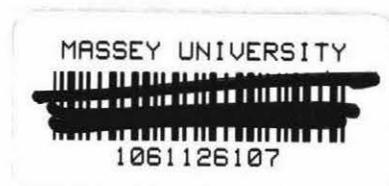


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**Ko au te Awa, Ko te Awa ko au:  
I am the River and the River is Me;**

*A Collaborative Anthropology which explores  
the Relationship between a Hapu  
and the Whanganui River.*

Thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology  
Amanda Rudge  
Massey University  
Palmerston North, 1993.



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## Acknowledgements

There are many people's contributions I wish to acknowledge. I would like to begin by thanking the people of Ngati Tuera for sharing their cultural and intellectual property. In particular I would like to thank Mike Potaka and his brother Bill for the trust they have placed in me as a researcher, and for their willingness to share their knowledge and experiences.

I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of Julia Taiapa whose teaching instilled an interest in Maori development and motivated me to renew my links with the people of the Whanganui valley. It was Julia who taught me the valuable lesson that research must be of direct benefit to the people whom it is about. I would also like to thank Mason Durie for his support and his astute advice, Esther Tinirau for her practical help in translation, and Aleisha Wyllie for her skillful help in typesetting this document. I am also indebted to the people of Ngapuwaiwaha Marae who hosted a Hui-A-Iwi on Indigenous water rights in September of this year (1993). The people present at this hui gave of their time and their hospitality, and shared generously their thoughts and experiences. I am grateful and honoured to have been part of that experience.

I would like to recognise the extremely important contribution of my supervisor Dr. Jeff Sluka. Jeff's teaching has raised an awareness of many of the ethical issues involved in anthropological research, and has motivated me to explore new, exciting and challenging directions in Social Anthropology. Throughout the duration of this research Jeff has given freely of his wisdom, his time, and his support, and this has been invaluable. I would also like to thank Henry Barnard, Greg Rawlings and Emily Phillips, whose interest, encouragement and concern in the progress of this thesis has been most supportive, and very much appreciated.

I am grateful for the support of the New Zealand Federation of University Women, who through a Hildegard Gabriel Scholarship helped meet the cost associated with this research. The Federation's support for me as a woman, and as a researcher, has been important both personally and professionally. I am also indebted to the Freemasons Society for a bursary which contributed to child care expenses, and to the Social Anthropology Department, Massey University, for a grant which enabled me to attend a Hui-A-Iwi on indigenous water rights.

Finally I would like to thank my own whanau; my parents, my children and my friends who all gave of their time, their encouragement and their understanding.

Thank you all for believing in me.

## Introduction

Because "present experience always takes account of the past and anticipates the future" (Bruner in Turner 1986:8), this document marks a pause in the lives of the people that have contributed to it. While it acknowledges the histories of its contributors, it also looks to their futures, and it is the connections between the past, the present and the future that have been one of the underlying themes of this research.

This thesis derives from a collaborative research partnership between myself, a Masters student in Social Anthropology, and the elders of the Ngati Tuera hapu. Because this research was instigated by the hapu's need for research into the cultural significance of the Whanganui river, this document has been designed to be applied in three ways. It will be used as a resource to facilitate two hapu developments; a traditional<sup>1</sup> fishing enhancement programme, and teaching modules in the school at Parikino, and as the other partner in this collaborative research, I present this document as the thesis component of a Masters degree in Social Anthropology.

While this research utilises bodies of historical, archival and anthropological research, it largely derives from participant-observation conducted with the people of this hapu throughout 1993. As research partners, the kaumatua and I have endeavoured to work together to meet each others needs. Discussions have taken place regularly throughout the duration of this research, to ensure that these needs were being met. As a researcher I have actively respected the rights of participants in accordance with the NZASA (New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists) code of ethics<sup>2</sup>, and the Mataatua Declaration<sup>3</sup> (1993). Prior permission was sought from kaumatua to speak to individual hapu members,

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<sup>1</sup>I use the term 'traditional' advisedly. Traditions, like the culture from which they derive, are dynamic and subject to change. A traditional fishing enhancement programme seeks to utilise the philosophy of resource management that existed before the arrival of Tauwiwi, but will also utilise current technologies.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix One

<sup>3</sup>Appendix Two

and a transcript of each of these conversations has been forwarded to each interviewee. All participants were informed of the purpose and the final destiny of the research product, and requests for confidentiality have been respected. In order to preserve the original phrasing and rhythm of the speech, transcripts of conversations have not been edited, but to clarify meaning some additions have been made, and this is indicated by the use of brackets. An elder of the hapu has proof read this document to ensure that details relating to the hapu are, to the best of his knowledge, accurate.

While I have referred to the hapu by the name; 'Ngati Tuera', it should be noted that many members of the neighbouring hapu; Ngati Hinearo, through inter-marriage with Ngati Tuera, have a vital and important part to play in the activities of this hapu. It should also be noted that this document does not intend to represent all the views of the Ngati Tuera people, nor does it intend to represent a single and homogeneous view.

Finally, and most importantly, because this research contains the cultural and intellectual property of the people of Ngati Tuera, in accordance with the Mataatua Declaration (1993) *they must be the first beneficiaries*. The people of Ngati Tuera are willing to offer their cultural and intellectual property to humanity, providing their right to define and control this knowledge is protected by the international community. Therefore the elders and I jointly ask that ***permission be obtained from elders***<sup>4</sup> before utilising the cultural and intellectual property of this hapu that is contained within this document. I ask that readers respect the right of these people to control what is their property.

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<sup>4</sup>Elders can be contacted through the Whanganui River Maori Trust Board, Private Bag, Whanganui

## Chapter One

### *The History of a Research Partnership*

Before we address the cultural relationship that the people of Tuera have with their awa, it is important to convey something about who 'we' are. What we say in this document is necessarily and vitally shaped by our own biographies; we are constitutive of the experiences that we have, and those experiences impact directly on our authorial present. What follows are two biographical accounts which represent a partial history of the two partners involved in this research.

#### **Mike Potaka**

Ko Ruapehu te maunga  
Ko Whanganui te awa  
Ko Atihaunui-a-Paparangi te iwi  
Ko Ngati Tuera te hapu

E rere kau mai  
Te Awa nui  
Mai te kahui maunga  
Ki Tangaroa  
KO AU TE AWA  
KO TE AWA KO AU  
He muka na te taura whiri a Hine Ngakau

Tihei Mauri Ora

E mihi atu ki a koe te kaituhituhi o enei kupu korero, te tamaahine, Mandy Rudge. Tena koe. Ki nga Rangatira o te Whare Wananga o Massey. Tena ra hoki koutou katoa.

"Te manu e kai i te miro, nona te ngahere  
Te manu e kai i te matauranga, nona te ao."

"The bird that partakes of the miro berry inherits the forest  
The bird that partakes of education, inherits the world."

E mihi ana hoki ki nga Maatua tupuna, na ratou i whakarere nga kupu korero i korerotia i taku tuakuna me au, moe mai ra koutou i roto i te ao wairua.

"I heke mai i nga kawai Rangatira o runga i a Aotea"

No reira tena koutou, tena koutou, tena ra tatou katoa.

Ko Michael Patrick Karihi Potaka-Osborne taku ingoa. He mokopuna na Te Urumingi, he Rangatira na Tuera me te marae o Pungarehu. I haere te Rangatira nei ki Parihaka ki te awhi nga mahi o Tohu Kakahi me Te Whiti. Moe mai ra te Rangatira i raro nga manaakitanga a to tatou kaihanga.

"Hutia te rito o te harakeke  
Kei hea te komako, e ko  
Ki mai koe ki ahau  
He aha te mea nui o te ao  
Maku e ki atu  
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata"

"Pull out the centre of the flax and  
Where will the Bellbird sing its song ?  
You ask me  
What is the most important thing of the world ?  
My reply is ...  
It is people, it is people, it is people"

Pungarehu is well known as a traditional Maori fishing area. Besides the tuna and piharau, ngaore (smelt), karoahi (whitebait), koura, pariri, kanae (mullet), and patiki (flounder) were all caught in abundance, and were shared with whanaunga all over the country. The local whanau fished during the week to leave the weekends for whanaunga.

"Ki te hamama popora te tangata  
e kore e mau te Ika"

"If a man spends his nights yawning  
he will not catch any fish"

## Mandy Rudge

It is my intention to relate several experiences which illustrate how I, a student of anthropology, came to be a partner in this research. This set of experiences derives from my own personal interaction with Maori, and it is the connections *between* these experiences, over a thirty year period, that form the background to my involvement.

I would like to begin by stating that although I was born in Aotearoa, I derive my cultural and genetic origins from Europe (King 1991:2). I am Tauiwī,<sup>1</sup> not tangata whenua, and my cultural identity has its origins in the experiences of my English forebears, my own experiences, and the geographical locations in which both my ancestors and I have lived.

In 1962, as a 5 year old living in Akatarawa, I had an experience which made me critically aware that not all people were like me. Around the corner from where my family lived was a Ministry of Works Camp; a camp which housed local road maintenance workers, a majority of whom were Maori. To an adult, the camp looked like a group of utilitarian huts, but to me, this camp had the appearance of a self-contained and independent village. I was keenly aware that the huts in this 'village' were very different from other houses in the street, and it was this difference which intrigued and frightened me. While the majority of sections were clearly delineated by a fence, a front lawn, gardens, and a letter box, the huts in this 'village' had none of those things, and because of this I assumed that the people who lived there

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<sup>1</sup>I have chosen to use the label 'Tauiwī', instead of terms such as 'European' or 'white New Zealanders', to signify that these people were not the first occupiers of Aotearoa. 'Tauiwī' therefore encompasses people who derive their descent from places such as England, Europe and Asia.

would be different from me. At about the same time that I became aware of this 'village' I learned a rhyme at school:

"My Mother said,  
I never should,  
play with the gypsies in the wood.  
If I did,  
she would say,  
you naughty girl to disobey.  
Your hair won't curl,  
your teeth won't shine,  
You naughty girl you shan't be mine..."

By combining this rhyme and my discovery of the 'village', I thought that I had found the "gypsies in the wood". But holding me back from meeting these 'gypsies' was the admonishing message in the rhyme about children who dared to play with them; I thought that I could cope with my teeth not shining, and my hair not curling, but to be deserted by my Mother was a consequence that was unbearable. I decided begrudgingly that in my best interests I could not play with the 'gypsies in the woods', and out of a fear of being abandoned, I became the voyeur, not the participant. I remember feeling caught between two worlds; trapped between the safety of my own world, and a world of knowing.

When I was 7, my family went to live in London for two years, and stepping out of the culture in which I had been socialised gave me the opportunity to begin to define what being a 'New Zealander' was. I remember being told how lucky I was to travel to England, but despite all the tourist highlights my experience didn't quite match up to adult expectations. I recall London as a cold and dirty place, and remember understanding why my own forebears had wanted to emigrate to Aotearoa; a place of sunshine and open spaces. At school in London I befriended a girl called Samira who revealed with much secrecy that she was an Egyptian princess. I never thought to question her credentials; in my mind anyone who had been born in another country was worth knowing. We both felt dislocated; this city was not our home, and we missed the country of our birth. This shared feeling became a very good reason to stick together.

While living in London, one treasured link with Aotearoa was a book containing accounts of Maori creation. As I read this book, I remember thinking that it was Maori who made Aotearoa unique. In my memory these creation accounts were printed on unusually thick paper, which seemed necessary in order to hold the powerful characters within the covers of this book. But the illustrations in this book depicted Maori with distinctly European features. Only now do I fully realise the message behind the representation. Building on this experience was another book that I had been given for my seventh birthday called *The Emigrants* (Saunders 1963). It told a story similar to that of my great grandparents, a story of a family who emigrated from England to Aotearoa in search of a promised land. But this book conveyed a decidedly romantic view of Maori: Maori seemed to lead an idyllic life supposedly untroubled by the arrival of settlers, and were represented as easy going and unhurried. Their physical attributes were often emphasised over their personality:<sup>2</sup> "(b)autiful Rangiora" was described as the girl with "lovely hair...strong white teeth...and the lazy grace of a cat" (1963:159). Although the book contained oblique references to rapidly diminishing kauri forests, and briefly mentioned 'talk of trouble' over land issues, these issues were always peripheral to the main plot.

We returned to Aotearoa when I was 9, and eight years later I met Karen, a young Maori woman with a maturity and self assurance unlike other young women in my class. In the annual school drama production Karen played the female lead, and I was one of the back stage crew. My most vivid memory of the performance was transforming Karen into 'fair Ophelia' by applying thick white stage makeup to Karen's brown skin. The implications of these actions now horrify me; once more in my history Maori had been misrepresented, this time not as a brown skinned Tauīwi, but as a white skinned Maori, and to my horror, this time I had been instrumental in the process.

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<sup>2</sup>A characteristic of incipient racism (Montagu 1962 :84)

In my seventeenth year, at the beginning of the long summer holidays, I wanted to leave my childhood behind. I answered an ad in the local paper inviting people to a hui at Ranana, a small Maori community in the Whanganui river valley. The hui was being held with the purpose of restoring the hapu's very old wharehau which was covered by a thick layer of blackberry vines, and was very much in need of a paint. With the group of people that gathered at Ranana we set about the task of restoring this very old house. One of my jobs was to repaint the kowhaiwhai designs on the interior beams, and repeating those designs across all those rafters etched the pattern firmly in my mind, so firmly that I often find myself repeating the pattern when doodling. But more importantly, going to this hui gave me an experience of living in a small rural Maori community, and by working with the people on a project that they had defined as important I was able to learn something of what it was to be *with* Maori. Ranana, which in English means London, was a place and a time of hard work, aroha and laughter. This London I liked.

Seventeen years later, in August of 1991, as a student in an undergraduate paper in Maori Studies, I was given the task of presenting a seminar about the effects of colonisation on a hapu. In light of my experience at Ranana it seemed appropriate that I research a hapu from the same iwi. However the advice that I received from one Tauwiwi historian made me wonder whether this was such a good idea; in his opinion the people of this tribe were very protective of their history and their knowledge, and were often antagonistic towards outsiders. This was not, and never has been, my experience. The people that I have met and talked to have been only too willing to share their knowledge -providing that they have some control in the research process.

Not willing to accept this historians advice, I contacted the kaumatua of the Putiki hapu who explained that if he was to refer me to anybody else in the iwi, then it was necessary to "see me" first. The importance of face-to-face interaction for Maori is reiterated in the words of Michael King when he says that a letter is simply a piece of paper, but "a face seen...is an argument understood" (1985:110). When I met this elder in Whanganui he

suggested that I research the hapu of Ngati Tuera for two reasons: it was close to Whanganui<sup>3</sup> city, and because the people were engaged in a variety of economic and cultural developments it was considered to be more resourceful than other hapu. I spoke to Tuera's elder, Mike Potaka, on the phone and we arranged to meet in Whanganui the following week.

I remember my elation at finally 'gaining entry' and duly arrived to meet Mike on the appointed day armed with all the trappings of a novice anthropologist; the camera, the Dictaphone, and screeds of paper. In true Tauwiwi style I arrived at 10 o'clock sharp, only to discover that Mike "wasn't in the office that day". It seemed that Mike had forgotten our appointment, and was "somewhere up the river fencing". Exactly where, no one seemed to know. To the novice anthropologist with her mind set firmly on goals and deadlines, this news was devastating. I had arranged an appointment and travelled from Palmerston North to Whanganui, only to find that the man I was supposed to meet wasn't there. I remember furiously trying to rationalise the situation; the only choice left was to drive up the river valley looking for him. The task was not exactly destined for success; the River Road is 50 kilometres long, it is a long windy road, and a long way to drive while looking for a man fencing on the steep hills. I remember comforting myself with the thought that there can't be too many men fencing in the valley that day. Much to my relief, twenty kilometres up the River Road, at Parikino, I saw a man fencing. It was Mike.

"You found me", he said.

"Yes", I said.

Reading these words at a superficial level they state the obvious, but read at a deeper level they let me know that unknowingly I had passed yet another test. This was my first face to face meeting with Mike Potaka, and the beginning of the relationship that would be the cornerstone of this research. But, as I was to find out, 'collecting data' is not a simple process. In the day that followed, I came to realise that I had a lot to learn, not just about the subject that I was researching, but about people, and myself. It was in that initial

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<sup>3</sup>Although the city is currently called Wanganui, in this document I have chosen to refer to the city and the river as 'Whanganui'.

interview that I learned that people's words should be 'read' very carefully. In response to questions about the prehistory<sup>4</sup> of the hapu Mike would respond with statements like "I don't really know" or "I'm not really sure about that". The repetition of these responses, in combination with the barest hint of a smile, made me finally realise that this topic was not open for discussion, and when I became aware of this, I felt ethically and morally unable to pursue the subject further. Nancy Scheper-Hughes reinforced my feelings about this experience when she wrote of the "mighty right of research participants to withhold" (1987:73).

In searching for a topic for my Masters thesis I could think of several 'academically worthy' topics to explore, but each of these topics had little application outside academia, and were likely to be of little relevance to the participants. I felt strongly that any research I undertook must be of relevance and practical use to its subjects, and so I approached Mike in 1992 about the possibility of doing further research with the hapu for my Masters thesis. Mike mentioned the hapu's need for research into the cultural relationship between his people and the Whanganui river. He suggested that I take as my starting point a document written for the hapu by Peter Anderson which spoke directly of this subject. In this paper entitled *Pungarehu Aquaculture Enterprise Development Centre* (1992) Peter Anderson outlined the hapu's intention to restore the section of river at Pungarehu to "somewhere near its original condition" (Anderson 1992:2), and then develop a small scale traditional fishing enhancement programme. But in order to pursue this development the cultural relationship between the people and their freshwater resources needed to be researched. In this document Peter also noted the importance of involving the children of the hapu in this development through learning modules that could be taught at the local school. Mike and I therefore agreed that the intention of this collaborative project would be to research this cultural relationship with the aim of providing a resource that would then facilitate an aquaculture development centre and teaching modules within the Parikino school.

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<sup>4</sup>Maori history that pertains to the time before contact with Tuiwi.

These biographies illustrate how Mike and I came to be involved in this research, but they also illustrate how the present builds upon the past. While it is the connections between my own experiences that have in a sense led me to research this topic, for the people of Ngati Tuera it is the connections between their collective experiences with the Whanganui river which shape their identity as a hapu, and act as a foundation for future developments. Our sets of experiences, our histories, relate closely to the identities we assume in the present and they have a direct bearing on the shape of our futures. In reflecting on these histories, it feels as if we have little choice but to acknowledge them, and then utilise them.

As a partner in this collaborative project while it has been necessary to reflect upon my own experiences, it has also been necessary to reflect upon my role as a researcher. Because I am unable to pursue research for purely personal and professional reasons, as a partner in this collaborative project I have necessarily (and willingly) explored a "shift away from the goals of academe to the goals of our research participants" (Stoller in Jackson 1989:10). By conducting collaborative research I have also attempted to resolve some of the critical questions that anthropologists are currently asking about the nature of research, and the power and knowledge that we produce. As a result my role has been more of a "facilitator", rather than that of the traditional recorder or interpreter (Stokes 1985:11). Furthermore, because this research is based on a partnership, this research relationship directly confronts the highly contentious Self / Other opposition that underpins the discipline of anthropology.

**Chapter Two**  
***Collaborative Anthropology:***  
***Research about Maori and Research with Maori***

Freilich reminds us that the critical tool in anthropological research is the researcher (in Pettigrew 1981: 80), critical in the sense that with allegiances to academia, researchers have, in the past, had the power to define the subject and the shape of their research product. As a consequence many anthropological subjects rightly feel that they have been involved in an inequitable relationship, and an expression of this inequality is that only rarely do they perceive the research product to be of benefit to them. In response to these criticisms, researchers are forced to reevaluate the practice of anthropological research and the purpose of the products we produce. But as I will show, in order to change the practice of anthropological research, it is also necessary to reevaluate the theoretical and methodological foundations of the discipline.

The power of Tauwiwi researchers to define what it is to be Maori is reflected in the volume of research that has been published in the last century. This power and knowledge tends to reveal more about the political climate in which these researchers worked, than it does about Maori. As Webster shows Firth saw colonisation as a process that began with an enthusiastic adoption of culture and concluded with an acceptance of colonisers standards, and Piddington's apolitical and ahistorical analysis viewed 'culture change' as an inevitable adaption to the process of colonisation (Webster 1989:51). But the power to define what it is to be Maori no longer rests solely with Tauwiwi. In the 1970's the political climate and the rapid development of separate Maori Studies departments within universities, resulted in Maori reclaiming the power to define themselves. But the rise of separate Maori Studies disciplines within universities also resulted in a tendency towards separatism between the disciplines of Maori studies and Anthropology. This, combined with criticism from research

subjects, and a worldwide trend which questions the political nature of the research relationship, has succeeded in further widening the gap between these two disciplines. Despite this separation we have much to share. The cross-cultural comparative accounts that are a characteristic of Social Anthropology provide a wealth of experiences that support many of the issues that Maori, as indigenous peoples, currently face. In addition, Anthropology also provides an emic framework for research about Maori (Poananga in King 1985:165). However a wealth of cross-cultural data and an emic framework are not enough on which to build a sound relationship; as I will show anthropological research about Maori must also be to their benefit.

Research participants are increasingly telling researchers that while they have given of their time, their friendship, and their knowledge, they have received little in return. An excerpt of a letter from an Indian farmer, who was the subject of anthropological research, vividly illustrates this inequality:

As far as I know, we gave the PhD to three American scholars. I don't know how many papers have been written about us because we don't usually get copies...Day by day we talked to these new anthropologists in friendship, we didn't know this information would go into books and disclose our privacy. To please you, to get things and money out of you, we learned to tell any story you want. I fear your writings would hurt the people if they could read; they will certainly hurt our great-great grandchildren who will read...We want friendship, you want information: we want life-long relations, you want information; we want to think of you as part of our families, you want information (AAA 1992:3).

While this is not a universal experience, a significant number of research participants, especially indigenous peoples, are increasingly and more forcefully voicing their personal experience of this inequality, and researchers in Aotearoa are not exempt from such criticism. Terms like "academic ethnic fodder" (Kaa in King 1985:163) and "guinea pigs" (Stokes 1985:3) indicate that research about Maori has not always been to the benefit of Maori. While "academic raiders" (Poananga in King 1985:165) reap the benefits of inequitable research relationships and make successful careers out of being *Tau*wi experts on Maori, Maori gain little (Stokes 1985:3). These articulated experiences tell us that

research participants are no longer prepared to be the "silent objects of study"<sup>1</sup>, and more significantly that they are prepared to challenge "the very terms in which they are written about" (Cowlshaw 1990:1). These criticisms and these challenges will have an increasing impact on the way in which we conduct research. These voices cannot and must not be ignored. This abuse of intellectual power and authority must be analysed (Said in Cowlshaw 1990:11), and new directions explored.

The irrelevance of the research product is a direct reflection of an inequitable research relationship. From a Maori perspective "research simply for the sake of knowing is pointless", particularly if it tells Maori what they already know (Stokes 1985:3). For Maori being a participant in research is also futile if the researcher and the discipline in which they work are the sole beneficiaries. When the applications of research products are investigated, we find that a majority of social analysis on the relatively powerless has been ultimately for the benefit of the relatively powerful (Bell in Hopa 1988), and in full awareness of this, indigenous peoples are rightly questioning why their cultural and intellectual property should be used in order to advance the careers of researchers<sup>2</sup>. Beyond voicing their criticisms, indigenous people are also actively protecting themselves from becoming exhibits in an "ethnographic zoo" (Durutalo 1992:208). They are very effectively limiting the access that researchers have to their communities (Marcus 1986:113), their people, and their knowledge, and many indigenous people now feel that it is the task of their own people to conduct research; that in Aotearoa it is the "task of Maori to write about Maori" (Kaa in King 1985:163). These actions have had the profound effect of reducing the number of communities in which an anthropologist can work, and reducing the range of subjects which a non-indigenous anthropologist can explore. In response to this non-indigenous researchers often vehemently defend their own position. While many now recognise that research about Maori should reject Tauwi domination and control, King believes that research about

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<sup>1</sup>Durutalo notes that the ethnographic enterprise has been dependent on the "*necessary silence of the other*" (1992:209 my emphasis). Now that this silence is being broken, or rather now some anthropologists are prepared to listen, this is instigating changes in the way we conduct our research.

<sup>2</sup>This raises questions about the social responsibility of academics. While academics have a responsibility to "speak the truth and to expose lies" (Chomsky cited Berreman 1968:853), the allegiances of researchers have in the past tended to lie with their own professional environment. Research participants are now forcefully telling us that if we wish to continue researching them we will have to work *with* them.

Maori does not reject "European participation" (King 1985:171). But caution is required for 'participation' is not always free from domination and control. As trends in Third World development show 'participation' has the potential to be either transitive, intransitive, moral, or immoral (Rahnema in Sachs 1992:116), and as the peoples of the Third World know, rarely does the participatory ideal succeed in meeting their needs (ibid:123).

Perhaps in an attempt to avoid these crucial issues many anthropologists frequently try to distance themselves from the political aspects of their work (Downing 1988:118). However for Maori, an apolitical stance is irrelevant (Stokes 1985:9), and ironically, even though anthropologists may try to distance themselves from these political aspects, this stance does not reduce the political nature of what we do. No anthropological account, regardless of the stance of its author, can be neutral (Gough 1967:137). Research can therefore never be free of ideological, ethical or political commitment. As Hopa recognises, the search for truth necessitates involvement (1988:4), and involvement necessitates that we confront the issues that concern participants. Knowledge is about control and resource allocation, and in trying to distance ourselves from the political aspects of our work we merely produce products that are irrelevant to our research participants, and as a result our research has the effect of disempowering its subjects. Instead research about Maori must be designed to meet Maori aspirations and Maori needs. And it is Maori, not the researcher, who are best qualified to define what those aspirations and needs are, and how research can facilitate them. Researchers who collaboratively design the topic and the research process in collaboration *with* Maori, respect what I believe is their right to be transitive participants in the research process. In addition these researchers actively acknowledge and support their right to Tino Rangatiratanga<sup>3</sup>. Not surprisingly, researchers who achieve on-going and meaningful relationships by working *with* Maori (Te Awekotuku 1991:12)<sup>4</sup>, are highly respected by their participants. If the need for research arises from the people themselves, and if the research product is designed in collaboration with the people, then it is highly likely that it

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<sup>3</sup>Self-determination and the right to be Maori.

<sup>4</sup>King suggests that Taiwi researching Maori are not subject to the same "obligations and complications" that affect Maori researching Maori (1985:131), yet as a researcher working in partnership with Maori I believe that we are not exempt from these complications and obligations.

will be of relevance, and that it will empower. In trying to distancing ourselves from the political aspects of our work we abdicate social responsibility, but in meeting the needs of our research participants we address the social responsibility that I believe is inherent in the practice of anthropology. If research participants are involved in the planning and execution of research projects (NZASA 1992: section 1d), and if the research process is viewed as a "dialectical process, a dialogue over time"(Howitt 1990:3), then our responsibility as a researcher does not end when the last chapter of a research document is written, but continues into the application of the research product. As Mary Douglas reminds us, *all anthropology should be applied* (in Billings 1992:35).

Criticisms about the abuse of power in the research relationship, and the irrelevance of research products to our research participants have lead to an identity crisis among anthropologists. Madan provocatively asks whether anthropologists are "the children of the Enlightenment, the inheritors of its high ideals, or were we a condemned race, conceived in original sin, having been born a set of triplets comprising capitalism, colonialism and anthropology" (in Billings 1992:36). If anthropologists alone have the power to define the subjects that are researched, if we alone define how to best support the powerless, then we run the additional risk of being born not a set of triplets, but a set of quadruplets comprising capitalism, colonialism, anthropology and development 'experts'. And too often development *help* is not help at all. As Third World experience at the hands of 'development experts' has shown, development is often a "means of keeping the bit in the mouths of subordinates without letting them feel the power that is guiding them" (Gronemeyer in Sachs 1992:53). What we need to do as anthropologists is begin by analysing 'our' society, 'our bureaucracy, and 'our' knowledge, rather than reassert our power to know the other's needs best. Above all we must avoid the complacency of the helping anthropologist (Cowlshaw 1990:20). If anthropology is to free itself from accusations of colonialism and if we are to avoid becoming not just another type of 'development expert', then our work must become genuinely a study *by and for* Third World people, not simply a study *of* them<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Jimenez defines this later type of anthropological study as research that is carried out "on us..and without us" (cited in Durutalo 1992:208).

(Hopa 1988:9). If we pursue research that is collaboratively designed to meet the self defined needs of research participants, and if it is designed to enact changes that they see as relevant, then we rekindle the Enlightenment goal. The Enlightenment vision was a philosophy that called not just for understanding, but for understanding for a *purpose*. That purpose being "the enhancement of the quality of human life" (Berreman 1980:75). As researchers our role is to work in collaboration, in partnership with participants toward improving the quality of their lives, not just the quality of our own lives.

If we pursue research that is truly collaborative, that is *by, for, and with* the people (Freire in Hopa 1988:10), then our research has the potential to liberate "human creative potential and the mobilisation of human resources for the solution of social problems" (Howitt 1990: 2), but in order to achieve this, research participants must be transitive agents in the research process. They need to be involved "from the earliest stage in the identification of issues to be researched, to the translation of the research results into policy and action" (Barnhardt 1985:12). In light of this Sol Tax has called for a bold, decisive and politically conscious *action* anthropology which seeks to challenge the systematic oppression of people (in Hopa 1988:9 my emphasis ). A partnership which ensures that the research process is dialogic from conception to application is fundamental to the part that research can play in self-determination and empowerment. Furthermore, by instigating an ongoing dialogic research partnership researchers uphold Section 13 of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the United Nations. This document states that "(n)o technical, scientific, or social investigations...shall take place in relation to indigenous nations or people...without prior authorisation, and their *continuing ownership and control*" (in Tauroa 1986:124 my emphasis).

Ownership and control of the research process and cultural and intellectual property, is not just the domain of the researcher, it is also the domain of research participants, and the Mataatua Declaration (1993), signed by representatives of 23 iwi and 61 countries, clearly reiterates this right. Like ownership and control of physical resources, ownership and

control of cultural and intellectual property is crucial to the right of self determination. This declaration therefore affirms that while cultural and intellectual property is to the benefit of all humanity, the first beneficiaries of that property "must be the direct descendants of such knowledge" (1993:3). In short, if researchers are going to utilise this property, there must be some benefit for participants. It is likely that many researchers, whether they are anthropologists, biologists, or ecologists, will oppose the right of indigenous people to own and control their intellectual and cultural property, because they know that they will have to drastically change their lifestyles, and the practice of their research. It is possible that in the near future a percentage of incomes derived from "published dissertations, books, slides, magazine articles, records, films, and videos will have to go to the "native 'subjects'" (Posey 1990:15), and that negotiating intellectual and cultural property rights before we undertake research will become a crucial part of the research process (ibid:15). Anthropologists who work with indigenous peoples must therefore confront the ethical need to change the relationships they have with their participants.

In Aotearoa the practice of anthropology is shaped by a set of guiding principles. The NZASA ethics code reminds us that our paramount responsibility must be to our research participants, and that ideally research should be of a "collaborative nature" (NZASA 1992:1). While this code is primarily designed to raise awareness among anthropologists, in light of the voiced experiences of research participants, it would appear that these ideals are rarely achieved. To date only a minority of anthropological research is truly collaborative. Furthermore, if our research is of little relevance to our participants, and if participants feel that they have been involved in an inequitable research relationship, then we are not addressing our 'paramount responsibility'. It is clear that the practice of anthropological research must change.

