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TE KARAKA

POUWHENUA: CONNECTING PEOPLE, PLACE AND TIME

A TOKYO TALE – TO BE CONTINUED ▪ KAIKŌURA EARTHQUAKE – ONE YEAR ON ▪ UNDERSTANDING RELATIVITY ▪ AMBER BRIDGMAN – WAHINE FASHIONISTA ▪ KAUMĀTUA CARE – A KAUPAPA MĀORI MODEL ▪ PROTECTING OUR TĪTĪ ▪ QUANTIFICATION OF LOSS – NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CROWN ▪ THE BATTLE FOR THE BIRDS OF MOTUPŌHUE – ESTELLE LEASK ▪ A GROWING TRIBAL ECONOMY

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There is a growing need to develop the support that the iwi offers our kaumātua in their retirement years. We visit Whare Tiaki, a recently opened kaupapa Māori care facility to see what insights the residents can offer. Nā Anna Brankin rāua ko Beck Eleven.

NGĀ HAU E WHĀ **FROM THE EDITOR**

In the 2014 spring edition, TE KARAKA featured a story on Masashi Yamada, the Japanese philanthropist who offered Ngāi Tahu an unsecured multi-million dollar loan that allowed the settlement process to continue at a time when funds were low and negotiations were dragging on.

In a further act of generosity, Mr Yamada declined the final repayment of this loan, instead instructing that the money be used to set up the Ngāi Tahu Mātauranga Trust, to help secondary school students complete their education. In this issue (page 8) we share the story of a recent visit between representatives of the Yamada family and some of the alumni who have benefited from this fund. This scholarship is just one of the many opportunities available to our rangatahi to help them on their life's journey.

And at the other end of life's journey, we feature a story on the newly opened Whare Tiaki in Ōtautahi – a kaupapa Māori assisted living environment for kaumātua – the first of its kind and the new home of seven very happy and content residents, living full, active, and independent lives.

In September our assistant editor, Anna Brankin, had the privilege of visiting Whenua Hou – her tūrangawaewae – for the first time, as part of a small rōpū of whānau who made the journey to celebrate the unveiling of three pou carved by master carver James York and erected on the island. On page 12 Anna shares her experience of this special event.

Late last year I spent a wonderful couple of hours exploring the beauty and indulging in the serenity that is Bluff Hill. I remember thinking at the time how impressive the obvious pest eradication efforts were in the area, and noticing the positive impact that was having on the flora and fauna. As I have since learnt, this mahi is carried out by a group of 25 dedicated local volunteers who make up the Bluff Hill (Motupōhue) Environment Trust. In this issue we meet Estelle Leask, the wahine behind the kaupapa.

As the year draws to a close, I wish you all a safe and happy festive season.

Nā ADRIENNE ANDERSON

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CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU
ARIHIA BENNETT

KAITIAKITANGA

As 2017 draws to a close, it's time to take a moment to reflect on the year. For me there has been much to celebrate over these past 12 months, and as we look ahead we can now anchor ourselves for the next three years. We recently welcomed Lisa Tumahai as Kaiwhakahaere and Matapura Ellison as Deputy Kaiwhakahaere. Already we have heard clear messages that there will be a new leadership style, with a focus on collaboration and unity to take us forward. This means extending beyond the corporate institution and taking ourselves back to the hapū, to ensure we are embracing and reflecting the intergenerational intent of what our tūpuna intended. I am quite invigorated by what lies ahead, especially noting that there is an intent to partner alongside our haukāinga.

There have been many highlights over the year, and a stand-out for me is the strong steer towards growing regional development and strengthening rangatiratanga and mana motuhake at our flax roots. It's easy to get caught up in one's own importance and actually forget what our real purpose is – and the best way to solve this is to open up and broaden the participation. I'm expecting this to be a game changer, noting we have spent the last 20 years building a central foundation; and now it's time to make some change!

Back on the home front, I am mindful of the challenges that whānau and rūnanga have been grappling with when it comes to the preservation and protection of our traditional mahinga kai gathering practices. In the deep south, the traditional tītī season continues, but there is now a genuine concern over the future of harvesting alongside the climate change impact. Over in Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour), whānau are dealing with local authorities who have chosen to ignore our kaitiakitanga responsibilities by going ahead with dredging and then dumping in sites that are near the peninsula's fisheries, where pāua, crayfish, mussels, and flatfish are harvested. This is a potential erosion of our mahinga kai gathering traditions. There is a relentless perseverance from whānau who volunteer their time so that our Ngāi Tahutanga practices can remain current.

I remember as a child when the muttonbird season finished and a tin of birds would arrive in our garage, and we would spend the next month eating these in a salty boil-up night after night until they were all gone. Similarly, kina would turn up on the doorstep, and Dad would be made to eat those prickly creatures in the garage. Gathering puha and watercress was a common practice for Mum and Dad. They seemed to pop off somewhere with their gumboots on and a freezing worker's butcher's knife in hand, and the next minute they would appear back with a hoard of watercress or puha. Each year when the whitebaiting season came around (usually in the school holidays), we would spend days on end catching the stuff. As I get older there are more stories to share. However, the point here is that if we are going to continue enjoying these experiences, we must be proactive in regenerating these traditional practices. Over the holiday period, give some thought to this, and let me know your ideas.

I hope you have a safe and relaxing Christmas, and be sure to care for one another.

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TE KARAKA

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FRONT COVER
Pouwhenua carved by James York on Whenua Hou. Photograph by Madison Henry.

WHENUA

Horomaka Horomaka Island in Koukourārata (Port Levy) commemorates the arrival of the Makawhiu waka in Canterbury. After Tūtekawa killed the wives of his brother-in-law Tūāhuriri at Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington), he escaped to Te Waipounamu, where he established Waikākahi pā on the eastern shore of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Determined to exact revenge, Moki, the son of Tūāhuriri, came south in search of Tūtekawa on the Makawhiu. Maka was the captain of the waka. Moki did not want his cousin Te Rakitāmau (Tūtekawa's son) to be involved, so sent word for Te Rakitāmau to meet him at Koukourārata. After warning Te Rakitāmau to leave the district, Moki returned to the waka, and told the crew to proceed back to the ocean as nothing could be done at that time. Secretly he was giving Te Rakitāmau time to leave. Owing to the abandonment of this first expedition, the island was named Horomaka. Horo refers to the dispersal, or foiling, of Maka, the captain of the Makawhiu.

PHOTOGRAPH: TONY BRIDGE

Ka hao te Rakatahi

NĀ NUKU TAU

Thoughts on te reo and the Green Party policy

The place of te reo was a hot topic this election. With the Green Party promising compulsion, Labour giving a watered-down version of the same thing, and National predictably shoehorning it in with other languages as an optional choice, it's hard to see what will actually happen with the nation's Indigenous language in terms of legislation. However, most would agree that some form of action is needed to aid the language. The number of Māori speaking te reo has actually dropped from 25% to 20% in the last 15 years. Everyone's tāua and pōua has stories of being strapped for speaking their native language at school, or simply being told not to speak it at all. Through the draconian Native Schools Act and William Bird's 1903 amendment, government legislation was used to destroy a core part of the Māori identity for many years. In my mind, a government-reinforced problem does require a government-reinforced solution.

The Green Party wants to introduce a policy that would make te reo compulsory in schools until year 10. Personally, I dislike the idea of compulsion to do anything. However, the idea of hourly classes weekly that give basic knowledge of te teo and Te Ao Māori is attractive. We all know the importance of te reo to the national and Indigenous identity and the plethora of benefits from learning a second language. But is it realistic, and can it be done?

The immediate problem is one of resources and supply. Currently te reo teachers are thin on the ground, especially in secondary schools. These teachers are often already under huge pressure, having numerous roles in their respective schools – most often the school's "dial-a-pōwhiri" hotline, link to Te Ao Māori, tikanga reference point, scholarship advisor, kapa haka leader, and Māori pastoral care provider. From a student of one such teacher, I can say that some of these, such as kapa haka teacher, should be stand-alone jobs. Then you can add the usual stresses and responsibilities of being a teacher, such as being a Dean, Head of Department, exams, classes, and parents. Kaiako are already stretched to the limit.

According to *One News* (2016), one in five students at Shirley Boys' High School identify as Māori. The school has one te reo teacher. It was a similar case at St Thomas of Canterbury College, where my Māori teacher would often juggle a heap of responsibilities. Of course this may not be the case in all schools, and it is difficult to find hard stats on the subject. However, the principals and staff of many schools agree on the core point that there is already a huge stretch on resources. Adding a huge amount of classes with a ham-fisted "compulsory" policy with no real infrastructure could easily do more harm than good. It will be interesting to see how politicians approach this issue.

There is also the less salient issue of many New Zealanders' attitude towards the language. People like to mention Wales and Ireland as cases of successful original language rejuvenation. While true, this skirts around the fact that the majority population of Wales and Ireland (being Welsh and Irish) have a vested interest in learning their own language. Even so, ACT Party leader David Seymour points out that compulsion made Gaelic the "Brussel sprout" of language options. It became unpopular, and people resented it. Like it or not, non-Māori New Zealanders have to want to learn the language for any kind of law to be effective. Currently there are all kinds of regressive attitudes around the Māori language. After an editorial on the merits of learning te reo, *The Press* received a letter saying, "No child of mine will ever speak Māori in my home." This kind of racism is disappointing, but perhaps not surprising. I believe many Māori students would agree that they are often put on the spot by fellow students demanding that they have all the answers around the merits of learning te reo, when their interrogator already entertains an utterly immovable preconceived notion that it's useless. The effects of harmful past legislation and widespread ignorance don't simply disappear with a new law or wave of the legislative wand.

I would love to see this policy implemented with diligence and thought. I believe an ideal situation would be well-taught, perhaps one-hour-weekly classes, that teach not only te reo, but tikanga and marae protocol, as well as New Zealand's history. I would see this beginning in primary schools, with optional expansion in high school or perhaps at year 11. With Te Ao Māori becoming an ever-increasing facet of government and private institutions, a basic yet well-rounded knowledge of tikanga is beneficial for numerous cultural and financial reasons.

Canterbury Museum academic Roger Duff's myth that Māori simply couldn't keep up with civilisation is just one of many harmful, widespread beliefs that one simple history lesson could cure. Māori land was systematically robbed and taken by numerous Acts that were legislated right up until 1953 with the Māori Affairs Act, which deemed any Māori land not in active use as "wasteland", and eligible for Government confiscation. The Town and Country Planning Act of the same year prevented Māori from building on their land. This caused the disintegration of rural communities, and forced many Māori families to shift to unfamiliar, urban environments, which further attacked traditional ideas of community and whānau unity. There are numerous examples of legislation that show the hand the government and "powers that be" have had in the attack on Māori culture and identity – and particularly on te reo. I believe that if most New Zealanders had an idea of the history of our country, attitudes of ignorance and idiocy would easily be expelled, solving the problems of the poor attitudes aforementioned.

While hopeful and positive, it will be interesting to see how this policy plays out over the next three years, if it does at all. There are numerous obstacles that will require careful thought and examination to be overcome. However, if they can be, and if well done, I believe the Green's te reo policy could bring a world of positive and needed change to a New Zealand that despite what many may think, is often the target of scrutiny and criticism in its treatment and attitude towards its Indigenous language and identity. TK

Eighteen-year-old **Nuku Tau** (Ngāi Tahu, Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri) is a year 13 student at Christ's College.

HE WHAKAARO
Nā WARD KAMO

The Māori Party – what went wrong?

A lasting image from the 2017 general election was Te Ururoa Flavell's open tears and heartbreak at losing Waiariki, knowing that loss spelt the end of the Māori Party. It was a shock for many, with genuine sorrow expressed across the political spectrum.

It sparked harsh criticism of Māori voters by the Māori Party leaders. "They want to go back to the age of colonisation where the paternalistic parties of red and blue tell Māori how to live," said Marama Fox. Flavell stated: "I don't want to hear people talk about tino rangatiratanga, I don't want to hear people talk about mana motuhake, because we had it in our hands and it's gone."

There was also bewilderment for many party stalwarts over what they had done so wrong to lose the Māori vote. After all, under their watch, the Foreshore and Seabed Act was repealed, over 50 Treaty settlements had been concluded, a king's ransom had been paid into the flagship initiative Whānau Ora, the first real lift in welfare benefits for 40 years occurred, and they stiff-armed National into signing the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. For a party that never held the balance of power, and that National never needed to form a majority government, this was by all measures a successful nine years for the Māori Party.

Of course, however, the Māori Party had a confidence and supply agreement with the National Party. Māori unemployment rose to over 13 per cent. House prices skyrocketed, with Māori home ownership rates far lower than pretty much all other groups. Māori homelessness is said to have risen (although definitive figures are hard to source). The prison population remained stubbornly at 50% Māori. Māori obesity rose substantially, and Māori suicide rates remained proportionately higher.

With this in mind, it could be argued that the Māori Party simply could not get its message across – that it couldn't get "cut-through", as the political pundits like to say. That message, others say, was lost in the relationship between the Māori Party and the National Party. The received wisdom is that the Māori Party was in National's back pocket, and that Māori voters were increasingly unhappy with the arrangement. Well – maybe.

In the scramble to explain the loss, no one talks about Hone Harawira's fateful decision to walk away from the Māori Party to form the Mana Party in February 2011. More than any other factor, the loss of Māori Party internal discipline led to its eventual demise. The departure of Harawira arrested the upward momentum that should have seen the Māori Party pick up Ikaroa-Rāwhiti and Hauraki-Waikato in 2011 (and given it the all-important balance of power). It saw the start of a split in the Māori vote that gave Labour the chance to ride through the middle and take over the Māori seats once again. That was demonstrated with the loss of Te Tai Tonga in 2011, and then Te Tai Hauaūru and Tāmaki Makaurau in 2014 (with Hone Harawira losing Te Tai Tokerau as well). By 2017 it was just a mop-up operation for Labour.

We can't know for a fact whether the relationship with National was the cause, as it was never tested by a united Māori Party at the 2011 general election. We can know for a fact that the splitting of the vote into Māori versus Mana was absolutely critical.

So what can we draw from it all, assuming the Māori Party voice is lost for good?

Well – holding your nerve is one lesson. If Hone Harawira had held his nose just 12 months longer and kept discipline, the Māori Party may have won all seven seats – still not enough to hold the balance of power, but enough to consolidate those seats as firmly Māori Party. This may have continued into 2014 – still not enough to hold the balance of power but able to exert real political power. And with the rise of Labour this election, a Māori Party with seven seats would have held the balance of power. That would have meant real negotiations to advance a Māori agenda.

Equally however, the discomfort with National cannot be ignored. This is a historical disquiet that stems from the Rātana decision to back Labour due to its welfare platform in the 1930s. Prior to this, the Māori seats were held by conservatives under the Liberal/United and then the National Party. The urbanisation of Māoridom in the 1950s saw our people flood into the cities and take up labouring jobs. Labour's strong union focus enabled real worker concessions to be gained, and to ensure our people worked with some of the rights we now take for granted (40-hour working weeks, paid holidays and sick leave, safer working conditions, etc.).

Given the stranglehold Labour had over the Māori seats it's not surprising that National never really prioritised its relationship with Māori. That's not to diminish its extraordinary achievements with the volume of treaty settlements it achieved. It's the one thing National can truly own in regards to iwi development.

The Māori Party never really did anything "wrong". It gained measurable and impacting concessions during its time working with National. It couldn't solve all the ills facing Māoridom, and nor will the Labour Party be able to do that either in its allotted time.

What they didn't do well was "politics". Politics is a contact sport. It's rough and brutal and certainly not for the fainthearted. It requires discipline and the swallowing of more than one dead rat to survive.

Ideology is how you win elections. Compromise and discipline are how you run a successful government. The Māori Party spent just three years on the ideological sideline and nine years compromising to get policy gains. In 2005 Labour refused to deal with them, saying they were "the last cab off the rank". There were no gains to be had through that relationship. The Māori Party, through Labour's refusal to deal with them, were left with National in 2008. What was the alternative? It may have been that nine years of no gains would have been good for the Māori Party. It certainly wouldn't have done a thing for Māori. It wouldn't have hastened the arrival of a Labour-led government. But hey seven seats – that would have been an achievement. TK

Ward Kamo (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mutunga Chatham Island, and Scottish decent) grew up in Poranui (Birdlings Flat) and South Brighton, Christchurch.

A Tokyo Tale:
to be continued

Japanese businessman and philanthropist Masashi Yamada has a special place in Ngāi Tahu history. It was his generous donation that enabled the iwi to complete negotiations for the Ngāi Tahu Settlement, and years later yet another contribution led to the establishment of the Ngāi Tahu Mātauranga Trust. This year, a delegation from the Yamada family visited Ōtautahi to meet with some of the beneficiaries of this trust. Kaituhi **KATHRYN RUGE** reports.

PHOTOGRAPHS SHAR DEVINE

Left: Being welcomed on to Rehua marae: (left to right front) Shinji Yamada, Mr Narimoto, Tā Tipene O'Regan, (left to right back) Graham Kitson, Takerei Norton.

Above: Yamada O'Regan alumni with (left to right centre) Mr Narimoto, Tā Tipene O'Regan, Shinji Yamada, and (far right) Graham Kitson.

IN 1989, NGĀI TAHU WAS RUNNING OUT OF OPTIONS TO WRITE the final chapter in a narrative that started 140 years earlier. Te Kerēme began with a letter in fluent English from Matiaha Tiramōrehu to Lieutenant-Governor Edward John Eyre, seeking compensation for the broken promises relating to Kemp's Deed. The Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board had no money to finish the process of lodging Te Kerēme.

In an unlikely but welcome turn of events, Japanese businessman and philanthropist, Masashi Yamada, opened the door to a different ending by lending the iwi an unsecured multi-million dollar lifeline (read the full story in "A Tokyo Tale", TE KARAKA 63).

Ten years later, when Ngāi Tahu representatives travelled to Japan to make the final loan repayment, Yamada-san had decided to mark the occasion with a new story – this time, one designed to assist whānau directly. Funds that were owed to him returned to New Zealand as a gift to Ngāi Tahu. They were used to set up a trust to support rangatahi to complete their secondary schooling, opening the door to higher education and a world of opportunities – ultimately enabling them to choose their own adventure.

In the 16 years since the Ngāi Tahu Mātauranga Trust has been formed, more than $200,000 has been distributed to more than 100 Ngāi Tahu students to enable them to achieve their goals, in spite of the incredibly challenging circumstances many faced.

To join the tribe in celebrating this milestone last month, Shinji Yamada, the son of Yamada-san, and his right hand man Narimoto-san, travelled to New Zealand to meet Yamada O'Regan alumni. They honoured the tribe with their physical presence, words, and actions; reconfirming the commitment of this next generation of the Yamada family to building a strong, enduring relationship with Ngāi Tahu. In advance of the visit, the Trust received a generous top-up of funds.

Speaking on behalf of Ngāi Tahu, Tā Tipene O'Regan said "It is hugely important to have Shinji Yamada with us today representing his father, Masahi Yamada. Yamada-san was the benefactor of Ngāi Tahu who enabled us to drive the Ngāi Tahu claims through to fruition on the strength of his handshake and belief in our cause, something for which we will always be enormously grateful.

"Narimoto-san has also been a very powerful supporter of our cause and relationship. It is wonderful that recipients of the Yamada O'Regan secondary scholarships have this opportunity to meet the faces of past generosity which makes our present possible."

The inaugural gathering of Yamada O'Regan alumni marked the beginning of a new chapter in the secondary scholarship's narrative, setting the scene for Ngāi Tahu rangatahi to inspire other rangatahi with stories of success in their everyday lives. These stories carry the same theme, summed up in the whakataukī: Whāia te iti kahurangi ki te tūohu koe me he maunga teitei – seek the treasure you value most dearly; if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain.

