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TE KARAKA

ANNIVERSARY EDITION

ABOUT NGĀI TAHU. ABOUT NEW ZEALAND

KANA/SPRING 2008

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10
*years on from
the Ngāi Tahu
Settlement*

In celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act, we'd like to highlight what made it possible...



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FROM THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU,
ANAKE GOODALL



The Ngāi Tahu Settlement is the point at which our tribal past and futures met. For nearly 150 years, generations of Ngāi Tahu strived to right Te Hapa o Niu Tirenī (The unfulfilled promise of New Zealand). As the Crown acted unconscionably in the acquisition of our lands and erosion of our cultural identity, our ancestors remained resolute in their pursuit of Te Kerēme, the Ngāi Tahu Claim. Te Kerēme, and the underlying vision of a strong, vibrant and limitless Ngāi Tahu future, formed a touchstone for our tribal identity over generations, defined the life works of many of our ancestors, and united us as a people.

The Ngāi Tahu Settlement was the platform for the creation of our own future, on our own terms, and the point of transition into the next leg of the tribal journey. Redress was neither fair nor full, but was the singularly most dominating and profound achievement in our contemporary history. Marking the settlement's 10-year anniversary is cause for celebration and commemoration of those who championed it to its conclusion. It is also a time for serious contemplation: we have the Settlement, but now we must move to realise the vision that carried it through the generations.

Though we have made some good decisions over the last ten years, I believe we are yet to fully assume the mantle of creating our future as Ngāi Tahu. Today we have an incomparable base of cultural and economic tools that both recognise our place in the landscape and provide the resources required for the replenishment of our identity in all its diversity. With this comes the responsibility to be as innovative in building with these tools as previous generations have been in securing them; in that sense, the work has just begun.

Our flagships have been economic success, Whai Rawa, the Ngāi Tahu Fund, our te reo initiatives and our mahinga kai work. We have also been committed in our defence of the settlement and our rights as Ngāi Tahu. This is shown in our work defending the foreshore and seabed at the United Nations, and more recently, the further historical claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. Our ancestral legacy, however, demands more. We must rebuild our communities with increased urgency, further nourish cultural regeneration and creativity, and most importantly, create a sustainable and prosperous future for Ngāi Tahu, collectively and individually, within the nation. For each of these obligations, there is no road map, other than one we design for ourselves – ānei tō tātou wero;

He mahi kai takata, he mahi kai hoaka

It is work that consumes people, as greenstone consumes sandstone

TE KARAKA

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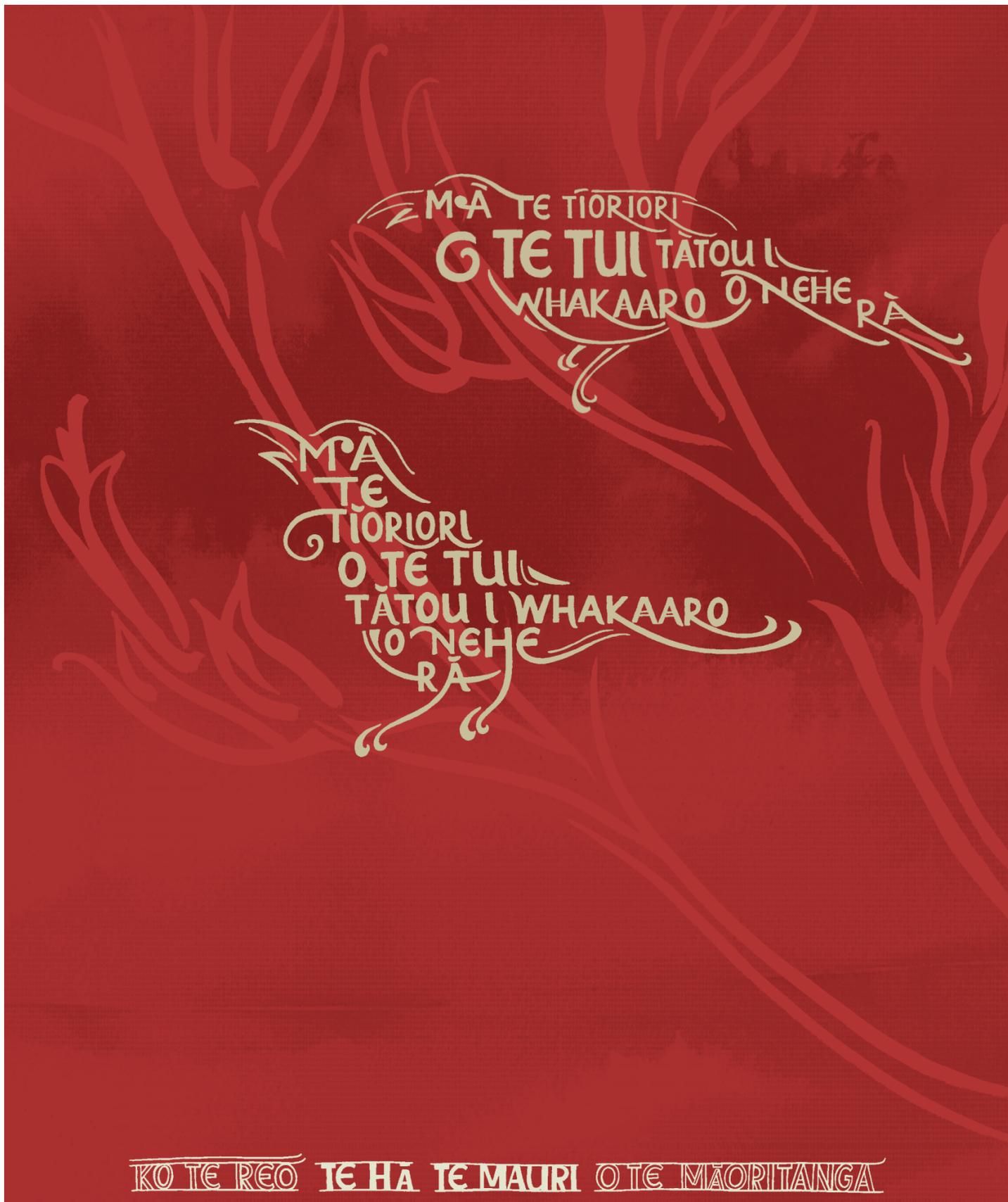
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10 YEARS ON

Ngāi Tahu prepares to celebrate 10 years since the iwi settled its claim with the Crown. In that time, much has changed for the iwi, who have once again become a dominant force within Aotearoa. TE KARAKA talks to the Ngāi Tahu A-team who brokered the settlement and reflect on what has come to pass. The iwi's current leaders also have their say on future directions for the tribe.

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Dame Silvia Cartwright, Tukuroirangi Morgan, Timoti Karetu and other New Zealand personalities comment on Ngāi Tahu – its changing and upward position within the country's political, commercial and social arena.

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STEPPING STONES

Māori tertiary students in the South Island are reaping the benefits of foresight, commitment and collaboration by key universities, polytechnics, and a little-known Ngāi Tahu initiative – Te Tapuae o Rehua.

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DRAWING INSPIRATION

Outside a sleepy South Canterbury township are caves containing Māori rock art. These forms have inspired artists from Theo Schoon and Gordon Walters to Ngāi Tahu's Fiona Pardington, Simon Kaan, Ross Hemera and Chris Heaphy. In an effort to preserve these taonga, the world's first rock art centre is being established.

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MANA MOANA

Mahinga kai – traditional food gathering practice – was a key part of the Ngāi Tahu Claim and the Sealord's Deal. In the first of four-part series on mātaihai reserves, plans for setting up these reserves and who are involved are explored.

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Chief Settlement Negotiator Tā Tipene O'Regan (page 20).



NGĀ HAU E WHĀ FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of TE KARAKA celebrates the tenth anniversary of the Ngāi Tahu Claim Settlement. And true to the Māori view of the future, we look back to where Ngāi Tahu has come from, and what the political and social landscape looked like during and after the claim. We survey the past to remember, to celebrate and, most of all, to learn.

This issue looks at the aspirations of the men who negotiated the claim. It also uncovers one of the hidden successes of the claim – the education and empowerment of Ngāi Tahu whānau throughout the tertiary sector in Te Waipounamu. A strong feature of the claim was customary fisheries management, and for this issue we embarked on a four-part series on the how, why and where mātaihai reserves are set up. We also check on the efforts to create the world's first Rock Art Centre and how these drawings from Arowhenua have inspired many contemporary artists. We welcome Booker Prize winner Ngāi Tahu writer Keri Hulme to our regular stable of columnists, and making a guest appearance is Te Radar aka Andrew Lumsden.

Former editor Phil Tumataroa has become the Communications Manager at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, and will take on the role of managing editor. Ko ahau te kaihautu hou o tēnei waka, o TE KARAKA. So now I stand at the prow of TE KARAKA and although I share no Ngāi Tahu blood, I share the ties of Polynesia with my Samoan heritage. I am honoured and humbled to produce a magazine that echoes the values and reflects the people of Ngāi Tahu, of Aotearoa.

nā FELOLINI MARIA IFOPO

He reta

TE KARAKA welcomes letters from readers. You can send letters by email to tekaraka@ngaitahu.iwi.nz or post them to: The editor, TE KARAKA, PO Box 13 046, Christchurch.

PASSIONATE ABOUT BREASTFEEDING

I particularly enjoyed the article on *Baby at Your Breast* in the Winter 2008 edition.

My children and husband are both of Ngāi Tahu descent. My girls, aged 4 years nine months and 2 years one month are both breastfed children. I am particularly passionate about breastfeeding and agreed with everything written in this article.

It was such a surprise for me to find this topic in your publication, but I was very pleased to see it. Bringing this very important health topic to your readers' attention can only be a positive action towards promoting breastfeeding – especially to our Māori population.

I would just like to highlight the fantastic support available free to all pregnant and breastfeeding women through La Leche

League. Your article mentioned the importance of the support for breastfeeding women as their babies age. This is exactly what La Leche League provides NZ-wide to women of all cultures.

There is a fantastic website and they are listed in the phone-books, and if the support people taking the calls or running the support groups for all cannot help, they will find someone who can. You can find it at www.lalecheleague.co.nz.

*Steph McCallum
Ashburton*

100 PER CENT SENSE

The articles *Loving Your Money* and *Tough Get Going* are fantastic!

They make 100 per cent sense to my wife and I. We really need more of these types of articles with each and every issue in order for people to really learn

how money grows (and shrinks). Money is a precious resource, so do not waste it on unnecessary items, like smokes and big exhausts! What would be really great would be some references to extra reading material or websites for those who are ready to become wealthy!

*Rodney Tate
Otago*

KEEPING UP

Thank you for reinstating TE KARAKA for overseas Ngāi Tahu. I was terribly disappointed when it stopped. At my age of 74, I need some way of keeping up with what is happening in Ngāi Tahu and also thank you for my kaumātua grant of \$600 as I am now living on a pension as I can't work anymore having had two doses of cancer.

*Brian Waterreus
Sunshine Coast, Australia*

WRONGED WEKA

I read with much interest the article in the last TE KARAKA issue, "Weka Returns". I found so much inaccurate information regarding the weka on the Chathams that, as a Chatham Island Elder, I felt compelled to put the record straight.

First of all, 60,000 birds! I wonder who counted them, most locals would put that figure at around 5000 max. The traditional hunting period for weka is usually carried out on the moonlight nights from the first full moon in March until the last full moon in June. Weka start breeding late July. The article states: "When the birds are moulting, they can't fly". I thought most New Zealanders would know that weka are a flightless bird. They do grow new feathers, but do not moult like other birds. As for the dogs herding them and

getting eight to 20 tonnes, words fail me. I think your informant is talking about the culling of Canada Geese.

A Chatham Island weka dog is usually a labrador that is trained to hunt and retrieve weka one at a time and bring it back to its owner, preferably alive, so that if it's unsuitable it can be let go again.

The Department of Conservation is not involved with the harvesting of weka on the island and there is no limit set on how many can be caught. However, Māori tradition does apply.

To remove weka from the Island, dead or alive, a permit from DOC is required, also the approval of a local kaumātua.

The most common way to cook weka is to slowly boil it until the skin and flesh is soft, then add potatoes and watercress to finish off. Weka can also be

pickled and salted – a method used before deep freezers.

*Ray Murphy
Chatham Islands*

WHY THE RECIPE?

I recently received the latest copy of TE KARAKA and read with interest the article referring to weka. I note that weka are now quite abundant on the Chatham Islands and the Department of Conservation allow a cull of 5000 birds to reduce the numbers.

The lucky recipients of some of this cull, at Arowhenua, were shown eating weka and the cooking of the bird was described at length including a recipe to cook the weka.

I am wondering why it was necessary to include the recipe as there is no way any bird living in Aotearoa can be caught and cooked.

In fact, to include the recipe

is an invitation to those weakly conservation-minded to catch and cook a few birds. After all, TE KARAKA provided a recipe to do so and therefore it must be OK to catch and cook the weka.

How wrong this assumption is. How many would bother making an enquiry to DOC to ascertain the protection status of the weka. Why bother?

For the sake of the weka and for the sake of the potential poacher, may I request that an article be included in the next magazine stating exactly what is the protection status of the weka (noting clearly the difference between the Chathams and the Mainland and Stewart Island – and of course the North Island).

Interestingly, the population on the Chathams is thriving but everywhere else population numbers have dropped alarmingly.

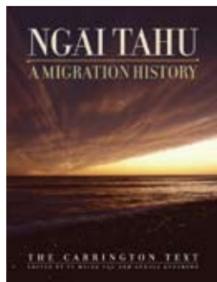
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The weka is a beautiful bird, inquisitive and friendly and resourceful and worth looking after.

*Derek Brown
Christchurch*

PS Congratulations on the production of a superb magazine.

Editor: Humble apologies for the inaccuracies in the story. We contacted the Department of Conservation (Weka Recovery Group leader Rhys Burns) to find out more information to address the concerns in the letters above. So far, there has been no count of weka on Rēkohu/Wharekauri (Chatham Island). Rēkohu annual harvest limit is set at 5000. In Te Waipounamu, it is illegal to kill weka or take eggs, or bring dead or alive weka from Rēkohu, unless you have a permit from DOC, which we did for the weka in the last Kai a te Marae feature. (continued page 66)



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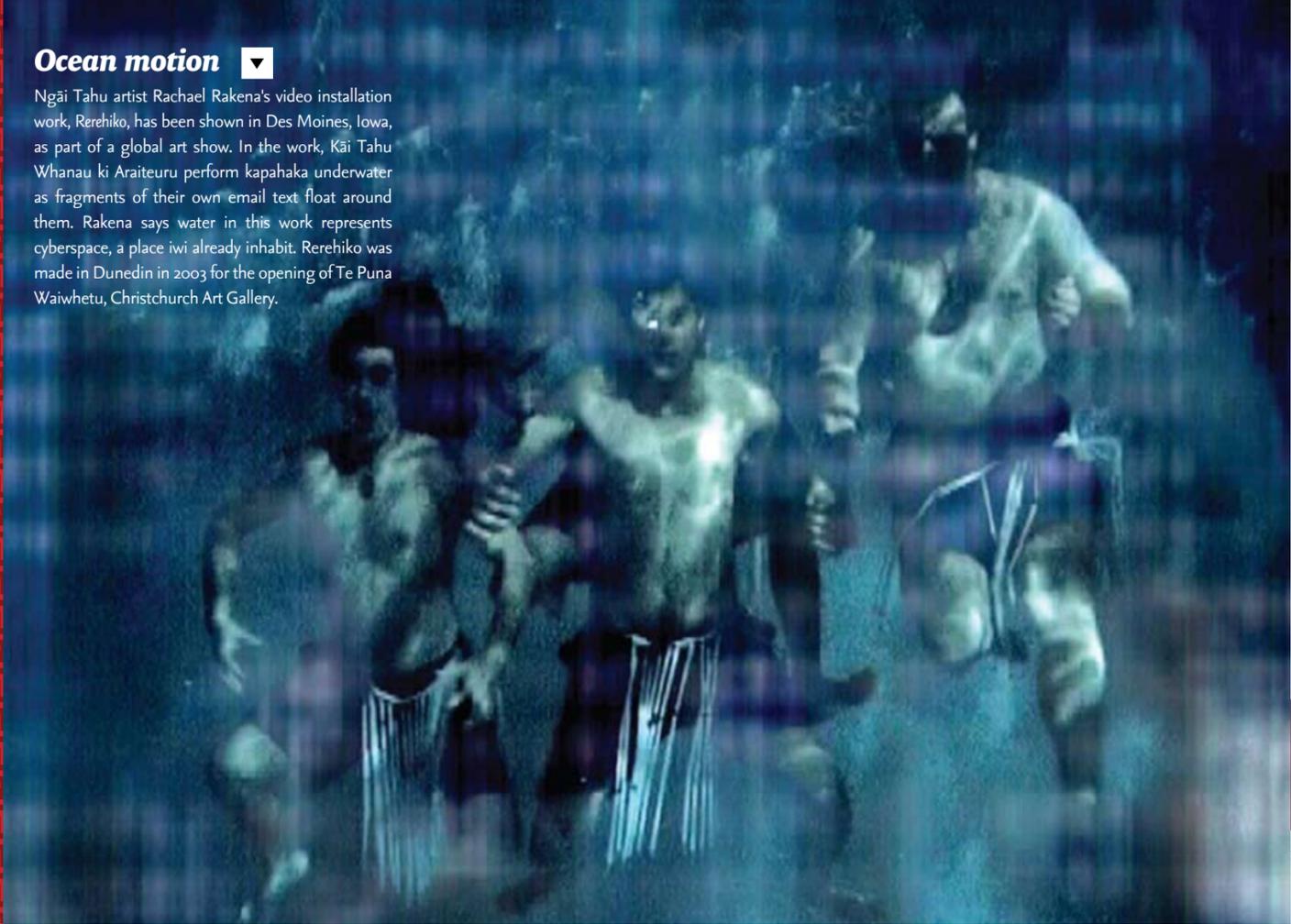
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PACIFIC CATCH
MARKET FRESH SEAFOOD

Ocean motion

Ngāi Tahu artist Rachael Rakena's video installation work, *Rerehiko*, has been shown in Des Moines, Iowa, as part of a global art show. In the work, Kāi Tahu Whanau ki Araiteuru perform kapahaka underwater as fragments of their own email text float around them. Rakena says water in this work represents cyberspace, a place iwi already inhabit. *Rerehiko* was made in Dunedin in 2003 for the opening of Te Puna Waiwhetu, Christchurch Art Gallery.



Cultural health

Could a person's ability in te reo be linked to aspects of mental health for people who self-identify as Māori? A Harvard University medical student thinks so. His published paper stops short of establishing a link between cultural identity and positive mental health, but says such a link could be studied.

Takitimu first

The voyaging pathway of te waka a Takitimu is being celebrated in a festival of culture, oral, performing and visual arts in November in the Hawkes Bay. The Takitimu festival is hosted by Ngāti Kahungunu and starts with the National Māori Music Awards. The festival will bring together 1,500 artisans, craftspeople, musicians, performers, singers and actors from eight iwi including Ngāi Tahu and three Pacific nations of Takitimu descent over five days. For more information go to www.takitimufestival.co.nz

Did you know?

Did you know *kōanga*, *kōaka*, *kana* and *mahuru* are all words for spring?



Māori artists honoured

Te Waka Toi, the Māori arts board of Creative New Zealand, recently honoured kaumātua and kuia who have contributed to the retention and development of Māori arts and culture. Te Waka Toi chairwoman Dr Ngahua Te Awekotuku says the award winners were leaders who within their communities and their artform had worked tirelessly over many years and helped develop what are today thriving and exciting Māori arts. "Through their dedication and hard work we are assured of a prosperous, creative future for our

mokopuna." Pictured are the 2008 Te Waka Toi recipients from left to right (back row) George Henare (Ngāti Porou) — Te Tohu Toi Kē for his outstanding contribution to Māori theatre, Waiana Jones (Te Arawa, Te Aupouri) — Te Waka Toi Scholarship, Katerina Daniels (Te Arawa) — Tā Kingi Ihaka award, which recognises a lifetime contribution to the development and retention of Māori arts and culture, Aimee-Rose Stephenson (Ngāti Mārau) — Te Waka Toi Scholarship. Front row (left to right): Rapiata Darcy Ria

(Rongowhakaata) — Tā Kingi Ihaka award, Kerani Bartlett (Ngāti Kahungunu) — Tā Kingi Ihaka award, Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāpuhi) — Te Tohu Tiketike a Te Waka Toi premiere award for her outstanding contribution to the retention and development of te reo, Dr Merimeri Penfold (Ngāti Kuri) — Te Tohu Aroha mō Ngōi Kumeroa Pewhairangi award for contribution to te reo, Matekino Lawless (Tainui) — Tā Kingi Ihaka award, Rangiteremauri Tari (Tūhoe) — Tā Kingi Ihaka award. Photographer Michael Hall.

Retail Therapy

Whakaaria Mai

A new Māori retail gift shop, named Whakaaria Mai, has opened in Christchurch central city. Based in High Street, it specialises in photography, jewellery and clothing produced by Māori artists, and is hoping to expand its range of wares.



He Pātaka Kupu

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, (the Māori Language Commission) has launched *He Pātaka Kupu* — te kai a te rangatira, a monolingual Māori language dictionary for highly proficient speakers. The dictionary is the culmination of seven years' work from a team of dedicated writers. It is one of the largest monolingual dictionaries to be published in the Pacific, and is the largest of its size and genre to be published in New Zealand.

Korowai technology

Dunedin artist Rokahurihia Ngarimu-Cameron (Te Whānau a Apanui, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa, Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Airihī) has pioneered a technique that reduces the time needed to create a traditional korowai (Māori cloak). She has devised a way to thread the harakeke fibre through a Western loom, reducing the creation time from several years to several months. Rokahurihia learned weaving from her late grandmother, who was present when the Pink and White Terraces were destroyed by the Mount Tarawera eruption in 1886. By hand over two years, she made a korowai which depicted the disaster.



Bird Book

E Kūkū te Kererū was launched at Rāpaki in August. Edited by Craig Pauling (Ngāti Te Ruahikihiki, Ngāti Tūāhuriri, and Ngāti Te Rakiwhakaputa) and Heidi Stevens, the book includes oral histories and research gathered by the Kaupapa Kererū project. It is published by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. The book costs \$19.95 and can be ordered by emailing info@kaupapakereru.co.nz or contact: 03 3712673. For more information check out www.kaupapakereru.co.nz.

He Kupu Kāi Tahu

He whakataukī mō te mahuru.

Some proverbs relating to spring.

Te whā o mahuru Āe! Kā rā o toru whitu.

The sun from the third to seventh months. An expression for a warm spring day.

Ka tangi te pīpīwharauoa ko te karere a mahuru.

When the cuckoo cries it is the herald of spring.

He whakataukī mō te mahi me te mahuru.

The following proverbs are rebukes of idleness and also identify the agricultural work season.

I hea koe i te ao o te kōwhai?

Where were you at the time of the kōwhai (when it was flowering; that is, springtime/planting time)?

Takē kōanga, whakapiri ngahuru.

Absent at spring, close by at harvest.

I whea koe i te putanga o te rau o te kōtukutuku?

Where were you when the leaves of the kotukutuku (fuchsia) began to appear?

Kōanga, tangata tahi; ngahuru, puta noa.

At planting a single person, at harvest a multitude. People are more eager to share the fruits of labour than the labour itself.



Tribal lullabies

Amster Reedy (Te Aitanga-a-Makahi, Putanga, Ngāti Uepohatu, Ngāti Porou) uses his baby mokopuna as part of his PhD research on Māori lullabies, of oriori, which are recited at birth, during a child's upbringing or to observe the death of a child. A child-rearing tradition is part of the Māori world. "Orioi are part of this," says Reedy. "It isn't just about the haka."

Technology and heads

Laser ablation technology will be used to investigate teeth in mummified Māori heads in research that might make it easier to repatriate the toi moko to their home regions. Mineralogy of their home soils and vegetables could be identified in their teeth. A Waikato University chemist will work with art historian Dr Ngahua Te Awekotuku.

Not quite there

He smacked into the mountain and bounced upside down, said "world's fastest Māori" Marty Roestenburg (Ngāti Kahungunu) of his United States Pikes Peak International Hill Climb attempt in July. He was probably going too fast at the Bottomless Pit corner, about three-quarters of the way up, and came to grief in his New Zealand-built space-frame Mitsubishi Evo 8.

Ruki's Voice

A drama with a mainly Ngāti Tūāhuriri cast and crew, and filmed in the Tuahiwi area will be shown on Māori Television later this year. Written by Gabrielle Huria (Ngāti Tūāhuriri), *Ruki's Voice* is about 10 per cent in te reo Māori and features the story of a grieving mother who can no longer sing the opera she loves.

Uncle Bill's predictions

I have a photo taken that day. The sky is blue; my mother Mary is holding her then-youngest grandson. He looks grumpy, hand on his Nanna's breast: she is smiling her beautiful smile.

Somewhere out of range are three more of her grandkids, and one of my brothers and his wife.

"It's a pity your Uncle Bill can't be here," Mary says, and I agree. I know she is regretting many other people who can't be here, but her brother was the latest death in the family.

It's a decade ago, and a decade is a significant chunk of most people's lives. I can't remember much of the day, just that it was warm, with the odd wicked gust of wind, one such blew over a number of chairs for manuhiri dignitaries. They were empty at the time. I recall lingering around the mōkihi tethered at the edge of the sea. I can bring to the surface the emotion I felt when the apology from the Crown was read out. But most of all I remember an anecdote my mother told me.

I'd made a comment that I'd been on many marae but this was the first time for Ōnuku. She said, "It's not, you know," and then told me a family story.

By upbringing and inclination, I love stories, but family stories are special. If they can be backed by a paper trail, my cup runneth over. And this one has a kind of paper trail behind it. I'm the family archivist, and among the archival items are the usual things – whakapapa, photos, newspaper clippings, kids' art works. And letters ... there is one there headed Purakanui and dated 5th Jan 1910. The writing is semi-copperplate, with almost no punctuation. "My Dear Miss Matches" it begins, and then details family illnesses. Near the bottom of the first page, the writer notes: "I never had such an illness for a long time twice I thought sending for Tom to come home but I thought of him being so far away" and the letter is ended "from your sincere friend Mrs E. Miller".