Changes in the practice of research begin from the position where intellectuals reexamine their institutional affiliations in order to understand and change the codes of power which are specific to the discourses of the discipline (Webster 1993:22). But reexamination is only

the first step, because once reexamined these codes of power must then be transformed. Aronowitz and Giroux define the social function of intellectuals as either hegemonic, accommodating, critical, or transformative (in Webster 1993: 38). Changes in the practice of research and in our role as researchers necessitate that we are not only critical, but more importantly that we also *act transformatively*. However contesting and resisting the exercise of power is not an easy task because, as academics well know, we are not free agents (Gough 1990:1706). The power of peers to jeopardise the promotion or professional tenure of academics that study 'unacceptable subjects' (ibid), in conjunction with the presence of gatekeepers in the publishing world (Daly in Roberts 1981:197), limit not only the range of subjects that we study but the way that we study them. "It must be accepted" says Spender, "that the belief in an objective or even just process which guarantees that the best, most scholarly...manuscripts are those that find their way to publication is misguided" (cited in Roberts 1981:197). The subjects of anthropological research, and the methods we choose to study them, are not arrived at on the basis of intellectual merit alone. Like the production of academic knowledge itself they are "structured through a 'social climate' supported by university courses, publications, formal conferences and coffee room debate" (Cowlshaw 1990:16). But despite these challenges, if we are critical of this academic climate but do not attempt to transform it, we merely support its continuance. Although acting transformatively is not an easy task, soon we may have no choice; the scrutiny of our research participants and the constraints that they are now placing on us, not only challenge us, but force us to seek change. If social inequality is the most dangerous feature of contemporary society (Berreman 1980:81), and if we listen to the voices of our research participants, then it would appear that inequality has been a characteristic of the research relationship. Therefore"(i)t is time that science became more responsive to social needs and that scientists realise that 'just doing science' is an inadequate justification for infringing upon the privacy of indigenous societies" (Posey 1990:15).

## **Collaborative Anthropology: Reformulating Theoretical Foundations**

Changes in the practice of anthropological research necessitate a reformulation of the theoretical foundations of the discipline, and researchers who explore new directions are currently re-examining and seeking to resolve some of the bipolar and seemingly dichotomous oppositions upon which the discipline is founded; namely the relationship between anthropologist (Self) and the research participant (Other). Abu-Lughod believes that this foundational relationship, is inherently adversarial<sup>6</sup> (1991:137) while Geertz describes it as asymmetrical (1988:134). As our research participants tell us this relationship is often an inequitable one. It is these characteristics which I believe have conveniently facilitated the separation of the goals of Self (academia) from the goals of Other (our research participants). If fieldwork based research is to "be a joint effort or partnership based on a collaborative and equal relationship between anthropologists and research participants" (N.Z.A.S.A. 1992 Section 1:d), then the theoretical foundation of the discipline, the Self-Other relationship, is no longer accurate nor is it appropriate. In collaborative anthropology, where the researcher aims to meet the self defined needs of participants, then it is much more accurate to conceive of research practice as based on a relationship of Self-Self. In recognition of the bipolar nature of the discipline of anthropology, Jackson noted how our discourse can be likened to a "single endless loop of string" which "crosses to and fro... between its always ambiguously placed, practical and antimonian ends" (1989:187). In its most productive sense this crossing "to and fro", or exchange between two people, represents a dialogue between researcher and research participant. I suggest that dialogue, exchange, and growth are not encouraged when we conceive of anthropological research as based on an adversarial, asymmetrical and inequitable relationship between Self and Other.

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<sup>6</sup>I would dispute that all Self / Other relationship are in practice adversarial. It would be more accurate to say that *some* of these relationships are adversarial.

However the ability to position oneself as 'Self' or as 'Other' is dependent upon an audience. If the focus of the researcher is the world of academia, then it is much easier to situate ourselves as Self in relation to the discipline, but if we choose to be critical and act transformatively, then positioning oneself as Self in relation to the discipline is no longer an accurate description of our position. Feminist and indigenous anthropologists who speak outside the discourse of the discipline frequently define themselves as Other in relation to the discipline (see Strathern 1987), or as being somewhere between Self and Other<sup>7</sup>. It is this "blocked ability to comfortably assume the self of anthropology" (Abu-Lughod 1991:140) which directly motivates these anthropologists to redefine their position. While it could be argued that those who speak outside the discourse enlarge the boundaries of the discipline, until those new and extended boundaries are recognised, it is often more appropriate to situate oneself in relation to the world of our participants. Caplan argues that anthropology can and needs to be both "reflexive and political" (1988:10); it must not only address questions about the power implicit in the role of the researcher, but search for ways in which to effect change for our research participants. Research that is designed to be applied and to enact change, because of the way in which it is produced, will produce a different type of knowledge (ibid:16-17). The result will be a product which not only scrutinises and exposes the position of the anthropologist, but gives voice to the research participant (ibid:17). It is a "subjectively oriented yet politically committed anthropology" (Jennaway 1986:169), which facilitates the move away from the Self / Other opposition to a research partnership between Self and Self.

Definitions of Self are helpful in clarifying what could be a new theoretical perspective for collaborative anthropological research. Harre suggests that a notion of ourselves as a person, as Self, arises out of the process of social experience (in Mischel 1977:101). To be self-aware and to view ourselves as a 'person', an individual develops the ability to view oneself from the perspective of Other (Mead 1964:129). Therefore inherent in the ability to view oneself as 'Self', is the ability to also perceive oneself as 'Other'. In basing the practice

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<sup>7</sup>Abu-Lughod defines this position as 'halfie' (1991:143).

of research upon a Self-Self foundation, on a collaborative partnership between two people, we are not jettisoning our useful capacity for 'Otherness'. If we rethink the foundations of collaborative research as being based on a partnership between Self and Self, then implicit in this relationship is the reflexive capacity of each partner to view themselves as Other.

If a researcher is unable to comfortably assume the Self of anthropology, then we frequently assume the position of mediator. But mediating between two discourses; between an academic environment and the environment of our participants, is an activity which takes energy and skill. While anthropologists who situate themselves as Self in relation to the discipline are accountable to an anthropological audience, collaborative anthropologists from an academic environment are accountable to, and also write for, two audiences. Collaborative anthropologists, like feminist anthropologists, travel just as uneasily "between speaking for and speaking from" (Abu-Lughod 1991:143 my emphasis). Because a mediator between two unequal groups is not an independent position, we need the skills, techniques and strategies that will allow us to work towards the needs of our research participants in an effective and politically meaningful way (Cowlshaw 1990:20). These skills should be part of our academic and professional training.

## **A Methodological Approach for Collaborative Anthropology with Maori**

The topic of this research, and the method that I chose to explore it, are necessarily related. In pursuing a topic that is of direct and practical use to research participants, I felt that it was important to utilise a method that not only reflected the partnership that underscored this research, but one that also acknowledged and reflected the cultural context in which I worked. The present academic climate speaks of the 'Post-structuralist' phase in which we live, and a Postmodern or Post-structuralist approach to anthropology and ethnography is respected for several aspects; namely the more egalitarian relations of textual production, collaborative authorship, the reflexive stance of the self and the disalienation of the other (Jennaway 1986:171). While I support research that incorporates these aspects, not all that is Postmodern is ideal. The Postmodern perceives the world to be a place in which its inhabitants are radically decentred: "in which the image of an underlying uniform code is seen to be a tyrannous illusion" (Trawick 1990 : xviii), yet not all cultures hold this view of themselves. As Trawick notes "the desire for wholeness is an important presence in some if not in all cultures" (ibid). This desire for 'wholeness' may apply equally to the Maori corporate group. If we are to give voice to the experience of the other, as Jennaway suggests, then we need to utilise methods that adequately acknowledge and reflect those experiences.

In traditional Maori society knowledge was acquired by observation, practice, and the guidance of kuia or kaumatua. In Maori society, one does not rush in, one is lead. An individual must first earn the right to learn, and once that right is earned they are then introduced to those with knowledge. Because education and learning involves a strong belief in spiritual support and influence, and is closely tied to the mana of those who impart the knowledge, the mana of the expert derives not from their learning, but from the people who transmitted that knowledge. Therefore knowledge is not judged in terms of its 'truth', but gains its authority from its source, and it was this method for the transference of

knowledge that I utilised in the initial phases of data collection. Rather than seeking to meet my own criteria, I allowed the kaumatua of the hapu to instruct me.

### Surrender and Catch

An approach which complements this system of learning is that espoused by Kurt Wolff. Wolff characterises his approach as "amethodical" (1964:250) because instead of focussing on the research product, it focuses on the process of fieldwork. In order to focus on the *process* of fieldwork, Wolff employs an approach which he terms 'surrender to'. This approach is distinct from 'surrender' which has connotations of submission, compliance and subordination. 'Surrender to' is a deliberate and conscious approach to the practice of data collection. In order to achieve this state, preconceptions and previously acquired knowledge must first be acknowledged but then utilised (Wolff 1964:254). Because unacknowledged personal histories, preconceptions, and intellectualist visions narrow our "sensual horizons" (Stoller 1989:4) they restrict what we can gather in the field. But when acknowledged and utilised they allow the present, unconnected to the past, to become the point of departure.

I try to know as a human being, suspending as best as I can my received notions- for most of these are unexamined accretions gathered in the course of my life, and in suspending them I test them, thus testing my biography and the various traditions sedimented in it (Wolff 1976:24).

As a result this approach results in a richer "arsenal of received notions available for testing" (Wolff 1964:249), and by consciously experiencing the present, we become active, not passive, participants in the experience (Bruner in Turner 1986:5).

In reaction to the reflexive trend within the discipline of Anthropology, criticisms have been made about accounts which reflexively posture and ostentatiously acknowledge the Self. Wolff (1969) and Crick (1989) both noted that critics of this trend regard the 'personal impact' of fieldwork as an indulgent exercise. In the extreme, an *unutilised* reflection of the personal element is likely to lead to an anthropology that is merely an "identity ritual for the anthropologist" (ibid :32), but Wolff's approach is not merely reflective, it is reflexive; it not

only demands an awareness of the power inherent in the position of researcher, but demands that this awareness be utilised. The impact of our own personal qualities on the work that we do cannot be arbitrarily and artificially separated out from the professional aspects of our work, and fieldwork requires a range of personal and social skills such as understanding, patience, intuition, subtlety and perceptiveness (Ellen 1984:100). Utilisation of these skills, in conjunction with an analysis of the subjectivity of our perceptions is vital to an "understanding of the texts that we produce" (Crick 1989:25, Berreman 1980, Geertz 1973). And ethnography, as practice and product, must therefore "include methods for acquiring and maintaining permanent insight that can be upgraded as our internal view of ourselves improves" (Werner 1987:3).

But reflexivity requires honesty. While Cesara calls for a more explicit inclusion of the part that the researcher plays in the research that we produce (1982:11), the more we reveal about ourselves, the more we expose ourselves, both personally and professionally. That exposure threatens our notion of Self and demystifies our professional status. Being honest and incorporating autobiographical details therefore takes 'ego-strength' (Sanjek 1990:144), or for those lacking this, it necessitates preconditions, because as Mascia-Lees notes, the truth about the part that we play in the work that we do can only emerge in the right conditions (1989:28). Academics must create conditions that encourage the truth about the practice of research to emerge, but also support those who dare to reveal it.

In wondering why Wolff's approach has not met with feverish excitement amongst anthropologists, I suspect that it threatens the Anthropologists' notion of Self. The connotative meanings of surrender, words such as submission, giving up, submitting, and yielding, have passive, military, feminine and political connotations (Wolff 1976:236-7,262), and these connotative meanings challenge what is still a predominantly patriarchal discipline based on a Western consciousness. Two common themes of the fieldwork experience are losing control and regaining control, and it is this need to be 'in control' rather than 'under

control' that is a characteristic of the Western individualistic concept of Self<sup>8</sup> (Heelas 1981). In a new cultural and professional context the fieldworker tries to gain control over the environment, and problems of privacy, noise, and learning how to operate in a new cultural context (Ellen 1984:105-6) frequently challenge the anthropologists' 'Western' notion of Self. While fieldworkers might aspire to be 'in control', as Lock reminds us, complete control is not always possible (in Heelas 1981:31). As a result some anthropologists perceive the fieldwork experience as one in which the "fieldworkers career, self esteem and prestige may appear to be hostage" (Sanjek 1990:33). However there are strategies which can aid in this process. Devereux and Obeyesekere show that an awareness of identity loss and the subsequent use of defensive / reparative behaviours can serve as tools "to penetrate more deeply into the world of the native" (in Wengle 1988:169). Therefore what we choose to do with this challenging experience is significant. Consciously surrendering to a context, rather than trying to retain control is one mechanism that can be successfully employed.

In entering a cultural context radically different from our culture of socialisation, culture shock increases our openness to the surroundings, But all too quickly that initial openness diminishes.

My sensual openness...was short lived. I quickly lost touch with those scenes of abject deprivation...I soon lost the scent of the of the nose-crinkling stench of the open sewer that gave way to the aromatic aromas of roasting meat. My ears soon deafened to the moans of a sick child that were overwhelmed by the happy laughter of the healthy one. I had become an experience-hardened Africa hand. My immersion in Niger, in Africa, had been, in short, distanced, intellectualised -taken out of the real, of sensual sentiment. The world of ethnographic things had lost its tastes (Stoller 1989:4).

As a direct result of our desire to gain control over this new environment Anthropologists become more sensually closed. Because thought cannot be separated from our senses, by restricting our senses we collect only a distillate, and by analysing that distillate according to some pre-defined framework the distillate is further reduced. As Stoller realised it was only

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<sup>8</sup>Hollan believes that the sharp contrasts drawn between Western and non-Western selves are often exaggerated in an attempt to idealise and over simplify cultural conceptions of Self. Hollan therefore suggests that if cultural models do exist, they act only as a guide. (1992:294)

by a "deep immersion" into the life of the people, that his "gaze" widened to include previously missed experiences (ibid:5). Stoller's "deep immersion" into the environment of his research participants closely parallels Wolff's approach. By suspending the ego the individual's gaze widens, and our senses absorb more of our surroundings, and by then reflecting on that experience, we come to a deeper and broader understanding, not only of the role that our own perceptions play in the collecting of 'data', but of the experience at hand. Through the process of 'surrendering to', one consciously enters into a state in which one is most whole. "The ego is suspended, scattered and differentiated" while "the self is gathered" (Wolff 1964:6), and through this process we are able to receive more of our surroundings, and collect a richer arsenal of data. This addresses Jackson's (1989:6) and Stoller's (1989:5) claim that anthropologists need to experience more fully the fieldwork context; to not only see and hear more, but to taste, touch, and feel more of the moment.

Wolff's approach is not without hazard. The risk of being hurt, is congruent with the danger of seeking what Wolff terms "false surrender"(1976:22). False surrender occurs when we cling to received notions, but it can also occur when the 'surrenderer' suspends too much of their notion of Self. In this state of false surrender' Wolff cautions, there is a risk of insanity. Critics might also question the ability of the researcher to maintain objectivity while surrendering to the context. If we define objectivity to mean 'allowing the evidence to lead to the conclusions' (Sluka 1993:59), then through a process of surrender the data that we gather results in a "richer arsenal" with which to progress toward that conclusion.

If we relate to informants as objects to be manipulated for our own preconceived goals, we limit our ability to perceive and to receive, and ultimately we constrain the type of knowledge we produce. But if we relate to the Other as subject (as a Self ) we are engaged in a process that Wolff terms 'cognatic love'. Fieldwork is about the "play of personalities, the presentation of self, and the *presence of sentiment* (Stoller 1989:5 my emphasis), and it is the sentiments that arise from these relationships that are as important as the data we collect (Abrahams in Turner 1986:60). Because anthropologists are *people* engaged in

purposeful relationships with other *people*, the sentiments that arise from those relationships impact on the data we gather. When we become aware of this it is no longer quite so easy to separate the personal Self from the professional Self, nor is quite so easy to view our research participants as 'Other'. If we enter the field with preconceptions about the experience then we effectively import problems, criteria, expectations, and frameworks from the outside, and as a result we don't allow our representations to emerge from the experience itself. If we surrender and relate to participants as subjects, then we abandon ourselves in favour of our cognatic modes and enter into the experience. We allow ourselves to act wholly; both as person *and* professional. From this point of departure, "we meet whatever the occasion may be" (Wolff 1976:20).

To surrender means...not to select, not to believe that one can know quickly what one's experience means, hence what is to be understood and acted on: thus it means not to suppose that one can do justice to the experience with one's received notions, with one's received feeling and thinking...(ibid).

Wolff's approach is therefore emic; it takes the context at hand as its starting point and views participants experiences within the framework of their own idea of what selfhood is (Geertz 1984). It allows the researcher to see and experience more, and to look beyond their own knowledge and preconceptions.

Components of this approach are therefore suspension of received notions, total involvement, the pertinence of everything, and identification (Wolff 1976:22). By suspending our received notions we become engaged in a process of neither denying or affirming our received notions, but questioning them. This questioning "include(s) my convictions regarding the credibility of theories, the adequacy or appropriateness of concepts, the validity of assumptions, etc." (ibid:23). By being totally involved, in surrender (as in love), the differentiation between subject, act and object disappears. In using this approach we reflexively test not only our Self, but our own professional training. By consciously surrendering, by concentrating on the process, one sees that "everything is important but 'everything else' vanishes" (ibid:23). Through this process the emic present

presents itself as our starting point. Because the aim of surrender is *identification* with participants, this approach is one which is based on a human relationship, between a Self and Self, and because of this relational emphasis it has the potential to be more equitable and less instrumental than traditional research relations. By replacing the common anthropological distinction between a Self and an Other, with a relationship of Self and Self we negotiate a partnership, and in focussing on the relational nature of the fieldwork we challenge the often defensively maintained boundaries between people, and explore issues of involvement, boundary negotiation, separation and connection. This approach focuses on experience, on personhood, on what we share with others, and how we differ. If we maintain this relational nature beyond the field, in the writing up of the 'data', then the research product, the result of this relationship, becomes not merely an object to further the academics' career, but a gift that must be treated with care and respect. A researcher who is "in tune with the people" will in turn be "supported by their aroha" (Stokes 1985:6), but to be 'in tune' with the people, is to relate to our research participants as people not data, and as equal partners in the process that is research.

## **Putting this Approach into Practice**

The most powerful thing you can do to change the world, is to change your beliefs about the nature of life, people, reality, to something more positive...and to begin to act accordingly (Hayward 1978).

As a Tauiwi woman, my own gender and cultural training had instilled in me the need to be in control of my environment and myself. In approaching my life this way, goals frequently took precedence over the process and as a result I ignored not only the path, but much of the scenery along the way. In light of this, using Wolf's approach was personally challenging, but I found it reassuring to remind myself frequently throughout the duration of this research that 'surrender to' is an active process, not a passive one.

Conversations with people were one of the first opportunities to use this approach. In my experience interviews based on pre-defined agendas result in brief answers that convey little of the person, or of the subject about which they speak. When I relinquished this control I discovered that people were much more willing to speak, spoke for longer, and in much greater depth. When talking to people I began with a brief discussion about the subject I was researching, and then let the participant shape the subsequent conversation. King used a similar technique; he would nominate a subject and then allow the person to speak *whai korero* style. As I discovered, although this may seem slow, "given time to think at their own pace, people are more likely to be satisfyingly articulate" (King 1985:119). Prior to one interview a participant told me that they could remember very little about traditional fishing techniques, but given the freedom to shape the conversation they then spoke about this subject competently for two hours. The presence of *whanau* also facilitated conversation, as did letting participants decide where and when they would speak. One participant had been asked by the *hapu* to record specific events relating to the *hapu's* early history, and unable to remember many of the details of these events they went back 'home', sat inside the *wharenui* with their back against the centre pole, and all the missing details came "flooding back". Being 'at home' enabled this person to speak more authoritatively and

comprehensively than they would in other locations, and because of this my conversations with this particular participant took place in the wharehau. In listening to people I tried not to interrupt the conversation, offered 'encouragers'<sup>9</sup> when necessary, and only asked the occasional question in order to clarify my own understanding. Generally the conversation assumed a direction and a flow of its own, and participants indicated when it was time to conclude.

Without doubt, this approach requires a great deal of energy. Wolff reminds us "surrender to is concentration, dedication, devotion, attention" (1964:242). In practice this was demanding; after a day in the field I often felt drained by the level of concentration that 'surrender to' required. At the end of each day I would record my feelings about the people that I had spoken with, and the events of which I had been a part. I recalled the body language of people, the conditions under which these people spoke, and the way that individuals related to each other. These details provided added depth and understanding to the words that I had recorded that day, but taking the time to record these details also served a secondary purpose; it was an opportunity to 'debrief' myself, and this debriefing facilitated my own transition between the world of my participants, and the world of academia.

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<sup>9</sup>Statements or body language indicate that you are listening, that you understand, and that you want to hear more.

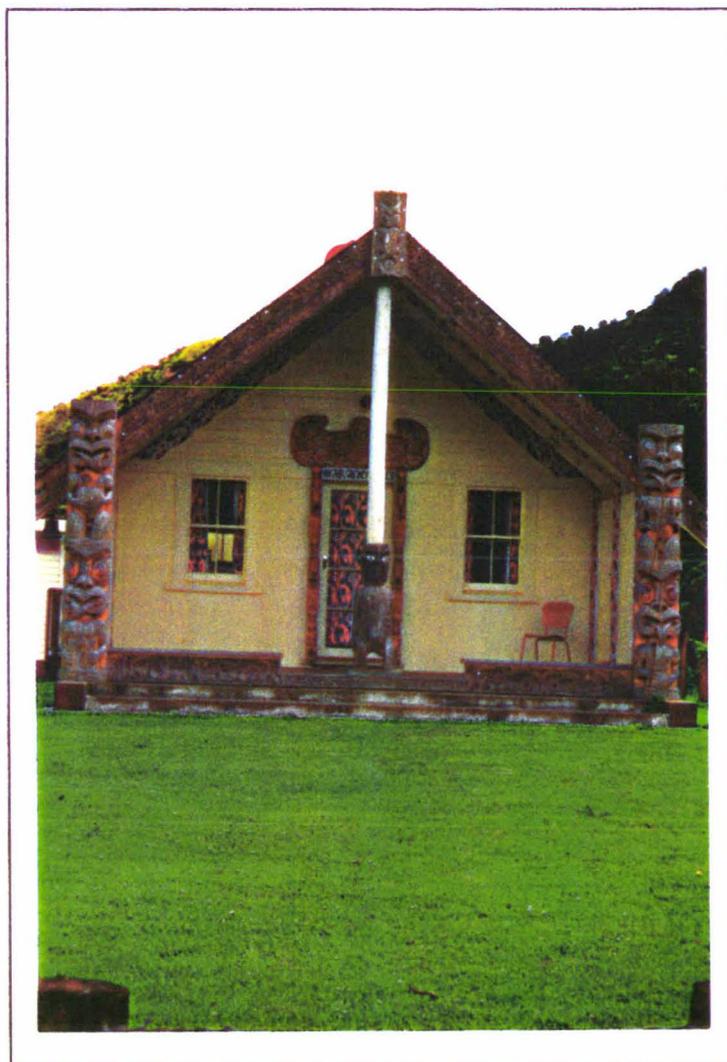
## Chapter Three

### *Ngati Tuera: The Identifying Features*

Pungarehu stand proud  
you've supplied us with an  
abundance of fish, The ngaore  
have seen us through those  
winter nights, the Kanae have  
been kept for their fat...

Patupa what stories you could tell  
of the bloody battles of so long  
ago of the utu for Piharau that  
was the biggest on this river of  
ours...

(Firman in Whanganui River  
Annual 1992:3).



#### *Maranganui, Pungarehu (1993)<sup>1</sup>*

Ngati Tuera are one of 34 constituent hapu of the iwi Te-Atihaunui-a-Paparangi. Iwi rohe stretch from Mt. Ruapehu in the north, to Kai Iwi in the west, and Whangaehu in the south. Flowing through the middle of this region, from its source on the slopes of Ruapehu to the sea near Whanganui city, is the Whanganui river. Thirty five km north-east of Whanganui city, in the sheltered river valley, are the two small settlements of Parikino and Pungarehu.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank Mike Potaka for allowing me to take photographs of the Pungarehu and Parikino marae.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendices three and four for maps of this region.

The two marae at Parikino and Pungarehu, and adjacent lands are the turangawaewae of the Ngati Tuera people. Tuera have a total of three wharenuī; Te Aroha and Wharewhiti at Parikino, and Maranganui at Pungarehu.

All members of this hapu share a genealogical link with their apical ancestor: the chieftainess Tuera, who was a descendant of the son of Turi; the captain of the Aotea canoe. In deriving their descent from a woman these people are distinct from other hapu in the iwi who more commonly take their corporate name from a male ancestor. Within the hapu there are currently three types of membership; the first group comprises of members who live in Whanganui city and participate in hapu activities on a regular basis. A majority of these people travel 'home' on a daily basis to attend school or kohanga, and to participate in hapu activities. The remainder of members belong to two groups; those who live a greater distance away and return home on a less frequent basis, and those who choose to more actively pursue relationships with other hapu, or other iwi. Because ethnicity comprises of three elements: self identification, identification by others and shared activities (Hazlehurst 1993:xviii), besides self identifying as a member, and being identified as such by the hapu, it is the practices and shared activities of these people which further identify them.

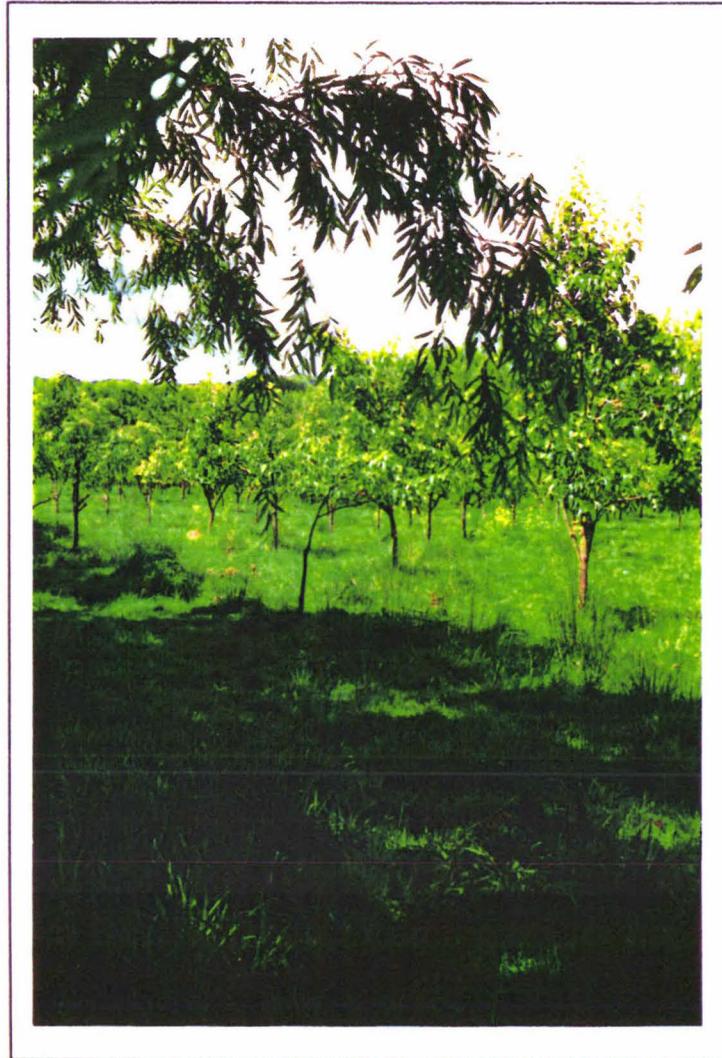
### **Hapu Practices**

The people of this iwi observe 'tikanga Whanganui'; hui paeke, a practice where the tangata whenua are the first to address visitors on the marae, is not observed by members of this iwi during tangihanga. The members of this iwi believe that the manuhiri, who have often travelled some distance to pay their respects, should be given the first honour of addressing the dead. Further identifying members are the hapu's current educational and economic developments. The Whanganui valley was well populated up until the 1950's, but diminishing employment opportunities resulted in people moving to the cities in search of work. In recognition of this Tuera have instigated a series of proactive developments designed to attract members 'back home'; to be educated and to work. In 1987 the elders put what remained of hapu land under the protection and guidance of the Kaitangata 438

Trust, and have since used this land to create a strong economic base. While Kawharu defines two types of Maori; those that live in a tribal community, and those who do not (in Mahuta 1978:89), a majority of Tuera represent a third group; those who live beyond their hapu rohe, in Whanganui city, and travel to their tribal community on a daily basis.

### **Horticultural Developments**

An orchard of 5 acres has been planted on hapu land at Parikino with 1,000 Nashi pear trees, 200 nectarine trees and 200 cherry trees. Profits from the orchard currently go to paying off the loan taken out to establish the orchard, but in the future profits will go back to members of the hapu, and be used to facilitate marae development. Second grade fruit which is not of marketable quality, is currently shared among whanau in the hapu. Besides operating an orchard, the hapu also own and collectively operate a vegetable garden which supplies food for hapu whanau and guests at hui. This garden echoes traditional hapu labour patterns where whanau combined forces to maximise their economic effectiveness, and then distributed food among all members.



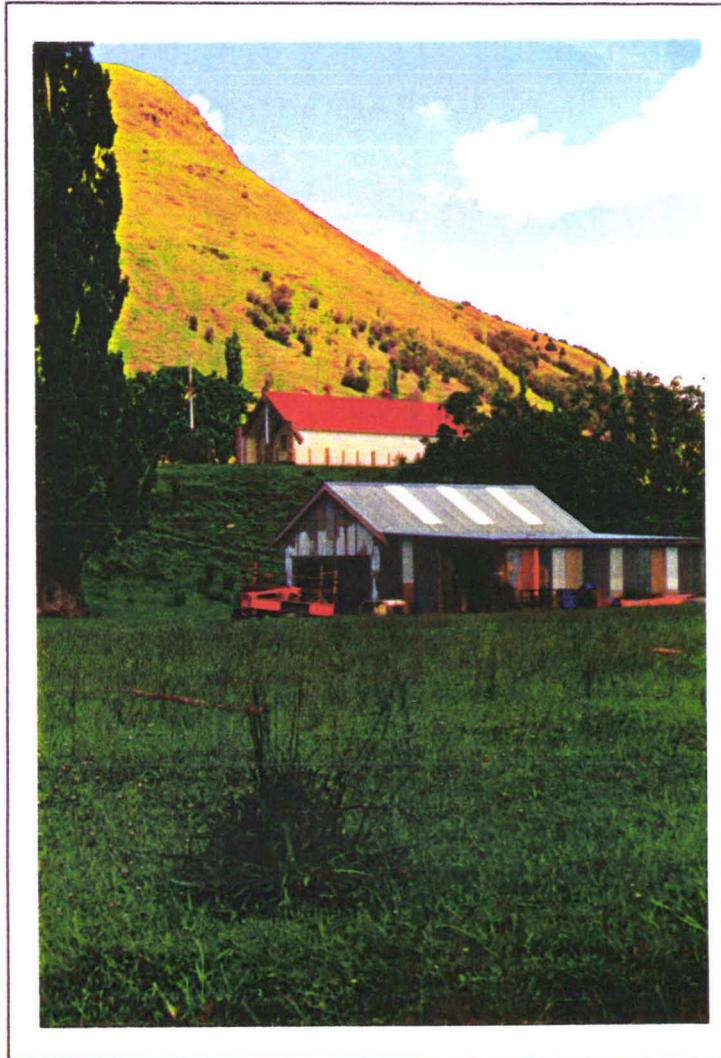
*The Orchard at Parikino (1993)*

### **Tourism Developments: Kaitangata Jet Boat Tours**

A trip down the Whanganui is now regarded as "one of those uniquely 'Kiwi' endeavours...that have become almost a prerequisite for being a New Zealander" (Young 1989:98), and as a result the Whanganui is currently used for recreational purposes more than any other river in Aotearoa. This, combined with an increasing environmental awareness, has resulted in the river being a site for a growing canoeing and rafting industry (Planning Tribunal 1990:126). Recognising this the hapu have instigated their own jet boat and canoe operation: 'Kaitangata Jet Boat Tours'. Based at Pungarehu, hapu members and employees of the hapu drive 2 jet boats and hire out 12 kayaks and canoes to tourists.