The baton of friendship between the Yamada family and Ngāi Tahu whānau has now passed to the next generation – Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei – for us, and for our children after us. TK

At a celebration event in Ōtautahi in November, several Yamada O’Regan alumni shared their stories.

Above, from left: xxxxx

Arahia Maea knew early on that to fulfil her dream of becoming a school teacher, her education would need to be a priority, despite her circumstances.

> *“I was raised by an army of whānau and a solo mother who wore her emotional and financial struggles like the finest of diamonds, but life took an unexpected turn in 2009 when I became pregnant. I was determined to change the stigma associated with teen parents, so I completed my education at the Kimihia Young Parent Unit at Linwood High School. The birth of my son Marino motivated me to be the best version of me that I could possibly be. I graduated Dux, with Excellence in Level 3 Mathematics with Statistics, and University Entrance. Having some financial barriers removed created the mental space I needed to focus on my goals. The Yamada O’Regan scholarships I received enabled me to purchase books, school supplies, a graphics calculator, and a laptop to support correspondence subjects.”*

While her journey has had some unexpected turns, Arahia has now been married to her high school sweetheart for five years and together they are raising three tamariki. She still has a teaching career on the horizon, and on her journey towards that goal has completed a Certificate in Māori Business Management and a Certificate in Te Reo Māori, both of which have led to part-time employment supporting her long-term aspirations.

Michael Rogers received a scholarship that enabled him to achieve success both academically and in sport.

> *“I attended Rosmini College, which had a strong science and technology department. As we lived a long way from school, transport was a problem. I was able to purchase a car with my Yamada O’Regan scholarship to help me get to school. It also helped me buy top quality sports equipment, which kept me motivated to perform to my best. I represented Ngāi Tahu in two sports, gained University Entrance, and went on to complete a Bachelor of Engineering.”*

Michael is now employed in Auckland, and credits his education with enabling him to aim high.

Madison Simons’ father was so unwell through her teenage years that he spent 25 months in hospital over a period of three years, placing enormous stress on her whānau. The scholarship was a huge help, and not just to Madison.

> *“The scholarship not only aided my own education, but I am convinced that the reduced stress from financial pressures, combined with the power of iwi support, contributed to helping my Dad to heal. By removing the financial stress associated with my education for a period of three years, I could participate in everything that interested me at school. I gained experiences that shaped who I am and provided a stepping stone to getting more involved with my iwi, allowing me to be in sports team that formed leadership skills, and growing my resilience. My pathway could have so easily been very different without these opportunities.”*

Madison has now almost completed a commerce degree in marketing and business management, and has secured an internship with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. In the future she wants to design a programme that helps rangatahi living in poverty. Having been given opportunities which changed the course of her life, she intends to return the favour to other whānau.

WHENUA KURA

WHENUA KURA

“Through Whenua Kura, I have been able to gain the skills I need to go home and help my whānau manage and develop some of our lands.”

Louis Pene - Te Whānau-ā-Apanui

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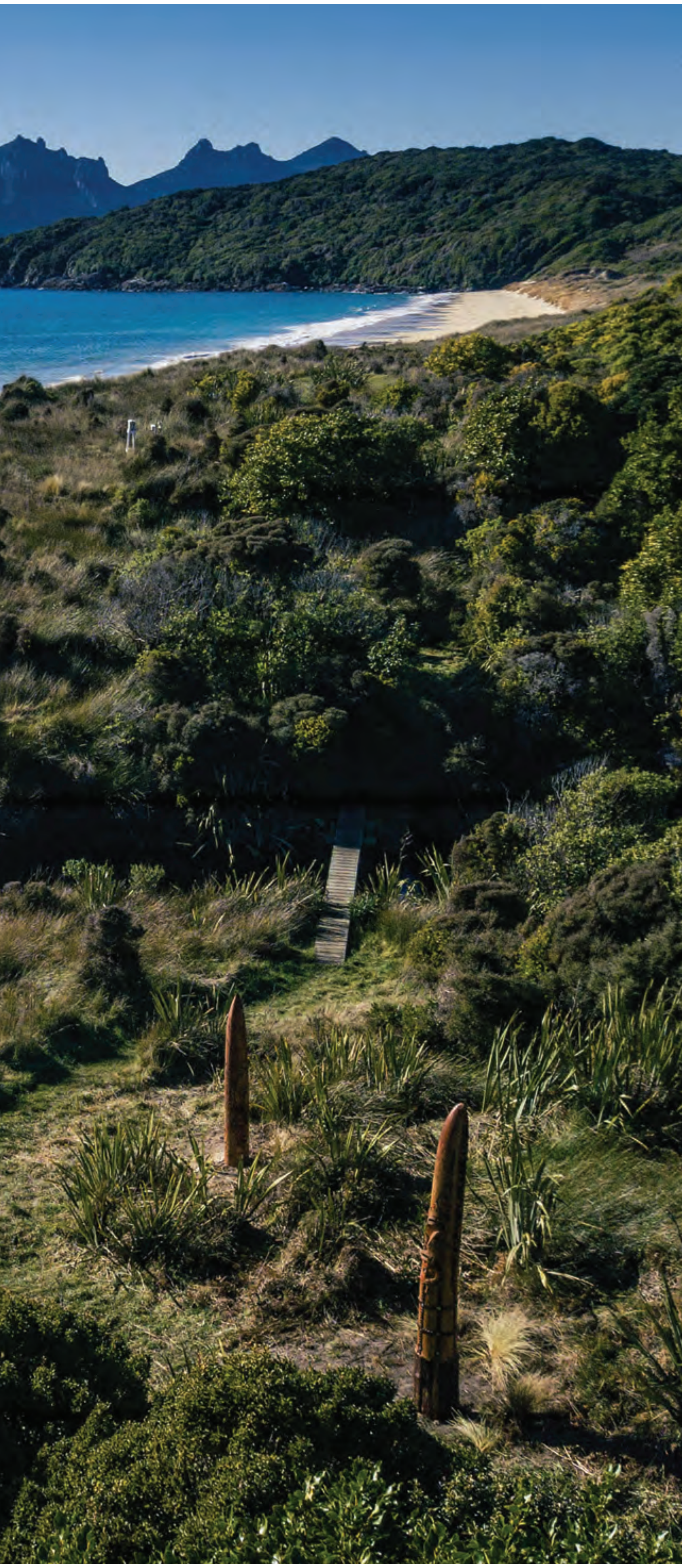
PHOTOGRAPHS MADISON HENRY



In September, a group of whānau and Department of Conservation (DOC) staff travelled to the secluded island of Whenua Hou off the north-west coast of Rakiura. They gathered to witness the unveiling of three pouwhenua carved by Ngāi Tahu artist James York and supported by the Ngāi Tahu Fund, erected to acknowledge and embody the special relationship Ngāi Tahu shares with the motu. Kaituhi **ANNA BRANKIN** was privileged to participate in this haerenga.

WHEN PREPARING FOR MY TRIP TO WHENUA HOU, I READ AND re-read a TE KARAKA article written by Helen Brown in 2013 about her first visit to the island. She entitled this piece “Homecoming”, and this is the word running through my mind as I step off the helicopter and set foot on this, my tūrangawaewae, for the very first time.

The island was a traditional resting place for muttonbirders as they travelled south to the Tītī Islands, and in the 19th century was a safe haven for European sealers and their Ngāi Tahu wives. To this day, many Ngāi Tahu whānau trace their ancestry to these early unions.

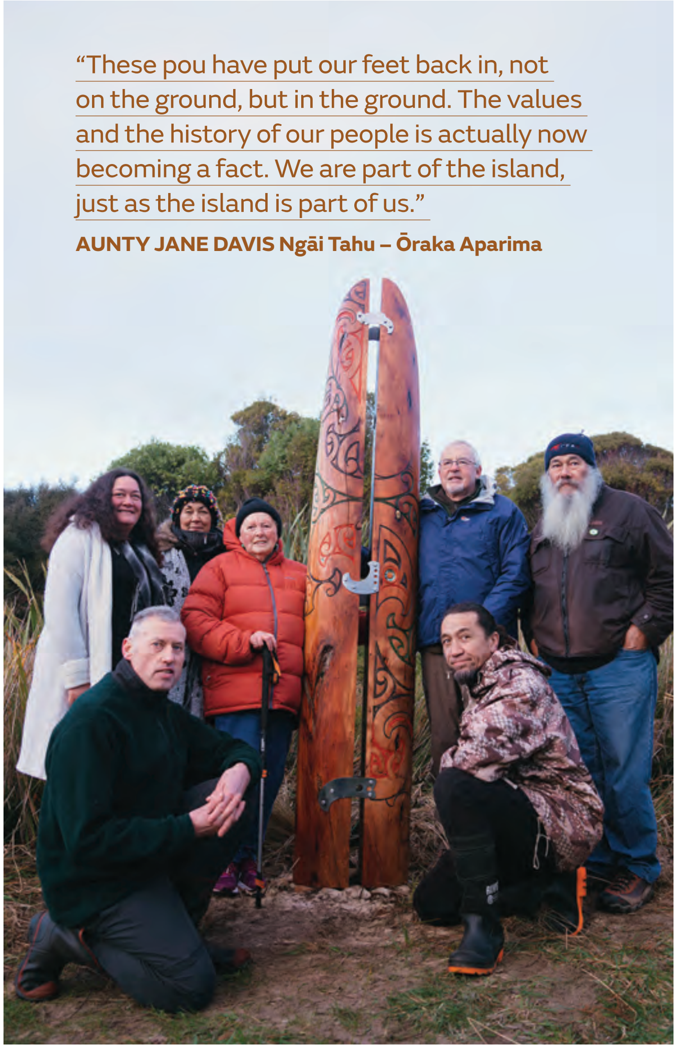
The island was declared Crown Land in 1864 and since then it has been difficult to access, originally due to its status as a scenic reserve, and later because of the Kākāpō Recovery Programme. All visitors are required to undergo stringent quarantine procedures which ensure the island remains predator-free, while heightening the sense of disconnect and separation.

Both myself and Madison Henry, the videographer accompanying me, are descendants of the occupants of Sealers Bay.

As soon as our bags are rechecked and declared free of pests, Madison and I head into the ngahere to familiarise ourselves with the motu that would be our home for the next day – a motu that feels like it has been our home all along. With lush green vegetation all around us and birdsong floating down from the canopy trees, it isn’t much of a stretch to imagine what our tūpuna must have experienced when they occupied this island.

After the whole contingent of excited whānau have arrived, we gather in the DOC cabin located just above Sealers Bay. We are introduced to the island and the kaupapa by Dave Taylor and Tane Davis (both Ngāi Tahu – Ōraka Aparima).

Tane and Dave have been actively involved in Whenua Hou for a number of years – Tane as the chair of the Whenua Hou Committee, and Dave as a former DOC staff member who was able to organise trips to bring Ngāi Tahu descendants back to the motu.



> "These pou have put our feet back in, not on the ground, but in the ground. The values and the history of our people is actually now becoming a fact. We are part of the island, just as the island is part of us."
>
> **AUNTY JANE DAVIS Ngāi Tahu – Ōraka Aparima**

Above: Whānau gathered around Te Pou Haumi: (standing from left) Sonia Rahiti, Winsome Skerrett, Jane Davis, Atholl Anderson, Stewart Bull; (kneeling from left) Tane Davis, James York.

The relationship between Ngāi Tahu and DOC on Whenua Hou is a direct result of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. "Negotiators including my parents Wiremu and Jane Davis went into deep discussion, asking for the motu to be returned," Tane explains. However, this was not to be. Instead, the Whenua Hou Committee was formed – a management body consisting of four Southland Conservation Board members, and a member from each of the papatipu rūnanga of Murihiku.

"That was the Crown's offer to us, which of course we accepted, because it gave us management back into Whenua Hou," says Tane. "And as time went on we created an access policy to allow us to get more input back into the island."

In the 20 years since settlement, the relationship between Ngāi Tahu and DOC has flourished, to the extent that Tane and James York were permitted to visit the island to source fallen tōtara for the pou, which DOC then transported to the mainland, and back again when the carving had been completed.

The other partner in this project is the Ngāi Tahu Fund. Chairperson Suzanne Ellison (Ngāi Tahu – Puketeraki) is excited to see the long-awaited outcome of this project. "This is the sort of thing that the Ngāi Tahu Fund really loves getting behind; supporting local endeavours that are special to our Ngāi Tahu people," she says. "Being here, you can sense why our tūpuna came here in the past, and why we want to come back and keep that connection alive."

In the evening, we pack into the cabin for a kōrero about the island. We learn about the earliest history of Whenua Hou from Atholl Anderson, who offers us a unique perspective both in his capacity as an archaeologist and as a fellow descendant. In 2007, he and Ian Smith of the University of Otago undertook an excavation on the island that confirmed that Ngāi Tahu occupation extends back many years.

"When [excavated material] was radiocarbon dated it turned out to be from the early 14th or even the late 13th century, as early as almost any site in New Zealand," Atholl tells us. "It was really quite unexpected this far south in what now seems to be a pretty remote area, to have had this quite extensive occupation, right at the beginning of the human settlement of New Zealand."

When carver James York (Ngāi Tahu – Waihōpai) first visited Whenua Hou to source the rākau for the pou, he found further evidence that confirmed this historical connection. "We saw quite a few trees that had been ring-barked – the bark had been taken off by a toki (adze), and would have been used for pōhā to store our muttonbirds," he explains. "That whole walk, looking for the rākau, that actually sparked off the whole concept; and that's basically that they're in the form of pōhā, the pou."

There's a sense that the kōrero could continue for much longer, with a roomful of people eager to share and to hear stories of Whenua Hou. But eventually we retreat to beds scattered through bunkrooms, floors, decks, and tents. This trip well exceeds the capacities of the sleeping quarters.

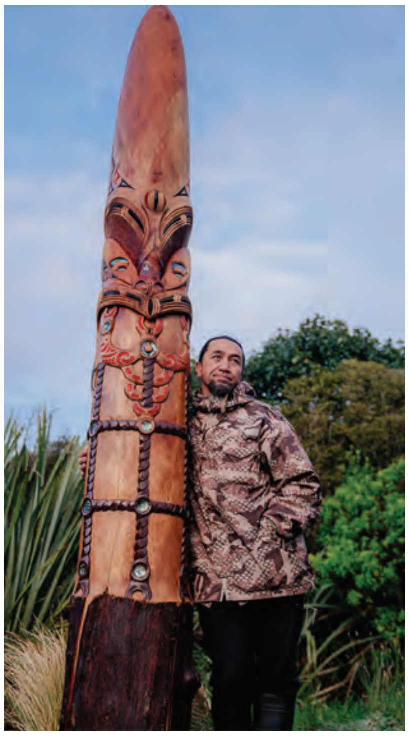
I'm sleeping in a tent under the trees and spend most of the night captivated by the sounds of nocturnal kākāpō and ruru, before emerging into the chill of the pre-dawn air. As the sky begins to lighten, we shuffle down the path and across the bridge and catch our first glimpse of the pou, discernible only as blurred shapes in the half-light. As we approach, some of the wāhine deliver a spine-tingling karanga.

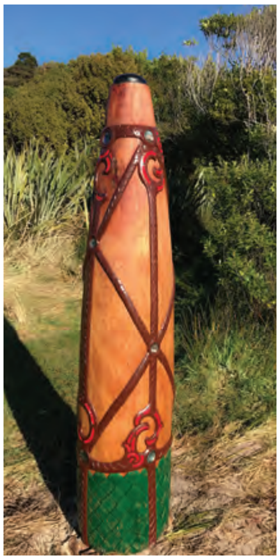
Later, Steph Blair (Ngāi Tahu – Awarua) says, "It's always got an āhua to it, the karanga, but this morning was extra special. It's that te ihi, te wehi, that back-of-the-neck hair-raising stuff."

As we take the final steps towards the three pou, Aunty Jane Davis (Ngāi Tahu – Ōraka Aparima) performs a final karanga. Later in the morning she tells me that it was completely unrehearsed. "I heard the manu and I thought, oh well, it's given me the first call, so I'll just answer it. So it wasn't practiced, it just came out," she says. "There were others around us that we weren't seeing. They were here, they are here. They were smiling. It was special, very special."

Finally we stand in the centre of the triangle formed by the three pou, and watch as they are unveiled by the gradual approach of dawn; a ceremony made all the more meaningful by its simplicity. Bubba Thompson (Ngāi Tahu – Awarua, Arowhenua) recites a karakia before Michael Skerrett, upoko of Te Rūnanga o Waihōpai, names the three pou in turn.

Te Pou Neherā stands proud and tall, set back towards the bush line. This intricately-carved pou represents the very earliest ancestors of Ngāi Tahu on this island. We learn that Atholl discovered more evidence of this occupation in the very hole intended for this pou; yet another tohu giving the sense that something long-awaited is finally falling into place.





Clockwise from top left: Sharing a kōrero after the unveiling; kaituhi Anna Brankin taking in the scenery; Te Pou Hou; carver James York with Te Pou Neherā; whānau and DOC staff gathered together in the cabin; an aerial shot of Sealers Bay.

The second pou, Te Pou Haumi, is carved as two waka joined together, embodying the union of the European settlers and Ngāi Tahu wāhine in the Sealers Bay community.

Finally, Te Pou Hou stands further forward, looking outward across the sand and into the future. It represents the enduring connection that Ngāi Tahu share with Whenua Hou in the present day, and for generations to come.

In the now-full daylight, captivated whānau walk among the three pou. The pou are striking in their detail, and we pore over every inch of them, running our hands across them, trying to learn them by heart. The awe we feel is heightened by the knowledge that we may not have the opportunity to see them again.

Determined to make the most of this precious time, whānau groups gather together for photographs. "To see those whānau gather around the pou that present their tūpuna, it adds a layer of reality to the whole thing," says Bubba as he looks on. "Seeing those living mokopuna standing proud beside those pou that represent their past."

"These pou have put our feet back in, not on the ground, but in the ground," says Aunty Jane. "The values and the history of our people is actually now becoming a fact. We are part of the island, just as the island is part of us."

All too quickly, the sound of an approaching helicopter signals that our visit is drawing to an end. Amid a flurry of goodbyes, we acknowledge the significance of the experience we have shared. The chopper circles over Sealers Bay as it takes off, and we can see the three pouwhenua clearly from the air.

As I watch them recede into the distance, I recall James' words. "It's an acknowledgement that we were here," he said simply. "Ngāi Tahu have been here, we're still here, and we will keep standing here. So that's what it's about really."

One year on

It's now 12 months since the seismic events that ripped apart Kaikōura and its surrounding communities, changing lives and landscapes forever. The town is slowly rebuilding, and the locals putting the pieces of their lives back together again. Kaituhi **DEBORAH NATION** reports.

PHOTOGRAPHS ANDREW SPENCER

HEAD INTO A KAIKŌURA SUPERMARKET ON A THURSDAY NIGHT and you will find the aisles swarming with fluoro vests. An ever-growing number of construction workers are paid up, thirsty, hungry, and ready to spend.

What has been lost in casual customers in this once stopover town between Christchurch and Picton is rapidly being made up for in the business of post-quake reconstruction.

Locals admit this severely damaged coastal region has taken a hit as far as tourism is concerned, but is hustling as epic road, building, and harbour repairs forge ahead.

Kaikōura currently enjoys almost zero unemployment, and is even struggling to find people willing to take on lesser-paying hospitality jobs, as restaurants, hotels, and other providers gain from the huge earthquake repair operations taking place.

A temporary road workers' village for 300 occupants is at capacity, while others are renting or staying in motels.

