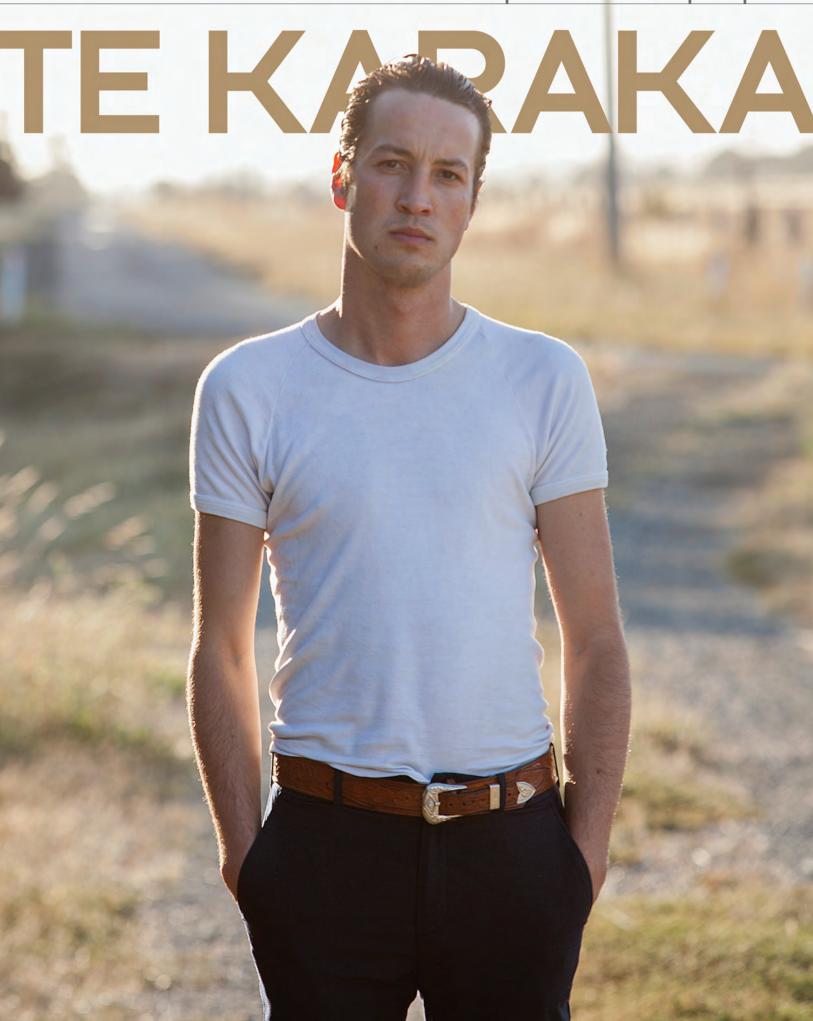
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9 HE WHAKAARO: MARAE KITCHEN TO TRIBUNAL HEARING – OUR SETTLEMENT JOURNEY

Our new columnist Ward Kamo introduces himself by sharing his recollections of the years leading up to the settlement, as well as his reflections on what it means to be Ngāi Tahu.

12 CULTURAL CONNECTION

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Mauri Tau Mauri Ora is the pounamu kõhatu gifted by Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio for the Canterbury Earthquake National Memorial. Kaituhi Adrienne Rewi talks to carver Fayne Robinson about the search for the stone.

20 UNCLE CHARLIE - A MAN FOR HIS PEOPLE

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His music career has catapulted him onto the world stage, but home is never far from his mind. Matt Scobie catches up with Marlon Williams to discuss everything from his childhood, to his music, to his aspirations for the iwi.

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Kaituhi Chris Brankin discusses the implications of the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011, including whether it recognises customary rights and what it can offer whānau who have interests in the foreshore area.



NGÃ HAU E WHĂ FROM THE EDITOR

"Cultural connection" or "connectedness" are terms used with increasing frequency, but what do they really mean? The reality is that cultural connectedness means something different for everyone, and most largely relates to one's life experiences. In a Ngāi Tahu context, does being culturally connected mean living in the takiwa and being actively involved in the local activities of the iwi, or can one have a meaningful connection living in the North Island or further afield? With more than 50 per cent of the iwi living outside of the takiwa, this is an interesting consideration. In this issue of TE KARAKA we feature several stories that demonstrate the richness and diversity of cultural connection within the iwi near and far.

The Melbourne taurahere group was set up just a year ago, and is going from strength to strength in numbers and engagement. In those 12 months the Ngāi Tahu Road Shows have visited the taurahere group twice, and they have recently completed their second Kura Reo – the first ever to be held outside the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. Rōpū member Nic Low shares some of the passion and commitment of their cultural engagement in action from afar.

Ward Kamo joins the TE KARAKA team in this issue, sharing the journey of his grandmother Kui Whaitiri and their whānau through the years leading up to the Settlement. Ward's story (page 9) offers a wonderful first-hand account of the tireless mahi of those at the forefront of Te Kerēme, righting the wrongs of the Treaty of Waitangi.

And Marlon Williams, the boy from Lyttelton, now based in Berlin and making a big name for himself, shares his views on Ngāitahutanga, what it means to him, and how it influences his music career.

Nā ADRIENNE ANDERSON

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Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates is the largest Māori commercial forest owner in New Zealand, and is working with Development West Coast to create a sustainable future. Nā Adrienne Rewi.

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48 KĀ WHARE MĀORI KI AWARUA: BLUFF'S "MĀORI HOUSES"

The second instalment of Michael Stevens' exploration of Māori hostels established in Bluff in the mid-to-late 19th century to accommodate fluctuating populations of Māori visiting the area.

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CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU **ARIHIA BENNETT**

DO I REALLY FEEL LIKE I AM BEING ENGAGED?

I had to gulp at a recent social media comment that targeted the CEO for going out beyond the Office to engage with others through many different social or formal events. I thought, "What a strange comment." Especially given that in recent months we have made a concerted effort to broaden our connection with Ngāi Tahu whānau living beyond our takiwa, through a series of road shows across Australia and Te Ika a Māui celebrating 20 years since the Settlement. Lately I have met many whānau members (some who have attended the road shows for their very first time), and I'm convinced it is a positive way to build our relationships.

Recently we surpassed 57,000 registered members, and of these we know that 50% live beyond our Ngāi Tahu takiwā. As far as regular engagement and involvement with the iwi or the Papatipu Rūnanga goes, we probably have less than 2% of our members who are regular participants. In my books that is quite alarming, as we pride ourselves on the aspiration of inter-generational sustainability, yet it appears we are only moving within a closed circle.

So whose responsibility is it to build engagement? Members themselves? Or should Te Rūnanga widen its net? It's a debate that has been around for a while, as we have our ahi kaa who are religious volunteers protecting and practicing the kaitiakitanga responsibilities of tikanga on the marae, while at the other end of the spectrum we have our whānau who live away, and over the generations some have become further disconnected. The overwhelming feedback from our road shows is that whanau are motivated to be involved, and they are hungry for more information. They are proud of the achievements of Ngāi Tahu, and they genuinely want to find ways to contribute. Something tells me that we are not keeping up with this, and if we are not careful enthusiasm could turn into unhappiness. If I think about the majority of our members not feeling engaged, then at some point things will boil over. Over the years our leadership has made no bones about strengthening the marae, and this is not about to change. Instead they now want to add to this by finding ways that will bring together both local and global whānau. Over the next 12 months, watch this space as we come up with solutions to bring the two together.

If Te Rūnanga is going to really challenge itself on building connections right across the Iwi, then we need to harness fast-changing technologies to regularly connect with every Ngāi Tahu home, should whānau wish. There will be a myriad of other ways to build our relationships, like creating a log-on or igniting a personal Ngāi Tahu whakapapa identity card that could give access to our own products and those of our partners. Bright thoughts come from outside the square, so feel free to let us know as your idea could be part of the connectivity solution.

I look forward to hearing from you.

ADRO

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Marlon Williams. Photograph by Justyn Stother.



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Te Hakapupu Te Hakapupu (Pleasant River) rises in the hilly forested country before flowing in a generally eastward direction entering the Otago coastline between Matakaea (Shag Point) and the Waikouaiti River. The prevalent estuary situated at the river mouth has historically been a rich source of mahinga kai with extensive Māori archaeological sites situated nearby. In the evidence gathered for the 1879 Smith-Nairn Royal Commission into the Ngãi Tahu land claims, local Ngãi Tahu kaumãtua Merekihereka Hape recorded that Te Hakapupu was a kãinga mahinga kai (food gathering settlement) where tuna (eels), pãtiki (flounders) and īnaka (whitebait) were gathered.

Section to the second

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Ngāi Tahu artist Nathan Pohio (Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri) is currently exhibiting his work, Raise the anchor unfurl the sails, set course to the centre of an ever setting sun! at one of the most prestigious art events in the world, documenta; both in Kassel, Germany, its traditional home, and in Athens. The artwork features a 1905 photograph of Lord Plunket visiting Māori leaders at Tuahiwi Marae. Nathan and his work came to the attention of the documenta 14 curator when he was chosen as a 2016 finalist for the Walters Prize, New Zealand's most coveted art award, celebrating the best of New Zealand contemporary art. Nathan is pictured here at the opening of documenta 14 at the National Museum of Contemporary Art (EMST) in Athens, 8 April 2017. Nathan and his work will be featured in Ngā Ringa Toi o Tahu, a series of online mini art documentaries on Ngāi Tahu artists, to be released on 1 July.

ngaitahu.iwi.nz/toi



5



HPV – playing it safe

Recently there have been a few stories on my newsfeed about Gardasil, the HPV vaccination. This story has just resurfaced because it is now government-funded for boys as well as girls. The full vaccination consists of a series of three shots over the course of six months, at around \$200 a shot. You would think many people would jump at the opportunity to save \$600 and immunise their rangatahi for free, but unfortunately that isn't the case.

So what is HPV, and what is the vaccine? To paraphrase *The Guardian*, Human Papillomavirus (HPV) is sexually transmitted, and almost all sexually active adults carry some of the 170 different strains. Subtypes 6 and 11 can lead to genital warts, while 16 and 18 can lead to numerous forms of cancer, chiefly cervical cancer. In fact, over 90% of cervical cancers are caused by HPV and according to the World Health Organisation, in 2012 alone, 270,000 women died from it.

Gardasil is 99% effective against the four worst strains of HPV. The pharmaceutical company Merck began clinical development of the vaccine in 1997, and the vaccine passed all three phases of testing before being released to the public. In fact, our Government fast-tracked its release, believing it would be unethical to withhold it.

But the latest research suggests that only 60% of Pākehā girls have received the vaccination. Pākehā were the lowest uptake group, but not all Māori or Pasifika girls were immunised either, despite the fact that Māori are disproportionately at risk for cervical cancer. Amongst those Māori/Pasifika girls who did receive the vaccination, there has been a 92.3% reduction in genital warts.

And yet a quick scan of the comments section on any article regarding HPV will show you a tidal wave of comments from recalcitrant Kiwis who refuse to vaccinate their sons. Being vaccinated myself, I decided to do some research and find out if the HPV vaccine is safe and effective OR if it really is part of a global operation to thin the population, as one commenter suggested.

After a few hours on Google I found that most anti-vaccination arguments consisted of religious and moral reasons, some raw data regularly cited in articles, and the tragic death of a young woman here in New Zealand.

Religious arguments came mostly from the United States, with the general gist being that abstinence works better than vaccines. Moral arguments similarly claimed that kids shouldn't be exposed to sexual issues and ideas at such a young age – parents sort of burying their heads in the sand about the fact that their children will one day be sexually active. I'm on a word limit so I've decided to completely ignore these arguments and label them as illegitimate. Feel free to research them yourself if you'd like to know more.

Another argument against the vaccination cites statistics, with the most prominent of these stating that the vaccine has directly killed 32 women in the United States. Again, this information is misleading. The 32 deaths reported as of 2008 were all carefully analysed by medical experts. There was no common link to suggest they were caused by the Gardasil vaccine. None.

The second statistic is similar, with 24,000 reported cases of adverse effects from the vaccination in the United States between June 2006 and March 2013 out of 57 million doses administered. According to a statement released by the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 92% of these cases were classified as not serious, while the remaining 8% were generally "headache, nausea, vomiting, fatigue, dizziness, syncope, and generalised weakness." All of these were identified in the vaccine's trials before it was made available to the public.

It is also important to remember that reports of adverse effects aren't scientifically analysed. One could call up and report a headache not long after receiving the vaccination, ignoring other factors such as dehydration. When the mumps and measles vaccines were first introduced, there were 60,000 reports of similar effects. It is standard for new vaccines, and it is wrong, even immoral to throw these numbers around without context.

I realise I've been focussing on the United States so I'll bring things back home. In 2009, a young New Zealander named Jasmine Renata died in her sleep six months after receiving her last HPV injection. Her mother believed the vaccine killed her, as she was otherwise fit and healthy. However, forensic pathologist John Rutherford conducted an autopsy and found no evidence of any abnormal reaction related to the vaccine.

In a *Stuff* article covering Jasmine's tragic death, University of Auckland vaccine researcher Helen Petousis-Harris was quoted as saying that there was "no reason to think for a minute that it was vaccine-related." She also said, "... the hypotheses that people have put up have no basis in biological plausibility. That case has been around the world and the fact is, the girl died of unknown causes."