Despite being based in the lower reaches, which offers less of a 'wilderness experience' than canoeing in the upper reaches, the canoeing side of the venture is doing well. In the last year (to March 1993), there has been a 90% increase in the numbers of tourists wanting to hire canoes or kayaks (Mike Potaka 1993). The hapu market their venture through flyers in local hotels and motels, but also find that news of their operation spreads well by word of mouth. Although it can be a personal inconvenience delivering canoes to clients on any day of the week, Mike Potaka feels that it is necessary to provide a good service so that the reputation of the venture spreads. A majority of clients are backpackers, German, Swiss, or Swedish students in their mid-twenties, who are attracted to Aotearoa by its clean, green image.

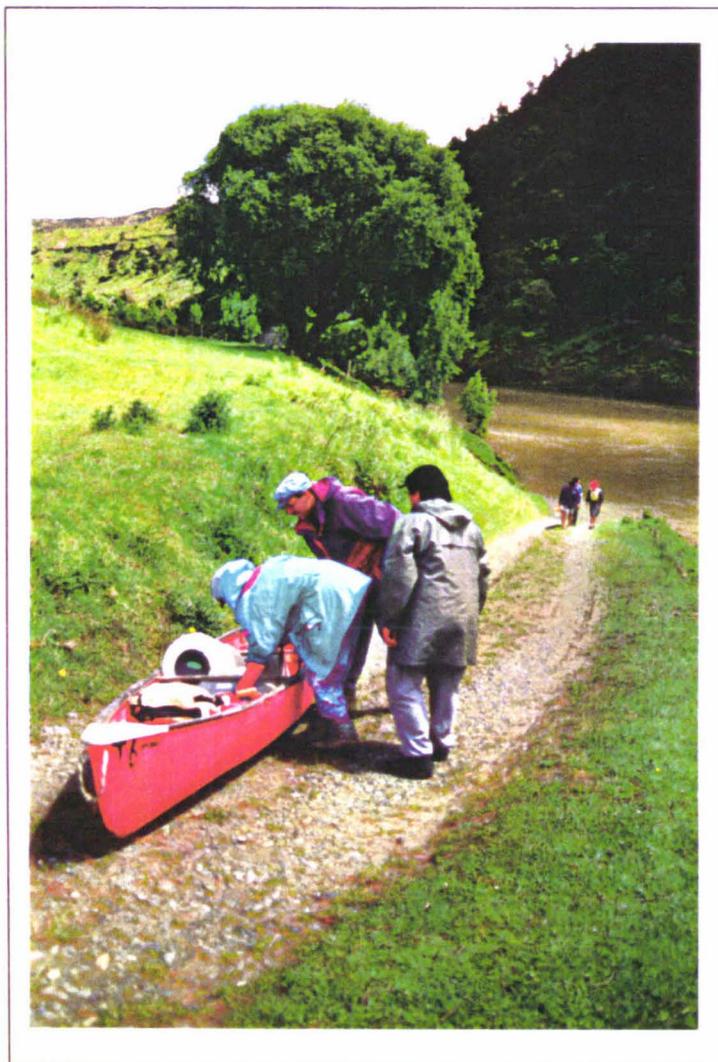
The year March 1992- March 1993 has not been as profitable for the jet boating side of the business. Revenue has been lost due to the need to replace the engine in one jet boat, and repair the second boat when it hit a submerged log. Because more money can be made on the jet boating side of the operation, this has effected the profitability of the business as a whole. Taking less than a full load of tourists also reduces profitability, but the drivers are willing to take several passengers because "if word gets around that you've turned people down then it does a lot of damage...it doesn't worry them that you are making money or not...They want a ride on a jet boat right there and then" (Mike Potaka 1993).



*Maranganui and the Boat shed at Pungarehu (1993)*

Kaitangata Jet Boat Tours parallels other tourist developments instigated by Whanganui Maori. The recently formed Whanganui Tourism Council represents eleven Maori tourist operators on the river, and includes jet boat, canoe and rafting operators, marae stay hosts, campground operators, and historical tour organisers (Whanganui Chronicle 26 April 1993). Maori tourist developments differ markedly from Tauwiwi tourist developments in that they tend to cater for tourists who want "cultural experiences...who want to live, breathe, eat and taste the tourism product - not just to look through a bus window" (in Wanganui Chronicle 9 March 1993). Kaitangata Jet Boat Tours offers tourists an active

encounter with the awa, and staying in the wharenui at Pungarehu after a days canoeing adds to the experience.

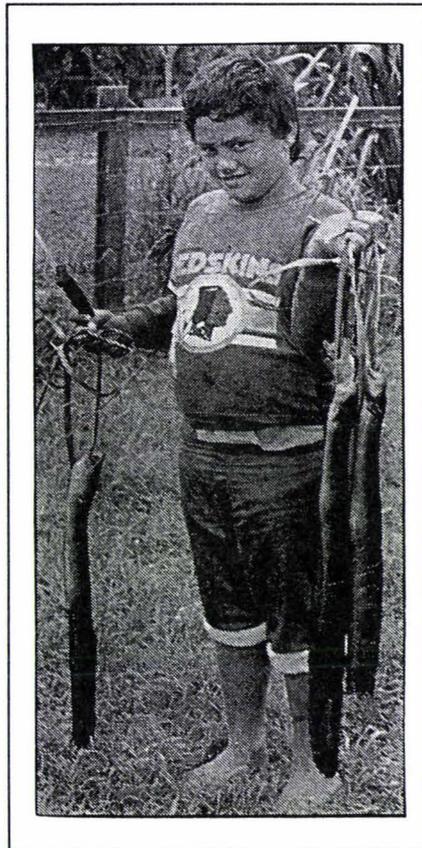


*Swedish tourists return to Pungarehu after a canoe trip with Kaitangata Jet Boat Tours  
(1993)*

### **Educational Developments**

In an attempt to keep alive hapu traditions which are important in terms of hapu identity, Tuera run courses in traditional healing and fishing methods. On these courses students learn about the economic, cultural, and spiritual significance of their environment and the awa, as well as learning practical healing and fishing skills. Because some of the plants used

for traditional healing can no longer be found in the valley, the local school is planning to establish a garden in the school grounds that will contain many of these native plants.



*A student on a traditional fishing course (Whanganui River Annual 1991).*

The school at Parikino, is one of three on the river, and a source of great pride to members of the hapu. While many rural schools in Aotearoa are closing because of falling rolls, Parikino school is flourishing. In the last 5 years the school roll has risen dramatically from 5 children to its present roll of almost 100 (December 1993). This rise in numbers is due to a proactive hapu policy which has sought to encourage hapu children who live in the city of Whanganui to travel 'home' to attend school. A majority of the children attending the school at Parikino travel daily from Whanganui in a bus owned and driven by the hapu. Capable and committed staff, parents, and trustees ensure that the school provides an environment that meets the cultural needs of these young hapu members. It is a school that is "there for them"<sup>3</sup> says Mike Potaka, and as a result "you can't keep the children away". But it is not

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<sup>3</sup>This hapu were one of the first on the river to have their own school. Recognising the value of literacy the hapu were keen to see a Government school established in 1874 (Voelkerling, 1986:218). When the people realised that the school was also aimed at inculcating not

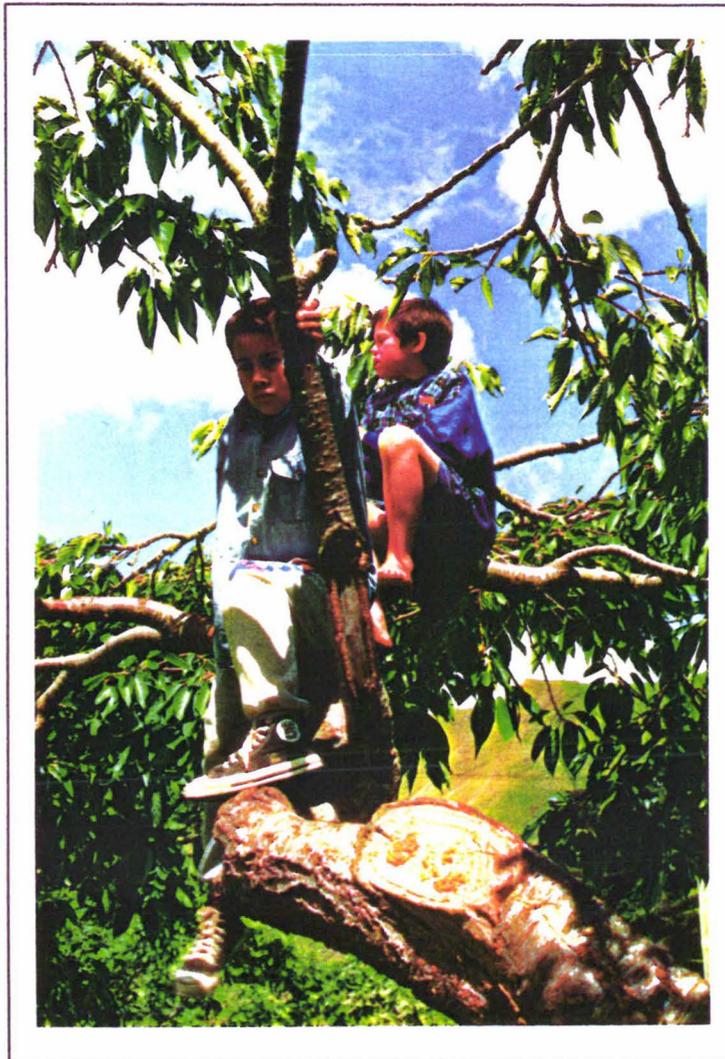
only the pupils of Parikino school that arrive for school each morning. It is not uncommon for children who normally attend other schools to catch the Parikino bus in order to experience this school for themselves. The school's Principal, Manu Kora, realising the importance of providing an environment which supports the children's Maori language development, is planning for the school to become a kura kaupapa Maori in the near future (Wanganui Chronicle 17 August 1993). Te Kohanga Reo at Parikino is another vital part of hapu education. In 1991 twenty children attended the Kohanga at Parikino, but due to a rapidly increasing roll, new buildings have recently been built to accommodate the thirty children who now attend.



*Children and Staff of the Parikino School (Whanganui River Annual 1991:21).*

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only literacy skills, but an awareness of European culture (ibid), enthusiasm for the school waned. The school roll dropped and by 1878 the school was closed (ibid:219). In direct contrast the school aims to teach the reo, tikanga Maori, and tikanga Tuera. As a result it is flourishing.



*Children in the playground of the Parikino School (1993)*

All of these economic and educational developments were instigated with the intention of bringing the people home to be educated and to work, and they are certainly having the desired affect. Maori are moving back 'home' to the valley in increasing numbers (Riley 1990:118), and this reversal of post-war urbanisation trends highlights the cultural relevance of these self defined developments.

## **A Hapu and a River**

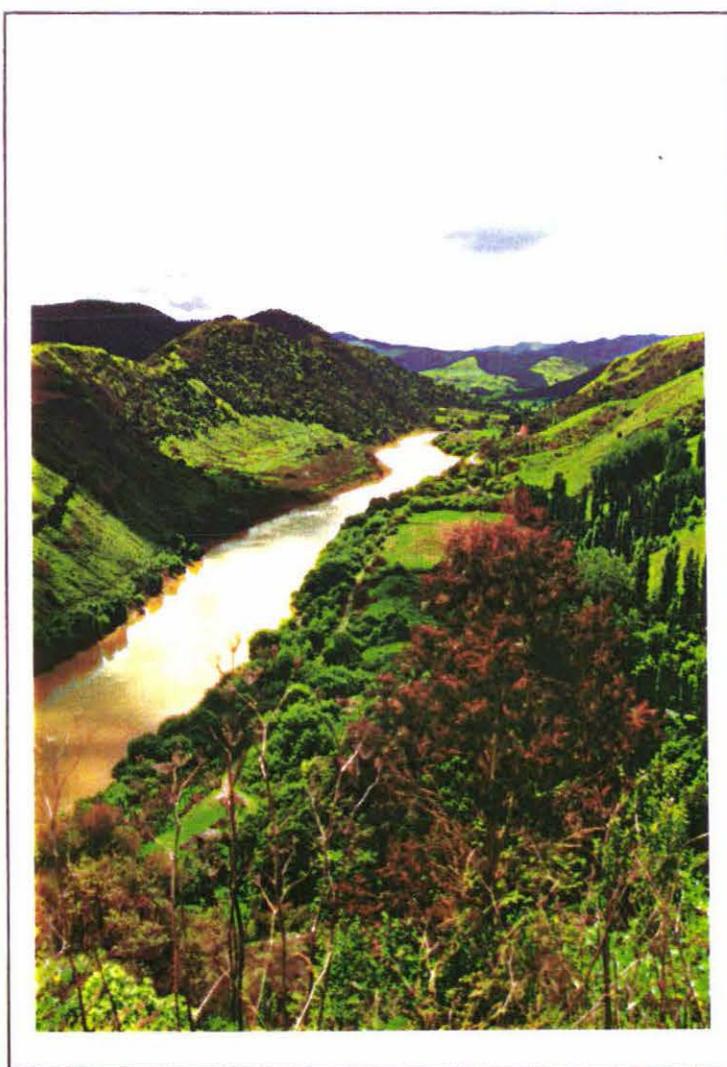
I have left what some members consider to be the most important identifying feature of this hapu till last. This identifier, the Whanganui river, acts as a foundation for the people. It is central to their economic, spiritual, and cultural practices, and is therefore highly significant to the people's identity as hapu and iwi members. In order to understand the significance of this river to the people it is important to understand something of the hapu's historical relationship with this awa.

In relating the early history of the hapu I have avoided reference to events and knowledge which the elders consider to be tapu. As I have already stated, in doing this I actively respect the "mighty right of research participants to withhold" (Scheper-Hughes 1987:73). From a Maori perspective possessing tapu knowledge implies a responsibility to care and protect that knowledge not only from harm, but from harming others (Patterson 1992:31). While sharing sacred knowledge diminishes the mauri of the individual (ibid), sharing knowledge to which you are entitled is to the individual's benefit. Therefore in this chapter I have utilised freely available written accounts, and illustrated these with the experiences of members in the 1930's and 1990's. These experiences are not regarded as tapu and can therefore be shared, but in presenting this history I acknowledge its necessarily partial nature. I begin this history by relating the Maori creation account of the Whanganui river, follow this with discussion of early settlement, and then explore Maori perceptions and practices relating to the awa. I then conclude this history with a discussion of traditional fishing.

### **The Creation of the Whanganui River**

Long, long ago living in the middle of Te-Ika-a-Maui were five great mountains: Tongariro, Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe, Pihanga, and Taranaki. The four male mountains; Taranaki, Tongariro, Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe all loved Pihanga dearly, but Pihanga loved only Tongariro. Subsequently Pihanga and Tongariro had four children: Huka (snow), Hukarere (sleet), Ua (rain), and Hukapapa (frost). One dreadful night Taranaki dared to make love to

Pihanga. Tongariro discovered this and in his anger fought with Taranaki. So great was the fight between these two large mountains that it made the earth shake. After some time Taranaki finally took off beaten and humiliated, but still very angry. In his rage he tore a deep gouge across the land, and in order to heal this great wound in Papatuanuku a stream flowed Tongariro's side, a stream that was later named the Whanganui<sup>4</sup>. But Tongariro never forgave Taranaki for his destructive actions, and his rumblings today are said to be evidence of this. Today Taranaki is found in exile on the west coast of the island, and Pihanga now sits close at Tongariro's side.



*The Whanganui River (1993)*

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<sup>4</sup>It should be noted that despite the implications of this creation account a majority of the water in the Whanganui derives from the slopes of Ruapehu and the Whakapapa stream. Ruapehu not Tongariro is therefore the identifying maunga for the people of this iwi.

For Maori, history does not lie behind you, it lies in front of you, and is therefore a record of tupuna which acts as a guide for life in the present. While the creation account of the Whanganui acts as a reminder of the disruption caused to the landscape by anger and adultery, it also acts as a founding account for the iwi and constituent hapu. All water, whether in the form of a stream, lake, or river, is regarded by Maori as a source of spiritual life. Water, the sacred gift which derives from Ranginui, has the ability to generate life, but it also regenerates it. Besides being a source of life, the waters of the Whanganui are also a source of spiritual sustenance, strength, and healing (Planning Tribunal 1990:100), and because of this the awa is likened to the Ganges<sup>5</sup> by an elder of the iwi (Simon 1991 personal communication). It is expected that the tangata whenua will care for the Whanganui and treat the river with respect. In return it will provide them with spiritual, cultural and economic sustenance.

### **Early Maori Development**

Although the Whanganui valley is said to have been first occupied by Maori in 1100 A.D. (Department Lands and Survey 1982:40), Maori generally acknowledge that the first person to visit the area arrived in 1325 A.D.<sup>6</sup> Kupe came to Aotearoa from his homeland in Hawaiiiki, and travelling North from Wellington, recognised the Whanganui as a means of gaining access to the centre of Te-Ika-a-Maui. Kupe travelled up river as far as Raorika (near Parikino), but it was here that his companion Arapawa was drowned. So upset was Kupe by the death of his friend, that he was unable to continue his journey. When Kupe returned to Hawaiiiki in 1329 (Walker 1990:35), he told his people about the existence of this river, and in 1350, the Aotea canoe landed at Aotea Bay near Kawhia. Turi, the captain of this canoe, moved south with his people to settle at Patea, and it was a descendant of this man; Haunui, who gave the river its present name. Searching for his wife Wairaka who had run away with her lover, Haunui<sup>7</sup> travelled south down the coast from Patea, until he came

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<sup>5</sup>Many other indigenous peoples regard their rivers as sacred and as having healing qualities (see Moody 1988 : 198).

<sup>6</sup>The neighbouring hapu of Tuera's, the Nga Paeringi, unlike other hapu, believe that their forebears did not migrate to the area, but were always there.

<sup>7</sup>Chapple (1989:4) and Smart (1976:22) both note that it is generally believed that it was Hau or Haupipi who gave the river its name. However Mike Potaka believes that this persons name was Haunui.

to a river too wide to cross. He named this river the 'Whanganui' which translates as 'large body of water' (Nelson 1991:72) or 'long waiting'.

Turi's descendants migrated south from Patea, to the estuary of the Whanganui river where they established temporary fishing villages, and more permanent settlements in the shelter of the river valley. Although Maori lived a majority of the year in these more permanent sites, they would travel to their fishing villages for the duration of the summer fishing season (Saunders 1968:53), in order to maximise seasonally available resources. The hapu's permanent kainga and cultivations were established on fertile ground in the valley adjacent to the river, with a fortified pa on the cliffs above. These strategically sited pa gave the people a clear view up and down the river, and often the only access to many of these pa was by means of a rope ladder. In the event of enemy attack the ladder would be withdrawn and large boulders rolled over the edge of the cliff onto the enemy below. Downes incorrectly believed that the kainga of Tuera, and the cliffs above them, received their current name 'Kaitangata' from an incident which occurred in 1820. According to Downes a raiding group from Ngati Apa attacked the kainga, and after a siege of several weeks succeeded in pulling down the palisades of the pa. The people inside were either killed or captured. One member trying to escape jumped from this 100 foot cliff into the river below, and as he jumped his pursuer called after him: "I'll get you yet, and when I do get you I'll eat you, hair and all". According to Downes the man was later caught at a pa near Upokongaro, and "the threat was made good" (1923:69). While Downes' account makes an interesting story, according to the people of this hapu it is incorrect. As Mike Potaka points out, the cliffs and the flats below them were called Kaitangata long before 1820; not because people were eaten there, but because the area was an abundant source of food.

The river was central to the existence of the people. The fertile river flats enabled kumara to be grown, and the bush provided birds, berries, fern roots, and a large variety of plant materials. The river was home to taniwha and kaitiaki who protected the people, and acted as messengers to warn them of danger or an impending death. It was a valuable freshwater

resource with plentiful supplies of tuna, piharau, inunga, koura, and kakahi, but it was also the people's highway; it enabled easy access to the sea, and to land in the upper reaches of the valley and beyond. In order to navigate this highway every kainga on the river had their own fleet of canoes (Saunders 1968:54); large waka were used in the lower reaches where the river was deeper and the flow was faster.<sup>8</sup> In the upper reaches waka tiwai, a smaller dugout canoe hollowed from a single log, were more commonly used (Nelson 1991:29,73). Not surprisingly Whanganui Maori are renowned for their waka, their skill in navigating the river, and their poling ability.

In the initial phase of settlement the whanau was the first social unit, but as whanau grew in numbers they achieved the status of a hapu. To be fully constituted as a hapu the group needed a leader of mana who derived their descent from the cheiftness Tuera, and who possessed skills in diplomacy, and the ability to strengthen the identity of the hapu through arranged political marriages (Walker 1990:64). Although the whanau was the basic unit of daily life, whanau would combine when a larger labour force was required. They would amalgamate regularly to form a body of 200-300 people for activities such as the development of the marae, military exercises, the maintenance of hapu gardens, and seasonal fishing activities. The river is a unifying symbol for members of the largest political grouping; the iwi. It is currently regarded as the soul of the tribe, and the waters of the Whanganui are perceived as its blood or life force. Because the waters of the awa flow past hapu who live on its banks, it is said that the awa retains the tribal culture of the iwi. This unifying quality derives from the actions of a woman named Ruaka.

### **Divisions of the Iwi and Guardianship of the Awa**

Ruaka, a descendant of Turi, married a man called Tamakehu. The couple lived at Ranana and had three children; Hinengakau, Tamaupoko and Tupoho. Ruaka symbolically divided the river into three areas and gave the responsibility of these sections to each of her three children. To her daughter Hinengakau she gave the area from the rivers source on the upper

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<sup>8</sup>See appendix eight.

slopes of Mt. Tongariro to the settlement at Retaruke. To her oldest son Tamaupoko she gave the area from Retaruke to Matahiwi, and to her youngest son Tupoho she gave the area from Matahiwi to the sea. Although Ruaka had effectively divided the people of the iwi who lived in this valley into three distinct areas, it is said that in times of crisis when the iwi needed to act as one, Hinengakau the guardian of the river in the upper reaches would loosen her long plaited hair and let it flow down the river. Her flowing hair would symbolically join the hapu living on its banks into one united force. These three divisions of the iwi living in the river valley -Hinengakau, Tamaupoko, and Tupoho -are actively recognised and referred to today. Ngati Tuera is identified as a constituent hapu of the Tupoho group in the lower reaches of the river.

### **Traditional Common Law Water Rights**

Before the arrival of Tauwi, Maori had an intricate and detailed system of water rights, validated by occupation and the use of these resources. In 1860 Chief Justice Martin noted that every square mile of New Zealand was subject to Maori claim (in McHugh 1991:132). But while these claims related to land, it should be noted that these claims also related to access and use of water resources. Use and access rights to sections of the river were specific to individual hapu, and were dependent on the ability of individual hapu to defend and care for these resources. This system of water allocation related to the river, but by association also included everything above and below its surface; these rights therefore incorporated use and access of the tributaries of the Whanganui, the gravel in its bed, the land beside the awa, and the air above the river.

Like many other indigenous groups, for Maori it is not a matter of having or possessing land or water but "being an *inseparable* part of it" (Davis cited in Durrenberger 1988:531 my emphasis). One elder explained his relationship with the river, and his inseparability from it, by saying: "I am the river and the river is me" (Mike Potaka 1993). This inseparability is crucial to understanding the relationship that Tuera have with their awa. Because Maori regard themselves as inseparable from the environment in which they live, they must take

their place equitably along with all other elements, and this relationship is both retrospective and prospective; Maori perceive themselves as related equally to all other elements through a bond of kinship which derives from their genealogical links with Rangī and Papa, but because the world was also given to them, "not by their parents but by their children" (Mead 1993), this relationship extends forward in time incorporating not only the past, but the future. Minhinnick (1993) therefore speaks of the need for Maori to make "seventh generation decisions" regarding water resources.

Because every object, whether it is animate or inanimate, has its own mauri and wairua<sup>9</sup>, distinctions between object (the inanimate) and subject (the animate) are therefore less defined than in European culture, and Maori frequently refer to the Whanganui river as a living being. The wairua and the mauri present in each element in the environment must be actively acknowledged and respected, otherwise these elements will not flourish (Patterson 1992:23), and as a result, the balance of the environment will be upset. If the mauri and wairua of the Whanganui are detrimentally affected, then so are fish that live in it, and Maori who live beside it. If you regard yourself as inseparable from the river, then your spiritual and physical health, and the spiritual and physical health of the river are mutually interdependent. Because of this inseparability and interdependence the mauri of your 'home' is regarded as a protecting force. As a child of 15, one of Tuera's kaumatua went on a school trip to Hastings. His Mother, aware of the danger of her son visiting a place with mauri that was different from his home, took her son down to the Whanganui. Beside the river prayers were said to protect this young boy; "just in case I inadvertently did the wrong thing". While adults who visit a strange marae know how to behave by being "aware of the spirit of the land" (Rangihau cited in Patterson 1992:2), children need to be safeguarded, and this boy's Mother therefore called upon the mauri of their river to protect her young son.

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<sup>9</sup>Wairua is defined as 'spirit' (Barlow cited in Patterson 1992:13), while mauri is the life principle of all inanimate and animate things (ibid).

## Traditional Fishing

### The Value of Fish and an Identity as Fishers.

Aotearoa has thirty species of native fish, and eighteen of these species, as well as two species of invertebrate and a freshwater mussel, have been recorded in the Whanganui (Planning Tribunal 1990:3.0:8). Traditionally the territory of a hapu always included access to specific fisheries (Walker 1990:64), and this reliance on water resources resulted in a wide variety of techniques being used to catch a large number of aquatic species. Over time a vast body of knowledge associated with fish habits and habitats developed. Because fishing was an important hapu activity, kai moana and kai awa were highly valued and integral to an identity as Maori. That value has not diminished.

It is clear that of all the features of the pre-contact lifestyle which have survived, Maori reliance and fondness of their kai moana remains as strong as in previous generations. This feature of Maori life is not merely a matter of dietary predilection. Evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal describing the ancestral fishing grounds... and boundaries, as well as the central place of kai moana on marae occasions, show that access to this resource is very much a matter of 'Maoriness' (McHugh 1991:141).

Due to the siting of Tuera's kainga, in an area with ideal conditions for catching native species, such as the tuna and the piharau<sup>10</sup>, the hapu rohe of Tuera became known, among the iwi and beyond, as a "traditional fishing area" (Mike Potaka 1993).

"Besides the koura they used to fish all the flounder, eels, whitebait which is the karoahi, the smelts, which is the ngaore...And I guess that's some of the language that we use that other people don't use. Some people call them inunga, well to us the smelt is the ngaore. In other places they've got different words for those. And they caught all those fish here...especially the piharau because it was a delicacy (ibid).

These iwi specific names for species and for different ages of fish illustrate the reliance of these people on the river as a source of sustenance. But because the area was widely known as a traditional fishing area, its people were also known as great fishers. Up until the 1950's fish were still relied upon to supplement other foods, and in the 1920's and 1930's fishing took place about once a week. Today only a minority of members, usually elders, fish with

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<sup>10</sup>See Appendix six.

the same regularity, but despite this, fishing and access to the awa are still guiding kaupapa for the Ngati Tuera people. These kaupapa were expressed in a variety of ways.

### Manaakitanga



*A catch of tuna to be shared among the whanau of Koriniti (Sinclair 1978:235)*

Mana is directly linked to the individual's and the group's ability to contribute and to share, and manaakitanga is a way of expressing respect for the individual and the group. Traditionally fish was a crucial commodity in gift exchange; within the hapu and beyond.

We only used to fish for a certain period. Once you had enough to cover your mats, and enough to eat you'd knock off. And then you would share - share it with the other people on the marae. We were always taught those skills when we very young...you were taught to share (Mike Potaka 1993).

Gifts within the hapu enhanced the mana of the giver, but gifts of fish from Tuera to other hapu enhanced the mana of Tuera as a whole, as well as reinforcing their identity as fishers. Fresh or preserved ngaore, piharau and tuna, were the most common gifts given to other hapu. Piharau, which were regarded by the people as a river delicacy<sup>11</sup> were preferred over whitebait, and considered to be the most valued fish given in gift exchange. Gifts of this delicacy became closely associated with the practices, mana and identity of this hapu.

Allowing other hapu to fish within their rohe further enhanced the mana of the hapu. In the 1930's, during the piharau season hapu members would fish during the week, and would invite other hapu to fish for piharau in the weekends. However a precondition of manaakitanga is access to plentiful resources (Te Puni Kokiri 1993:15); if fisheries were plentiful then members could express mana by gifting, but if they were not plentiful then this impacted detrimentally upon members of the hapu. As a result of pollution in the river, the piharau population has diminished, and the hapu can now no longer invite other hapu to fish for piharau at Pungarehu, nor can they gift these fish to other hapu. Today members give gifts of smoked fish bought in Whanganui, and this detrimentally affects hapu mana, and hapu identity. Because gifts are associated with the giver, in giving gifts of smoked fish hapu members cannot exhibit their skill as fishers. Furthermore, because these fish are caught at sea, these fish have a mauri that differs from that of fish caught by the hapu within their own rohe.

### **Fishing Space: Hapu Use and Access Rights**

While fishing rights in most societies involve control over "fishing space" rather than control over specific species (McCay in Archeson 1981:281), in this hapu systems of control were

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<sup>11</sup>Young defines them as "haute cuisine" (1990:100)

exercised over fishing space, fishing species, and associated bodies of knowledge. Control over fishing space was not motivated by a desire to conserve fish stocks, but was designed to reserve fish for the group, and in order to maintain access to plentiful resources systems of control restricted use and depletion of fish populations.

Traditionally the iwi had mana over the river from its source to the sea, and each hapu had mana within its own hapu rohe. For Tuera this meant access and use of the river adjacent to Pungarehu, Parikino, and either side of these two settlements. Bends and rapids in the river in conjunction with geographical land features adjacent to the river facilitated sharp distinctions between different rohe. Tuera's rohe was so clearly defined that members knew exactly where and when they could fish, and a majority of members religiously observed these restrictions. As a result: "(e)verybody on the river would never go into someone else's area"(Mike Potaka 1993). Fish in the river beyond the hapu rohe was regarded as belonging to the adjacent hapu, and "you wouldn't go next door and pinch all their food"(ibid). A system of sanctions operated to further discourage those who were contemplating fishing outside the hapu rohe. The continued use of the river and its resources over time ensured the maintenance and transference of these rights of access and use.