Kaikōura Rūnanga Chair Hariata Kahu works as an Earthquake Navigator, and also works for the Alcohol and Drug Service Te Tai o Marokura, based at Takahanga Marae. She says the rebuilding of the town and coastal highways is a pull for people to get off the unemployment benefit, and to become road workers.

Hariata says 60 rūnanga whānau have been trained by Spray Marks, the traffic control organisation of the rebuild, which has more than 200 employees operating from Kaikōura.

Businesses have sprung up in response to the massive repair taking place. Daily lunches are produced. Buses are chartered to transport workers to and from worksites, where lollipop operators control single-lane access on inland and coastal roads, as revised completion targets extend on into the new year.

But despite this, local iwi feel there's an opportunity lost in the restructure of Kaikōura, which they say doesn't compare favourably with the Christchurch experience.

"A year on, and we are still trying to strengthen partnerships and engagement," says Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Earthquake Response and Recovery Director, Robyn Wallace.

"Everyone agrees that rebuilding roads and reconstructing the harbour requires a huge effort. However, the [Kaikōura District] Council, NCTIR [North Canterbury Transport Infrastructure Recovery], and Cabinet have at times ignored the best effort of Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura.

"There continues to be deep concern about the social, environmental, economic, and cultural impacts these works will have on the township and coastline into the future, if they continue without input from Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura."

Left: Hariata Kahu, Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura chair, and Maihi Allen at the opening of Kaikōura Harbour.

"The value of Ngāi Tahu involvement at all levels is that we aren't tied by bureaucracy. We are quite nimble, with our own resources and governance. We will not spend days and even weeks deliberating – we take action."

ROBYN WALLACE Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Earthquake Response and Recovery Director

Robyn points to the Coastal Cycleway from Hurunui to Marlborough, which involves the development of information boards and APS OnLine.

"With land movement, some of the roadway has been moved into coastal marine areas, and there is clearly a lack of understanding of the history.

"There are stories to be told, but when human remains are involved, there are also sensitivities to be observed. Not all stories are for sharing. A partnership is needed to determine that whatever is shared is appropriate, and to protect and preserve the cultural significance of the areas."

When Kaikōura experienced the full force of the magnitude 7.8 earthquake, two minutes after midnight back on November 14th last year, local iwi responded instinctively.

As people rushed to higher ground to escape the inevitable tsunami surges which followed, they found a natural gathering place at the Takahanga Marae.

For local Māori, a communal response was second nature. They naturally emptied their cupboards and stock from a thriving seafood business to offer traumatised locals and tourists cups of tea and meals. These famously included the local delicacies of blue cod and kōura. Stunned tourists will never forget either the quake or the remarkable hospitality that softened the blow.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu jumped into action airlifting in care packs and supplies, alongside police first responders. Thirty self-sufficient volunteers from Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu whānau offered their services immediately.

Experienced in the earthquake response and recovery of both Christchurch and Kaiapoi, Robyn Wallace knew that local people tend to stay at home if they can.

"The biggest need alongside the locals was manaaki for the influx of hundreds of visitors that descended on the marae."

Te Rūnanga flew in builders, a chef, an electrician, and a plumber. It took a great deal of manpower to keep things operational, and 10 days to two weeks to get things settled. "Once tourists were evacuated by ships, that's when Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu pulled back, and the marae whānau began looking inwards," recalls Robyn.

"Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu Whānau Ora navigators were put in place immediately, but it was some months before the District Health Board followed suit."

If Te Rūnanga and Ngāti Kurī hadn't swung into action, the situation following the quakes would have been very different."

"We have had people from all over the world returning to Kaikōura to express their thanks,'" says Hariata Kahu.

Considering all this primary activity, Robyn Wallace is disappointed that unlike with the Christchurch earthquake emergency response, iwi were not included as a statutory partner for the subsequent Hurunui/Kaikōura Earthquakes Recovery Act 2016.

"Because we were not included in the Act, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has had to draw down on its relationships, expertise, and experience as the iwi authority, in order to engage."

Following the Canterbury earthquakes, Christchurch and Waimakariri local government authorities have actively sought a Māori presence in the recovering landscape. In contrast, Robyn says, "You could drive through Kaikōura and not know any Māori lived there."

The new Ōtautahi/Christchurch emerging from the devastation of the 2011 earthquakes reveals a timely shift in historical acknowledgement. The city is developing a new bicultural and multicultural emphasis. For Christchurch, the Matapopore Charitable Trust was created as the mana whenua organisation responsible for ensuring Ngāi Tūāhuriri/Ngāi Tahu values, aspirations, and narratives are realised in the city's recovery. It is now showing exciting results, as the new shape of Christchurch emerges. "A similar opportunity is needed here", says Robyn. "Especially given that historically, the Kaikōura coastline saw the largest Ngāi Tahu migration."

Robyn recognises there has been a change of leadership both at council level, and within the hapū. But she protests that relationships between the organisations need to be ingrained, and shouldn't depend on individual people. She points to existing Ngāi Tahu rela-

Far left: Rawiri Manawatu, Hariata Kahu and Robyn Wallace at the opening of Kaikōura Harbour.

Left: Kaikōura local Arahia Allen has been working on the recovery project.

tions with the Waimakariri District Council by way of comparison. "They meet monthly with Ngāi Tūāhuriri, and discuss issues," Robyn says.

Living and working in Kaikōura and working for the marae-based health and social service trust, Te Tai o Marokura, Hariata Kahu knows the people, town, and history. Her challenge is building relationships, educating the council, and building links by reaching out to the rūnanga and wider community.

While Hariata admits there was virtually no consultation between rūnanga and council, or with NCTIR – the main business arm of the rebuild – she says this is changing.

"It's small steps, but we are getting there. Rather than just being called on to tick boxes, it's becoming a partnership, with monthly and bi-monthly meetings finally getting underway," Hariata says.

"One of the challenges is for council and Civil Defence to understand that we are an economic, environmental, and social entity. We are not a Red Cross welfare situation, but actually have an interest in the sea, land, and people. This includes fisheries and farming," says Robyn.

Whale Watch, a Ngāti Kurī whānau business, was the catalyst for the Kaikōura of today, and the huge tourism boom in recent decades.

Hariata says local iwi need to be consulted on all environmental issues and anything of cultural significance. She says three cultural monitors have been set up permanently alongside road works because of the frequency of finding kōiwi (human remains). "We have a cultural process around that, and have worked out a compromise with the roading company so that work is not held up," says Hariata.

"In the past, things would have stopped for the bones to be taken back to the marae. Now they are labelled and put aside in a container on-site. Whānau can visit and bring ferns and other greenery to their ancestors, and when the time is right and conditions are safe, they will be returned into the ground." The largest quantity of kōiwi tangata has been found in slips on the Northern end of State Highway 1, and most likely originate from known pā sites and battlegrounds.

Access to kaimoana is the other strategic issue for the local hapū, Hariata says. "How can we maintain our customary take with full closure in place?" she asks. She says the hapū has managed to work around the Ministry for Primary Industries' total fishing ban. "Tangihanga means we've exercised our cultural right regardless, and have been able to offer kaimoana at most tangi."

"The value of Ngāi Tahu involvement at all levels is that we aren't tied by bureaucracy," Robyn Wallace says. "We are quite nimble, with our own resources and governance. We will not spend days and even weeks deliberating – we take action."

Linda Ngata coordinates and supports more than seven "EQ Navigators", funded by five agencies including Presbyterian Support Services, the Community Wellbeing North Canterbury Trust, Te Hauora o Ngāti Rārua (Marlborough), and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka (Kaikōura and Hurunui).

EQ Navigators help over 300 individual households facing ongoing stress, isolation, and confusion. Monthly reports tell of exhaustion and tears amongst EQ's most vulnerable members.

Having previously set up similar navigator-based support in Christchurch, the main differences she has noted here is the way many have cash settled with their insurance companies.

"I'm getting the sense that home owners here are not like city dwellers. These people have a do-it-yourself attitude, but they do need to be sure that the amount of money they settle on is enough. Finding expert advice in the current building boom is difficult."

Another issue, says Linda, is accommodation. Despite the workers' village, many rental properties are taken up with workers, so when people are ready to move out and have repairs done, there is nowhere for them to go.

Also, those with "124 notices", which deem their properties uninhabitable, are still awaiting final decisions on their land. Linda says many have only been paid for the damage to their house, which might be quite limited. "Meanwhile, because of possible rockfall and land movement, they can't stay there. They are in limbo and can't get on with their lives."

Isolation is another issue affecting small communities, such as

Above: Major Timms.
Right: the Kaikōura community gathered to witness the opening of the harbour.

Rākautara north of Kaikōura, and Ōwairoa. People have been cut off from Tuesdays through to Thursdays when roads are regularly closed. They join a backlog of traffic when roads open again on Friday to Monday nights. Linda says locals deal with it well, but bad weather experienced through October added to the inevitable closures along State Highway 1 and the inland roads.

An upsurge in family violence has also been noted by police, EQ Navigators, and welfare agencies such as the Red Cross. Linda notes the inevitable friction between locals and workers from out of town. And predictably, the stress takes its toll on relationships. "There are broken marriages, and a lot of hormones floating about."

One year on, Kaikōura is showing all the traits of a frontier settlement. "The main street is sad, with the loss of key buildings, such as The Adelphi," Linda says, referring to the 1923 Adelphi Hotel on the main street, demolished in July. "Beach Road is packed with huge workforce tractors, graders, and trucks. In some ways Kaikōura has lost its sense of security. Children used to be able to cross the road before all these heavy vehicles arrived."

"Many people feel quite flat," Hariata says. "We are still living and managing with what we've got, and are just getting on with the mahi."

Meanwhile, the upsurge in work has drawn others home to Kaikōura because of the promise of work. "When income comes into the home it inevitably lifts spirits," Linda says.

Robyn Wallace says there needs to be a model for extreme events like earthquakes, floods, and fires; with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's internal network and local decision-makers operating in conjunction with Civil Defence.

She believes post-disaster chaos can be avoided or at least lessened with Ngāi Tahu at the table to support the coordination of future responses.

"Ngāi Tahu is lucky. We have the capability to plan and implement our responses, and to call on our subsidiaries to help provide support.

"There is the opportunity to do things differently within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, and to create something great."

HARBOUR REOPENS

On 14 November 2017, the Kaikōura community gathered to commemorate the one-year anniversary of the earthquake, and to celebrate the official reopening of Kaikōura Harbour.

The 7.8 magnitude earthquake thrust the seabed up, severely damaging the harbour berths, jetties, and ramps. The harbour reopening was met with celebration, as it clears the way for local tourism and fishing businesses to return to full operation.

"We're not out of the woods – we've got a lot more work to go," says Brett Cowan, of Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura. "But it's an indication of how diverse groups can come together in one collaboration with a common purpose. Our differences have been benched, and everyone has been getting onto dealing with the imminent need. In that regard we have a true sense of kotahitanga."

At a dawn ceremony, Brett opened the harbour with a blessing on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura, and unveiled a whalebone sculpture that commemorates the two lives that were lost in the quake.

Later in the day, the harbour was officially opened by guests including Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura chair Hariata Kahu, Kaikōura Mayor Winston Gray, and Minister of Civil Defence Kris Faafoi. Hariata spoke for all when she voiced her gratitude to all those who had contributed to the rebuild of the harbour, and expressed her aspirations for the future.

"I reflect on the words of encouragement from our country, 'Kia kaha Kaikōura,'" she said.

"We have come this far as a community, and we look into the future at a new Kaikōura with excitement and the prospect of unity."

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Understanding Relativity

Over the years while reading Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu annual reports, you might have come across the term "relativity" – a mechanism built into the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 that has required the Crown to pay several million dollars to the iwi over and above the initial $170 million.

Kaituhi **CHRISTOPHER BRANKIN** explains the origins of the Relativity Mechanism, and unpacks the complexities of its function.

WHEN TE RŪNANGA WAS NEGOTIATING THE GROUNDBREAKING Treaty of Waitangi Settlement, the iwi was already resigned to the reality that any economic redress would only represent a fraction of the actual historic loss. "We wanted a sufficient settlement to enable our people to move into full participation in New Zealand society and culture," says Tā Tipene O'Regan, lead negotiator of the Ngāi Tahu settlement. "On the other hand, we had no wish to bankrupt the society that we wished to become a part of."

The reality that any compensation could never equate what was lost was compounded by the Fiscal Envelope, a policy that was intended to limit the impact of Treaty settlements on the Crown coffers.

The Fiscal Envelope policy stated that all historical (pre-1992) Treaty of Waitangi claims would be settled for a total of $1 billion, in spite of the acknowledgement by Crown valuers that the loss to Ngāi Tahu whānui alone was between $12 billion and $15 billion in 1990 dollar terms. To iwi, this was a drop in the bucket, but to the wider public it was a line in the sand amid a climate of public apprehension about exactly what Treaty settlements were. There was much politically-engendered speculation about "excessive Māori expectations", particularly from the more racist elements both inside and outside parliament. Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui were the first waka launched on this new journey between Māori and the Crown, and with that came some turbulent water.

"The relativity concept was driven by both Tainui and Ngāi Tahu," recalls Tā Tipene. "Our anxiety was that over time, as settlements became more broadly politically and socially accepted, we would find ourselves relatively disadvantaged compared to others."

In simple terms, the mechanism provided insurance against the predicted overflow of the Fiscal Envelope, entitling each iwi to a percentage of all Treaty settlements relative to the $1 billion cap. After a number of calculations, it was determined that the $170 million economic redress Ngāi Tahu received equated to 16.1 per cent of the Fiscal Envelope in 1994 dollar terms (the year on which the Relativity Mechanism was based).

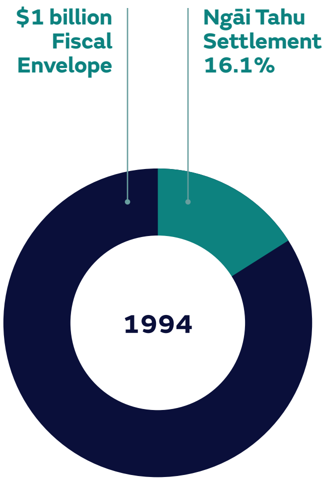
Waikato-Tainui and Ngāi Tahu may have faced similar circumstances, but their settlements differed in a number of ways. Waikato-Tainui settled first, and did so outside of the Waitangi Tribunal process, relying instead on the findings of various earlier Commissions of Inquiry into the raupatu (land confiscations). Ngāi Tahu took the tribunal approach, and Tā Tipene recounts a conversation with former National Prime Minister Jim Bolger as negotiations were coming to a conclusion. "I told the Minister that we were addressing a claim for around half the land mass of Aotearoa," says Tā Tipene. "But he was adamant we couldn't have more [economic redress] than Waikato, demonstrating the political pressures the National government were under."

This pressure to minimise the cash cost of settling the Ngāi Tahu Claim was mitigated by the competing pressure to settle quickly. Rather than battling for more cash, iwi negotiators leveraged the inclusion of a number of "bolt-ons" to the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act, 1998. These bolt-ons, which included the Relativity Mechanism, served to increase the actual value of the settlement well beyond $170 million. The Government, however, anxious to publicly minimise the cost of Treaty settlements, kept publicly referring to the Ngāi Tahu and Tainui settlements as having a quantum of $170 million, and the media followed suit. The iwi did not object – after all, it was no more anxious than the Crown to attract hostile attention in the climate of the time.

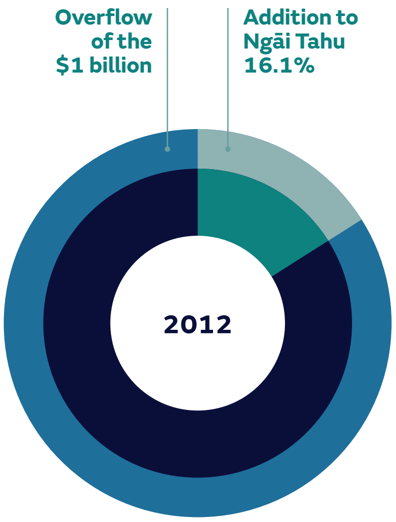
This explains the origins of the Relativity Mechanism, a complex tool that would not begin to deliver its value for 18 years. Every year, the Crown provides Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu with a statement of payments made to other iwi as redress in that financial year. The statement also tracks the total quantum paid against the Fiscal Envelope, with a requirement to notify Ngāi Tahu if a payment is required to maintain the 16.1% relativity.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has disputed the Crown calculation each year. The complexities of the Relativity Mechanism are typically in how both Ngāi Tahu and the Crown determine what should be captured by the mechanism, and how to attribute accurate value to it. There are a number of approaches the Crown takes to provide redress to iwi for historical Treaty claims, and some are excluded from the Relativity Mechanism for various reasons. One such exemption is expenditure in the name of "good government" where all Māori benefit, such as funding of Māori language initiatives.

Another obvious exemption is that Waikato-Tainui and Ngāi Tahu are unable to claim a percentage of each other's Relativity Mechanism payments. Other exemptions relate to payments or loans for the purposes of indemnifying claimants for GST or other tax; costs incurred by the Crown in negotiating claim settlements; ex-gratia payments made to non-claimant land owners for property purchased to settle a historical claim; and compensation for loss of



1994: The Fiscal Envelope policy stated that all historical (pre-1992) Treaty of Waitangi claims would be settled for a total of $1 billion. After a number of calculations, it was determined that the $170 million economic redress Ngāi Tahu received equated to 16.1 per cent of the Fiscal Envelope in 1994 dollar terms (the year on which the Relativity Mechanism was based). Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui were the first waka launched on this new journey between Māori and the Crown.



2012: In October the annual statement gave notice that the Fiscal Envelope had been exceeded. Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui were entitled to trigger their Relativity Mechanisms for the first time.

rights in respect of property transferred to claimants to settle a historical claim.

In October 2012 the annual statement gave notice that the inevitable had occurred: the Fiscal Envelope had been exceeded. Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui were entitled to trigger their Relativity Mechanisms for the first time. The statement set out the amount the Crown considered it owed Ngāi Tahu, which is known as the "Undisputed Amount or Payment". Te Rūnanga advised the Crown that the iwi was triggering the mechanism, and the undisputed amount should be paid. Te Rūnanga also advised that a considerable amount was not included in the statement, and that these "Disputed Items" would need to be resolved.

The undisputed payment of $68.5 million was made in December 2012. This money was invested first as a loan, and then as equity, in Ngāi Tahu Holdings (NTH). It is important to recognise Relativity money for what it is – deferred economic redress that should have been paid at the time of settlement. The majority of payments Ngāi Tahu has received for historical claims have been similarly invested in NTH, building the tribal capital base while generating an ever-increasing income for distribution. The injection of capital in 2012 contributed to a strong period for NTH, and annual distribution milestones were reached several years sooner than forecast. It seems unlikely that this centralised model of wealth generation will remain front and centre as the iwi continues to grow capacity, and amazing outcomes are driven from the marae. But for now, economic redress is treated as it was at the time of settlement.

Once the undisputed payment was made, the Crown and Ngāi Tahu turned their minds to resolving the disputed items. Reasons for dispute include exclusion of settlements in the calculations; incorrect values attributed for some properties; properties transferred at no cost; payments and funding that are not included in calculations; and a lack of information from the Crown regarding their rationale for certain calculations or exclusions. Even the interpretation of the exemptions explained above are often a cause of dispute.

It is not surprising that there were inconsistencies between the Crown and iwi on the correct interpretation of the Relativity Mechanism. Notwithstanding the Crown's understandable yet unfortunate prerogative to minimise the impact of the mechanism on Treasury coffers, the mechanism is a unique contractual instrument that was completely untested until 2012. A process to explore the legal questions raised by the dispute letter was necessary. After some toing and froing, the parties agreed to take a process of arbitration to seek resolution of these issues. Arbitration is perhaps best described as a private High Court hearing. The issues are presented in the same fashion as a judicial hearing, by legal counsel, to an arbitrator. The arbitrator, in this instance former Supreme Court Judge Sir Andrew Tipping, is charged with making findings that are legally binding. The parties signed an arbitration agreement in August 2013.