I cannot stress enough that I don't mean to be insensitive, brash, or arrogant; but to suggest that this young woman's death was related to her vaccination despite the complete lack of evidence is a misappropriation of information.

With all the facts in mind, one asks how so many people could be against the vaccine. I believe there are two core reasons. Firstly, people are protective of their children. Hearsay, fake news, and pseudo-science being thrown about the internet and media will set off emotions and worry people. This is understandable.

The second reason is a know-it-all Kiwi attitude causing people to think they know better than rigorous academic studies and people who have devoted their careers to the topic. This is arrogant and ignorant. Unbacked opinions and beliefs should not trump facts, especially when it comes to lives. In New Zealand alone, 160 women develop cervical cancer each year, and 50 die from it.

Fear-mongering about vaccinations is ignorant and frankly unethical. Of course there is a small risk but it's minimal, just as with all other vaccines we receive. The risk of HPV spreading unchecked is far worse. Vaccinate your kids against HPV.

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

HE WHAKAARO Nā WARD KAMO

Marae Kitchen to Tribunal Hearing – Our Settlement Journey

The death of Riki Te Mairaki Ellison (Uncle Riki) in 1984 was a watershed moment for many Ngāi Tahu. It started a torrent of Ngāi Tahu deaths, as he gathered his large ope to accompany him on his journey ki tua o te ārai. This ope included my grandmother Kui Kamo (née Whaitiri), who had been his kaikaranga at Rehua Marae in life, and would now become his kaikaranga in death. I recall Aunty Rima Bell at Tuahiwi saying the deaths would only stop when a baby joined the ope - and that appears to have been what happened. Many kaumātua at the time also stated the deaths were the first of many payments that Ngāi Tahu would be forced to make as the long journey to justice for its treaty claims neared an end.

In the lead up to 1984, the then Ngāi Tahu Trust Board, under the leadership of Tā Tipene O'Regan, had been tirelessly touring Te Waipounamu drumming up support (and cash) to begin a treaty claim. The work undertaken by the Trust Board and various hapū leadership was a prescient reaction to the changing tide in race relations. The Labour Party was well placed to win the 1984 election (as it did), and had signalled it would change the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 to allow claims to be heard all the way back to 1840. The change in government, and the amendment to the Act, saw Ngāi Tahu lodge a claim under Rakiihia (Rik) Tau's name in 1986 (Wai 27).

Many a night, my grandmother would return from a Ngāi Tahu hui complaining of some "hara" committed by various members of the Trust Board - not least of which by Tā Tipene (the conversation at her dinner table would begin with, "That bloody Steve O'Regan ... "). That's when she wasn't complaining about a man I only ever knew as "That bloody Joe Tu", after she'd attended vet another Rehua Marae trustee hui (I later worked out he was the fabled Ngāi Te Rangi tohunga and Kingitanga stalwart, Hohua Tutengaehe). My Ngāti Mutunga Chatham Island grandfather would sit in his chair in the lounge at 99 Milton Street (a wellestablished halfway house for immigrant Chatham Islanders) and mutter about her being "a humbug" as my grandmother related another instance of somebody's display of From 1987, as the claims hearing hit full stride, Poututerangi John Stirling began a series of wānanga in Waitaha simply called "hui tāne". He, along with our Ngāi Tahu rangatira Charles Crofts, Monty Daniels, Pīhopa Richard Wallace, and Paora Tau recognised that the treaty claims would fundamentally change Ngāi Tahu.





Above: Nana Kui Whaitiri (left) with her cousin Wiki Reader (née Whaitiri).

unbridled "ignorance". No doubt many genuine tears were shed at my grandmother's tangi – but I suspect a few may have been crocodilian.

At the time, we attributed her death to Uncle Riki (and we were a wee bit proud that she would accompany him); the fact she'd never had a Christmas away from my grandfather (who'd passed away in January of that year); and to the countless nights my grandmother would spend either attending hui or tirelessly baking, cooking, and sandwich-making for yet another Ngāi Tahu gathering. She'd work through to 2 or 3 in the morning and then be up (if she'd even gone to bed) to head off, mokopuna in tow, to Tuahiwi, Rāpaki, Koukourārata (I hated that drive over), or even on the odd occasion down to Temuka (my grandmother's birthplace). I would hear my Ngāti Mutunga grandfather complain to her from time-totime that she put too much time into those "humbug Māori". She'd huff at him as we climbed into the car driven by various aunties, or my mother and father (Mum wasn't going to be abandoned to my dad's Ngāi Tahu relations), and head off to the marae. My job was to carry the food around the back to the wharekai when we arrived.

From 1987, as the claims hearing hit full stride, Poututerangi John Stirling began a series of wānanga in Waitaha simply called "hui tāne". He, along with our Ngāi Tahu rangatira Charles Crofts, Monty Daniels, Pīhopa Richard Wallace, and Paora Tau recognised that the treaty claims would fundamentally change Ngāi Tahu. More leadership would be required, and those leaders had to be versed in tikanga Ngāi Tahu. At the same time, Te Rūnaka Rakatahi was established in Christchurch. Headed by Tahu Potiki Stirling, this forum was instrumental in supporting the hui tāne. The hui tāne were underpinned by the tireless mahi of the wāhine (Aunty Aroha Reriti-Crofts, Aunty Toko Hammond, Amiria Reriti, Koral Hammond, Aunty Bernice Tainui, and Puamiria Parata te mea te mea).

By now of course my grandmother, along with many other Ngāi Tahu tāua, was gone. We'd sit at our hui tāne (we toured the Horomaka and mid to South Canterbury marae) and lament the hard work done by those old ladies. We'd talk about the pending settlements and how the money had to be allocated to marae so we could get caterers in to do the hard work previously undertaken by the tāua – "They shouldn't have to lift a hand", we'd stupidly state. But there was a moment out at Taumutu when Te Maire Tau warned that the settlement would have an impact on our culture that we may not like. "The money will change us," he warned.

Nowadays the caterers do much of the work that was previously done by our taua and Ngāi Tahu whānau. Admittedly many of those caterers are our own whanau, and that's a good thing. But we didn't understand then that the hard work undertaken by our tāua was a part of their Ngāi Tahu identity. It gave purpose in retirement. It strengthened their bonds to both the marae, and to us tamariki and rangatahi as we were dragged off to another boring hui where Joe Karetai would scare us (and then Uncle Riki Ellison would make us feel better with his more gentle delivery), Uncle Tip Manihera would talk way too long (when Hōhua Tutengaehe wasn't talking way too long), where there would be some excitement as Uncle Bob Whaitiri and Kuao Langsbury brought their Murihiku and Ōtākou relations up with them, and when Tā Tipene would rise to give one of his sonorous whaikorero.

Tā Tipene was quick to understand the importance of our tāua. He would arrive at a hui with a bevy of them. Those women were nothing more than his Praetorian Guard (I prefer the term "hitmen in gloves and hats"). God forbid if you got too much in his



Above: Dad's (Raynol Ward Kamo) 21st party with our Nana, Sarah Thelma 'Kui' Kamo (née Whaitiri) and Papa Ned Te Koeti Kamo; right: A young Ward Kamo.

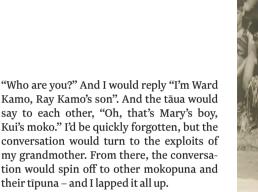
face. The "aunties" were brutes with tongues as sharp as knives. Many a time I recall the husky-voiced, speckle-faced Aunt Kera Brown as she would rise to her feet (and then have to stand on a chair to be seen - tall in mana but short in stature) to berate anyone who was too negative or perceived to be interfering in the mahi of Ngāi Tahu (read Tā Tipene). Aunty Kera Brown on the warpath was a sight to behold - and I subsequently found out my grandmother was as well. The "wicked witch" that both Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mutunga ki Wharekauri refer to was in fact my most loving grandmother, who never raised her voice or hand to her very naughty mokopuna. There was the odd non-prejudiced taua amongst them - Aunty Rima Bell being one. She was the most unbiased woman I knew - she hated everyone equally.

I relate this recent history because I fear Te Maire Tau may be right. We no longer look to the marae or hapū to represent us. Instead we have legal entities/"Incsocs" that appear to do that mahi. Our põua and tāua appear to be nothing more than beneficiaries of our legal entity. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has taken over much of the ground once owned by our unpaid and over-worked leadership (rangatira and kaumātua).

I attend a scattering of Ngāi Tahu hui and rarely hear stories of the marae, of the leaders, the kaumātua and the characters who strode boldly across our cultural landscape when I was growing up. My memories go back to those characters – Aunty Wai Pitama, Pat Karaitiana, Buck Robinson, Joe Waaka, Waha Stirling, Jacko Reihana, Jono Crofts, Monty Daniels (that man never failed to deliver with his stand-up routine he called a "whaikōrero" – Aunty Kaa would ignore him and talk loudly to her mates while the rest of us were rolling in the aisles) and so many more. They did the work (as so many kaumātua did), engaged in the representation, and travelled the countryside when there was no money. We grudgingly deferred to them in matters of tikanga (mumbling under our breaths about "old coots and biddies", and being careful not to be seen or heard doing so).

But I don't see those characters to the same extent any more. And I wonder if that's because our settlement, and our outstanding commercial success, has come to define who we are. Have we "in gaining the whole world lost our soul"? We appear focused on cash returns, commercial performance, distributions, risk management, annual reports, not upsetting the apple cart, best person for the job, Iwi Leaders Forums, myriads of other forums, and so on. And I was (and remain) part of that – I worked for both Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation.

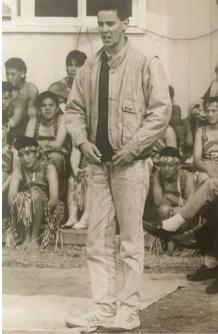
So, it's 21 years on since 1996 and the passing of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act. We have changed – how could we not? The marae have changed – make no mistake. But is it all bad? I hear a level of reo spoken today by our rangatahi (and some of my contemporaries) that was never there other than with my kaumātua when I was growing up. Most of our Ngāi Tahu people no longer spoke the Whakapapa underpins all that we are about as a people. Whakapapa is not a genealogy – whakapapa is a compendium of all the stories of people that made us who we are today.



Whakapapa underpins all that we are about as a people. Whakapapa is not a genealogy – whakapapa is a compendium of all the stories of people that made us who we are today.

The story of Ngāi Tahu is not the story of returns on investment, Go Bus, TRONT, pūtea tautoko, and the "tēpu". It is not a story that began 20 years ago with the passing of legislation "establishing" us. It is the story of my grandmother Sarah Thelma Kui Whaitiri, and her mother Mereana Ngapohe Rakatau, and her grandmother Hera Kume Ihakara, and her great-grandmother Arihia Pohe Whaitiri, and her great-great-grandmother Mereana Taimana, and her fighting great-great-great grandmother Hinehaka Mumuhako - for which there may not have been a kai huānga feud had her whānau not been killed at Taumutu, and for which she raced down to Murihiku to tell her husband Te Wera and her whanaunga Te Matenga Taiaroa, and who composed her famous waiata about Taununu (my Rāpaki tipuna).

And so I combine my story with the stories you have of your Ngāi Tahu grandmother, and your great grandmothers, and great-great grandmothers, and so on. And we tell each other these stories of who we are. And we debate with each other, and



accuse each other's tīpuna of treachery, and call the previous generation "bloody fools" and the future generation "so ignorant", and eye up our whanaunga and laugh, and drink, and eat the food those tāua stayed up till 3 o'clock in the morning preparing for us.

That's the story of Ngāi Tahu. That's who we are!

Ward Kamo (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mutunga Chatham Island, and Scottish decent) grew up in Poranui (Birdlings Flat) and South Brighton, Christchurch. Leaving University with a BA and PG Dip in Natural Resources, Ward's career path has been varied, at times eye raising, and ultimately rewarding.

He has worked with Te Rūnanga o Ngai Tahu (Ngai Tahu Holdings Corporation), and the Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri Iwi Trust as General Manager. He is currently working with Bayleys as National Director of Tu Whenua – the Bayleys Māori business division.

Ward will be a regular columnist in TE KARAKA offering a perspective on issues and politics of significance to Māori.

reo back then. My grandmother did because she'd learnt so much of it from her Ngāti Mutunga ki Wharekauri whakapapa (where it was still spoken as a first language by my grandparents' generation). And she had the accent to prove it (Aunt Jane Manahi always teased her about her "areare mai, areare mai" when she would karanga at Tuahiwi).

Yet within that lovely reo, I don't hear the stories of people both current and past. I hear exquisite tauparapara, eloquent kõrero on the issue being discussed, wonderful waiata to finish it all off. But I don't hear the references to names of people past who shaped who we are today. Growing up it was a rare whaikōrero, or subsequent kōrero once formalities were concluded, that didn't reference tīpuna. And not tīpuna of centuries past – but rather of the previous generation.

Names constantly referenced (at least in Waitaha – sorry my southern whānau) included Jim Pohio, Te Ari Pitama, Pani Manawatu, Eruera and Amiria Stirling (all the way from Te Whānau ā Apanui), Pōua Tikao (Te One), Tame Green, Pōua Pani, Matiaha Tiramorehu, and Tāua Fan Gillies. And no kōrero started at Arowhenua without the names "Kukuwhero and Tarawhata" leading off. Some of them I'd met – many were gone before I was born. And yet I knew them. I knew them because I was exposed to the marae and hapū where these names were kept alive.