### **Kaitiakitanga: Management of Taonga.**

Rangatira were expected to use their mana to "protect and direct the group and its taonga" (Metge in Te Puni Kokiri 1993:11), and it was their responsibility to oversee the protection of fisheries and associated bodies of knowledge. Because greater knowledge of fish habits and fish habitats equates with greater fishing success (Archeson 1981:290), secrecy and procedures for information management existed in order to protect this "scarce capital" (ibid), and a gatekeeping system, practised by tohunga, protected these bodies of knowledge from discovery and abuse by outsiders (Te Awekotuku 1991:7),

A desire to conserve resources is more likely to occur when people can perceive some personal benefit, and members of the hapu clearly understood why they should fish within

their own hapu rohe, and manage their fisheries conservatively. Overfished stocks threatened not only the hapu's continuance but the survival of other hapu on the river. Tuera therefore needed to act conservatively out of consideration for their own survival and the survival of the iwi as a whole. Conservative measures, such as tapu<sup>12</sup> or temporary tapu (rahui), protected specific sites and species from overfishing. Allowing fishing to take place during designated times, at designated places, shortening the fishing season if stocks were low, or allowing fishing to take place during certain phases of the moon prevented the depletion of resources. So rigidly were the 'appropriate' times to go fishing observed, that "we knew instinctively which were the nights to go fishing"(Mike Potaka 1993). Breeding fish were frequently thrown back, and the habitats of fish were disturbed as little as possible. In addition reseeded shellfish beds ensured a good supply of kakahi for the hapu as well as indirectly ensuring adequate supplies of eels<sup>13</sup>. Traditionally, severe sanctions such as mutilation, banishment, humiliation and death could be imposed for those who violated tapu or rahui. But the tohunga who imposed these bans were themselves subject to controls. Like rangatira, they were also responsible for the corporate group's physical and mental health, and this ensured that ethical practices were observed (Te Awekotuku 1991:7).

Tapu also protected the fishers themselves. Areas with potential physical and spiritual danger such as whirlpools, the homes of taniwha<sup>14</sup>, and lakes where ancestors are buried had tapu placed on them in order to protect the people from harm. An awareness of these prohibited areas was so well instilled in children that in the 1930's as a young child, Mike was

scared to go out at night... I guess that was some of the psychology that they (parents) used... so that they (children) weren't roaming around in the dark...desecrating areas. Later on you learn...to treat them with respect (ibid).

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<sup>12</sup>Tapu is commonly misunderstood to be a prohibition, but in practice it is a *protective device*. Something becomes tapu by virtue of being imbued with mana and the prohibition on associating with a tapu object can be seen as protection against being harmed by contact with the potency of the mana (Patterson 1992:107).

<sup>13</sup>Eels eat the freshwater mussel.

<sup>14</sup>While taniwha were once feared, today they are regarded as kaitiaki, entities to be respected, rather than monsters to be feared.

Mike's brother Bill will not fish in one lake in the region because of the tapu that was placed on it when tupuna were buried there. But not all people know about these prohibitions, and not all members of the hapu observe them. In Bill's opinion "if they don't know then they don't do anything wrong." He refrains from telling Maori who fish in this lake about the tapu, because "it doesn't seem to hurt anyone -so I don't say anything". While an infringement of tapu today may not lead to mutilation or banishment, it still has the potential to cause sickness, whether you are aware of the tapu or not. And Tauivi are not immune from this sickness. For Maori, rectifying a breach of tapu usually takes the form of karakia beside the river. Special prayers are said early in the morning or late in the day, and are accompanied by sprinkling the transgressor with water from the river. This healing process usually take several days, concluding when the person who had infringed tapu becomes fully aware of their transgression.

Not all that long ago a couple of my nephews were up in an area that was considered not a good area, and they got very ill. Fortunately the parents knew where they had been, and took them down to the water (Mike Potaka 1993).

Traditionally the whole of the Whanganui was regarded as being under the protection of tapu, which protected this valuable resource, but also instilled a respect for the physical and spiritual power of the awa as a whole. While many kaumatua and kuia still regard the river as tapu, not all members currently view it this way. "All you can say to the kids is (that) its dangerous to go swimming on your own. You (can) tell them about the tikanga, tapu, but it doesn't sink in like it used to" (Mike Potaka 1993). Because of this, an awareness of the sacred nature of the river is currently being rekindled through teaching at the Parikino kohanga and school.

The sacred and special qualities of the river and this valley are not only evident to Maori. While Maori are increasingly returning home to renew their spiritual links with this area<sup>15</sup>, one of its more famous Tauivi residents, James K. Baxter, was drawn to the valley by its

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<sup>15</sup>Often as they get older, and as the "call gets stronger" (Mike Potaka 1993).

Maori and Catholic spirituality (Young 1989:102). This year when driving up the River Road I would often meet three plump kereru sitting in the same tree like sentinels guarding this special valley and its people. I made my first journey to the valley when I was seventeen on a very dark night, and clearly remember being very aware of the power of the valley. As I later discovered, because of this power many older Maori refuse to travel the River Road at night

For Maori the body is considered sacred, and things that are worn on the body are by association also sacred. Food in contrast is considered to be 'noa' and free from tapu. Sacred and noa objects through the imposition of tapu were prevented from contact; clothes were therefore never washed in the river which was a source of food, and in the past washing was always separated into two categories; items that had been worn on the body, and items that related to food. Therefore in the 1930's table cloths and tea towels were never washed with clothes. "If you did do it by mistake, and washed a tea towel with your personal clothes then they would take it out and rip it up or burn it ...it just wasn't the done thing" (Mike Potaka 1993). Today washing machines, because they are used to wash all articles together, regardless of purpose, inhibit the practice of this prohibition: "now they throw everything in" (Mike Potaka 1993), but several older women of the hapu still continue to wash these items separately.

### **Swimming; a Necessary Life Skill**

Because of the sacred nature of the awa, bathing in the river was, and still is, regarded as a cleansing experience; for both the body and the soul. Swimming was used to teach children life skills such as "will power, perseverance and fortitude" (Planning Tribunal 1990:101), but because the people used the river for transport and fishing, it was also an essential survival skill. Often the earliest memory that older hapu members have of the awa is learning to swim. In reality these 'lessons' were often more of an abrupt indoctrination, as Bill found out when, as a young boy, he was thrown from a canoe into the river. "I came up spluttering and coughing, and all of a sudden I felt my feet touch the ground. The water was

only up to here" (knee height). But swimming was also a much enjoyed form of recreation; in the 1840's the young women of Parikino were recorded "racing along the shore, diving from high banks, plunging, kicking, splashing and ducking one another" (Power 1849:162). In Power's opinion the people of Tuera "appear to be as much at home in the water as on land, and are twice as dangerous; for if an unlucky wight (sic) paddles his canoe among them, it is immediately invaded at the stem and stern, his paddles are seized, and, if he is not upset, it is only because they take more delight in splashing him from head to foot, or in rocking the canoe till it is full of water" (Power 1849:162). Because members of the hapu learned to swim at an early age this resulted in the belief that all adults, whether they were Maori or Taiuiwi, could swim. An incident in 1847, humorous in retrospect, illustrates this misconception

A party of the officers had gone up the river, and after a night spent in the pa at Peri-kino (sic), some of them were looking out for a place to swim, and a deep hole was pointed out, into which they dived. Presently one came who could not swim a stroke, and who was looking for a safe place. Unluckily, his knowledge of Maori was on a par with his swimming; so, when the Maories (sic) pointed out the hole, and told him it was "Kapai" (good), he thought it good for a *man who could not swim*, and in he jumped without hesitation. When he appeared again, kicking and spluttering with all his might, the Maories (sic) looked on it as a capital joke; and the more he shouted and floundered, the funnier they thought him. There is no doubt that he would have been drowned before their eyes if he had not luckily at last found footing; and when the thing was explained they could scarcely credit it, and the man who could not swim was ever afterwards looked upon as a sort of '*lusus naturae*'<sup>16</sup> (Power 1849:163).

## **Gender and Status Distinctions and the Practice of Fishing**

Traditionally, fishing generated many activities within the corporate group and these activities in turn defined gender and status within the hapu. Nets and hooks had to be made, weirs built and repaired, and fish had to be caught, cooked, and preserved. Learning these skills established relationships between people. Traditionally it was the role of tohunga to advise and sanction the position of weirs, decide the appropriate time and place to fish, and to karakia before the fishing season for certain species began. Men in the hapu were

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<sup>16</sup>A freak of nature.

responsible for the building of weirs, and caught and cooked the piharau and tunaheke, while women caught, cooked and preserved the tunarere. In Bill's case it was the women who also taught him how to fish<sup>17</sup>.

Yes I think I learned more off the women than I did off the men, they would go out of their way to teach you. The men were trying to beat one another to catch the most...After a while I started doing it too. But the women were different, they would teach you (Bill Potaka 1993).

### **Cooperative Fishing**

Shared knowledge, and shared labour increased the likelihood of a catch, and the hapu was frequently used as a unit of labour (Downes 1918a:296). In order to maximise resources and to reduce any uncertainty associated with fishing, Tuera fished a variety of species throughout the year. Fishing cooperatively in this way established and maintained inter-whanau ties, as well as providing an effective labour force of up to 300 people to maximise seasonally available resources. Traditionally the hapu fished within its own rohe, but they would also travel down to the sea as a group to fish in the summer. Power observed that in the 1840's hapuka and kahawai would be caught in the estuary of the river utilising large numbers of people and canoes. At this time of year, the settlement of Wanganui was "a scene of the greatest bustle and activity", and he observed many canoes being launched and rowed through the water, trailing fishing lines to catch the kahawai (Power 1849:77).

### **Diversification**

The hapu did not rely solely upon its fisheries; horticulture, hunting, and gathering diversified the economy of the hapu and further reduced the uncertainty associated with fishing. If the hapu were hosting hui then the hapu would fish in order to provide food for their guests, but they would also hunt. One hapu member out hunting for pigs in the 1940's was unaware that the hapu were making preparations for a hui. He remembers bringing a large pig home, only to find out that it wasn't destined to be admired:

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<sup>17</sup>It was not always the women who taught the children to fish. Bill's mother had "a special authority" which not even his father would contest (Bill Potaka 1993).

I still remember once when my brother Pete and I went out pig hunting and we got this beautiful pig. I spent hours carrying this damn pig home, hung it up in the walnut tree...oh it was beautiful. Mum comes up with Uncle...looks up... (into the tree, and says)... "Oh very good boys, take it down to the pa for the people". It nearly rocked me, but you just couldn't say a thing eh, if she said take it down, then that's it, that's law (Bill Potaka 1993).

Gardening collectively also diversified the hapu economy and reduced their reliance on fisheries. Like all food resources, vegetables were shared among the hapu.

In those days the women always looked after the vegetable gardens... You may have had eight families with their own paddock, and in October when you put down your main gardens you'd start at one end and you'd put that garden in, and they would give you lunch. Then a couple of days later you would move to the next one. Some people had more potatoes than they needed and they would give them to other families (Mike Potaka 1993).

## **Traditionally Caught Species**

### **Piharau (*Geo Australis*- Lamprey)**

Piharau are not a true fish; they have no bones, no jaw and they lack paired lateral fins. Eel-like in appearance they lays their eggs on stream beds, and when hatched the young will drift down river to the sea in order to attach themselves to host fish for a period of several years. They then detach themselves and return as adults to spawn in the river where they were hatched (Whanganui River Annual 1992:72). The piharau fishery and the methods associated with catching this fish, are considered to be unique to the Whanganui River (Young and Foster 1986). Piharau were caught in weirs built across the river in the spring when the adult fish migrated up river to spawn. The ideal conditions for catching these 'fish' in weirs was when the river was in flood; the swiftly flowing water very effectively trapped and retained the piharau. Weirs remained in place throughout the year, and sections of them were repaired or rebuilt in the summer when the water level was at its lowest.

In the 1920's the utu piharau at Parikino was the biggest weir on the river. It stretched 3/4 of the way across the river, and was secured to the river bed with 18 large gaffs<sup>18</sup>. In order to have maximum effect, weirs were carefully positioned in a swiftest part of the river. A straight stretch of river wasn't essential, but the current had to be "flowing straight", or parallel with the river bank. The stretch of water adjacent to Pungarehu was ideal; the water flowed parallel to the bank but the shingle beds also provided an ideal site to secure the large gaffs necessary to hold the weir in place. Choosing the exact site for the weir took skill and judgment based on a detailed knowledge of fish habits and seasonal river flows. The river would be observed in flood at the time of the piharau season, and potential sites marked out. Each site would then be tested by placing markers on adjacent banks. Three or four sticks were then thrown into the river between the two markers to assess the best angle for the weir in relation to the current; the fastest moving stick indicated where the current was swiftest. The speed and position of this stick would then be recorded and the ideal angle for the weir calculated. The angle from the centre of the flow to the markers on the banks was crucial if the weir was to be effective; if the angle was not acute enough then the weir would not trap the piharau, nor would it retain them effectively.

Once the position and angle of the weir had been decided, a straight fence<sup>19</sup> made of stakes with a thick covering of manuka, would be built across the river. A netting bag or poha was attached, and to this a cylindrical net or hinaki was attached. This hinaki was longer<sup>20</sup> than the hinaki used on eel weirs (Best 1929:165). A gap of 6-12 inches was left between the poha and the weir, and it is through this gap that the piharau would swim in an attempt to navigate the large obstacle created by the weir. Aware of the danger of being swept into the hinaki, they would pause and "listen for the current...as soon as the current whistles<sup>21</sup> they wait...when the current stops whistling they try and shoot across, and some get half way...and the current surges again and the fish are sent into the eel basket. It is the surging

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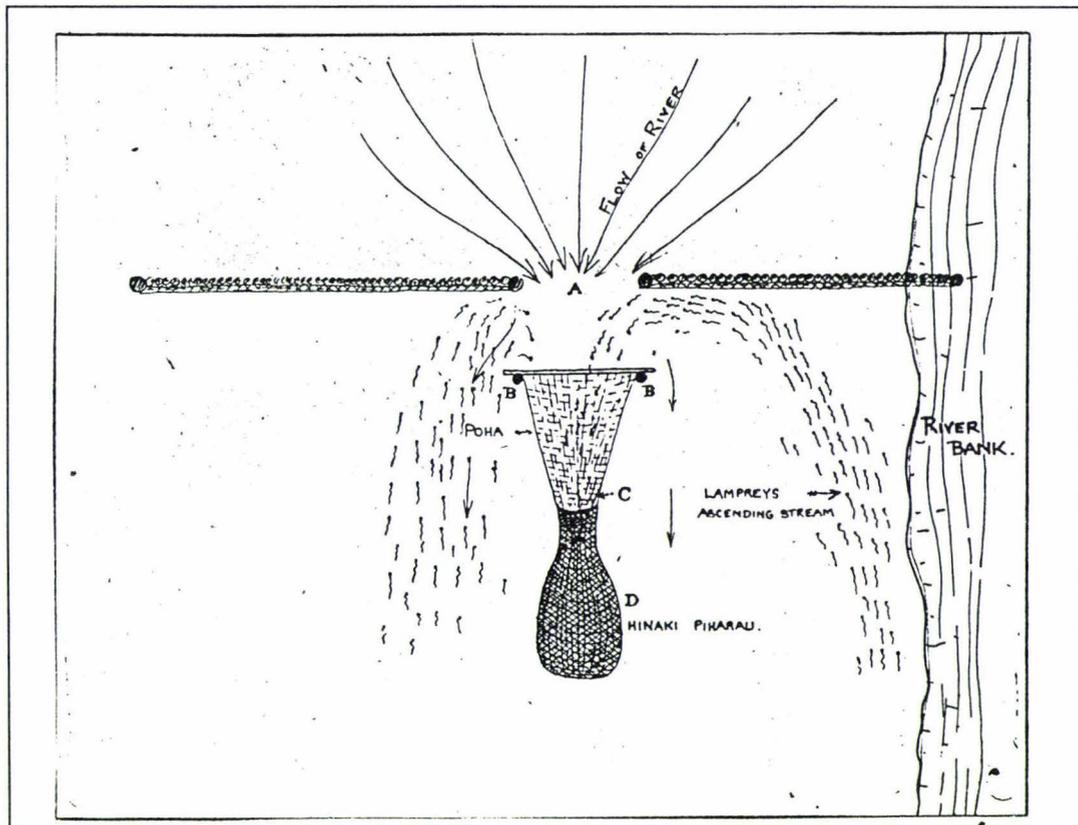
<sup>18</sup>These gaffs were driven into the river, and the shingle beds at Pungarehu therefore provided the ideal sites for a weir.

<sup>19</sup>In this area straight weirs would be built to trap fish travelling up the river, and V-shaped weirs to trap fish travelling downstream (Best 1929:161).

<sup>20</sup>About 2 1/2 feet (ibid).

<sup>21</sup>The 'whistling' of the current occurs when the current is strongest.

of the water that pushes them into the hinaki. They don't swim in, they are pushed in" (Bill Potaka 1993). Not all piharau navigating this gap would be caught, thus ensuring a catch for other hapu further up river<sup>22</sup>, and enough fish to spawn up river for a catch the following year. Piharau that were trapped in the hinaki remained there until it was full, but sometimes the fishing was so good that the hinaki had to be emptied every two hours. The men would paddle out to the weir, and transfer the fish into the waka.



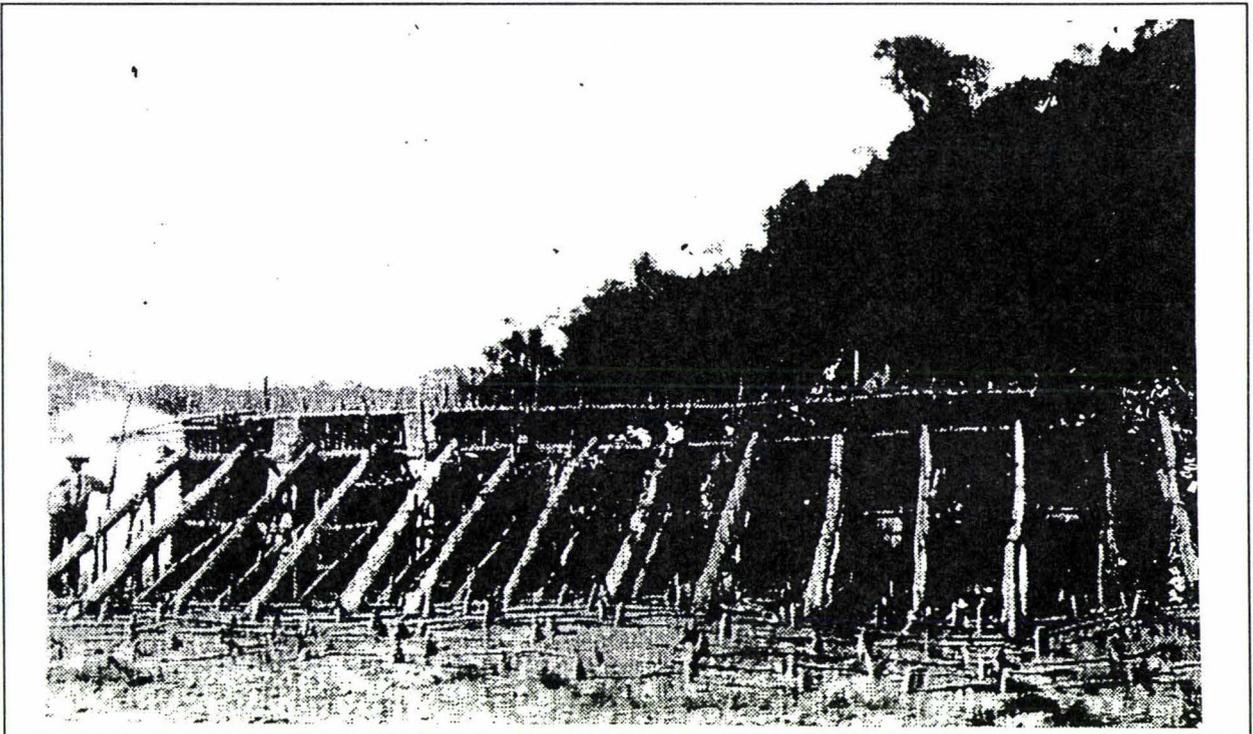
*An Utu Piharau (Best 1929:165)*

In the 1920's the piharau season was so good that the hapu caught between three and four thousand piharau; up to 600 of these 'fish' could be caught in one night (Planning Tribunal 1990: 2.1:3). But not all of this particular catch belonged to the people of Tuera; a majority of this particular catch was sent to hapu in Taupo, Turangi and Taumarunui. Obligations with other hapu were always met before the people of Tuera could enjoy a meal of piharau themselves<sup>23</sup>, and this was usually towards the end of the piharau season. In return for these

<sup>22</sup>If the weirs had trapped all migrating piharau then this would have severely strained inter-hapu relations.

<sup>23</sup>A practice similar to potlatch ceremonies in other cultures.

gifts the hapu would receive trout from hapu at Taupo, and large bags of biscuits from hapu in Whanganui. By fulfilling their obligations with other hapu, they not only demonstrated their manaakitanga, but their skill as piharau fishers. Piharau were therefore closely associated the people of the hapu, and the large weir at Parikino served as a visible reminder to passing travellers and inhabitants of the valley that weirs and piharau were an integral part of the economy and identity of these people.



*The Utu Piharau at Parikino (Wanganui Regional Museum)*

Piharau fishing was essentially a male activity; men built the weirs, maintained them, collected the piharau and cooked the fish. Taken live from the hinaki, piharau were then dropped in boiling water, which loosened the slime on their skin. To facilitate even cooking they were then threaded onto a piece of wire, or green wood; ten fish on each stick was considered ideal, and it was crucial that the fish were threaded in the same way to ensure even cooking.<sup>24</sup> These sets of ten fish were then laid across a moderate fire which burned off remaining slime adhering to the skin. Each set of ten fish would be cooked for 8 or 9 minutes on the under side, and 10-12 minutes for the thicker back portion of the fish, and it

<sup>24</sup>All ten fish were threaded either back up or stomach up.

was this slow cooking which helped to seal in the juices of the fish. The fish were ready to eat when the piharau felt rubbery rather than soft to the touch. But not all piharau were eaten immediately by the hapu or gifted. Piharau surplus to immediate requirements were often placed live in wooden boxes which had small holes drilled in them. These cages were then tied to the shore and left to float in the river, and piharau stored in this way could be kept alive on a diet of kumara for up to 4 months. Eaten in the off season these piharau were highly valued.

Large piharau weirs trap fish, but if positioned wrongly they will also trap debris. In extremely large floods increased water flow and the weight of debris caught behind the weir threatened the stability of the structure. Large logs had to be removed quickly to prevent the weir from collapsing, but this was not a regular occurrence. Because the weir stretched only three quarters of the way across the river, and because it redirected the flow of water to the banks, logs would either be washed over the weir if the flood was a large one, or they would be swept to the sides of the river and avoid the weir altogether. Weirs set at an angle of 10 degrees or less in relation to the current experienced little problem with debris, and only rarely would the people have to clear these weirs or repair the damage caused by debris. The utu piharau built at Parikino in the 1920's was approximately 6-8 feet in height, and in spring and winter heavy floods would cover the top of the weir and allow the canoes to travel easily over the top of it, but in summer when flows were at their lowest it was difficult for canoes to pass. While some weirs were built with a gap in them to allow canoes to pass, this weir was not, and this caused problems for inter-hapu relations. It stressed the relationship between Tuera and neighbouring hapu to the point that the weir was eventually taken down (Bill Potaka 1993).

Weirs are similar in construction to devices called 'trash catchers' which are currently used to enhance river environments. A trash catcher is a wire fence constructed of chicken mesh that spans a portion of the width of small rivers ; the mesh soon fills with debris and acts in much the same way as a weir in terms of its impact on river flows. These fences are an

effective way of enhancing fish habitats. Like weirs, they alter the flow to create pools downstream, increase the river surface area, and provide cover for fish. They also effectively slow the velocity of the water and hold spawning gravel in place (Gore 1985:146). Although they caught piharau, weirs also enhanced other fish habitats by creating spawning and feeding areas.

Piharau fishing was traditionally an important hapu activity and the piharau season is fondly remembered by elders. As a child of 6 or 7, Bill Potaka remembers playing beside the weir during the season. On occasion he would get in the way of the busy adults, and be thrown in the river as a punishment. As a child he liked to be able to go down to the weir at night, sit beside the fire on the river bank, and listen to the adults talk. If he was lucky, and if he didn't get in the way of the adults, he would be allowed to stay all night. Piharau are currently caught in small numbers at Parikino or Pungarehu, but not by trapping in a weir. The reduction in water flow, a result of the TPD<sup>25</sup> scheme, has meant that the shingle bars necessary for securing the supporting stakes of the weir no longer exist, and the water flow is no longer fast enough to make catching piharau in a weir feasible. Weirs spanning the river are now also illegal. This subject is addressed more fully in Chapter Four.

### **Tuna (Eels)**

When Maui's wife was attacked by the giant eel called Tuna-roa (long eel), Maui killed the giant eel and in his anger chopped it into many pieces. He began by cutting off his head and tail, and then chopped the middle section into small pieces. The head of this great eel changed into a fish, the tail became the marine Conger eel, and all the smaller pieces of the giant eel turned into the tuna, the freshwater eel. (Reed 1964:44). The tuna, like the piharau, is regarded as a taonga, and traditionally it was an abundant and treasured food source of the people of this hapu. Maori referred to the two species of eel by 150 different names (Close 1992:14), a reflection of the depth of knowledge and the importance of eels fisheries to Maori. Traditionally, eels were caught by a variety of methods: weir, spear, pot,

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<sup>25</sup>The Tongariro Power Diversion Scheme.

net and bait. Piharau were ideal bait for tuna; one piharau being sufficient for three hooks (Bill Potaka 1993), but on this river tuna were also caught by 'bobbing', using glow worms as bait. Like most kainga on the river Tuera also had their own pa tuna for trapping the migratory tunaheke. Unlike the pa piharau which were placed at right angles to the current, pa tuna were smaller and ran parallel with the river flow. Tuna feed on freshwater crayfish and moss that grow in the river, but with the reduction in water flows, the river is silting up and covering crevices in the rocks where the freshwater crayfish live (Planning Tribunal 1990:5.1:15). Freshwater crayfish are now restricted to several small pockets and these reduced numbers have directly and detrimentally affect the eel populations in the river.

### **Tunaheke (*Anguilla australis*- Short finned eel)**

The short finned eel is one of the more readily available food sources in the river today, but numbers are fewer than in the 1930's. Although these eels can still be occasionally caught in the river, they are increasingly found in small contributory streams. Traditionally tunaheke were caught throughout the year, except in the two coldest months of winter when eels preserved by smoking and sun drying would be eaten. But before winter arrived, live eels were also stored in wicker baskets, tied to the banks of the river or small streams, and like the piharau were fed on a diet of boiled kumara. Therefore preserved and 'fresh' eels could be eaten throughout the year.

According to Maori, tunaheke are the only eels to migrate, and were caught in weirs during their migration in March, April and May. The spawning female tuna heke "run" (or swim) for the sea, with their nose up and their tail down, and Bill remembers watching these migrating females attach their nose to the lines of froth that float on the water. Best verifies this behaviour, with an account by Wiwi of Pipiriki who said that these eels swim on or near the surface with their head held up (in Best 1929:78). Besides trapping these migrating females in weirs, they were also caught by members of this hapu by another method. A submerged wire, or rope was tied across the river, and sticks were thrown into the river to ascertain where the centre of the flow was. A poha was attached to the wire at this point by

means of a hanging triangular frame, and a hinaki was then tied to the poha. When these eels come across the wire, it trips them and they are then swept into the hinaki.

The roe is already formed inside these migrating females as they migrate to meet the waiting males in the breeding grounds, but there is not a consensus among researchers or Maori, about where these breeding grounds are. Some researchers believe these breeding grounds are north-east of Samoa (Close 1992:11), or near New Caledonia (Strickland 1982). Bill believes that they breed in the Indian Ocean, and Mike believes that they breed near Norway. Bill was told by his elders that no one really knows exactly where the tunaheke breed, and from the diversity of opinion about this subject, it would appear that his elders were right. But regardless of where the breeding grounds are, incredibly the young eels will return to the habitat of their parents, around the time of the karohi (whitebait) season (Bill Potaka 1993). These elvers are then only about the size of whitebait, and not good for eating because of their strong flavour. When they reach 2-6 inches in length they are more edible and were caught by placing bundles of fern, brush and rushes in the water. The elvers hid in these branches which were then lifted from the water.

### **Tunarere (*Anguilla dieffenbachii* -Long finned Eel)**

Local Maori believe that this particular species of eels do not migrate but stay in the river to spawn. Evidence of this are sightings of groups of elvers about the thickness of cotton, which cluster together in balls in a lake in the valley. Bill recounts a story that his father told him about the time Sir Peter Buck and a local called Hori Pukehika were arguing about whether both species migrated to the sea to spawn. Like Strickland (1982), Buck believed emphatically that both species were migratory. Hori believed that only the tunaheke migrate and challenged Buck to prove his claim. Buck was forced to admit that he couldn't, so Hori then invited Buck to Parikino where he "got all the boys from the pa... and they drained the lake out...so they could pull out the wee little balls (of elvers)." Buck looked at these young elvers, and because of their size and location was forced to admit that these eels were non-

migratory, and that Hori was indeed right. It is this non-migratory species which the hapu intend to cultivate at their intended Pungarehu Aquaculture Development Centre.



*Hori Pukehika; knowledgeable about the habits of tunarere, but also a skilled carver*  
(Main 1976)

Tunarere were also caught traditionally using traps, spears and bait. Eels that have fed recently seek out the shelter of overhanging banks and are difficult to locate, and Bill was therefore taught that "it was no good going fishing when they are not biting". But once "they start to feed then you go fishing". Eels start to feed around dusk, when a majority of their feeding is done, and the seven days between half and quarter moon are considered to be the best time for eel fishing. If the moon is late in rising, then eel fishing is more productive before the moon rises, but if the moon rises before the sun sets, then the following morning is also a good time for fishing. Bill was taught this knowledge by his elders, and although he does admit to the occasional miscalculation, "now and again I strike it and give myself a pat on the back".

In the 1930's tunarere were also caught from the waka by a method known as 'bobbing'. Worms were tied or threaded on to a piece of cotton which was tied to a thin manuka stick. The bait was then lowered into the water and allowed to rest on the river bed. Tuna would soon smell the bait, and when the fisher noticed a change in tension on the line, the line was quickly lifted and the fish dropped into the canoe or a waiting bucket.

We had about 4 waka here at Parikino...The waka was the best fishing boat because it was a certain length.. it wasn't very high and you could easily go bobbing ...Two or three of us would go..and it would always be the ones at the end (of the canoe) that would be catching the eels. You soon learned to manoeuvre the canoe so that you always had the best place... If the water was running down then you would move down the bottom end so that the eels were coming past you. The kids used to wonder why you were catching all the eels (Mike Potaka 1993).

Traditionally tuna heke and tunarere were preserved by three methods: they would be salted, cooked in their own fat and stored in gourds,<sup>26</sup> or smoked over an open fire and then sun dried. In the 1930's it was these preserved eels that "got us through the winter months" (Mike Potaka 1993). The catching, and the cooking of tuna, like that of piharau, was traditionally a male task, but Mike remembers as a young boy taking eels home for his Mother to cook. Although Mike's Mother never ate eels herself, she would willingly cook the eels that her sons had caught.