It is pertinent to note here the partnership approach that Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui have taken to the disputes resolution process. As the first iwi to settle their Treaty of Waitangi claims, and the only iwi with Relativity Mechanisms, the tribes have shared much of the post-settlement journey. Many of the interpretation issues

PHOTOGRAPH TE HAU WHITE

Members of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Waikato-Tainui and their legal teams at a recent arbitration hearing in Wellington.

Back row from left: Chris Ford, Christopher Brankin, Edward Ellison, David Higgins, Rahui Papa, Duncan McLauchlan, Rukumoana Schaafhausen, Rebecca Clements.

Middle row from left: Rakiihia Tau Jr., Aperahama Hurihanganui, Pokaia Nepia, Sam Toka, Patience Te Ao, Arihia Bennett, Rachael Brown, Jamie Ferguson.

Front row from left: Taipu Paki, Aroha Reriti-Crofts, Ranui Ngarimu, Lisa Tumahai, Tuti Williams.

affected both, and so a joint approach was agreed. Both iwi retain their own counsel, but work collaboratively to progress this kaupapa.

Since 2012, two arbitration hearings have been completed. To date, the hearings have provided binding findings on treatment of the Māori Reserved Land Act and related settlements, treatment of the South Island Landless Natives Act 1906 (SILNA), and gifts and claimant funding provided to other iwi as they settled. Negotiations also partially resolved issues to do with the groundbreaking settlements along the Waikato River. As well as securing Ngāi Tahu some additional pūtea, these hearings helped clarify matters for future interpretation of the mechanism, and set a precedent for dispute resolution.

A ruling that substance should be considered over form was positive for the iwi, as it makes it more difficult for the Crown to structure economic redress in such a way that the mechanism is circumvented in future settlements. While many findings favoured the iwi, some also favoured the Crown, leading to the withdrawal of similar disputed items. Despite this, there are still a number of outstanding items to address. At the time of writing, a third arbitration hearing is being undertaken, and more are likely to be necessary.

An optimist would suggest that the legal precedents set by the first series of hearings would mean the mechanism would function more accurately in the future. But a realist might suggest that the constantly evolving settlement process will mean ongoing clarification is required. The way contemporary settlements are structured is beyond what was available to the architects of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement, and yet the Relativity Mechanism remains relevant.

The ongoing disputed items from the 2012 tranche will now be joined by those from the 2012–2017 period. A highly-motivated government saw an unprecedented level of Treaty settlements achieved in those five years, both in terms of numbers and economic value. There were also some unique new co-management approaches, such as the legal personality of Te Urewera and the Whanganui River. These complex settlements may take some unravelling to determine whether they are captured by the Relativity Mechanism. The Mechanism is applicable until 2044, so there is plenty of time to address these matters, and with a few large iwi still to settle, its value will continue to be enjoyed, whether in pūtea or via new pathways.

"This very fruitful evolution that's been taking place in recognising the legal personality of Te Urewera in Tūhoe or the river in Whanganui might be a very productive way of amending relativity so it is not solely a matter of cash," says Tā Tipene. "That gives rise to things such as co-governance and co-management, which could well satisfy a number of very old and persistent grievances."

In summary, the Relativity Mechanism is an elegant insurance policy, and the foresight of the settlement negotiators continues to bear fruit. While it has its detractors from outside the iwi, it is important to understand that Relativity is not "double dipping". Relativity payments are deferred redress, and are a contractual entitlement that Ngāi Tahu whānui have had to wait 20 extra years to receive. As the tribe moves forward, the challenge remains to ensure that redress continues to strengthen the people. TK

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Wahine Fashionista

Designer Amber Bridgman is the wahine behind KAHUWAI, a clothing line that explores identity and whakapapa through its unique Māori influence. Earlier this year, Amber shared her work with the world when she had the opportunity to participate in the Melbourne Fashion Festival. Kaituhi **ALICE DIMOND** spoke to Amber about her life, her work, and the designs that launched a successful career in the fashion industry.

PHOTOGRAPHS MIROMODA, MARK HARRIS, REWA PENE AND CHRIS SULLIVAN

Above: Peacock-inspired design from KAHUWAI; right: Amber (seated) surrounded by models wearing her designs.

AMBER BRIDGMAN RADIATES WARMTH AND STRENGTH, AND this unique combination will capture your attention. At first you might be distracted by her stature and the striking garments she wears, but as you look further it is her mauri, her composed vitality, that will leave a lasting impression.

Amber (Kāi Tahu – Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Rabuvai, Kāti Atawhiua) has always been a lover of fashion, but it was only after she returned home to Dunedin 13 years ago to have twin baby boys that she decided to make a career out of it.

She had been working in television and film, and as there was very little work in the industry in Dunedin at that time, she began to look elsewhere.

"I decided I would need to tap into some of my other interests," says Amber. "My mother is an amazing seamstress, so I was really fortunate that throughout life she has always made me beautiful couture clothes. Everything I wore matched, and everything was handmade. When you think about it now, that is really quite a rare thing."

In Amber's teenage years she began to create her own designs, with the help of her mother. "I would design dresses for school formals and Mum would help me make them. Actually, I would always start to make them and then Mum would finish them," laughs Amber.

Following her decision to make a career out of this passion, Amber decided she wanted to be qualified if she was going to be a professional artist. She returned to university and completed a degree in Traditional Māori Art. "I think it's really cool to have that qualification being a toi artist, because it means I can rock both worlds," says Amber.

Today, Amber is the successful designer and creator of the brand KAHUWAI. She still lives in Dunedin with her fiancé James York, a Kāi Tahu master carver, and their six tamariki. The KAHUWAI brand is a reflection of Amber, and is heavily influenced by her surroundings, whānau, and whakapapa. "Kāi Tahutaka is what we live and breathe, so that is what I am always producing," says Amber. "[KAHUWAI] is forever going through different stages, depending on where I am at with my babies."

Her children are a massive influence on her designs. In fact, it was the birth of her twin boys in 2004 that sparked the creation of KAHUWAI, when Amber discovered the baby clothes she found in stores didn't suit her unique style.

"I began making their clothes and screen-printing them with Māori designs," she recalls. Other parents at Kōhanga Reo quickly began to ask questions about the clothing, and KAHUWAI as a brand began.

Nowadays, KAHUWAI has clothes and jewellery for all ages, and is mostly sold online. All products are handmade by Amber, and nothing is mass produced. Even though this makes for hard work, Amber says that is the fun of it. "I find the work, especially weaving, very therapeutic."

In March this year, Amber made her debut in the Australian fashion world at the Melbourne Fashion Festival. She showcased 10 outfits alongside First Nations and Aboriginal designers, as part of the Global Indigenous Runway show.

Amber's designs told the story of Hine-nui-te-pō, and the mokomoko (two-tailed lizard) was featured throughout the collection. The collection also included piupiu skirts, pounamu, pouākai (Haast's eagle) designs, and red military jackets made from silk, inspired by the jackets worn by Pākehā soldiers during land confiscations.

"Everything in that collection came from Dunedin," says Amber. "That is the unique thing about my work; it is authentic, it is Kāi Tahu."

The authentic Kāi Tahu flavour of Amber's Melbourne Fashion Festival collection was inspired by her experience at Kura Reo Kāi Tahu, a week-long te reo Māori immersion wānanga at Arowhenua Marae.

"That was my first immersion experience of that length in a long time. I would do the mahi during the day, and then in the evenings I would stay up for hours thinking about what I had learned that day, drawing and designing. That was definitely a backbone to the collection."

Attending the Melbourne Fashion Festival to showcase this collection was "a bit scary for a little girl from Stewart Island," says Amber. Rakiura is the place she calls her tūrakawaewae.

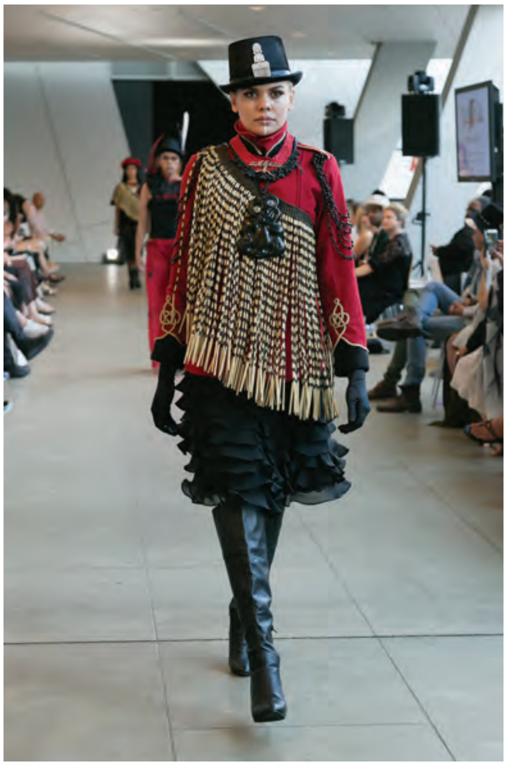
"Stewart Island is a really special place for our whānau. We still have a house there on the back remote parts of the island."

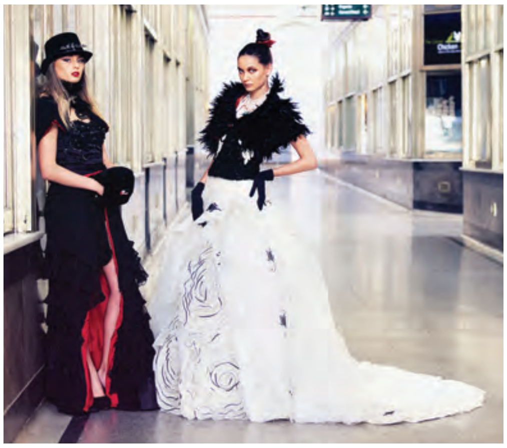
Despite Amber's initial fears about heading to the big city of Melbourne, she says the indigenous designers at the festival made for a "beautiful cultural exchange".

"I spent a lot of my time with an Aboriginal woman and we had

“Kāi Tahutaka is what we live and breathe, so that is what I am always producing. [My brand] is forever going through different stages, depending on where I am at with my babies.”

AMBER BRIDGMAN





Above: Amber’s designs on the runway at Melbourne Fashion Festival; left: Beach shoot in Dunedin.

these gorgeous conversations about all our traditional practices and the way we raise our families. It was about whanaungatanga,” she says.

“People see the photos and it looks so glamorous, but there was more to it than that.”

In between the fashion festivals, Amber has been doing wardrobe work with the Royal New Zealand Ballet, Cirkopolis Circus, and various other productions in film and television. She also has a part-time role with Ngā Kete Mātauranga Pounamu, which is a southern Māori health provider, as a Stop Smoking coach. “The sad reality of [fashion design] is it is not consistent money, so I pick up things part-time,” says Amber.

Amber’s broad skill set also means she sometimes teaches tikanga and te reo Māori, having always had a passion for the reo. “It is a waka that I am constantly on,” she says. “I have always been learning, but am still far from fluent. I am always trying to paddle my waka in that direction.”

At home, her whānau speak a combination of te reo and English, and she said she felt really proud when her two boys recently attended Kura Reo Rakatahi. “The reo we do speak at home was enough to get them through,” she says. “One of them actually said to me, ‘Thanks so much, Mum, for installing this into our life so that it is quite normalised.’ We live and breathe Te Ao Māori, so it is quite normal for them now, that is just our lifestyle.”

This complete immersion in Te Ao Māori has not always been the case for Amber, and she says when she was younger, she only really knew she was Māori because of occasional racist remarks from her school peers.

However, Amber says culture is part of everything she and her whānau do now – spending their weekends at waka ama, kapa haka, or wānaka. “It’s busy, but thank goodness, all the things we do kind of gel together. The combination balances out our crazy lives.”

This positive outlook is second nature to Amber, despite her acknowledgement that life has thrown her a few lemons at times. “It is like it is for everyone; but I like to think I have made a lemonade factory out of the lemons,” she says. “I am a big believer in love conquering all, and my biggest love and passion is for my family and kids.”

Kaumātua care

A Kaupapa Māori model

Nā **ANNA BRANKIN** rāua ko **BECK ELEVEN**

Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri, ā muri ake nei.

OUR TRIBAL PHILOSOPHY, FOR US AND OUR CHILDREN AFTER US, SUMMARISES THE forward-looking perspective that sees the iwi focus on development for our tamariki, rangatahi, and young families; on creating opportunities that ensure that the future looks ever brighter for generations of Ngāi Tahu to come.

But with an ageing population, there is also a growing need to ensure we support our kaumātua, the very people who have enabled our iwi to continue to thrive.

Irihāpeti Bullmore (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāpuhi) is a clinical assessor for kaumātua in the community, working for the Canterbury District Health Board. It's a role she feels passionate about, as it offers an opportunity to make a real difference in the way health services are delivered to Māori communities.

Irihāpeti says the mainstream health system often fails our kaumātua, due to the health disparity between Māori and Pākehā.

"One of the major issues is that we have more complex health [challenges], which means someone with three or more illnesses, like diabetes, heart failure, arthritis, gout, or associated strokes," Irihāpeti says. Also, Māori begin presenting with these conditions much earlier than Pākehā, meaning that appropriate care should already be available for the 50+ age group.

For Irihāpeti, the solution to these underlying issues is a unique taha Māori system of care. "Our kaumātua don't automatically trust a GP just because they're wearing a white coat," she says. "They feel vulnerable, so we embrace te reo and the Treaty and rangatiratanga. We want them to understand the power of their own health is still in their hands, and that they have the autonomy to make informed decisions."

Feedback from her clients suggests that there is a need for a kaupapa Māori care model that includes options for supported living, rest home care, hospital care, and end-of-life care services that are connected to the community and to whānau.

For this to happen, she says, collaboration between the District Health Boards, iwi, and communities is key. "You have to have the medical clinicians alongside taha Māori," she says. "Our workforce capacity is not robust enough to do it all. If we can do it all one day, then I'll retire!"

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Chief Executive Arihia Bennett is committed to making a health collaboration happen. "Historically, the first port of call has been the government public system," she says. "But the beauty of being an iwi should mean a much larger family support on top of government support."

Whare Tiaki, a recently-opened supported living facility in Ōtautahi, provides a model for a successful collaboration between mainstream health services and kaupapa Māori providers. When the Christchurch Methodist Mission completed the redevelopment of their retirement village, WesleyCare, they wanted to offer an eight-bedroom villa from their old premises for use as a facility for Māori kaumātua.

"I rang Iri when I heard we could have the whole villa," says Lynne Te Aika (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri), whose mother is one of the occupants. "I got Iri because I knew she had all the kaumātua networks and contacts."

In conjunction with the Christchurch Methodist Mission, Lynne Te Aika and Irihāpeti spread the word about this opportunity, and worked tirelessly to get Whare Tiaki off the ground. In August of this year, seven excited kaumātua moved into the whare, and as Irihāpeti says, it has been "eyes on" ever since as kaupapa Māori support workers and whānau work together to ensure that this first example remains a success.

Whare Tiaki offers care at the level of supported living. "It's for those kaumātua who are in good health and want to maintain their mana motuhake," says Lynne Te Aika. "We were looking for those tāua and pōua who were living alone, who might just need that little bit of help."

PHOTOGRAPHS SHAR DEVINE

Left: Sylvia Gillard and Phyllis Papworth outside Whare Tiaki.

Private bedrooms with ensuite bathrooms give the residents of the whare the independence that Lynne Te Aika speaks of. Kaiāwhina provide support by preparing two meals each day, cleaning the whare, and facilitating group activities and outings when necessary. A support worker from Access Community Health visits regularly to provide basic medical support.

The oldest resident of the whare, Sylvia Gillard (Ngāi Tahu – Waihōpai), says that she absolutely loves her new home. "I was living in a kaumātua flat at Rehua Marae, and then the whole house got flooded out just after I decided to move and I thought, oh well, it's destiny! It's delightful having other people around. It's just lovely and I'm happy."

Fellow resident Phyllis Papworth (Ngāi Tahu – Kaikōura) agrees. Having wanted to move to Christchurch for some time, she was excited when she received a phone call telling her about the opportunity – so excited that she travelled to Christchurch the very next day to view the house and secure her place. "I saw it and I liked it straight away," she laughs. "It's just an answer to my prayer; it's what I always wanted."

For Sylvia and Phyllis, the benefits of a supported living style of care are clear. They are both in good health and remain active in the community, but wanted to minimise the responsibility of maintaining their own household and alleviate the risks of living alone.

"It was pay day yesterday," says Phyllis. "If I was still up in Kaikōura, I would have been running around paying bills, but I didn't have to. It's just awesome, that's the only thing I can think of to say!"

"And we can get out and about. I play bowls twice a week, and we've taken up tai chi on a Monday," Sylvia says. "And the bus is just up the road, which is a miracle. Just get on the bus, Gus!"

"I'm free here," Phyllis says simply. "I'm more free. I just sit down and my meals are put in front of me. I've been on my own since my husband passed away, and I don't cook anymore. I was still having meals but I really wasn't eating properly, just noodles and things. Just having that little bit of care, and knowing that you're okay, you're safe."

This comment from Phyllis touches on what is perhaps the most significant benefit for all of the kaumātua living at Whare Tiaki: the simple fact that while they still have their own living spaces, they are no longer living alone. "It's the companionship," says Phyllis. "Everybody here, we've made friends with each other, even though we respect each other's space. We're all different, so we all have our little quirks. And I suppose being the age we are, we've all got stories to tell. That's what I like about it."

"We all know where we're at and we're all there to help," says Sylvia. "It's those little things which mean a lot."

"We had happy hour last Friday," laughs Phyllis. "We were playing euchre and we were all trying to sing and our voices were cracking up. But we still had a good time!"

And of course, the icing on the cake at Whare Tiaki is the taha Māori that is woven through everything, from karakia said before meals, to the simple demonstration of values such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. "It's been really great to bring in the kaupapa Māori model," says Irihāpeti. "The kaumātua have been out practicing mahinga kai; they've connected to different marae and settings around Ōtautahi. That's the difference of having that extra taha in our model. Mainstream services still can't fathom what that is, and yet we live it."

For Phyllis, a recent trip to Birdlings Flat and outings collecting watercress have been particularly special, but the real highlight is in the house itself. "I'm so pleased that we've got people, we've got one, two, three people who speak fluent te reo. So we hear it all the time," she says. "It's just good having it around us and keeping to that. That there is the difference as far as I'm concerned."

Phyllis and Sylvia speak for themselves and the other occupants of Whare Tiaki when they say that the initiative has been a resounding success. "I think they should start another one," says Sylvia. "I'll tell them. Make as many as you can!"

Both kaumātua have whānau in Christchurch, but they say they prefer the independence that supported living gives them. "I've got three daughters living here," says Phyllis. "And they're all working, they've all got grandchildren. The days where you go and live with them are over. I can't see myself living with them; I prefer to be like this. Not because I don't want to live with them, but because I feel that those days are past. I feel more independent here."

This is something Lynne Te Aika understands well, as her mother also chose to move into

"I'm more free. I just sit down and my meals are put in front of me. I've been on my own since my husband passed away, and I don't cook anymore. I was still having meals but I really wasn't eating properly, just noodles and things. Just having that little bit of care, and knowing that you're okay, you're safe.

"I'm so pleased that we've got people, we've got one, two, three people who speak fluent te reo. So we hear it all the time. It's just good having it around us and keeping to that. That there is the difference as far as I'm concerned."