Mrs E. Miller was born Emma Stevens (or Stephens) in 1859. Her mother was Maraea (or Maria) Driver, born in 1840, eldest daughter of Motoitoi and Richard Driver, and William S was a migrant from England. He died within a year of the marriage. Quite some time later, Maraea married a Scotsman, Gilbert Mouat and had a lot of kids. In 1877, Emma married John Miller (or Millar – patience! There's more of this variant name business to come ...).

Keri Hulme casts her mind back 10 years, when the Crown's apology was read out. It was a pity Uncle Bill could not have been there.



So, that's Mrs E. Miller, but "Tom"? "My dear Miss Matches"? Mary Ann Yorston Matches, whose father arrived from the Orkneys in the early 1860s, was the eldest child of Anne Dinnington (or Dennington) and William Matches. They farmed at Tōtara, and had a lot of kids. Mary Matches left school at 12: I have many letters from her, dating from my very early childhood, and she writes with a round careful childish hand.

There's a newspaper clipping in the archive: *Wedding at Tōtara* is the headline – "the marriage of Mr and Mrs Matches' eldest daughter Mary, to Mr Thomas Richard Gilbert Miller, of Purakanui". Fourteen column inches later the article finishes, "The happy couple then left by motor car to catch the southern express, their destination being Invercargill, where they intended to spend the honeymoon." There was family land in the south ...

And that's "Tom" then, with his lovely list of names?

Well, the first paper mention I have of him is in "Middle Island Native Claims 1889 and 1890" Sess.11 1897, Legislative Council. There he is, listed No. 8 under the Pūrākaunui (ahh! The correct spelling at last!) Tame Rakakino Mira, m. h.c under 14.

Indeed he'd be under 14 – he was born November 6th, 1884, fourth child of Emma and John Miller (or Millar. Or Mira.) They went on to have lots more kids.

You'll find Emma in the Middle Island Native Claims list. You'll find Maraea Mouat (and a lot of other Mouats), but you won't find John in the same section. He's towards the back, in the "List of Members of the Ngāi Tahu Tribe already severally possessed of more land than is

proposed to be given". And indeed, at that time, he did have quite a bit of land. The birding island Kai Mohu. Land at Tautuku, 1000 acres shared with many others. A reserve at Pūrākaunui, some 300 acres, "certificate of title to John Millar, h.c and 5 others in trust for themselves". The Long Beach sections. Land on the West Coast at Bruce Bay and Mawhera through his mother Piraurau. Tieke Mira has shares further south. Tiaki Mira is one of the trustees for 100 acres at the end of Lake Hāwea. It was a fishing easement, "a special Reserve made for the benefit of all members of the Ngāitahu tribe who are now or maybe hereafter resident south of the Waitaki and extending to and including Pūrākaunui". This was supposedly forever: "The estate to be absolutely inalienable except to his Majesty and her heirs and successors."

When Tieke died, in 1917, he had already been involved in several Māori Land Court actions, trying to protect some of his land interests. By that time, Tom and Mary had had their first child. William Gilbert Rendall Miller, my Uncle Bill, was nearly a year old. His sister, my mother Mary, was born in 1927. Tom and Mary didn't have a lot of kids, only my uncle Raynee after.

By the time I was born (fast forward to 1947), a lot of the land was gone. Title of some bits had been consolidated (the farm at Pūrākaunui for example); other rights or sections had been

Writer Keri Hulme is southern Kāi Tahu but lives in "Big O" – Okarito. Among her passions are whitebait and family history. In 1985 Keri's book The Bone People won the Booker Prize.

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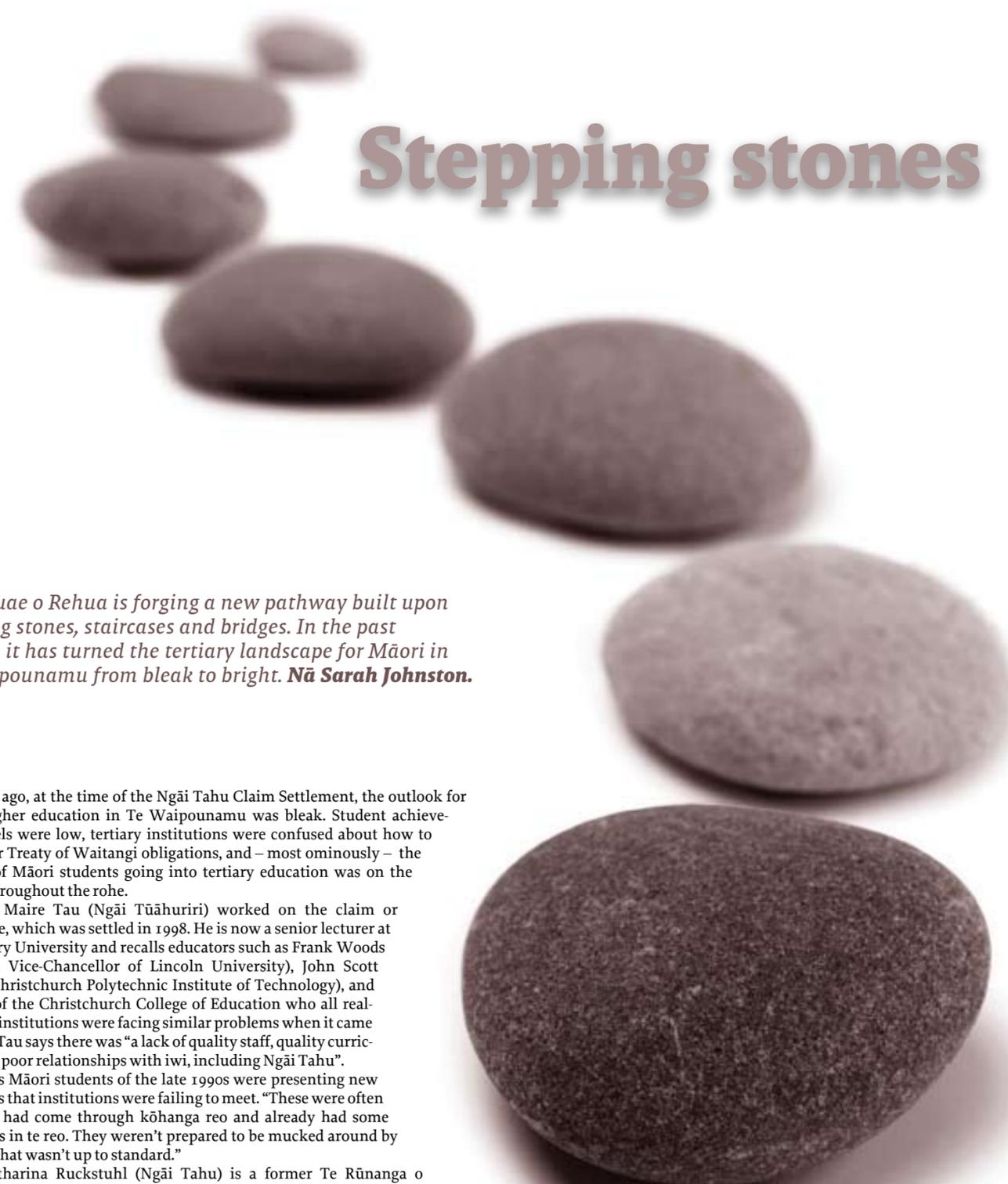
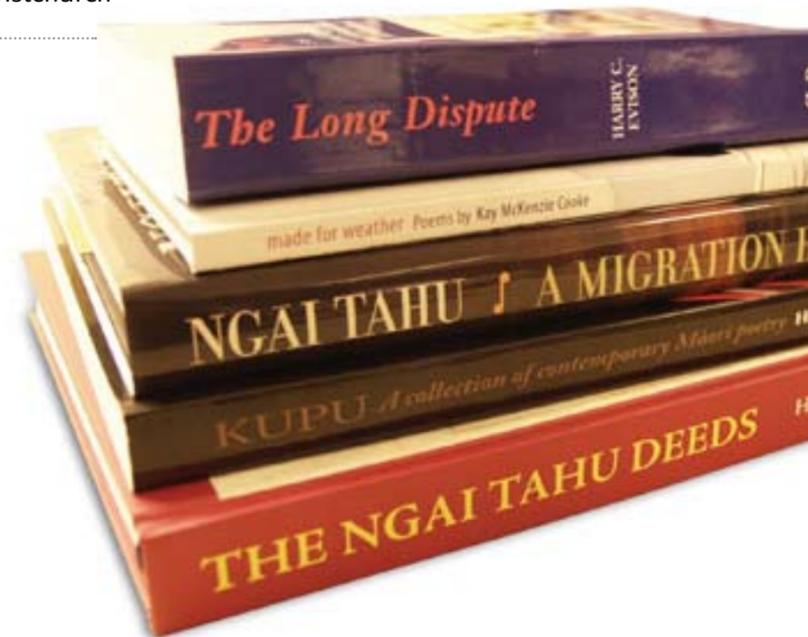
edited by Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson

KUPU: A COLLECTION OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI POETRY

by Hana O'Regan and Charisma Rangipunga

MADE FOR WEATHER

Poems by Kay McKenzie Cooke



*Te Tapuae o Rehua is forging a new pathway built upon stepping stones, staircases and bridges. In the past decade, it has turned the tertiary landscape for Māori in Te Waipounamu from bleak to bright. **Nā Sarah Johnston.***

Ten years ago, at the time of the Ngāi Tahu Claim Settlement, the outlook for Māori higher education in Te Waipounamu was bleak. Student achievement levels were low, tertiary institutions were confused about how to meet their Treaty of Waitangi obligations, and – most ominously – the number of Māori students going into tertiary education was on the decline throughout the rohe.

Dr Te Maire Tau (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) worked on the claim or Te Kerēme, which was settled in 1998. He is now a senior lecturer at Canterbury University and recalls educators such as Frank Woods (the then Vice-Chancellor of Lincoln University), John Scott (CEO at Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology), and Ian Hall of the Christchurch College of Education who all realised their institutions were facing similar problems when it came to Māori. Tau says there was “a lack of quality staff, quality curriculum and poor relationships with iwi, including Ngāi Tahu”.

He says Māori students of the late 1990s were presenting new challenges that institutions were failing to meet. “These were often kids who had come through kōhanga reo and already had some good skills in te reo. They weren’t prepared to be mucked around by teaching that wasn’t up to standard.”

Dr Katharina Ruckstuhl (Ngāi Tahu) is a former Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu education project leader and current senior research analyst at the University of Otago. She says a lack of qualified staff was only one of the problems: “There was no Māori leadership at universities. If some of the academic leaders were Māori, it was by coincidence. There was no strong Māori curriculum focus and many Māori students were boxed into Māori Studies departments.”

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Academic leaders got together with Te Rūnanga representatives and decided to set up Te Tapuae o Rehua. It was set up as a registered company, “because of the discipline that structure imposes”, says Tau, who became Te Tapuae’s first CEO in 1998. The name translates as The Pathway of Rehua, who is the guardian of sacred knowledge, and is symbolic of achievement and the pursuit of knowledge.

Te Tapuae’s bilingual motto, “Ka taea te pae tawhiti – nitere ultra fines”, encapsulates the goals of the company, both in meaning (strive beyond the horizon) and by pairing te reo with Latin, the ancient language of academic achievement. Its aims were to increase Māori participation and achievement in tertiary education and to ensure high-quality course content for Māori tertiary students.

The first tertiary institutions to partner with Ngāi Tahu contributed representatives, who together with Ngāi Tahu leaders comprised the foundation board of trustees, in charge of governance of Te Tapuae. The partners were Te Rūnanga, CPIT, Lincoln University, the University of Otago and the University of Canterbury. The Christchurch College of Education was a foundation partner, and following a merger, is now represented by the University of Canterbury. The newest partner is Otago Polytechnic, which joined Te Tapuae in 2006.

A Board of Studies was also established that would concentrate initially on improving Māori studies curriculum and content.

Dr Brendon Puketapu (Te Ātiawa, Whanganui, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Rauru, Ngā Ruahingarangi), who has just stepped down as Te Tapuae’s most recent CEO, says the foundation board was one of incredible influence. “You had the vice-chancellors of all the South Island universities, the CEO of a major South Island polytechnic and the kaiwhakahaere of Ngāi Tahu – all sitting at the same table. You could not have asked for a better forum to influence the education landscape for Ngāi Tahu, and also Māori in the South Island in general.”

He says over the years he has heard Te Tapuae referred to somewhat glibly as a “forum for dialogue”, but that throwaway phrase has real and significant meaning. “In no other place do these institutions have the opportunity to engage with the mana whenua, the dominant tribal group, in a way that allows them to better understand the needs, goals and interests of Māori and look for ways to achieve them,” says Puketapu.

By bringing the tertiary education providers together, Te Tapuae became a powerful forum for collaboration and dialogue. It was neutral ground where ideas and initiatives to boost Māori educational opportunities and achievement could be discussed and more importantly, shared. At a time of reform in the tertiary education sector, when universities and polytechnics were being forced to compete for students, Te Tapuae asked these South Island institutions to come together and work collaboratively to support Māori development.

Professor Hirini Matunga (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Paerangi – Atiu, Cook Islands) is assistant vice-chancellor Māori at



“You could not have asked for a better forum (Te Tapuae o Rehua Board of Studies) to influence the education landscape for Ngāi Tahu, and also Māori in the South Island in general.”

BRENDON PUKETAPU
Former CEO, Te Tapuae o Rehua

Lincoln University. He has been involved with Te Tapuae since it began: “Te Tapuae was really before its time in getting tertiary leaders to take a collaborative approach. It was trying to do things the Tertiary Education Commission now agrees are important – Te Tapuae realised there was quite a small pool of potential Māori students in the South Island, so why be overly competitive for them? There might be much more to gain by taking a collaborative approach and providing pathways for Māori students through the tertiary system.”

One early initiative Te Tapuae took was to help Māori find those pathways into tertiary study. Says Tau: “Secondary schools were dumping Māori students. They were leaving school without the qualifications they would need to get into university, let alone the skills to succeed there. So with CPIT we established a bridging course, He Tohu Pōkairua. Tahu Potiki and Hana O’Regan came on board as teaching staff.”

As well as mātauranga Māori, the course gave students grounding in essay writing, philosophy, logic and the mindset they would need to succeed at university or further tertiary education.

The combination of teachers skilled in te reo and tikanga, combined with rigorous academic standards, proved a success, with many of He Tohu Pōkairua’s graduates going on to achieve post-graduate university qualifications and successful careers. That course has now morphed into Te Hapara at CPIT.

Other Te Tapuae partner institutions have now established similar bridging or foundation courses.

As well as getting more Māori school leavers to realise tertiary education was an achievable goal, Te Tapuae has worked with its partners to develop student pathways across the South Island’s tertiary institutions. This meant a student with a qualification in te reo from CPIT, for example, or a graduate from one of the bridging

courses could then get recognition for that qualification when he or she moved on to further study at a university.

This might seem an obvious, logical step for tertiary institutions to have taken, but it wasn’t until dialogue between the partners was facilitated by Te Tapuae that the stepping stones were set in place.

Puketapu says: “Te Tapuae has proved a valuable independent broker between competing institutions. Progress with credit recognition and allowing students to move between institutions has certainly been given a boost through the Te Tapuae partnership. Prior to this the situation was seemingly intractable.”

As well as establishing stepping stones for Māori students to find their way, Te Tapuae’s partner institutions developed a staircase approach, which meant a Māori school leaver who initially might not have the qualifications to attend university could take the first step on a bridging course. Then the next step, assisted by a scholarship (administered by Te Tapuae) might allow the student to move up to undergraduate study at a local university.

In time, with support from Māori academic leaders and student support

PHOTOGRAPH BY SHARDEVINE

Many routes, many destinations

He Tohu Pōkairua graduates tell their stories

Te Ari Prendergast

NGĀI TAHU

“I did He Tohu Pōkairua in 2000 after leaving Aranui High School. I had missed out on Bursary but I knew I wanted to go on to tertiary study.

“Coming from a bilingual school like Aranui, not many students I knew were planning on going to university, so it was good at CPIT because you built up relationships that carried through when you went on to further tertiary study. It took away some of the scariness of going to university.



“I studied resource management at Lincoln, and did my masters degree, majoring in ecology and looking at predator impact on kererū on Banks Peninsula. I had to make a decision on whether to do several years more study and go for my PhD in science, or whether I should spend those years of extra study doing something I had always dreamed of – architecture.

“Now I’m in my second year at Victoria University School of Architecture in Wellington. I’m working part-time as a science researcher to keep the student loan down – looking at Māori involvement in agriculture and biotechnology.

“I know my future lies in architecture. It feels like a really good fit, and I can still apply the things I learned in studying ecology.”

Henare Johnson

NGĀTI MANAWA, NGĀTI WHARE, TŪHOE

“I was born in Murupara and moved south when I was seven. In 1999, I had finished school at Aranui High School and had no clear plan for my future. I think my only qualification was Bursary Māori. Tertiary education was definitely not on my agenda. No-one in my whānau had gone to university so it wasn’t something that even entered my mind as a possible option.

“In town one day I met up with an old schoolmate who told me about this bridging course at polytech. The two things about it that were a big draw for me were it had a media component, which I liked the sound of, and I could get a scholarship to do the course, so it wouldn’t cost me anything.

“Te Maire (Tau), Tahu (Potiki) and Hana (O’Regan) were all tutors on He Tohu Pōkairua, and they made sure we developed the discipline that we would need if we were to go on to further study. I remember Te Maire telling us he was going to mark our papers at the same level as he would mark a university masters student. It was tough, but it meant that when I finally got to university, first and even second-year level courses were pretty easy by comparison.

“By the end of the course, my horizons had really opened up and I realised tertiary study was a possibility. I got the opportunity to apply for a scholarship through Te Tapuae o Rehua. I won the scholarship and began studying Māori



training and development and resource management at Lincoln. I graduated in 2002, but after some work experience realised resource management wasn’t for me.

“I was a kapa haka performer at Ngā Hau e Whā marae and realised my culture and tourism was a field I could move into. I did a couple of postgraduate papers in indigenous planning and development in tourism, and was just about to finish my Masters degree, when I heard about a job at Tourism New Zealand.

“That was in 2004, and I have had a number of roles with TNZ since then.

“I had never been outside New Zealand, and now with my work I have been to the USA, Canada, China, India and Japan. I work with travel representatives overseas, training them to promote New Zealand as a destination, and I’ve found whanaungatanga and my Māori culture has made it easy for me to get along with people of all cultures.”

Alayna Renata

NGĀI TAHU, TŪWHARETOA

“I applied for He Tohu Pōkairua while I was at Queen’s High School in Dunedin. I got Bursary Māori and PE, but I was only 17 so moving away from home to study was a big step. I had to learn to use a washing machine for the first time. The whānau aspect of Pōkairua was perfect for me as a 17-year-old, and by completing the course you got University Entrance, which was an incentive.

“The workload was a combination of kapa haka, mythology and serious academic essay writing, and you had to choose an elective. My first choice wasn’t available, so I had to do resource management. I hated it, but I learned so much and now it’s become a passion for me.

“After He Tohu Pōkairua, my horizons really broadened. I did a Bachelor of Landscape Architecture at Lincoln, graduating in 2006. I then set up my own landscape architecture business, specialising in Māori community projects. Now I’m working in Wellington for MWH consultants (a global consultancy group) – still specialising in Māori clients.”



structures put in place by Te Tapuae's partners, the student might climb the staircase to a post-graduate masters degree or PhD.

Another role of Te Tapuae, and one which many people probably know as the public face of the organisation, is the administration of the grants and scholarships available to Ngāi Tahu and other Māori students. From 1998 to the present day, Te Tapuae has handed out almost \$3.5 million in scholarships. These are funded from several sources – either directly by Te Rūnanga (as in the case of the Kā Pūtea grants and scholarships), or by corporate sponsors, such as the Environmental Science and Research (ESR) scholarships for students studying sciences, or Transpower's scholarships to encourage more Māori to consider careers in the fields of science, engineering, technology and mathematics. Other scholarships encourage students to engage in research in fields that are of particular interest to Ngāi Tahu, such as the health and biodiversity of indigenous flora and fauna.

Two years ago, Te Tapuae's kaupapa of collaboration lead to its partners undertaking a major stocktake of Māori research going on at their institutions. Again, this required a degree of trust and knowledge sharing that might never have happened without Te Tapuae.

"We said we really need to know what's going on in Māori research within each institution", says Matunga. "This forced them to do a bit of self analysis, and I think most of them were quite surprised to find out just what research they were doing. The stocktake has provided a good baseline for Ngāi Tahu itself to know what each institution is doing and develop some clarity about what its own research interests are."

A direct spinoff from the stocktake has been a symposium on Māori research, Ngā Kete o Rehua, which drew Māori academics and researchers from across the country to the University of Canterbury in September.

In the 10 years since it was established, Te Tapuae o Rehua's partners have implemented a number of measures to support Māori studying at the institutions. Māori assistant vice-chancellors now provide leadership at universities and increased kaupapa Māori support networks mean students now have more familiar faces to approach if they need help, whether it's fine-tuning their essay writing skills or finding a flat.

In addition, Te Tapuae's Board of Studies has worked to improve the content and delivery of Māori studies courses. "We looked at how we could boost to reo Kāi Tahu and Kāi Tahu content across the curriculum," says Ruckstuhl, a former board member. As those improvements were set in place, the Board of Studies focus widened. "Ngāi Tahu were looking ahead", says Tau. "We wanted students who were strong and comfortable in their culture, but we also knew we needed commerce and science graduates who could help build capacity in the iwi."

Puketapu says the discussion with partners about Māori and particularly, Ngāi Tahu content, has broadened beyond the walls of the Māori Studies department. "It used to be: 'What's happening with te reo, tikanga, mātau-



"There has to be an ability to apply Māori thinking across a wide range of disciplinary areas, given that Māori students are not just studying Māori Studies."

PROFESSOR HIRINI MATUNGA
Assistant vice-chancellor Māori, Lincoln University

ranga Māori, within that department? Now the partnership is talking about what is happening with te reo, tikanga, matauranga Māori with respect to the purpose, the goals for Māori engagement and achievement within partner institutions? It's much more pervasive and a very important shift."

Matunga from Lincoln agrees. "There has to be an ability to apply Māori thinking across a wide range of disciplinary areas, given that Māori students are not just studying Māori Studies. That reflects the student-centric approach of Te Tapuae – rather than funneling students down a particular track, whether it's Māori Studies or whatever. That's not our role. We are here to help Māori students make a choice, and to get where they want to go."

Te Tapuae's scope continues to broaden as it moves into its second decade. With former CEO Brendon Puketapu moving recently into a new role as director Māori strategy for the Tertiary Education Commission, Darryn Russell, director Māori development, office of the vice-chancellor University of Otago has taken over as acting CEO.

With several years experience on Te Tapuae's Board of Studies, Russell (Ngāi Tahu) is looking forward to picking up on new initiatives to address the issues facing Māori students in secondary school which stop them moving onto tertiary education.

"The performance of Māori in the compulsory education sector – the percentages of Māori making it through to Year 13 and the potential audience for university – has to be a concern for us. So we're looking at how we enhance the opportunity for Māori to have options available to them. We have projects looking at supporting and mentoring students in Years 9 to 13, as that seems to be where performance falls away for Māori," says Russell.

Tū Kanohi Ora, a pilot scheme with six Canterbury secondary schools, aims to engage students and provide them with networks to achieve their goals. With assistance from Te Pūtea Whakatipu Trust, Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Rūnanga and the Ministry of Education, Te Tapuae is working with a cluster of secondary schools to support Māori students to stay engaged in learning and to achieve. Te Tapuae is also carrying out a major revamp of its website, making it more accessible for students to easily find out about the wide range of support available to them, to help them make the move to tertiary education and a brighter future.

"There's nothing like seeing a student who feels supported at a time when they most need it," says Puketapu. "Or even better, a student who is very focused and self-absorbed and doing well because they experience success."

Matunga agrees: "The great thing about seeing a Māori student achieve academically is the ripple effect. When you get a success story with someone who might be the first of their whānau to go to university, it has a flow-on through the family. It's really satisfying."

In the boardroom

Board of Trustees

Te Tapuae's foundation Board of Directors was led by Ngāi Tahu kaumātua Tā Tipene O'Regan who was the foundation chairman and independent director in 1998. In 2005 O'Regan stepped down when he became Assistant Vice Chancellor, Māori at the University of Canterbury. Dr Irihapeti Ramsden was appointed as independent director to the founding Board of Directors. With her passing, she was followed by the late Maria Tini, another well-known Ngāi Tahu identity.

After O'Regan's departure, the position of chair was filled by the then Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu CEO, Tahu Potiki. The current chairman is Colin Mantell (Ngāi Tahu).

Previous directors included John Scott of CPIT, Dr Frank Wood of Lincoln University; Dr Graham Fogelberg, University of Otago, and Professor Darryl Le Grew, University of Canterbury. Prior to the merger of the Christchurch College of Education with the university, the previous chief executives Dr Ian Hall followed by Dr Graham Stoop were also shareholder directors on Te Tapuae's board.

Professor Le Grew was succeeded by Professor Roy Sharp who has recently moved to the role of chief executive with the Tertiary Education Commission. In 2006 Otago Polytechnic became a Te Tapuae partner and since then has been represented on the board by chief executive Phil Ker. The other current directors on the Te Tapuae Board are Professor Ian Town, acting Vice-Chancellor, University of Canterbury; Dr Neil Barns, CEO of CPIT; Professor Roger Field, Vice-Chancellor, Lincoln University; Professor David Skegg, Vice-Chancellor at University of Otago, and Mark Solomon, kaiwhakahaere at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

Board of Studies

The Board is chaired by Te Tapuae o Rehua's CEO. With the departure of Dr Brendon Puketapu, Darryn Russell, acting CEO, who has also been a long-serving board member on behalf of the University of Otago, will take on this role.