Unlike eels that live in streams or swamps, eels that live in the awa must battle the current, and it is this activity which keeps them lean. The Whanganui was known among Maori for its tasty lean eels. Since the 1970's, when the head waters of the river were diverted and water levels in the Whanganui dropped, a majority of eels retreated to contributory streams or small lakes. These eels are now consequently fatter than the river eels. Unlike fat eels which have a tough skin and need to be grilled, lean river eels are valued because they can be cooked in a variety of ways.

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<sup>26</sup>In the 1930's the hapu preserved tuna in the same way but stored them in kerosene tins, jars, or cream cans.

Only a minority of hapu members go eeling today. Commercial eel fishing operations, reduced water levels, changes in water quality, and changes in aquatic vegetation, have all had their effect on the eel populations, and Maori currently seek protection of this taonga through the Treaty of Waitangi. Because this resource is diminishing, and because "the commercial fishermen have knocked hell out of them" (Mike Potaka 1993), this claim needs to be resolved urgently. Protected reserves, an increase in the minimum size that can be caught, and a limit on catches would help to ensure the species continuance (Close 1992:15). Traditional fishing enhancement programmes would also help to restore and maintain the species.

### **Ngaore (*Retropina retropinna* -Smelt)**

Shoals of ngaore run in the Whanganui from July to November, and were traditionally caught in diversion channels which trapped these fish. When sufficient ngaore have made their way up the race, nets were placed across the entrance and the fish chased to the far end of the channel. As a child Mike can recall catching them "by the bucket full" using this method. The shingle bed at Pungarehu then used to extend almost half way across the river, and was an ideal place for smelt fishing. When caught the fish were placed on whariki on the river bank, allowed to dry slowly in the sun, and then stored in a warm place. In some cases they would be further preserved by salting. The salted ngaore used "to taste great...we used to go hunting with them in our pockets and they would last all day"(Mike Potaka 1993). Catches of ngaore reduced markedly between 1950 and the 1970's; in the mid to late 1950's the average catch was 10-15 gallons, but during the 1970's a catch of 10 gallons was exceptional (Planning Tribunal 1990: 4.1:10). However catches are on the increase and this year there has been a particularly good catch using set nets (Mike Potaka 1993).

### **Pariri (Cockabully)**

Pariri are a type of cockerbully, about 4-5 inches long, and as thick as your finger. They were caught by the 'bobbing' method near rapids during February or March when the river was cloudy after rain. As soon as the Pariri were seen migrating up the river a canoe would

be launched and secured to a stake in the middle of the river. Lines with glow worms attached would then be lowered over the edge of the canoe, and while the pariri could not see the worm in the cloudy water they would soon smell it. Once they were hanging onto the bait, the line was carefully lifted and the fish dropped into a bucket. Pariri would be boiled whole without gutting or boning, and because these fish have a soft flesh and a lots of small bones, eating them was an art. "You held them by the tail", put the whole fish in your mouth, wrapped your lips around the base of the tail, and pulled gently, "and out come the bones" (Bill Potaka 1993). Pariri taste similar to ngaore, but as Bill points out, they are an acquired taste.

Trout were also caught in the river during the 1930's. The native trout were preferred over the introduced rainbow trout of Lake Taupo, because "the flavours of the trout up here..get oily..richer somehow. Its like they are fatter in the river" (Bill Potaka 1993). It was agreed that if you catch any fish in your own river "they always seem to taste better" (ibid).

### **Kakahi (Freshwater Mussel)**

Kakahi are eaten by eels, but were also frequently reseeded by transferring to other sites in the river in order to maintain regular supplies for the hapu. A tapu placed on the site for several years protected the population until it was established. But the silt that is present in the river today, inhibits the increase of reseeded populations; while there was an abundance of these shellfish in the 1950's now only small pockets can be found (Planning Tribunal 1990:4.1:10).

### **Koura (Freshwater Crayfish)**

In the 1930's koura about 4-5 inches long would be caught regularly in the river, but they now tend to be found in small contributory streams. Koura are also eaten by eels, and once they find a supply they will tend to deplete the population. Fishing for koura was traditionally done by hand; bait would be dropped into the water, and once the koura

smelled the bait they would emerge from their hiding places: "You'd see them coming up, and as soon as they put their claws into the bait then you'd pull them out" (Bill Potaka 1993). A much quicker method of catching koura by searching under stones and logs on the river bed was also used. These overturned stones and logs were always returned to their original position, because "if you don't, then there's no place for others to go" (Bill Potaka 1993). Another conservative measure was to wash off the coating of slime which covers the koura and return it to the place where they had been caught.

The right to fish, traditional fishing skills, and associated bodies of knowledge, are taonga of this hapu, and fishing continues to be a major kaupapa in the lives of these people, whether they fish regularly or not. Knowledge of fishing practices and the ability to fish ensure the maintenance of a tradition and customary rights, but they also reaffirm links with tupuna who were engaged in similar practices. The people of this hapu continue to use names for fish that are unique to their iwi, and they possess a vast body of knowledge about the habitat of native species. It is these skills and this knowledge that gives them standing among the iwi, and among Maori in general. These traditional practices, customary rights, and associated bodies of knowledge have been severely affected by colonisation, and fishing rights have become an area of tension between Maori and Tau-iwi. When 14 Whanganui chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown promised Maori "the full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their... fisheries". This promise was not kept, and the Crown has clearly infringed aboriginal common law rights, and its Treaty obligations.

## Chapter Four

### *A Hapu, Tauiwī, and the River: Subject vs. Object.*

Rivers have what man (sic) most respects and longs for in his own life...a capacity for renewal and replenishment, continual energy, creativity, cleansing (Planning Tribunal 1990:3.6:60).

The Whanganui river is regarded as a lifeline of its people<sup>1</sup>, and within this lifeline are woven the histories of its people. An understanding of the historical relationship between Maori and Tauiwī is crucial to an understanding of the current relationship that Tuera have with their river. In constructing this history I have combined the experiences of elders and written accounts, but in utilising the latter caution is required. As I will show, because of the linguistic, cultural and philosophical differences between Maori and Tauiwī, many early historical accounts of this region are subject to cultural bias, and these biases have the potential to represent Maori society as being "romantic, apolitical and rigidly tribal" (Cox 1993:14). As a result these early accounts convey a distillate of Maori life (Te Awēkotuku 1991:10). There is also a lack of written data on Maori development in the early period of Tauiwī settlement<sup>2</sup>, and this reflects the bias of the record. In the early development of America the aim of anthropologists was "not to facilitate development; nor was it to record it" (Bruner in Turner 1986:40). There is a close correlation between recording indigenous development and facilitating it, and this correlation is evident in the early historical records of Aotearoa.

The Whanganui river has always been central to the lives of the people of this hapu. Besides being a source of transport, protection, food, and cultural identity, it is "(t)he focal point and source of pride for the Whanganui Maori people ... the river is an integral part of their grasp to social and cultural development which in turn gives them their sense of dignity and pride" ( Wanganui Chronicle 21 July 1993). In sharp contrast to this, is the relationship that

<sup>1</sup>Bardach notes that other rivers in the world are perceived in the same way (in Oglesby 1972:1).

<sup>2</sup>However this record is steadily increasing (see Cox 1993).

Tauiwi have had with the Whanganui. History shows that the actions of Tauiwi reflect a philosophy of instrumental utility in the pursuance of economic development, and it is this philosophy which has impacted directly on the dignity, pride and identity of Whanganui Maori. But when the history of this river is viewed from a Maori perspective, the account shows that Maori have always been politically active in endeavouring to protect and maintain their water rights, and their right to self development. The history of this hapu and the iwi to which they belong, has not been one of silent consent, nor has it been one of homogeneity. Individual Maori, and individual hapu have fought in a variety of ways to pursue their right to development, and their right to be Maori.

### **Different Perceptions, Different Creation Accounts**

Differences between Maori and Tauiwi perceptions of the Whanganui river are no more evident than in the way that each group currently speaks about its origin or creation. While Maori creation accounts tell of the river being created by the healing stream that flowed to assuage the angry passage of Taranaki, Tauiwi generally perceive this river as in geographical feature<sup>3</sup>. They tell of the river's creation in scientific terms; they speak of shifting tectonic plates, the effects of volcanic eruption, and the geographical composition of the valley (see Appendix Five). These accounts convey the perception that the land and the features upon it are inanimate, and it was this view, in conjunction with the perception that the river and the land that surrounded it were freely available and in need of development<sup>4</sup> that were used to justify resource exploitation in the valley.

While the Maori and Tauiwi accounts about the creation of the Whanganui appear to be distinctly different, there is also an interesting parallel between the Maori creation account, and the way that Tauiwi currently speak of land. At times, usually when there is an adult audience, Maori tell of Taranaki raping Pihanga, rather than making love to her<sup>5</sup>. This rape

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<sup>3</sup> Admittedly not all Tauiwi people perceive it this way. As the Planning Tribunal Submissions show some Tauiwi regard the river as a living being.

<sup>4</sup> *Terra nullus* is a term used to note the perception that land and resources were not being utilised and therefore available for occupation and use by colonising groups.

<sup>5</sup> Illustrating another version of this account is Chapple speaks of Pihanga's "secret love for the stately, handsome Taranaki" (1939:5). These different versions, as Cox points out, illustrate that "each telling is designed to accommodate the audience at hand... The descendants of each

of a mountain results in destruction to the earth, but 'Western' discourses also speak of exploitative human resource strategies as 'raping the land'. Current scientific discourse upon which the Tauwiwi account of the creation of the river is founded, derives its foundation from Francis Bacon (1562-1626). Bacon espoused the belief that the scientific method relied on the male-female, mind-matter, rational-emotional dichotomies. In his view nature was female, while scientific enquiry was a male activity<sup>6</sup>. This dichotomous separation between nature and science resulted, in Shiva's opinion, in the process of scientific inquiry being modelled on rape and torture (in Sachs 1992:209). While Bacon may not agree with Shiva's analysis, (that his conceptualisation of science was based on the rape and torture of nature), it was nevertheless a dominating and exploitative approach to natural resources that was the foundation for instrumental European attitudes towards the Whanganui river and land in the river valley. In the Maori creation account Tongariro repaired the damage caused by rape with the healing waters that flowed from his side, but since that time the Whanganui has been raped again by scientifically based exploitative approaches to resource development. The question that needs to be addressed today is: who will heal the Whanganui now ?

### **Tauwiwi Settlement**

The Whanganui region was one of the last areas in Aotearoa to be settled by Tauwiwi, and the response of hapu within the region to that settlement has not been uniform. Acting on a hapu basis, Maori have always independently assessed the relative merits of aligning with Tauwiwi and with other hapu. Tauwiwi settlement began at the river mouth and gradually spread up the river valley, and Maori living beside the Whanganui have therefore experienced varying degrees of interaction with Tauwiwi. Hapu in the lower reaches, such as Tuera, experienced earlier and more frequent contact than hapu living in the upper reaches. While the lower reaches were settled in the 1840's, it was not until as late as the 1960's that some areas above Pipiriki were settled by Tauwiwi farmers (Saunders 1968:55). Because earlier and more frequent contact tended to equate with a greater threat to land and water

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participant in any given scenario will possess the version of history which best suits the maintenance and reproduction of their kin unit". It is this dynamism that contributes to Maori history and Maori society (1993:13)

<sup>6</sup>This separation between nature and science contrasts vividly between the inseparability and interdependence that Maori have with the environment.

resources, distance from the settlement of Whanganui has been a distinct advantage in terms of the ability to pursue autonomous self-development. Reflecting this, the hapu at Pipiriki, in the upper reaches of the river, still exhibit strong separatist aspects (Young 1989:102).

The initial phase of colonisation is commonly characterised by the colonisers perception that nature's wealth was abundant and freely available (Shiva in Sachs 1992:207), and this belief was clearly evident in the attitudes of early settlers. The most common reference made by immigrants to the landscape of Aotearoa was to its uninhabited and unimproved aspects (Shephard 1969:3). Not only were resources perceived as under-utilised and in need of development, but this undeveloped state was often perceived as immoral. For evangelical Taiuiwi, wilderness<sup>7</sup> equated with paganism (ibid:4), and the Reverend Richard Taylor therefore described the tussock around Tongariro as a "world blasted by sin" in contrast to the plains and forest which showed a "God of Love" (ibid:4,6). Power, an army officer stationed in Whanganui during the 1840's, took more of an aesthetic approach to the land. While he acknowledged that this undeveloped land was "fine in outline", he believed that the land around Whanganui was monotonous because it lacked foreground and varied little in colour. Land that had been developed by settlers was considered to be more aesthetically pleasing to Power because it exhibited a greater variety of colours (Power 1849:58,59).

The trader 'Scotch Jock' Nichol is thought to be the first European to travel "willingly" beyond the tidal reaches of the river. In 1834 he travelled up the river, trading with Maori living in the valley. He was probably accepted by many of these hapu because of his wife's tribal connections with the river<sup>8</sup> (Saunders 1968:154). 'Scotch Jock' continued to trade with Maori on the river over the next year, and was so highly thought of by Maori that he was offered land in the valley to establish a trading store (ibid). But while Scotch Jock sought opportunities for trade and exchange, those that followed him sought opportunities for acquisition. Several years after Nichol's initial visit an exploratory party of Taiuiwi

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<sup>7</sup>Interestingly a 'wilderness' experience is now one of the key attractions for recreational canoers in the reaches of the upper Whanganui.

<sup>8</sup>Nichols wife had been born at Kahura, ten miles above Pipiriki (Saunders 1968:154). Smart suggests that because Nichol was married to a woman born at Kahura, a kainga beyond Pipiriki, he was assured of a safe passage up river (1973:46).

up the river to Atene received a 'mixed' reception from Maori along the way. Some hapu were 'hospitable' but others were not. It appears that Ngati Tuera were relatively welcoming because the party stopped at Parikino for a short time before returning to Whanganui (Campbell 1990:19). The members of this party were disappointed in the resources of the valley; in the opinion of one member the trees in the valley were unsuitable as building timber and the land was of a "very broken and valueless nature"(ibid). What Tauwi of this period failed to realise was that this 'monotonous', 'unimproved', and 'valueless' landscape was already being utilised by Maori. The valley and the river was central to the economic, cultural and spiritual existence of Maori, the land and the river were subject to a complex system of use rights, and the resources in the valley were being used daily.

Tauwi, like Maori, recognised the strategic and economic importance of the river. Taylor noted that the Whanganui was "the chief river on the coast, and the only port for a very extensive district", and in his opinion this meant that the settlement of Whanganui had the potential to become "the grand mart of the interior" (ibid:215). In 1840 Wakefield visited with the intention of finalising land purchases for the settlement of Whanganui. In reality this 'purchase' was the exchange of 700 pounds worth of goods for 40,000 acres of land (Saunders 1968:156), and Reverend Taylor questioned whether any purchase had actually occurred; "(i)t is questionable if in point of law such a bargain could be concluded. Altogether the sale and purchase were badly managed" (cited in Saunders 1968:157). The purchase of land for the Whanganui settlement was not finally secured until eight years later, when on the 26 May 1848 300 Maori assembled to witness the signing of the deed of sale, and the sum of 1,000 pounds was paid for a total of 86,800 acres. A small portion (5,540 acres) of this land was reserved for Maori use (Saunders 1968:159, 160).

Once the land purchase had been finalised the population of the settlement increased rapidly; in 1843 the Tauwi population totalled 210, but eleven years later it had increased to 961 (Taylor 1855:263). This increase in population paralleled increased pressure on land further up river in the lower valley, and methods for 'allocating' land to settlers were seen as

paramount if the region's economic potential was to be fully realised. Reverend Taylor lamented the lack of a surveyors office in Whanganui, because without an office the intending settler had to "find out the unlocated spots the best way he can" (1855:263 my emphasis). Taylors use of the term *unlocated spots* further illustrates the Taiuiwi perception that land was freely available to those settlers lucky enough to stumble upon it.

### 'Prosperity'

Taiuiwi frequently viewed Maori, like the land, as in need of development. Although aware of dangers of colonisation for indigenous peoples, Power believed that with a European education, Maori had great potential. They were in his opinion "not a whit inferior in intelligence ...to the uneducated classes of Europeans"(Power 1849:156). While he believed that many Maori "are possessed of superior understanding and considerable information" (ibid), his belief was based on the speed with which Maori in the lower reaches of the river were now utilising Taiuiwi technology and introduced crops.

They pay as much attention to the improved cultivation of their lands, as to that of their minds: European spades and mattocks take the place of their own rude implements; grain is everywhere superseding the potato. Sheep and cattle are added to their stock; fair wages purchase fair labour, and they put *money in the bank* (ibid: original emphasis).

But Maori were not only engaged in horticultural and agricultural developments. They also hired out their waka to Taiuiwi, and for many years Taiuiwi were solely dependent on Maori for transport up and down the river (Saunders 1968:54). Besides transporting Taiuiwi and their cargo, Maori also transported their own trade goods down river and wild pork, birds, and vegetables were traded in the settlement of Whanganui for saddles, harnesses and tools (Nelson 1991:77). During this period Maori were the "primary producers of agricultural produce...and the transporters of their own products to market" (Walker 1990:101). However this activity was frequently judged by Taiuiwi in ethnocentric terms. Downes notes that Maori produce was of such value that it "chiefly contributed to the prosperity of the town" (Downes 1923:216). If Maori were seen as contributing to the economy of this new

settlement then Tauwiwi regarded them as prosperous, and by association as 'loyal'. In reality these contributions to the settlement's economy were not based on altruistic motives, but were alliances formed in order to pursue autonomous development. In forming these kaupapa alliances "their decisions and actions would always be their own" (Binney 1990:131); European adaptations which suited Maori flourished, but those that did not were either ignored or neglected (Ballara 1982: 521).

## **Religion and Relocation**

In conjunction with the introduction of a European economic system Tauwiwi also introduced their own religious, moral and spiritual values. As Maori bases of traditional power became increasingly eroded by diminished access to land "the vacuum was filled, in part, by Christianity" (Cox 1993:115). But individual hapu decided which religion, which religious practices, and which values they would embrace. Tuera already had their own strong belief in a supreme God, Io, and while it may have been a relatively easy step to accommodate another religion into these already existent structures, the presence of missionaries and their religions no doubt threatened the relationship between the rangatira, tohunga, and the people of the hapu<sup>9</sup>.

The first Tauwiwi recorded visit of a missionary to the hapu of Tuera, was in 1839 when the Anglican Minister Reverend Williams visited. Four years later, in June of 1843 the Reverend Taylor visited, and by 1850 mission teachers were working in most communities on the river (Campbell 1990:17). The Reverend Taylor supervised the building of a church on the flats across the river from the present Parikino marae, but as subsequent events show Tuera did not embrace the Reverend Taylor's religion wholeheartedly. In 1852, a Catholic priest, Father Lampila, arrived in the nearby kainga of Kaiwhaiki (Smart 1973:215), and the presence of the proponents of two different religions created a situation that needed resolution, if not for Maori, then at least for these two missionaries. Resolution about the

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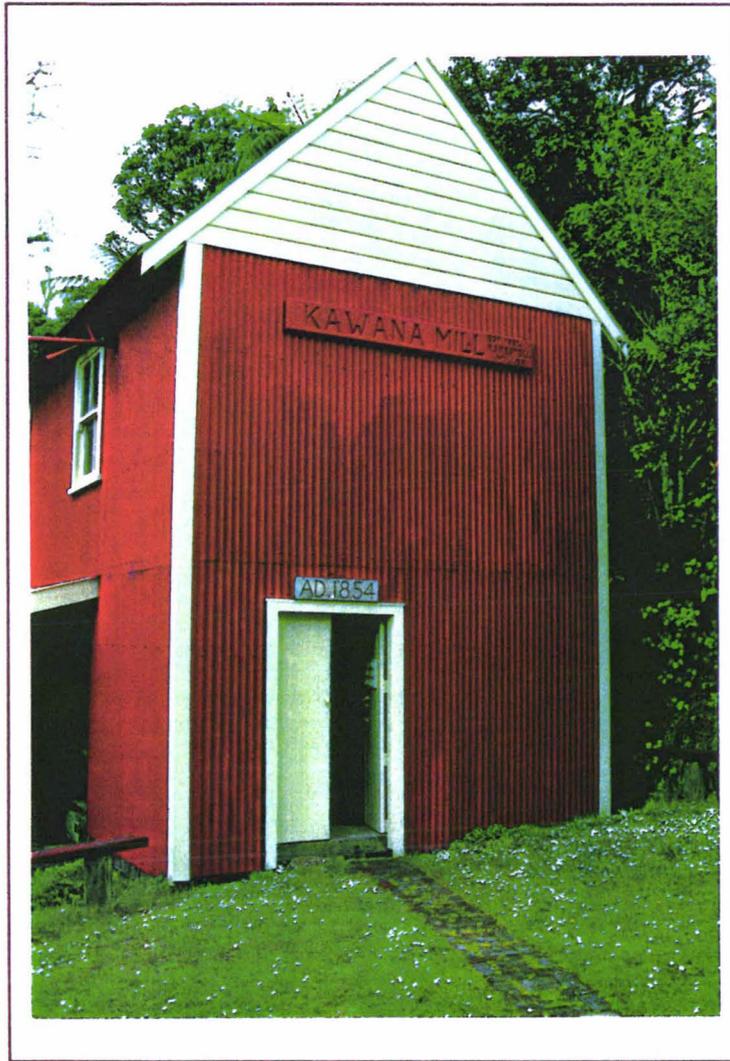
<sup>9</sup>Cox notes that traditional leadership patterns were dualistic; the daily exercise of power resting with rangatira, but the tohunga mediating with atua during important phases of economic, social, and military cycles (1993:19).

relative merits of the Anglican and Catholic religions occurred when the Anglican church that had been built on hapu land at Parikino, mysteriously "fell down" (Mike Potaka 1991). It is likely that this rejection of Anglicanism and 'acceptance' of Catholicism was instigated by two factors. Firstly, Maori in the lower reaches were well aware that they were losing their land at a rapidly increasing rate to English settlers, and the work of English missionaries in the area is likely to have further engendered suspicion about the motives of the English. Because Father Lampila was a French missionary, and not English, this may have been one reason for the people's greater acceptance of Catholicism; people who spoke a different language and practised a different religion were likely to have been perceived as a lesser threat. Secondly, the proponents of Catholicism in the valley tried to incorporate Maori traditions and values into their missionary practices<sup>10</sup>. In 'accepting' a proponent of Catholicism members of the hapu would have been more able to retain many of their traditional practices.

Because the exploitative actions of colonisers creates a scarcity of physical resources, management of these natural resources then becomes essential (Shiva in Sachs 1992:207). In 1863 the hapu moved to the fertile flats on the eastern bank of the river on the opposite bank of the river, a move which was supposedly 'suggested' by the missionaries who believed that growing European crops on these fertile river flats would supplement the people's fast diminishing access to land and food resources. No doubt this move was also encouraged knowing that Maori produce and Maori labour would contribute to the economy of the rapidly growing settlement of Whanganui. Once relocated Maori grew a greater variety of introduced crops and established orchards on the river terraces in the shelter of the valley. As a result the lower river valley became known as the "fruit bowl of New Zealand" (Mike Potaka 1993).

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<sup>10</sup>Appendix Seven, a representation of current theological philosophy combining Catholic and Maori accounts of creation illustrates this practice.



*The Kawana Mill (1993)*

The Kawana Mill, a 'gift' to Maori from Governor Grey, ground wheat that was independently grown by Maori, and the flour that it produced was then used to barter for European goods in the town of Whanganui<sup>11</sup>. Many members of the hapu were now also engaged in paid employment; working as farm labourers, in timber mills or as labourers cutting flax and harvesting crops, and while missionaries may have suggested these moves, according to Ballara and Binney, the final decision to pursue these developments would have been their own. Because of reduced access to resources the range of opportunities

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<sup>11</sup>While this mill was gifted to Maori by Governor Grey, it may have been built with Maori labour. Walker notes that between 1846 and 1860 a total of 49 mills were built by tribes in the Waikato, Taranaki, Whanganui, Hawkes Bay, Bay of Plenty, and Coromandel regions. The building of these mills was supervised by Tauwi millwrights (1990:101).

available to Maori were now limited, and Maori increasingly became passengers rather than catalysts for their own development (Dyall 1984:359).

In conjunction with the move of hapu to the more fertile river flats on the opposite bank, many kainga were renamed, supposedly in response to requests from Maori living in the lower reaches<sup>12</sup> (Campbell 1990:43). The Anglican Minister Rev. Taylor named these relocated kainga after cities in the Western world; settlements were given names such as Hiruharama (Jerusalem), Ranana (London), and Atene (Athens), an action which I believe reflects the Minister's intention to acculturate these hapu. If kainga were given the names of Western cities then perhaps individuals in these settlements would also aspire to the 'Western' ideals that the cities of London, Athens and Jerusalem represented. The two Tuera kainga, although relocated, were spared the indignity of being given the names of cities in the Western world probably because they were now closely associated with Catholicism. Instead Tuera's two relocated kainga were renamed Parikino and Pungarehu<sup>13</sup>.

## Conflict

Maori reacted to the attempts of Tauivi to acquire land. As one settler was to find out, even when land had been allocated by the New Zealand Company, there was no guarantee that a settler could live there undisturbed. Mr. Bell bought approximately 600<sup>\*</sup> acres of land from the New Zealand Company and set about building his house.

(B)ut as soon as he took his family to live in it, he was waited upon by a committee of natives, who gave him an hour to pack up and be off. They civilly helped him to load his wagons, and, as soon as he had started, set fire to the house" They remained to ensure that Mr. Bell and his family did not return (Power 1849:82)<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup>I am suspicious of whether this occurred at the request of local Maori or whether these names were imposed by Taylor. I accept that some hapu may have asked Taylor to rename their kainga, but wonder if this was the case with all of these communities. I also wonder whether Maori referred to these kainga by these new names.

<sup>13</sup>Although the kainga were not given the names of Western cities, the landing at Parikino was named Hiona (Zion).

<sup>14</sup>As conflict between Maori and Tauivi increased, some settlers in Whanganui left to settle in other parts of the country.. Among these settlers was William Gordon Bell (Saunders 1968:158). Although early plans for the ownership of land show several Mr. Bells, it is likely, in light of the way he was treated that this is same Mr. Bell. Ironically, Saunders regards this man as one of Whanganui's most successful settlers (ibid).

But Maori also sought out more violent ways of defending their right to land and resources, and between 1843 and 1844 land disputes became more frequent and more bitter (Smart 1973:56). In full awareness of this mounting tension the Taupo chief, Te Heu Heu, arrived in the settlement with a party of 200 warriors, with the intention of forcibly settling land disputes. A show of force in the form of the arrival of H.M.S. Hazard persuaded Te Heu Heu and his party to leave the settlement and travel instead to Waitotara.

The 'Gilfillan incident', in 1847, in which four members of the Gilfillan family were killed near the town of Whanganui, highlighted the variable nature of Maori support for European settlers within this iwi. The suspects lived in a hapu in the upper reaches of the valley, and hoping to incriminate the hapu at Putiki near Whanganui, laid a trail of evidence leading to their pa (Power 1849:90)<sup>15</sup>. As conflict between Maori and Tauwiwi increased, Tauwiwi perceived Maori in the region as unified in their desire to see them leave. An army officer in Whanganui believed that " (f)rom all accounts the whole of the Maories (sic) along the river are of the opinion that we should be driven out" (Power 1849:99), and this perception exacerbated their feelings of vulnerability. Power felt that the land and the people were "too isolated, too unprotected", and that nothing less than "a sentry over every cow" would safeguard their possessions (Power 1849:96,97). There was talk amongst Tauwiwi of abandoning the settlement altogether (Saunders 1968:158).

Hui were increasingly being convened to address issues relating to rangatiratanga. The Constitution Act of 1852 enabled land ownership to be redefined from communal to individual ownership, and the 1862 Native Land Act set aside the Crown's sole right to purchase land; individuals's could now own land. Compounding these threats to rangatiratanga was the Settlements Act of 1863 which empowered Government to confiscate rebels' land. This legislation served to further increase Maori distrust of Tauwiwi (Parsonson 1981:157). By imposing a philosophy of instrumental rationality over Maori

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<sup>15</sup>It should be noted that this incident relates to an event four days earlier. A young Maori named Hapurona Ngarangi was accidentally shot by a Tauwiwi midshipman, and the killing of four members of the Gilfillan family is regarded by Smart as revenge for the shooting (1973:71).

concepts of resource management, ownership and control, corporate identity became severely threatened, and Maori unity on a pan tribal basis was increasingly viewed as a viable way of maintaining the right to self determination and Maori autonomy.

One direct and highly visible response to the increasing threat of resource encroachment was the Pai Marire movement which rose to prominence in 1864. The movement, utilising Christian symbolism, aimed to unify Maori against Tauwiwi domination. The faith actively pursued a philosophy of antipathy towards the settlers and their land grabbing practices, and in direct correlation to the rise of this movement, Maori support for the Catholic religion in the region declined (Campbell 1990:43). In 1864 Te Ua Haumene, the founder of the Pai Marire faith, led a party of 300 people from Taranaki to Pipiriki with the intention of storming the city of Whanganui. The efforts of the party were hindered by the chiefs of the lower hapu in the Tupoho area, including Tuera, who had aligned themselves with Tauwiwi. These chiefs refused Te Ua Haumene and his party access to the city, and this action resulted in the Battle of Moutoa in May of 1864.

The motives of Maori in this battle varied; Maori fought against Tauwiwi, but they also fought against Maori of their own iwi. Hapu who aligned themselves with Tauwiwi fought to defend themselves against traditional enemies in the upper reaches as well as defending their right to continue trading with Tauwiwi. Maori on the opposing side fought to defend their access to resources. Because of Tuera's alliance, Parikino served as a place for British soldiers to stay before going to battle (Smart 1973:111), and Tuera, along with other hapu in the lower reaches, were commonly perceived by Tauwiwi as 'loyal' to the settlement of Whanganui and its military (see Power 1849). Historians continue to describe these hapu using this term (see Chapple 1939, and Smart 1973:216 ), but it should be noted that because these alliances were not enduring, and because these alliances were made in order to pursue economic, cultural or military developments, it is misleading to assume that these

hapu were 'loyal'. Loyalty implies enduring support, and the people of these hapu were not enduringly supportive of Tauwiwi, nor did they always support all Tauwiwi <sup>16</sup>.

At hui and tangi accounts of the hapu successes in battle are frequently told, and the waka Te Wehi O Te Rangi was vital to the success of this hapu in the Battle of Moutoa. Eighteen metres long and 1.4 meters across the beam, this waka was carved from a single totara in the 1850's (Nelson 1991:75). Because of its sharp keel it could be paddled up rapids that were normally traversed in other waka by poling and was therefore of use in the battle for transporting soldiers, warriors and supplies. Although Tuera and Tauwiwi narrowly won the Battle of Moutoa, Tuera's alliance with Tauwiwi had a price. In the battle Tuera fought against kin who more actively pursued alliances with other hapu, and the battle is therefore remembered for the grief that it caused among whanau. A monument was later erected to commemorate 'loyal' deaths in the battle. It remembers the 16 who died with the citation that they fell "in defence of law and order against fanaticism and barbarism". That citation prompted critical comment from Mark Twain during his visit to New Zealand, when he enquired as to how "how Maori defence of their own interests could constitute either fanaticism or barbarism" (Young 1989:102).