PHYLLIS PAPWORTH
Ngāi Tahu – Kaikōura
Whare Tiaki resident

Above: Taua Phyllis Packworth (Kaikōura), Taua Sylvia Gillard (Wairewa), Renee Willis (Kaitautoko), Taua Tia Te Aika (Ngāti Awa), Renee's mokopuna Tamaterangi Fasso, Irihāpeti Bullmore (CDHB Ngāi Tūāhuriri), Matua Stewart Rehutai (Ngāti Porou), Lynne Harata Te Aika (Ngāi Tūāhuriri), Whāea Rewa Barrow (Tainui), Hākui Suzanne King (Kaikōura).

Left: Kaiāwhina Willow WiParata assisting Sylvia and Phyllis with their kai.

Whare Tiaki rather than with either of her children. "She didn't want to live with me, because she'd be home alone all day while I'm at work," Lynne Te Aika says. "You might think that the whānau are not looking after their kaumātua, but actually it's that the kaumātua are wanting something the whānau can't provide."

This is something that Irihāpeti sees regularly through her work at the DHB. "We need to break down the myth that our kaumātua have a whānau support system," she says. "They have whānau who love them, we're not denying that; but often they don't have whānau who have the capacity to provide the support that breaks down isolation, depression, frailty, and poor health."

It's early days, but so far Whare Tiaki has been a resounding success for the residents, their whānau, and the dedicated team of administrators and kaiāwhina. But according to Irihāpeti, this is just the beginning. "I describe it as the tip of the iceberg, because our main need that I see is actually hospital care, palliative care, and rest home care," she explains. "The challenge for us now is to continue this model and keep pushing the boundaries around what taha Māori looks like."

"What we're doing here, it's trailblazing, to make others stand up and be accountable," says Irihāpeti. "I don't know if our kaumātua here realise it, but just by being here they're making other people accountable, and that's really exciting."

Protecting our tītī

The Davis whānau of Murihiku are well-known as a staunch tītī whānau. Over the years they have poured time, energy, and resources into their taonga, determined to "walk the kaitiaki talk" by caring for their islands, and the many species that call (or have called) them home. The measures they have taken to eradicate pest species are a crucial part of this. Kaituhi **RENATA DAVIS** revisits the mahi undertaken by his whānau and the wider tītī community, and issues a call for greater predator control throughout Aotearoa.

IT'S NO SECRET THAT EUROPEAN CONTACT SAW THE INTROduction of all manner of invasive predators to the shores of Aotearoa (such as ship rats, Norway rats, mice, etc). It's also no secret that these visitors had a massive effect on traditional Kāi Tahu food sources (kākāpō, kererū, and many other species that are now critically endangered). Not even the most remote corners of our takiwā were spared. Even at the isolated tītī islands, where muttonbirds (sooty shearwater chicks) are harvested, unwanted visitors made landfall from Rakiura and passing boats.

For years, the tītī community experienced the destructive power of introduced pests on their motu.

Tane Davis, chair of the Rakiura Tītī Islands Administering Body (RTIAB) and more importantly, my dad, recalls the nuisance caused by the kiore (rats) on our motu, Pūtauhinu. "Sometimes if you hadn't secured your home properly you'd come back, and, hello, they'd been in the house. You had to scrub everything, throw things out. They'd mimi'd all over the place; chewed on stuff."

Lania Edwards (née Davis, Ngāti Māmoe) recounts the effect of rodents on Rukawahakura (Joss's Island off the east coast of Rakiura), and their attempts to keep the pests at bay. "As a kid, my job was to walk around the island and put poison into each trap. Dad continued to use traps and poison over the years hoping to eradicate them, but they always came back. We battled with the rats, but we couldn't break through."

PHOTOGRAPHS LANIA EDWARDS AND ROSALIND COLE

Left: Peter McClelland (DOC) aids young Putauhinu muttonbirder Rubyjane Davis-Casey in releasing a tutukiwi on her manu in April 2005.

Above, from top: Laurence Edwards inspects one of the Goodnature A24 traps installed on his wife Lania's motu, Rukawahakura; a cheeky toutouwai dances around as the whānau of Rukawahakura carry out their mahi.

The effect of the pests' damage was devastating: "The numbers of tītī slowly declined each season, and eventually there was nothing to harvest. The parent birds had left, as their eggs had been eaten by the rats. I'm not even sure if any had the chance to hatch. There were rat holes beside practically every active burrow."

Pete McClelland is an ecologist and long-time partner of the tītī community, as well as the former Te Papa Atawhai (Department of Conservation) Manager – Outlying Islands. He notes the negative impact invasive species have on the ecology of the islands, including on birds, invertebrates, and vegetation. "Without invasive species removal, the islands will never heal; and the impact will get greater as vegetation changes," he says.

Early approaches to rodent control on the tītī islands were typical of the ingenuity of muttonbirders and their "Number 8 wire" approach. Dad tells me that in the 1960s, our pōua and others mixed up a poison-porridge concoction in a concrete mixer, and spread it throughout various islands on makeshift bait stations. It's safe to say the methodology has become more sophisticated since then, with the use of helicopters and commercial rat poison.

In the early 1990s, Kia Mau Te Tītī Mō Ake Tonu Atu was launched – a research project conducted by the tītī community in collaboration with the University of Otago. It was hardly surprising when it identified predation by rodents as a key impact on the tītī population.

Armed with a greater understanding of the underlying science, advances in eradication technology, and access to funding, the whānau of Pūtauhinu undertook a coordinated approach to pest control. Added to the mix was newly-obtained compensation from a detrimental oil spill off the coast of California that had affected thousands of tītī. The whānau had the drive, technology, and resources to bring about transformative change.

In 1996, the whānau of Pūtauhinu voted to eradicate the kiore from the motu. The people of the island got together and talked it through. However, not everyone on Pūtauhinu agreed to the proposal. Kaumātua Uncle Rongo Spencer noted that the kiore provided a connection to our ancestors who had brought them to the islands for kai. Dad was tasked with convincing Uncle Rongo to change his mind. "I was trying to find incentives and we were talking about bird life. I said to him, 'Back in the day there used to be the hakawai on the Cape. There may be opportunity to get that bird back.'"

Uncle Rongo quickly changed his mind. "Oh, the hakawai, I remember hearing them on Taukihepa when I was a child! I suppose it's not such a bad idea after all – OK then!"

The hakawai has a special place in tītī island storytelling. Generations of muttonbirders recall the terrifying call of a giant bird of the night, going: "hakwai, hakwai, hakwai" followed by a loud, hair-raising noise resembling a jet engine. Ornithologist Dr Colin Miskelly has convincingly argued that the mythical hakawai is in fact the same bird as the tutukiwi or Snares Island snipe (*Coenocorypha huegeli*). Regardless, the prospect of restoring the species to the motu was enough for Uncle Rongo.

Above: Uncle Rongo Spencer and Aunty Jane Davis examine their new taonga before they are released on Putauhinu in April 2005.

> Having witnessed the revitalisation of our motu Pūtauhinu throughout my childhood, it has been especially rewarding to serve on the RTIAB as an adult, and be a part of the transformation of other islands, such as Rukawahakura, off Rakiura's east coast. Once a heart-breakingly empty motu, this is now a flourishing example of kaitiakitaka, hard work, and determination.
>
> **RENATA DAVIS**

The successful eradication went ahead in August 1997 via an aerial drop of brodifacoum, and our whānau noticed immediate improvements in the ecology of the motu. The struggling tīeke or saddleback started to thrive; invertebrates and flora began to flourish. Conditions were ripe for the motu to receive other rare species, and in the same year, mātā (Codfish Island fernbirds) were translocated from Whenua Hou (west of Rakiura), and toutouwai (Stewart Island robin) were received from Pohowaitai (south-west of Pūtauhinu). As kids on the island, my siblings and I spent our holidays nanao'ing and building huts in the thriving forest, watched over by some of the country's rarest birds.

The eradication was so successful that Dad was able to make good on his promise to Uncle Rongo by bringing the hakawai to Pūtauhinu; the jewel in the crown of our motu. On 16 April 2005 the whānau of our island, assisted by DOC representatives, released the tutukiwi into a fern-filled gully. "It was incredibly rewarding to be able to carry this out before Uncle Rongo passed away," Dad says. The tutukiwi quickly established themselves on the island, and by 2011 the population was estimated to be over 320. Since then, the rare manu has been proudly translocated to islands off the opposite coast of Rakiura: Kani (Kundy Island) in 2015, and Mokinui (Big Moggy Island) in 2017.

Having witnessed the revitalisation of our motu Pūtauhinu throughout my childhood, it has been especially rewarding to serve on the RTIAB as an adult, and be a part of the transformation of other islands, such as Rukawahakura, off the east coast of Rakiura. Once a heart-breakingly empty motu, this is now a flourishing example of kaitiakitaka, hard work, and determination.

The whānau of Rukawahakura met with the RTIAB and agreed to a coordinated eradication by spreading brodifacoum rat bait. Lania was reluctant to go down this path at first.

"I gritted my teeth – I didn't want to keep throwing poison at our already toxic land," she said. Previous attempts to rid the rats with poison had affected the ruru (morepork) and hawk populations, so it was agreed that a "control" operation would be undertaken; spreading just enough poison to lower the rodent levels, without affecting other species.

On 14 September 2014, the brodifacoum operation was carried out by a team of 12 volunteers, including the whānau, members of the RTIAB, wider tītī whānau, and DOC representatives. Amazingly, the control operation turned out to be fully successful, confirmed by Sandy King and her trained rodent-detecting dog, Gadget.

Meanwhile, Lania researched more environmentally-friendly ways to ensure the motu remained rat-free. She came across the Goodnature A24, a CO_2-powered self-resetting trap. The RTIAB agreed to fund 30 traps for the whānau of Rukawahakura, and Lania's husband Laurence Edwards ensured they were duly installed. The whānau have vigilantly monitored the traps quarterly for signs of rodents.

To date, signs have been incredibly positive. "Three years later, we still have a rat-free island," Lania says. "The tītī are breeding and doing well. The pūnui (an endemic plant) is flourishing and taking over the island, as we heard it did in earlier years. The pīwakawaka (fantail) and bellbird have dramatically increased. More tūī have made our motu home, and even some yellow-crowned parakeet. Tree growth has been very noticeable."

Earlier this year a contingent of tīeke and toutouwai (Stewart Island robin) were translocated from Pūtauhinu to Rukawahakura.

"It was a beautiful sunny day when our new additions arrived," Lania says. "Everyone there was excited and emotional. It was so exciting this tītī season to watch the saddleback digging fat bugs out of the rotten trees, and all gather together to sing in the rising sun. Cheeky Stewart Island robin follow you as you cut tracks, eating all the bugs you've stirred up."

Stories like this are the reason I feel an incredible sense of privilege and pride when I look at what we have achieved over the years. But this mahi is ongoing, and in many ways what we have achieved on these islands is just the beginning.

Most of us would like to see the tītī islands rid of all pests, with comprehensive biosecurity measures in place to prevent reinvasions. These are goals we are approaching steadily, enabling us to create safe havens for more rare species.

One of the biggest aspirations is a fully predator-free Rakiura, which would solve a lot of reinvasion problems for the tītī islands. Hopefully, the Crown's Predator Free 2050 initiative will provide us with an avenue for achieving this goal; perhaps even creating employment opportunities for our community in the process.

Our connection to the islands is fundamental. Our mahi is about upholding the mana of the islands and tītī culture. It's about retaining things that are uniquely "us", such as the hakawai tradition. It's about walking the kaitiaki talk, and disproving those who doubted our ability to take responsibility for the motu. As Pete McClelland says, "I admit to being apprehensive when the former Crown islands were given back to the birders, but now I believe there is no doubt it was the best thing that could have happened."

It's about whanaungatanga, building relationships, bringing the tītī community together to work towards common goals, capacity building, and education, all woven together. Above all, it's about the island. Ko mātou kā motu, ko kā motu ko mātou. We are the islands, and the islands are us.

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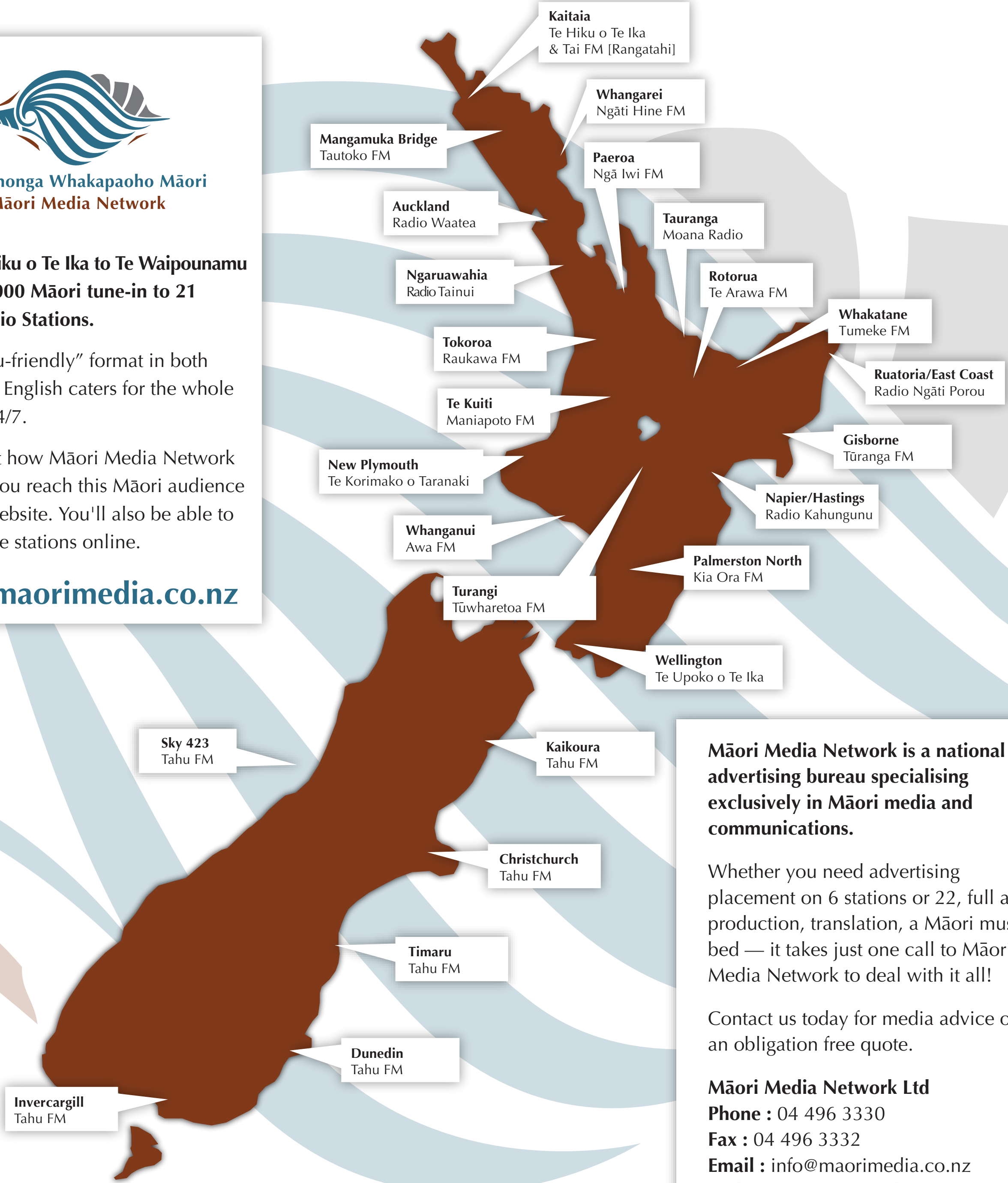
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Quantification of Loss

– negotiations with the Crown

On the 20th anniversary year of the settlement of Te Kerēme, we look back at the vastly different worldviews of Ngāi Tahu and the Crown on how to quantify the Ngāi Tahu loss, and how resolution was reached despite this huge gulf.

Kaituhi DR MARTIN FISHER explains.

CENTRAL TO THE TENSIONS THAT AROSE DURING THE COURSE OF the Ngāi Tahu negotiations was the question of how the total value of the settlement would be ascertained and dealt with. While the Crown approached the negotiations from the perspective that earlier settlements of the 1940s only required updating, negotiators for Ngāi Tahu believed that the amount returned to them had to reflect the value of what they had lost. Ngāi Tahu understood that full reimbursement would have been impossible, but they believed that some rationalisation or formula was necessary.

The negotiations established some of the basic parameters by which the Treaty settlements were intended to provide recompense for past loss, and the extent to which they were intended to facilitate an improved socio-economic position for Māori, through better education and employment. The Ngāi Tahu settlement, and indeed all settlements, have been estimated as less than 1 per cent of the value of the assets that were improperly acquired from the ownership of these groups. Ngāi Tahu spent much time and effort attempting to obtain a settlement that more accurately reflected what they perceived as the financial value of their losses, and as a result the question of quantification featured as a central part of the negotiations.

For Ngāi Tahu, the question was whether the amount offered by the Crown was sufficient to secure an agreement to the Crown's requirement that Treaty settlements be a full and final settlement of their historical Treaty claims. In achieving full and final settlements, the Crown's focus was not only on limiting the amount made available in these settlements, but doing so in a way that set acceptable precedents for settlements to come.

Other than the issue of compensation for military invasion, nearly every type of Treaty claim is represented among the many and diverse claims that together make up Te Kēreme. As soon as negotiations formally began in September 1991, it was clear to both parties that there would be a number of issues to assess under the settlement. Setting completely aside the matter of fisheries (which would become settled under the 1992 pan-Māori agreement for half of the Sealord fishing company and fishing quota), there were specific issues such as the establishment of a legal personality under Ngāi Tahu control, the return of some conservation lands, mahinga kai areas, and the transfer of pounamu. Looming large over all of the specific issues was how the settlement would address the claim regarding the miniscule prices and tiny "Māori reserves" provided for the land purchases around the Ngāi Tahu rohe.

Generally referred to by the title of "Reserves Not Awarded" early in the negotiations, the discussions around the issue were related to some of the first deliberations in the modern Treaty settlement process regarding the quantification of loss. Before the $170 million benchmark had been formally established, first by the pan-Māori 1992 Fisheries Settlement Report, and confirmed by the 1995 Waikato-Tainui raupatu (land confiscations) settlement, it was unclear exactly to what limit financial compensation would reach. Trying to resolve these issues with the Crown, Ngāi Tahu negotiators and advisors were often referred to Treasury officials.

Debates began over how compensation would be framed. Ngāi Tahu viewed the issue strictly as a property rights issue that needed to be resolved. Treasury especially, and the Crown generally, attempted to frame the matter in the language of needs rather than rights. Treasury began spending an inordinate amount of time attempting to calculate how much it would cost to address the needs of Ngāi Tahu individuals and to elevate them economically to a nationally median level of prosperity. Although Ngāi Tahu argued against the needs basis on which Treasury was attempting to alter the discussions, the iwi began to scramble to enlist as many tribal members as possible to show the Crown that the needs of Ngāi Tahu whānui were wide and extensive. At the same time it built its own rationales and calculations for compensation on the basis of property rights.

> After promising early discussions in the first six months of their negotiations, matters gradually came to a standstill regarding the overall financial size of the settlement. After Ngāi Tahu put forward a position of $1.3 billion, the Crown, with Treasury leading the way, countered with a completely unexplained figure of $100 million.

Since there were no precedents to work with, Ngāi Tahu and the Crown were both negotiating from uncertain positions. As a result, the Crown put Ngāi Tahu in a very challenging situation by asking Ngāi Tahu to table its own view of the financial side of a potential settlement. In such a situation Ngāi Tahu were essentially forced to begin the bidding, and to do so at anything but a high point would have been foolish. Nonetheless, Ngāi Tahu put forward clear and calculated rationalisations.