Until recently, the University of Canterbury was represented by Professor Gail Gillon (Ngāi Tahu). Following her appointment as pro vice-chancellor – education, the new appointee is Dr Rawiri Taonui (Ngāti Te Taonui, Te Hikutu, Te Kapotai, Ngāti Wheeru, Ngāti Rora) the head of Aotahi: School of Māori and Indigenous Studies.

The late Dr Monte Ohia, (Ngāti Pukenga, Ngāiterangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Te Arawa) senior manager Māori at CPIT, was that partner's representative and a strong advocate of the intent and potential of Te Tapuae. His replacement on the board is yet to be announced.

Professor Hirini Matunga represents Lincoln University and Dr Khyla Russell, (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoē, Waitaha, Rapuwai), Otago Polytechnic.

Dr Katharina Ruckstuhl represented Te Rūnanga until recently, with a new office representative yet to be appointed.

A new appointment to the board is Eruera Tarena, from Ngāi Tahu Holdings Group.

Te Tapuae o Rehua Management

Dr Te Maire Tau was foundation chief executive officer from 1997- 2002.

A transition period saw David Ormsby and Awhina McGlinchey at the helm as business managers, followed by the appointment of Dr Brendon Puketapu as CEO from 2004 – August 2008.

Darryn Russell is current acting CEO, pending a permanent appointment.

Ngā Kete a Rehua – Inaugural Māori Research Symposium Te Waipounamu

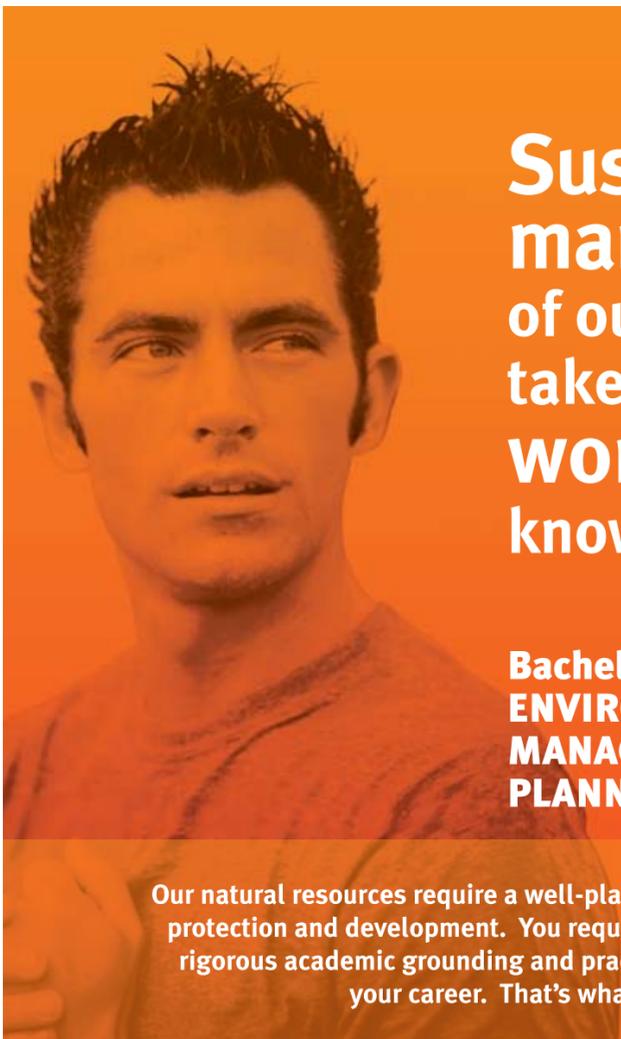
This inaugural symposium of Māori research in Te Waipounamu was held September 4-5. It was hosted by Aotahi: School of Māori and Indigenous Studies and Te Tapuae o Rehua.

Impetus for the symposium came from the research stocktake undertaken by Te Tapuae's partner institutions.

The weekend brought together Māori academics, senior students and researchers and non-Māori academics who are studying areas of interest to Māori, and in particular Ngāi Tahu. The topics include health, science, te reo, traditional food gathering, engineering, science, and museum studies, and of course Ngāi Tahu research and development.

Co-ordinator Rhia Taonui says such forums have been held in the North Island in the past, so one that focused on Te Waipounamu was long overdue.

Leading local Māori academics were joined at the symposium by visiting speakers, including Professor Atholl Anderson (Ngāi Tahu) from the Australian National University and leading Māori health researcher Associate Professor Paparangi Reid (Te Rarawa) from the University of Auckland.



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HE WHAKAARO
OPINION nā TE RADAR

Canoes, culture and *challenges*

It was just before noon on a day that their children's children's children would come to know as the 18th December 1642, that the people of Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri saw on the horizon two large, white winged waka. Aboard these waka were what looked like men, but they were whiter, and smaller. Undeterred, the men of Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri paddled out in their canoes, and as tradition dictated, issued a challenge on the conch.

It was only four days since Abel Tasman and his crew had spotted a high line of mountains on the horizon, whereupon Tasman had cried out, "Look! South America."

This probably came as a great surprise to his sailors, as they weren't looking for South America. Tasman had been dispatched to explore and chart the coast of Australia, a rather large land mass that he was unable to find. Thus, he became known in Dutch maritime lore as Not So Able Tasman.

But for now he found himself in a delightful bay observing strong, healthy looking natives who seemed to be relatively musical. Tasman ordered his ship's orchestra to respond with a tune. No one knows what tune it was that they played, regardless, as far as Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri were concerned, the song signified that the ritual challenge to battle had been accepted. There was nothing for it but for them to head home for a cup of mānuka tea and a lie-down before the next day's combat.

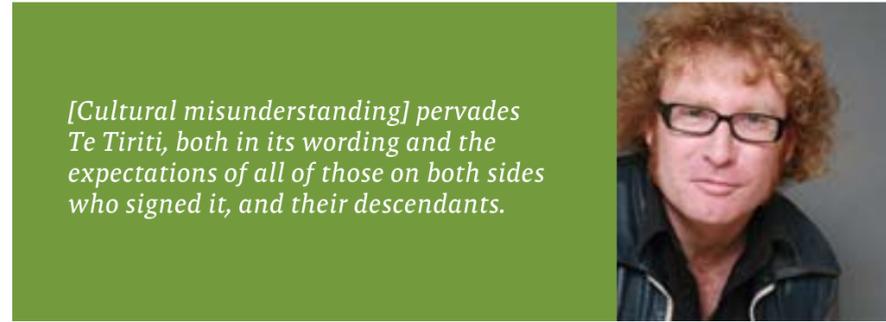
This event, occurring within the first minutes of contact between Māori and European, marked the first example of a legacy of cultural misunderstanding that continues to this day.

It seems that cultural misunderstanding is so ingrained that there is almost a belligerent idealism around the concept, as if somehow the thought of sitting down and rationally discussing differences in beliefs would somehow mean the surrender of the high moral ground, and the subjugation of one race to another.

Both parties have used it as an excuse for deceit, for opportunism, and as pretext for apologising for wrongs committed not through misunderstanding but through simple dishonesty.

It pervades Te Tiriti, both in its wording, and the expectations of all of those on both sides who signed it, and their descendants.

It's evidenced in the failure to even consider the concept of a taniwha as anything more than a literal dragon living in a river, to the unwillingness to accept pōwhiri or karakia at functions.



[Cultural misunderstanding] pervades Te Tiriti, both in its wording and the expectations of all of those on both sides who signed it, and their descendants.

It's seen in those vehemently against renaming places (or actually returning their names to the ones that were there in the first place).

Alternatively, it's seen in the belief that Pākehā can have no attachment to the land, nor any culture of their own.

It's seen on both sides of the language debate, from those insisting that learning reo is of no use in "the real world", and that correct pronunciation is a form of politically correct mind control, and not a simple matter of good manners, through to those who belligerently demand, rather than encourage, exact pronunciation of reo in people who should be supported in their tentative efforts to learn.

Too often the veil of cultural misunderstanding is cast over base ignorance, as if to give it legitimacy.

Labelling all Pākehā as inherently racist – and the descendants of land-grabbing invaders who came here and stole everything – is as dangerously naive as the belief that all Māori are a single, harmonious, homogeneous entity whose sole mission is to eventually have all land returned to them and ensure that the disenfranchised white race remains here only while paying extortionate rents, or is shipped back from whence they came.

In Tasman's case, the ramifications of his misunderstanding were felt almost immediately.

The morning after his first exchange with the natives, as he watched canoes packed with men move out from the shore, Tasman was feeling a tad anxious. He decided to send a dinghy across to his other ship to relay orders not to let too many of the natives on board.

As the dinghy pulled away from the ship, one of the canoes surged forward. As the men in the dinghy rowed faster, the canoe moved forward

faster still. Soon the Dutchmen were rowing as fast as their scurvy-stricken arms would manage, yet still the canoe ploughed relentlessly towards them, until suddenly the canoe rammed the dinghy. This was no doubt quite disconcerting for the Dutch.

It was made worse by the fact that the natives then started laying about the Dutch with what appeared to be large pieces of well crafted jade.

Within seconds, three of the Dutch were dead, and another was looking much the worse for wear.

Suddenly, from one of the great winged waka, came a crash of thunder and flame, as Tasman hoped to give the natives a little fright by firing a cannon.

Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri, considering the score not too bad and custom satisfied, paddled shoreward.

Tasman hastily retrieved the men in the dinghy, and as the wounded man succumbed because the ship's first-aid kit consisted of little more than some rum, a saw and the phrase "Now bite this", he sailed out of the bay.

Not So Able Tasman eventually left without ever having set foot on land.

The misunderstandings between him and Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri had led to a rather unpleasant morning, but for the rest of us the legacy of cultural misunderstanding remains an ongoing impediment to harmony in an increasingly disharmonious world.

Te Radar (Andrew J Lumsden) is an award-winning satirist, documentary maker, writer, stage and screen director, and amateur historian. Other than that he really does very little.

*Just as the injustices of the past changed the future of Ngāi Tahu, the Claim Settlement has been a catalyst for massive adaptation for the iwi in determining what the future holds for this and the next generations. **Howard Keene** and **Felolini Maria Ifopo** report on Ngāi Tahu – ten years after the claim.*

years on

Ten years ago Ngāi Tahu whānau gathered at Ōnuku Marae in Akaroa to accept a formal apology from the Crown as part of Ngāi Tahu Claim Settlement.

In November, the iwi will gather at Kaikōura for its annual meeting to celebrate its settlement anniversary, to remember past struggle and victory, to look at what has been achieved and what is still to be done.

When Matiaha Tiramorehu lodged Te Kerēme (the Ngāi Tahu Claim) in 1849, the iwi had been in virtual survival mode, having been left with only one-thousandth of their original lands.

Fast forward to the 1920s – and probably earlier – to a time when Ngāi Tahu whānau started donating what they could, sacrificing sometimes half their earnings to contribute to the “fighting fund”.

Kaumātua Tipa Hastings from Moeraki once described the claim process as, “He mahi kai takata, he mahi kai hōaka.” Translated, it is work that consumes people, as greenstone consumes sandstone.

Although the iwi wanted to put forward its grievance case, it was not able to until 1985 when the Labour Government legislated to allow Treaty of Waitangi claims backdating to 1840.

Ngāi Tahu was quick off the blocks due to the foresight and willingness to combine all Ngāi Tahu grievances into a single claim. This was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 in the name of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and Rakihihia Tau. Hearings were held between 1987 and 1989. In 1991, the tribunal found Ngāi Tahu had suffered from the way in which “the Crown acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the Treaty of Waitangi”.

For the next five years or so, intense on-and-off political negotiations ensued as Ngāi Tahu leaders worked to extract the best possible deal from the Crown. At the same time Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Bill moved through Parliament in the face of internal Ngāi Tahu opposition and external opposition.

Some brinkmanship was involved in negotiations, and both sides had their turn at walking away. The introduction of the government’s Fiscal Envelope policy in 1994 – to limit the total amount paid out in all settlements to \$1b – created plenty of tension.

In 1996 the iwi achieved autonomy over its own affairs with the passing of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act. It now had the capacity to receive and develop a substantial Treaty of Waitangi settlement.

A non-binding Heads of Agreement was signed on 5 October 1996, and the Crown's formal settlement offer was made by Prime Minister Jim Bolger at Takahanga Marae in Kaikōura on 21 November 1997. Succeeding Prime Minister Jenny Shipley delivered the Crown apology at Ōnuku Marae a year later.

Negotiator Kuao Langsbury: "Like a lot of people I was brought up with the claim. It was part of our culture really. That put a tremendous amount of responsibility on the A-team negotiators."

Of the negotiators, Tā Tipene O'Regan had carried the burden of leading the claim. He had the academic background, vision, political nous and force of personality to articulate the claim. He was strongly backed up by a group of men who, for the most part, had spent their lives in fairly ordinary jobs before their lives became consumed by the claim process.

Current Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon says he has had his differences with O'Regan. "But I'll go to my grave believing Ngāi Tahu owes him a huge debt. He was the man at the time, and he drove it."

Claims manager and now Te Rūnanga CEO Anake Goodall: "O'Regan was definitely the one with his hands on the tiller, but of course the boat wouldn't have gone anywhere without slaves on the oars."

On the Crown side, Bolger made a good decision in appointing Sir Douglas Graham as Treaty Negotiations Minister. He had mana and gravitas, and, most importantly, an interest in indigenous rights, that served him well as Tainui and Ngāi Tahu took the first iwi claims to the Beehive.

"He [Graham] was a very hard negotiator," says Langsbury. "He and Tipene had some interesting discussions all right."

Three claim teams were set up by Te Rūnanga. The A-Team was mandated to negotiate with Government ministers. It was chaired by O'Regan and consisted of Langsbury, Charles Crofts, Edward Ellison, Trevor Howse, and Rakihia Tau (Snr), who resigned before the Crown's offer was received and was replaced by Rakihia Tau (Jnr).

The nuts and bolts of the settlement were worked out by the B and C teams. It was here day-to-day negotiations took place, the B-Team mostly negotiating with high-level officials from government departments, while a number of C-Teams carried out detailed research and clause-by-clause negotiation of the draft deed of settlement. The C-Teams worked on specific issues like the apology, mahinga kai (traditional food gathering practice) and commercial assets.

Te Rūnanga kaiwhakahaere Crofts was the link man working with all three teams.

There was a clear understanding the Crown offer represented a very small fraction of the losses incurred by Ngāi Tahu, and that there could be no true justice involved.

When the negotiators put the Crown's offer up for iwi members to vote, they decided it was time to put the grievance to bed and move towards self-determination. Iwi members overwhelmingly agreed.

Solomon: "I will never ever agree that it was a fair and just settlement, but I took a pragmatist approach. You cut your losses and go for it, and I think that's what we've done pretty well. We're worth close to \$600m this year from \$170m in 1998. I think that's good."

After settlement those top negotiators didn't take part in tribal governance to the degree that might have been expected. One quipped, "We won the war, but they shot the generals."

Crofts was forced to step down by members of his own rūnanga, while O'Regan stood down early on because of a fundamental disagreement over the investment direction of the governing body.

Graham says the same thing happened with Sir Bob Mahuta after Tainui's claim was finalised. "Look, both Bob and Tipene had been working on this for about 30 years, and when you get to the finish line you're a bit knackered."

"I'm not surprised it was thought to park them to one side and let other ones come through. It's a bit hurtful to them because they don't want to be put to one side, but it's probably in their best interests."

Since the Ngāi Tahu Settlement ten years ago, there has been rapid change, regeneration and economic development.

The original \$170m settlement has increased three to four fold. The iwi



has developed into a micro-economy with an investment arm (Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation) that deals in seafood, property, shares, and tourism ventures throughout New Zealand and overseas. Last November, Whale Watch Kaikōura joined forces with Australia's Sea World to open up whale watching opportunities on the Gold Coast.

Ngāi Tahu Property (NTP) chief executive Tony Sewell signed on 14 years ago, and is immensely proud of his team who have increased total property assets from \$60m to \$463m since settlement. He is also proud of the increasing number of Ngāi Tahu on the team, which has gone from zero to three, including Property's first graduate, Shannon Goldsmith.

Sewell says the iwi has a sound property investment, property develop-

ment and rural land portfolio. He says the Deferred Settlement Process, which allowed the iwi to buy Crown assets up to the value of \$250m within 12 months of the Settlement, and the Right of First Refusal (to last forever) which gave the iwi first option to buy assets being sold by the Crown that were owned at the time of Settlement, presented "good opportunities" to the point where "Ngāi Tahu now has a huge effect on the growth of Christchurch and urban development". The DSP and RFR were tools Sewell helped to develop as a member of one of the C negotiating teams. In the future, he sees Property expanding to support rūnanga property investment throughout Te Waipounamu.

On the investments that got away, Sewell comments: "We have had

Above, from left: Treaty claims manager and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu CEO Anake Goodall, Treaty claims A team members Trevor Howse and Charles Crofts (who was also Te Rūnanga's first kaiwhakahaere), and Chief Settlement Negotiator Tā Tipene O'Regan.

DEED OF SETTLEMENT

The Deed of Settlement consisted of: an apology by the Crown that took place at Onuku Marae in 1998, the return of Aoraki, a cash sum of \$170m (Ngāi Tahu's economic losses from the Crown's land purchases had been valued at more than \$20b), a Deferred Selection Process, which would allow the iwi to buy Crown assets up to the value of \$250m within 12 months of the settlement, the Right of First Refusal (to last forever) whenever Crown agencies disposed of assets that were in their ownership at the time of settlement, and a Relativity Clause that entitled Ngāi Tahu to a top-up payment if the Government's Fiscal Envelope was breached.

The Cultural Redress element of the settlement aimed at restoring the iwi's kaitiakitanga (guardianship) over its region. It covered ownership and/or control of pounamu, certain high country stations, four specific sites: Arahura Valley, Rarotoka, Whenua Hou (Codfish Island), and the Titi Islands; and wāhi taonga, including a range of sacred sites, mahinga kai sites, and title to the lakebeds of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere), Muriwai (Coopers Lagoon) and Lake Mahināpua.

The deed also put in place Mana Recognition, which aimed to improve the effectiveness of Ngāi Tahu's participation under the Resource Management Act. Tōpuni is a custom where rangatira extend their mana and protection over a person or area by placing their cloak over them. The application of tōpuni, in regards to the deed, places an overlay of Ngāi Tahu values on specific parcels of land managed by the Department of Conservation. Re-establishing Māori place names was also a feature.

Part of the settlement covered mahinga kai with nohoanga, which gave Ngāi Tahu the opportunity to experience the landscape as their tipuna did, and to rekindle the traditional practices of gathering food and other natural resources. Mahinga kai also covered customary fisheries management, taonga species management and coastal spaces.

There was also a section that covered non-tribal redress, which was intended to address the private claims of individual Ngāi Tahu members.

to let some opportunities go, but you do have to leave those behind and concentrate on the ones you've said yes to."

In a recent speech made to Parliament, Māori Party Co-Leader Tariana Turia praised Ngāi Tahu for – in the interest of the Christchurch community – choosing to not exercise its RFR regarding Lancaster Park, and allowing

"We are trying to do something in our time that Māoridom has not been faced with doing. That is, autonomously driving our own future, modernising our culture, and shaping a design that meets our expectations not the expectations of the wider society."

TĀ TIPENE O'REGAN Chief Settlement Negotiator

it to be vested with the Christchurch City Council.

"The nation is in awe of their commitment to manaakitanga (hospitality), to kotahitanga (unity), and to the rangatiratanga (leadership) of Ngāi Tahu, Waitaha and Ngāti Māmoē."

Sewell says NTP takes a "long-term view on community responsibility" and Lancaster Park was an important community venue. He says his team work hard on positioning Ngāi Tahu as the partner of choice; "the best long-term partner" for urban development.

Last year Holdings Corporation returned a net surplus of \$80.3m (compared with \$9.3m in the previous year). Its return on equity was 20.3 per cent representing a 6.7 per cent improvement on the previous year. The shareholders equity grew by \$67.3m to \$468.6m. The total operating net surplus rose \$6.7m, a 46 per cent improvement on the 2005/06 year. Holdings then distributed \$20.9m to Te Rūnanga, taking total distributions since 1997 to \$139.31m.

Te Rūnanga operates as the central tribal council and draws one elected representative from each of the 18 local rūnanga spread throughout the South Island.

Aside from its governance role, Te Rūnanga delivers and funds a vast range of social initiatives, which cover education, health, and financial wellbeing including a financial independence programme, a contestable cultural fund, and its own incentive savings scheme, Whai Rawa, which pre-empted the Government's Kiwisaver. The iwi also allocates significant resources to revitalise te reo, environmental management and protect mahinga kai.

Externally, the influence and status of Ngāi Tahu has risen within Māori and New Zealand society, and among indigenous peoples around the world.

Within the iwi, there has been widespread reclamation of what it is to be Ngāi Tahu, as shown by the growth of Te Rūnanga's whakapapa database. On a regular basis, whakapapa unit staff witness people celebrate; some weep joyously at the news they have found their roots.

Of course since the settlement, there have also been struggles, typical of any large organisation or in this case a large family, especially one that elects its representatives. Compounding the internal struggles, is the media scrutiny Te Rūnanga receives because of its increasing profile and bank balance.

Today Te Rūnanga continues to tread new ground, as one of the South Island's biggest corporate investors, and as a guardian of precious natural resources. It is entrusted with regenerating the language and culture, attending to the long-term social and material needs of the people, and revitalising those rural marae communities that kept the flame burning during the dark times.

It is a tall order with no clear precedents to follow.

Anake Goodall: "What is this role? No one knows. We are a re-emergent tribal nation in a landscape where no one's done it before. Ngāi Tahu's been condemned to be at the cutting edge of these things, and in a way it's cruel.

"We're a bugger for beating ourselves up. Well congratulations us, someone's got to work it out, and we're doing that.

"We've come a long way. We've been way down in the deepest, darkest

valley and now we're back on a peak which is at least as high as any across that gap in time. How exciting is that?"

Tā Tipene O'Regan

Chief Settlement Negotiator Tā Tipene O'Regan is frustrated but hopeful Te Rūnanga can deliver for its people.

"To be fair we are only ten years on, and ten years is a mere blip on the screen. We are trying to do something in our time that Māoridom has not been faced with doing. That is autonomously driving our own future, modernising our culture, and shaping a design that meets our expectations, not the expectations of the wider society."

O'Regan believes Te Rūnanga made a fundamental error in the first year after settlement in failing to buy Landcorp South Island with its many farms. A 12-month right to buy \$250m of Crown assets at valuation was part of the settlement.

"The decision [not to buy Landcorp] was fundamentally flawed and based not just on a lack of imagination, but a lack of understanding of how the economy works. All the real wealth generated in this society comes from changing land use over time and from the primary sector."

He was chairman of Holdings Corporation at the time, and when the majority of his board disagreed with him, he resigned and has not had the same degree of involvement at the top level of iwi affairs since.

"That was the reason I got out. As well as that it [the Claim] had taken 35 years of my life and I was exhausted. As my whole driving force had been to restore us to a significant element in the New Zealand economy, based on land and sea, I really didn't feel there were strong arguments for me to stick around."

O'Regan believes the low level of macro-economic literacy is a big problem in New Zealand, and that for Ngāi Tahu and Māoridom, one of the biggest problems is that they think like the rest of New Zealanders.

"Now when you've got a set of kaupapa like intergenerational wealth maintenance with the idea that you're providing for future generations; you've got to think differently from a society whose whole concept of the future is no longer than three years. I don't think we're doing that."

Ngāi Tahu is different because the shareholder never dies, he says, and some investments have to be made on a very long-term horizon.

"You need to have something that's paying for the groceries all the time, so that's where you're out trading and working in the equity market, fish, tourism, stuff like that. The long-term wealth comes from having a base wealth that stops your long-term wealth from shrinking.

"So if I've got anything useful to do in what time I've got left, it's to articulate this and be as persuasive as I can to get our people to adopt it. So far I've been far more successful with Aborigines and Native Americans and rural white West Australians than I've been with my own."

"An old pepehā of our people is: ka whati te tai, ka pao te torea. (The tide recedes, the oystercatcher strikes). O'Regan says due to the economic downturn, now is the best time in the last decade to go shopping (for assets), but to do that you have to be very well cashed up or have a secure asset base.

"Now we can do a certain amount of shopping, but we are not yet in a position where we can exploit the current downturn phase."

On the social delivery side, problems occurred when a range of services were offered to Ngāi Tahu members through the former Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation.

"We allowed ourselves the mistake that the State makes all the time of allowing the administrative centre to get to the stage where it became basically crippled by its own gigantism.

"In Ngāi Tahu's case it got to the stage where it was costing us more than \$3 to actually distribute \$1. That was a route to disaster."

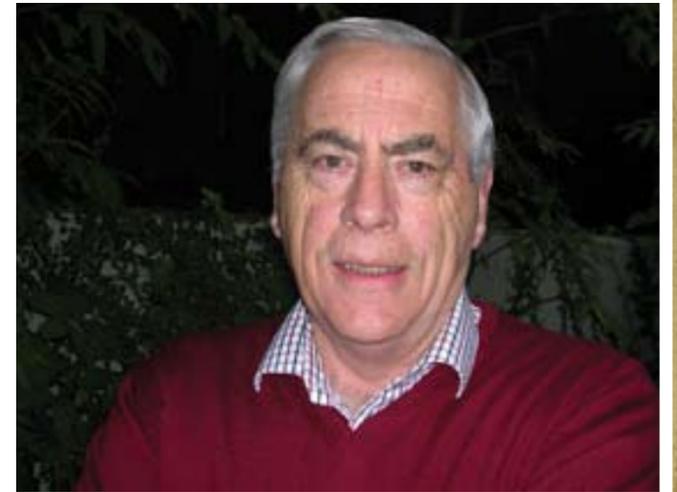
The route back from that was both politically and administratively very painful. "They're well on the way back to it now, where I believe it's costing 65 cents to deliver a dollar. I know there's an aspiration on behalf of the present management to reduce the internal cost, and they're now looking to do it by efficiency and wealth generation ...

"We've got an amazing surfeit of young talent coming up, but very few of them are carrying political responsibility in either their communities or the larger tribe.

"A singular part of the difficulty is that our best talent ends up on staff and not at the table. So we've not been able to generate the kind of quality conversations internally that we need to have.