This knowledge was held within the people who made the sandwiches, baked the cakes and scones, and cooked the boilup. The tāua would sit on the seats outside the wharenui and call me over and ask,

Cultural Connection



Kaituhi NIC LOW is part of a growing Melbourne-based taurahere group united in their desire to reconnect with their language and culture from a distance. This rōpū are among the 50 per cent of Kāi Tahu living outside the takiwā.

A VOICE SINGS OUT: AREARE-MAI-RĀ-ŌU-TARIKA!

Thirty-four voices sing back, in a chorus of different accents. Some are Aussie, some Kiwi, most of them somewhere in between. Some ring proud and confident; others cradle the unfamiliar Māori syllables like a new parent cradling their first child.

Areare-mai-rā-ōu-tarika!

Lend me your ears!

Quiet falls. Through the open classroom window comes the pulse of big-city traffic, the rumble and clang of a tram. We're in Melbourne, in a community centre that was once a school. These walls have overheard conversation in English, Greek, Italian, Turkish, and Lebanese, and local indigenous language Wurundjeri. Now, for the first time, they're hearing Māori. The Kāi Tahu in Victoria taurahere, six months after its birth, has organised its first weekend wānaka reo. This is also the first time the tribe's language revitalisation team, Kotahi Mano Kāika, has left the Kāi Tahu takiwā to teach.

Kō Aoraki tōhoku mauka

Kō Waitaki tōhoku awa...

Kaiako Victoria Campbell kicks things off with mihimihi. She explains how this most basic form of greeting is rooted in connection to the land. She talks about papatūwhenua and tūrangawaewae: the place where your ancestors lie stacked, the harbour for your feet.

"Name your mountain, your river, and your coast, and that's how people know who you are," she says.

Looking round the room, there's hesitation mixed with the excitement. Which mountain? Which river? For the young ones born here, those who haven't been home in decades, for the global nomads with no home, or those who shuttle back and forth all the time – what do they say to Nō hea koe?

Tori smiles. "The easiest thing to say is 'No Kāi Tahu ahau.'"

It's the easiest, but it's far from simple. Spiritually and politically, so much of Kāi Tahu culture and identity is based on ancestral land and the home fires, ahi kā. Yet we're fast becoming a globalised people: of the tribe's 57,000 registered members, 50% of us live outside the takiwā, which is huge for a culture so rooted in place. Most are in the North Island, but 6013 live overseas. There are 5185 in Australia: a whopping 9%.

So what does it mean to be Kāi Tahu on Aboriginal land? Why is the new Victorian taurahere group learning te reo Māori and reaching back to the iwi? Why is the iwi reaching out to those living overseas?

When Danella Webb (Ngāti Waewae) got out of bed on Sunday, she had no idea that by the end of the day she'd be helping to spearhead a new taurahere group in Melbourne. She had the day off from her job as a senior manager at the Austin Hospital, and all she knew was that the Ngāi Tahu roadshow was coming to town.

"I was just excited. Nothing was going to stop me being there. I didn't have to clear my calendar, because that's how boring I am; but if I'd had a full calendar, I would have cancelled everything!"

At the roadshow she and her sisters Nicola and Lara found themselves talking to Michael Crofts Snr (Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri), Haileigh Russell-Wright (Ōtākou), and myself (Ōraka-Aparima). Te Rūnanga



Above top: Kaiako and Kotahi Mano Kāika head Victoria Campbell; above: Melbourne whānau get to grips with te reo basics; opposite: Ngāi Tahu whanui gather in Melbourne for the first weekend wānaka reo.

"When I found out there were so many registered members here, I asked myself how I could strengthen my own Ngāitahutanga, and help others grow more confident about using te reo and tikanga in their everyday lives."

HAILEIGH RUSSELL-WRIGHT Ōtākou

staff had pointed out that there were more than 600 "Tahus" in Melbourne, but no taurahere group.

"I have my immediate family here," Danella says, "but I was looking for a wider connection to Ngāi Tahu. We all wanted to connect and learn and create a supportive environment for our whanauka, and we knew that if we were looking for that, others would be as well."

Haileigh Russell-Wright has strong connections to Ōtākou. Where Danella and her whānau were seeking to learn more, Haileigh was looking to keep her knowledge alive, and pass it on.

"When I found out there were so many registered members here, I asked myself how I could strengthen my own Ngāitahutanga, and help others grow more confident about using te reo and tikanga in their everyday lives."

Fast-forward through months of planning in cafes and each other's homes, and the group was born. Between 30 and 40 people began meeting regularly for whānau lunches at a thriving local environment centre. They affiliated to Ōraka-Aparima, Wairewa, Ōtākou, Rāpaki, Tuahiwi, Arowhenua, Awarua, Waihōpai, Moeraki, Arahura, Hokonui, and Waihao; those who didn't know their links came along to find out. Each time people stood to mihi, several would share emotional stories about how they or their elders were denied the chance to speak or learn Māori. The message came through loud and clear: we want that chance to learn, and for our kids, too.

While some grumbled that they were too old to start now, or wondered where they could use te reo in Melbourne, all agreed the language was more than words.

"It's also culture and history," Haileigh says. She'd studied Māori at school and was keen to speak more with her whānau. "When you learn te reo, you're learning values, and when you teach it, you're teaching the world-view as well."

With the support of the Ngāi Tahu Fund and Kotahi Mano Kāika, on the 8th of April we gathered to begin.

Areare-mai-rā-ōu-tarika!

After a lunch break spent primarily trying to work out who's related to whom, the whānau return their attention to Tori at the front of the classroom. It's time for waiata practice. The group is learning "Ka tū te tītī" to tautoko our speaker at the next Ngāi Tahu roadshow. It's the perfect choice for a taurahere, about the far-flying migrations of the tītī, and standing strong in a new world. In between games and grammar lessons and coffee, we also talk star lore and the constellations used for navigation, and the different waves of waka migration to Aotearoa.

From this knowledge, another strand of Kāi Tahu tradition emerges: we come from a long line of explorers, travellers, and migrants who carried their culture overseas. As takata whenua we emphasise connection to ancestral land. But we also have a rich history of making new homes. The Kāi Tahu story begins in Hawaiki in East Polynesia, and follows waves of migration into Te Ika a Māui, then Te Waipounamu; only it doesn't end there. There's another land we reached, and later settled: Ahitereiria.

Few people know it, but Māori was actually spoken in Australia long before English. At a site in northern New South Wales, archaeologists have found obsidian from Tūhua (Mayor Island in the Bay of Plenty) and an adze of Norfolk Island basalt in an East Polynesian style. "It's the same age as the settlement of New Zealand," archaeologist Atholl Anderson said in a recent interview. Those voyagers had Polynesian roots, had been to New Zealand, travelled to the Kermadecs then west to Norfolk Island, and then on to New South



Wales. It means Māori reached Australia at least 400 years before Captain Cook. Who knows what conversations took place with Aboriginal people back when their languages were as strong as ours?

From the 1820s, Australian ships regularly called at Murihiku, and southern chiefs returned to Australia to trade in flax and guns. The Kāi Tahu dialect was heard in Sydney's auction rooms in 1838 when Tūhawaiki, Karetai, Taiaroa, Topi Patuki, and Haereroa went to sell land. In the 20th century, waves of Kāi Tahu went west for work in shearing, labouring, fishing and pāua diving. During the mining boom, many of us had whānau down the mines or out on the rigs. The cities lured us into urban jobs. For some, those visits had no bearing on the compass of home. But many settled, intermarried, had kids, stayed.

Melbourne kaumātua Michael Crofts Snr, who guides and supports the taurahere, hails from Tūāhuriri, and came to Australia in 1980. In New Zealand he'd done butchery work, shucked oysters, and skinned deer, but his strong suit was filleting fish. Word of his prowess reached the owner of a fish stall in Melbourne's Footscray Market. "I'd worked at Ferrin's Fish Market in Christchurch," Michael said. "The place was full of Hungarians, Bulgarians, Poms, and I could beat them all. So I joked to this guy I was the best filleter in the world – and he took me on my word!" Michael and his wife Joan only intended to stay a couple of years. It's been 37 so far.

Since reconnecting with their Māoritanga through the group, several members have already decided to return to New Zealand.

Some, like me, live here but can't stay away from family and whenua in Te Waipounamu for more than a few months. Some, like Danella, say their sense of being Māori doesn't depend on standing on Kāi Tahu soil, though that may change. And some are in Australia for good. Michael and Joan's beautiful house is filled with carvings and photos of te ao Māori, but Melbourne is now home.

Areare-mai-rā-ōu-tarika!

Beginners practice simple sentences: Kō Jon ahau. Kō Moira koe. Everyone stands in a big circle to mime and memorise every family relationship under the sun. Irāmutu, pēpi, tungāne. Ko Sarah tōku tamāhine. Kō Josh tōku tama.

With te reo Māori, it's all about the next generations. Knowing that so many Kāi Tahu families may never return, Kotahi Mano Kāika (KMK) decided it was important to trial teaching overseas.

"Kia tautoko i kā whānau e kākau nui ana ki tō tātou nei reo me ōhona tikaka," KMK head Tori Campbell says. "Kia rere te reo Kāi Tahu ki kā tōpito katoa o te ao whānui.

"It was important for us to connect with the Melbourne group because through this initiative they've shown their passion for our language and culture. It was also an opportunity to make sure te reo Kāi Tahu is heard throughout the world, no matter where our whānau choose to reside."

The tribe is increasingly reaching out to those around the world, with roadshows now going as far afield as London. Speaking in



Above, from left: Kaumātua Michael Crofts Snr welcomes everyone to the third wānaka reo; waiata practise; Tayeisha Mommers and kaiako Karuna Thurlow at the third wānaka reo; opposite: New members join at the taurahere table at the 2017 Melbourne Roadshow stand, run with the help of Taurahere Advisor Anthony Tipene-Matua.

"It was important for us to connect with the Melbourne group because through this initiative they've shown their passion for our language and culture. It was also an opportunity to make sure te reo Kāi Tahu is heard throughout the world, no matter where our whānau choose to reside."

TORI CAMPBELL Kotahi Mano Kāika

Melbourne, interim Kaiwhakahaere Lisa Tumahai emphasised the importance of "being able to bring a bit of home to our whānau living here in Australia."

"We've got 57,000 tribal members, 23,000 living in the tribal takiwā, but how do you connect to the rest of them? That's why these roadshows are special. They're quite an investment from the iwi, but the outcome is worth it."

The Melbourne taurahere agrees. The group has since held two more wānaka reo with Darren Solomon and Karuna Thurlow as kaiako, and stood proud to welcome Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu for their return in 2017. Another round of pūtea from the Ngāi Tahu Fund means further wānaka on whakapapa, mahi toi and te reo are in the works. There are challenges – Melbourne is huge, everyone's busy, it's not easy keeping te reo front and centre in a foreign culture, and groups can fizzle once key organisers move on – which is why people are starting to think long-term.

Three energetic new members, Mina Te Huna (Rāpaki), Chloe Mommers (Ōtākou), and Jon Mommers (Ōtākou) have joined the committee to share the workload, and organising has gone from back-of-napkin sketches to online databases, and apps on our phones. Among the banter, phrases like "strategic planning" are starting to creep in. It's good to dream, and the taurahere hopes that in another 25 years' time, Melbourne will be a strong outpost of Ngāi Tahu culture. The vision is that tribal members wanting to see the world might choose Melbourne, because they'd get big-city hustle, yet could still learn te reo, live near whānau, debate history and whakapapa, perform kapa haka, or work for the tribe. Perhaps we'll see such strongholds all over the world as Kāi Tahu expands.

Statistics from 2011 show that almost one fifth of Māori now reside outside New Zealand. Demographer Dr Tahu Kukutai argues that this is unprecedented, and needs new thinking. But Māori overseas already have an ancient tradition for thinking about their former home.

Hawaiki is the legendary island our earliest ancestors set sail from. It's the origin of whakapapa, language, and taonga like kūmara, and the spiritual homeland people return to at death.

There's long been debate about where in Eastern Polynesia the physical island of Hawaiki lay. But many now argue that Hawaiki was not a single place, but an ancient name and concept applied to whatever homeland we'd left behind. Coming east across the Pacific, there are numerous islands with names like Savai'i, Ha'apai, Havai'i, and Hawai'i. It's a point of origin that moves as we move, always one step back to the west.

And so for whānau in Australia, the relationship to New Zealand is clear: it's our Hawaiki. It's the origin of our stories, traditions, and language, and, in the age of air travel, the homeland that spirit and body may return to at death: Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaikipāmamao, Hawaiki-Aotearoa.

The **Right Stone**

Following the devastating earthquakes of September 2010 and February 2011, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu worked with the **Government and Christchurch City Council on the Canterbury** Earthquake National Memorial. Called Oi Manawa (meaning 'tremor of the heart') the memorial pays respect to all those who were affected by the quakes. Of special significance is the pounamu kõhatu that sits at the entrance to the memorial, serving as a touchstone that connects visitors to the whenua and to those who have been **before them.** After working closely on the unveiling of the memorial in February of this year, kaituhi ADRIENNE REWI shares the story of the kohatu.

MAURI TAU MAURI ORA IS THE 270 KILOGRAM POUNAMU KŌHATU that sits on a Carrara marble plinth at the entrance to Oi Manawa, the Canterbury Earthquake National Memorial. Gifted by Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio, it marks a place for those affected by the Christchurch earthquakes to reflect and remember the people and places they have lost. It signposts a memorial to whenua, whānau, and memories.