The Waitangi Tribunal in its main 1991 report had not found in favour of Ngāi Tahu in its specific claim to "tenths" having been promised as reserves in the 1844 Ōtākou purchase. However, the Tribunal did generally condemn the Crown's provision of paltry reserves, and although it could find no (contemporary written European) evidence specifically in the case of the Ōtākou purchase in which "tenths" had been promised, it did find overall that had the Crown reserved a tenth of the land purchased at Ōtākou, and across all of the purchases of land from Ngāi Tahu, it would have been “greatly to the advantage of Ngāi Tahu.”

Using this “tenths” principle from the Tribunal report, Ngāi Tahu established a case for a settlement that would represent 10% of the most basic value of all the lands purchased by the Crown in the Ngāi Tahu rohe. In the early 1990s, the prairie value (that is the value of the land based on its original state) of the approximately 34.5 million acres purchased between 1844 and 1864 was around $13 billion. As a result, in early February 1992, Ngāi Tahu sought a settlement valued at $1.3 billion, ignoring all of the economic potential (and risks) of those lands that was possible over the corresponding 130-year period. From a Ngāi Tahu perspective it was a very conservative estimate of their loss, while the Crown viewed it as far too large and unrealistic.

After promising early discussions in the first six months of their negotiations, matters gradually came to a standstill regarding the overall financial size of the settlement. After Ngāi Tahu put forward a position of $1.3 billion, the Crown, with Treasury leading the way, countered with a completely unexplained figure of $100 million.

At the end of February 1992, as a show of compromise, Ngāi Tahu halved their original proposal of $1.3 billion to $650 million. Ngāi Tahu envisioned having a diverse range of Crown assets such as forestry cutting rights and land, commercial property owned by the Crown, properties already in their landbank, Landcorp land, state-owned enterprise (SOE) shares, Housing Corporation properties and mortgages, indigenous forests, coal mining licences, Crown pastoral leases, and any remaining compensation as cash to make up their proposed $650 million settlement. Ngāi Tahu also offered payment deferral mechanisms, in which the settlement could be paid over many years and could even be tied to New Zealand’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth relative to the mean Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) GDP growth. Faced with what it perceived to be an unrealistic proposal, the Crown began to internally debate how to proceed.

On the side of the Crown, Sir Douglas Graham began the negotiations by stating that he did not want to engage in a sort of “Dutch auction.” O’Regan accused Graham and Crown officials of creating a negotiation process that was far worse; O’Regan termed it a “lolly scramble.” In O’Regan’s view, the Crown was forcing Māori into conflict with each other by pitting iwi against iwi for the limited financial compensation that was available overall.

Officials at the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit (TOWPU) attempted to develop a settlement package which doubled Treasury’s original figure to $200 million at the Cabinet level in July 1992. However, they were countered by Treasury officials. The recommendations of TOWPU were never accepted by Cabinet, and matters were overtaken by the fast developing pan-Māori fisheries settlement, of which Ngāi Tahu would be a part. Following the September 1992 fisheries settlement, the Crown began an extended two-year policy development process internally with a number of different government departments contributing, including TOWPU, Treasury, the Crown Law Office, the Department of Conservation, Te Puni Kōkiri, and others. The process would eventually evolve into the fiscal envelope proposal. This undertaking effectively sidelined the Ngāi Tahu negotiations from the second half of 1992 until 1994. Ngāi Tahu and the Crown continued to meet at their monthly meetings, but there was little advancement in the negotiation process.

Ngāi Tahu lead negotiator Tā Tipene O’Regan expressed the Ngāi Tahu objection to the fiscal envelope approach, which the Crown was developing to settle all Treaty claims fully and finally. On the side of the Crown, Sir Douglas Graham began the negotiations by stating that he did not want to engage in a sort of “Dutch auction.” O’Regan accused Graham and Crown officials of creating a negotiation process that was far worse; O’Regan termed it a “lolly scramble.” In O’Regan’s view, the Crown was forcing Māori into conflict with each other by pitting iwi against iwi for the limited financial compensation that was available overall. He also accused the Crown of taking on the same colonial positions that government officials Walter Mantell and James Mackay had taken to create the Ngāi Tahu grievances in the 19th century. While there was only a measured response to O’Regan’s letter from Graham, internally Crown officials were frustrated at the allegations of colonial attitudes. Some officials were working very hard to persuade Ministers to be more generous and some were not as helpful, but both groups bore the brunt of Ngāi Tahu frustrations. The work commissioned by Ngāi Tahu to estimate the value of its loss was set aside by the Crown. The fisheries settlement and the fiscal envelope policy would establish a new benchmark and set a fiscal cap, divorced from iwi estimates of loss.

The quantification of historical loss was an important issue for Ngāi Tahu during their negotiations. While the Crown made clear that political decisions rather than purely quantitative equations would ultimately determine the amount of compensation, Ngāi Tahu nonetheless tried to have the quantification of loss as a factor in their settlement before the decision was gradually made for the $170 million fisheries settlement in 1992 that set the benchmark.

The envelope policy was developed to create some certainty for the Crown’s own fiscal planning, and to sell the policy to the public – both Māori and Pākehā. Its gradual development in the middle of the Ngāi Tahu negotiations was frustrating for each group, as they had to deal with the uncertain development of new principles for negotiation.

Ultimately, Ngāi Tahu settlements were connected to the fiscal envelope policy, but the Right of First Refusal process and Deferred Selection Process, interest payments on the unpaid sum and the relativity clauses negotiated by Ngāi Tahu allowed for the prospect of additional financial redress on top of the $170 million nominally provided. As the Crown effectively divorced estimates of loss from the quantum provided, Ngāi Tahu understood that it would have to maximise its economic benefits within the rigid system imposed by the government. The quantification of loss would have little effect on the final quantum, but the historical evidence and moral weight behind its estimation will certainly stand as proof of the substantial discounts which settling groups have accepted to begin some form of development and healing.

Dr Martin Fisher is a lecturer at the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury.

The battle for the birds of Motupōhue

Removing introduced pests and predators from "The Bluff" – an iconic landmark overlooking Te Ara a Kewa (Foveaux Strait) – is the result of a concerted community effort by 25 volunteers from the Bluff Hill (Motupōhue) Environment Trust. The Trust's work was publicly recognised in November when it won the Environmental Action in the Community Award at the 2017 Southland Community Environment Awards, hosted by Environment Southland. Kaituhi **ROB TIPA** went south to catch up with Trust Chair Estelle Pera Leask, and discover what is at the heart of their success.

WALKING THROUGH A MAGNIFICENT STAND OF ANCIENT NATIVE forest on Motupōhue on a glorious spring day, conversation is drowned out by a concert of bird song. Everywhere you look there are birds. Those you can't see you can certainly hear, as feathered forest divas compete for the loudest voice and the last word.

A pair of low-flying tūī, locked in aerial combat, duck and dive through the trees at head height to settle a territorial dispute. Well-fed kererū swoop overhead like heavily-laden bombers, using the bush track as an easy flight path. On a branch just off the track, another fluffed-up parsonbird nonchalantly preens itself, oblivious to the aerobatic displays and the procession of open-mouthed tourists. For any nature-loving Kiwi, such an audacious display of biodiversity at work is heart-warming. To witness this environmental rescue story on mainland New Zealand is remarkable. The fact that the turnaround has taken less than a decade is a small miracle.

Estelle Pera Leask (Ngāi Tahu, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Ruanui), has been an active volunteer on the Trust since day one. She took a leadership role as its chair seven years ago. Estelle says the Trust's aim was to bring back birdsong to Bluff Hill, and provide a safe haven for native birds, plants, and invertebrates to thrive, not just survive.

The birds are now the Trust's best advocates, she says. "They are the reason we have such amazing support from the community; because everyone's feeding tūī and seeing native birds about." As well as the community itself, the Trust has had strong support

PHOTOGRAPH YVONNE PICKFORD

Above: Pied oystercatchers on Bluff Harbour.

from Awarua Rūnanga, the Department of Conservation (DOC), Environment Southland, and half a dozen generous sponsors.

Born and raised in Bluff, Estelle has always had a strong bond to Bluff Hill, which stands 265 metres tall, overlooking Awarua township. She went to school in Awarua, and explored every corner of this adventure playground as a child. After a period living in Auckland and travelling overseas, she was drawn back to this special place with her son, Fabian (now 32), to explore her whakapapa links to Whenua Hou (Codfish Island). Whenua Hou, west of Rakiura (Stewart Island), was one of the country's earliest multicultural sealing settlements, first established in 1810. Estelle was named after her tupuna Ester Pura, one of six young Ngāi Tahu women who were deliberately brought south to Whenua Hou from Kaiapoi by Ngāi Tahu chiefs, to escape the southern raids of Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha during the early 1800s.

"My mother (Ngaire Hanning) always told me I was named after a beautiful Ngāi Tahu princess who came from a special island; and I always grew up with that vision in my mind," she says.

Estelle learnt that the only way to visit Whenua Hou, now a predator-free bird sanctuary, was to volunteer for the Department of Conservation's Kākāpō Recovery Programme.

"So, I did, and it was the most amazing experience landing on the island, and being there for two weeks. From that day on, I was hooked," she says.

“I visited the pā site where our ancestors had lived, and the connection was a powerful experience. I knew this was where I belonged, my tūrangawaewae. Without sounding arrogant, I felt a sense of ownership and had an idea of wanting to protect it as well.”

ESTELLE PERA LEASK Ngāi Tahu, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Ruanui

“When I landed on the island, I was one of the few Ngāi Tahu volunteers the programme had ever had. Apart from DOC staff and me, most of the volunteers were foreigners who had gone to great trouble to get there, so I figured the island must be special.

“I visited the pā site where our ancestors had lived, and the connection was a powerful experience. I knew this was where I belonged, my tūrangawaewae. Without sounding arrogant, I felt a sense of ownership and had an idea of wanting to protect it as well.”

Since then, Estelle has revisited the island many times as a DOC volunteer, and for the last four or five years, as part of her leadership role on the Whenua Hou Committee, which manages the island. On her return to the mainland, Estelle saw an advertisement for a meeting to bring back the bird song to Bluff Hill.

“I attended the meeting. I was only one of two Bluff people and the only Ngāi Tahu person there, and that shocked me. I thought, these people who don’t even come from here could see the value of something I’d been looking at all my life; and they opened my eyes.

“They made me realise how lucky we are to have what we have here. So, I signed up straight away and I’ve been involved ever since.”

In the first four or five years, volunteers – including Estelle, her husband Peter Leask, an oyster boat skipper, and his crew – carved out a network of tracks through 204 hectares of the Bluff Hill (Motupōhue) Reserve, a rare remnant of original podocarp/broadleaf forest on the east coast of Te Waipounamu. They started predator control by targeting mustelids – stoats, weasels, and ferrets – and caught a huge number of these indiscriminate killers in traps, especially around two tītī (muttonbird) colonies on the coast. The Trust monitors these colonies, and recorded an immediate recovery in fledging chick numbers after trapping.

Volunteers then turned their sights on reducing the large number of possums on Motupōhue, setting a network of traps every 100 metres. In nine years, they have caught more than 1000 possums.

Environment Southland’s pest monitoring has shown that residual trap catches of possums have dropped from 30 per cent to zero within the reserve*. However, there are still pockets outside the control area that require ongoing trapping and spotlighting to prevent reinvasion.

The next challenge was to control rat numbers.

“Rats are a huge issue because they breed every six weeks,” Estelle says. “In any community, anywhere there are humans there are rats. For every one you see, there are 50 you don’t see. Because of that, we had to put in a really intensive rat control programme over 200 hectares of the reserve, with a rat trap and a rat bait station every 50 metres.

“We were going through so much toxin, you could smell dead rats for months. Once we got on top of it a month or two later, you could hear birds.”

Pest control operations have been very successful. With residual populations of possums and rats dropping below 5 per cent. the Trust has started reintroducing native birds to Motupōhue.

Bluff Hill/Motupohue Environment Trust
Bluff Hill/Motupohue Environment Trust

PHOTOGRAPH ROB TIPA

With so much of her time and energy committed to conservation, Estelle is close to completing a Bachelor of Environmental Management degree at the Southern Institute of Technology (SIT) in Waihōpai (Invercargill).

“I just wanted people to take me seriously, and without credentials I don’t think people do,” she says. “It has been amazing. It’s such a broad course and I’ve learnt so much. You do a lot of fieldwork, water quality work, and energy auditing. I’ve loved every bit of it.”

As her third-year research project, Estelle managed the successful translocation of 41 kakariwai (*Petroica australis*, the South Island robin), from Waikaia, west of Lumsden, to Bluff Hill. The stakes are high, for, as Estelle points out, this is “a bird that hasn’t been heard here for over a century.”

For the translocation to be successful, the birds need to breed. Estelle says the signs are promising, with the birds already pairing up in an ideal habitat for native species. She has now filed an application with DOC for her second translocation project, to bring back tīeke (*Philesturnis carunculatus*, saddlebacks) to Motupōhue. However, this application is conditional on the Trust undertaking intensive feral cat monitoring and control.

On Estelle’s initiative, students from the SIT Environment Management course now help out with all aspects of the Trust’s work, from collecting locally-sourced seed and growing it in the Trust’s native plant nursery, to learning about trapping techniques and monitoring tītī (muttonbird) and mātātā (fernbird) populations.

The Trust now recognises the potential to make Bluff predator-

PHOTOGRAPH YVONNE PICKFORD

Left: Estelle Leask, Chair of the Bluff Hill (Motupōhue) Environment Trust; above: Estelle checking, cleaning and re baiting a mustelid trap on Joeys Island.

free. This ambitious undertaking would be made somewhat easier by the fact that the port town is almost an island – just a narrow isthmus of 300 metres of low-lying ground at Ocean Beach connects Bluff to the mainland. The Trust has extended its operations to include a 6 km pest trap line from Ka Kau Tapapa (Joeys Island, in Awarua/Bluff Harbour), to Pikaroro Point, on the east coast of Rakiura. There are also plans for additional trap lines at Green Point (near Tikore Island), and at a wind farm at Turakanui a Rua, near Ocean Beach.

"We've done what we can in the forest. Now we want to do what we can around the coast to protect nesting seabirds. And it's working," Estelle says. "It's such a special area that needs protection."

Forest birds on Motupōhue include flocks of kererū and bellbirds, tūī, red-crowned parakeets, fantails, tomtits, and even mātātā (fernbirds) and weka.

Seabird colonies of tītī, four species of penguins, and four species of shag nest around the coast, and there are huge colonies of mottled petrels, banded dotterels, red-billed gulls, pied oyster catchers, pied stilts and royal spoonbills, which are either resident or seasonal visitors to the sand flats of Bluff Harbour.

Estelle is excited about a positive future for Bluff, with the commitment of the new Government to a predator-free New Zealand by 2050. If the authorities want Rakiura to be predator-free, she believes Bluff also needs to be predator-free, being the main service port for Rakiura. Estelle says a predator-free Bluff is possible if two factors are met: one, getting the community to trap rats in residential areas, and two, winning the support of two other major landowners outside Bluff (South Port and the Invercargill City Council).

"If we can get 50 per cent of the community trapping in their backyards, that would nail the rat population," she says.

For Estelle, walking in the footsteps of her tupuna was a defining moment in her life. Her current path truly began when she stood in culturally special places like Whenua Hou and Motupōhue. Both motu and maunga were protected under a tōpuni status, and gifted back to Ngāi Tahu as part of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement. Now Estelle in turn gives back to these two places.

"I don't do what I do for me. I do it for my community, and I learnt that from my dad (Karia Pera)," she says. "It's our kaupapa. I see myself and our community as kaitiaki (guardians) of this place, and there is a huge proportion of Ngāi Tahu people in this small community. If we can all work together, we can make this whole island predator-free."

The Bluff Hill Motupōhue Environment Trust:
www.bluffenvirotrust.org.

* After pest control efforts such as poisoning, traps may be set with the aim of catching surviving pests, as a gauge for the success of the operation. The numbers caught are called the residual trap catch. DOC aims for a 5 per cent catch rate or lower.

A growing tribal economy

Kēwai (keewai), a native freshwater crayfish, has a long history in the south, and was used in one of the earliest forms of aquaculture in Aotearoa – considerably pre-dating colonisation. A joint venture project between Hokonui Rūnanga and kōura farming business KEEWAI, with the support of the Tribal Economies team at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, is set to put these little creepy crawlies back on the map. Kaituhi **ARIELLE MONK** reports.

Left: Rangatahi at Hokonui getting up close and personal with some kōura.

Right: Rangatahi Josh Aitken, 13, watches as Ernslaw One operations supervisor Callum Kyle talks about kōura at Hokonui.

THERE IS A LITTLE-KNOWN KŌRERO ABOUT KĒWAI AND SOUTHern Ngāi Tahu tūpuna.

Perhaps forgotten in anthropological and historical records, the kōrero is preserved and remembered by copses of tī kouka, scattered along ancient trails of the Murihiku region. Tī kouka (the cabbage tree), seemingly random in growth and placement, reveal a hidden wealth: flourishing populations of kēwai.

Such populations are evident around Glenorchy and up into the Cardrona River, indicating they may have been established by pounamu hunters.

Yes, the old people knew what they were doing.

The kōrero goes that ngā tūpuna would ferry live kēwai, or kōura (*Paranephrops zealandicus*), along the traditional travel routes around Otago, Southland, and even across to the West Coast. Strategic placement of the kōura allowed for a consistent, reliable food source along these long, often harsh trails.

John Hollows, aquaculture manager of the commercial kōura farming company KEEWAI, says this took place well before colonisation or European practices arrived.

"Without a doubt, they [Ngāi Tahu tūpuna] moved the kōura around and strategically populated areas along these trails. The iwi has a very strong historic connection to the kōura – it all points to New Zealand's earliest form of aquaculture.

"They always could be certain they would have a feed on the way home from wherever they had travelled. It really was genius."

This whakapapa of the relationship between Ngāi Tahu and freshwater kōura sets a beautiful foundation for one of the latest ventures to come out of Hokonui Rūnanga. Three months ago, after years

PHOTOGRAPHS NICOLE SHARP

of research, Hokonui released their first community of the creepy crawlies into a pond on rūnanga-owned land.

In an initiative being guided by the Tribal Economies team at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the rūnanga has partnered with KEEWAI to investigate the long-term benefits and potential revenue of freshwater kōura farming.

Hokonui Rūnanga kaumātua and executive member Rewi Anglem is cautiously optimistic about the fledgling kēwai population.

"It's a long-term investment, definitely – right now, it's about having them here on our land as a start. We've still got to go through our processes yet; but the project can grow as big as we want to make it really.

"For the release we had a bit of a get together, had a bit of a yarn. They [Ernslaw One Ltd, parent company of KEEWAI] brought in 100 breeders, 50 males and 50 females, and 15 berried females [females carrying eggs]. Each one has capability to breed about 80 babies. That's 8000 kōura we could have."

Rewi is a man with a modest and understated manner that belies the significance and excitement around the release. The Mayor of Gore and local media attended the introduction at Hokonui, as well as about 40 whānau members who turned out to see the kōura released into their new habitat. They are the first of the 18 rūnanga to take up the opportunity through a Tribal Economies development programme and partnership with KEEWAI and Ernslaw One Ltd.

Ernslaw One Ltd are the leaders in commercialising freshwater creepy crawlies in Aotearoa, although it must be acknowledged Ngai Tahu's own Frances Diver was perhaps the first contemporary kēwai farmer. Thanks to his whanaunga connections to Central Otago, Rewi has familiarised himself with the species through Frances' efforts in Alexandra.