Dissatisfaction over land issues did not subside. In 1865 redoubts were established at Tawhitinui, Pipiriki and at Parikino, and in the same year Pehi Turoa and 300-400 Hauhau warriors lead another attack on Tauwiwi by storming the redoubts at Pipiriki<sup>17</sup>. Tauwiwi only narrowly managed to defend their posts until relief arrived from Whanganui. After this conflict an agreement regarding compensation for Maori land losses was reached, Turoa took an oath of allegiance, and "peace then came again to the river"(Smart 1973:112). But war over land issues continued to the North-West of Whanganui throughout 1867 and 1868

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<sup>16</sup>Further illustration of the variable nature of the alliances with Tauwiwi is seen in the actions of Major Kemp, the Putiki chief Te Rangihwinui was decorated by Tauwiwi for the part he played in the protection of the settlement, but later reviewed his hapu's alliance with Tauwiwi. Realising that the settlers he had earlier supported were continuing to threaten his people and their resources, in 1880, in an effort to protect the land that remained in Maori possession, Kemp organised a Maori Land Trust. He erected four large poles that marked out the original iwi lands, and backed by 250 bodyguards he hoped to exclude all Tauwiwi from the area. The trust had little effect (Smart 1973 220-222). While his allegiances appeared to change, and were now in full support of Maori, Kemp is also noted for selling the land in his Trust to Tauwiwi (Mike Potaka 1993). Loyalty implies permanence and these alliances were clearly not unalterable.

<sup>17</sup>It is thought that Te Kooti visited Parikino (Mike Potaka 1993), probably during 1869. It is likely that Te Kooti supported Titikowharu, who Walker notes then engaged against Colonel Whitmore's forces in Waitotara (1990:134).

(Saunders 1968:163), and Maori along the river continued to fight in a variety of ways for their right of development.

### **Weirs vs. Steamers; Ownership of the River**

When Tauīwi first arrived, weir fishing was of crucial economic importance to the hapu, and up until 1880 large weirs were being built across the river by a majority of river hapu to trap and catch the piharau and tunaheke. The shingle beds and width of the river adjacent to the kainga at Pungarehu were ideally suited to the building of these large weirs, but the practice of weir fishing was about to be attacked.

If Tauīwi development in the upper reaches of the river was to continue, then access to the upper reaches of the valley needed to be secured and maintained. The river afforded the easiest form of access to land and resources in the steep sided valley, and Tauīwi developers saw steamers as having enormous transport and tourism potential. John Ballance, the Minister for Native Affairs, met with lower river Maori in 1885 with the explicit intention of convincing Maori of the benefits of steamers. He said:

A steamer would give greatly increased value to your lands, and it could make the Wanganui (sic) what it was intended to be -a great highway for the people of the interior; it would make it more convenient to get down to Wanganui and get back up again. Your wool and your produce would be sent down at a cheaper rate, and you would be able to get up and down with much greater facility, and, I think, at less expense, than by means of canoe (in Campbell 1990:20).

Maori needed no convincing that what remained of their land was of value, nor did they need convincing that the river was a great highway; Maori had long been aware of the value of their land and aware that the river was a "critical corridor" (Young 1989:110). The access that the river afforded had been patently obvious to Kupe when he visited in 950 A.D., and it was obvious to Maori who used the river daily. Maori were therefore unlikely to believe that a steamer would facilitate their navigation of the river, or that steamers

would increase the value of their remaining lands. But the real intention of the Ministers speech was not to convince Maori of what they already knew, it was to persuade Maori to further facilitate the burgeoning settler economy, and in order to facilitate this access to the upper reaches of the valley was now considered essential. If Western economic development is to proceed then natural resources must first acquire a value for economic growth. Once that value is accorded then those resources can be "legitimately exploited" (Shiva in Sachs 1992:211). While land had already been accorded a Western economic value, now it was the river's turn.

Navigation of the river by steamer, as opposed to canoe, necessitates a much wider and more navigable channel. Navigation is "a function of four parameters: river flow levels, channel maintenance, craft design and driver ability" (Planning Tribunal 1990:130), and the use of steamers on the river therefore necessitated 'channel maintenance'. In practice this meant removing 'obstacles' from the river bed, and the two major obstacles which prevented steamers from using the river were rapids and weirs. The Wanganui River Trust very effectively removed rapids through the use of explosives (Nelson 1991:77), but the weirs could not be removed quite so easily. The weir at Parikino, an *utu piharau*, was the largest on the river, and Tuera, along with other hapu on the river, were unwilling to relinquish such a vital part of their economy and their identity.

The response of Tauwiwi to this resistance was to pass legislation in 1879 compelling all Maori to remove their weirs. Maori were already angry at the actions of Tauwiwi in relation to land, and this legislation only served to further increase their hostility. Further exacerbating tension between Maori and Tauwiwi were the actions of Tauwiwi who in 1880 and 1883 forcibly destroyed weirs (Whanganui Trust Board 1993:2). Maori took their grievances to Parliament, but with little effect, and seven years after the legislation was passed, in early 1886, the first steamer navigated the river<sup>18</sup> (Young 1989:111). Because of the forced removal of rapids and weirs, the Whanganui now bears the dubious honour of

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<sup>18</sup>See appendix seven.

being the "longest continually navigable river in Aotearoa" (Planning Tribunal 1990 vol. II, I:1).

Maori protested the removal of their weirs again in 1887 with a petition to Government signed by 501 members of the iwi, again with no effect. By this time Maori rights to water resources and the awa were also being subjected to further encroachment; salmon had been introduced into the river and gravel was also being extracted from the river bed to build roads (Whanganui River Maori Trust Board 1993:2). In 1892, adding insult to injury, Maori were granted the right to travel the river in their canoes providing that they did not take paying passengers or carry trade goods (ibid:3). They had no choice but to use steamers for transporting goods, and were thereby excluded from pursuing their own transport and tourist developments. By excluding competitors Tauwi gained a distinct economic advantage.

The Government continued to remove rapids and destroy any remaining eel weirs, but the battle for ownership of the river and fisheries resources did not subside. Like Washington State Indians who protested their inability to fish through fish-ins in the 1960's (Jaimes 1992:221), Maori reacted by continuing to build their weirs in defiance of the law. Facing arrest and imprisonment, Maori reacted to the removal of their weirs with physical force (Whanganui River Maori Trust Board 1993:2). In 1896 a compromise appeared to be achieved when a Tauwi Trust decreed that only weirs in the centre of the river would be removed, while those at the side of the river could remain. But despite the trusts decision even these smaller weirs were often subject to removal, and Maori continued to fight the forced removal of any weir.



*A smaller weir erected at the side of the river (Whanganui River Annual 1991:6)*

In 1938 the iwi put forward a claim to have their right to the river bed recognised. This claim argued that the stakes driven into the river bed to hold weirs in place constituted ownership of the river and its bed. But the claim also sought damages for the consequences of Tauwiwi's actions; it sought compensation for the loss of gravel used in roading, the loss of fish that resulted from the forced removal of weirs, changes in water current patterns caused by altering banks for steamer traffic, and the abandonment of villages because of a reduction in food resources (Levine 1987:427). Like the recent Waitangi Tribunal interim report (December 1993), Judge Brown recognised that according to customary usage rights Maori had been the owners of the Whanganui river at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. But at issue now was whether Maori now held a separate title to the river, a title distinct from the land that adjoined it (Levine 1987:428). While this claim succeeded in recognising the iwi's right of ownership in 1840, the ruling was later overturned in the Supreme Court when Judge Hay ruled in 1949 that ownership of the river bed had been given to the Crown under the Coal Mine Amendment Act of 1903. As the transcripts from the Aotea District Maori Land Court in 1938 illustrate, these hearings were not always convened with justice in mind:

The council for the applicant, Mr. Morison, asks his client, Hekenui, about who the ancestors of the river were, whether they are separate from those of the land adjoining the river, who has rights of access to and can cross over the river etc. Hekenui answers, giving a full account of his people's history and customary use of the river. The judge seeks clarification on certain points, which the solicitor discusses with him, more questions are put to Hekenui. He is then cross-examined by the Crown, which later produces its own local Maori witness whose testimony conflicts with that of Hekenui on crucial points (Levine 1987:428-9).

A Royal Commission in 1950, acknowledged that the tribe was entitled to compensation not for the destruction of weirs, but for loss of resources as the result of the extraction of metal from the Whanganui (Young 1989:112). Government failed to act on this recommendation, and a further appeal in 1960 also failed to secure compensation (ibid).

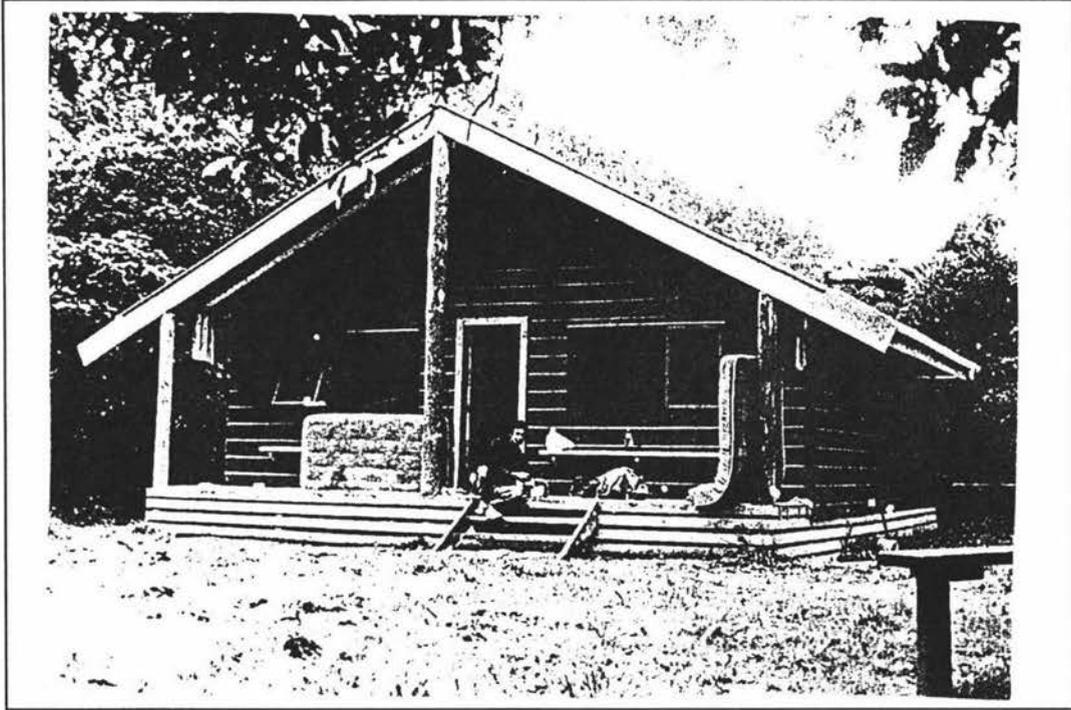
Mana and ownership over the river and the valley continues to be a crucial concern for Maori of this iwi. The iwi currently has a claim for the river and land in the valley before the Waitangi Tribunal which will be heard in February of 1994, but the fight also continues in other forms. The annual voyage down the Whanganui (Tira Hoe Waka), and an annual waka regatta reaffirm the tangata whenua's link with the Whanganui, and their commitment to fight for ownership and guardianship of this river. Maori of this iwi are also presently occupying the Tieke Hut<sup>19</sup>, a DOC<sup>20</sup> hut built on Maori land in the upper reaches of the valley. As Moana Jackson said of the occupants of this hut: they enacted the first and the second principles of rangatiratanga: they stopped talking, went in and did it, but now they have to hang on to it (Jackson 1993). To date (December 1993), they are successfully managing to do this. Maori occupying this hut have stated that they are willing to dismantle Tieke hut for DOC, and this offer has interesting parallels to the an event which occurred in the early period of Tauwiwi settlement where Maori helped one Tauwiwi family pack up their belongings, burned their house to the ground, and stayed to ensure that they did not return

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<sup>19</sup>This voyage has parallels to the canoe treks conducted by Indians through Puget Sound in the 1960's (see Jaimes 1992:221). These treks took place with purpose of reaffirming ties with the river, and highlighted the failure of the Government to recognise Treaty fishing rights.

<sup>20</sup>Department of Conservation.

(see Power 1849:82). In this recent case the people's offer is considerably more generous than the actions of Maori in the past.



*Tieke hut (Bates 1985)*

Another example of the way in which Maori continue to fight for ownership and mana over the Whanganui is illustrated by an occurrence at a Hui-A-Iwi on water rights (1993). A group of Maori decided that instead of talking about water rights they would symbolically claim the river for Maori, and went for a swim in the Whanganui. But resistance and redress has not always been sought on an corporate basis. Individuals often take their own initiative in showing their contempt for structures which have failed to resolve this issue. Hikaia Stephen Amohia, recognising that an equal status for Maori could only be achieved by securing a resource base, is well remembered among locals for periodically climbing into a jet boat to proclaim the Whanganui for Maori (Whanganui River Annual 1991:4). Because commercial eel fishing detrimentally affect eel stocks in the Whanganui, it is rumoured that some Maori quietly cut the nets of these fishers. And finally, as a matter of course, many Maori in this iwi daily refer daily to the Whanganui as *their* river.

To date the claim for iwi ownership of the Whanganui is the longest litigated case in the legal history of Aotearoa. The Whanganui River Maori Trust Board, a statutory body legally established in 1988, continues the legal battle. It seeks not only ownership of the Whanganui, but seeks compensation for breaches against that ownership (Whanganui River Maori Trust Board 1993:1). Four generations of Maori have now fought, and continue to fight in a variety of ways for their awa and their right to develop water resources. Like the name of the river; 'a river of great waiting', its people currently wait for the Crown to resolve their claim. Their wait has not been a passive one.

## Tourism

When Hatrick began his steamer operation in 1892 (Saunders 1968:55), he recognised the value of a passenger and freight service, but he also foresaw a tourist route which would one day become famous the world over. It was recognised that the "magnificent scenery of the Whanganui would attract tourists in increasing numbers"(Wanganui Chronicle 1903 cited in N.Z. Planning Tribunal 1990: 62), and because of its tourist potential the river was accorded an aesthetic value. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was commonly referred to as the 'Rhine' of New Zealand, and advertised in England and Europe as a river of great scenic beauty (Saunders 1968:55). Besides having the dubious honour of being the "longest continually navigable river in Aotearoa" (Planning Tribunal 1990 vol. II, I:1), the Whanganui is also Aotearoa's third longest river, and both of these characteristics increased its potential for tourism. In the five years between 1915-1920, a majority of 12,000 tourists travelled the river by steamer (Fisher 1960:37).

Tourism of this period centred largely on the flora and fauna of the valley, both of which were passively experienced from the comfort and safety of a steamer. The tangata whenua of the valley were clearly regarded as superfluous to the tourist's experience. In the books written about the valley during this period only a small minority focussed on the people of the valley (Fisher 1960). Downes' History and Guide to the Wanganui River (1923), a guide book for tourists, details at length the birds and plants that could be seen in the river valley.

Parikino is listed as the home of a taniwha and fallow deer, and Pungarehu noted for its urupa, and for the special rock high upon the hill overlooking the village (1923:69,70). Neither kainga are listed as the home of Tuera. However Downes did lament the lack of 'human fauna' that could be observed:

Unhappily, the picturesque canoe with its full freight of brown men, happy and pretty women, children, dogs and eel pots is no longer in evidence. The stone walls<sup>21</sup> built on the rapids, the ever decreasing population, and the fast disappearing canoe all tend towards travelling by the white man's fireboat" (1923:2).

What Downes failed to explain was that the disappearance of the people was directly related to the presence of the "white man's fireboat" on which these tourist travelled. Prevented from building their weirs, and from transporting cargo and passengers by canoe, Maori had been effectively excluded from the 'white man's' transport and tourist economies.

### **Floods and Influenza**

If you live in the Whanganui valley, you can't help but observe the river, and seasonal changes in water flow and colouration are an important part of daily conversation. Floods are a regular occurrence and a reminder of the power of the awa. Large floods, such as those that occurred in 1904, 1914, 1940 and 1990 are vividly remembered because they isolate the people and cause damage within the valley. One flood in the early 1900's is remembered for washing so much water down the river that one of the contributory streams ran backwards (Young 1989:109). But the flood in May of 1904 is remembered by members of Tuera for destroying the pa at Pungarehu. The combination of heavy rain and melting snow on the slopes of Tongariro and Ruapehu caused the Whanganui to flood 60 feet above its summer level, the highest ever recorded. As a consequence the pa, then situated on the lower flats, was destroyed (Campbell 1990:137), and later rebuilt on its present site on higher ground (Mike Potaka 1993).

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<sup>21</sup>Downes is referring to the whakaparu piharau, a weir made of stones, ferns and grasses. This portable weir was pegged to the bed of the river, and piharau would seek cover in the mat, later the mat was rolled up and taken ashore where the piharau were removed (Planning Tribunal 1990:2.2:4)

Maori were severely affected by introduced diseases, and the November 1918 influenza epidemic took a heavy toll; Maori were affected at a rate 5 times greater than Tauwiwi. Many Maori sought treatment and spiritual support from the emerging Ratana faith, and this unifying spiritual movement, like that of the Hauhau movement sixty years before, had great appeal. Although Ratana's religious philosophy denied tribalism, it espoused the unity of the Maori people, and adherents to the faith visited Ratana from all over the country in the hope of being physically, socially and politically healed (Cox 1993:118). In 1925 a separate Ratana church was established, and by 1922 18% of the total Maori population were adherents to the faith. Although 90 % of Tuera are Catholic today, a small proportion are adherents of the Ratana faith. The bodies of Whanganui Maori who died in this influenza epidemic, needed to be transported back home to their hapu for tangihanga, and Catholic Sisters from the Home of Compassion at Jerusalem, fearing the spread of the disease, requested that the Hatrick River Boat Company stop transporting the dead. The Health Department advised Maori not to travel on the steamers, and police ordered that bodies had to be buried within 24 hours of death (Campbell 1990:213). This detrimentally altered the practice of tangihanga during the epidemic, and significantly contributed to the stress that surviving family members were all ready experiencing.

In 1933 the Governor-General Lord Bledisloe visited the valley. Three kilometres from Parikino, the steamer on which he travelled was met by a waka paddled by 14 Tuera men who lead the steamer to the kainga. On this day a number of flags were flying at Parikino, and among them was "the historic Moutoa flag which signified the local Maori's loyalty (sic) to Queen and country when they fought at the Battle of Moutca 69 years before"(Campbell 1990:213). The event was remembered by Tauwiwi as a "stirring sight...the paddles of the canoe dipped in unison and the graceful craft glided through the water ahead of the steamer"(Campbell 1990:227).

## Waka

Because the river was such a central and essential resource, navigating the river was a necessary skill. The dependence of the people on their river and waka is evident in that both serve as symbols for the tangata whenua. Te Wehi O Te Rangi, the large canoe used in the battle of Moutoa, was also used as a regatta waka and "seldom beaten"(Nelson 1991:75). Because of her size "Te Wehi had to go about a mile before she rises up out of the water (but) as soon as she rises, she just flies. She used to beat all the other canoes by about 2 to 3 hundred yards at a time, - that's how good that canoe was -a beautiful racing canoe, eh"(Bill Potaka 1993). Te Wehi was so fast that when she was well out in front of other waka, the paddlers who were "cheeky beggars", would turn the oars upside down and paddle with the handles of their oars in the water (Mike Potaka 1993). Te Wehi was given by the people of Ngati Pamoana to the Whanganui Regional Museum, and made her last voyage to the city in 1938. She was paddled down river by 20 men, and among those twenty men was a small boy called Bill who was given the job of keeping the thirsty paddlers supplied with liquid refreshments from a keg on board. He remembers running up and down the canoe pouring beer from a bucket into the waiting mugs. It was a hot day, and paddling was thirsty work. When the group reached Whanganui the waka was taken out of the water, put on a trailer and pushed across the road. The rowers were all barefoot, as is the custom when paddling, and because young Bill's feet were used to boots and shoes by then, he burned his feet on the hot tar seal of the road. The older men were lucky not to have to suffer in the same way; "they were so merry they (and their feet) didn't feel anything". This journey and this waka, Te Wehi, are fondly remembered by Bill: "Gee that was good fun eh... Oh she was good...I used to love that canoe" (Bill Potaka 1993).

Waka regattas held in Whanganui city were a time for hapu to pit their skills against other hapu and visiting iwi. Canoe hurdling, practised only on several rivers in Aotearoa, was a popular event in the 1920's and 1930's. Hurdling waka are small canoes with two crew; one person to paddle and one who ran from end to end enabling the bow of the waka to rise and cross a series of hurdles placed a foot above the water. If the timing and the speed of

the canoe were not perfect, the bow of the canoe would fail to gain enough height to traverse the hurdle, or the waka would leap over the hurdle and plough nose first into the river, and quickly fill with water. Hurdling therefore involved great timing and great skill. Bill Potaka and his partner Mary Vine were experts and won a majority of their races. Bill credits their success to the skill of his partner, a woman who knew the exact moment to unbalance the canoe in order to traverse the hurdles. "Oh she was good...We'd be finished and the others would still be having fun coming over (the hurdles)".

### **The River Road**

In 1934, the Wanganui River Road from Whanganui to Pipiriki was opened (Campbell 1990:230), and although the road theoretically facilitated greater access in and out of the valley, many hapu members in the 1930's only went to Wanganui several times a year. These trips were remembered as a chance to sample the delights of the city; to go to the movies, to do shopping, and have a meal of eggs and chips (Mike Potaka 1993). However the River Road also facilitated the arrival tourists by bus and car, and Hatrick recognising the potential of road transport sold the declining Hatrick Steamboat Company to the Crown (Campbell 1990: 232), and started a bus service on the River Road (Wanganui Chronicle 11 August 1993:11). But the River Road has proved expensive and difficult to maintain. The Whanganui Council currently spends approximately \$250,000 a year in road maintenance (Whanganui River Annual 1992:54). When it was first opened the road was unsealed, prone to slips in heavy rain, and described by one bus driver as a "pig track" (Wanganui Chronicle 11 August 1993:11), and at the time the Crown was beginning to question the value of maintaining access to the valley either by steamer or by road:

It is a pity that any of the land was ever settled. The settlers have only starved, and got themselves and others into difficulties. It might be better to spend the money (for the sale of the Hatrick Company) in removing the people altogether and letting the land go back to its native state (Minister of Lands cited in Campbell 1990:232).

Many Maori would have no doubt been delighted to see Tauwiwi leave and the land return to its 'native state', but escalating economic demands for electricity resulted in further demands being made on the river.

## **Hydroelectric Power**

By the mid twentieth Century post war development increased the demand for electricity, and in 1959 the Minister of Works, Hugh Watt, announced that investigations were to be made into the feasibility of building a 540 foot earth dam at either Kaiwhaiki, Atene, or Paetawa two miles north of Parikino (Voelkerling 1986:254, 255). This development would result in the flooding of areas in the valley from the site of the dam in the lower reaches of the river to Pipiriki in the northern portion of the valley, an area that was perceived by developers as eroded, unstable and therefore of 'little value' (Dempsey 1966:46). Economic considerations continued to take precedence over cultural considerations.

In his M.A. thesis on the economy of the Lower Whanganui river valley Dempsey (1966) viewed the river valley at the time as "economically backward" (1966:8). By the 1960's the area was in full grip of a rural downturn, with many Maori moving to the city in search of work. Parikino's population had fallen from 136 in 1936, to 93 by 1961 (Dempsey 1966: Table 2), and Dempsey perceived this trend to mean that the lower Whanganui valley was an area which people "avoided or passed through without stopping" (ibid)<sup>22</sup>. The valleys apparent disuse, the poor condition of the houses in the area, and their low occupancy rate, were cited by Dempsey as further reasons for the building of a dam. However Dempsey did acknowledge that "one Maori elder at Parikino said that every house but one in his community was occupied at some stage of each year" (1966:30), and that low occupancy rates were therefore difficult to accurately define.

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<sup>22</sup>In direct contrast to these figures Saunders notes that during this period there a total of 80 farming families living between Pipiriki and Whanganui (1968:58).

The standard of living of people living between Pipiriki and Parikino was perceived by Dempsey as lower than that of residents living elsewhere in the valley. "It is a common saying in Wanganui city that if it was not for Social Security, many of the residents between Parikino and Pipiriki would be destitute and would have to leave the region to seek employment elsewhere" (Dempsey 1966:28). In my own discussions with people about this period, they spoke not of their reliance on Social Security benefits, but of their dependence on bush and river resources to supplement their economy. "They would spend a couple of days hunting and fishing and...would bring the meat back and the eels (and then) dry and preserve them. You always had plenty of meat and fish...And even in those days the poorest people had that" (Mike Potaka 1993). If the dam did become a reality this reliance on a subsistence economy would have been replaced with a reliance on a welfare economy. But Dempsey believed that if the dam was built "the inhabitants of the river communities would gain economically" because the inhabitants of the flooded portion of the valley would be resettled in houses with a "greater resale value"(1966:38). Gain was judged using Eurocentric criteria.

A dam had the potential to drown large areas of land and items of "local *interest* and possible unlocated items of historical *interest*"(ibid my emphasis). But Dempsey failed to note the value of these 'items' to Maori, and the term 'interest' blatantly diminished the real value of these ancestral lands to the people. As the indigenous nations of Missouri well know, the flooding of 350,00 acres of their land, which resulted in the flooding of burial sites, lead to impoverishment, and severe cultural and emotional trauma (Jaimes 1992:198). If the dam became a reality Tuera were likely to suffer the same fate. It was the land and their taonga which gave Tuera their turangawaewae, their mana, their past, and their future.

The final justification for the building of this dam was that the area could be used "much more extensively by the rest of New Zealand"; if the dam was built then New Zealanders as a whole would reap the benefits of hydroelectric power and would be able to use the flooded portion of the valley for recreation (1966:52). National interest appeared to

supersede the Maori's right under the Treaty to their land and resources, and Maori objected vehemently on these grounds. The issue they said was not an economic one, but a moral one (Wanganui Herald Oct. 13 1960), and Maori, and Tauwiwi, who opposed the dam formed the Wanganui River Association in 1959.

Fortunately this dam was never built, not because planners respected the Treaty rights of Maori, but because the valley walls were considered to be so unstable that they would hold neither the dam nor the water contained by it (Mike Potaka 1993); the porous nature of the rock in this region would have resulted in considerable seepage of water (Saunders 1968:57). Rather ironically the geology of the Parikino area is now regarded as being of such distinction that it warrants special protection (Young 1989:104).

### **The Tongariro Power Scheme**

The issue of escalating demands for electricity did not to subside. Permission for the construction of the Tongariro Power Diversion scheme (TPD) was granted swiftly, and work began on the project in 1967 "without any environmental impact report, any process of formal objection or the granting of any water rights" (Heerdegen 1992:12). The scheme began operation in 1972, and effectively reduced the water flowing in the Whanganui river by 50% (Young 1989:103). This marked reduction severely affected the health of the river. In ecological terms, the rivers capacity to cleanse itself was diminished, and because the river contained less water the course of the river changed, and shingle beds were exposed. This threatened fish habitats which in turn affected bird life.

Before the TPD, the river used to get really low about one in every twenty years. Under low conditions eels start dying. If you study them closely you can see the white fungus<sup>23</sup> around their mouths and sometimes on their gills. Freshwater mussels, or kakahi, used to be plentiful. There were clumps of them in piles of boulders where small creeks flowed into the river. Colonies of mussels also lived close on the bank, in the crevasses in the papa ledge just

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<sup>23</sup>This fungus is known as *Saprolegnia* or cotton wool disease. Dr Jellyman, from MAFISH in Christchurch, believes that the presence of this infection indicates poor health and stress in aquatic species. Because eels have a high tolerance level the presence of this disease indicates that many other species of the fish in the Whanganui could be "tragically affected" (Planning Tribunal 1990:5.9:16).

below the water level, which prior to TPD were always covered (Jock Erceg in Whanganui River Annual 1992:27).

Reduced water flows also impacted on the tourism and recreational use of the river; the slowly flowing water smelled offensive and was perceived by many as aesthetically distasteful:

During low flows the river is quite rotten. I am a farmer. I'm used to smells, but I can no longer enjoy the pleasure of going down the river in the evenings with my fly rod, because of the stink...Years ago there was more shingle movement in the river. When I was standing in the river fishing, the shingle bed used to move underfoot. Now it is locked solid by the silt and is slippery because of algal growth (Jock Erceg quoted in Whanganui River Annual 1992:27).

But reduced water flows severely affected Maori; economically, spiritually, and culturally. For Taitoko Tawhiri the diversion of the rivers headwaters was like

cutting off the head of a person or eel. It becomes lifeless like the river is now...It is a danger to our Taniwha, the guardians of this sacred entity, of our sacred places; the mauri of the Awa that essence of life of the Whanganui River; of its mana that is our people's pride, prestige and dignity. The Whanganui River holds the memory of our people's history from the time of our first settlement. The Whanganui River can only live and maintain its mauri, its essence of life, with a plentiful supply of water that comes from its source (Whanganui River Annual 1992:27).

If the mauri of the river is threatened, then this impacts upon the mana of the tangata whenua which "has as a deep effect - it is unseen - it deprives us as a people and leaves us uncertain, unsure" (Julie Ranginui in Whanganui River Annual 1992:27). While the Taumarunui Borough Council who occupy land adjacent to 5 miles of the Whanganui's banks received annual compensation for the diversion of the headwaters of the Whanganui, Maori received no reparation (Whanganui River Trust Board 1993:5). It was not until almost twenty years after the scheme had been in operation that Maori grievances about the scheme would finally be clearly heard.

In 1988 the Rangitikei-Wanganui Catchment Board set up a Special Tribunal to hear submissions concerning minimum flows in the Whanganui River. Electrocorp wanted to continue diverting water from the Whanganui, but as submissions to the Tribunal showed, a large number of people vehemently opposed this. Electrocorp presented its submissions to the Tribunal consisting of evidence based on "engineering, economic and scientific evaluation of the river's utility as a source of water used in the generation of Electricity" (Heerdegen 1992:13), and in sharp contrast Maori and Tauwi presented their submissions based on historical narratives, observations, sensory reactions and feelings about the river (ibid). Perhaps of greatest significance for Maori in relation to these hearings was the acknowledgement by the Tribunal that cultural values were to be accorded equal importance to ecological, hydrological and economic considerations in the evaluation process (ibid). For Maori the cultural realm is all encompassing and cultural concerns therefore include economic, ecological and hydrological considerations. While Maori saw the Tribunal's intentions as a progressive move, it was not ideal.

Submissions to the Tribunal highlighted the continuing struggle of Whanganui Maori to maintain their water rights, but they also highlighted the changes in Tauwi perceptions of the river. These submissions highlighted the diverse number of ways in which the river was being used, and the strength of people's feelings about the Whanganui. Because public values and perceptions associated with the river had changed so markedly since the scheme began operation, the Tribunal recommended that water flows be increased. While public perceptions and Tauwi perceptions may have altered, Ngati Tuera along with many other Maori of this iwi would claim that their perceptions and values about the river had changed little. Although the Planning Tribunal Hearings illustrated the increasing willingness of political authorities to listen and act on the interests and knowledge of minority groups within society, little action resulted from the Tribunal's recommendations. Despite the time and the cost of this Tribunal<sup>24</sup>, and despite a marginal increase in river flows<sup>25</sup>, (the result of

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<sup>24</sup>The Planning hearing is to date the longest and most costly in the history of Aotearoa. (Whanganui River Annual 1991:5).