For carver Fayne Robinson (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāti Māhaki, Ngāti Waewae; Ngāti Apa ki te Ra To – Puahaterangi), it is also a metaphor of sorts for the before and after of Christchurch city. Its rough crust, he says, resembles rubble; and the "little windows of potential", showing





in places, reflect where we are heading with the city rebuild.

"There was just something about this stone – its colour, its texture, its character that just said, 'Pick me.' Pounamu can be very diverse and many people have never seen it in its raw state, with its crusty exterior on show. They think of pounamu as being an obvious shade of green," says Fayne.

"But it was that difference that drew me to this stone. It was a gut feeling, and I followed my instincts. The other two stones we sourced (from South Westland) were smaller and they fitted the more conventional idea of pounamu, but they lacked the character of this piece."



HOTOGRAPH BELMONT PRODUCTIONS

Fayne Robinson is no stranger to pounamu. He has a passion for the stone - and for his artwork - that stemmed from his childhood experiences. Born and raised on the West Coast, he was taken upriver looking for pounamu from an early age.

"We were never 'dragged' up the rivers as such, but that's what it felt like to us. We were just kids. We just wanted to swim in the river, not hunt for stones.

"I'd do my sport on Saturday, and on Sunday, I'd be taken into the bush and upriver with my father and uncles. That was always the way - for as long as I can remember."

Fayne says that from the first time he found pounamu he was hooked, but like most "stoners", he believes there is much more to it than finding a stone.

"Those walks upriver through the bush are not so much about finding pounamu but developing a strong cultural connection to the environment and the elements. Finding a stone was always just a bonus - it still is; it's really about connecting with the whenua."

Fayne left the West Coast when he was 17. His parents wanted him to become a diesel mechanic in Christchurch, but he had no interest in cars. Instead, acting on the inspiration of Emily Schuster, head weaver at the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua, he decided on a carving apprenticeship.

"Emily was taking a weaving wānanga on the Coast and she stayed with us. She noticed I was good at cooking and playing about with things, so she thought I'd be a good carver – or a chef. Two of my cousins had become chefs and I didn't want to follow the pack, so I chose carving and headed for Rotorua."

That was 1982, and after a three-year apprenticeship, Fayne stayed on at the institute for another four years to hone his skills. He says now though that it wasn't until he had been carving for 20 years that "things just clicked," and he felt free, inspired, and creative – "like a child given a pencil for the first time."

Fayne specialised in whakairo (carving), mostly in wood. Although he had always had a strong connection to pounamu and a desire to carve it, it has only been over the last six years that he has done so.

"There were always other whānau members carving pounamu and there wasn't a need for anyone else; and because of my classical training, my classical way of doing things, I have a slightly different approach.

"I have a very strong cultural connection to the stone and I put a huge value on it and it's not about carving to fulfil any commercial imperative. I'm not carving pounamu to make a living. I don't like compromising cultural integrity for the sake of a dollar. I have very set views about that. If it sells, it's just a bonus, just as it's always a bonus if you find the stone in the first place."

It was Fayne's deep knowledge and regard for pounamu and whakairo that led Matapopore Charitable Trust Kaitohutohu Toi (Arts Advisor) Tui Falwasser to approach him to source a stone for the National Earthquake Memorial on the edge of the Ōtākaro (Avon) River.

The Trust's involvement in the memorial construction goes back to 2015. As the mana whenua voice in the city's recovery, responsible for ensuring Ngāi Tūāhuriri/Ngāi Tahu values, aspirations and narratives are realised within the rebuilt city, Matapopore played a key role in making sure a cultural marker was stitched into the fabric of the memorial site.

"This was another opportunity for us to ensure a strong visual presence for the iwi within the new city," says Tui (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri).

"But the pounamu was always going to be much more than a simple visual presence. The Earthquake Memorial has a long life expectancy, and for us it was about strengthening that connection to the whenua; and for us as Ngāi Tahu/Ngāi Tūāhuriri, an opportunity to relate to the physical elements of the place."

The memorial site, beside the Ōtākaro River, has a close relationship to the Ngāi Tahu-owned King Edward Barracks site, which has a much earlier history as a part of Puari Pā, and a key mahinga kai and nōhanga kāinga.

"The area is an historical anchor for us, and we wanted it to be a healing site for generations to come," says Tui.

The first step in sourcing the right stone for the site was approaching the West Coast rūnanga, in this case Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio.

"Ngāti Waewae is already well represented in other areas of the city, so we chose Makaawhio – it's about sharing the load and being inclusive of everyone, and this is the first time Makaawhio has been represented within the city for a number of years," Fayne says.

Makaawhio Rūnanga Representative Susan Wallace says it was "a privilege and an honour to be able to tautoko such an important kaupapa, and to be able to share and express aroha with everyone who visits the memorial."



Above: Pounamu fossickers Jamie Robinson, Caleb Robinson, Garth Wilson and Scott Mills with the köhatu Mauri Tau Mauri Ora at its South Westland entrance; right: Fayne Robinson and nephew Caleb Robinson inspecting the köhatu shortly after extraction; previous pages: Close-up of köhatu shows the rough crust that Fayne Robinson says represents the rubble of the earthquake, with the windows of green showing through to represent the potential within.

Susan says the rūnanga is fortunate in having a rōpū of motivated and committed Pounamu Committee members who were prepared to take up the challenge of finding an appropriate kōhatu mauri pounamu for the memorial.

"The kōmiti is chaired by Fayne Robinson, and he and his kōmiti members worked through the planning and logistical requirements that allowed Caleb Robinson, Jamie Robinson, Scott Mills, and Garth Wilson to fly to a remote South Westland valley, where the kōhatu was selected and extracted.

"We were thrilled to be able to contribute a kōhatu mauri that we believe not only appropriately reflects the weight of the kaupapa, but also provides an anchor in what is a wāhi aroha, wāhi maumaharatanga hoki," Susan says.

Once the groundwork had been established, the trip into remote South Westland was planned for November 2016. Tui Falwasser says there was one small window of opportunity.

"We identified the best time safety-wise for the whānau and the helicopter pilot to go upriver; and of course it was always 'weather permitting'. Fayne drove that side of things and we supported them with food, gear, health and safety plans, and accommodation; and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu funded the helicopter extraction of the stone."

For Fayne, it was appropriate that the four team members who went upriver all had strong connections to pounamu and a sound knowledge of the South Westland area.

"They've all been pounamu fossickers from an early age, and based on local whānau knowledge, we selected an area that we thought might be appropriate. The four guys took a 15-minute flight in from Haast, while I stayed behind to coordinate things at the base," he says.

The team was divided in two and each pair was dropped off on a different tributary of the Gorge River, so they could walk towards each other, hunting for an appropriate stone as they went. When a



"The stone carries mana and mauri of its own, the water brings its own cleansing wairua, and this is shared by everyone who touches it. There should be a sense of connection – whanaungatanga – a kinship or relationship gained through shared experiences, and the feelings the memorial invokes in all who visit it."

SUSAN WALLACE Makaawhio Rūnanga Representative

stone was found, GPS coordinates were registered for helicopter pickup, and Fayne was notified of the finds.

"The boys stayed in the bush overnight, and on the second day, a cameraman was helicoptered in to film the extraction for the documentary that was being made by Ōtākaro Limited, who worked with the Christchurch City Council and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu on the planning and construction of the memorial wall.

"That gave me the opportunity to also fly in and check out the three stones that the team had found. When I first saw them, I suggested we carry on looking for others. It's always good to know that, if the opportunity arises and there's a need for another stone for something else, we can go back to a known site and collect one.

"As for the right stone for the earthquake memorial – we decided to bring three stones out but from the outset, there was just something about the one we ultimately decided upon."

The stones were secured into cargo nets and hoisted out in two helicopter trips. Two were left with Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio, and the final stone was brought to Fayne's studio at Woodend, where he works with his nephew, Caleb Robinson.

After the stone had been blessed, and in Fayne's absence, the first challenge for Caleb was getting the 270kg stone off the back of the ute. In a moment of quick thinking, he and those helping rolled it off the truck and into an old La-Z-Boy chair.

From there, the decision was made to polish one side of it to create a smooth surface that would attract people to touch the stone. And to make the connection to the memorial wall itself, Fayne prepared a Carrara marble plinth, subtly sandblasted with appropriate Māori designs.

"Matapopore and Ngāi Tahu have played a big role in giving our iwi visible places in this city rebuild, and that's good to see. I'm all for it," says Fayne.

"We've had the opportunity to reveal a new face, and it's been an honour to be involved in this memorial kaupapa."

Tui Falwasser says the earthquake memorial reflects the strong collaborative nature of the committee that brought it to reality.

"It's been the biggest anchor project Matapopore will be involved in, and it's a manifestation of the excellent working relationships we formed in our work with Ōtākaro Limited, the Christchurch City Council, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu," Tui says.

"We see the placement of Mauri Tau Mauri Ora as a significant koha to the whānau, the iwi, the city, and the nation. I feel we've all done it justice, and it's a great relief to know that those families affected by the injury or death of loved ones during the Christchurch earthquakes now have somewhere to go to reflect and heal their hurts."

For Susan Wallace, the gifting of Mauri Tau Mauri Ora to the city maintains the tradition of placing mauri stones at the entrance to places of importance.

"The stone carries mana and mauri of its own, the water brings its own cleansing wairua, and this is shared by everyone who touches it. There should be a sense of connection – whanaungatanga – a kinship or relationship gained through shared experiences, and the feelings the memorial invokes in all who visit it."

Uncle Charlie A Man for his People

A member of the Ngāi Tahu "A Team" negotiators throughout the settlement negotiations, Charles Crofts' passion and commitment to the iwi back then and in the 20 years since can only be described as resolute. Kaituhi ALICE DIMOND recently spent time with the infectious character who is Uncle Charlie.

HOTOGRAPHS NGĂI TAHU ARCHIVES



Above: Charles with Prime Minister Jim Bolger at the signing of the Deed of Settlement in Kaikõura, 1997; opposite: Attending the recent investiture ceremony at Government House where Charles was made an ONZM for services to Māori – left to right: Charles, Marion Crofts, Ngaire Briggs, Michael Bennett, Carl Crofts, Meri Crofts.



IT IS UNLIKELY THAT YOU CAN HAVE A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE Ngāi Tahu Settlement without hearing stories about Charles Crofts (Ngāti Huakai, Ngāi Tūāhuriri), or as most of the iwi know him, Uncle Charlie.

As Charlie tells it, it was the "luck of the draw" that he was Kaiwhakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu at the time of settlement. However, as we speak in the home he shares with his wife Meri, eating mousetraps and sipping on tea, it becomes clear that there was more than just luck at play. Charlie is a man who was always going to do great things.

Although most people will know Charlie as being from Koukourārata, he was born at Tuahiwi, in the back bedroom of his mother's house. This means that Charlie calls two places home, and he speaks fondly of what each place has given him.

His Pōua, W.D Barrett, was one of those who were instrumental in the creation of the 1848 Blue Book, and Charlie says he would frequently hear his Tuahiwi whānau discussing Te Kerēme.

"It is said that you learn more at the feet of your Pōua and Tāua than anywhere else, and that was true for me," says Charlie. "I didn't realise it as a kid but when I started getting into the Ngāi Tahu negotiations I suddenly realised, 'Oh I know all this stuff,' – it was all coming back to me through the things that I had heard." "It is said that you learn more at the feet of your Poua and Taua than anywhere else, and that was true for me. I didn't realise it as a kid but when I started getting into the Ngāi Tahu negotiations I suddenly realised, 'Oh I know all this stuff,' – it was all coming back to me through the things that I had heard."

CHARLIE CROFTS Ngāti Huakai, Ngāi Tūāhuriri



After 20 years in the army, Charlie says he did not "start up with Māori stuff again" until the mid-1980s, when Meri and her sister Daisy decided they should return to Koukourārata to help support those still living at the papa kāinga.

It was here that Charlie started to realise the value of the knowledge he had acquired at the feet of his Pōua, as he saw how others responded to it. "I was under the personal opinion that I had to find my own turf in life, and Koukourārata offered that to me," says Charlie. "When I had thoughts or opinions in Port Levy, people would always be saying, 'Oh, tell me more.'" Before long, Charlie was asked to be Chair of Koukourārata, a role he still holds to this day.

As the chair of the rūnanga, Charlie was involved in the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and its eventual evolution into Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. "At that time the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board was the closest thing we had to an iwi authority," says Charlie. "However, the Trust Board was set up to administer the claim, not to receive it."

With this in mind, a motion was put forward at a board meeting to put in place a new structure that could take Ngāi Tahu into the future.

"I remember that I seconded that motion," says Charlie, "and I know this because I remember Aunty Rima Bell turning to me and saying, 'Second that!' I didn't even really know what that meant but I knew I had to because one of my old Aunties was telling me to, so

I seconded it. I think that is probably one of the wisest choices I have ever made."

The new structure that was formed as part of this resolution was originally called Te Rūnanganui o Tahu, with Kelvin Anglem as Kaiwhakahaere. "Because I was a bit of a loudmouth, I got to be Kelvin's deputy," laughs Charlie. Eventually Charlie became Kaiwhakahaere, and Te Rūnanganui o Tahu became the structure we know today, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

"I am proud to be able to say that I brought home the 170 [million dollars as part of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement], which is something no one else will ever have the opportunity to bring home," says Charlie. "I say that I brought it home, but it really was Tipene [O'Regan] - he was the chair of the negotiators. I was just the chair of the iwi authority at that time." However, Charlie was more than "just the chair", and played a significant role in these negotiations as part of the "A-team".