Commercial investigation of kēwai began when Ernslaw One started exploring alternative revenue streams to bolster softwood exports after successive pricing downturns. As the fourth largest owner of forestry in the country, the chance to diversify was broad.

Some "bright spark" suggested freshwater crayfish farming as an additional venture for forestry land. Six years ago, the company employed John Hollows, armed with a Masters' thesis on the effects of land-use on kōura, and a genuine soft spot for the nippers.

"It's a bit of an experiment for Hokonui at this stage, but there's huge possibility in the future. At the heart of it, it's also about the rūnanga gaining an understanding of the biology of the kōura – it's like any farming, really. You can't farm an animal if you don't understand its needs," John says.

"You've got to think like a crayfish to understand them, so this endeavour is in part about getting whānau up to speed on what they need to provide the kōura with."

And he isn't joking about thinking like a crayfish, or understanding their needs – Rewi says he is used to hearing this kind of advice from John, the man who pets and kisses the creepy crawlies with real care.

And Ernslaw One Ltd has put their money where John's mouth is – figuratively and literally. After six years as aquaculture manager, John has seen the project grow with approximately 2000 kōura ponds across 11 forests in Otago and Southland. KEEWAI is having measurable conservation benefits to the dwindling population of the native species.

"Hokonui has the ability to take it further with being more hands-on, because most of our sites are not so accessible," John says. "But for the rūnanga, it is right in their back yard, and there are people on the marae all year round – providing an opportunity for them to familiarise themselves with the kōura.

"There's a huge opportunity here for rūnanga specifically; whether

> “It’s a good long-term investment for us. There’s very little uptake or work involved, because they feed themselves. And they’re all over the place for us – so if we can prove that we can grow them successfully, it could be a really good thing for Hokonui. And for other rūnanga too.”

REWI ANGLEM Hokonui Rūnanga kaumātua and executive member

it be utilising firefighting ponds in forestry blocks, or creating new ponds on land unsuitable for traditional farming purposes. You only have to fly up and down the country and see the number of ponds lying throughout forests to understand the potential revenue yield they could have through kēwai.”

The two native species of freshwater crayfish are rapidly declining due to the degradation of typical natural habitats, largely through chemical or storm-water drain pollution to waterways. John points to KEEWAI and the re-population of ponds across the Ngāi Tahu takiwā as a multi-purpose project, with benefits for mahinga kai mātauranga revitalisation, conservation efforts, and commercialisation – for Ngāi Tahu, but also for Aotearoa as a country.

“We’re now in our third harvest and have almost doubled quantity each year we have been in operation. We currently supply the market with about half a tonne, and there’s no reason to suggest this trend won’t continue,” John says.

To put that into perspective, the market demand has already has already outgrown the domestic supply, with high-profile clients like the Huka Lodge in Taupō vying for stock in the harvest season.

Robin MacIntosh is the Tribal Economies kaimahi assisting with the kēwai project from inside Te Rūnanga, and says the partnership between Ernslaw One Ltd, KEEWAI and Hokonui Rūnanga is a brilliant example of regional economic collaboration.

“Now, we are at the point of chasing stock to fill a two-year lag to meet known demand. It’s fairly certain that any future work with rūnanga farming kēwai will find markets to sell to.”

Rewi and the rūnanga have had a long time to assess the project for its value to Hokonui. Together with Tribal Economies, Hokonui has been investigating kēwai over a three-year pilot, which Rewi has been involved with since the start.

“We’ve been working with Robin and Tribal Economies for several years now. It’s been nice to have them on board, especially due to Robin being able to offer valuable advice.

“I think we would have been sort of lost if it wasn’t for them,” Rewi says.

The mihi aroha goes both ways. On taking the crucial leap from research and development to piloting breeding kēwai in rūnanga ponds, Robin is philosophical.

“Starting a new enterprise is always difficult; starting a new enterprise as a rūnanga, working with multiple projects and a voluntary labour force adds an extra challenge. To see that Hokonui has taken the step with their first pond shows a significant effort on their part, and a real determination to see such a long-term investment through.”

And although Rewi says it can be difficult for rūnanga based in the regions to retain rangatahi and younger leaders of the marae, he is confident Hokonui and the KEEWAI project will be in good hands. His understated nature comes back into play when the seasoned kaumātua considers the exciting implications of launching kēwai for the rūnanga.

“Well, it’s just another project you know? But it’s a good long-term investment for us. There’s very little uptake or work involved, because they feed themselves. And they’re all over the place for us – so if we can prove that we can grow them successfully, it could be a really good thing for Hokonui. And for other rūnanga too.

“They’re not bad eating either; unusual. It’s very fresh tasting, and good with a bit of salt – of course.” TK

Know your kōura

There are several species of crayfish/lobster called kōura:

Kēwai, southern kōura, South Island freshwater crayfish
(*Paranephrops zealandica*)
Paranephrops is a genus of freshwater crayfish found only in Aotearoa. The kēwai is found only in eastern and southern Te Waipounamu, and on Rakiura (Stewart Island). It favours colder water than its northern cousin, *P. planifrons*. Kēwai habitats include both native and exotic forests, in ponds and waterways in unpolluted conditions. Kēwai may be also be found in lower densities in clean pastoral streams.

Northern kōura, North Island freshwater crayfish
(*Paranephrops planifrons*)
This freshwater crayfish is mainly found in Te Ika a Māui, especially in lakes Te Arawa and Taupō. It is also found in Nelson, Marlborough, and Te Tai Poutini in Te Waipounamu. At about 70mm long, it is slightly smaller than the kēwai, and its pincers are less hairy.

Kōura, southern/red/spiny rock lobster, crayfish
(*Jasus edwardsii*)
This is the famed kōura of Kaikōura, and a distant relative of northern kōura and kēwai (southern kōura). It is found in coastal waters around New Zealand and offshore islands, and also Australia.

Kōura, packhorse lobster, eastern rock lobster
(*Sagmariasus verreauxi, previously Jasus verreauxi*)
A large, primitive rock lobster found only in the coastal waters of northern Aotearoa and eastern Australia.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND WORDS
Nā PHIL TUMATAROA

Te Ao o te Māori

A WINDOW INTO THE RICH LIFESTYLES OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI

"Birds are the intermediaries between people and the sky.

Taare Wetere Te Kāhu Stuart Home (Ngāi Tahu – Kāti Huirapa), or Wez, as he is better known, has grown up in and around the Waitaki district. As a kid living in Ōamaru he would often join whānau on trips up the Waitaki River to trap and transfer eels during the whakaheke – time of migration.

He would regularly stay with his pōua and taua Joe and Pipi in Temuka spending lengthy periods at the kaik learning about his people and his place in the world.

Wez also had opportunities to spend time with Mauriri McGlinchey and archaeologist Brian Allingham who were recording and mapping the plethora of rock art drawings that are synonymous with the Waitaki region.

At the time he had no idea that these ancient drawings would one day come to have new meaning for him as a full-time guide at the Te Ana Māori Rock Art Centre in Timaru.

Every day for the past seven years Wez has been immersed in the stories of his people, their practices and their legacy that remain clinging to the lime stone walls of caves that are testament to the journeys his tīpuna made to gather kai and resources, make trade and seek shelter from the elements.

"I have learnt a lot about the practices we had – mahinga kai is at the heart of the story of rock art," he says.

Wez spent seven years at the Ōamaru freezing works before moving to Timaru and starting his job as a guide at the centre when it opened in 2010.

"I get a lot of satisfaction from my job. I want more Ngāi Tahu to come and learn about rock art and their culture and heritage. It'll be cool to see this generation grow up and know what we're talking about here."

Stopping places
A wide variety of cultural practices were carried out in the presence of the rock art.
Te Pātaka | The foodstore
Kā hua o te whenua | The fruits of the land
Kā hua o Tāne | The fruits of Tāne
Kā uri o Takaroa | The children of Takaroa
Mahika kai

$13
Aprons
$25
LAKE TEKAPO
ALBURY
GERALDINE
PLEASANT POINT
WOODBURY
Fairlie
AORAKI MOUNT COOK
SAINT ANDREWS
LAKE PUKAKI
MORVEN
Cave
PEEL FOREST
TWIZEL
WINCHESTER
WAIMATE
TIMARU

Mahi Māra Summer –
Bugs, herbs and health

Summer is a great time to relax in the māra enjoying the fruits of one's mahi, and leaving the worries of the world behind. In this issue, I discuss recent research showing an insect Armageddon (Insectageddon) in progress, primarily driven by massive pesticide use. On a positive note, lemongrass is a great herb to grow that can naturally help relieve feelings of worry and stress. Unfortunately, the herb most successful at relieving stress, Cannabis sativa, is still not currently able to be grown legally. However, there is some light at the end of a very smoky tunnel for this king of all herbs.

Remember, bugs are our friends. We just need to make some room in any māra for flowering species in particular, and have healthy soil (compost, lime and minerals) so the plants can naturally resist any potential pests.

Insectageddon

Love them or hate them, bugs are in full swing in the summertime, providing ecosystem services which keep the natural environment in balance. In an organic māra, it is necessary to provide space for biodiversity that can host both predator and prey. This helps keep a healthy balance, and to avoid as much as possible the need for any insecticide. "Beneficial plants" are havens for predator insects that eat pest insects in the māra. These plants include alyssum, calendula, nasturtium, and phacelia, plus many others.

Unfortunately, having too few insects rather than too many is becoming a serious problem. A recent German study found that over the past 27 years there has been a 76% decline in flying insect biomass in the European landscape. New terms have been coined to describe the phenomenon, such as Armageddon, Insectgeddon, and Insectageddon, used interchangeably in news stories. I witnessed the signs of this insect decline on a recent trip to Denmark. We lived in a rural farming community in Denmark in the 1990s when it was very common to have lots of bugs flying about and making a mess on our car windscreens, particularly in summer. However, on this latest trip we drove our rental car across the countryside and there was hardly any bug strike on the windscreen, compared to the times I previously lived there.

While habitat loss is one factor, the main suspect is the increasing use of pesticides (e.g. herbicides containing glyphosate), with it increasingly bio-accumulating in the environment and the species that live there. For example, last year 8.6 billion kilograms of glyphosate (Roundup) was sprayed on planet Earth, with its use doubling every six years. This is primarily driven by increasing GMO crops, and as a desiccant to kill off plant material just before harvest e.g. wheat, potatoes etc. That's 0.53kg of glyphosate per hectare on all cropland worldwide. And people wonder why an Insectageddon is happening? And why human cancer rates are going up, amongst many other illnesses that have rapidly increased with the introduction of GMO crops by pesticide companies to sell more glyphosate? Science like this is driving the European Union's attempt to ban glyphosate and promote organic agriculture (if only it were so in Aotearoa).

So remember, bugs are our friends. We just need to make some room in any māra for flowering species in particular, and have healthy soil (compost, lime and minerals) so the plants can naturally resist any potential pests.

Lemon balm

After that unwelcome news, it's nice to know

Above and right: Summer garden full of flowering plants, commercial hemp growing in Denmark and lemon balm.

we can use our māra to grow plants that reduce stress and improve one's mood. The herb lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*) is a medicinal powerhouse well known for its ability to be soothing both mentally and physically. It is high in trace minerals such as boron, manganese, copper, chromium, molybdenum, selenium, and iron. It contains large amounts of silica, and has anti-parasitic, anti-viral, and anti-bacterial properties. As well as this, it has bioactive phytochemicals and alkaloids that reduce inflammation, calm the digestive tract, reduce bladder inflammation, and detoxify the liver, spleen, and kidneys. When made into a tea it can also help reduce feelings of stress, and promote better sleep, with a cup before bed. It is also used in salads, and as flavouring for chicken and fish dishes.

Lemon balm is a perennial herb that is relatively easy to grow. In fact, it can become a bit of a weed problem if allowed to go to seed. This makes it easy to grow from seed in spring to early summer or late summer to early autumn. Usually it is easiest to begin by buying a seedling at a garden store. It grows up to 100 cm in height, and requires 30 cm spacing between plants. It likes to be planted in compost-rich, moist, and well-drained soil. It can also be grown in pots. After taking a couple of months to become established, picking leaves to make tea encourages it to grow even more. By autumn it can be totally harvested by cutting the stems off at about 5–10 cm above the soil. The leaves can then be dried and stored for later use. In the second full season, it should be possible to fully harvest it at least twice, with the extra addition of compost each time it is cut down. An additional benefit of Lemon Balm is that when it flowers, the bees and other flying insects love to visit it.

Medicinal cannabis – progress

Sometimes one needs something a bit stronger than lemon balm to help relax, particularly with something as serious as a cancer diagnosis. An interesting story I came across recently was the case of a young boy in Britain who was dying of leukemia and whose family had tried everything the medical system had recommended, all of which had failed e.g. chemotherapy and bone marrow transplants. As the boy was dying in a hospice, his parents decided to illegally buy cannabis to make their own oil to give to him, just to help ease his pain while he died. However, once they started giving him the cannabis oil, he started to recover and today is very much alive and well, due largely to the cannabis.

The recent election of a new government is a new hope for the legalisation of cannabis for medicinal purposes. The government proposes to introduce a bill to parliament to start this process by February 2018. However, what form this might take remains to be seen, as the Greens have an existing bill that includes the right to grow cannabis for one's own personal use. If the government only proposes to legalise expensive pharmaceutically-produced cannabis products by prescription (like Sativex) which only a few can afford, then this will be no progress at all and people will have to continue engaging in illegal activity simply to alleviate pain and support their health.

When in Europe recently, it was possible for me to legally buy cannabidiol (CBD) at a health food store and online. Whether the government will be progressive enough to legalise the personal cultivation of high CBD/low THC varieties of cannabis and the sale of CBD oil freely to the general public remains to be seen. My own recent MRI scan has shown that the tumor in my pancreas is to all intents and purposes dead, and has slightly reduced in size (120 mm to 110 mm), with my liver still clear of previous cancerous lesions.

Some don't get the miracle of their cancer completely disappearing, but some of us do get the miracle of being alive and healthy, even if we have to carry the scars. Tihei Mauri ora!

Resources

More than 75 percent decline over 27 years in total flying insect biomass in protected areas
http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0185809

Warning of "ecological Armageddon" after dramatic plunge in insect numbers
https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/oct/18/warning-of-ecological-armageddon-after-dramatic-plunge-in-insect-numbers

A Weed Killer Is Increasingly Showing Up in People's Bodies
http://time.com/4993877/weed-killer-roundup-levels-humans/

EU decision casts shadow over widespread use of glyphosate weedkiller in NZ
https://www.stuff.co.nz/marlborough-express/news/98272658/eu-decision-casts-shadow-over-widespread-use-of-glyphosate-weedkiller-in-nz

GMOs Revealed documentary
http://www.gmosrevealed.com

PHOTOGRAPHS TREMANE BARR

Hei Mahi Māra – Marijuana – Medical Miracle or Reefer Madness?
http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/hei-mahi-mara-2/

Cannabinoid research
https://echoconnection.org/education/

The Sacred Plant – medicinal cannabis documentary series
https://thesacredplant.com

Medical Cannabis Functional Forum
http://functionalforum.com/medical-cannabis-2017

"I gave my dying son cannabis to ease his cancer symptoms and he made a miracle recovery" reveals mum
http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/i-gave-dying-son-cannabis-10103387

The Boy in 7 Billion
https://www.amazon.co.uk/Boy-7-Billion-Callie-Blackwell/dp/1907324623

Tremane Barr is Ngāi Tahu/Kāti Māhaki ki Makaawhio. He has been gardening organically for more than 20 years. Tremane is currently a Research Fellow based at the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury and is working on the Raumanga Rōnaki Mahinga Kai project.

DANCING WITH THE KING: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE KING COUNTRY, 1864–1885

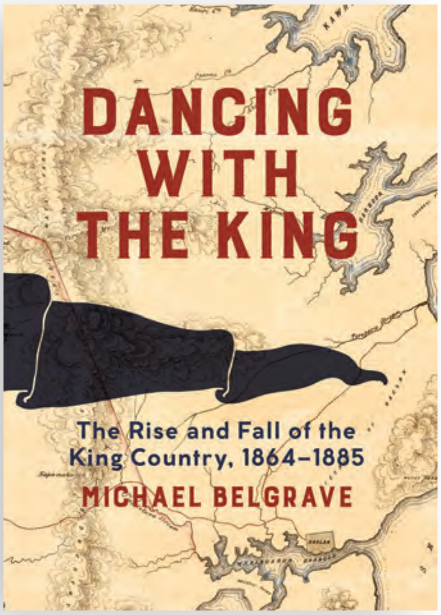
Nā Michael Belgrave
Auckland University Press 2017
RRP: $65.00
Review nā Te Hau White

Dancing with the King explores a lesser-told yet immensely significant chapter of New Zealand's history. It provides a fascinating insight into the machinations of the settler government, and the Kīngitanga movement in Waikato.

The book covers the events of the exile of Tāwhiao, the second Māori King, following the final defeat of the Land Wars at Ōrākau, when the King and his supporters were forced into armed isolation, and operated for 20 years as an independent state. The narrative maintains a central focus on the actions of Tāwhiao and the Kīngitanga, whilst weaving in the other related historical figures and events of the time. It was especially interesting to see the focus placed on the rangatira of Tainui and Maniapoto, and the influence they had over the King, and also in maintaining the peace after the incredible bloodshed of the Land Wars. The "big players" such as Tāwhiao are complemented with the actions and perspective of lesser-known rangatira such as Rewi Maniapoto, Manuhiri, and, Wahanui Huatere, who had an immense yet underrated impact on the history of the North Island.

Belgrave provides remarkably specific details of the interactions both within and external to the Kīngitanga. The focus is on the years in exile following the war, through to the détente between the Kīngitanga and the settler government.

An interesting dimension of this book is the intricacies of the power structures of the time, and the dynamics between the various hapū and iwi of the central North Island. The role and importance of other pivotal Māori leaders such as Te Kooti and Tītokowaru provide useful context surrounding the societal structure of te ao Māori at this time, and the lack of a unified identity.



Whilst this is a fascinating read, it does require a robust prior knowledge of the wider context of the land wars and New Zealand in the 1800s. Due to its tight focus on Te Rohe Pōtae and the Kīngitanga movement, for people like me who are unfamiliar with the locations and the history of the region, it does require more time to understand. For those with whakapapa to the iwi of Waikato-Tainui and Maniapoto, it is a must-read to understand the struggle of those tūpuna.

This book is a great historical read for people wanting an in-depth understanding of the Kīngitanga, Te Rohe Pōtae (the King Country), and the wider historical context of the North Island in the late 1800s. The significance of the events in this book cannot be understated, and hopefully one day the content of this book will be common knowledge for all New Zealanders.

AOTEAROA: THE NEW ZEALAND STORY

Nā Gavin Bishop
Picture Puffin 2017
RRP: $40.00
Review nā Awhina McGlinchey rātou ko Hineātea (9) ko Tūnui Alexander (7)

This is a children's book with small snippets of history spanning from the beginning of history through to present day Aotearoa, cramming in as much as it can from the time in between. Both children were first drawn to the artwork in the book and looked through all of the pictures before even looking at the text.