<sup>25</sup>Electrocorp's annual 'take' from the headwaters of the Whanganui was reduced from 97% to 78% (Whanganui River Annual 1992:26).

a subsequent appeal to the Planning Tribunal), a second Tribunal felt that it was not within its powers to accept the cultural and spiritual values that were the basis of the decisions of the earlier Special Tribunal. While some judicial structures within Aotearoa may be prepared to recognise Maori bodies of knowledge it appears they are still not prepared to *act* on them.

Such a view... further entrenches the present state of evidence and gives little hope that alternative knowledge can be considered as a worthy partner to scientific evidence in the judicial system...the process of evaluating environmental planning matters in ESA'S (environmentally sensitive areas) such as the Whanganui River needs time, widespread discussion and a fair means of achieving a sustainable outcome without denying opportunities for development. Unless planners, scientists, legislators, and the judiciary recognise the value of alternative knowledge and integrate it into formal planning system, effective discussion and evaluation is unlikely to be achieved (Heerdegen 1992:15,16).

The Whanganui Maori River Trust Board sought the return of all water to the Whanganui, and the recommendations of the Tribunal were therefore far from satisfactory to Maori. "Any amount of water that is put back in the river is good, but the river should be there in its totality. It was there for our tupuna, it was not interfered with then. It should not be taken away" (Archie Taiaroa in Whanganui River Annual 1992:31).

The Special Tribunal acknowledged that reduced flows had impacted harshly only on the river and on its people, and this effectively confirms the view that most environmental problems are a "result of scientists and planners overstepping boundaries in order to create limitless growth and limitless consumption" (Sachs 1992:212). This environmental problem, the ill-health of the Whanganui, and the loss of mana that the tangata whenua experienced is a direct result of an exploitative economic philosophy.

## **Water Rights and the Treaty of Waitangi**

There is a common misconception that the Treaty of Waitangi relates only to claims about land. Yet as the short history of the Waitangi Tribunal shows, water rights have been a central and enduring issue for Maori since the signing of the Treaty. The following claims have direct relevance to the Whanganui claim. These claims illustrate the importance of traditional systems of water use, the validity of Maori bodies of fishing knowledge, and the effects of Tauiriwi development on these taonga.

In 1978, the first claim relating to water rights was heard by the Waitangi Tribunal. This claim focussed on the siting of a thermal power station near Waiau pa in the Manukau harbour, and emphasised the traditional right of Maori to fish. It illustrated that fishing was of crucial importance to Maori prior to 1840, and that these rights had a commercial value to Maori (McHugh 1991:319). Like the 1988 Planning Tribunal which heard submissions relating to the Whanganui river, to its credit, the Motunui-Waitara claim hearing accorded Maori knowledge about the environment equal validity with scientific knowledge. To its credit it was at this hearing that "the tribunal had spoken out loud and at length on a Maori concern in a Maori context, taking Maori needs and values as its yardstick" (Oliver 1991:22). In the mid 1980's the case of *Te Wehi Vs. Regional Fisheries Officer* (1986) highlighted the right of rangatira to exclude or invite people to use water resources. In 1984 Tom Te Wehi, of Ngati Porou descent, was granted the right by local kaumatua to collect paua at Mouton beach in North Canterbury, but was later convicted for taking excessive undersized paua and other kai moana. In his defence his counsel recalled section 88(2) of the 1983 Fisheries Act which stated this act would not affect Maori fishing rights. After appeal the conviction was quashed, and the government was forced to negotiate these rights. In the Kaituna claim, as in the Motunui claim, the pollution and fouling of water resources was central. In addition the Tribunal found that the mixing of waters of the Waikato and Manukau, like the mixing of the headwaters of the Whanganui, was culturally insensitive and inappropriate. The Muriwhenua claim was presented to the Tribunal at a crucial time. At this time the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was intending to issue

fishing quotas, and because of this fishing issues were separated out from the Muriwhenua claim as a whole. An historical survey of Muriwhenua fishing was compiled, and the Tribunal learned first hand about the vast body of knowledge that these people had in relation to their water resources. The Tribunal learned of the location of fishing grounds, the function of fish in gift exchange, and the reliance of these people on fisheries. The Tribunal found that fisheries were regarded as a taonga, a source of food, an occupation, a source of gift exchange, and were part of the relationship of Maori to their ancestral waters. The key to the stewardship and ownership of those resources was kinship (Oliver 1991:35).

### **Maori Fisheries Act (1989)**

In response to the claim by Ngai Tahu, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission was set up with a three fold agenda; to enact the distribution of the pre-settlement assets formerly held by the Maori Fisheries Commission, develop a process whereby the benefits of the Sealord deal will be allocated, and develop a new Maori Fisheries Act and Maori traditional fishing regulations. While much of the public discussion centred around marine rather than inland fisheries, Whanganui Maori recognised the need for representation of iwi who have special concern for their freshwater fisheries (Wanganui Chronicle 31 May 1993). The iwi was duly given written assurance that apart from eel fisheries these rights would be protected (Wanganui Chronicle 17 October 1993).

But the Maori Fisheries Bill raised important issues for all Maori. The central issue was the guardianship of water resources, and through this Bill proposed quotas Maori fishing rights would have been essentially transferred. Maori claimed that these rights that had not been ceded by them, and relinquishing the property rights of future generations under the Sealord deal was not the domain of authority of present kaumatua. In signing away the rights of future generations, kaumatua would not be acting as guardians of their iwi's taonga. They were not seen as protecting their rights, but as extinguishing them. Signing away these long standing and enduring rights in exchange for shares in a business that was seasonally variable and potentially economically undurable was a major concern. "(A)s a comparison

the Sealord deal could be likened to the early settlement days of a bag of flour, a box of nails and a half chest of tea as full and complete payment for the land surrounding Lake Taupo" (Dominion 14 October 1992:10). Hiwi Tauroa saw this proposed legislation as essentially and blatantly discriminatory (1986:74), and Maori rejected the Bill on its presentation.

Claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, the Fisheries Act (1989) and the subsequent Sealord deal reiterate Webster's contention that being Maori is not only a "whole way of life", but is also a "whole way of struggle" (Webster 1993:2). The cases before the tribunal and the series of legislative developments outlined, illustrate the crucial importance of fishing to Maori and their struggle to maintain their right to development. While the claims to the Waitangi Tribunal relate to the concerns of specific iwi, they also illustrate the similarity of experience that Maori have in relation to water rights. Since the 1860's legislators have often assumed that the Crown has an unrestricted right to dispose of these fisheries, and the commercial dimension of Maori fishing has been consistently ignored. As a result Maori fishing has been effectively "corporatised" (Oliver 1991:34).

As their history shows, the Treaty rights and the common law rights of Whanganui Maori have been infringed. Redress of these infringements must take emic account of the common law that operated before 1840.

Claims to aboriginal title are woven with history, legend, politics and moral obligations. If the claim of any Band in respect of particular land is to be decided as a justifiable issue and not as a political issue, it should be considered on the facts pertinent to that Band and to the land, and not on any global basis (Kruger and Manuel case cited in McHugh 1991:133).

Each particular claim to resources must be considered from the perspective of users, from the perspective of those that developed systems of use, and practised these systems over time, therefore "native claimants must establish that the claim to aboriginal title (say, a right to fish or hunt over certain Crown lands) is associated with the unique nature of their

culture and is connected with the ongoing vitality and viability of that uniqueness" (ibid:134).

While Treaty rights have been infringed, when the question of Maori fishing rights is viewed from an international perspective, a number of breaches of human rights have also occurred. The right to freedom from discrimination (United Nations 1987 : section 2), the right to freely pursue their own economic, social, religious and cultural development without external interference (section 2), and the right to permanent control and enjoyment of territories including inland waters, have all been breached. Section 20 of this declaration states that indigenous nations have "a right to their own traditional medicine". The right of Whanganui Maori to use the waters of the Whanganui for healing has been impeded by sewage input, and by the mixing of the river's headwaters. Both actions severely affect the wairua of the river and impede its healing abilities. Finally, section 7 of this document states that where violation of these principles has occurred, the people are entitled to "immediate restitution". As Maori well know, enthusiasm for protecting human rights frequently dwindles when politicians are faced with criticism concerning ethnic and cultural minorities within their own nations (Downing 1988:6), and, as a consequence Maori have discovered that 'immediate restitution' is extremely slow in arriving.

### **Ecologists and Maori**

Underlying the question of Maori ownership of the Whanganui is also the awareness that the health of the river must be restored. Water resources need to be in a fit state in order for Maori to pursue self determination. The Whanganui is one of the most polluted rivers in Aotearoa (Kiro 1993), and monocultural fish development, eroded hillsides in the valley and pollution in the awa mean if the claim for the Whanganui did succeed, then Maori could be "getting a lemon" (ibid). Therefore the people of this iwi not only seek ownership of the Whanganui but compensation for breaches against this ownership.

While the recent increase in water levels in the Whanganui will help the restoration process, it will not significantly alter the effects of man-made (sic) pollution (DOC conservator Bill Carlin in *Dominion* 11 June 1992). Maori regard water as being of five different categories ranging from waiora, the purest form, to waimate, which is water which has lost its life force and is damaged, or polluted. The waters of the Whanganui now range from waiora on the slopes of Tongariro, to waimate in the reaches of the lower Whanganui (Metekingi in *Whanganui Chronicle* 1 August 1992). What will help restore the health of the river is the removal of 95% of the sewage currently pumped into the river through 59 outlets which will be achieved by land based sewage treatment plants<sup>26</sup>. For Maori "(t)he use of the Whanganui River as a convenient means of sewage disposal has a demeaning cultural impact on the life force or mauri of our tupuna (ancestors)" (ibid) . The second threat to the river is the runoff of silts, nutrients, pesticides and manure from farmlands in the river valley. If an effective natural vegetation barrier along the banks of the river was currently in place it would have reduced the estimated millions of tonnes of topsoil that was washed out to sea in the March 1990 flood (*Whanganui Chronicle* 1 August 1992). A natural vegetation barrier would also help to reduce pesticide and fertiliser runoff. But restoring this river may take a long time, perhaps 50 years (*Dominion* 11 June 1992).

The current public awareness of the finite nature of resources, in conjunction with the current willingness of judicial and regional structures to listen to alternative points of view, mean that more often Maori and Tauwiwi are addressing more related issues. In reading the submissions of the Planning Tribunal, the interests that appeared to be most closely aligned to those of Maori are the submissions presented by ecologists. While in the past Maori traditions and values have been dismissed as frivolous in light of more 'important' things such as development, profit, and economic growth, the goals of conservation, preservation, and ecological restoration, suggest that Maori and the ecologists seek similar goals. While the goals of these two groups may seem to be related there are some crucial differences.

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<sup>26</sup>Current plans are to cease discharging sewage into the river at Whanganui city by July 1996, and to introduce wetland and ultra-violet disinfection treatment schemes at Taumaranui by September 1994 (*Whanganui River Annual* 1992:20).

Ecologists and Maori may appear to perceive the natural world in a similar way. The spiritual value of the one-to-one contact between man (sic) and object" is vital to ecologism (Clark 1991: 23), and this spiritual relationship between humankind and nature is evidenced in Tauwiwi submissions presented to the Planning Tribunal.

(A) river is not just a flaccid fossil. It is also a living entity... Yet warm in the fool's paradise of our technologically-woven security, we have forgotten that a river is a complex, laminar organism representing much more than is obvious and far more than the sum of its parts. It is an entity that cannot be separated out into portions just for the comfort of modern man (sic). It exists as does nothing quite else as connective between the past, the present and the future, between the blood lines of the Upper and Lower river, a medium whose nature is at once both forceful and sensitive, violent and yet delicate, a spiritual entity as well as a corporeal one. Above all, it is rhythmical, pulsing its way downstream as well as responding to gravity, streaming within its flows in constant renewal. Each of these qualities can be abused, but only at a price (Planning Tribunal Submissions 1990, vol. IV Pt. 9:1).

The blurring of distinctions between inanimate and animate, between the natural world and humankind echo the inseparability of Maori from their environment. However the similarities end here. The political positioning of Maori and some ecological groups are often radically different. While ecologists frequently draw a majority of their membership from the professional educated middle class (Eckersley in Hayward 1991:60), Maori do not, and this has a direct affect on the political leverage of each group. Larger environmental groups have an advantage over smaller groups, and these smaller groups frequently include people that represent the concerns of indigenous peoples (Hayward 1991:54). In addition, groups that focus on single ecological issue concerns are often favoured above the broader demands of marginalised groups or the site specific concerns of small local groups (ibid:57). Whanganui Maori have a close and exclusive affiliation with the Whanganui, and it is this river, not any other, which defines and identifies the people of this iwi:

Ko Ruapehu Te maunga  
Ko Whanganui Te awa  
Ko Hau-nui-a-Paparangi Te iwi  
Ko Ngati Tuera Te Hapu

While Hayward believes that it is important to recognise that the current environmental crisis has a "social as well as a physical dimension" (Hayward 1991:58), for Maori it has an all encompassing cultural dimension and this is the crucial difference between these two groups. As Kiro reminds us the "tangata whenua are not just another lobby group and therefore should not be treated as such" (Kiro 1993). For Whanganui Maori the awa is central to their identity, their history and to their future.

Due to the newly introduced Resource Management Act, the Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council currently manages the river, but ownership remains with the Crown. Conflict relating to this issue has surfaced in a recent confrontation between ecologists and Maori, and this conflict illustrates that the goals of conservationists and Maori are not always aligned. In June of 1993 the Forest and Bird Society moved to have a protection order placed on the river and all tributaries. While this order was intended to preserve the "outstanding intrinsic and amenity values" of the river (Wanganui Chronicle 29 June 1993), Maori were not fully consulted and were angry about the actions of the Society. Whanganui River Maori River Trust chairman Archie Taiaroa was "furious" because this order had effectively "trampled across the mana" of the iwi (ibid). In applying for a conservation order the society had not fully comprehended the impact of their actions on Maori<sup>27</sup>, nor had they fully understood the relationship that Maori people have with the environment. While local Maori supported moves to protect 'their' river, they believed that protective control was the responsibility of the iwi, and Maori therefore resolved to fight this order to their "last breath and drop of toto<sup>28</sup> " (Niko Tangaroa quoted in Wanganui Chronicle 14 July 1993). This issue illustrates just how opposed the goals of Maori and ecologists often are. For Maori it highlighted just how little Tauwiwi knew about the relationship that Maori have with their river; "(i)n this the International Year of the

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<sup>27</sup>Like tourists of the early twentieth century this groups main focus was with fauna of the valley. Both failed to adequately acknowledge the concerns of the tangata whenua.

<sup>28</sup>Blood.

Indigenous People your actions to date in regard to your application for a water conservation order highlight your attitude to us as Maori of Aotearoa"(ibid).

### **Local and Regional Bodies: and the Issue of Mana / Ownership**

Until the question of ownership is fully resolved, current management of the Whanganui must take account of Maoritanga and kawa but also needs to operate within existing administrative bodies. Accommodating two sets of values is often difficult, and Maori should not be forced to adopt methods of decision-making simply because they fit into the scheme of the State either for convenience or because of the State's current political philosophy. The law and concepts of conservation developed in Europe or within European mentality are not necessarily applicable to the views of Whanganui River Maori. (Wanganui Chronicle 21 July 1993).

Several bodies have been formed to address the management of the river at regional and local body levels. A working party of the Wanganui District Council (The Iwi Liaison Working Party), believed to be the first body of its kind, intends to act as a forum to "facilitate open and direct dialogue, discussion and consultation" between the iwi and council on issues relating to resource use, management and control (Wanganui Chronicle 21 September 1993). The Maori advisory group (Te Roopu Awhina) of the Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council was also formed in December 1992, with the intention of acknowledging and reflecting Maori values and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Wanganui Chronicle 7 December 1993). But as Maori know there is often a danger in such alliances. As Sissons points out;

(e)xperts are increasingly called upon by institutions to tailor Maori belief, values and practices to administrative ends. Teachers, experts in ritual, protocol, traditions and language are all brought into the service of selecting and adapting aspects of a Maori life-world, transforming these into symbolic and strategic resources...Cultural identity...(becomes) a commodity able to be bought and sold in the administrative market place (1989:19).

There is a fine line between working *with* and working *for* these institutions, but the one desirable future for State-directed biculturalism is one that promotes economic and cultural

autonomy (ibid). An economically and culturally autonomous biculturalism would recognise the alienable right of indigenous peoples to their traditional territories and water resources, but also allow them to pursue self-defined and culturally relevant development.

### **Parallels to Other Indigenous Peoples**

While economic developers and conservationists are often in direct confrontation with Maori, indigenous peoples share a more common experience of colonisation, and this experience is increasingly an important source of support. As one Indian of the Klallam Nation observed when visiting the Ashinabe peoples who like his people were also fighting for their water rights: "(w)e've gone through all of the things that you're going through" (in Jaimes 1992:234). According at a Hui-A-Iwi on indigenous water rights this year references were frequently made to the struggles of the Sioux, Iroquois, Lakota and the Ainu of Japan to maintain their rights to fisheries and to self-determination. In the North West of Canada the indigenous Athabaskan, Cree and Anishinabe populations are currently seeking to retain their right to hunt, trap and fish in the face of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project. As Whanganui Maori already know "dams are disastrous for indigenous peoples" (Aga Khan 1987:52). The James Bay Project will flood large areas of their portion of the earth, submerge the land on which large animals graze, and disrupt aquatic life. Fish which depend upon a current to survive are already beginning to disappear now that the rivers have been reduced to a motionless lake (Churchill 1988:146). The effects of reducing the water flow of the Whanganui resulted in similar conditions, and the ability of Ngati Tuera to establish a traditional fishing enhancement programme is directly hampered by reduced water flows which result in stagnant areas, which in turn threaten fish populations. But in direct contrast is the experience of the North-West American Treaty tribes who fought for over a century to regain their water resource rights. State regulations limited the use of traditional techniques and their access to traditionally owned areas (Jaimes 1992:219), but when these tribes finally won the battle, twenty tribes in Western Washington and four on the Columbia River became full participants in the management of their water resources (Burger

1992:152). As their case shows, solutions in the conflict over water rights between indigenous people and controlling governments do exist. These solutions have the potential to benefit both groups, but also to benefit the environment.

The solution to this ever-growing crisis is patently not to sacrifice the biosphere in pursuit of energy, but to adopt policies leading in the other direction, toward bringing the compulsive desire for ever more energy under control...what is desperately needed to bring the vast technocratic process at issue to heel is a proliferation of reasserted sovereignty among the many peoples, many nations, not a continued concentration of the power of life-and-death decision in fewer and fewer statist hands (Churchill 1988:150).

Churchill reminds us that it is the indigenous peoples of the world that represent the "best and perhaps only real barrier against the hydrological rape" of the planet. "So long as traditional indigenous economies are able to flourish...we need not fear for the destruction of the environment upon which we must all depend for our existence" (ibid).

## Chapter Five

### *The Past, the Present and a Future*

Crutches... are not necessary when it is possible to walk with one's own feet, on one's own path, in order to dream one's own dreams (Sachs 1992:25).

Since the arrival of Tauwiwi, Maori in the Whanganui river valley have experienced the effects of exploitative development strategies. These strategies presupposed that the land and river were freely available, and that both Maori and the resources in the valley were in need of development. In order to facilitate this type of development economic values were accorded to land, resources in the valley, and to the river itself. This Tauwiwi development has attempted to turn the history of this valley into a unilinear programme of social evolution, an evolution which has also sought to redefine and constrain Maori reality. In response, Maori have fought for the right to be Maori, and their fight continues.

As the history of the hapu and the wider iwi show partnerships or alliances with Tauwiwi have provided Maori with new opportunities for development, but more commonly they have constrained and impeded the right of Maori to be Maori. Partnership presupposes a common goal, and the goals of Maori and Tauwiwi are frequently at variance. As Maori well know, in a diseased partnership, in which one partner purports to be helping the other, the partnership relationship can be as insidious as that of the relationship between coloniser and the colonised. Often the helping hand extended to indigenous people is "not an event nor an act; but a strategy" (Gronemeyer in Sachs 1992: 54). While partnership is currently an economically and politically attractive proposition, in practice partnership has not always to the benefit of Maori.

Utilising their own corporate structure and hapu culture, the people of Tuera continue the fight to reclaim, define, and control their all encompassing cultural realm through a process of ethno-development. Ethno-development is founded on the following premises. Firstly it

affirms that indigenous peoples have an inalienable right to the territories they possess, as well as to the land and resources which has been taken away from them. Developing these territories and deciding how they will be developed is also their inalienable right. While ethno-development often utilises traditions and customs, like the culture from which they derive, these traditions and customs are subject to renewal, reinvention and adaptation (McHugh 1991:214). Ethno-development is therefore "the extension and consolidation of the range of...culture, through strengthening the independent decision making capacity of a culturally distinct society to direct its own development and exercise self-determination" (UNESCO in McHugh 1991:214). This means that a hapu is a political and administrative unit, with authority over its own territory and decision making powers within the confines of the development project. Closely aligned to the premises of ethno-development are the principles of Tino Rangatiratanga<sup>1</sup>. At a Hui-A-Iwi, convened in September of 1993 a charter was developed that reaffirmed that for Maori water has special spiritual significance, that it is inseparable from its environment, and that it cannot be separated from the tangata whenua. Like the premises of ethno-development, this charter also reaffirmed the inalienable right of hapu and iwi to protect and manage their water resources, and to determine how they will develop them (Hui-A-Iwi 1993). The principles of ethno-development, the current directions of the Waitangi Tribunal, and the charter deriving from this Hui-A-Iwi are congruent in restoring Maori water resources and their right to Tino Rangatiratanga. Together they signal a change in the ability of Maori to define what it is to be Maori.

In pursuing development that is politically and culturally autonomous, ethno-development is not a new phenomena, nor is it inherently radical (Christie 1989:326). Traditionally the hapu was the most common corporate structure for development. It operated on multiple specific resources and was the most significant operational unit in the political domain (Firth 1963:2), and before the arrival of Tauwiwi, hapu "exploited their environment to the full limits of their technology" (Mahuta 1978:86). Like a majority of ethnically based developments, current Ngati Tuera developments seek to preserve what reaffirms and

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<sup>1</sup>The right and power of Maori to be Maori, and the right to determine their own destiny (George Henare cited by Jackson 1993)

maintains the people. They cannot therefore be regarded as radical. But while these developments may choose to utilise traditional structures and traditional practices, it should be remembered that these approaches belong "firmly in the present" (Rahnema in Sachs 1992:127).

Maori ethno-development is a diverse and dynamic field, and its composite aspects of political, social, economic, spiritual and cultural development are found in a variety of structures from the national level to the level of individual experience. In essence ethno-development is *for* Maori, and controlled *by* Maori. It may occur on a tribal or pan-tribal basis, but for Maori who live within their own tribal boundaries, or nearby, development tends to occur on a tribal basis. For Maori, a notion of self develops through relationships with the kin group, and in seeking to develop on the basis of kinship and ethnicity rather than economics, Maori are seeking a "more all-embracing and emotionally satisfying way of defining an individual's identity" (Burger 1987:6). The hapu's current orchard, tourist operation, school and kohanga, illustrate that not all cultures are driven by all encompassing capitalist aims. By situating these developments firmly within hapu culture, these people generate and enrich their relationships with hapu members, members of the wider iwi, and their relationships with the environment.

### **Pungarehu Aquaculture Enterprise Development Centre: A Traditional Fishing Enhancement Programme**

...for the members of the Whanganui iwi who adhere to their cultural traditions, The Wanganui River is a taonga of central cultural and spiritual significance, from which they derive status, prestige and mana. They ascribe to it spiritual life force, and look to it for spiritual sustenance, strength and healing. Fish and shellfish from the river are used in important cultural practices which have declined (Planning Tribunal 1990:105).

The Planning Tribunal, convened in 1988 to hear submissions relating to water flows in the Whanganui river, highlighted the large and complex body of Maori knowledge relating to

fishing and to water resources. While the Tribunal noted that these important cultural and traditional fisheries constitute an "outstanding natural resource", it was also noted that these resources are currently under threat (1988 3.5.4.). Threats to these fisheries and associated bodies of knowledge were attributed to the "transition of Maori to a more European based existence" (ibid 2.1), but as their history shows this 'transition' has often been a forced and violent one. Further endangering fisheries and the awa are the use of fertilisers, pasture development, swamp drainage, water abstraction, commercial and recreational fishing, and the introduction of introduced species (ibid). Because of the distinctiveness of these fishing methods the practice of traditional fishing is further threatened, and because of "the cultural importance of this resource to Aotearoa" (ibid), if Whanganui Maori and their practice of fishing are threatened, then ultimately so are we all.

Over time an ethnic group will shift the focus of its symbolism "in line with shifts in perceptions of their relative unity in changing political circumstances" (Burger 1989:7). Because of threats to their ability to pursue autonomous fishing development, seeking ways in which to enhance fishing practices is currently a major concern for members of the hapu, and this concern is expressed in their intention to develop the Pungarehu Aquaculture Enterprise Development Centre. As the people of Tuera well know, indigenous peoples are often the first to suffer the effects of "war on the ecosystem" (Burger 1992:120). As their accounts show, Tuera have a personal and enduring experience of the effects of this war on their water resources. Their ability to weir fish, their access to the river and land in the valley, the impact of the TPD, the effects of introduced fish, fertiliser and effluent discharge have all had their effects on the people. In light of this experience the people of this hapu now view their local environmental knowledge and the resource management traditions as "indispensable cultural assets" (Community Resource Management Programme 1993:2) which can be utilised in the restoration of their fisheries, and of their awa.

Aquaculture, the practice of rearing fish products<sup>2</sup> in managed water systems, is not a new trend but a worldwide tradition which has existed, primarily in Asia, for over 4,000 years (Meade 1989:4). In Aotearoa trout, mussels, oysters, prawns and salmon are currently cultivated using aquaculture techniques (Evening Standard 18.6.93). Aquaculture is not a new development for Maori; the people of this hapu have long recognised the benefits of managing their fisheries and have a long tradition of reseeding kakahi and koura, and caring for captive supplies of live piharau and tuna. The hapu intend to initiate their current aquaculture development by developing a traditional eel enhancement programme on hapu land. Eels that are cultivated in mariculture ponds or dams would be then be released back into the river to replenish eel populations. Besides providing a source of food for the hapu, the skins of larger eels will be preserved through an aquatanning process and made into fish leather products. But in order to release eels into the river the hapu will need to restore a section of the river adjacent to Pungarehu by planting along the river banks. This will create a habitat for eels and also help to prevent run-off from pasture adjacent to the river. But as the hapu know, this would only be the first step in the long process of restoring the entire awa. Pollution up stream of Pungarehu will continue to impact on areas downstream, and if the river is not restored as a whole, the viability of these cultivated eels will be threatened. A long term management policy for the restoration of the river is urgently needed.

Aquacultivation of freshwater fish species has several advantages. Wild eels take about 10-25 years to reach marketable size, but cultivated in mariculture ponds eels mature at a faster rate. Aquaculture can therefore preserve and enhance endangered species (Johnson 1990:65). An aquaculture centre would have advantages for the hapu and the wider community. Aquaculture developments can act as a vehicle for education (Meade 1989:3), and being culturally and educationally based, this development will be of significance to Maori of this hapu, and the wider iwi. Courses like those already held by the hapu which teach traditional fishing skills could be run at the Centre to educate the tangata whenua, which would help to ensure the continuance of these bodies of knowledge. An aquaculture

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<sup>2</sup>These 'products' cover a range of fauna of flora but include plants, fish, insects, crustaceans bivalves, pearls or fish.

development would build on a hapu identity that is historically related to fisheries, but in maximising contemporary technology it would also teach hapu members new skills. This centre would effectively consolidate, and diversify, present hapu developments. The hapu enterprise: 'Kaitangata Jet Boat Tours', could "bring the market place to Pungarehu" (Anderson 1992:3); tourists could be transported by jet boat from Whanganui to Pungarehu where they could visit the Centre and purchase products made from aquatanned eel skins.

In restocking the Whanganui with eels, the hapu would also be helping to restore the wairua and the mauri of their awa. This development would also be congruent with a philosophy of kaitiakitanga and the Western conservation ideal. But this development also has the potential to lead at a later stage to the enhancement of other species, such as the piharau or ngaore, species which have also been highly significant in the hapu's economy and the identity of hapu members. In summary, like other hapu developments, this Centre has the potential to provide unique education and employment for members, and like other hapu developments it will attract the people 'back home' to live and to work. It will contribute significantly to the future of its members.

Fisheries are a taonga of this hapu, and while fishing is not a common practice among hapu members today, it is still a major kaupapa in the lives of these people; it is a significant part of their history and the identity of their tupuna. Since the arrival of Tauwiwi the hapu have fought to maintain their right to ownership and management of the awa, and their right to pursue autonomous development; as a result Tuera are now catalysts in their own ethno-development. Judge Hinston reiterates the philosophy of this hapu when he says that "those who do not get on the bus and *drive it* will be left behind" (Whanganui Chronicle 21 June 1993, my emphasis). This hapu are certainly driving the bus, but in order to pursue fully autonomous development, they also need to own it. Mana over the river, and ownership of the awa is therefore essential to the long term success of this development. Madonna Thunderhawk, a long time water rights activist of the Lakota people, speaks of the link between self-determination and ownership of water resources:

Water is the life blood, the key to the whole thing. With the water which is ours by aboriginal right, by treaty right, and by simple moral right, we Indians can recover our self-sufficiency and our self-determination....If we do not recover our water rights, we are dooming ourselves to extinction. It's that simple. And so I say that the very front line of the Indian liberation struggle...is the battle for control over our water (in Jaimes 1992:207-8).

If Whanganui Maori do regain ownership of the awa and mana over it, then Maori philosophies of resource management have the potential to restore this river, and protect it from further harm. The iwi has the skills, the knowledge, and the wide degree of accountability necessary to ensure that a balance between economics and ecology is achieved. However if the iwi succeed in regaining ownership Tauwiwi are likely to challenge the right of Maori to own and care for this river, and they will need to be assured that their interests will be protected. As the history of this hapu shows, the fight to maintain water rights has moved through a series of stages; from confrontation to litigation. Once ownership is secured the next stage is likely to be one of negotiation, and Tauwiwi and Maori will have to negotiate with ecological considerations firmly in mind.

If the iwi regain mana / ownership of the awa then the benefits for the members of this hapu will be immense, and these benefits will impact favourably upon the wider society. Once again the experience of other indigenous peoples offers some insight into possible outcomes. The First Nations Peoples of Washington State were forced to leave their reservations in order to survive, but when their water rights were secured, members began returning to their reservations in increasing numbers with positive effects.

(M)any young Indian people returned to their nations at first only to fish. But now they stay on because they see renewed activity in their tribal communities. These people bringing skills have found welcoming tribal councils and communities eager to tap their knowledge and experience. Those willing to learn have found new opportunities, training, and employment in tribally operated housing, health and service programmes...Today, when young Indians leave the reservation for college or to learn a new skill, most intend to return and use their knowledge close to home. And many of these young people will return, to stay and build a new future ( Jaimes 1992:225-6).

As this hapu realise providing their members with a reason to return home and providing them with a future, is the best thing that they can do for their people. The Pungarehu Aquaculture Enterprise Development Centre has the potential to be a crucial and significant part of Tuera's future.