"We had an A-Team, a B-Team and a C-team, so as you can see we were really imaginative in the naming of our teams," laughs Charlie.

"The A-Team were the negotiators, the B-Team would work out all the stuff we needed to know, and the C-team would determine all the nuts and bolts of the issues that were brought to us.

"It was really quite funny because we would have the B-Team sitting around us and then suddenly I would have someone's finger in my side and I would think, 'Oh no, they want me to shut up,' so I would quiet down."

Charlie believes the range of people, knowledge, and skillsets that made up each of these teams was paramount to the success of the negotiations. He tells a story about an occasion where the importance of this collaboration was particularly apparent.

"I was sitting there and this fellow, Richard Meade [commercial advisor as part of the B-Team] gave me a dig in the side and said we needed to have a caucus, which means we would go to a private room as a team in the Beehive. We got to the private meeting and Tipene asked me, "What do we need a caucus for?" and I had no idea!"

As Charlie recalls, Richard then went on to explain. "'I have just realised that they are doing us out of interest,' said Richard. 'We are going to put the final figure to them and they will say that they will take it away. They are then going to take at least a month before they can talk to us again, and that time is worth money."

That day, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu managed to earn an extra 10 million dollars as part of the Settlement. "That was just something that the A-Team would never have thought of," says Charlie.

When I speak to Charlie, the grounded and humble way he recalls these interactions makes it hard at times to remember that these narratives were the beginning of the thriving organisation that is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu today.

At one point during our conversation, Charlie takes me outside to show me the piece of pounamu that was used to symbolise the gifting of pounamu back to the tribe. It is sitting amongst the garden plants and other rocks, and if he hadn't pointed it out to me, it would have gone unnoticed.

"It's an ugly-looking piece," laughs Charlie. "One night I had a phone call at 11 o'clock from Tipene, asking if I had a raw piece of pounamu. I told Tipene that I had an ugly-looking piece that I had been given from my nephew and he said it didn't matter, so that's what we used. I still sometimes give Lisa [Tumahai] a hard time now that I have the piece of pounamu that was given back to Ngāi Tahu."

Despite this playful nature, Charlie is still human and shows raw emotion at points in our conversation. "The whole process of the negotiations was upsetting at times," he says.

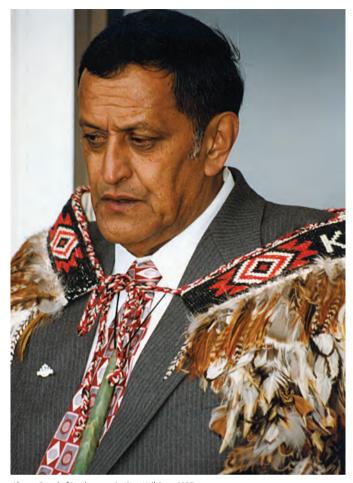
"Often I would be on the red-eye in the morning heading to Wellington, and then would fly home on the last flight that night. During that time O'Regan just did not seem to sleep. Whenever he wanted some crazy advice, and I mean crazy, he would just ring me and say, 'Well, can you sleep?'"

When I asked Charlie about the passing of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Bill in Parliament he paused for a moment, and then apologised, saying it still makes him "a little weepy".

"It was marvellous. That's all I can say," he says simply.

"We were told we were allowed one karanga that day and no speech. What they failed to tell us is how many were allowed to have a karanga and how long that karanga could go for. So the karanga went around the top of the speaker's chambers and then back again, all these different Ngāi Tahu women joining in. It was just marvellous."

Since then, the success of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has made Charlie proud of the tribe and his own efforts as part of the settlement negotiating team. One thing that Charlie is particularly proud of is the revitalisation of te reo Māori within Ngāi Tahu.



Above: Deed of Settlement signing, Kaikōura, 1997.

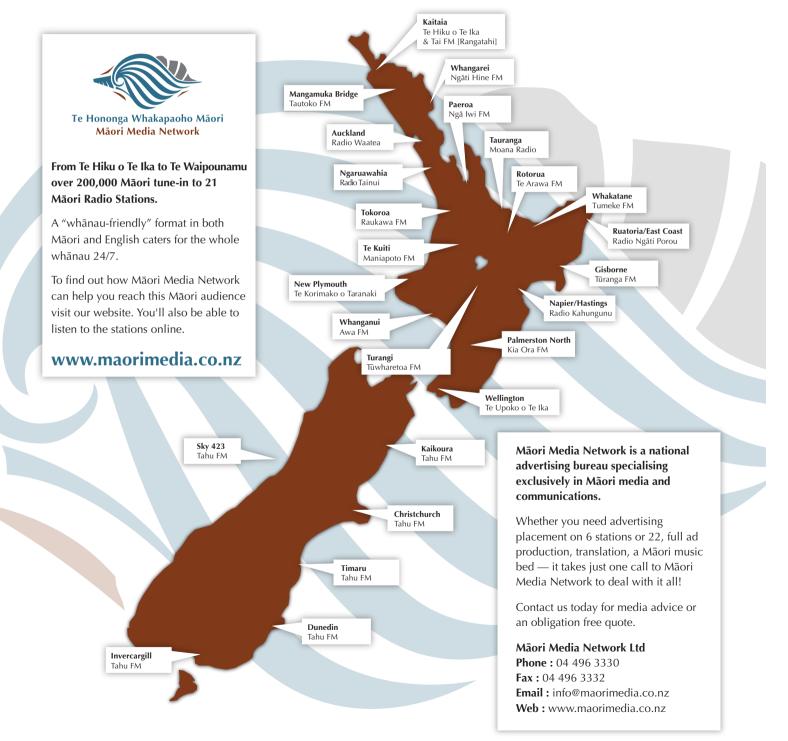
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"I think one of our biggest successes is the renaissance of te reo," says Charlie. "The rest of our successes I expected, but the language was a surprise. What you have to realise is that te reo was just about completely dead amongst our people. Although I will never get to learning it myself, I love it when I hear young ones speaking it."

As our korero nears an end, Charlie offers his recommendation for the tribe moving forward. "As far as commercial development goes, I have nothing but praise for the way we have developed. However, in terms of tribal development, I want to see some evolvement.

"We did not set up the structure of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to stay as is forever, and it may be time we move away from the 18 [Papatipu Rūnanga]. I really want to see evolvement rather than devolvement within the tribe. And they better hurry up, because I am getting old," he laughs.

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Marlon

At the tender age of 26, multiple award winning Ngāi Tahu musician Marlon Williams is fast becoming a household name both locally and internationally for his hauntingly beautiful folk/country/ alternative ballads. Kaituhi MATT SCOBIE recently caught up with him in his home town of Lyttelton.

WE MET UP OUTSIDE THE LYTTELTON COFFEE COMPANY ON A sunny Friday at high noon. A familiar space for us both, but far more so for my coffee date Marlon Williams. It takes him three stops to catch up with locals just to get to the counter. I have always found Lyttelton to be a place of warmth and welcome, because of the people who call it home – people like Marlon Williams.

From the marae to the church to the stadium, Marlon Williams is a pretty big deal these days, although he's too humble to accept that. He is Ngāi Tahu with whakapapa connections to Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, Moeraki and Ngāti Waewae through his mum, Jenny Rendall. Born at home on Cashel Street in Ōtautahi, and educated at Christchurch Boys' High School and University of Canterbury, Canterbury "is always the anchor." So why is this Marlon's place to be?

"I reckon it is probably the landscape. And even just the climate. Coming off a plane in Christchurch and having that crisp Christchurch air completely reinvigorates me."

This is all in the context of Marlon having spent most of 2016 touring the world playing music. But there's one more thing. "It's just easier to communicate with people, face-to-face, when you're from the same place. It's a comfort thing, it just feels easier."

In the last 10 years Marlon has toured New Zealand scores of times with different acts, as well as Australia, the US, the UK, and Europe. He's signed international record deals, released and collaborated on critically acclaimed albums, and has been nominated for and won several New Zealand music and songwriting awards. These include Best Country Song, Best Male Solo Artist, and Breakthrough Artist of the Year at the New Zealand Music Awards. He's been on *Later... with Jools Holland, Conan* with Conan O'Brien, opened for "The Boss" Bruce Springsteen, and acted in television and film.

But you can read all that stuff on Wikipedia. I've got the man himself across the table so there are other things to discuss. First of all, what's next?

"Well I recorded an album in March just north of San Fran in a house just up the coast." The album is being produced with Noah Georgeson. "He's produced all of Devendra Banhart's albums and a couple of other artists. Have you heard of Cate Le Bon? She's a Welsh singer and has just put out my two favourite albums of the last few years. So yeah, I'm really excited. I had ten days which isn't long. But also two weeks of pre-production with Ben." That's Ben Edwards, also Ngāi Tahu, of the Sitting Room studio, based in Lyttelton.



"The waiata are more personal and definitely more first-hand so far."

I'm always interested in people's exposure to Ngāi Tahutanga and tikanga growing up, because we've all had different journeys. So we talk about this for a while. How has growing up affected who Marlon is now, and how he writes and sings?

"I think it's a combination of sort of... Mum saying things to me when we were on car rides and I did a little bit of Māori history at university so it came from somewhere in there."

"You can learn everything about the craft of writing through telling stories, and from there you can do anything, y'know? Now I want to write more about myself and I learnt how to do that, how to write, by telling stories – a foundation of telling stories. The old tradition is such a strong part of what we have. So developing the ability to tell stories, I feel, is the crux; and then ... people will learn the rest."

Marlon sang in such beautiful te reo Māori at the opening of the Canterbury Earthquake National Memorial, so I ask whether there was a lot of waiata in the house growing up.

"Basically just going to Hui-ā-Tau every year and Mum was really insistent that we knew the waiata, like, 'We have to know the waiata! We can't be embarrassed! We've gotta sing real loud!' Normally it'd be like our holiday for the year."

A recent song of Marlon's doing the rounds on the internet is

The Arahura, it ebbs and it flows It changes in ways only rivers can know And when I look down from the mountain above I know I am bound to the river I love But when I was young, I studied those ways Now I kept them with me, through all of my days Te Rauparaha had the greenest of eyes He came a long way for a shimmering prize And God only knows what he needed stones for But you didn't mind, for you've a million more And in a million years I'll be a rock on that hill But in a million more I don't know that I will.

Arahura. It's a title we'll all be familiar with. It seems to me to be a definite push from Marlon in asserting Ngāi Tahutanga into his music and lyrics. I wonder whether this is a second album thing, a career thing, or an age thing.

"I think it's probably all of those things, but definitely an age thing. I remember talking to my Mum about it and she said 26 was a year when things turned over again for her. It's like... you've gotten over the initial storm of the teens well and truly, but it requires a spring cleaning again I guess.

"I'm trying to find some centre to the way in which my writing is changing. But it's really hard to do, to try and locate what's changing and why. I think I'm now trying to write more emotively and more first-hand, which is something I sort of avoided on my first album.

"It is a terrifying thing when you've got to interrogate yourself a little bit."

Especially when this is done through music and released into the public realm?

"Yeah! Then they interrogate it and put themselves on it. So there's always that to hide behind too."

But this critical "coming of age" self-reflection is done through song and stories. So we share stories about story-telling.

"I actually wrote it (*Arahura*) for (friend) Kate O'Brien's Dad's 60th, because he's just such a West Coast man. His name is Peter which means "the rock". And I thought it's a weird truism of life so far that all the Peters I know in this world are rocks. Every one of them is a really solid person. And then I just thought, 'I want to write him a song about the West Coast.'

"The idea is about the uncaring landscape – and how it's not changeless, it changes over long periods of time – but it's slow enough that it doesn't really care what man is up to."

Whatungarongaro te tangata toitū te whenua – As man disappears from sight, the land remains.



Above: Marlon performing at the Christchurch Earthquake Memorial event, 22nd February 2017; above left: Marlon with his mum Jenny Rendall, and Ben Edwards' Lyttelton Records recording studio. The ukulele on the left belonged to Marlon's poua Harry Rendall.

So in Arahura, is Marlon telling a Ngāi Tahu story through waiata? "In one sense, yeah, one story arc is just an oral telling of something that happened in the tradition of song.

"There's The Ballad of Minnie Dean, a song that's using what I would call newspaper writing... there's something really tragically cold about a certain kind of writing which is just descriptive about the detailing of events. Just holding a mirror up. I found that really interesting, it's like a key element of old bluegrass music."

But is this different to the way that hearing and telling Ngāi Tahu stories can shape us?

"That's a good point actually. I've never really thought about that. I guess like... it sort of reflects certain fairy tales that my parents used to read me. Those sort of weird, like, Grimm's Fairy Tales. All of these things happen and you're left to work out and glean what you want from it."

At this point I decide that because I'm writing for TE KARAKA, I should ask a favourite TE KARAKA question: "What are your aspirations for Ngāi Tahu?"

"Man I find this question so hard! I reckon utilise what's already deeply embedded in the culture. Like for me it was going to Hui-ā-Tau and learning all these waiata y'know? And the, sort of, lovely pressure that comes with it. It's a healthy pressure."