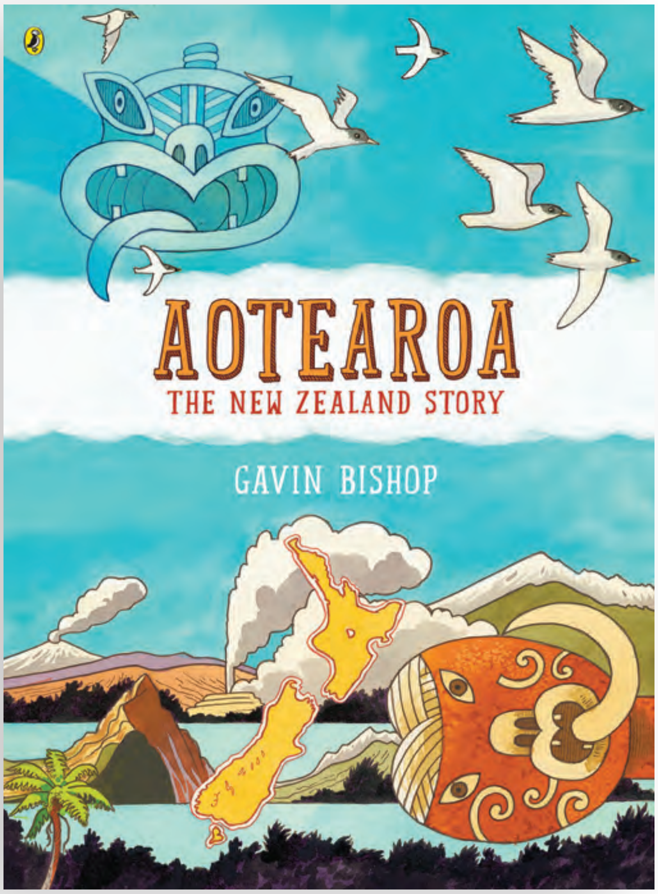
The book uses one-sentence descriptions placed over double-page pictorial spreads to present major historical events throughout a rather expansive timeline. This gives the book a limited ability to offer a complete story. However, it did prompt the children to start discussions with Māmā. Supplying an answer usually required Māmā to pull in the other adults in the house for an "all in" whānau discussion. As the children get older and reading time becomes more of a solo activity, it is always special when a book can bring three generations together to kōrero.

Hineātea liked the fact that the book covered both Māori and European history in New Zealand, as she identifies with both due to having a Māori Māmā and Pākehā Pāpā. Her favourite page was the one featuring a picture which names all the waka, and shows the voyage across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. Hineātea also found it fun learning new Māori words, particularly names for some of the bugs, which she hadn't heard before. The natural attractions page made her want to visit all of the places described, "even the Pink and White Terraces even if they can't be seen anymore." Her overall thoughts on the book? "It is fascinatingly awesome and a great book for kids."

Tūnui really enjoyed all the pictures and information, although he was drawn to the

Te Hau White (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāti Huirapa – Ngāi Tupoto) is a Policy Advisor at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. He was raised in Ōtautahi and Hokianga.

Hineātea (9) and **Tūnui** (7) **Alexander** are Ngāi Tahu tamariki that whakapapa to Moeraki. They live in Ōtautahi in an intergenerational home with their Māmā Awhina, as well as their taua and pōua, Rangi and Trevor McGlinchey.



pages about war (as many seven-year-old boys would be). He was interested in the well-known New Zealanders page, as well as all the other people he got to read about throughout the book. "They were all pretty cool. Well, except for Adolf Hitler." His final thoughts were "I loved the book and think other kids should read it."

HUIA SHORT STORIES 12 – CONTEMPORARY MĀORI FICTION

Huia Publishers 2017
RRP: $30.00
Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates

The introduction by Robyn Bargh – who initiated the Huia Awards with her partner Bryan – seems to indicate these have now morphed into a competition for new writers, or others who have "already begun building a place for themselves in New Zealand literature."

This 12th edition has only 24 finalists compared with upwards of 30 in past editions. The odd thing now is that several writers have multiple stories in this book – Lauren Keenan (winner of the Best Short Story in English category) has six, and Shirley Simmonds has four. As for Ngāi Tahu writers, only Pere Durie acknowledges this in his multiple roots. Another trend seems to be the number of stories about or targeting young adults, including Lauren Keenan's winning story, *A Portrait of Sandra Dee*. This is about schoolgirl bullying on social media, and the art of compromise. As with most of her stories in this book, there is no obvious connection with Māori, or a feeling that she is an "indigenous writer", except for one story about an uncle who was economical with the truth about his participation in the battle of Monte Cassino.

By contrast, Shirley Simmonds' stories all evoke Māori or Pasifika themes, and to my mind all had winning qualities. Particularly good are *A Ferry Ride to 'Eua'*, about a young Māori woman feeling distanced from her roots, and her brother who is saved by seeing a tohorā breach by the ferry. *Motutaiko* is an ominous story about this wāhi tapu island, located in Taupō-nui-a-Tia. Other excellent offerings are *Coasting Home* by Tangai Waranga, a powerful story evoking the anguish and politics of tangi and whānau. Aroha Awaru's story *The African Stars*, while potentially stereotypical, turns out to be

Contemporary Māori Fiction
Huia
Short Stories
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a redemptive tale about two nine-year-old girls suffering sexual abuse from whānau. Pere Durie's story, *The Manu, the Coffin, and the Old School*, is another good read about a pale, ginger-haired Māori boy who defuses a potential bullying incident in a believable way.

The novel extracts were a mixed bag, only some of which hung together and showed promise. The winner was Steph Matuku's *The Crystal Caves*, which was a racy mystery story that certainly held my interest from its fast-paced opening. This book is well worth a read, and Huia need to be congratulated for continuing to hang in there and provide this biennial vehicle for emerging Māori writers.

THE NEW ZEALAND PROJECT

Nā Max Harris
Bridget Williams Books
RRP: $39.99
Review nā Mark Revington

The New Zealand Project has been out long enough for some interesting opinions to circulate, probably not helped by the blurb

Reviews continue over.

Gerry Te Kapa Coates (Ngāi Tahu, Waihao) was born in Ōamaru, and has had poems, book, and theatre reviews and stories in Huia Short Stories collections 4, 5, and 7; and other publications including *Landfall*, *Mana* magazine and *Ora Nui 3*, as well as a wide variety of non-fiction espousing environmental issues, amongst other themes. His collection of poems and short stories from 1961–2011, *The View From Up There*, was published by Steele Roberts. Gerry was a panellist at the 2013 Christchurch Writers and Readers Festival. He also works as a consultant and commissioner on RMA and similar EPA hearings, as well as being an author and doing Māori and technology advisory work.

Opinions expressed in REVIEWS are those of the writers and are not necessarily endorsed by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

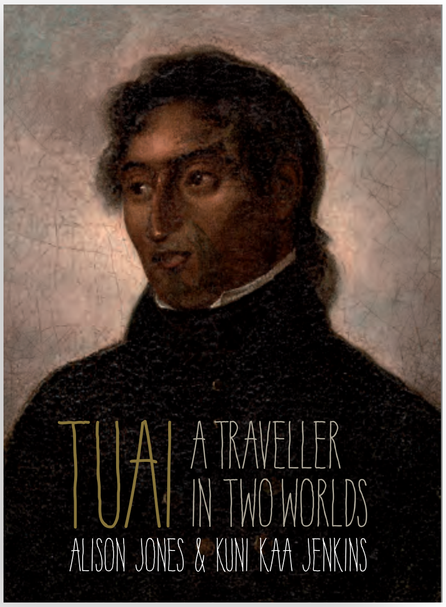
the new zealand project
max harris

on the back that describes author Max Harris as a "brilliant young New Zealander".

There seem to be two perspectives – one that the book has interesting ideas but is a little removed and academic, and another that Harris calls for a change in the way this country confronts politics is well-researched and authentic.

Personally, I like his call for the re-emergence of values-based politics which include care, community, and creativity; and I think we are reaching a tipping point where the politics of individualism and greed are cast aside. If that makes me, like the author, "unashamedly idealistic", well so be it. I happen to believe, like Max Harris, that we face some monumental challenges in the form of climate change and wealth inequality, to name a couple; and the way humanity responds now is incredibly important for future generations.

You don't have to agree with everything that Max Harris believes in, but it's hard to disagree with the idea that politics is ultimately about us, and the kind of country we want.


TUAI A TRAVELLER IN TWO WORLDS
ALISON JONES & KUNI KAA JENKINS

TUAI — A TRAVELLER IN TWO WORLDS

Nā Alison Jones raua ko Kuni Kaa Jenkins
Bridget Williams Books 2017
RRP: $39.99
Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates

This sumptuous book opens with two French artworks, both showing Tuai, then about 27 years old, standing in a waka in the south-eastern Bay of Islands. Tuai is from "the ancient Ngare Raumati iwi", and the large fortified pā, Kahuwera. By the year's end he would be dead. This book tells his story – a man who emphatically belonged in the Māori world, yet was one of the first generation of Māori to travel voluntarily and confidently overseas. Tuai heard stories from returning travellers, European explorers, traders, and missionaries; and in early 1817 he set off for England on an epic journey – his OE of discovery of that time. He became a leader who attempted to bring his people and Europeans together in a respectful and equitable way. The book suggests that he was one of the first so-called "modern" Māori, who acquired the trappings of European culture including friendships and knowledge, without losing his manawa Māori.

His older brother Korokoro encouraged Tuai to travel overseas, first to Australia and then further afield to England. Tuai became friends in Parramatta with another young Māori man, Tītere, and arranged a passage for them both to travel to England in April 1817 on the brig *Kangaroo*. The ship's master had other ideas however, and detoured via Tasmania for some extra-legal activities. The ship became leaky and had to be nursed along the east coast of Australia, and after very rough weather, needed repairs in Batavia (Jakarta), finally arriving in London in February 1818, ten months later.

Staying as guests of the Church Missionary Society with clergy, initially in London and later moving to the north-west, Tuai and Tītere saw many of industrial England's secrets of iron-making, pottery,

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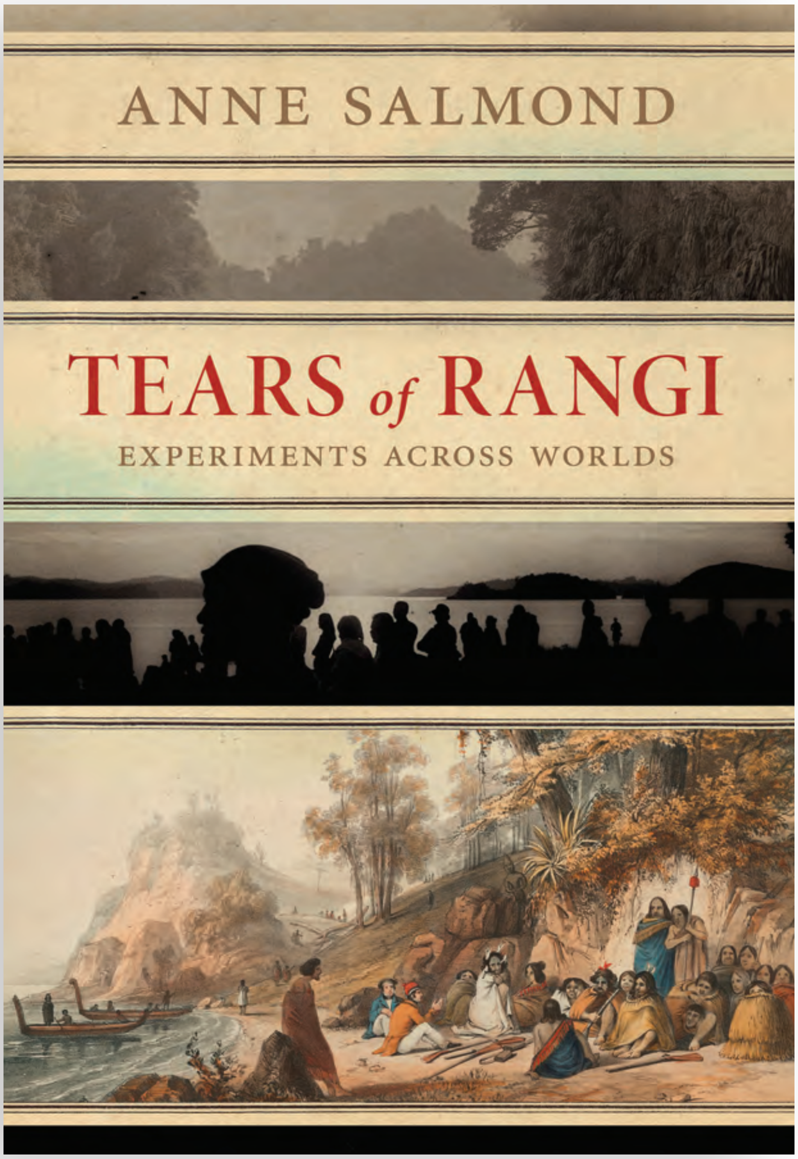
Sampson Karst (Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Mako) works for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu as a content creator in the Communications team. He lives in Christchurch with his wife Charlotte and son Ollie.

and the working classes. They learnt to use tools and to surprise the citizens of Shropshire with "the presence of surprisingly polite and intelligent cannibals." Gradually, after many experiences, they realised that Pākehā such as missionaries were only interested in coming to New Zealand to propose changes to Māori society. Hoping to get back to New Zealand before the next English winter – Tuai had been very sick the previous one – they embarked in December 1818 as paying passengers on a convict ship bound for Australia, on a voyage plagued by misadventure. Eventually they set sail again at the end of January, reaching Sydney at the end of June 1819.

It seemed Tuai had not succeeded with trying to meet Europeans halfway. He was still a Māori who held strongly to his spiritual and customary beliefs, and therefore not European enough. But his clothing was an unambiguous sign that he had been permanently changed by his adventures. For all that, he was unable to help his people to integrate the new arrivals into te ao Māori. But this is a very readable and engrossing tale of grasping opportunities when offered, and the politics around the often-fatal encounters between Europeans and Māori before Te Tiriti was signed, when Māori still had the advantage of numbers.



TEARS OF RANGI: EXPERIMENTS ACROSS WORLDS

Nā Dame Anne Salmond
Auckland University Press 2017
RRP: $65.00
Review nā Sampson Karst

I once heard Tā Tipene O'Regan say that the most enduring characteristic of Māori is our capacity for dynamic adaptation. Our journey from Polynesia in the Central Pacific through the rainforests of Te Waipounamu, right down to the tītī islands north of the Antarctic, was a passage of travel that made us Māori.

In her new book, Dame Anne Salmond explores this innate ability to accommodate change as we made contact with the western world. Salmond has written extensively on this subject, and starts by revisiting the period of early contact where ground rules were established for trade and commerce, and the knowledge systems that first came to interact. This section also deals with the first missionaries to arrive on our shores, and the impacts they had on our own system of polytheistic religion, where multiple deities were afforded forms of worship. The second half of the book delves into specific themes, such as our fragile native ecosystem, our rivers and ocean, and social constructs that have been influenced by our past and continue to reverberate into the present. When members of the east coast iwi, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, saw the *Endeavour* offshore nearly 250 years ago, they had to decide if the visitors would be welcomed. In 2011, when oil exploration vessels arrived in the same waters, they were met with hostility. Each chapter of events offers insights into the values, principles, and philosophies of the parties at play.

Salmond's passion for environmental issues shines through, as she shares personal stories of her role in this arena. A detailed and well-researched historical account is to be expected of this award-winning author. Prior knowledge of our turbulent colonial past or the Treaty of Waitangi is not required to enjoy *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds*, because Salmond acts as a guide through these chapters, presenting the facts as they unfold. One of my favourite parts of the book was one that showed portions of personal journal entries and correspondence between key characters. These excerpts offer a window into the social, cultural, and economic factors at play during crucial crossroads in our history.

This latest offering by Dame Anne Salmond will delight anyone with an interest in the history of our young country. I found I was able to enjoy the ride, and refrain from "cheerleading" for the Māori voice that is active and vibrant in her story. Salmond makes this easy, because she leaves no rock unturned in an effort to gain a comprehensive understanding of the echo of events that are our past. Her trademark gift for recounting events while drawing a line of continuity to the present makes for a captivating read.

CORRI ACKERMAN
Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe

He Tangata

PHOTOGRAPH SAMPSON KAARST

Corri Ackerman was born in Hawke's Bay and raised on Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū (Banks Peninsula). She attended Te Waipounamu Māori Girls' College for three years and then at age 17 went tipi-haere; over the next 10 years she moved to Te Tai Tokerau, Wellington, Auckland, back to Te Tai Tokerau, Australia and finally did a tiny stint in the Middle East. Throughout this time she returned regularly to Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū to work the Akaroa tourist season and stoke the home fires. It was while she was in the Middle East she felt a deep and aching pull from tūpuna to return home and mahia te mahi (do the work).

Seventeen years, four beautiful babies (including whāngai) and many adventures later, Corri now resides between Ōtautahi and the Peninsula. Other than being a mum (and a hōhā daughter) she is a Kaimirimiri and Teina Karongoā at Te Pito o Te Pā, a Whare Rongoa at Te Pā o Rākaihautū kura, offering her services in mirimiri (massage) and rongoā (traditional Māori medicine). In addition to this, Corri is active in the community as the Executive Secretary for Ōnuku Rūnanga, the Ōnuku Representative on the Environmental Portfolio and Parent Representative on Te Pā o Rākaihautū Te Tautarinui o Matariki. She is also in the final stages of her Small Business Management studies at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, although she jokes that she is possibly the worst student ever due to the many pōtae she wears!

Ko Mahia Whatarau-Tainui tōku Māmā, ko Pere Tainui tōku pāpā whāngai. Ki te taha o tōku māmā, he uri au o te tipuna Hape-Ki-Tū-Manui-o-Te-Rangi (Hape). Nō reira, ko Te Hapū Oneone, Waitaha me Kāti Māmoe ngā iwi. Ki te taha o tōku pāpā whāngai, he kaitiaki au o Ngāti Irakehu ki Ōnuku me Kāi Tārewa hoki. Ko Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū tōku Ūkaipō.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?

Mundane days are gold! Savour them!

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

My whānau and a car that can handle the peninsula roads (OK that's two things).

WHO OR WHAT INSPIRES YOU AND WHY?

Seeing tūpuna reflected in the lives of those around me inspires me. I'm very fortunate to be surrounded by people who mahia te mahi. They embody tika, pono, and aroha. What's more they're savvy, sassy, intelligent, passionate, compassionate, determined and committed. It gives me great hope.

I'm also inspired by whānau who work through the hard-life stuff, changing paradigms of generations, stepping out of the weeds and leading the way forward with hearts still intact – just beautiful!

HIGHLIGHT OF YOUR LAST YEAR AND WHY?

Although the passing of Koro Anotia (Bossy) has been a terrible low for us, it's been a massive year with many blessings and highlights. I think the best highlight was hearing my big girl tell me she was ready to relocate to Te Pā o Rākaihautū - I waited three years (with minimal nagging).

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?

"Extravagance" and "Corri" are not synonymous. "He moumou tonu" is. I'm a terrible scrooge.

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT? FAVOURITE PLACE?

Refer to mundane days (with my tamariki). My favourite place is the ngahere.

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?

Both.

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

The chocolate stays!

WHAT MEAL DO YOU COOK THE MOST?

Here's the confession - I've always been surrounded by fabulous cooks and chefs, so if I can get away with not cooking I don't. But if the whānau are subjected to my cooking it's usually some form of slow cooked stew – with red wine and quality stock for best results, clean flavours, made from scratch. If I'm really in the mood I'll make bread to go with it.

GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?

My tamariki – they're awesome and each their own unique person.

DO YOU HAVE AN ASPIRATION FOR NGĀI TAHU TO ACHIEVE BY 2025?

I'd like to see far more Papatipu Rūnanga collaboration and a greater commitment towards succession planning and capacity building. So "Hiring the Best" means looking first and foremost internally to Ngāi Tahu whānui. So our communities are thriving, the paepae are tino mahana and whānau are standing in the Mana Motuhake of their takiwā. Rangatiratanga from flax-roots up is where it's at whānau!

Whānau celebrating the unveiling of the pou on Whenua Hou, carved by Ngāi Tahu artist, James York.

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