### **Final Thoughts**

In conducting collaborative research with the people of Tuera, manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga have taken on a very real and important value. As partners in this research we have essentially been involved in an exchange of gifts. Tuera have entrusted me to care for and re-present their cultural and intellectual property, and in return I give to them a resource which will facilitate teaching modules at the Parikino school and their Pungarehu Aquaculture Educational Development Centre. I know that if this iwi regain mana and ownership of the Whanganui, their intended Aquaculture Centre will not only prove successful, but it will benefit the members of this hapu in a multitude of ways. I wish the people of this hapu every success in determining their futures.

## GLOSSARY

<b>Aotearoa</b>	New Zealand
<b>ara</b>	pathway
<b>aroha</b>	affection, love, sympathy
<b>atawhai</b>	to look after
<b>atua</b>	God, ancestral spirit
<b>awa</b>	river
<b>hapu</b>	sub-tribe
<b>hapuka</b>	groper fish
<b>hinaki</b>	eel-pot
<b>hui</b>	gathering, meeting, social occasion
<b>huka</b>	snow
<b>hukapapa</b>	frost
<b>hukarere</b>	sleet
<b>Io</b>	God
<b>iwi</b>	tribe
<b>kahawai</b>	type of fish
<b>kai</b>	food
<b>kainga</b>	home or village
<b>kaitiaki</b>	guardian, protector
<b>kaitiakitanga</b>	the practice of guardianship
<b>kakahi</b>	freshwater mussel
<b>kanae</b>	mullet
<b>karakia</b>	prayer-chant
<b>karohi</b>	whitebait
<b>kaumatua</b>	male elder
<b>kaupapa</b>	topic, plan, foundation
<b>kawa</b>	protocol, custom of region
<b>Kawana</b>	governor
<b>kete</b>	basket
<b>kereru</b>	native wood pigeon
<b>kiwi</b>	native bird
<b>koha</b>	gift, donation
<b>kohanga reo</b>	language nest
<b>koura</b>	freshwater crayfish
<b>kowhaiwhai</b>	scroll work on rafters
<b>kuia</b>	female elder
<b>kumara</b>	sweet potato
<b>kura kaupapa Maori</b>	school that uses Maori language, culture, and practices as instructional methods
<b>mana</b>	power, influence
<b>manaakitanga</b>	practice of mana
<b>manuhiri</b>	guest, visitor
<b>marae</b>	ceremonial ground in front of meeting house, complex that includes meeting house
<b>maoritanga</b>	Maori culture

<b>matai</b>	type of tree
<b>mauri</b>	life-principle
<b>maunga</b>	mountain
<b>moana</b>	sea
<b>mokopuna</b>	grandchildren
<b>noa</b>	free from tapu
<b>ngaore</b>	smelt
<b>pa</b>	village, fortification
<b>parera</b>	wild duck
<b>pariri</b>	cockerbully
<b>pa tuna</b>	eel weir
<b>Papatuanuku</b>	Earth Mother
<b>Piharau</b>	lamprey
<b>powha</b>	food container, guiding net attached between hinaki and weir.
<b>rahui</b>	reserve, temporary ban
<b>Ranginui</b>	Sky God
<b>Rangatira</b>	leader; person of high status, chief
<b>Rangitiratanga</b>	Greatness, leadership
<b>rata</b>	type of tree
<b>reo</b>	language
<b>rimu</b>	type of tree
<b>rohe</b>	boundary
<b>Tangata whenua</b>	person belonging to the land; host
<b>tangihanga</b>	funeral wake, mourning
<b>taniwha</b>	water creature of mana
<b>taonga</b>	treasure, property
<b>tapu</b>	under religious restriction or influence of atua, a prohibition
<b>Tauīwi</b>	of European descent, not tangata whenua,
<b>tawa</b>	type of native tree
<b>Te-Ika-a-Maui</b>	North Island of Aotearoa
<b>Tino Rangitiratanga</b>	The right to be Maori, the right of self determination
<b>tunaheke</b>	migratory species of eel
<b>tunarere</b>	non-migratory species of eel
<b>tunaroa</b>	long eel
<b>tikanga</b>	custom, rule
<b>tipuna</b>	ancestor, grandparent
<b>tohunga</b>	skilled person, priest
<b>toto</b>	blood
<b>tupuna</b>	ancestor (plural)
<b>turangawaewae</b>	a place to stand
<b>ua</b>	rain
<b>urupa</b>	cemetery
<b>utu piharau</b>	piharau weir
<b>wai</b>	water
<b>waimate</b>	polluted water
<b>waiora</b>	freshwater
<b>wairua</b>	spirit
<b>waka</b>	canoe
<b>waka tiwai</b>	small dugout canoe

<b>whai korero</b>	to make a speech
<b>whakahihi</b>	to boast
<b>whanau</b>	extended family
<b>whakapapa</b>	geological table, recital of a genealogy
<b>wharenuī</b>	meeting house
<b>whenua</b>	land

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**Appendix One**

*Principles of Professional Responsibility and Ethical Conduct (1990).*

New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists  
"PRINCIPLES OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY  
AND ETHICAL CONDUCT"  
(As adopted in 1987 and amended in 1990)

*"NEW ZEALAND ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS: PRINCIPLES OF  
PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ETHICAL CONDUCT"*<sup>1</sup>

**Prologue**

The relationship between ethics and research is one of the most important problems faced by anthropologists. The demand for accountability and ethical responsibility in research is valid and has become irresistible, as instances to the contrary have resulted in impaired research opportunities, infringement on the autonomy of peoples studied, and in some instances harm to research participants.

The following Principles of Professional Responsibility and Ethical Conduct set forth the major ethical issues confronting New Zealand anthropologists in their work. It should be borne in mind that the issue of professional ethics, and the principles that follow, have been the focus of considerable debate and disagreement. The ethical problems faced by anthropologists have changed over time and have become more difficult to resolve, and there is not now, nor is there ever likely to be, any definitive agreement concerning either the nature of these problems or their solutions. With this in mind, this set of "Principles of Professional Responsibility" is intended to be a working document, amenable to revision after discussion at any AGM of the Association.

Ethical principles are vital for anthropologists because important ethical issues frequently arise in their work. This set of principles is intended to heighten awareness of the ethical issues that face anthropologists, and to offer them workable guidelines to help resolve these issues. It encourages anthropologists to educate themselves in this area, and to exercise their own good judgement. It is also intended to provide protection for anthropologists who come under pressure to act in ways contrary to their professional ethics.

It is recognized that ethical responsibilities sometimes conflict with one another, and the following principles are presented with full recognition of the social and cultural pluralism of host societies and the consequent plurality of values, interests, and demands in those societies. Nonetheless, it is imperative that anthropologists be knowledgeable about ethical issues, be concerned about the welfare of research participants and about the future uses of the knowledge they acquire, and accept personal responsibility for their decisions and actions. Where these imperatives cannot be met, anthropologists would be well-advised not to pursue the particular work in question.

The following principles are deemed fundamental to the anthropologist's responsible, ethical pursuit of the profession.

**1. Responsibility to Research Participants:**

In their work, anthropologists' paramount responsibility is to their research participants. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. Anthropologists must do everything in their power to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honour their dignity and privacy.

- a. Where research involves the acquisition of material and information transferred on the assumption of trust between persons, it is axiomatic that the rights, interests, and sensitivities of those persons must be safeguarded.
- b. The aims of the investigation should be communicated as well as possible to research participants.
- c. If at all possible, the approval of the host population or groups studied should be sought before fieldwork is begun. Anthropologists should also recognise and respect the right to choose not to be studied. Ethical research practice requires respecting research participant's rights to refuse permission to conduct research, to decline to participate, and to rescind permission and discontinue participation at any time without harm.
- d. Every effort should be exerted to cooperate with members of the host society in the planning and execution of research projects. Ideally, fieldwork based research should be a joint effort or partnership based on a collaborative and equal relationship between anthropologists and research participants or host communities.
- e. While there is always an implied assumption of trust between researchers and research participants, every effort should be made to reach an explicit agreement to this effect.
- f. Research participants have a right to remain anonymous. This right should be respected both where it has been promised explicitly and where no clear understanding to the contrary has been reached. These strictures apply to the collection of data by means of cameras, tape recorders, and other data-gathering devices, as well as data collected in face-to-face interviews or in participant-observation. Research participants should understand the capacities of such devices; they should be free to reject them if they wish; and if they accept them, the results obtained should be consonant with their right to welfare, dignity, and privacy. Despite every effort being made to preserve anonymity it should be made clear to research participants that such anonymity may be compromised unintentionally.
- g. There is an obligation to reflect on the foreseeable repercussions of research and publication on the general population being studied.
- h. The anticipated consequences of research should be communicated as fully as possible to the individuals and groups likely to be affected.
- i. There should be no exploitation of research participants for personal gain. Fair return should be given them for their help and services. Ideally, anthropological research should have mutual benefits for the anthropologist and research participants. Anthropologists should recognise their debt to research participants and their obligation to reciprocate in appropriate ways. In order to maximize such potential benefits, the needs of research participants and the host community for research related to their welfare and development, as they perceive them, should be considered in setting research priorities, and participants should be involved in a collaborative relationship during all phases of the research.
- j. In accordance with the Association's general position on clandestine and secret research, no reports should be provided to sponsors that are not also available to the general public and, where practicable, to the population studied.

<sup>1</sup>

This document is a revised version of the American Anthropological Association's "Principles of Professional Responsibility" (1976). We are grateful to the AAA for permission to use their document as the basis for our own.

**Appendix Two**

*The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights  
of Indigenous Peoples (1993).*

Distr.  
LIMITED

E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/1993/CRP.5  
26 July 1993

Original: ENGLISH ONLY

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS  
Sub-Commission on Prevention of  
Discrimination and Protection  
of Minorities  
Working Group on Indigenous Populations  
19-30 July 1993

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CULTURAL & INTELLECTUAL  
PROPERTY RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES  
WHAKATANE, 12-18 JUNE 1993 AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND  
THE MATAATUA DECLARATION  
ON CULTURAL AND  
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS OF  
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES  
JUNE 1993

In recognition that 1993 is the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples;

The Nine Tribes of Mataatua in the Bay of Plenty Region of Aotearoa New Zealand convened the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, (12 - 18 June 1993, Whakatane).

Over 150 Delegates from fourteen countries attended, including indigenous representatives from Ainu (Japan), Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, India, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Surinam, USA, and Aotearoa.

The Conference met over six days to consider a range of significant issues, including; the value of indigenous knowledge, biodiversity and biotechnology, customary environmental management, arts, music, language and other physical and spiritual cultural forms. On the final day, the following Declaration was passed by the Plenary.

PREAMBLE

Recognising that 1993 is the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples;

Reaffirming the undertaking of United Nations Member States to:  
*"Adopt or strengthen appropriate policies and/or legal instruments that will protect indigenous intellectual and cultural property and the right to preserve customary and administrative systems and practices."* - United Nations Conference on Environmental Development; UNCED Agenda 21 (26.4b);

Noting the Working principles that emerged from the United Nations Technical Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Environment in Santiago, Chile from 18 - 22 May 1992 (E/CN.4/Sub. 2/1992/31);

Endorsing the recommendations on Culture and Science from the World Conference of Indigenous Peoples on Territory, Environment and Development, Kari-Oca, Brazil, 25 - 30 May 1992;

## WE

Declare that Indigenous Peoples of the world have the right to self determination; and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property.

Acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples have a commonality of experiences relating to the exploitation of their cultural and intellectual property;

Affirm that the knowledge of the Indigenous Peoples of the world is of benefit to all humanity;

Recognise that Indigenous Peoples are capable of managing their traditional knowledge themselves, but are willing to offer it to all humanity provided their fundamental rights to define and control this knowledge are protected by the international community;

Insist that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge (cultural and intellectual property rights) must be the direct indigenous descendants of such knowledge;

Declare that all forms of discrimination and exploitation of indigenous peoples, indigenous knowledge and indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights must cease.

## 1. RECOMMENDATIONS TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

*In the development of policies and practices, indigenous peoples should:*

- 1.1 Define for themselves their own intellectual and cultural property.
- 1.2 Note that existing protection mechanisms are insufficient for the protection of Indigenous Peoples Intellectual and Cultural Property Rights.

- 1.3 Develop a code of ethics which external users must observe when recording (visual, audio, written) their traditional and customary knowledge.
- 1.4 Prioritise the establishment of indigenous education, research and training centres to promote their knowledge of customary environmental and cultural practices.
- 1.5 Reacquire traditional indigenous lands for the purpose of promoting customary agricultural production.
- 1.6 Develop and maintain their traditional practices and sanctions for the protection, preservation and revitalisation of their traditional intellectual and cultural properties.
- 1.7 Assess existing legislation with respect to the protection of antiquities.
- 1.8 Establish an appropriate body with appropriate mechanisms to:
  - a) preserve and monitor the commercialism or otherwise of indigenous cultural properties in the public domain
  - b) generally advise and encourage indigenous peoples to take steps to protect their cultural heritage
  - c) allow a mandatory consultative process with respect to any new legislation affecting indigenous peoples cultural and intellectual property rights.
- 1.9 Establish international indigenous information centres and networks.
- 1.10 Convene a Second International Conference (Hui) on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples to be hosted by the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples Organisations of the Amazon Basin (COICA).

## 2. RECOMMENDATIONS TO STATES, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

*In the development of policies and practices, States, National and International Agencies must*

- 2.1 Recognise that indigenous peoples are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge.

- 2.2 Recognise that indigenous peoples also have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions.
- 2.3 Note that existing protection mechanisms are insufficient for the protection of Indigenous Peoples Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights.
- 2.4 Accept that the cultural and intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples are vested with those who created them.
- 2.5 Develop in full co-operation with indigenous peoples an additional cultural and intellectual property rights regime incorporating the following:
  - collective (as well as individual) ownership and origin
  - retroactive coverage of historical as well as contemporary works
  - protection against debasement of culturally significant items
  - co-operative rather than competitive framework
  - first beneficiaries to be the direct descendants of the traditional guardians of that knowledge
  - multi-generational coverage span

#### **BIODIVERSITY AND CUSTOMARY ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT**

- 2.6 Indigenous flora and fauna is inextricably bound to the territories of indigenous communities and any property right claims must recognise their traditional guardianship.
- 2.7 Commercialisation of any traditional plants and medicines of Indigenous Peoples, must be managed by the indigenous peoples who have inherited such knowledge.
- 2.8 A moratorium on any further commercialisation of indigenous medicinal plants and human genetic materials must be declared until indigenous communities have developed appropriate protection mechanisms.
- 2.9 Companies, institutions both governmental and private must not undertake experiments or commercialisation of any biogenetic resources without the consent of the appropriate indigenous peoples.
- 2.10 Prioritise settlement of any outstanding land and natural resources claims of indigenous peoples for the purpose of promoting customary, agricultural and marine production.

- 2.11 Ensure current scientific environmental research is strengthened by increasing the involvement of indigenous communities and of customary environmental knowledge.

#### **CULTURAL OBJECTS**

- 2.12 All human remains and burial objects of indigenous peoples held by museums and other institutions must be returned to their traditional areas in a culturally appropriate manner.
- 2.13 Museums and other institutions must provide, to the country and indigenous peoples concerned, an inventory of any indigenous cultural objects still held in their possession.
- 2.14 Indigenous cultural objects held in museums and other institutions must be offered back to their traditional owners.

#### **3. RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

*In respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, the United Nations should:*

- 3.1 Ensure the process of participation of indigenous peoples in United Nations fora is strengthened so their views are fairly represented.
- 3.2 Incorporate the Mataatua Declaration in its entirety in the United Nations Study on Cultural and Intellectual Property of Indigenous Peoples.
- 3.3 Monitor and take action against any States whose persistent policies and activities damage the cultural and intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples.
- 3.4 Ensure that indigenous peoples actively contribute to the way in which indigenous cultures are incorporated into the 1995 United Nations International Year of Culture.
- 3.5 Call for an immediate halt to the ongoing 'Human Genome Diversity Project' (HUGO) until its moral, ethical, socio-economic, physical and political implications have been thoroughly discussed, understood and approved by indigenous peoples.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

- 4.1 The United Nations, International and National Agencies and States must provide additional funding to indigenous communities in order to implement these recommendations.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Appendix Three**  
***Map of Whanganui Region***

Source: Taranaki Info Map 262-6, Department Survey and Land, Wellington. Info 1:250,000



**Appendix Four**  
***Map of Pungarehu and Parikino***

Info Map 260-522 Whangaehu, Department Survey and Land, Wellington. Info. 1:50,000.



**Appendix Five**

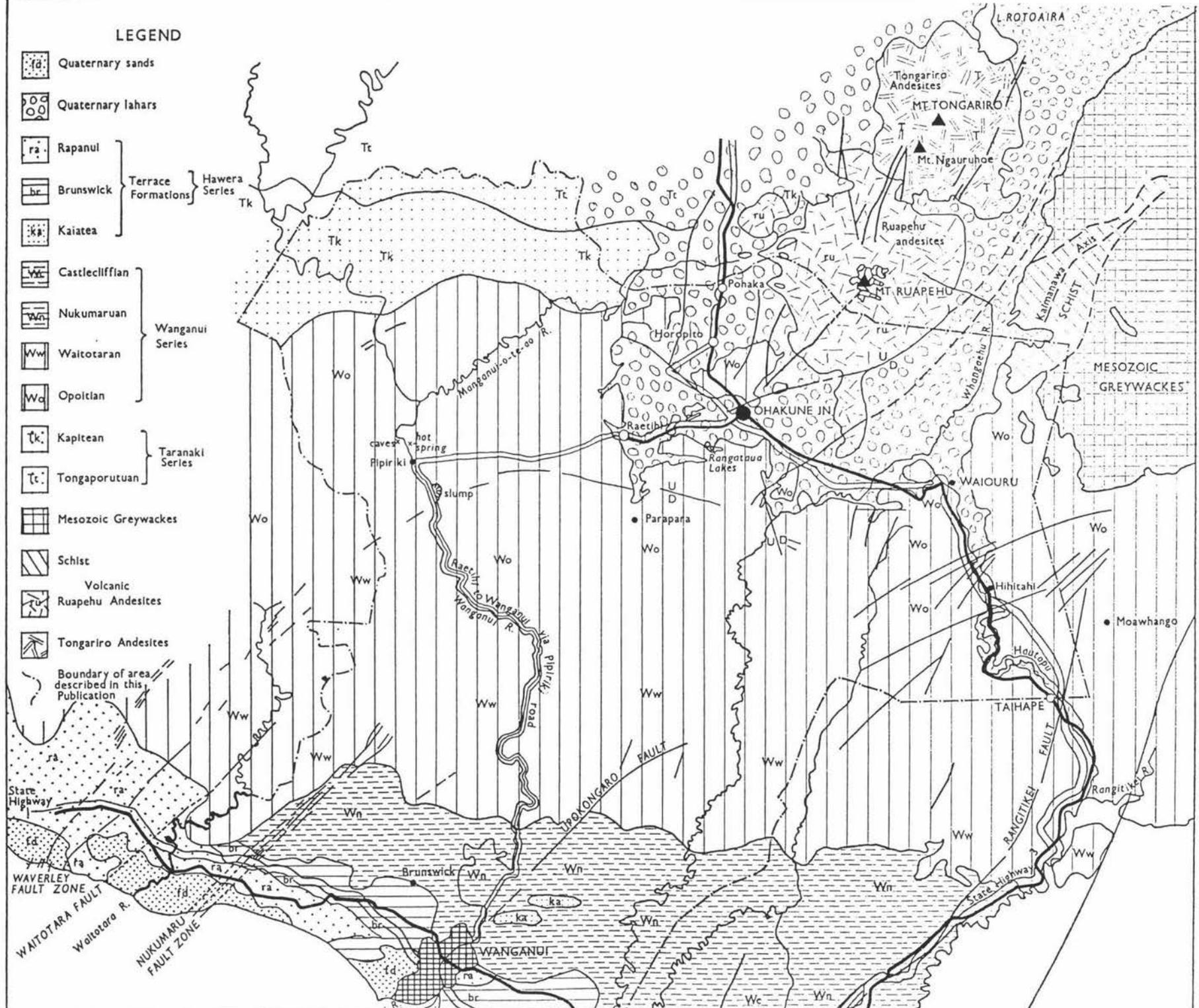
***Geographical composition of Whanganui River Valley.***

NZMZ 258 Wanganui river 1st edition, Department of Lands and Survey, Wellington.

LEGEND

-  Quaternary sands
-  Quaternary lahars
-  Rapanui
-  Brunswick
-  Kaiatea
-  Castlecliffian
-  Nukumaruan
-  Waitotaran
-  Opotlan
-  Kapitean
-  Tongaporutuan
-  Mesozoic Greywackes
-  Schist
-  Volcanic Ruapehu Andesites
-  Tongariro Andesites

Boundary of area described in this Publication

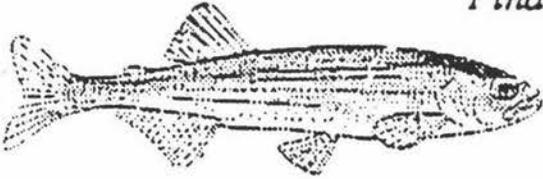


**Appendix Six**  
***Native Fish Species***

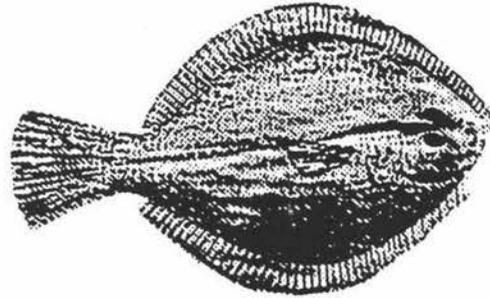
Source: Whanganui River Annual 1991



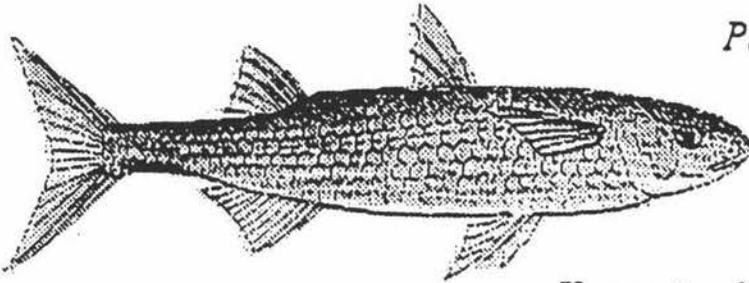
*Piharau (lamprey)*



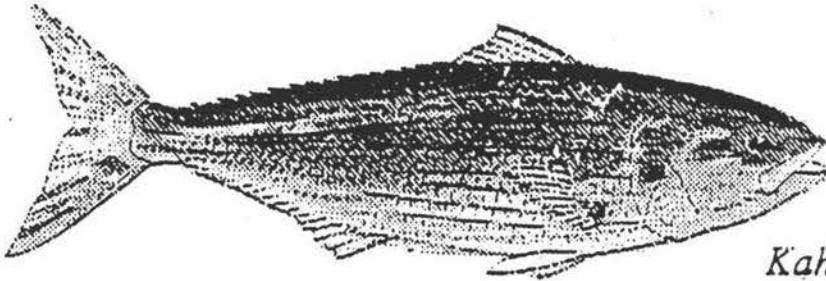
*Ngaore (smelt)*



*Patiki (flounder)*



*Kanae (mullet)*



*Kahawai*



*Karohi (whitebait)*



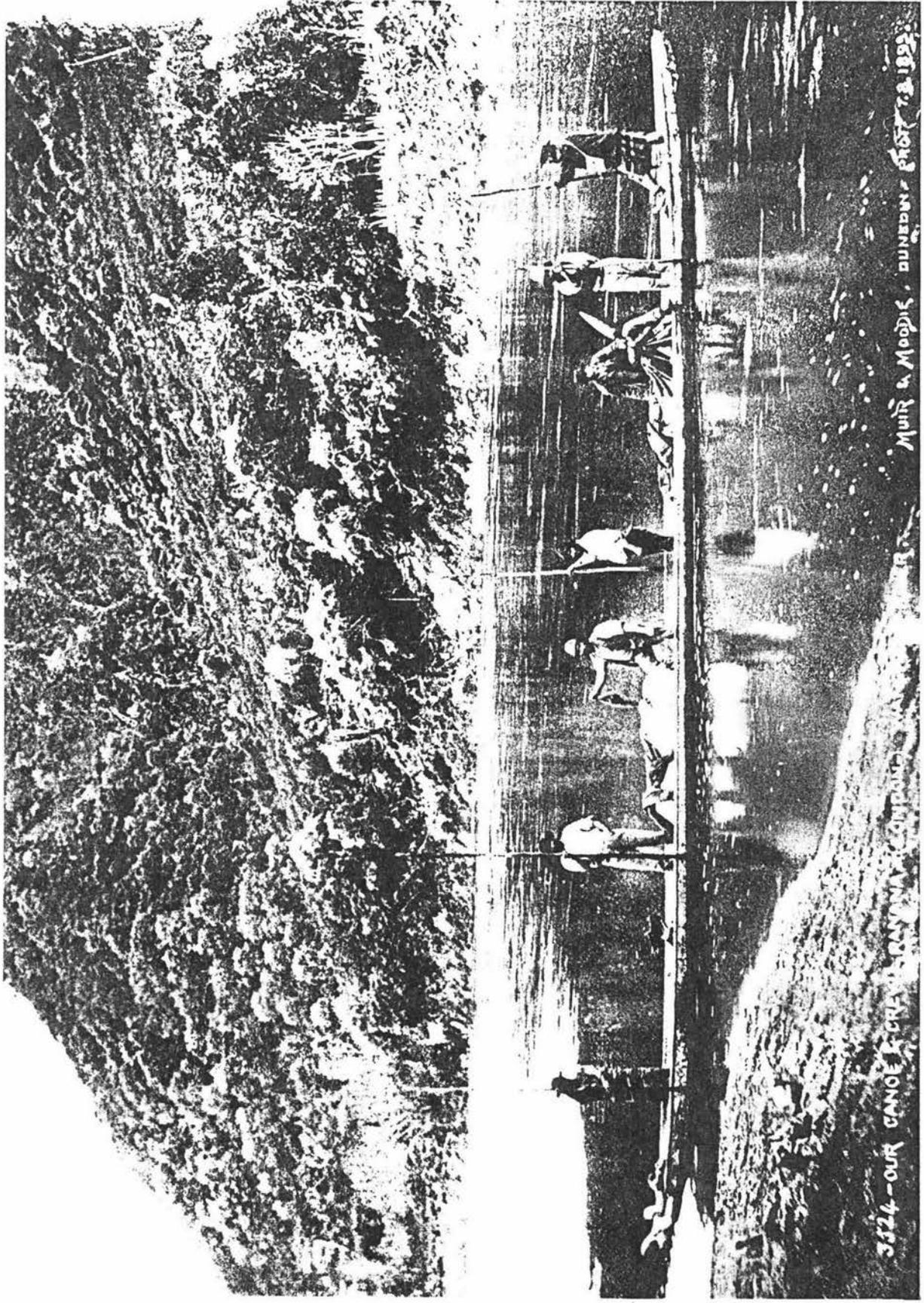
**Appendix Seven**  
***Theological Representation Of Creation***

Sister Dorothea, Whanganui (1993).



**Appendix Eight**  
***Waka on the Whanganui***

Source: Whanganui Regional Museum

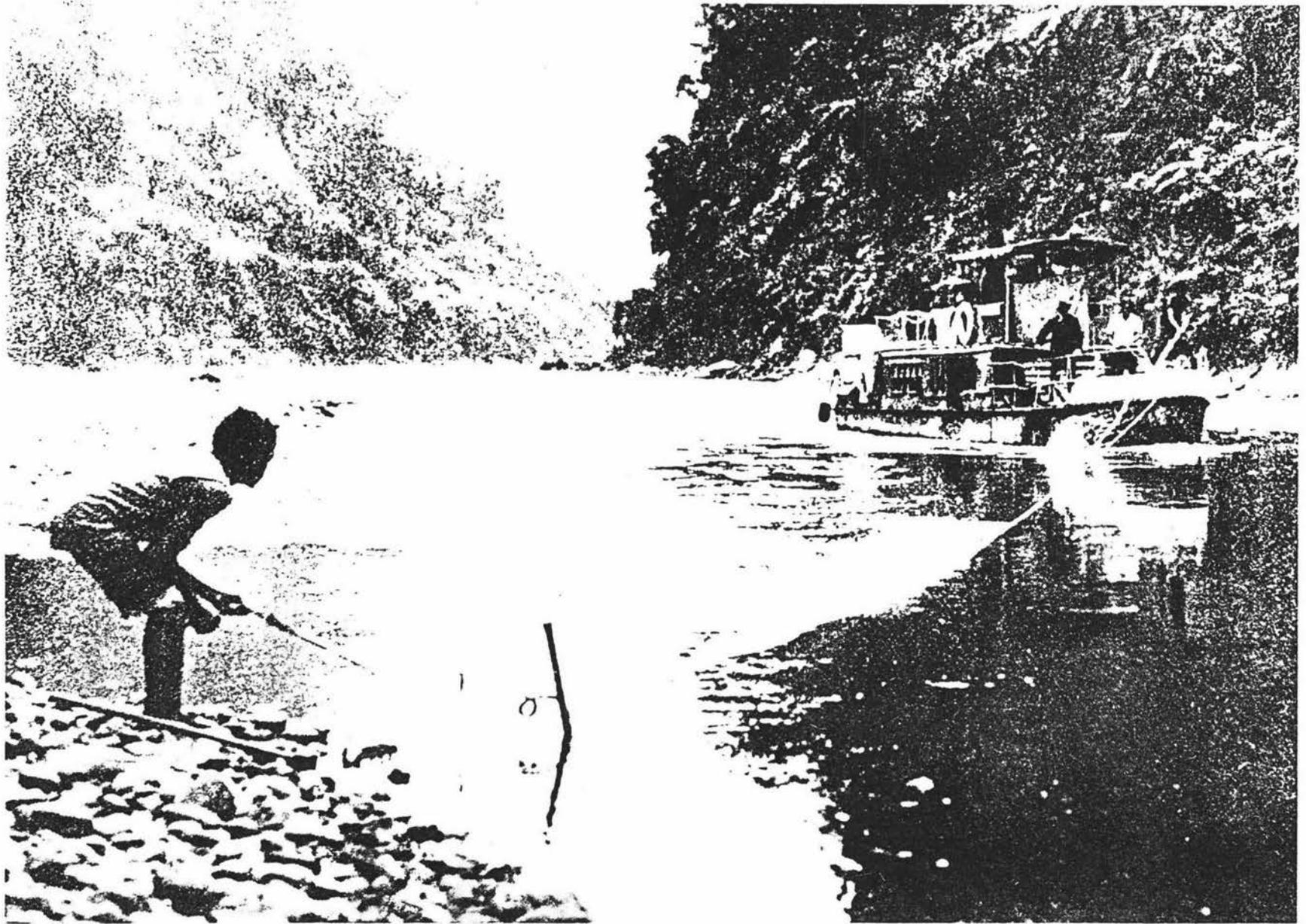


On the river at Ranana ( London ) Circa 1895.

**Appendix Nine**

***Steamers on the Whanganui***

Source: Whanganui Regional Museum.



River Boat "Waiora"

River boats used their winches and cables attached to the riverbank to haul themselves over rapids.