O'Regan says there is little rigorous debate within the tribe, and that Ngāi Tahu's greatest weakness is its ability to believe its own spin. "You can become very contented with other people's view of you.

"People still fervently believe we're a success story, but for the last couple of years Tainui has had a better return on shareholder funds than we have, and they haven't had the level of political trauma that we have."



"If we'd spent the next 50 years going round each iwi asking them to agree to everything, we'd have never got anywhere because most of them had no idea about how to go about resolving the claims. And none of them had the responsibility of Government to try to work out what the country could afford."

SIR DOUGLAS GRAHAM Treaty Negotiations Minister

Sir Douglas Graham

By the time the Ngāi Tahu Settlement went through Parliament in 1998, all the front-line players were feeling tired and depleted, especially Treaty Negotiations Minister Sir Douglas Graham.

Down the phone line from his home in Remuera come his familiar laconic tones. "It took seven years. When I started I looked like Brad Pitt and when I finished I looked like Yoda."

For him the process of settling Treaty claims was "an enormously satisfying and fascinating experience", but by the time the 1999 General Election came round he was ready to retire.

"It was unbelievable quite frankly: the intellectual challenge of trying to work out how to do it, and then trying to steer it through Cabinet at a time when we had no money in Government."

Graham developed a genuine interest in indigenous rights. After retiring from Parliament he was a fellow at Cambridge University in England for a year studying customary rights.

His views on Ngāi Tahu progress since the settlement? "I congratulate them. I think they're doing very well by all accounts, as well as I ever hoped."

Graham, a lawyer before he entered Parliament, had a long-standing interest in Treaty issues, and when he entered Parliament he worked at getting National Party Māori policy together.

When National took office in 1990, Prime Minister Jim Bolger asked Graham to become minister for Treaty Negotiations, as well as take on the Justice, Attorney General, Corrections and Arts portfolios.



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Tamara Poi,
Ngāti Porou,
Arts student.



PHOTOGRAPH HOWARD KEENE

At the time, there was no precedent for settling Treaty claims. "I asked officials what the previous Government's policies were. They just looked totally blank, and it soon became apparent that we didn't have any policy other than a vague indication that we wanted to get on with it.

"When we came to discuss things with various Māori it became equally clear they had no idea either. They knew what the claims were about, but nobody knew how to sit down and resolve them."

One of the biggest hurdles to settlements in the 1990s was the government's controversial Fiscal Envelope policy.

"If we'd spent the next 50 years going round each iwi asking them to agree to everything, we'd have never got anywhere because most of them had no idea about how to go about resolving the claims. And none of them had the responsibility of Government to try to work out what the country could afford."

Negotiations between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown were tough and broke down for a long period. But Graham can't see how things could have been done much differently. "We fell over every so often and were probably a bit pushy here and there, but you don't give up, you keep going."

In assessing Ngāi Tahu progress over the last ten years, he stresses he has had little to do with the tribe during that time.

"From my observation they have managed, as I hoped, to become a big player commercially in the South Island. I had hoped they would show responsibility, where some people had doubted it, and I think they have to the best of my knowledge.

"Internally they've obviously had their problems, good robust debate, challenges, coups, and there's nothing wrong with any of that.

"I've watched Mark Solomon and some of the others on TV when things have cropped up. They speak calmly and sensibly. I don't always agree, but that's nothing to do with me. They seem to put their case well, so there's a maturity there."

Charles Crofts

Charles Crofts, together with Tā Tipene O'Regan, was the public face of the Ngāi Tahu Claim during that critical period of the mid 1990s when redress was being negotiated with the Crown for historic breaches of contract.

He was the first kaiwhakahaere of Te Rūnanga until he was voted out of his position as Koukourarata Rūnanga representative, and, because of that, he had to leave the top job.

"We had a bunch of young guys arrive home and they decided us old fellas were getting in the way, and they moved in and took over, which is one of the problems with an electoral system. Once you are in one of those positions you always have the threat of being replaced by vote."

*"Ten years ago we were little brown kids down the road.
Today we're the little brown kids who get in the road."*

CHARLES CROFTS Treaty claims team member,
and former kaiwakahaere, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

He is now back in the Koukourarata seat at Te Rūnanga table, and others from the negotiating period are also involved again. "That's the sort of thing our iwi has to realise, you can't afford to lose that sort of knowledge and that sort of ability."

Crofts was brought up with claim issues rumbling round in the background. "My pōua was involved at Tuahiwi, that's where I was born and bred.

After 20 years in the NZ Army he left in 1985, and it was during his last posting at Burnham he and his wife, Meri, became involved in the Koukourarata Rūnanga.

"A whole host of us younger ones arrived back with an interest in the marae. So by the time I was due to get out of the army I was being groomed to be the chair of the rūnanga, and by being chair I got involved in wider tribal politics."

At the signing of the Heads of Agreement he was photographed weeping. What was going through his mind?

"I looked up and saw my son with his daughter in his hands, and what I saw in his daughter was about five generations of my own whakapapa working within the claim, and it just brought tears to my eyes.

"All I was thinking of was my grandfather who was part of it at the time. I thought, 'At long last pōua, it's happened'."

Crofts says Te Rūnanga has done reasonably well but is disappointed the net worth of Ngāi Tahu has not yet reached \$1b. "I had a dream that ten years on from the day we signed the settlement that our value would stand at about \$1b."

However, he is reasonably confident with Wally Stone as chairman of the Holdings Corporation, the billion-dollar mark will be reached in the near future.

He believes Te Rūnanga structure has endured well, but good electoral policy needs to be put in place as soon as possible to enable elections, which are currently on a moratorium.

The Ngāi Tahu Settlement has also raised the status of the iwi among the rest of the population. "Ten years ago we were little brown kids down the road. Today we're the little brown kids that get in the road."

Crofts is currently on the New Zealand Conservation Authority. "Our

YAMADA CORP

One little-known aspect of the road to settlement is that a Japanese corporation bankrolled Ngāi Tahu at an early stage of its negotiations.

Tā Tipene O'Regan says when the ANZ Bank withdrew support from Ngāi Tahu in the early 1990s it left the claim negotiations in dire straits.

Christchurch-based Ngāi Tahu businessman Graham Kitson was the catalyst to securing financial help from the Yamada Group.

Kitson had lived in Japan and taught economics at a Japanese University. He set up his own consultancy in the 1980s and developed a wide range of relationships with Japanese business.

When Yamada Group representatives came to New Zealand in the early 1990s looking for investment possibilities, Kitson got close to chairman Musha Yamada.

"When I told him I was part Ngāi Tahu he said he'd like to know more about that, and asked me if I'd contact Tipene. That resulted in interest from Ngāi Tahu, and then Tipene and I visited Japan to discuss business possibilities.

"It was the time the Trust Board was struggling to find money for the fisheries claim negotiations and Yamada said he would help."

When it came time for repayment of the \$300,000, Kitson, O'Regan and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon went to Japan. "We went there just to say thank you for the assistance. Yamada said he didn't really want it back. He wanted it used to establish an educational trust for Ngāi Tahu people."

O'Regan says a particular motivation for Mr Yamada to help Ngāi Tahu was that his mother was Ainu, a distinct indigenous culture of Japan. "He had quite a strong cultural and emotional sympathy with people who were in the sort of position we were in."

reputation in resource management and conservation issues has been raised ... When we make statements we make them based on reports and studies."

He believes the potential of the settlement is being achieved, but not quickly enough, and people around the rohe (region) are probably not yet better off materially.

"Walk through our building and see how many Ngāi Tahu are employed in there. Not a hell of a lot.

"One of the early policy decisions of Te Rūnanga was to employ the best person for the job. What we didn't do in any shape or form was build in a policy of succession training for Ngāi Tahu. "We don't even do that at rūnanga level."

Kuao Langsbury

Kuao Langsbury was involved in the claim process from early days on the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board through negotiations to the settlement and beyond, where he became chairman of the Holdings Corporation, as well as chairman of the property group, the fishing company and the finance company.

Today he holds no formal position with Te Rūnanga, but is upoko (head) of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and has a long-term involvement in Arai Te Uru Kōkiri, a Dunedin satellite of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

"I didn't have a specific role in the negotiating team," he says. "I think my main function was to keep Tipene O'Regan calm and cool, and make sure he didn't punch somebody.

"Tipene was basically carrying the weight of the whole thing. There was a tremendous amount of pressure on him."

He says everyone has a different opinion on how Te Rūnanga is doing. "My thoughts would be that we have performed pretty well as an iwi, but there's no doubt that we could have done better. Some big mistakes have been made along the way, but I would say in general terms we should be reasonably proud of where we are today.

"I think the big challenge is not so much what we've done in the last ten years, it's what we're going to do in the next ten to keep the momentum going.

"We only need to make one or two mistakes, particularly the way the country's shaping up at the moment, and a lot of the good work could be lost."

He applauds Te Rūnanga's salaried staff. "The key to the whole thing has been to employ the right person to do the job.

"A tremendous amount of credit goes to those managers who have, I suppose, almost become Ngāi Tahu themselves in their outlook. If it was not for them I'm sure we would not be in the position we are today.

"They are the ones generating the dollars, and it doesn't matter how clever you are, you can't do much unless you've got some money in the bank."

One thing the tribe does not do very well, he says, is look after the young people who are taking on responsibility.

"We expect them to come in and do marvellous things, but they still need to be supported and guided even if they've got responsible positions."

Langsbury says the original Te Rūnanga structure was probably the best that could have been done at the time.

"I think the model set up in the first place with the Holding Corp to generate wealth and the Development Corp to look after our everyday interests was a very, very good model."

However, he says there should have been a third arm, distinct from Development Corporation, to look after Ngāi Tahu cultural interests.

"The Development Corp was trying to do two jobs, which were quite separate. But where's the Development Corp today? It's been done away with.

"Instead of tweaking it, Te Rūnanga decided to get rid of it and try to do it themselves. Well I don't think they've done anything marvellous in that area."

Trevor Howse

Trevor Howse describes himself as the "go-fetch-it man".

"I was given the resources and told to go and find the information. I was



PHOTOGRAPH: ALAN DOVE

never seen as political and I was never high profile for good reason. I probably had one of the most unique roles in the tribe."

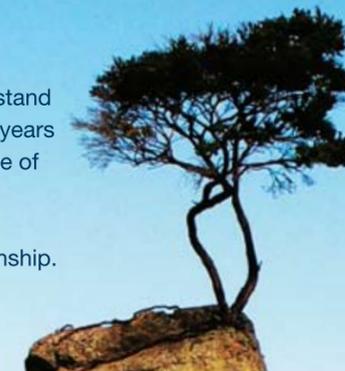
He had developed "a pretty good handle" on information gathering while doing land research on behalf of his whānau, and in the early 1980s he was shoulder tapped by Rakihiia Tau to become involved in researching the tribe's claim.

"I think the big challenge is not so much what we've done in the last ten years, it's what we're going to do in the next ten to keep the momentum going."

KUAO LANGSBURY Treaty claim negotiator

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CHRISTCHURCH

He was also on the spot for the Lands and Survey Department break-up in the 1980s.

“I was lucky to be involved in the devolution of all the Māori land files that went all over the place to departments like DOC and Forestry. I followed those around, and that gave me access to where all that material was.”

Such is his knowledge that even today he is still sometimes asked by the Crown if he knows where a certain file might be.

In the latter stages, Howse was one of the five principals appointed by Te Rūnanga with the specific job of working out asset sales with the Crown.

Working closely with Crown asset managers, he helped determine which Crown assets should be placed in the land bank and which were to be held for possible later purchase by Ngāi Tahu under the Deferred Settlement Process.

Not long after the settlement, Howse says his health packed up and he retired.

He strongly believes Te Rūnanga was the best structure to deal with inevitable post settlement disputes and he still fully supports it.

Where internal strife has threatened to become destructive, Ngāi Tahu has managed to pull itself out of it, says Trevor.

He still works on the odd project for Te Rūnanga, and is sometimes called on to fill in gaps in institutional memory. “While the young people are doing a good job, they don’t necessarily understand why some things happened.”

What benefits has he got from the claim?

“In my view there was never anything in the claim for me. It was for the young ones, which is proving to be right.”

Mark Solomon

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon had no part in negotiating the settlement, but he did have a big, albeit slightly uncomfortable, role late on in the process.

“I came on the table in 1995 as a representative ... Later I had the honour of being elected kaiwhakahaere and then the following Monday I signed off on the settlement. That was my sole impact.”

He feels a little uneasy and a tad embarrassed because he was replacing Charles Crofts who had been a leader all through the negotiations, before being forced to step aside.

“Charlie had been there since the day dot, and it should have been him [signing].”

Regarding Te Rūnanga, Solomon says while there is always room for improvement it has done very well.

“We’ve been down a lot of different paths. Some have worked and some haven’t, but overall I think we’ve got something to be proud of. From a new structure with people that didn’t have a business background I think we’ve done pretty well.”

He tried to bring a different flavour to the governing body. “At my first hui-ā-tau [annual meeting] in 1998, I said that before I embarked on any expenditure I would ask the people what areas they wanted it spent on.

“It would be fair enough to say I was criticised for that. It was thought that every man and his dog would be standing there for a handout. In reality, 2600 people attended those 19 hui across the country and only three people put their hand out, and before I could respond to them the elders stopped them.”

From the beginning, significant money was put into education.

“We were to fund and grow the capacity of the papatipu rūnanga and look at health et cetera. But every hui told us we were not allowed to become a brown social welfare. Our job was to give the people a hand up, not a hand out.”

He says investments such as fishing have performed poorly at times. The purchase of Cook Straight Seafoods was troubled because of a sudden strengthening of the kiwi dollar.

“But we still survived, and I think the fishing company made over \$1.4m this year. Hey, it was a glitch, get over it. You can live in the past and say what a terrible deal, but we did have it reviewed externally.”

In 2003 he asked for a complete review of all spending, specifically what



PHOTOGRAPH PHIL TUMATAROA

“We’ve been down a lot of different paths. Some have worked and some haven’t, but overall I think we’ve got something to be proud of. From a new structure with people that didn’t have a business background I think we’ve done pretty well.”

MARK SOLOMON *Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere*

money had been spent directly on each individual Ngāi Tahu.

“Out of that came Whai Rawa and the Ngāi Tahu Fund, which I’m extremely proud of. From my perspective it’s not the right of the structure to determine what is the culture. That’s the right of the people. So we put up a contestable fund of \$1.25m per annum, and, by all accounts, the people really appreciate it.

He has some disappointment in the social area, specifically justice, corrections and whānau violence. “There’s a whole lot of areas we should be in, at least at the advocacy level, and I don’t believe we’ve handled that properly.”

He says there will always be a tension with the rūnanga wanting more funding every year, which is acceptable, but it has to be done within the money that’s available.

“I was challenged seriously on the marae about how lousy Ngāi Tahu was in only giving the papatipu marae \$150,000 a year. Then a little voice came from the back saying ‘Name one other tribe that gives its marae \$150,000 each a year?’”

The only major issue with Te Rūnanga governance structure has been around the electoral process, says Solomon.

“It is clear from consultation we’ve had with the people that an overwhelming majority of those that participated favoured a direct vote.”

He believes the structure is working, but it has been dogged by personality issues at the table. “I believe there needs to be a code of conduct and a code of ethics that have sanctions with them.

“I think that would go a long way to settling all the nonsense, and I do call it nonsense. For any structure to work it’s up to the individuals.”

Anake Goodall

Anake Goodall’s career path is definitely not typical of a big corporation’s chief executive, and neither is he.

In broad terms he started off as a Southland freezing worker, spent a year living in a tent and growing trees, 20-odd years ago started attending Ngāi Tahu Trust Board and claim meetings, became claims manager, and, after a period off the scene, became CEO of Te Rūnanga.

He has been in the top job for nearly a year, and after a period of feeling like a “rabbit caught in the headlights”, he has settled down to plotting a course for the tribal governing body that he hopes will connect it better to Ngāi Tahu communities and values.

Despite what he describes as a loss in momentum and direction in the past ten years, he is very upbeat about the position of the tribe.

“The point I made at last year’s hui-ā-tau is that when I [first] turned up we used to say, ‘Wouldn’t it be wonderful to live in a world where we had our own capital, control of our own constitutional arrangements, had our own bureaucracy, had our own voice and language, and we had money to buy commercial assets?’”

“Well we’re there. All those things were our wildest dreams which we thought were almost unbelievable because we had almost nothing. So it’s a big wonderful success story, and funnily enough it’s been difficult. No surprise in that.”

Claim negotiations were more than just an arm wrestle with Jim Bolger and winning \$170m. “The internal value of all that was that we had this very deep, very hard internal conversation with lots of tears and emotional pain. So in that place and time we built this collective view, and that was an amazing feat in itself.”

The dispersal of the negotiating group after settlement was part of the reason for the loss of momentum. “We settled and nearly everyone to a man who had been involved in the negotiations group had gone. We all drifted off for various reasons. Some were disaffected. I was actually quite grumpy and doubted I would ever come back to this organisation.”

“We had momentum, we grabbed bits that would give effect to the vision, and then for some reason we refused to see that that had value.

He says the attitude was: “It’s a new world now, we’ve got money in the bank. All we need now is money managers.

“We’ve been diverted for about a decade. Part of it is quite rational and understandable, but a lot of it was unnecessary and a shame.”

As an example of the loss of momentum he cites the lack of action on taonga natural places returned in the settlement such as the bed of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). These were hard fought for in negotiations.

“We were after it [Te Waihora] because it is a proxy for 40 generations of mahinga kai and other Ngāi Tahu values. It’s a little bit of the whole tribal story. We got it, we brought it home, and it’s sat in a box ever since. There are maybe 30 or 40 of those sites.

“We’ve never done anything with them. We’ve never breathed our life back into them.

“I think it’s natural we got diverted by the things we did. My point is we need to get back to it, and we are at a point now where we can.”

The next chapter in Ngāi Tahu history needs to have ample provision for returning resource capacity to the regional communities. Succession planning and developing a depth of human talent also needs a big effort.

He floats the idea of papatipu rūnanga holding their own block of Ngāi Tahu capital with the accompanying responsibilities that entails. “Why does Hereford Street have to hold all the capital and distribute a bit of the income by way of largesse?”

Goodall says people would have not just the benefits of ownership, but also the burdens and responsibilities of ownership. “That’s part of reclaiming who we are.”

In his mind the test of progress is if the institutions are stronger and better connected to the regional communities than last year. “If it trends up, that will do me.”

2008 CLAIM LODGED

On September 1, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon filed a historic claim with the Waitangi Tribunal to “safeguard the future of Ngāi Tahu whānui”.

Solomon says the Crown continues to threaten the integrity of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement and Ngāi Tahu is compelled to lodge a claim before the passing of the imposed deadline.

“A prime example is the government’s Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS): this represents a significant threat to both the integrity and finality of our Settlement. If the legislation is passed in its current form it will literally wipe tens of millions of dollars off the value of the forestry assets we received as part of our Settlement.

“From the conception of the Kyoto Protocol in the early 1990s, the government has been aware of the effects an ETS would have on the value of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement redress. During this time the Crown’s actions have done little to assure us that they will act in good faith to address our concerns. The ETS will undermine our Settlement and unwind the very purpose of the Settlement that we set out to achieve over the lives of many generations.”

“The claim I have filed today will ensure that Ngāi Tahu have access to the Waitangi Tribunal process to address this issue and others like it,” says Solomon.

The claim focuses on four main areas: environmental resources, culture (tikanga and language), post-1992 losses and Settlement breaches.

“While we share the national interest in the finality of settlements, our claim is consistent with the rights and interests of all New Zealanders to fair and good faith treatment by the Crown. This claim is an insurance policy to ensure that our settlement remains final and we can protect what we have.”

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FROM THE OUTSIDE



*New Zealand leaders see Ngāi Tahu going from strength to strength 10 years after the Ngāi Tahu Settlement, despite the political squabbles experienced by any democracy, or in this case a rather large family. **Nā** kaituhituhi **Liesl Johnstone**.*

GARRY MOORE

FORMER MAYOR OF CHRISTCHURCH

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: *Ngāi Tahu have played an active role in the South Island, and done so with huge integrity. They’ve been honest about their tribal debates. People tend to focus on the negatives of these debates, but they’re quite normal within any family. There’s deliberation, negotiation, arbitration; all sides of tribalism. Iwi impact has been assisted by partnerships, which Ngāi Tahu have formed the length and breadth of the South Island.*



Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: *Not one diddly-squat. I have long worked with the iwi’s mana whenua status; I even witnessed the dispute over the cross-claim on the Tuahiwi Marae, sometime around 1996. Although my own respect for*

Ngāi Tahu has never altered, I think the people of Christchurch and the South Island generally have grown their own respect for and knowledge of the iwi. The last couple of days of my mayoralty proved as much, with the agreement by Christchurch City Council to construct a new, jointly owned, City Council / Ngāi Tahu building. Ten years ago, such joint ownership would have been looked at askance. Such a deal now just isn’t a political issue.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: *Their ability to live mindful of the future is wonderful. Pākehā New Zealand can learn from the long view taken by the iwi. When I sit on a board with Ngāi Tahu members, whatever the issue at hand, it’s not about this current generation, but about our children’s children’s children. The challenge for the iwi is to continue to educate.*

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: *I believe that within this time-frame there’ll be a South Island party in central Government, which may have potential to hold the balance of power in this country. I believe this South Island party will cross political boundaries. In my opinion Ngāi Tahu have got the formula pretty correct, and the next decade will see them continuing to tweak what is a good model, which those of us in the Mainland watch with a growing sense of pride.*

CHRIS TROTTER

COMMENTATOR, JOURNALIST AND AUTHOR OF *No Left Turn, AN ACCOUNT OF NEW ZEALAND’S HISTORY*.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: *The most important impact has been the challenge to how Pākehā view resources. I think it has taken some time for South Island Pākehā to swallow realities like the transfer of entire resources such as pounamu into Ngāi Tahu guardianship. The assertion of such property rights a decade ago caused initial consternation, which is largely gone but hasn’t vanished entirely.*

The settlement transfer was a form of privatisation. What used to be Crown property and in the public domain became exclusively owned by Ngāi Tahu, and while there’s mostly a sense of resignation, this still rankles with some.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: *They haven’t changed markedly. However, my initial views were slightly coloured by Sir Tipene O’Regan. I found his demeanour rather arrogant and lofty – even dismissive of legislature – over things he was seeking. Perhaps this was necessary in a pre-settlement context. Lately I’ve sensed a less confrontational approach, and I’ve been very impressed by Ngāi Tahu activity.*

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: *The iwi has been phenomenally successful with husbandry of money and resources – so much so they’ve established a benchmark for other tribes. Ngāi Tahu have done what any group would do, coming into possession of such wealth, in establishing an identity and pursuing iwi interests.*

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: *More financial success, an increase in size, and significant power. Part and parcel of this time-frame will be the question: to whom are Ngāi Tahu accountable? Where does the iwi stand constitutionally? This will grow more acute as, in the wake of the free trade agreement with China, a growing proportion of New Zealand transfers fairly quickly into foreign ownership. Iwi organisations will stand out as uniquely, quintessentially New Zealand. Ngāi Tahu will have to seriously think about the place they occupy in New Zealand society.*





DAME SILVIA CARTWRIGHT

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND FOR THE FIVE YEARS TO AUGUST 2006. SHE ANSWERS QUESTIONS WHILE ON SOJOURN IN CAMBODIA.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: Ngāi Tahu was not well-known by the Pākehā community before the claim. Indeed, being the South Island iwi, Pākehā were rather disinterested in it. Since the settlement, I sense that the attitude has changed. Ngāi Tahu is well-known, has a strong, respected profile and stimulates a great deal of interest in its work for its people and for New Zealand generally.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: I, too, have improved my knowledge of Ngāi Tahu. I have been greatly impressed by the artistic skills and the development of kapa haka. The South Island has not always been a strong supporter of tangata whenua, but I believe that is changing as cultural and business successes begin to have an impact.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: The first success to impinge on the general public has been Ngāi Tahu’s ability to develop its settlement into a viable business success story in many fields, including tourism. While beneficial to all New Zealanders, the greatest impact here is to Ngāi Tahu themselves, who have much to be proud of.

Media accounts of internal disputes have marred the success stories. However, many business and social organisations suffer conflict, and what’s important is how it is managed. I believe this has been appropriately managed – openly and decisively.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: Growing strength, increased confidence, experience and capability. I hope greater emphasis will be placed on improving the education and lives of ordinary members of the iwi, now that the asset base, business establishment and general direction of Ngāi Tahu is firmly settled.

JENNY SHIPLEY

FORMER NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER NOW PROFESSIONAL COMPANY DIRECTOR, SPEAKER AND ADVISER, IN BOTH NEW ZEALAND AND CHINA.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: Diligence, stewardship and commitment to its own people have won Ngāi Tahu the respect of both South Islanders and wider New Zealand. In the South Island, particularly, there’s been a noticeable shift of attitude among both Māori and non-Māori as the iwi has invested in its future through its people, and sought astute, effective advice in doing so.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: My views of Ngāi Tahu have not changed, although my hopes for them have been met. At the time of settlement it was my wish that the iwi could shift their eyes from the past to the future, and unquestionably that has been my observation since then. Despite challenges, Ngāi Tahu leadership has guided the tribe forward in a sound, comprehensive way.



Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: For me, the most stunning successes have been the astute investments and the return achieved on those. The iwi has also wisely invested in people in terms of health care and superannuation, which will improve and benefit the iwi in the medium term. Least successful to the external eye have been the leadership disputes. However, rather than unnatural or unexpected, these are part of the evolution of a major organisation finding its way forward and debating issues of substance.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: Many results of Ngāi Tahu’s current investments! Also, as those young people who have been given educational opportunities begin to blossom their way through university, into the workforce within and beyond the iwi, I believe a new generation of leaders will emerge. They will not necessarily hold positions at the top of the iwi, but will fill key roles and lift aspirations of those within. They will move Ngāi Tahu back to a pre-eminent place, which has been its history.