And an important follow-up to a question on aspirations for Ngāi Tahu, a very large group of very diverse people, would be advice on how to get there. Especially advice for aspiring artistic rakatahi. According to Marlon, who is reluctant to give anyone else advice, it's about reo, kōrero, and tikanga.

"I feel like the more tribal members have a sound knowledge of te reo, the better. Because I really think the language is the way forward. Without the language, so much of what we are able to access is closed up. It's an aspiration for me too!

"I had plans last year just to do an album of lullabies in te reo with \vec{a} two Samoan sisters, the Bull sisters (Vika and Linda) from Australia actually – but we haven't done it yet. I really want to. Three-part ≧ harmonies and guitars. Some Ngāi Tahu tunes, like Tahu Pōtiki, mainly the songs that the Crofts sisters wrote. Those are my favourites, so it'll be predominantly that. That's another reason I want to learn te reo again, and much better, so that I can write in it.

"You can learn everything about the craft of writing through telling stories, and from there you can do anything, y'know? Now I want to write more about myself and I learnt how to do that, how to write, by telling stories – a foundation of telling stories. The old tradition is such a strong part of what we have. So developing the ability to tell stories, I feel, is the crux; and then, things will sort of just... people $\frac{1}{2}$ will learn the rest.

"Tikanga is important but also what's more important is allowing people to break from tikanga too. Because of course with tikanga you should know the rules that you're breaking. But there's a certain preciousness that comes with it, y'know? I always think about Sir Āpirana Ngata proclaiming that we should paint all the Marae in that red-brown colour! You simplify to survive and I feel like while that's true, it's sort of a subsistence. Strength really comes from the change and there's nothing inherently wrong with the change, but it's so hard to do it when you're marginalised."

So you have to fight to adapt to circumstances but fight to change those circumstances too? œ

"Yeah, and not be afraid of it!"

MARLON WILL BE PERFORMING AT THE NGAI TAHU HUI-Ā-IWI IN ŌTAUTAHI 24 - 26 NOVEMBER 2017.

The Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011 (MACA) is an attempt by the Crown to address the shortcomings of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, and was the child of a time of protest and dissatisfaction. Māori were excited by the prospect of a legislative framework that would recognise their customary rights and interests in the foreshore area. However, the issue was relatively polarising across the nation, with misinformation feeding fears that iwi would begin excluding the public from accessing beaches and coastline for recreation and fishing. CHRIS BRANKIN, a policy advisor for Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, shares his view on the impact of this legislation among Ngāi Tahu people.

THE HIGHEST FORM OF PROTECTION OF MĀORI RIGHTS AND interests available is "Customary Marine Title", which recognises the relationship of an iwi, hapū, or whānau with a part of the common marine and coastal area. The title can't be sold, and free public access, fishing, and other recreational activities are allowed to continue in Customary Marine Title areas. Successful applicant groups gain a number of rights in regards to the area:

- 1. A Resource Management Act permission right which lets the group say yes or no to activities that need resource consents or permits;
- 2. A Conservation Permission Right which lets the group say yes or no to certain conservation activities;
- 3. The right to be notified and consulted when other groups apply for marine mammal watching permits;
- 4. The right to be consulted about changes to Coastal Policy Statements;
- A wāhi tapu protection right which lets the group seek recognition of a wāhi tapu and restrict access to the area if needed;
- 6. The ownership of minerals other than petroleum, gold, silver, and uranium;
- The interim ownership of taonga tūturu found in the area, and;
- 8. The ability to prepare a planning document which sets out the group's objectives and policies for the management of resources in the area.

The striking thing about this list is that with the exception of the protection of wāhi tapu and ownership of minerals and taonga tūturu, a Customary Marine Title does not actually address much of what many would imagine to be customary rights and interests. That is not to say that some of the tools it provides are not useful in certain situations, but whether this legislation can satisfy Māori who want true recognition is doubtful.

To be awarded a Customary Marine Title, an applicant must prove their group holds the specified area in accordance with tikanga, and have exclusively used and occupied it, without substantial interruption, from 1840 to the present day. These tests are steep, and were a key point in opposition to the Act. Many felt that for the Crown to state they intended to provide recognition to Māori, but then to set such strenuous tests, was a contradiction and in bad faith. However despite protests and advice of iwi, the Bill became an Act in 2011.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu strongly advised the Crown early on that the MACA Bill would not offer Māori any greater recognition of their rights and interests than had been possible under the previous framework, slamming the Bill as unimaginative.

A Customary Marine Title first caught the attention of Denis Tipene after an application for a Mātaitai reserve did not come to fruition. According to his evidence, he sought to protect the pāua fishery around the Tamaitemioka and Pohowaitai Islands, a pair of closely adjacent tītī islands on the southwest end of Rakiura. After a lifetime of birding a number of islands, Mr Tipene, a beneficial owner, has birded on Tamaitemioka since the mid 1980s. The trigger came after a conversation with a fellow birder who remarked that commercial divers were threatening the availability of pāua for whānau who bird the two islands and relied heavily on kaimoana to sustain themselves.



From that point, Mr Tipene began to explore avenues he hoped would offer legal protection for the customary rights of birders on the island.

Pohowaitai and Tamaitemioka are separated by only a few metres of sea, and for the most part the "coastal area" is difficult to access, with sheer rock faces plunging into a temperamental ocean. "The Landing" is the most accessible, and services both islands when approaching by boat, and as the place to get a kai. For these reasons The Landing was to become the area of focus for the application.

Pohowaitai and Tamaitemioka are beneficial tītī islands, meaning that their ownership and right of use is a matter of whakapapa. Travelling to these remote places is no mean feat, even with modern technology and transport, and once there the conditions are challenging and the work is hard. To be a birder requires commitment and passion. When Denis Tipene described to the court his relationship to the island, he said it was part of him and that the drive to go there was woven into his DNA. Powerful and emotive, this statement shows the depth of the connection to the place and practice.

There are two pathways to being awarded a Customary Marine Title: direct negotiation with the Minister for Treaty Settlements, or an application through the High Court. Mr Tipene made his application to the High Court, and, for a number of reasons, this did not attract a great deal of attention until proceedings were reasonably advanced. The Act compels applicants to publish notices in local newspapers to notify potentially affected parties of the details of the application, and to hold public hui.

Mr Tipene satisfied these requirements from a legal perspective, but received no responses. On one hand this demonstrates a relatively flimsy procedure set out by the Act, but it also shows that not many of the birding community had taken the application seriously – which of was to make matters complicated as proceedings continued.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu became aware of the application in mid 2014 when alerted by the Rakiura Tītī Committee. By that stage it was too late for Te Rūnanga to oppose or support the application, but both the Crown and the court were anxious to have Te Rūnanga joined to proceedings. It was also an opportunity to give whānau a second chance to have their say. Te Rūnanga were concerned that miscommunication and misunderstanding had meant that no voices other than Mr Tipene's would be heard.

It is no exaggeration to say that many of those voices were harsh, vitriolic, and in most part strongly opposed to the application. Mr Tipene, following the format laid out by the Act, had applied for Customary Marine Title from the high water mark out to 12 nautical miles from Tamaitemioka and Pohowaitai. The title was to be vested in the name of his daughter, and the applicant group was the Tipene whānau. Many other birders found these aspects of the application intolerable. Having the title in the name of a potential owner (that had yet to inherit their parent's rights) made no sense to many, while others were concerned the application area challenged the mana moana of other islands. Many whānau were also suspicious of Mr Tipene's intentions, as well as having a general disdain for the Act or any "outside" influence on the management of the islands.

In Mr Tipene's defence, these concerns can be attributed as much to the Act and the limitations of the application structure, while his intentions can only be speculated on. Having been formally joined to proceedings in August 2014, Te Rūnanga staff devised a strategy that would allow birders an opportunity to have their views heard by the High Court. A questionnaire was circulated that asked for In closing submissions all parties agreed that the application area was held in accordance with tikanga and had been exclusively used and occupied from 1840 to the present day without substantial interruption, as required by the Act. This was a good outcome, as the Crown had earlier indicated that it did not agree with this.

information about tikanga of the islands, use of the sea around the islands, and how an applicant group could be identified and represented. The responses formed the basis of the first set of evidence that Te Rūnanga submitted before the Crown. Mr Tipene was naturally frustrated, given that when he had tried to raise the issue with the tītī community he had been largely ignored. Further to this, Mr Tipene questioned why Te Rūnanga and the birding community would not support him in his application.

Te Rūnanga was unable to offer Mr Tipene the direct support he desired, just as it was unable to directly oppose the application. The key was to ensure that as much information as possible was before the court. This would be the first time an application was to be heard before the High Court, and the process and outcome would create a precedent for any more to come. This created a sense of unease for many, as the tītī islands are such a precious example of customary practice and tikanga. To invite an intrusion of law that may suggest otherwise created a stir. It is important to remember the fierce pride and independent nature of the birding community, which gives context to their natural reluctance to open their doors to the outside world.

Despite his frustration, Mr Tipene did take action to rectify the concerns of fellow birders, and amended his application. The applicant group was now to be Rakiura Māori with a beneficial interest in the two islands, rather than solely the Tipene whānau. The application area was reduced to avoid conflict with other islands, and Mr Tipene wished the holder of the title to be a legal entity rather than an individual. At this point the hearing was imminent, and legal counsel for Mr Tipene argued that such was the change in detail, that it would be unfair to continue at that point. The court agreed, and the hearing was adjourned.

It was decided that Mr Tipene would be allowed to continue with his amended application rather than filing anew, but that he would be required to repeat the public notification, and that there would be a fresh opportunity for interested parties to notify an intention to appear before the court during the hearing. This would have allowed all those who had missed the opportunity to now join and have their views heard independently, rather than through Te Rūnanga. Unfortunately none of those potentially interested parties filed, and the situation remained the same.

During this time Te Rūnanga staff met with him to discuss alternative options, but Mr Tipene declared his intention was to persist. Just months before the hearing would begin, special regulatory closures that banned commercial take of pāua in a number of locations around the tītī islands came into effect. This gave Mr Tipene what he sought, but he was determined to see his application through.

The hearing began in Invercargill in November 2015, before Justice Mallon. Her Honour was to be assisted by Aunty Jane Davis, acting as a court-appointed pūkenga, or expert. On the first morning Mr Tipene amended his application again, to further diminish his application area, which was now described by Te Rūnanga witness and Waihōpai Rūnaka representative Michael Skerrett as a "postage stamp".

Crown Law took a very adversarial approach to the hearing, which was disappointing. Over the course of the hearing a number of witnesses gave their evidence on behalf of all parties, and the judge began to build a picture of the tikanga and use of the islands.

In closing submissions all parties agreed that the application area was held in accordance with tikanga and had been exclusively used and occupied from 1840 to the present day without substantial interruption, as required by the Act. This was a good outcome, as the Crown had earlier indicated that it did not agree with this.

The issue on which the parties differed was who the applicant group was, as required by the Act, and whether Mr Tipene had the mandate to represent that group. Mr Tipene's lawyer stated that he did, and throughout the hearing papers were provided to the court from individuals stating that they supported Mr Tipene. Both the Crown and Te Rūnanga asserted that this was not clear.

Justice Mallon adjourned proceedings, and instructed Mr Tipene to conduct yet more consultation with whānau to better demonstrate his mandate to bring an application, and further define the applicant group. This was done in Mr Tipene's own way, with hui held and letters of support produced for the court. From that point on was a waiting period, until just over a year later Justice Mallon notified parties that Mr Tipene's application was to be awarded; a victory for his perseverance. The holder of the title is yet to be determined, but the title itself is secure. Many in the birding community were dismayed at the outcome; however the impact of such a small title will be minimal.

Mr Tipene's success, so close to the application window finishing, will have been a factor in the rush of applications for Customary Marine Title. While the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011 remains a flawed mechanism to deliver Māori their rights, it is there for now, and Denis Tipene took it on and in his own way, he succeeded.

Earlier this year Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu governors decided to make a takiwā-wide application for Customary Marine Title, the highest recognition available under the Marine and Coastal (Takutai Moana) Act 2011. While Te Rūnanga does not consider this Act to adequately recognise Ngāi Tahu rights and interests in the coastal area, a Customary Marine Title would be a partial step forward in the journey to achieving that.

- The application was made on behalf of all Ngāi Tahu whānui to ensure the statutory deadline was met (3 April 2017).
- Te Rūnanga will work with rūnanga and land owners to ensure title of each area rests with mana whenua.
- This application does not overlap and will not hinder any valid application made by Ngāi Tahu whānau in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā.
 Te Rūnanga supports those applicants exercising their own mana.
- Te Rūnanga has applied for both formal pathways provided by the Act, direct negotiation with the Minister for Treaty Settlements, and the High Court. As the kaupapa progresses the best pathway for each area will be taken.

Te Rūnanga kaimahi have been meeting whānau to discuss the application. If you would like to be involved, please keep an eye out for pānui via your rūnaka offices, or email **takutai@ngaitahu.iwi.nz** to get in touch.



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The Good Bishop

Nā ANNA BRANKIN

THE RIGHT REVEREND RICHARD WALLACE, NEWLY CONSECRATED Bishop of Te Waipounamu, seems perfectly at home when I visit him at his office at Te Hēpara Pai in Christchurch. However, 40 years ago he would never have imagined he would hold this role. The two things that have remained constant throughout his life are his deep connection to his iwi, and his enduring faith in Christ.

