the sea). In this, natural elements are interdependent and these relationships must be sustained. To eliminate or diminish one of these relationships can cause imbalance, thus affecting all other relationships. Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna has its own mauri. This natural landscape that attracts over 500,000 visitors per year. This number is expected to double over the next year. For this reason, it is of absolute importance to preserve and protect the mauri of Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna.

A3.7 Te Reo Māori

Mātauranga Māori is imbued with words and language that carry the whakapapa connected to both the earliest residents in Heretaunga and to the Ngāti Kahungunu marae hapū today. Te Reo Māori is encoded with teachings that instruct tāngata whenua on tikanga and kawa in order to safeguard people and nature. Te Reo Māori is an essential component of mātauranga Māori and Ngāti Kahungunu cultural knowledge. In the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi summary of WAI 262 Flora and Fauna

Waitangi Treaty hearing, it is clear that unless there is ongoing support and encouragement of Te Reo Māori the loss of Ngāti Kahungunu cultural knowledge will worsen. At the same hearing a statement of evidence presented:

“There is a saying that one must learn from the birds to be able to be an orator, he manu kōrero. We must ask therefore how does Te Reo o Ngāti Kahungunu survive when there is no bush for the manu to survive. The loss of the ngahere (the bush) is symptomatic of the loss of much of the traditions and knowledge of Ngāti Kahungunu. Language is important for the survival of rongoa Māori. It is an overcoat that can be effective if there are layers beneath it to keep us warm. Yet even the language struggles to survive”.

Te Reo Māori has been used to describe stories, history and events that are unique to Māori and Te Matā ... Te Mata te Tipuna provided a generous basket for the hapū of Heretaunga in the past. The emergence of Rongokako and his legendary feats are probably the most well-known stories, which include: (i) the love story of Rongokako and Hinerākau (or Kohinurākau), (ii) the contest between Kahurānaki and Kauehei as a best suitor for Hinerākau, (iii) Rongokako the champion strider of the East Coast, (iv) the giant steps Rongokako took as he was pursued to make his escape, (v) the rivalry between Rongokako and Paoa for the hand of Muriwhenua and (vi) the bite of land Rongokako took and choked, falling where he lies today. There are other stories of note and hapū groups need to determine which best represents them, which are available for the public domain, and permission for their use.

Appendix 4: Historical land sales of the 19th Century

A5.1 MATA (TE) [See District Map Nos.04 & 07]

A deed receipt dated 13 April 1855 recorded a payment by Land Commissioner Donald McLean of £500 for a portion of land named Te Mata. The receipt referred to the boundaries of the land having been surveyed some time earlier by Thomas. The receipt recorded two reserves, Karanema and Kohinerākau. It further stated that when further land had been surveyed, it would be added to the land covered by the payment being made. The receipt was signed by Te Moananui Hawea and 11 others.

Names:

Te Moananui Hawea	Paora Te Muri
Te Meihana	Te Waka Kawatini
Tareha	Matenga Te Hokimate
Wiremu Whanga	Karaitiana
Karauria Pupu	Paora Torotoro
Eraihia Huakuru	Tamehana Pekapeka

On 7 October 1856, Chief Land Purchase Commissioner Donald McLean wrote to the District Commissioner G.S. Cooper requesting him to proceed to Hawke's Bay in the schooner Erin and to make payments to Māori in that area in relation to a number of blocks including Te Mata. He was instructed to make a payment of £500 to the Māori owners in relation to this block.

On 17 November 1856, a full purchase deed was signed for the Te Mata block. The deed was between the Crown and the "Chiefs of Ngāti Kahungunu". The total payment for the land was £1000 of which the first £500 had already been paid, (as noted above), with the balance of £500 being paid on the same day the deed was signed. The Deed record that the block did not include land "belonging to the descendants of te Heipora" which was reserved. The size of the block was not specified in the deed. The deed was signed by Te Paratene Te Akonga and others. District Native Land Commissioner G.S. Cooper signed on behalf of the Crown.

Names:

Te Paratene Te Akonga	Tu Hawene Makutu
Meri Hineitaka	Tu Hiawhe Hapuku
Na te Aomahuia	Arihi
Hirini Hoekau	Te Harawira
Te Hoko	Timoti Pohepohe

On 29 November 1856, Cooper reported to McLean from Ahuriri: The final payment for the Te Mata Block, was the occasion of a great deal of discussion.

On 8 March 1858 an enclosure to Deed 25 Te Mata (Karanema Reserve) boundaries stated in reference to the Karanema Reserve consented to a deed of sale. The Te Mata block was conveyed as a purchase that included payment for the Karanema reserve.

Names:

Te Hāpuku Te Ika o te Moana	Te Koko
Meri Hineitakaa	Arihia Te Hāpuku
Ta Wakatomo	Te Hāpuku Koao?
Paratene Te Akonga	Poito?

However, on the 29 September 1858 Deed No 25 Te Mata (Karanema Reserve) boundaries stated in reference to the Karanema Reserve consented to a deed of sale.

Names:

Te Hira Te Ota	Tareha
Peni Te Ota	Te Moananui
Henare Te Ota	Karaitiana

Descendants of Te Heipora in regards to the Te Karanema reserve Te Mata claim state they have not been adequately recognised or provided for in the Heretaunga – Tamatea Settlement. Although the Heretaunga Tamatea Act 2018 was passed recently, the matter has gone before the Heretaunga Tamatea Settlement Trust who wish is to ensure the recognition of the rights and interests of the claimants is preserved. There-fore further management may be required to address the issues. It is the view of the authors of this report Te Matā – Te Mata te Tipuna if this were to eventuate it is unlikely to disadvantage the overall project intent. A hui a iwi would take place.