TIMOTI KARETU

AUTHOR AND PROFESSOR AT TE TAURA WHIRI I TE REO MĀORI, THE NZ MĀORI LANGUAGE COMMISSION. OF TŪHOE DESCENT.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: The iwi has come into view. Pre-settlement, it was obscured for many. Hand in hand with reinstated financial resources has come public profile and a real push behind te reo’s renaissance in at least a thousand homes by 2025.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: I wasn’t acquainted with the iwi’s movers and shakers back then, as I am now. I have great respect for the powerhouse people managing the Ngāi Tahu Māori language unit and others encouraging uptake of te reo.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: The iwi has shown grit, determination and total commitment in the face of losses that were so, so great. I have nothing but huge admiration for Ngāi Tahu, who really started on the back foot but were not afraid to fight for compensation. Now their pursuit is in retrieving the language – even to reinstate a specific Ngāi Tahu dialect, if possible.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: They’re a strategic, well-resourced iwi, and the world’s their oyster. Ngāi Tahu will have ever-increasing economic impact and power. They’ve realised they have to know who they are linguistically. Language is fast becoming the only distinguishing feature of Māori generally, who become blonder and more blue-eyed all the time as bloodlines dilute. They will achieve success in the renaissance of te reo.

PAULINE DURNING

OTAGO-BASED EDUCATION EVALUATOR FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD TO TERTIARY SECTORS, WITH A KEEN INTEREST IN MĀORI CULTURE AND LANGUAGE.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: They’ve impacted positively by lifting the mana of Māori generally throughout the South. South Islanders now recognise their tangata whenua status whereas pre-settlement few did.



Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: They haven’t really. I have always had utter respect for Ngāi Tahu and absolute tolerance for any times they haven’t got things perfect straight away. I think the iwi is doing pretty well.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: The iwi has been very successful in promoting Māori perspectives, and in strengthening the bicultural management of New Zealand. I think this could still be improved with more media representation of Māori, as I feel there’s still too much monocultural reporting of events. I’m anticipating Ngāi Tahu will have an effect here.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: I’m really hoping the iwi can lead some social and structural changes in the way our nation’s employment works. I’m talking about a breakthrough brought about by Ngāi Tahu; one based on strong co-operative, collaborative, values-based initiatives, which will improve lives. I think Ngāi Tahu now has the power to apply research to induce significant social change.

HARRY EVISON

CHRISTCHURCH HISTORIAN AND AUTHOR OF SEVERAL BOOKS, INCLUDING THE Long Dispute. HE WAS PRINCIPAL HISTORICAL WITNESS FOR NGĀI TAHU DURING THE CLAIM (1996-1999) – RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KEMP PURCHASE AND KAIKŌURA, NORTH CANTERBURY, AND BANKS PENINSULA SECTIONS OF THE CLAIM.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: It is good that the 1998 settlement brought Ngāi Tahu substantial compensation, and that Ngāi Tahu cultural activity and te reo are thriving among young people.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: The settlement has been otherwise disappointing. For example, in 1990 the Waitangi Tribunal recommended the return of Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) to Ngāi Tahu as a traditional inland fishery. But instead of grasping this historic opportunity, the settlement rejected inland fishing and jumped on the bandwagon of deep sea fishing, taking a large stake in it. This was short-sighted. In 1980 the United Nations World Conservation Strategy warned that the world’s oceans were being over-fished. I said to

some kaumātua, “Forget about sea fish. They will all be gone. People will want eels. You should go for inland fisheries with aquaculture under your own control.” Our inshore fisheries now are dwindling, and the deep sea fisheries are being plundered unsustainably, mostly by overseas interests. Fish is getting too expensive for ordinary New Zealanders.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: If Ngāi Tahu invested their fishing capital in rescuing the waters of Waihora, Wairewa, and the coastal hāpua and freshwater streams from Waipara down to Waikouaiti and beyond, eel fisheries could be established and a genuinely Māori community-oriented industry would be revived. The nation would be grateful.



TOM BENNION

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT LEGAL SPECIALIST AND FORMER REGISTRAR OF THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: It has become a solid corporate presence but also Ngāi Tahu have been exemplary in taking great educative, linguistic and community initiatives.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: I have remained impressed by the iwi’s stunning professionalism and strategy. The settlement document itself was the Rolls-Royce of claims, and has set the agenda for every settlement since. It’s not just the quantum achieved that’s so noteworthy, but the iwi’s acceptance of nothing but the best, in all operations and spheres. I have also been impressed by the way Ngāi Tahu has gained access to various bodies and into resource management.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: They set a benchmark for other iwi – in research, documentation and preparedness – including detailing their expectations of cultural redress. What speaks of overwhelming success is the fact the iwi no longer sits in the corner of our national picture. It’s front and centre, a big corporate player holding a large chunk of the nation’s natural resources.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: A fair proportion of environmental responsibility, nationally and globally. Ngāi Tahu will no doubt continue to surprise New Zealand. Challenges ahead include the settling of the northern boundary issue, and future actions over the settlement’s fiscal relativity clause. It’ll be interesting to see whether the iwi is now pondering the potential oil strike in the South. When oil is found, the legal energy landscape promises to become very interesting.



ALLISON THOM

DEPUTY SECRETARY OF TE PUNI KŌKIRI, AND FORMER CEO OF TE RŪNANGA A IWI O NGĀPUHI.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand’s social fabric?

A: In my particular experience, Ngāi Tahu have had positive welcoming, sharing and skill-strengthening effects on others. While I was chief executive at Te Rūnanga a Iwi o Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tahu welcomed me and our chairperson. They sponsored us to go down and see their business. They continue to share their developments and experience with other iwi. Ngāi Tahu helped me personally to hone my debating techniques. During the fisheries settlement, Ngāi Tahu were strong advocates for a model we were opposed to. They challenged me, and I had to sharpen my arguments.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: Ngāi Tahu’s asset holding company has provided models from which other iwi can draw inspiration. Creative thinking can be seen in their approach to land purchases and to providing platforms for their businesses. Also, I’ve always admired the thought behind and practice of the Whai Rawa programme and the Ngāi Tahu Fund. In my experience, one of the easiest parts of managing iwi assets is growing the



business. One of the hardest is creating meaningful benefits. Ngāi Tahu have been courageous and considered in setting up those funds. They've also done amazingly with reclaiming tikanga and te reo, and with promoting the Kotahi Mano Kāika initiative through marketing and Tahu FM.

I think it's a shame that some of the iwi's governance growing pains have caused so much hurt. Ngāi Tahu is not the only iwi to face this of course, but it's a waste of energy, which could go into the more meaningful work they're generating.

COLIN JAMES

WELLINGTON-BASED POLITICAL COMMENTATOR AND COLUMNIST FOR THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand's social fabric?

A: There's a fairly widely held understanding that Ngāi Tahu have managed their assets productively and well. Public perception of Māori in general and the iwi in particular has improved as a result.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: I have come to know Ngāi Tahu a bit better. I learnt a lot from Sir Tipene O'Regan in the late '80s and early '90s, and came to know Tahu Potiki quite well. The last decade for the iwi has been an action-packed time of transition and opportunities explored.



Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: Ngāi Tahu have proved themselves very progressive. The scheme to put dividends into individual accounts was groundbreaking. I think the language is safe now, too. They will need to sort out any ongoing divisions over leadership and direction, which I am sure they will, in order to re-establish full coherence and cohesion.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: I think the iwi has now moved from a focus on rights to a focus on development, which is not to imply any lack of concern about Treaty rights. Ngāi Tahu will be a significant factor in national life.

RUTH RICHARDSON

NEW ZEALAND'S MINISTER OF FINANCE FROM 1990 TO 1993, AND CURRENTLY AN ECONOMIC/PUBLIC POLICY CONSULTANT AND PROFESSIONAL DIRECTOR ACROSS A NUMBER OF BUSINESS SECTORS.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand's social fabric?

A: Well, even prior to their claim settlement Ngāi Tahu held substantial standing in the community. Afterward, economic opportunities brought them a multiplicity of financial decisions, which they've made with success. This has resulted in a demonstration effect from which the iwi has sought to create tangible benefits for its members.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: Ngāi Tahu have moved from being big in the South Island to being a major economic force. On top of that, they've progressed by adding layers of excellence.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: They've shown great financial acumen. They've also proven themselves to be thought leaders, particularly over how best to forge the future and position the next generation. The iwi has been very modern when you look at the ways they've sought to create a Ngāi Tahu footprint. In my role as chair of Jade Software Corporation, I recently met a young woman whose goal was to work for Ngāi Tahu in order to glean best-practice work experience in property management. She saw the iwi as providing the gold standard, the commercial model.

Where Ngāi Tahu has been not so successful? Clearly in the past year or so there's been a percentage of the iwi's parliament which has experienced some turmoil over leadership, but turmoil goes naturally with all political territory. It's destabilising when it boils over into the public arena.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: That's a matter of what their strategic goals are. I'd be wondering how to flex economic muscle and expand the economic base.

On the side of leadership and development of iwi members, I'd be setting priorities, creating educational opportunities to equip people with passports that matter. So I'd be looking at Ngāi Tahu's future influence through the lenses of economics and education.



TUKUROIRANGI MORGAN

CHAIRMAN OF THE WAIKATO RAUPATU TRUSTEE COMPANY LTD, AND TE ARATAURA EXECUTIVE, TE HOE O TAINUI MARAE.

Q: Since the claim, how has Ngāi Tahu – as an iwi – impacted on New Zealand's social fabric?

A: They've impacted significantly as an economic model. The breadth of their development is impressive in scale.

Q: How have your views on Ngāi Tahu changed since 1998?

A: Well, the iwi has always been more than a commercial model. They've been a cohesive development model across the board.

Q: In what ways have Ngāi Tahu been a success? And not so successful?

A: Each iwi has its own unique tribal structure, and Ngāi Tahu have developed one which works well for them – a rūnanga infrastructural template. Exemplary Ngāi Tahu development has ensured significant footholds in tourism, property and fisheries assets.

For Ngāi Tahu, the challenge now will be one of succession planning. The leaders will now need to engage the next in line to create a channel; to train the channel and let it assume responsibility. Iwi leaders need to examine whether the rūnanga is durable and sustainable over the long-term.

Q: What do you think the next decade holds for Ngāi Tahu?

A: Prosperity and ongoing growth, plus an emphasis on good leadership. Crucially, the iwi will concentrate on forging strong connections with its own. It's the same for all of us. Wealth generation is worthless unless our people enjoy the fruits of our labour.



Ko Aoraki te maunga
Ko Arahura te awa
Ko Ngāti Waewae te hapū
Ko Ngāi Tahu te iwi
Ko Lani Carter tōku ingoa
Nō reira tēnā koutou katoa.

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drawing inspiration

*Natural lighting, pitted walls and an entranceway slippery with mud – visiting one of the country’s earliest galleries is not your usual art-going experience, but in a cave overlooking a spectacularly beautiful South Canterbury valley, the drawing of the extinct pouākai – giant eagle – is an extraordinary sight. **Nā Sally Blundell.***

A single long eagle wing curls down to one of several small figures drawn across the rock face, their legs bent, arms flexed in traditional haka stance, torsos marked by that mysterious core of unadorned stone.

This is one of 500 rock art sites found in caves and rocky outcrops throughout South Canterbury and North Otago. In a two-square-kilometre zone near Pleasant Point alone is a cluster of 48 such sites. Together they form a fascinating chronicle of mythical bird-men, taniwha, fish, sharks, moa, waka, sailing ships and – most commonly – human figures.

“The geology in the South Island was ideally suited for rock shelters and the application of rock art,” says archaeologist Brian Allingham. “Basically the rock was a good canvas. Limestone is particularly good.”

Allingham was a founder of the South Island Māori Rock Art Project, set up in the early 1990s under the guidance of Ngāi Tahu archaeologist Atholl Anderson to record, research and monitor rock art. This role is now part of the operation of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Rock Art Trust.

The Timaru-based organisation will set up a new Māori Rock Art Centre to serve as a centre for research, information and education about the drawings.

Organisers hope it will open next year in Timaru’s Historic Landing Services Building. It will provide workshops, presentations and multimedia audiovisual material as well as displaying examples of rock art now stored in museums around the country.

Already more than \$300,000 has been spent on feasibility studies, concept development and audio-visual material.

The centre “will provide an emotional response to the experience, rather

than just labels and display cabinets,” says trust curator Amanda Symon. “It’ll be more about provoking questions and thought. There is huge interest in rock art and there will be economic benefits. But it will also take the pressure off the sites themselves.”

Drawings at Takiroa, near Duntroon in Waitaki, attract more than 30,000 visitors a year.

Some sites have been marred by graffiti – in 2006, rock drawing sites in and near the Raincliff Historic Reserve in South Canterbury were emblazoned with racist messages.

The most common cause of rock art degradation is the exfoliation of the rock’s surface caused by wind, weather, extremes in temperature and changes in microclimate,” says Symon. “Salt build-up in the rock itself can also cause irreparable damage.

“Irrigation and changes in groundwater flows can affect salt concentration, and stock are known to chew on the limestone for the salt. Animal manure also has an impact on pH levels in the soil.

Limestone is at the mercy of impurities in the atmosphere and dust from excavation and development.

Although lanolin from stock can form a protective greased surface, vulnerable areas can also be worn down by animals rubbing against the drawings.

Rock art sites are protected under the Historic Places Act, but active protection is not triggered unless sites are identified during a resource

Above: Raincliff – Block 20. composite



“The rock drawings show a conscious structure around a particular way of portraying different subject matter. There’s a deliberate, intelligent consideration given to all the elements.” ROSS HEMERA

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM PARDINGTON EXCEPT WHERE NOTED OTHERWISE

consent application. As a result, much rock art has suffered a history of neglect or over-zealous attention.

“One of the major threats to Māori rock art is cultural tourism, people visiting sites which aren’t developed for high levels of visitation,” says Symon. “Anyone can find out where these sites are and people rub their bags against drawings, or sit on them or touch them. And landowners are worried about people spraining an ankle or leaving gates open or frightening stock with their campervans.

“Already, commercial operators are charging to take people to these sites, but often they don’t have the information or cultural context to give visitors a real understanding.”

For those who want to see actual drawings, the new centre will offer low-impact tours to specific sites where Ngāi Tahu guides can provide visitors with a more informed cultural context.

“It’s that ability to interpret – and the tribal mandate to interpret – that other people don’t have,” says Symon. “That’s the difference – it’s that cultural connection with sites.”

She points to two rock art sites on iwi-owned land at Takiroa and Maerewhenua, both of which have recently been re-landscaped with new plantings, palisade-style fencing, and pou whenua (landmark posts) with information panels.

Not only do they now look like visitor attractions, but they also convey to the public that these sites are valued as taonga (treasures) that remain enshrouded in mystery and a multitude of theories.

For a start, rock art is notoriously hard to date. Most drawings were made using kōkōwai (a red ochre pigment) and charcoal. Because it is non-organic, red ochre cannot be radiocarbon dated, and although carbon dating charcoal may tell you when the tree died, it cannot say when it was burned and turned into charcoal or soot.

In some cases, pigments were mixed with bird or animal fat and vegetable gum to make them last longer – implying that these drawings were meant to be appreciated by future generations – but such organic components are often eroded by microbacteria.

Rock art’s relatively recent history also makes dating an inexact science.

“If you radiocarbon date something that is 7000 to 8000 years old and you have a couple of hundred years discrepancy, you’re still in the ball park,” says Gerard O’Regan, former heritage manager for Ngāi Tahu and now chairman of the rock art trust. “But if you’re looking over the past 700 years, a 50 to 100-year discrepancy is quite significant.”

Dating drawings based on the age of bones found in shelters is founded on the unverified assumption that those who put the bones there were the same people who made the drawings.

Even the images themselves can be an unreliable indicator of age – later works may have been copies of earlier works – although some motifs can provide an estimate of age.

“If there’s an animal that is extinct, like a giant eagle, they either saw this animal or they knew enough about it, say within a generation, to know what it looked like,” says O’Regan. “And we know those animals became extinct within the first couple of hundred years of Māori settlement.”

Post-European images also indicate certain time spans. Sailing ships could date back to Abel Tasman’s circumnavigation of New Zealand, people on horses suggest the early settler period, and early script is probably related to contact with missionaries.

As to the motives for art, many theories abound. Some say rock drawings are doodles done opportunistically by people sheltering in a cave. Others say they are the work of priests or tohunga following ancient shamanistic practices, while others again believe rock drawing was a pleasurable pastime – art for art’s sake.

While lack of surety invites a multitude of “whacky theories”, says O’Regan, the complexity and sheer scale of many drawings make them unlikely results of bored scribblers.

But there is no evidence.

“There’s the popular cultural image of a tohunga sitting by firelight and reciting incantations,” says Symon, “but we just don’t know.”



Even theories suggesting that different colours used in the drawings can be ascribed to different iwi are unproven.

Much knowledge related to rock drawings might have been lost during colonisation, when Māori were moved to coastal areas and land was privatised and converted to sheep farms, resulting in an often abrupt dislocation between Māori and the landscape. But what the drawings do tell us, says Brian Allingham, is that these people had the time, and the inclination to do it.

“The application of rock art at a particular place at a particular time was not fundamentally essential to well-being, like food and drink, but it may have been considered fundamental for the spirit. They tell us too that this was a society organised and rich enough to support that work over a large area.”

There are indications that these sites were considered tapu either because of pre-existing art in those shelters (a concentration of drawings is often found in one shelter but none in the next shelter along) or because of a spirit in the rock itself.

Take the drawing of a sailing ship, which could be an illustrative tool by someone who had seen one or could be a drawing done in a sacred place



He insisted rather than being pastimes or doodles, they were important metaphysical interpretations of the world of those who drew them. Yet, while Schoon's copies are of interest artistically as an archaeological record, they are unreliable. Like others before him Schoon often "retouched" the drawings with grease crayons before recording them, and the motifs selected tend to be those that would appeal to European artistic tastes.

Fifteen years later another artist, Tony Fomison, painstakingly traced South Canterbury rock art on to plastic sheeting. Fomison recognised a progression from the relatively naturalistic to more stylised designs. He also believed that, rather than being casual scribbles, the drawings were imbued with spiritual qualities.

In preparation for the Benmore hydro power scheme in the Waitaki Valley in 1958-60 some shelters were excavated and the art recorded, including an image widely interpreted to be a kiwi in an egg. This "kiwi embryo" later appeared on a range of souvenirs, including peanut butter jars, in a tradition of appropriation that has seen rock art motifs on everything from packaging and tea towels to corporate logos, 20c stamps, coins and moko.

Regardless of who drew these shapes and figures or why, the primary concern now is the long-term care and preservation of the drawings for future generations.

"In terms of the establishment of the trust it's about Ngāi Tahu whānui as descendants of the people that created the art, taking responsibility for the care of this aspect of their cultural heritage," says O'Regan. "It reflects the kaitiaki role of Ngāi Tahu whānui, through the papatipu rūnanga, on behalf of the wider iwi."

The Ngāi Tahu Māori Rock Art Trust fields calls from businesses unsure of the protocol in the use of rock art images.

The main objective now, he says, is to encourage people to ask questions "to get them thinking about why they were there, about our tīpuna, and that's a cool way to show respect."

Some artists are doing just that – spending time at these sites, reinterpreting the motifs and composition, carrying the tradition into the future. As Megan Tamati-Quennell, curator of contemporary Māori and indigenous art at Wellington's Te Papa museum, explains, past artists such as Schoon and Fomison, and contemporary artists including Ross Hemera, Bob Jahnke and Selwyn Muru have used both the forms and the contexts of these forms in their work.

But having many people going in and using these images, she says, is far from desirable.

"There's a cultural aspect here and you can't just use the forms out of context. That's the whole appropriation debate – going in and taking something, thinking that it doesn't belong to anyone. These are protected sites and it's part of our cultural heritage."

Recently Te Papa commissioned photographer Fiona Pardington (Scotland-Clan Cameron of Erracht, Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe) to photograph many of the rock drawings. She did so, says Tamati-Quennell, "very simply, using the angles that she thought they might have been drawn in. She had that artistic sensibility. Somebody just recording (the drawings) wouldn't have thought about that."

Pardington first encountered rock drawings through local museums and library books (alongside reproductions of the 16,000-year-old cave drawings in Lascaux, France). It was not until she was in Dunedin, under the Frances Hodgkins Fellowship at the University of Otago, that she saw the "extremely sinuous and very energetic shapes" drawn on to the rock faces.

"Seeing the huge eagle you get this picture of this enormous bird swooping down the valley – it's quite formidable. For me as an artist it's that kind of engagement with the minds of other creators that you can carry forward with you," says Pardington

"They're actually quite hard to photograph because they're a complete creation in themselves. As when I'm photographing other taonga, I carry the image around in my head as a kind of golden standard, then concentrate on trying to be situated within the mana of that image.

"It's really important to raise awareness of (these drawings). It's like looking after your children, and as an artist you have to stand in some

to bring that ship under the power or influence of the atua associated with that site.

The placement of images alongside earlier ones does show a level of respect for what had been done before.

"We don't know if these 'marking events' happened ten days, ten years or a hundred years apart," says O'Regan. "But people were engaging with these pieces and there is this respectful connection between them – usually they're in close proximity, maybe overlapping just a little."

If they were the work of tohunga, that would also explain why information about them wasn't passed down to the "Joe Bloggs in the community" and didn't survive the spread of Christianity.

Since surveyor William Mantell first started to sketch drawings at Takiroa in the early 1850s, such images have been recorded, copied, photographed and – with varying levels of success – removed from their sites and put in museum collections.

In 1946, artist Theo Schoon was employed by the Department of Internal Affairs to paint copies of rock art in Canterbury and North Otago. Like fellow painter Gordon Walters, who found ongoing inspiration in the spare lines of the rock drawings, Schoon recognised the importance of this enigmatic work.



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ethical position. One thing I've learned from photographing taonga is the importance of being honest with yourself, and if you do that you become more compassionate with others. Even if the taonga is very humble, like a small shell on a beach, it still has an impact."

Artist Ross Hemera, associate professor in the school of visual and material culture at Massey University, knows that impact all too well. He remembers the caves he encountered as a child in the Waitaki River valley. They were, he says, his first galleries and the drawings he saw there have since become a "default position" in his work, appearing in a range of mixed-media sculptural works and several significant public commissions, including the glass windows for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's Te Waipounamu House in Christchurch and Massey's Albany campus. This year, a new Aho range of woven luxury shawls was launched that combine rock art-inspired designs by Hemera with wool and possum fur fabric developed by AgResearch's textiles science and technology section.

"It's not just about looking at rock drawings. It's talking about the marks that have been left by my tīpuna, my ancestors. If you think about it that way then there are things to be learned by looking at these things closely, by spending time with them and getting to know them as living things. When

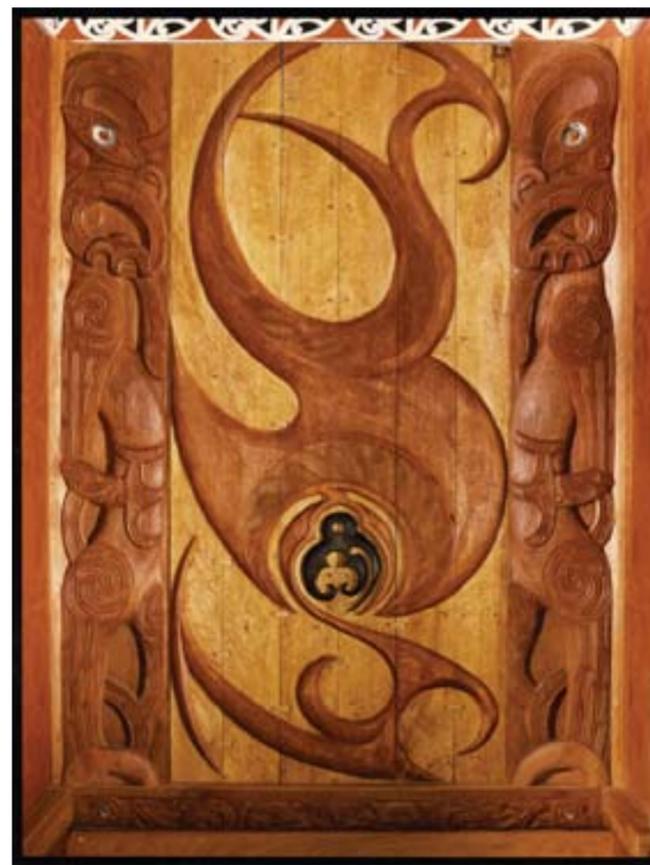
they were put there all those years ago they were there for people to read all through the generations."

What about the doodle theory?

"The imagery and the compositional structure are too sophisticated to be doodles," says Hemera. "The rock drawings show a conscious structure around a particular way of portraying different subject matter. There's a deliberate, intelligent consideration given to all the elements."

When Dunedin artist Simon Kaan (Ngāi Tahu/Kāti Irakehu/Kāti Makō ki Wairewa/China-Guangzhou, Satu Village) was invited to work on a carved panel for Te Waipounamu, the Māori select committee rooms at Parliament, he decided to incorporate the "kiwi embryo" rock art image.

"I wanted it to be a visual story so I looked at the story of the kiwi getting its wings clipped. It's a story of humility and sacrifice. I went to rock art sites and just sat there – it was a good time to immerse myself in that consciousness. For me, coming from here, there is something quite specific about it – a point of reference, a different way of making images that's less formal, more open to interpretation; a certain unknown-ness. They're part of the identity of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha, and that connection with tīpuna is very relevant for visual artists."