Bishop Wallace was baptised at birth in the church at Ōnuku by a Rātana priest, and was raised at Little River by his grandparents. "The thing I remember back then is going to sleep at night listening to karakia, and waking up in the morning listening to karakia, all in the reo," he says.

The role of Bishop of Te Waipounamu was established in 1996, and Bishop Wallace is the second to be elected, and the first of Ngāi Tahu descent. He was nominated by Canon Bella Morrell of Dunedin, and was elected in September 2016 by members of the Anglican Māori Diocese, before being ordained at Ōnuku in January 2017. For the Bishop, being ordained at the same place he was baptised was particularly special. "It is like I have done a full circle and returned for a reason," he says as he begins to tell his story.

Bishop Wallace speaks fondly of his early childhood. "In those days the whole village brought us up really, the whole of Little River," he remembers. "It was lovely, it didn't matter where we went, we were looked after."

When he was 11 years-old he was sent to live in Tasman, and it was while living there and attending Motueka High School that he had the first inkling he wanted to work in the church. He met members of the Christian Brethren Church and discovered that the messages of love and inclusion they preached resonated deeply with him. "I was 12 years-old when I gave my life to Christ, I gave my heart to Jesus," he says. "I had this sort of spiritual calling, and I could see places right throughout my life where it happened."

But it wasn't until he met his wife, the Venerable Mere Wallace, that Bishop Wallace found his way home to the Anglican Church. When he was 17 he joined the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF), where Mere also worked. He spent time at RNZAF bases in Wigram, Hobsonville, and Ōhakea, where he and Mere began dating.

"When I went up to meet the parents they said, 'If you want to marry my daughter, you have to be Anglican," he laughs. "So I went up to the church there and was baptised an Anglican, and we got married."

Bishop Wallace began attending Anglican services regularly, but at that stage he had never considered the idea of entering the ministry. "My mother-in-law told me I'd make a nice minister, but that was the last thing on my mind!"

He remained in the air force for nearly 12 years, returning to Christchurch after he was discharged. "I started attending the Church of the Good Shepherd in Phillipstown," he says. "I started going regularly when Brown Turei, who became the Archbishop, was the Missioner there." It was the example of Brown Turei that led to Bishop Wallace becoming a kaikarakia, or lay minister, and seven years later an ordained priest.

In fact, the first time the Bishop considered entering into ministry was after the commissioning of his predecessor Bishop John Gray as kaikarakia in the Church of the Good Shepherd in Phillipstown.

whare horoi (bathroom) at Te Rau Ōriwa Marae (in Whanganui), and
I heard a voice say: 'I suppose you will be next,'" he says. "I was a little
stunned and then I saw the Reverend Brown Turei's wife cleaning the
next stall!"
His first role was as an assistant minister in Christchurch, but in
by Joso he was installed as the first Māori Miscioner for Nelson, Over

1989 he was installed as the first Māori Missioner for Nelson. Over 12 years in Nelson he progressed through the ranks of Canon and Archdeacon, before relocating to Hokitika to become the Archdeacon of Te Tai Poutini.

"Following the service I was helping by cleaning the floors in the

Being elected to the role of Bishop of Te Waipounamu has meant a return to Christchurch for Bishop Wallace, and a sad farewell to Hokitika which has been home to the whānau for 17 years – although he will continue in his role as Upoko of Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio. The transition was made easier by the comfort he felt at returning to Te Hēpara Pai, which is now located on the same site as the former Te Waipounamu College that Mere and their three daughters attended as boarders before its closure in 1990.

"The thing I remember back then (raised at Little River by grandparents) is going to sleep at night listening to karakia, and waking up in the morning listening to karakia, all in the reo."

THE RIGHT REVEREND RICHARD WALLACE Bishop of Te Waipounamu

When describing the first few months of his tenure, "busy" is the word that keeps coming up. "I was sure that there was going to be quite a bit of work," he says. "But I've never spent so much time sitting at a computer, writing letters and carrying out some of the duties that a Bishop does." Some of the more notable events he has been involved in have included the tangi of his mentor Archbishop Brown Turei, as well as the opening of Te Hapa o Niu Tīreni at Arowhenua.

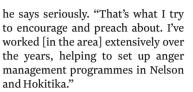
One of the Bishop's first priorities is strengthening the relationships between individual rūnanga and the Anglican Māori Diocese. "I'm planning on going to each of the areas and looking at the ministry in each rohe," he says. "I want to build a strong ministry team through the South Island, and ensure they have a relationship with their local rūnanga."

One thing that stands out to the Bishop from his own experience is the notion that people let their faith lapse because they find it too difficult to reconcile regular church-going with their lifestyles. This should not be the case, according to Bishop Wallace.

"Christ is in everything and is everywhere," he says. "Therefore don't look at it as turning away. Take it with you.

"There's a song that says, 'The place where I worship is the wide open places, built by the hands of the Lord.' And to me, that's the essence of God."

Bishop Wallace also hopes to use the influence of his role to affect positive change in the area of family violence. "I'm quite passionate about this, about bringing about a non-violent society,"

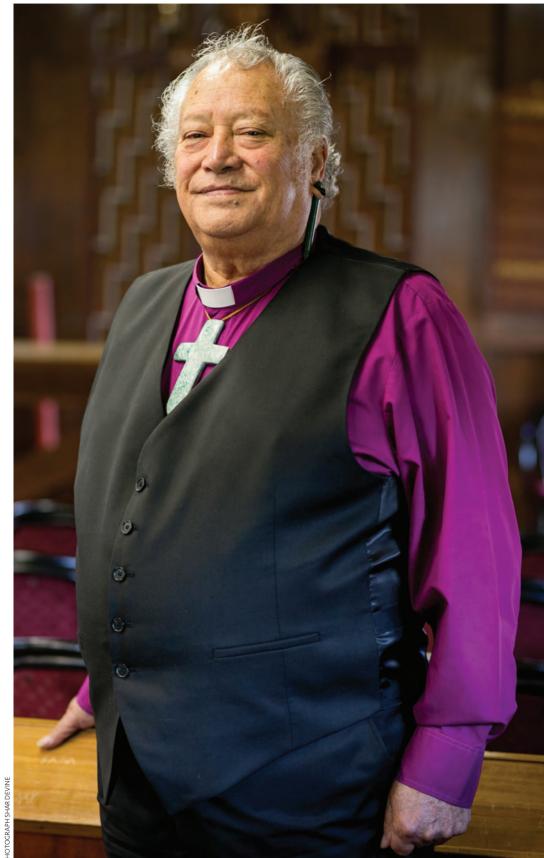


The key, he believes, is restoring to women the respect and status they have traditionally held throughout the history of Māoridom, but which has slipped away in more recent years. "I remember an interesting argument between some of my tāua and a kaumātua who always berated them and said they were trampling on his mana," Bishop Wallace recalls. "He started reciting his whakapapa, but he couldn't get anywhere without recognising a female ancestor. My tāua used to laugh and say, 'Leave us out and see how far you get.' I've always remembered that."

This lesson has served Bishop Wallace well, as his own marriage has remained steadfast throughout his career. It helps that his wife Mere is actually an archdeacon herself. "When I was elected, lots of bishop's wives tried to tell her what to expect and what her role is, and she said, 'Hang on, I'm an archdeacon in the church. I know how to handle this.'"

Bishop Wallace and Mere have two surviving daughters, as sadly their middle daughter passed away with breast cancer. They also have two whāngai sons that they raised from infancy. They are the proud pōua and tāua to 10 mokopuna, most of whom they have had a close hand in bringing up. "We've always had grandchildren living with us," Bishop Wallace says fondly. "At the moment we've got one grandson and his daughter in the house."

Bishop Wallace extends this inclusive attitude to his ministry, and says he hopes that whānau members will not hesitate to approach him. "When I started this role I said I wanted an open door policy," he says, smiling. "When my door is open, anyone can come in to discuss anything with me, or even just to have a cup of tea."







Motoring up the shipping channel of the Whangārei Harbour, Hayden Smith suddenly slows the *Sea Cleaners* boat and arcs it hard right. He's spotted something in the water. It's a piece of plastic, which he expertly manoeuvres towards before grabbing a net to scoop it from the ocean.

He's done this a thousand times before – it's what feeds him, drives him, and helps to give his life purpose.

"There's not a human being on the planet that will ever see a day without plastic in the ocean," he says.

Paddling up the Waitemata Harbour while working as a kayak guide, Hayden (Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki) couldn't help but be affected by the volumes of rubbish floating around him.

"From the bridge everything looks ok, but it's a different story once you get on the water."

That was over 14 years ago. Now, after setting up the charitable trust Sea Cleaners, Hayden has been responsible for removing over 4.8 million litres of plastic rubbish – more than 40 million individual pieces – from waterways around the Auckland region, and as far afield as the Bay of Plenty, Taranaki, and Northland. This plastic poses a deadly threat to sea life, including endangered New Zealand turtles, which often die slowly and painfully from ingested plastic blocking their intestines.

90 per cent of the plastic and trash collected has come off the land and he and his small team have mobilised more than 100,000 hours of volunteer time from individuals, schools, groups, businesses, neighbourhoods, communities and even the New Zealand and American Navies.

Hayden is in the process of building their 4th boat in Whangarei and the first to be based out of Auckland. Each boat costs about \$350,000 a year to operate and he has plans to have 10 operating full time around the country by 2020.

"We want to embed this model and eventually multiply it overseas – 10 countries with 10 boats, but we need to make sure we get it right at home before we think about international work. It's for our children and our children's children – that's what this project is about."





























Don't just look at the pictures



Gerard O'Regan (left) and Chris Arnett figuring out how to excavate beneath red paintings at Tcutcuwi'xa.

Māori archaeologists are few and far between, but at the end of 2016 Gerard O'Regan and Chris Arnett, both Ngāi Tahu, graduated as Doctors of Archaeology. They follow in the footsteps of Professor Atholl Anderson (also Ngāi Tahu), a world leader in Pacific archaeology, and our pre-eminent archaeologist. Last year, Atholl received the 2016 Prime Minister's award for Literary Achievement, recognising his massive contribution to New Zealand writing, including several books and many articles on southern Māori heritage. As Chris and Gerard carry the research on into the future, they are quick to point out that rock

arry the research on into the future, they are quick to point out that rock art is more than just pictures – it's a vital window on indigenous peoples' relationship with the whenua, and in some cases, a fascinating record on how they dealt with early European contact.

IN 1990, ATHOLL ANDERSON AND BRIAN ALLINGHAM WERE responsible for getting the Ngāi Tahu tribal rock art project kick started. Twenty-five years later, on different sides of the Pacific, both Gerard and Chris have also been immersed in rock art heritage. The pair first met a few years ago at a rock art symposium in Barcelona, and immediately realised the parallels in both their research and their whakapapa. In May 2016, with their PhDs finished, they got together in British Columbia to support a local Indian band excavate at an important rock shelter, and to talk at the Nlaka'pamux Rock Art Conference, hosted by the Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council, in Lytton, British Columbia.

Gerard has been involved in Ngāi Tahu heritage issues for over 30 years. His enthusiasm for archaeology and his affiliation to Te Rūnanga o Moeraki, who are kaitiaki for rock art in North Otago, saw him take on the management of the rock art project after Atholl shifted to Australia, and then lead the set-up of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Rock Art Trust. When the whānau shifted to Auckland, Gerard went back to university, completing a master's and then a doctorate in archaeology, both focused on Māori rock art.

Chris grew up in British Columbia, where his maternal heritage extends back five generations. But the huge "Poutama" sign at the gate of his parents' house on Vancouver Island announces that these Canadians are also Ngāi Tahu. Chris's father, John Arnett, grew up in Murihiku, and still reflects on his time muttonbirding on Poutama, one of the Tītī Islands. Staunchly proud of his own taha Māori, Chris has been involved in First Nations' heritage for many years. This inspired his doctoral research in the Stein Valley, a native landscape that escaped a close call with road building and industrial logging in the 1980s. It is now a Class A provincial park co-managed with Lytton First Nation, and serves as a cultural and natural refuge for the local Nlaka'pamux Nation and their visitors. Several rock art sites continue to be visited in the Stein, and the paintings feature prominently in community life.

Nlaka'pamux rock art has some of the richest surviving traditions and archaeological information in North America. It offers a rare opportunity to study indigenous rock art with a clear window into the historical context. Some archaeologists argue that a great deal of North American rock art is related to shamanism – a religious practice in which tohunga go into a trance to travel into the spiritual world.

Nlaka'pamux shamans made paintings as well, but Chris prefers not to impose broader Western theories to explain the rock art in the Stein Valley, and instead looks at it as a signature of localised Nlaka'pamux cultural practice. According to their oral traditions, the painting is an ancient practice, but many of the images visible today were put on landforms special to the Nlaka'pamux after the arrival of Europeans and the killer pathogens such as smallpox on the faraway east coast of North America. The stories tell that Nlaka'pamux knew of Europeans before they ever met face-to-face, and actively tried to lessen the impact of contact through cultural practices including speeches, dances, and rock painting.

Rock painting is known to have occurred at 50 locations along travel corridors throughout the territory, from as early as the 16th century up until the 20th century. By combining information available from multiple sources including anthropological texts, historical writing, archaeological data, and local indigenous knowledge, Chris argues that images painted with red ochre were produced by Nlaka'pamux in exceptional historical circumstances of cultural emergency. "It was a pro-active intervention in the issues of the day with the protection of people, community revitalisation, and intergenerational memory in mind," Chris says.