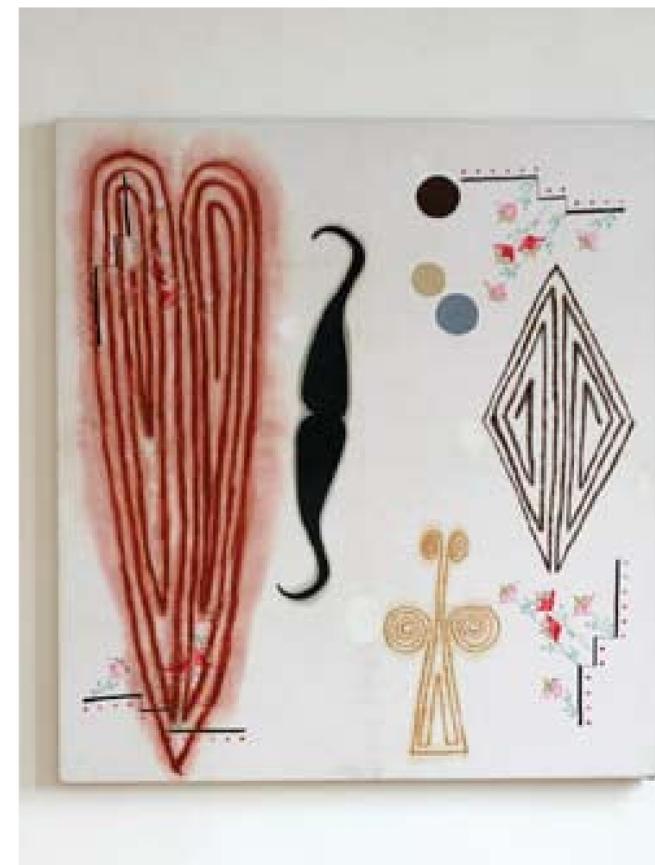
The mystery behind that connection is a strong attraction for Auckland artist Chris Heaphy (European descent/Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Murihiku), Heaphy first became interested in rock art as an art student in Christchurch, thanks largely to the work of Gordon Walters and examples held at local museums.

"I became fascinated by the whole mystery of it. I couldn't quite believe it wasn't being acknowledged or valued, that there was this whole area that people didn't seem particularly interested in."

Although Heaphy does not incorporate actual rock art images in his work, the way in which these ancient drawings were applied to the surface of the rock and the quality of these images have influenced his work.

"I'm interested in that idea of the significance of these symbols that we assume were put there for a particular reason. We don't know why they were put there so we reinterpret, we take stabs in the dark. But to try and understand them might be a mistake. We could just say, here are some beautiful drawings that could be a bird or could be abstract, without getting hung up on what it means.

"We don't know what they mean, but they are amazing."



Above far left: Manu Tiki by Ross Hemera; above: Carving in Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga a Taranga, The Māori Affairs Select Committee Room, Parliament House by Simon Kaan (photograph Norm Heke, from the Parliamentary Collection); above right: Chris Heaphy Moustache, 1995 (photograph Shar Devine, courtesy of Jonathan Smart Gallery).

"There are things to be learned by looking at these things closely, by spending time with them and getting to know them as living things. When they were put there all those years ago they were there for people to read all through the generations." ROSS HEMERA



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MANA MOANA

Fear factor receding

On an anniversary, such as the tenth year of the Ngāi Tahu Claim Settlement, it's traditional to look back on how things were and to see how they've changed. And the media is an important part of all that.

Mark Wilson, a Christchurch journalist for 20 years, tried to sum up how different the climate of opinion is now. "Ngāi Tahu stories in *The Press* two decades ago were given similar treatment to the Mongrel Mob, whereas the iwi is treated more like the city council these days."

That's in line with what academics say about the New Zealand media of the time. Māori hit the headlines largely if they were seen to have done something wrong – or scary. A climate of fear emerged in Pākehā attitudes in the 1980s when iwi began making claims to the Waitangi Tribunal and reaching settlements with the Crown. It was thought that if Māori were to win, then somehow Pākehā must lose. This was reflected in the way many reporters angled their stories.

Few Pākehā welcomed the historical evidence of the Crown's dishonourable dealings with Māori. Pākehā felt defensive. They saw attempts to address past wrongs in negative terms. They had a poor understanding of New Zealand history and were reluctant to acknowledge what had happened.

In the South Island, when the Government bought high country properties for use in the Settlement and looked at increased participation for Ngāi Tahu in management of the conservation estate, some conservationists were alarmed. They thought the environment would suffer and Ngāi Tahu would restrict access for hunting and recreation.

In time, many accepted that Ngāi Tahu cared about the environment too. They also saw the hypocrisy of criticising the iwi when overseas property owners who had bought recreational areas weren't under the same scrutiny. The fears and lack of trust in Māori management were allayed somewhat by admiration for the way Ngāi Tahu were managing their financial affairs.

Then there were critics, especially in the Māori community, who disliked the corporate approach Ngāi Tahu took to generate wealth from their assets. Some called it inconsistent with tikanga. Others questioned whether profits would go to an elite few rather than flow through to the grass roots.

[In the 1980s] it was thought that if Māori were to win [in reaching settlements with the Crown], then somehow Pākehā must lose. This was reflected in the way many reporters angled their stories.



Often the iwi was panned for not improving their health and social welfare. Those same critics ignored what the iwi was doing and conveniently forgot that health and welfare are primary duties of the State. The public did not have the same expectations of Pākehā property owners, of course.

While such elements were prominent in the media through the 1990s, Ngāi Tahu attracted largely favourable publicity when their settlement was finally announced. And as it shook down, the fear factor was less prominent in the media, although there were jealous comments about "fat cats" and "Māori privilege". Māori had access to scholarships from their iwi that weren't available for Pākehā. (My family doesn't use its resources to fund the education of non-relatives either!)

Tensions within the iwi, which figured in the 1990s news reports, are still being reported in 2008. Issues include questions of mana. Who should control the assets? How democratic are the processes? What's the status of the various hapū? The media loves this stuff, and it'll be news as long as iwi members express strong views on it.

On average, *The Press* in Christchurch prints at least one story about Ngāi Tahu each week. Editorial staff see the iwi as important to the whole readership, just like local government. "It's our role as journalists to hold Ngāi Tahu to account, because they have power and responsibility affecting the people of this area", says Mark Wilson, features editor for *The Press*.

Nowadays, he says, the newspaper is less mono-cultural and more sensitive if a reader writes to the newspaper and picks them up for perpetuating stereotypes or making unfair

generalisations about Ngāi Tahu and Māori in general. "When we do it and someone points it out, we do change and acknowledge our mistakes."

My research of recent stories shows a wide variety of issues are covered in the newspaper, many on the property and business pages where Ngāi Tahu figures like any other major corporation in the South Island.

There was coverage of the memorandum of understanding for co-operation between Tainui and Ngāi Tahu. The impact of the Treelords deal on the ratchet clause in Ngāi Tahu's settlement deal was discussed. In May, journalist Philip Matthews wrote an excellent article for *The Press* on Ngāi Tahu 10 years after the settlement.

More controversial stories featured, too; the Makarora helicopter pilot convicted and jailed for stealing pounamu, and reports on continued internal arguments about mana within the iwi.

I'm told *The Press* changes its "Ngāi Tahu reporters" at least every two years. Journalists find it difficult to cover this family business for too long because they can get caught between the family factions. No doubt Ngāi Tahu also find it a challenge relating to a Pākehā-dominated media.

Looking back, the tone of stories about Māori and treaty settlements is changing across the country, and South Island media are very much part of this more mature approach. ■■

Carol Archie is a journalist and author who for 30 years has taken a keen interest in reporting Māori matters. Her text book, Pou Kōrero, A Journalists' Guide to Māori and Current Affairs, is used in media training throughout the country.



PHOTOGRAPH: ADRIENNE REWI

Customary fisheries management tools are gaining traction as more Ngāi Tahu hapū are working towards mātaītai reserves to protect traditional food-gathering areas. Kaituhituhi Adrienne Rewi looks into the planning stages in the first of a four-part series on mātaītai.

Donald Couch stands on the balcony of his Rāpaki home and swings his arm in a wide arc across the bay, pointing out the boundaries of the world's first mātaītai reserve set up a decade ago to protect the customary fisheries reserves of his hapū.

Couch is deputy kaiwhakahaere at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and one of the Rāpaki mātaītai tangata tiaki. He is among a growing number of iwi members who believe mātaītai are key to the future sustainability of customary fisheries. He is enthusiastic about the potential of mātaītai as a vehicle for managing mahinga kai.

"Mātaītai are a way in which tangata whenua can exercise their rangatiratanga, their mana kaitiaki. It's not always easy because you then have a responsibility to be proactive in management; but we're in control of our own destiny, our own kaimoana. Nothing is perfect of course, but mātaītai function well. It's a structure we didn't have before the claim," he says.

Pictured above: Rāpaki, the world's first mātaītai reserve.



“You need to be clear about the positive aspects of mātaítai and you need to address any fears, suspicions or concerns that people have so they can understand that mātaítai are not as threatening as they think ... But one thing is for sure, that tradition of fishing like hell until you’ve got the very last one is over. Those days are gone.”

DONALD COUCH
Rāpaki mātaítai tangata tiaki

Ten years after the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act of 1992 – better known as the “Sealord’s Deal” – customary fisheries management tools are gaining traction and increasing numbers of Ngāi Tahu marae are working towards establishing mātaítai reserves to protect traditional food gathering areas.

Nigel Scott (Kāti Hāteatea, Ngāi Tūāhuriri) is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu’s Toitū Te Whenua environmental advisor. Scott is the main facilitator working alongside Ngāi Tahu whānui and says although mātaítai are only part of a much broader fisheries management framework, they have a significant role to play. He believes their establishment is all about “the unfinished business of the settlement”.

“The Treaty negotiations gave us a number of fisheries management tools. Some have been implemented broadly. For instance, we now have tangata tiaki/kaitiaki (customary fisheries managers) appointed over 95 per cent of our tribal area and that work’s going really well. But we only have about five mātaítai and two taiapure implemented to this point, although there are a number of other applications in process with the Ministry of Fisheries,” says Scott.

To help planning processes gain momentum, Toitū Te Whenua has become more proactive in the last few years in co-ordinating mātaítai applications.

“Some marae have been fast out of the blocks and have successful mātaítai in place. Now we are keen to support other marae through the process to ensure everyone has the chance to make the most of Settlement opportunities.

“From a fisheries management point of view, the community previously had very limited ability to put traditional tikanga-based rules in place. With the advent of mātaítai, they now have legislative backing to protect traditional customary resources. Mātaítai give our people an avenue to apply traditional knowledge and if we get these things in place we are much better placed to look after our resources for future generations.”

Scott points to the Rāpaki mātaítai reserve as a positive case study. Established in 1998, it has been so successful and so well supported by the wider community, that the rūnanga is now planning a second mātaítai to cover the whole of Lyttelton Harbour.

“The Rāpaki community was powerless to do anything about the depletion of their customary reserves prior to mātaítai,” he says. “The tool has given them teeth. They now have the ability to be involved in their own

fisheries future and we hope that will be a good example for others – to demonstrate how a customary fishery can recover without impacting negatively on the wider community.

“That’s something we want to see for everyone.”

Donald Couch is pleased with the Rāpaki outcomes. He acknowledges the local mātaítai covers “a fairly limited area” but says it is doing its job. A variety of species – pāua, cockles, mussels, rock oysters, flounder, whairepo (stingray) and pioke (rig) – were in decline but within a year of establishing the mātaítai, a bylaw was in place prohibiting pāua takes and re-seeding had begun. Today pāua numbers are much healthier and the tangata tiaki work closely with National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA) and the University of Canterbury in the scientific study of water quality and fish populations.

“But of course fish don’t stop at the boundaries of a mātaítai,” says Couch. “They swim in and out. That’s why we’re now planning a second mātaítai for the rest of Lyttelton Harbour.

“There were proposals to expand the existing mātaítai but because there are some distinctive features at Rāpaki, like the banning of pāua take, which would not be appropriate elsewhere in the harbour, we decided on the less complicated route of developing a second mātaítai excluding Rāpaki.”

In Rāpaki, the mātaítai is managed by tangata whenua. The second harbour-wide mātaítai, once established, will be managed with the involvement of representatives from all harbour communities. That proposal now has rūnanga approval and it has been put forward to the Lyttelton Harbour Issues Group, which includes representatives from the harbour communities, ECan, Christchurch City Council, Port Lyttelton, Community and Public Health, Department of Conservation and the Community Board.

Couch says the rūnanga has received excellent support. He attributes that to establishing positive links within the community.

“There are all sorts of opportunities for opposition to develop throughout the mātaítai planning process so it is vital to do the groundwork in the beginning to ensure smooth progress through the more technical stages of establishing mātaítai.

“You need to be clear about the positive aspects of mātaítai and you need to address any fears, suspicions or concerns that people have so they can understand that mātaítai are not as threatening as they think. To a large extent nothing changes once a mātaítai is in place. Recreational fishing continues as normal – other than for the species that have restrictions

placed on their use,” says Couch.

“We’re lucky going into our second mātaítai application. We know what works and what doesn’t. However, we still have a lot of talking to do yet, especially in relation to the variation of resources throughout the harbour.

“But one thing is for sure, that tradition of fishing like hell until you’ve got the very last one is over. Those days are gone.”

Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon agrees. As one of the tangata tiaki for Kaikōura Rūnanga, Solomon has strong views about “the absurdity of current recreational fishing limits”. He is keen to see Kaikōura’s seven proposed mātaítai in place sooner rather than later. Four of those proposed mātaítai will cover four separate stretches of Kaikōura coastline; three will cover the Kahutara, Ōaro and Conway Rivers.

According to Solomon, the issue for Kaikōura coastal areas is not about “the rights of recreational fishermen” but about what they are taking from the water.

“We don’t know the full extent of what’s being taken and we have to be able to identify that before we can have a comprehensive sustainable management plan. We don’t have an issue with commercial fishing in parts of the proposed mātaítai reserves up here. They’ve proven themselves to be as sustainability conscious as we are. When they were given the opportunity to increase their crayfish quota by 15 per cent recently, they unambiguously refused in the interests of building crayfish populations.

“The pāua divers are also very proactive in re-seeding,” says Solomon. On the other hand, studies have shown that over the Christmas period, 5000-8000 pāua are taken per day by recreational fishermen – that’s a considerable amount of pāua.”

He believes some of the permissible recreational takes are “an absolute nonsense. For example, my whānau of six are entitled to 900 cockles a day under the recreational take.”

When it comes to the planning and proposed implementation of fisheries tools, the Kaikōura Rūnanga has taken a different approach to other marae. Their first step was to set up an integrated community group – Te Korowai o Te Tai o Marokura (Kaikōura Coastal Marine Guardians) – in 2006. With an area of interest covering the coast and sea between Waiau Toa (Clarence River), south to Tūtāe Putaputa (Conway River), Te Korowai’s primary role is to develop an integrated strategic plan for the Kaikōura marine environment, including the implementation and monitoring of mātaítai.

Kaikōura Rūnanga general manager Tim Manawatu (Ngāi Tahu/Rangitāne) says getting full community backing has been integral throughout the establishment of Te Korowai and, more recently, in the planning of mātaítai.

He admits there was some initial misunderstanding about mātaítai within the community – “a fear that Māori were coming along and taking over the world” – but by forming Te Korowai and involving all Kaikōura stakeholders, many of the heated arguments experienced in other communities have been avoided.

“We’ve had this on the table for seven years and we won’t push it too hard or too fast until everyone is on board and secure in the concept,” says Manawatu.

Getting people to understand what a mātaítai can and cannot do is the biggest hurdle he says and the rūnanga has worked closely with Toitū Te Whenua and Ministry of Fisheries representatives to help facilitate that understanding.

“They’ve been very supportive in terms of compliance and informing all stakeholders of the parameters of mātaítai legislation. I’ve seen some bitter fights over this sort of thing and they can take years to resolve. I didn’t want that here,” says Manawatu.



“Mātaítai establishment is all about the unfinished business of the settlement... we are keen to support other marae through the process to ensure everyone has the chance to make the most of settlement opportunities.”

NIGEL SCOTT Toitū Te Whenua environmental advisor, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

PHOTOGRAPH: KAT BAULL

“I didn’t want Te Korowai to disintegrate because of rifts over the mātaítai planning process. It was important for us to reassure everyone that mātaítai are not something to be afraid of. It’s a concept that will ultimately benefit everyone in New Zealand and it will encourage people to be passionate about protecting their local fishery for the future.”

The planned mātaítai for the Peninsula and Haumuri Bluffs will impact on local commercial pāua and cray fishermen so Kaikōura Rūnanga is looking at the dual processing of the mātaítai applications alongside regulations that reinstate commercial fishing back into these reserves.

Solomon says because there are inevitable delays in the processing of regulations to reinstate commercial fishing into a mātaítai – delays the commercial fishermen cannot afford – the rūnanga will simultaneously apply for both the mātaítai and the ability to immediately impose regulations allowing the commercial pāua and cray fishermen access within these two mātaítai areas.

“That will enable them to sustain their livelihoods and they in turn have pledged to continue their own sustainable fishing practices. Ultimately, I think all our dreams for the sea – Māori and Pākehā – are the same. We just come at them from different perspectives and we just have to learn to listen to each other. No one wanted to listen ten years ago but today people realise the mātaítai tool is a very good one and it is working. It isn’t a lock-out tool. Mātaítai are for everyone’s benefit.”

Kaikōura rūnanga kaiāwhina Raewyn Solomon (Ngāti Kuri/Rangitāne Ngāti Toa) says Te Korowai has been integral to the planning of mātaítai.

“The two are completely intertwined and the reality is our rūnanga cannot look after and monitor these areas alone. We need the community behind us to implement the long term hapū vision.

“There’s a long road ahead but the community at large has a lot of pride in Te Korowai and we now have people jumping out of their skins to be part of it. There’s no rocket science involved. It’s all about honesty and willingness to compromise.”

Wairewa Rūnanga Chariman Robin Wybrow (Ngāi Tahu) agrees public fears about “Māori taking over the world” with mātaimai applications and what they mean to fishermen are best allayed by full, honest and open dialogue with the wider community.

“In Wairewa we have been able to mitigate the risks of bad feeling by holding a number of public meetings in Birdlings Flat and Little River. From the outset our strategy has been inclusive rather than exclusive,” he says.

The Wairewa Rūnanga is planning two mātaimai – one to cover Lake Wairewa (one of only two lakes in New Zealand that is recognised in law as a customary fishery) and its tributaries; the other to stretch from Te Kaiō (Tumbledown Bay) in the east, across Birdlings Flat and along Kaitōrete Spit.

“We thought mātaimai would go down like a lead balloon but surprisingly the public have embraced the concept – to the point where the wider community suggested we extend the boundaries of the coastal mātaimai to include more of Kaitōrete Spit than we originally planned. We have since done that and everyone is happy with the application,” says Wybrow.

Issues at Wairewa are more complex because the lake has a severe problem with sedimentation and the blue-green algae, *Nodularia spumigena*, which produces deadly cyanotoxin in summer. It is predicted unless the issue is addressed, the lake could well be a swamp within five years and devoid of the tūna that once sustained the hapū and whānau.

Wybrow says the lake is no longer the bountiful food basket it once was; nor is its future secure for his mokopuna. To that end, the Wairewa Rūnanga has developed a larger vision for the lake that includes the Department of Conservation, ECan, the Christchurch City Council and the Ministry of Fisheries.

“We want to reinstate a permanent outlet from the lake to the sea to change the lake’s chemistry and to control depth, temperature and salinity for the better health of our resources. Wairewa was a food basket for Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury. It was extremely rich in mahinga kai – everything from kanakana to the tūna it is still famous for. We want it to return to that as part of the overall vision for mahinga kai cultural parks, which is part of the Ngāi Tahu Vision 2025 document; but you can’t have a mahinga kai cultural park without mahinga kai.”

Wybrow sees the re-opening of the lake and the development of mātaimai going hand-in-hand.

“It’s all about kaitiakitanga, about looking after your resource. I see mātaimai as cultural footprints. They are re-establishing the presence of the hapū within the community and they are doing that in a constructive, collaborative way.”

He believes mātaimai are potentially a very good management tool.

“I think we will learn as we go along and that the Māori fisheries management tools will change as we go through that process but this is a great start, a sound move in the right direction.

“It’s early days since the settlement and I take my hat off to Nigel Scott. He’s probably New Zealand’s leading expert on the customary fisheries regulations and he’s helped us in so many ways.”

Wybrow says the issues around mahinga kai were the most emotionally charged in the claim.



“It was important for us to reassure everyone that mātaimai are not something to be afraid of. It’s a concept that will ultimately benefit everyone in New Zealand and it will encourage people to be passionate about protecting their local fishery for the future.”

TIM MANAWATU Kaikōura Rūnanga general manager

“That’s not surprising given that Ngāi Tahu are fishing people,” he says.

“It’s hugely important to us, to who we are and to our way of life. Mahinga kai was the social and political currency of Ngāi Tahu and I’d love to see that happening again. I think mātaimai ties together a lot of that cultural thinking. They have a much broader perspective than just being a fisheries management tool and they should help us reinstate some of those worthy cultural values. At the end of the day, mātaimai are all about caring for the people, the community, the resources and the future.”

Right: Sign at Lake Wairewa advising visitors to take care as the lake is to be opened to the sea; and far right: Lake Wairewa.



UNDERSTANDING FISHERIES MANAGEMENT TOOLS

MĀTAITAI

Mātaimai reserves can be established over marine or freshwater areas that have traditionally been used for customary food gathering. They allow tangata whenua to manage non-commercial fishing in the area once more. Tangata tiaki/kaitiaki can recommend bylaws to manage fishing in keeping with local sustainable management practices. The reserves are permanent but the bylaws may change over time. Tangata whenua and recreational fishers may fish in mātaimai reserves, but commercial fishing is banned unless reinstated by the Minister of Fisheries upon a request from tangata tiaki. Mātaimai do not prevent access to beaches or rivers.

For more information go to the Toitū Te Whenua page at www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz, keywords: area management tools.

TAIĀPURE

Taiāpure can be established over local fisheries in estuarine or coastal waters to recognise the special significance of the area to local iwi or hapū, either as a food source, or for cultural/spiritual reasons. The major difference between taiāpure and mātaimai is that taiāpure allow commercial fishing from establishment.

TEMPORARY CLOSURES OR METHOD RESTRICTIONS (RĀHUI)

Tangata whenua can apply for closures or restrictions in areas where fisheries are depleted. They are temporary in nature for a period of no more than two years, although they may be renewed.

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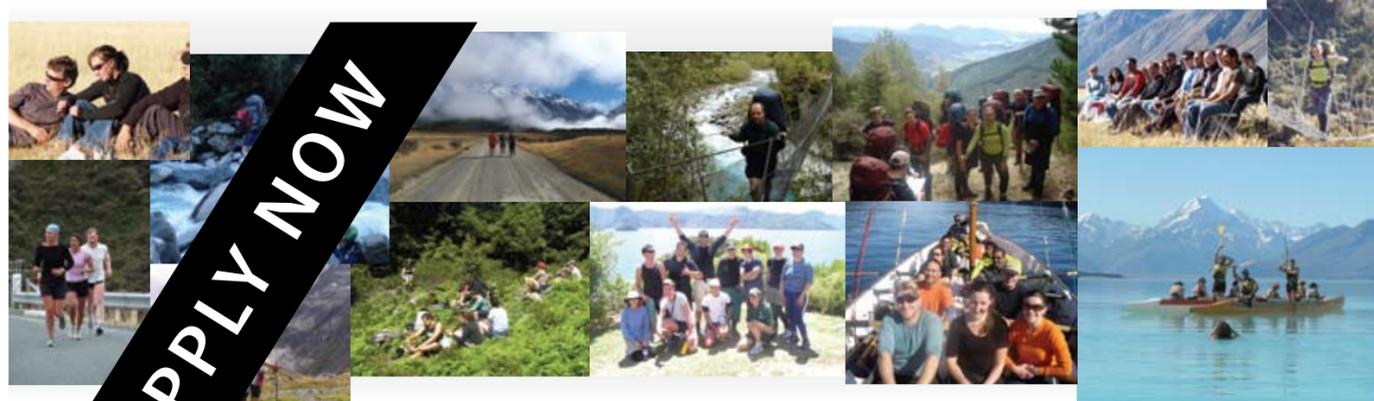


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NGĀ HUA O KĀTI HUIRAPA KI PUKETERAKI
nā ADRIENNE REWI

Great weather for duck

UNCLE RANGI WAS THE BEST SHOOTER, THE KINGPIN. HE LIVED DUCK SHOOTING AND WAS BIG ON TRADITIONAL VALUES. JASON DELL GETS THE JUICES FLOWING AS HE HINTS AT THE DUCK FEAST TO COME.

The seaside fishing village of Karitāne was shrouded in a wintry haze of mist and drizzle when we arrived – great weather for ducks and a fitting observation since we were carrying a precious cargo of one highly regarded chef and 15 ready-to-cook birds.

As we drove to Karitāne's Puketeraki Marae, 30 minutes north of Dunedin, chef Jason Dell dropped hints of duck roasted with stuffed apple and cardamom and served with roasted parsnips, kūmara puree, orange and beetroot salad and blackcurrant jus.

It wasn't meant as a bribe, but we willingly carried in his heavy cooking wares nonetheless.

Inside, the kaumātua of Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki had gathered to talk about their finest duck harvesting memories. Upoko, Dave Ellison got things started.

"Duck shooting was always very popular in the tidal waters of the Waikouaiti River and back in the 1950s we all had our special spots. The Ellison areas were always clearly marked and you didn't dare go near anyone else's spot," he says.

"There was always a bit of a competition to see how many ducks you could get, and Hawea Ellison and Rangī Te Tau – or Uncle Rangī as we



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A table for for Puketeraki whānau: (left to right) Diana Mules; Ann Barber; Barbara Palmer; Martin Palmer; Dave Ellison; Annie Ellison; Ron McLachlan; Holly McLachlan; Taine Parker (child); Brendon Flack; Matt Ellison.

called him – were well-known for getting the limit. It was Uncle Rangī who took me out when I was about 15. He was the best shooter, the kingpin. He lived it and he was big on traditional values.

“He made sure we didn’t waste anything and he taught us to keep one or two ducks for ourselves and to koha the rest.”

Duck shooting was a way of life then. Dave remembers May and June being geared around “duck shooting and footy practice” and he recalls sociable times in the mai mai.

“Our mai mai had varying degrees of comfort. Mine had a sofa, a bench, a cooker, a bar and a cupboard for the Scotch and it was a popular meeting place on opening day.

“I never got as many ducks as some but I was the most comfortable,” he says with a grin.

“Everyone met at my place after the morning shoot, and then we’d go home for lunch and be out again by 4.30 and there till dark. We’d have a yarn in the mai mai and maybe a game of cards. It was about far more than just ducks – it was the conviviality of the whole business.

“Nor was it just a matter of food gathering. In season, ducks were an important food – not as important as tītī, but as seasonal mahinga kai they were valued, especially during the war. We were lucky here in Karitāne, though. We had plentiful food supplies, so we survived well through that period.”

Like any kai gathering, duck shooting was always a family affair. Uncle Rangī’s son, Matt Ellison, 53, has vivid memories of the “ritual” of plucking the birds with his sister and mother with “feathers flying in all directions”, and the gathering of the family for a big roast duck dinner afterwards.

He remembers his father as a passionate hunter and gatherer who knew the old ways – the snaring and trapping of flappers (young birds in moult stage) – but also embraced modern innovations.

“By the time I came along, Dad was following the letter of the law. It has been argued though that a hunting season goes against the philosophy of customary rights and that there should be a customary allowance beyond the shooting season. The taking of adults over flappers is at odds with tikanga practice. We were always taught – with any species – to leave the breeding adults alone and to take the younger specimens.

“But European hunting practices are now the



“We had a little karakia before we all went out last time as recognition and a sign of respect for koiora rereketaka, or biodiversity. It’s all about relationships and the idea of respecting the gifts that have been handed down to us. We don’t hunt ducks just for the kill.”

Matt Ellison

rule, and very few people know much about the snaring of flappers.”

One who does is Martin Palmer, 78, from the Motorata whānau at the mouth of the Taieri River. He has lived there all his life and has done a lot of duck shooting.

“We always looked forward to duck shooting season on the farm. The birds were an important part of our diet. They were free food, and we went out of our way to get as many as we could and not to waste a thing.

“In early times we favoured the big Central Otago grey duck, but when mallards took over, they became the preference. We didn’t bother shooting paradise ducks unless there were no mallards about. Paradise meat is different. It’s stronger, almost like goose meat.”

The duck harvest was also important to his father and grandfather.

“They used to get enormous numbers of birds. I don’t know how they preserved them, although I have heard duck could be preserved in fat and kelp bags in a similar manner to tītī.

“My grandfather also told me how they used to round the young ducks up just when they were moulting and unable to fly. They’d chase them into the raupō and catch them with nets. I’ve chased a few myself, but unless you know the tricks of how and where to chase them, you’re in for a long hunt. They flap along the creeks very quickly.

“We got a few as boys and the meat was certainly softer. You didn’t have to cook them as long as you do the adult birds.”

Any secret shooting tips?

“The more decoys you put out, the better,” says Martin. “And be a good quacker.

“And look out for a storm coming up in the afternoon. When there’s plenty of wind and rain the ducks will fly into the swamps in big numbers.”

Matt Ellison has gone out of his way to remember his father’s hunting tips, too.

“I’ve tried to live up to Dad’s legacy; and to my brother, Hawea who is now 71. He’s the head duck man around Karitāne now, and he’s brought his boys up with that same hunting and gathering legacy. My son, who is now 27, is also a keen shooter, and this year we all went out together including my mokopuna Liam, who is just six.”

He agrees that it was all a big adventure for Liam, but for the adults, the urge to go out and harvest ducks is ingrained.

“You do get a feeling of satisfaction from hunting and gathering, from the ability to provide from the land. I think the focus has come back to making the association between food and where it comes from and to appreciating and respecting the cycle of life.

“We had a little karakia before we all went out last time as recognition and a sign of respect for koiora rereketaka, or biodiversity. It’s all about relationships and the idea of respecting the gifts that have been handed down to us. We don’t hunt ducks just for the kill. We don’t waste them. That was instilled in me. For my father, food was the prime driver.

“I still follow that, but we’re a little more social and it’s very much a family affair.”

WILD DUCK

One of the most common complaints when it comes to eating wild duck is the inevitable crunch from biting down on a pellet. Thankfully, due to generosity from the extended whānau at Rāpaki, for today’s assignment we were to savour Paradise duck and these birds I am told, were captured in a different manner to the “point, aim and shoot” method.

Among the cooking fraternity today it is common to debone duck (usually the farmed variety), and to cook individual pieces/cuts, as opposed to cooking the duck whole.

For this occasion at Karitāne, I cooked the birds whole in a hot oven, then rested them before carving the meat.

Wild duck has a very distinctive gamey flavour, and when choosing what to serve alongside it, you cannot go past beetroot and roast root vegetables like parsnips and potatoes. To cut through the rich meatiness of the bird, I chose to make a sauce perfumed with blackcurrants. The meal was accompanied with a watercress, beetroot, orange and walnut salad.

Kia wakea mai!

Jason Dell

Jason Dell (Ngāi Tahu/Ngāti Wheke)
Executive chef, Blanket Bay,
Glenorchy, New Zealand



Duck hunting, Puketeraki in 1975: (left to right) the Palmer family – Owen, Robyn, Leonie, Rachel and Deborah with father Martin.

CARDAMOM ROASTED WILD DUCK, ROAST VEGETABLES, AND BLACKCURRANT SAUCE WITH WATERCRESS, COS LETTUCE, BEETROOT, ORANGE AND WALNUT SALAD

Serves 6

INGREDIENTS

- 1 wild duck
- 1 tsp garlic powder
- 1 tbsp salt
- 1 tbsp vegetable oil
- 2 cloves garlic
- 1 white onion
- 1 large granny smith apple
- 2 twigs thyme
- 2 tsp cardamom seeds, crushed
- 1 tsp light olive oil
- 1 large onion
- 1 large carrot

METHOD

Sprinkle the garlic powder and salt all over the duck. Moisten with a little vegetable oil.

Chop the garlic, onion, apple and thyme and mix with the cardamom and olive oil and fill the cavity of the duck.

Place duck on top of some chopped onion/carrot in the centre of roasting tray.

Roast at 350degF (175degC) for 1 hour 10 minutes for a slightly rare duck, or

1½ hours for a well-done duck. Carve the breast and cut the leg/thigh off and keep warm.

Reserve the carcass for making duck stock.

BLACKCURRANT SAUCE

- 4 tbsp frozen blackcurrants
- ½ cup red wine
- 2 cups brown chicken stock
- 2 tbsp redcurrant jelly

METHOD

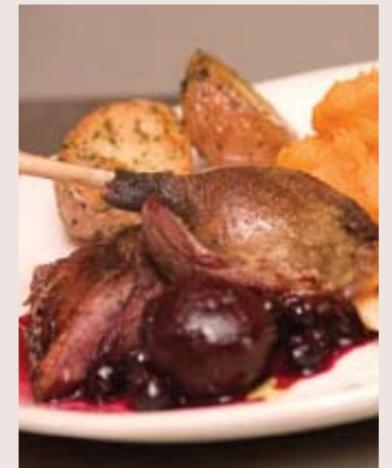
Put the ingredients for the blackcurrant sauce in a saucepan and reduce by half. Thicken slightly with 1 teaspoon of diluted cornflour/arrowroot. Season with salt and pepper.

WATERCRESS, COS LETTUCE, ORANGE, BEETROOT AND WALNUT SALAD

- 2 beetroot, cooked, cut into quarters
- 1 orange, skinned and cut into segments
- ¾ cup watercress tips
- ¾ cup cos lettuce torn
- ½ cup walnut halves, toasted
- ½ cup olive oil
- ¼ cup red wine vinegar
- ½ tsp honey

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NGĀI TAHU SEAFOOD



PHOTOGRAPHS PHILTUMATAROA

METHOD

First combine the vinegar, olive oil and honey for dressing.

Arrange some slices of the beetroot and orange on a flat plate, scatter over the watercress and cos lettuce, then scatter over the walnuts, then the remaining orange and beetroot. Spoon over the dressing and serve.

JACK OF ALL TRADES

Forest supplejack vines can get you in a tangle, but their practical uses are many from hīnaki to baby bouncer.

Supplejack, also known as piritā or kareao, is a climbing plant that inhabits the deep, dark, shadowy gullies of our native bush.

In Māori legend, this plant is said to have sprouted from taniwha Tunaroa's bloody tail tip, which Māui hacked to pieces and tossed far and wide into the bush for molesting his wife Raukura.

This is one plant you won't find in a glossy coffee-table book on the 100 prettiest native plants to grace your suburban garden.

Like many of our aka (vines), supplejack is regarded as a blessed nuisance, a dense impenetrable tangle that strangles the life out of regenerating native bush and stops intrepid bush walkers and hunters in their tracks. Little wonder it was known as "taihoa" or "wait-a-while" by Pākehā bushmen.

It is found in lowland forests throughout the country. The vines grow from a bulb the size of a man's fist, their long glossy black strands about the thickness of a finger, with a knuckle at each node like bamboo.

From the moment this creeper emerges from the shadows of the forest floor, it fights its way up into the limelight of the canopy, wrapping itself around the limbs of saplings and forest giants alike, sometimes even dragging them to their knees with its stranglehold.

Yet despite its bad press, supplejack had an extraordinary range of uses for our tīpuna, from the familiar and functional manufacture of hīnaki (eel traps), fish traps, nets and bird cages to the obscure, such as cauterising bullet wounds, brewing a refreshing bush beer or a medicinal tonic to treat almost everything from a sore throat to chronic rheumatism.

Our fathers, uncles and cousins still remember cutting supplejack vines from the bush and building tāruke (crayfish pots) on the beaches of small fishing kāiika along the southern coasts in the mid-1900s. In latter years, they improvised with hybrid designs, lacing supplejack hoops together with good old-fashioned No. 8 wire. They weighted their pots with concrete or perhaps scrap iron generously donated by New Zealand Railways.

Traditional tāruke had significant advantages over the steel-framed, wire-netting clad pots that eventually replaced them. They were strong, didn't rust and were durable and flexible enough to withstand perhaps ten or 12 years of the worst storms Tangaroa could throw at them. Today, some examples of these pots are displayed in rustic restaurants and museums around the country.

Researchers tell us supplejack was used to make all sorts of ingenious fishing devices, traps,

nets and scoops. Stiff, springy hoops of vine were used to hold open the mouths of scoop nets or to strengthen and reinforce fish traps, hīnaki (eel nets) and bag nets.

Pākehā and Māori used this vine laced between a couple of saplings to make a stretcher to carry the wounded out of the bush, or to create an old-fashioned bed "sprung" with a lattice-work of interwoven vines.

Supplejack splits easily so was used for tying, binding and strapping materials together. Boys built bows from supplejack, schoolmasters used supplejack canes to discipline lads who misbehaved and a bundle of the vines, tightly bound, and lit made a useful torch for night-time pursuits.

Ethnographer Elsdon Best recorded one of the most unusual uses of this versatile vine in 1906. Tough hoops of supplejack were poked into the ground and lashed together to support the weight of a young child learning to walk. Young parents today would probably recognise this contraption as a modern-day "baby bouncer". Talk about history repeating itself.

Brilliant red berries and the tender shoots of supplejack were eaten, but it was the plant's leaves, young shoots and roots that were most valued for their range of bush medicines. Murdoch Riley has documented dozens of historical uses of this plant in his definitive ethnobotanical reference book, *Māori Healing and Herbal*.

In wartime, a dry piece of supplejack cane was ignited and the smoke directed on to bullet wounds to stop the bleeding. If that didn't work, the hot, smouldering end of the cane was applied directly to cauterise the wound, which may then have been stopped up with clay.

Fortunately, to stop bleeding the same results could be achieved by applying the free-flowing sap of a young vine (kōrito piritā) or a poultice of leaves or crushed roots. The first of these techniques is still used in the bush by pig hunters if their dogs are ripped open by a boar's tusks.

On a more civilised level, the roots of supplejack were regarded as a worthy bush substitute for sarsaparilla. Roots were skinned and pounded to produce a liquid that was universally used as a tonic, blood purifier and cure-all for fever, debility, severe rheumatism, kidney, liver and bowel complaints. And like many early bush remedies, this brew was also used to treat all kinds of itches, aches and sexually transmitted diseases.

There are historical accounts of large volumes of this "revolting liquid" being drunk to induce an abortion. However, the method was unreliable and the "cure" was reportedly worse than

having a baby.

One source notes that as the young vines harden, the sap is slightly sweet and can be chewed like sugar cane. When the vine is cut off at ground level, the sap rises and ferments like yeast.

One report from Northland tells of a "wonderful beer; clear, gold and heady" – made from tough, stringy young supplejack roots that were chopped into slivers to extract the juice by boiling.

On that note, a thoroughly fitting toast to one of the treasures of Te Ngahere a Tāne. ■■



Above: supplejack node and plant base.

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Sarah is a Case Manager with Aon in the Waikato region. In this role she facilitates the medical treatment of injured workers so that they can return to work.

Sarah has joined both Whai Rawa and AonSaver to help her save for her future.

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SAVER PROFILE NAME: Sarah Morrison • **OCCUPATION:** Case Manager - WorkAon • **AGE:** 28

HE WHAKAARO
OPINION nā TOM BENNION

Settlement surge

A lot of things are happening on the claims settlement front.

As of September 1, the ability to make historical claims ceases. The Waitangi Tribunal is holding a series of meetings in areas where it has not yet conducted a district inquiry to explain implications of the legislation.

The September deadline has one very serious implication. Thousands of hectares of land are currently subject to memorials which provide that the Waitangi Tribunal might in the future hear claims over the land and make binding recommendations for its return to iwi. If after September 1 there are lands over which no historical claims have been made, the effect of those memorials might lapse.

As far as I am aware, that consequence has not been clearly spelt out to potential claimant groups – particularly in districts where no hearings have yet been held or negotiations commenced with the Crown.

At the same time, the Government has embarked on a remarkable settlement negotiations "surge". It appears to be on track to settle a large number of historic Treaty claims before the general election. As far as I can tell, there is no calculated political gain for Labour in this. The Māori seats will not be retained or regained, and the non-Māori majority does not vote on the basis of Treaty settlements achieved. The surge has allowed National's Chris Finlayson to state with confidence that his party can settle all historical claims by 2014. We now await the inevitable question to Mr Finlayson: "So does this mean that the surge is working?"

For Labour, this all seems to be a legacy issue. A similar thing happened in 1999 when Sir Douglas Graham embarked on a frenzy of settlements leading up to the elections. The last one was signed only hours before polling stations opened. This latest "surge" is much bigger. And all the signs are that the Labour Government will go to the wire this year as well.

This whirlwind approach is not without its problems. Iwi who have painfully and slowly negotiated to a settlement in the past few years, and who have been constantly told what is not possible in Treaty settlements, are looking on in amazement and concern at what now seems

Iwi who have been told what is not possible in Treaty settlements are looking on in amazement and concern at what now seems to be on offer.



to be on offer. Small, but potentially significant, differences are popping up in "full and final settlement" aspects of the signed agreements. In addition, Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui might seek top-up payments of around \$30m each.

The renewed interest in those relativity clauses arises in large part because of the so-called "Treelords" settlement which provides around \$400m in redress. On that basis, newspapers have been reporting that Ngāi Tahu and Waikato-Tainui might seek top-up payments of around \$30m each.

The Treelords deal is a clever one. It recognises that the big problem in settling forest claims has been disentangling the money from the land. The arrangement has been that if iwi prove their claims over forest lands, the Crown returns the land, subject to any cutting rights held by third parties (which can last up to 35 years), and a sum in cash to compensate for the time spent waiting for the cutting rights to expire and the land to come back into use by the iwi.

The genius of the deal has been to get Central North Island tribes (representing more than 100,000 Māori) to agree immediately on their percentage of the approximately \$222m cash sum and to get that payout now. The ownership of the land (worth some \$195.7m) will be sorted out among the iwi by 2011. To this end, the Central North Island Forests Land Collective Settlement Bill introduced on June 25 contains a schedule setting out a "Tikanga-based resolution process for CNI forests land". The aim is

that "CNI forests land will be allocated to iwi on the basis of mana whenua and the agreements reached between iwi in a kanohi ki te kanohi process".

Iwi have to produce mana whenua maps, backed by appropriate traditional sources and any written sources such as land court records. Then there will be face-to-face discussions, "the expectation is of kōrero rangatira (open principled trustworthy dialogue by rangatira with authority to commit their iwi)". In particular, "no expert advisers, including lawyers and historians, are permitted to participate directly in the kanohi ki te kanohi negotiations". If adjudication is required, a three-person panel of tikanga experts will determine the issue.

Reading it, this has everything the long-running fisheries allocation process lacked – a description of allocation principles, a detailed procedure, and a tight timetable (all allocation decisions are to be made by June 25, 2011) and lawyers kept on a tight leash. It will be fascinating to see how it works.

Given all this, the next government may have little to do except argue with Ngāi Tahu and Waikato Tainui about relativity top-ups. ■■

Tom Bennion is a Wellington lawyer specialising in resource management and Māori land claim and Treaty issues. Formerly a solicitor at the Waitangi Tribunal, he is currently the editor of the Māori Law Review, a monthly review of law affecting Māori, established in 1993. He recently wrote a book, Making Sense of the Foreshore and Seabed.

CLIMATE CHANGE

*In the ten years since Ngāi Tahu signed its settlement with the Crown, has the political climate around the negotiations process cooled down, or is it just warming up? As they head into the General Election, kaitiaki **Katherine Gordon** asks the six major political parties about their approach to settlements.*

The number of agreements settling historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi has snowballed since Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's Deed of Settlement came into effect in 1998. As of September, more than a dozen additional deeds have been completed, five are waiting in the wings for legislation, and seven iwi are in final negotiations. With 17 more claimant groups lined up, things seem to be progressing along nicely on the Crown's settlement agenda.

But for claimants – whether in post- or pre-settlement phase – serious concerns remain outstanding. With an election that promises the real possibility of a major shake-up in Government, how do the main political parties propose to deal with those concerns?

This list includes the Government's insistence on a democratic majority vote over more traditional consensus decision-making processes by iwi, and it insists on only negotiating with "large natural groupings" rather than with individual hapū or whānau.

Fears exist regarding the \$1 billion fiscal cap and its limiting impact on quantum as a result of Ngāi Tahu and Tainui relativity clauses, which require top-up if the cap is exceeded.

A deadline of September 1, 2008 was legislated for registration of all historical claims, and controversially, National, Labour and NZ First have set deadlines to settle all claims.

Also of concern are overlapping claims disputes. That's a matter that doesn't go away after settlement, as Ngāi Tahu discovered to its dismay when the Waitangi Tribunal decided last September that Ngāi Tahu's settlement constitutes a breach by the Crown of the principle of equal treatment between Te Tau Ihu iwi and Ngāi Tahu within Ngāi Tahu's takiwā.

The outcome of that decision is unclear because the Crown is playing its cards close to its chest. The concern on Ngāi Tahu's part is the Crown will reopen its settlement legislation in order to mollify Te Tau Ihu iwi's claims: a not unreasonable fear in light of the Government's all-too-recent willingness, for example, to legislate away potentially inconvenient Māori foreshore and seabed rights.

"Since 1998, the Crown has progressively entrenched its view as to what settlements are all about," says Māori Party leader Tariana Turia, "a financial quantum that acknowledges past wrongs but

doesn't compensate for them."

The Māori Party has unsuccessfully called for a suspension of all settlements until a full review of the process. Among what needs to change, says Turia, is removal of any further concerns regarding the fiscal cap by a buy-out of the relativity clauses from Ngāi Tahu and Tainui, increased claimant funding to deal with capacity challenges for small claimant groups, guaranteed minimum quantum levels, and the creation of an independent settlements authority outside the Office of Treaty Settlements (OTS) to mitigate against the imbalance of power between the Crown and claimants.

Turia says the deadlines are "a ridiculous idea", and play on a public desire to see an end to the process when settlements should be about an ongoing and improved relationship. They also place unfair pressure on iwi to enter negotiations before their research is complete.

ACT New Zealand's Rodney Hide says firmly: "Be generous, and make it quick." Hide thinks it may be worthwhile to fiscally reward iwi who move to a speedy settlement and thereby save high negotiating costs.

Hide acknowledges the relativity clauses have an impact: "They're certainly going to keep quantum amounts in check. Any government is going to be mindful of the add-on effect."

The real problem, he says, is the process has become an end point in itself.

"What the settlement process is doing is diverting the attention of Māori away from development while they're arguing about who owns what," says Hide. "Every Māori lawyer and consultant working in the Treaty process could be working on creating wealth instead."

Hide also rejects the idea of any special relationship between Māori and Government: "I think this idea of a partnership between Māori and the Crown is silly."

New Zealand First policies are similar. Its Treaty policy statement says the settlement process has done little for Māori, instead having "the insidious impact of diverting attention and resources away from the real path to prosperity and social progress – sound education, well-paid employment, adequate health and improved housing".



Tariana Turia, Māori Party:
Settlement deadlines place unfair pressure on iwi to enter negotiations.



Pita Paraone, New Zealand First:
If deadlines for settlement are to be met, far more resources are needed.



Dr Michael Cullen, Labour Party:
The main challenge is resolving competing claims.



Chris Finlayson, National Party:
Sees enthusiasm on the part of iwi to move forward in the settlement process.

Even worse, says NZ First, the process has "facilitated the development of a Treaty 'gravy train' which sees large amounts of money going to lawyers and consultants at the expense of those in genuine need".

NZ First MP Pita Paraone believes public support for settling claims is much higher now than it was ten years ago, prompting a greater political desire to set deadlines and stick to them. The party's deadline for settling all historical claims is 2015.

The party supported the September 1 registration deadline. "It's not difficult, and all it costs is an envelope and a postage stamp," says Paraone. "You can do the research afterwards."

He acknowledges, however, if deadlines for settlement are to be met, both OTS and the Tribunal will need far more resources.

He does express a personal disquiet about the Crown policy of negotiating with large groups, pointing out the Treaty was signed by hapū representatives, not just iwi.

On that point, Paraone is at odds with NZ First's stated policy: to "ensure that OTS focuses on large natural groupings". Like ACT, the party wants to see references to the principles of the Treaty removed from legislation, saying they are too ambiguous and have created an unwieldy bureaucracy around their interpretation that was never intended under the Treaty itself.

As Government, the Labour Party has been at the helm of the settlement process since 1999. Currently, there is no sign of change to policies on large natural groupings or mandate rules.

Dr Michael Cullen believes Labour's 2020 target for settling all claims is realistic, but admits the Government needs to give thought to how to provide better negotiating resources for small groups with limited capacity.

He doesn't see the negotiation of relativity clause top-ups as troublesome: "They are likely to be triggered in the next two years, but I don't think dealing with them will be very complex."

Nor does he see any internal downward pressure on quantum as a result. "We are so clearly going to be over the billion-dollar mark, it's just not an issue."

The main challenge that will slow the process down now, he says, is resolving competing claims. Cullen promotes two strategies. "I think the Crown needs to help by supplying facilitators. We also need to move away from the rigid model of land and cash and be more flexible.

"For example, we need to look at greater use of cultural redress, relationship agreements with Government agencies, and social and economic development funding."

National's Chris Finlayson, a former lawyer who once represented Ngāi Tahu in its litigation against the Crown on a number of Treaty-related issues, is eager to harness what he sees as renewed enthusiasm on the part of iwi to move forward in the settlement process. He would like to see the creation of a new liaison office responsible for keeping lines of communication open in the post-settlement phase.

"If I become the Minister, I plan to do this myself," says Finlayson.

National's 2014 deadline appears to be a moving target. Leader John Key has admitted it is unlikely to be achieved, and Finlayson is in print stating the Crown deadlines are unfair. Contradicting both himself and his boss, Finlayson also says: "It signals we're committed to the process. I also think with the kind of determination iwi are demonstrating (the deadline) is achievable."

National's approach to capacity and overlap echoes that of Labour – address the capacity imbalance between small iwi and larger groups, especially where overlaps exist, and provide facilitation support.

Metiria Turei, of the Green Party, calls the registration deadline "appalling" and says "good luck" to the other parties in trying to settle all claims by their proposed deadlines.

"It's (the September 1 deadline) just a political response to Pākehā saying they want to get this Māori stuff over and done with."

Turei thinks Treaty settlements have become a political party trophy to demonstrate to Māori that they're pro-Māori, and to the public that they are achieving goals in this area.

She is concerned the current settlement amounts are generally too low. "If you think about it, for a small iwi, \$20 million won't get you very far these days, especially buying land for development or for social purposes. It doesn't leave you room to do more than one thing so you have to pick and choose – commercial development or social programmes. It's unjust."

Turei also believes the Crown is unduly interfering in mandating of claimant groups by insisting on majority votes rather than consensus, and rejects the requirement for large natural groupings. The latter, she says, is "completely disenfranchising" of Māori. "It would never be tolerated in the Pākehā world."

The Green Party want a review of the whole process from a Māori claimant point of view, something for which neither Labour nor National, fearing loss of momentum, have much appetite. ■■

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Uncle Bill's predictions

(continued from page 10)

arbitrarily extinguished (the Hāwea fishing easement for example – Victoria's heirs and successors turned out to include the New Zealand Government and local bodies).

There had been a tiny bit of compensation: Tom and his surviving siblings were granted shares in the Lord's River reserve under the SILNA (South Island Landless Natives Act).

I was not a year old when Tom paid a visit to Christchurch. John William Hulme (Bill) was of Lancashire descent. He was born in New Zealand (the family migrated here in 1912) but not all of his six sisters were so lucky. He organised a special trip for his family, father-in-law naturally the guest of honour. They visited the Akaroa peninsula, They visited Ōnuku. At that time the marae had gone, and the church wasn't in good repair.

When you look over that brief introduction to my family, you will recognise a very Kāi Tahu story. The intermarriage with the second settlers. The land slipping away. You might even gather that because my grandfather was a stockman, and later a council worker, that a whole way of life that involved birding and fishing had vanished. Well, actually, Tom got tītī (my mother can remember the poha that stood safe in the cool of the wash-house) until the year he died.

The language slipping away (my Nanna spoke some Māori, but none of their children did). The deracination from the marae, as people shifted away from ancestral lands, and began to blend in with The Pākehā Majority ...

But there we are in 1947, my mother Mary says, at Ōnuku, and Tom has me, his first-born grandchild, in his arms. He looks around at the nearly dead marae.

"What a shame," he says. "When this little one grows up, there will be nothing left." 

He Reta

(continued from page 7) Editor: The following is Mr Burns' abridged reply:

There are four sub-species of weka currently recognised – North Island weka, Western weka (western side of South Island, from Marlborough Sounds to Fiordland), Buff Weka (eastern side of South Island) and Stewart Island weka (Stewart Island and islands close to Stewart Island).

Under the Wildlife Act 1953, weka are absolutely protected, and any action such as catching, hunting, trapping, snaring, disturbing etc is illegal. In addition, possession of any weka or parts thereof, including feathers, eggs etc is an offence under this act, unless the possessor has a permit issued by the Department of Conservation.

Two exceptions to the above: for Buff weka in the Chatham Islands, they can be legally hunted on the Chathams, as they were introduced there, and can be considered to not be part of the natural character of these islands. However, if any weka (alive, dead, or parts thereof) are to be taken from the Chathams to Mainland NZ, they become subject to the Wildlife Act and absolutely protected as soon as they reach mainland NZ. Hence, any export of any weka or weka parts requires authority under permit from DOC.

The other exception relates to Stewart Island weka (on islets off Stewart Island and in Foveaux Strait only) – again because they may have been introduced to some of these islands by humans. They are being controlled by iwi on some of the Tītī Islands as they are a known predator of seabirds. However, any interference to weka is still illegal unless authorised under a permit. DOC is actively (with a local community group) re-introducing weka to Stewart Island.

The most logical reason weka in the Chathams are doing so well, yet struggling on the Mainland is presumably due to the absence of mustelids (stoats, weasels, ferrets), and great weka habitat – damp climate and scrubby farmland margins. The Chatham Islands have peat-based soils and lots of worms and other invertebrate foods.

In some South Island places, weka populations are increasing, proving they can survive when given half a chance with predator control operations.

Through the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act, Ngāi Tahu whānui may lawfully hold feathers and dead bodies of protected wildlife, including weka, without the need for a permit.

BOOK PRIZEWINNER

Congratulations to Brett Hoogenbosch of Victoria, Australia. He is the winner of *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration Story – The Carrington Text*.

Ko te kāwai tūturu, he kāwai Auahi Kore

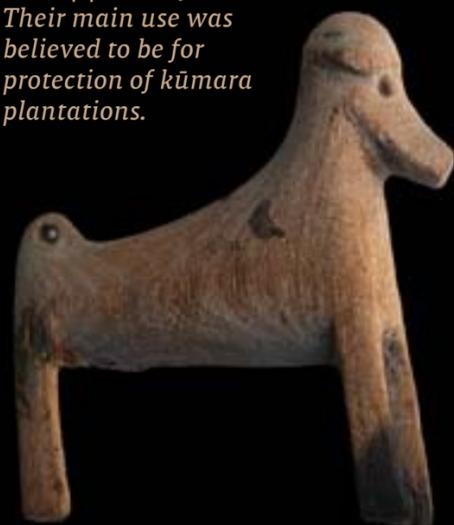


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Godsticks had simple carved images believed to possess the powers of the god they represented when they were dressed up for worship. At other times, they were merely pieces of wood. Their main use was believed to be for protection of kūmara plantations.



Above: The kuri from Monck's Cave, Sumner Beach, Christchurch

PHOTO: COURTESY TE RŪNANGA O RĀPAKI AND CANTERBURY MUSEUM, CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND

Right: Godstick, Moa Flat Station, Central Otago; far right: Godstick, The Pyramids, Otago Peninsula.

PHOTOS: COURTESY OTAGO MUSEUM, DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND

Godstick power



Few carvings of the earliest period of Māori settlement of Aotearoa have survived the test of time. Of those that have, most have been preserved in the thick mud of swamps, in dry beach sand or in the cool, dry atmosphere of caves.

Among these survivors are a few unique wooden artefacts that stand out, not for their great beauty or craftsmanship, but for their simplicity.

Perhaps the most famous of all is the iconic kuri (dog) that was found in Monck's Cave at Sumner Beach in Christchurch. It is distinctive for its plain lines, in stark contrast to the elaborate decoration of later Māori art forms and woodcarving in particular.

Almost as famous as the Monck's Cave kuri is a rare carving also found in a cave near two basalt outcrops known as The Pyramids at Okia Flat, on Otago Peninsula. This austere figure stands 21cm tall, has a long neck, broken arms and legs and obviously represents a male.

Both these archaic examples of Māori woodcarving have appeared in many publications tracking the archaeological history of Māori settlement of the south.

In his book *Māori Wood Sculpture*, Dr Terry Barrow, a former ethnologist with the Dominion Museum in Wellington, says the Pyramid artefact is one of very few carvings to come out of the South Island.

"It is usually regarded as representing a god rather than an ancestor as its form resembles certain stick gods of the Māori," he said.

"Stylistically, it is related to the dog from Monck's Cave and may well represent, along with the dog, a widespread South Island woodcarving tradition which is virtually unknown to us through lack of specimens.

"Thousands of adze heads found in South Island sites attest to the former existence of an extensive wood sculpture in the South Island," he said.

In an earlier work, *The Life And Work Of The Māori Carver*, Dr Barrow explained that carvings of this early period had no elaborate surface decoration and appear to have always been simple in style.

"The earliest carvers wanted to show the form and, because of this and other characteristics of style, their carving is closely related to that of the Tahitian and Cook Islands homelands," he wrote in 1963.

The third image shown here more closely resembles North Island collections of "godsticks". It passed through numerous hands before it eventually ended up in the Otago Museum.

In 1888, a boy on Moa Flat Station in Central Otago found two carved godsticks, along with some Māori kete, in a cave. One stick was used to prop up a window and was eventually lost. No trace of it was ever found.

The other godstick pictured passed through the hands of several well-known Māori artefact collectors and dealers before it was purchased in 1913 by Dr Henry Skinner, a former director of the Otago Museum, and eventually found a permanent home in the museum's Southern Māori Collection.

An unusual feature of this item is the two-headed image joined back to back, a style closely related to the double-headed images of Easter Island, Dr Barrow wrote. This godstick was the only recorded specimen from the South Island, he said.

Godsticks, commonly known as tiki-wānanga or whakapakoko rākau by Māori, are regarded as among the rarest of Māori artefacts. Related forms are recorded in tropical Polynesia and exact counterparts of Māori godsticks are found in Hawaiian collections.

In his research, Barrow found just 27 examples scattered between international collections, mostly in New Zealand and Britain. Thirteen of these were collected by the Reverend Richard Taylor in the Wanganui/Taranaki region in the 1850s.

Zealous missionaries discouraged the worship of other gods, so many godsticks were carelessly disposed of by tohunga in rock clefts or hollows of trees. Some were handed over to early churchmen like Taylor, who were regarded as tohunga of the new Christianity.

The enlightened Taylor recognised godsticks for what they were, simply the material symbols of the particular atua they represented. The images were only believed to possess the powers of the god they represented when they were dressed up for worship. At other times they were merely pieces of wood, he said.

Dressing involved a pāhau (beard) made from the bright red feathers of the kākā. Sacred cord was bound in a very precise way while the tohunga recited a karakia. The whole figure was then painted with the sacred kōkōwai (red ochre).

Reverend Taylor said generally the image was stuck in the ground and the string unwound. As the tohunga repeated his karakia, he gave the image a jerk with the cord to arrest the attention of the god represented and placed a small twig in the ground alongside the image for each repetition.



The main use of godsticks was believed to be for the protection of kūmara plantations. The ceremony was performed at planting, when the tubers began to grow and again at harvest. Many of Taylor's collection of godsticks were labelled with names of the gods they apparently represented: Kahukura, Hukere, Maru, Rongo and Tangaroa, to name a few. **TK**

Te Ao o te Māori



Ngāi Tahu paepae at the Crown Apology to the iwi at Ōnuku Marae, Akaroa, 29 November 1998.

It is impossible to express what the Ngāi Tahu Settlement means in so few words because to so many people it means so many different things.

When the Deed of Settlement was signed at Takahanga Marae in Kaikōura on 21 November 1997, Ngāi Tahu whānau turned out in their hundreds to witness the historic event. People hugged and wept tears of sadness and joy. The hopes and dreams of six prior generations had finally been honoured, and, for the most part, the 150 year-passage of “Te Kerēme” was over.

It had taken much effort and compromise and for some it was indeed the end of a road, for others it was the start of a bold new journey.

It was a journey that would capture the nation’s attention and come to signal the emergence of a focused, astute and resolute iwi committed to shaking off the shackles of the settler state and rewriting their history in Te Waipounamu and Aotearoa.

Ten years on from the passing of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Act 1998,



The late Rebecca Clayton, the late Kera Brown, Ruahine Crofts, Wikitoria Te Waani, Kera O’Regan and Hana O’Regan on the mahau at Ōnuku marae, Akaroa.



Stephen Bragg offers tītī as koha at Takahanga Marae.



Former Prime Minister Jim Bolger and Tā Tipene hongī at Takahanga Marae, Kaikōura, 21 November 1997.

it is a time for Ngāi Tahu to reflect on those pioneering, adrenaline-charged days when Tā Tipene O’Regan led a resourceful team of negotiators, researchers and historians into battle with the Crown.

For some, the settlement was never going to deliver enough to right the wrongs, and so the Crown Apology delivered two months later by Prime Minister Jenny Shipley at Ōnuku Marae on 29 November had more meaning than any cheque or redress measure.

Right now, it is a time to remember those who kept The Claim alive, to recognise what has been achieved over the past decade, to acknowledge the on-going work that protects and provides for whānau, and to celebrate the promise of a brighter future.

While the future cannot be seen, the past is known intimately, and the inheritance of the next generation is yet to be defined. It is a great time to be Ngāi Tahu.



Tā Tipene O’Regan signing the Deed of Settlement at Takahanga Marae.



Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere and his late uncle, Bill Solomon.



Whānau tautoko at the Third Reading of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Bill at Parliament, 29 September 1998.



The iwi stands united at Parliament.



Back row: Rakihia Tau Jnr, Sid Ashton, David Higgins, and Trevor Howse; front row: Tā Tipene O’Regan, Mark Solomon, and Edward Ellison.



Sir Douglas Graham reads the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Bill.



Charles Crofts and Mark Solomon hongī.

BOOK REVIEWS

SETTLING WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLE: Modern Treaty and Agreement-making

Edited by Marcia Langton, Odette Mazel, Lisa Palmer, Kathryn Shain and Maureen Tehan

Published by Federation Press

RRP \$85.00

Review nā Donald Couch

Ah the Olympics! Remember the victory ceremony for pairs rowers George Bridgewater and Nathan Twaddle? The other flags? One from across the ditch and the other a maple leaf. The Old Dominions back at it again.

And of course all three countries have been challenged to come to terms with their indigenous peoples. There are common themes, differences and overlapping literature.

This book is the latest of several with comparative analyses of how the governments of New Zealand, Australia and Canada have sought to reach understandings with their respective indigenous peoples.

The senior editor (of five), Professor Marcia Langton, holds the inaugural Chair of Australian Indigenous Studies at the University of Melbourne. She is a descendant of the Yiman people of central Queensland. Inevitably, six of the chapters concern Australian examples. Three examples are from Canada and the New Zealand example refers to Ngāi Tahu – with Tā Tipene O'Regan listed as one of the co-authors.

With the recent publication of the (edited) Carrington text, Ngāi Tahu whānui now have available quite an extensive series of publications regarding the history of our tribe. The major gap is the story of Te Kerēme and the final settlement. Despite various attempts

by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to commission such a work it has yet to be done. In the meantime, one has to scour the academic side-roads to find glimpses of the stories behind our settlement.

Interesting though. References to “the Ngāi Tahu” catch the eye. Tā Tipene as always has a good ear for the telling phrase; “... Parts of Ngāi Tahu ... wanted me to declare war and play Joan of Arc and get us all burnt at the stake.”

The chapter, “Keeping the Fires Burning: Grievance and Aspiration in the Ngāi Tahu Settlement” (pages 44-65), provides a cautionary tale regarding tape recorders. It is “... based largely on a series of interviews that Langton and Palmer conducted with O'Regan between 11 and 19 September 2003 ... In order to convey the gist of these conversations, frequent use is made of extracts taken directly from the transcripts themselves.”

This is a specialist area, but worth an hour or so if it matches your interests.

THIS HORRID PRACTICE: THE MYTH AND REALITY OF TRADITIONAL MĀORI CANNIBALISM

By Paul Moon

Published by Penguin

RRP \$40

Review nā Dr Khyla Russell

When asked to review this book, I accepted if only to read for myself a book I would otherwise probably not have purchased or taken out from a library. I am inclined, in having read the text, to agree with two other reviewers of this work. The first was from Professor Margaret Mutu,

who said, “Professor Moon did not understand the history of cannibalism and it was very, very hard for a Pākehā to get it right on these things especially when they don't know how to interrogate it from within the culture. Interrogating it from within the culture means interrogating it from within the language. He is braver than I would be.”

The second opinion is from Pākehā reviewer and historian Matthew Wright, who among other things, notes Moon “has missed some historical points”. Wright wonders if since cannibalism as a practice disappeared so quickly,

“were Māori changing anyway?”. He suggests this rather than attributing the practice's cessation to the treaty and settler influence. There are many aspects with which I find no connections to iwi kōrero neherā (tribal mythologies), but then one would not expect to, as it is written by a tauwiwi for tauwiwi whom I suspect will be a large part of the readership.

The book is written in an academic way and I am sure, over time, it will become a recommended text. I am equally sure that many academics will discuss and debate its contents for some time to come.

ALBUM REVIEW

WHĀ

By Moana and the tribe

Black Pearl Limited

\$29.95

Review nā Lisa Reedy

After years of overseas gigs, from ancient Olympia in Greece to sellout concerts in Russia, Moana has come home to build up her Aotearoa fan base. There's been a name change and a change of sound for the band. *Whā* is the fourth instalment in a series of albums they have released.

Whā features vocals from Paora Sharples, Scotty Morrison – reo adviser and co-writer of some songs on the album – and a historical recording taken from the 28th Māori Battalion.

The recording incorporates instruments you would expect on a te reo Māori album, like *taonga puoro*, but also (listen out for) electronic programming, and classic orchestral strings. *Whā*'s acoustic and vocal sound sets the album apart from its competition.

In a recent interview, Moana said she “hoped that New Zealanders would be more inclined to embrace an album all in Māori than they might have been 10 years ago”. Much has happened in those years.

I found myself still expecting catchy little



Laila Rouass in Apron Strings.

ditties like *Black Pearl*. Instead, this album features waiata about everything from love to intellectual property rights. Embracing *Whā* came naturally to me because I am a big fan of Moana. Will the album appeal to New Zealand? Time will tell.

TE KARAKA has a copy of *Whā* to give away. The winner will be chosen from contributors to He Reta page.

MOVIE REVIEWS

APRON STRINGS

Directed by Sima Urale

Produced by Rachel Gardner

Written by Shuchi Kothari and Dianne Taylor

Review nā Tanya Muagututi'a

Samoan-born Sima Urale's debut feature, following several award-winning short films, entwines two families from two cultures. Lorna (Jennifer Ludlum), an aging Pākehā matriarch, owns a cake shop. Distracted by her unemployed adult son Barry (Scott Wills), who is showing no signs of leaving home, and the awful smell of garlic from the neighbouring Vietnamese takeaway, Lorna struggles to confront her own traditional beliefs and past tragic events. Glamorous Anita (Laila Rouass – *Footballers Wives*) hosts her own TV Indian cooking show, and puzzles over son Michael's new fascination with Sikh culture, while Michael seeks employment from his mother's estranged sister Tara (Leela Patel from *Shortland Street*) at the family curry house.

Set in Otahuhu, South Auckland, *Apron Strings*



brings New Zealand's cultural diversity to the fore through beautiful visual sequences of food and close-ups of the brilliant cast (a style used to reinforce the film's powerful themes). Things feel cramped at a Sikh ceremony in the curry house or at Lorna's '50s bungalow with crochet and doily trimmings, but the highly-charged emotional scenes balance out this impression. I want to see more from this director.

RAIN OF THE CHILDREN

Written and directed by Vincent Ward

Produced by Vincent Ward, Marg Slater and Tainui Stephens

Review nā Lara Macgregor

Rain of the Children is a deeply personal docudrama. In 1978, young filmmaker Vincent Ward documented the story of Puihi, an eighty-year-old Tūhoe woman, caring for her schizophrenic son, Niki, in the Ureweras. Making *In Spring One Plants Alone*, Ward became haunted by Puihi and her belief that she was cursed.

Using archival footage, personal narration, re-enactments and interviews with Tūhoe descendants, Ward guides us through the beautiful, brutal terrain of Tūhoe history, with a heart full of questions about Puihi's unknowable curse.

Chosen by Tūhoe prophet, Rua Kenana, to marry his son, Puihi bore 14 children, who either

died or were taken from her. Through his intimate interviews with Tūhoe descendants, Ward discovers the reaches of the curse to this day.

The re-enactments (superbly performed by Rena Owen, Temuera Morrison and other talented actors) are memorable. Ward's grand painter's eye produces arresting imagery.

Ward's own narration tends to err on the side of sentimentality, but ultimately this masterful documentary embarks on a spiritual journey fuelled with courage and love.

TELEVISION REVIEW

NGĀTI TŪMATAUENGA

Māori Television

Produced by Tulsi Watts,

Adrenaline Group

Monday nights, 9pm

Review nā Pirimia Burger

Any reality show needs characters. Models, pop stars, chefs or trainee soldiers – as long as we have a “Good Guy”, “Bad Guy” and “Joker”, we're happy to join them on their journey.

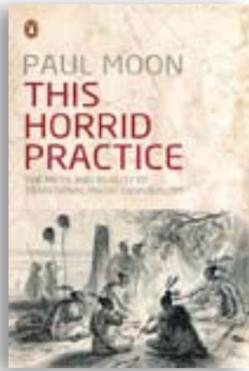
Ngāti Tūmatauenga finds out what it takes to become a soldier in the New Zealand Army. Unfortunately, it's more like a bland promotional video than a spicy reality series. We get arduous military training exercises but no story set-ups or characters to follow. Who are our heroes? Who do we love to hate?

When platoon members handle guns for the first time, no-one is asked their thoughts on learning to kill. The few female recruits' experiences are an obvious thread, but not followed up.

Field exercises seem to be shot for “coverage”, not story. The result looks pieced together from whatever is available. It is tricky to anticipate what will happen in real life, but managing and planning for that is the essence of making a successful reality series.

Ngāti Tūmatauenga may be good for watching army field exercises, but as an addictive, fly-on-the-wall, must-see weekly series, it has missed its target.

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



Donald Couch is Pro-Chancellor of Lincoln University and deputy kaiwakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.



Dr Khyla Russell is kaitohutohu on the senior management team at Otago Polytechnic. She is Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha and Rapuwai, Northern Irish and Polish.



Lisa Reedy (Ngāti Porou) has spent the past 13 years working in the music industry and has a wide spectrum of musical interests. Lisa is an MC and works as a radio announcer on Tahu FM.



Tanya Muagututi'a is a musician, writer and producer for Pacific Underground (PU), a Christchurch-based Pacific performing arts organisation. She is also the Artistic Co-ordinator for Auckland's Pasifika Festival.



Lara Macgregor, of Scottish and Ngāti Toa descent, is a director, actor and performance coach. Lara has recently returned permanently to Aotearoa after working throughout America for more than ten years.



Pirimia Burger (Ngāi Tahu me Rangitāne) works as a freelance writer, presenter, researcher and co-producer for both mainstream and Māori television productions.

Wiping the Slate Clean

Many Kiwis are really struggling with their finances – and it's become harder over the last year with big rises in food and fuel costs. There is not much likelihood that it's going to get any easier for a while, although interest rates have dropped a little, which is good news, particularly for those who have a mortgage.

What if you are already in real trouble? No matter how well you plan and how tightly you control your spending you are unable to make any headway with the debts you have. You may be finding that all you can manage to pay is some of the interest to each creditor every month, but the sum you owe is not really reducing. It may, in fact, be rising.

There may be a way out.

No Asset Procedure (NAP)

The NAP offers those who qualify for it a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to sort out their finances and make a fresh start with no debt. Your debts (most of them, anyway) can be wiped and you can start again.

This gives you the chance to manage your money properly, and takes out the cost of some or all of the debt repayments you are having to make out of each pay.

There is lots of information online at www.insolvency.govt.nz, but the main points are:

You may qualify for NAP if you have debt between \$1000 and \$40,000 and do not have assets you can sell or the income that would allow you to repay the debt.

Not all debt is covered by NAP – if you owe money on your student loan, have outstanding fines or have to pay child support, these amounts are not included and must still be paid.

You must have no assets of realisable value. But you are allowed to keep a car (maximum value \$5000), your household effects (including clothing) and your tools of trade.

Your debts are wiped if you are accepted for NAP, so you get a fresh start with a clean slate.

Your creditors (for example, hire purchase, credit card) will be contacted and told you have been accepted for the NAP procedure. You can get on with doing a budget and living within your

Heavily in debt and can't see a way out? You might consider a one-time-only saviour.



means now that you do not have to pay some or all of the debts you had.

It is really important if you are accepted for this procedure that you get help with your budget. You cannot do the NAP twice, so you only get one chance to sort out your spending and managing your money so that you never get into debt again.

You would be in the procedure for 12 months.

This is different from bankruptcy, which takes at least three years. NAP is a new procedure, so we do not have a lot of experience with it. However, banks I have spoken to said it would not prevent people from getting a loan or mortgage in the future as long as other aspects of their finances were in order. For example, if they were saving and earning enough to service a loan. While you are going through the 12 months of NAP, you are not allowed to take on credit (including hire purchase) of more than \$1000 without notifying the creditor.

Hopefully, you would never buy on credit again, anyway. It's all too easy for credit card, hire purchase or personal loans to get out of control, as you have discovered.

You must provide the necessary information and documents that the Official assignee wants to decide whether you qualify for NAP.

There is an application form and a form where you detail your financial affairs. These forms are available at www.insolvency.govt.nz or they will send them out to you if you call 0508 INSOLVENCY.

There is lots of paperwork, and you might want to get some help to fill it in. If it's not completed properly, it will hold up your application.

A fresh start would be wonderful for many people. Many families I work with are doing their very best to manage their spending so they can repay their debts. However, in some cases the level of debt is so high and the income so low that it is almost impossible.

If that sounds like you, NAP may be the answer. It's worth calling the number above or going online to find out more. Citizens Advice Bureau and budget advisers can provide information and assistance with filling in the necessary forms.

You can also contact the Ngāi Tahu Financial Independence Programme by calling 0800 KAI TAHU and asking for the Financial Independence Programme.

You can contact Joan by email: jbaker@wealthcoaches.net.

Joan Baker is a well-known financial planner who is a key part of the Ngāi Tahu Financial Independence Programme. She works with whānau to set goals, create and implement financial plans. She is a company director, and together with partner Martin Hawes, provides wealth coaching to clients throughout New Zealand and overseas. Joan is also the author of seven books dealing with financial independence.

SIR DOUGLAS GRAHAM

HE TANGATA

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?
Waking up in the morning.

WHAT NEW ZEALANDER DO YOU MOST ADMIRE? WHY?
Charles Upham VC and bar. Courageous, modest and principled.

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?
Oxygen.

IF YOU COULD LIVE ANYWHERE, WHERE WOULD IT BE?
New Zealand.

WHO IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PERSON IN YOUR LIFE?
My long-suffering wife.

FAVOURITE SONG?
Cantique de Noel.

ON WHAT OCCASION DO YOU TELL A LIE?
Never.

WHAT WAS THE EASIEST PART OF THE NGĀI TAHU CLAIM SETTLEMENT PROCESS?
Sitting down after the third reading of the Settlement Bill.

WHAT WAS THE TOUGHEST PART OF THE PROCESS?
Persuading caucus to approve the settlement despite the approaching election.

IF YOU COULD HAVE DONE SOMETHING DIFFERENT DURING THE PROCESS, WHAT WOULD IT HAVE BEEN?
Speed it up.

WHAT IS YOUR ENDURING MEMORY OF THE CLAIM PROCESS?
Handing out the badge to Ngāi Tahu and the Crown team when we all realised the job was done.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A BAD DAY?
Not waking up in the morning.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST FEAR?
Being an MP again.

WHO IS YOUR FAVOURITE SUPERHERO?
Tipene O'Regan.

WHAT IS YOUR WORST CHARACTER FLAW?
Being unable to recognise superheroes.

WHICH TALENT WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO HAVE?
Being able to sing.

WHAT'S YOUR FAVOURITE CHILDHOOD MEMORY?
Eating ice creams on the beach at Piha.

WHAT COUNTRY WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO VISIT?
Jordan.

DO YOU BUY LOTTO?
Yes.

SHORTLAND STREET OR THE NEWS?
The news. I've never seen Shortland Street.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN REINCARNATION?
No.

EVEN IF YOU DON'T, WHAT WOULD YOU COME BACK AS IF YOU COULD?
An albatross.

WHAT IS THE BEST GIFT YOU'VE EVER RECEIVED?
A transistor radio when I was about 12.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?
Cigars.

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT?
Have a cigar.

LOVE OR MONEY?
Love, but also money.

WHAT IS YOUR MOST ADMIRABLE QUALITY?
Patiently listening to Tipene's stories.



Sir Douglas Graham was the Minister for Treaty of Waitangi negotiations from 1991 to 1999, helping to develop policies that led to settlements of more than \$600m for Māori. He was North and South magazine's New Zealander of the Year in 1997 and knighted two years later. A practising lawyer for 15 years, the Remuera politician was a Member of Parliament from 1984 to 1999.

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?
Wallflower.

WHAT IS THE LAST BOOK YOU READ?
Selected Stories, by Dan Davin.

WHO IS YOUR FAVOURITE AUTHOR?
Thomas Hardy.

IF YOU HAD TO WATCH SPORT ON TELEVISION, WHAT WOULD IT BE?
Rugby.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?
Staying awake during Tipene's stories.

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?
Lamb shanks.

WHAT MEAL DO YOU COOK THE MOST?
Breakfast.

HOW MANY PAIRS OF SHOES DO YOU OWN?
Four.

IF YOU HAD TO REGRET SOMETHING, WHAT WOULD IT BE?
Halving my income on becoming an MP.

WHAT'S YOUR FAVOURITE PLACE IN NEW ZEALAND?
Auckland – holders of the Ranfurly Shield.



With our people, for our people... for Aotearoa



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