Developing a better understanding of places with rock art is also on the agenda of the Upper Similkameen Indian Band of the Okanagan Nation in southern British Columbia, where both Chris and Gerard worked in May 2016. A shelter named Tcutcuwi'xa on their Chuchuwaya Indian Reserve was once excavated by scholars, but the Band was unsatisfied with the interpretations that emerged. With their local archaeologist Brenda Gould, they initiated a new investigation to try to better understand the significance the place had for people over time. This involves looking at the archaeological "site formation processes" to find out how all the different aspects of the site, from the largest rock formation, to the position of the smallest artefact in the ground or red ochre pictograph on the rock wall, came to be as we see them today. In the world of rock art, this kind of detailed examination is exemplified in the study of the famous Chauvet Palaeolithic cave in southern France. This was especially brought to the attention of Ngāi Tahu in 2013 when world rock art expert Jean Clottes visited New Zealand for a lecture tour which included screenings of a film about Chauvet, *Cave of Forgotten Dreams*.

International archaeologist Jean-Michel Geneste and geomorphologist Jean-Jacques Delannoy brought their experience of that extraordinary cave to the Tcutcuwi'xa study. The French team are documenting the project, which is also assisted by the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia.

The first field season brought together various technologies to capture different kinds of information. Elders were videoed sharing memories, and inaccessible parts of the rock bluff were explored with a high-flying drone. The undisturbed ground was examined with ground-penetrating radar, a laser scanner digitally mapped the shelter, and a 3D computer model of the excavation pits was created right there on-site. A new tablet app designed for rock art research allowed digital photographs to be instantly enhanced in the field, bringing into view the often faded detail of the paintings.

But despite the flash electronic gadgets, the dusty work of archaeological trowelling, sieving, sketching, and note writing still needed to be done. For more than a week Chris and Gerard scraped through rubble directly beneath bold red paintings to find a fireplace, butchered game bones, and artefacts (including an exquisite stone spear point) that are likely to be hundreds or perhaps thousands of years old.

Band members who grew up near the Tcutcuwi'xa shelter have traditions and histories about past activities and the cultural significance of the place. Paintings of people riding horses and wearing hats may recall the European contact period, and it has been suggested that a line drawn through the necks of four human figures shows prisoners roped together (pictured on the rock wall behind the excavation team portrait opposite). Such interpretations are a grim testament to how the colonial experience is remembered.

Here in New Zealand, we have few histories for specific places with rock art. Gerard's doctoral research followed a similar approach to Chris' work in the Stein Valley and the Tcutcuwi'xa project by trying to understand the relationship between the changing landscape and rock art in it. His thesis is *He Ana*, *He Whakairo: Examining Māori belief of place through the archaeological context of rock art.* Focusing on sites near Taupō and at Opihi in South Canterbury, it pulls together insights from histories, place names, examination of carvings and paint pigments, and excavations around rock art. Gerard questions if looking at how rock art is placed on the land allows traditional Māori ideas about those localities to be studied with archaeological methods.

For example, at Opihi there are a number of Māori names written in missionary-style script surrounding older rock art images. Some scholars didn't consider the writing to be "rock art", but the same type of writing was used in tapu practices like 19th century meeting house carvings and tā moko. To Gerard this shows that the written names were symbolically important to Māori at the time. "Writing on the rock shelters next to older paintings suggests a new style of expression that was still part of a traditional practice of marking the land. Perhaps it was reaffirming the relationship of the named people with the place at a time of rapid change during missionary teachings and land dispossessions."

It turns out though there are only a few cases where traditional Māori beliefs about places can be demonstrated by archaeology, as historic land use tends to prevent that. The effects of original Māori bush clearance, modern farming, forestry, and natural erosion all contribute to the poorly-preserved state of archaeological deposits, rock art, and surrounding natural features. The geographic detail in traditional Māori knowledge also dims over time, particularly when generations of people were prevented from accessing their traditional places. These issues make it difficult to include mātauranga Māori in heritage assessments, because New Zealand law only automatically protects very specific archaeological evidence. "If New Zealand is really serious about protecting the Māori heritage values of those places, then we need to change the way we actually think about archaeology and archaeological evidence," Gerard says.

Gerard shared these thoughts at the Nlaka'pamux Rock Art Conference in Tl'kémtsin (Lytton), British Columbia, the first-ever rock art conference run by indigenous people in North America. Chris was part of the team organising the conference, and also presented his PhD results. Rather than romanticise the pictures, most of the First Nation presenters focused on understanding the cultural relationships to the places with rock art, as well as the surrounding landscapes. This reinforces the ideas in both Chris' and Gerard's PhDs: to look broadly at what else can be known about the wider localities. Landscapes have been a particular focus in interna-



Chris talks with Stacy Thom, Nlaka'pamux Nation, about painted bear paws in the Stein Valley. The fine for disturbing the rock art there is up to \$1,000,000.

If we think about the people first, rather than defining places as "rock art landscapes", we should think more about "landscapes with rock art" ... "Don't just look at the pictures."

CHRIS ARNETT Ngāi Tahu, Doctor of Archaeology



Upper Similkameen Indian Band's Tcutcuwi'xa Shelter 2016 excavation team. Chris Arnett and Gerard O'Regan at far right.

tional rock art research over the last decade but if we think about the people first, as Chris notes, rather than defining places as "rock art landscapes", we should think more about "landscapes with rock art". Putting it another way: "Don't just look at the pictures."

The international rock art research community is small, so Gerard and Chris meeting up is not as unlikely as it may seem. More coincidental is that they've developed similar thinking at the same time, but perhaps that reflects their drive for indigenous heritage, fired up by their Ngāi Tahu whakapapa. They have already talked about ideas of linking indigenous rock art researchers in the Pacific and exploring rock art in Murihiku. Whatever the case, future collaboration is certain.

Gerard is now doing post-doctoral research on North Island Māori rock art at the University of Auckland, while Chris is pursuing archaeological and ethnographic contract work with Coast and Interior Salish First Nations, as well as turning his PhD into a book with University of British Columbia Press. Gerard will be in Austria later this year for an international workshop on rock art research practices, where he will lead a session on indigenous and community perspectives. "We're expecting a focus on questions of how archaeology can much better serve indigenous peoples' kaitiakitanga of these places," Gerard says.

"If we look beyond the pictures when thinking about our rock art taonga, we've only just started to scratch the surface, so to speak, and there is still a lot to do".

Chris and Gerard were wonderfully hosted by the Upper Similkameen Indian Band, Brenda Gould and Wilson Wiley's whanau and the Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council. Guillaume Le Berre supplied the Tcutcuwi'xa photos and the University of Auckland Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau provided travel assistance. He mihi mahana ki a rātou.

Advancing bioenergy

Renewable bioenergy is a valuable alternative to fossil fuels, and Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates is working hard on Te Tai Poutini to promote bioenergy opportunities. Kaituhi ADRIENNE REWI reports.



AS THE LARGEST MĀORI COMMERCIAL FOREST OWNER IN New Zealand, Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates is keen to ensure a sustainable future. It is working with Development West Coast in the hopes of establishing additional bioenergy plants there, starting with a feasibility study.

Bioenergy, as the name suggests, is energy from biological sources like wood and other plant materials, and can be used as a solid, liquid, or gas. It is renewable, unlike finite fossil fuels such as coal and oil. It is the most-used renewable energy globally, ahead of hydroelectricity and wind. It has become a major industry in many European countries and there is potential for this to happen in New Zealand as well.

General Manager of Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates, Edwin Jansen, says using wood fuel to produce heat is a sustainable, carbon-neutral option.

"Bioenergy as a concept has been around for many years and pulp and paper plants and sawmillers have been using it for a long time; but as environmental concerns have increased over the years and technology has improved, bioenergy application has become more efficient and economically competitive," says Edwin.

Edwin says there are already a number of excellent examples of bioenergy in action. Christchurch's redeveloped Burwood Hospital, for instance, has installed a state-of-the-art energy centre to replace its old coal-fired boiler plant. Where once it chewed through 7 tonnes of coal in a day during winter and 3–4 tonnes in summer, its new plant is fuelled by 100% renewable energy – wood and bark, which has significantly reduced the hospital's energy costs and carbon footprint.

Southern Pine Products in Canterbury is also working in the bioenergy field, turning MDF dust into valuable boiler fuel, which it sells to Moffatt Flower Company in Halswell, Christchurch. By installing a briquette press, they have cut waste disposal costs by more than \$180,000 a year and created a new revenue stream. Managing Director Steve Moffatt says heating his large greenhouse complex with the briquettes has improved his company's carbon footprint dramatically.

Further south, Wood Energy South is a joint partnership between the Energy Efficiency Conservation Authority (EECA) and Venture Southland to encourage a new industry around the use of waste wood, to promote better air quality and more sustainable fuel.

Edwin says that while bioenergy use in New Zealand is in its infancy, the time is right for West Coast companies to consider the savings and environmental benefits of the resources right on their doorsteps.

"Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates is assessing the feasibility of bioenergy applications on the West Coast, and we believe it could improve the returns and efficiency of our forestry operations if we had a local use for bioenergy at scale. Westland Milk Products, for instance, is a plant of reasonable scale and it's close to our resources. That's just one plant that could partially or fully convert to wood fuels over the next five-to-ten-year period. Schools, hospitals, and hotels can also benefit from using bioenergy."

A number of West Coast businesses generate heat through coalfired plants, but with climate change and the increase of lower emissions technology, there are emerging incentives to convert coalbased operations to renewable energy. The West Coast wood processing industry and Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates are well placed to capitalise on that.

Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates has interests in the West Coast, Otago, and Canterbury. It owns 54,000 hectares of land, 27,900 of which is planted in exotic forest; and has a sustainable harvest of 260,000 cubic metres of logs per year, with an annual turnover of \$30 million.



Above: Clearfelling operation in Māwhera Forest; previous pages: Kea Logging Crew with Log Max harvesting and processing head, Waimea Forest.

The annual harvest results in a great deal of wood fibre being left in the forest that could be used for bioenergy production. A bioenergy industry on the West Coast would provide an opportunity for the company to run a more efficient business.

'We'll be able to remove unproductive forest from our estate," Edwin says. "We currently have 20,000 hectares of productive forest, and an extra 4,000 hectares that we struggle to find an economic return on. If bioenergy takes off, we can take on extra forest crews to recover that 4,000 hectares and replant it with better species for a more productive future."

Edwin says that kind of land optimisation would ensure significant value gains for the company over the long-term, along with an immediate increase in employment opportunities for the West Coast.

Ngāti Waewae Chair and Development West Coast Trustee Francois Tumahai (Ngāi Tahu - Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Whātua), is excited about the opportunity.

"I like the idea of creating more jobs on the West Coast and I certainly think there is space for bioenergy here, especially in schools, hospitals, community centres, and even in the heating of community swimming pools," says Francois.

"It's a great concept but I think it will ultimately come down to user demand. In the meantime, the West Coast Development Trust is looking into it seriously. We need to understand more about bioenergy – what's required, how it will 'compete' against the huge quantity of low-grade coal we have on the Coast.

"That's the sort of thing our feasibility study will look into of course; and Development West Coast has put a significant amount of money into investigating a business case."

Francois says there are many variables to explore, especially around the feasibility and cost-effectiveness for smaller businesses, or whether bioenergy is better suited to large-scale operations.

For Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates, the future looks bright. "The outlook for forestry is strong, and Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates is doing well," Edwin says. "Supporting the development of bioenergy plants on the West Coast is just one way Forest Estates is optimising its operations. We also invest in the very best silviculture, plant improved tree selections, and in our contractor work force.

"For instance, the 4,000 hectares we would consider for

bioenergy is currently planted in acacia and cypress species that are not conducive to saw log production. In the future, we would see those trees as being ideal for bioenergy production, and as the land frees up, we would re-plant in proven forest species that yield better economic returns."

Edwin says that New Zealand is well advanced in terms of using wood and forest residue for heat and electricity production, and he's convinced that using wood that would otherwise go to waste as a resource delivers numerous benefits, including additional revenue streams for forestry and land owners.

He acknowledges that achieving Paris Agreement obligations and export market requirements for sustainable production of goods and services will require changes to the way New Zealanders use fossil fuels.

"So in terms of the impact on the West Coast for instance, the mining and domestic use of coal incurs a carbon emission liability for the miner – even for home use and that's a big cost to New Zealand. Bioenergy, on the other hand, is sourced from sustainably-managed forests and does not result in a carbon emission, as it is offset by forest growth."

The New Zealand Bioenergy Association's Executive Officer, Brian Cox, concedes that immediate reductions from renewable energy such as bioenergy would only partly meet the Paris climate change targets. "But at least we would be doing something, rather than waiting for possible research and long-term solutions which may never come," Brian says.

Important success factors for increased bioenergy use are already in place. New Zealand has ideal forestry growing conditions, a successful forestry industry, and is well-advanced in wood harvesting techniques, and in processing wood residues for heat production.

Edwin Jansen says Ngāi Tahu Forest Estates believes that using wood in substitution for fossil fuel alternatives leads Aotearoa towards a more sustainable future.

"Increasing our use of bioenergy means a cleaner environment, reduced carbon emissions, a stronger economy, and more employment which is a good thing for everyone and entirely consistent with Ngāi Tahu Farming and Forest Estates' objective of delivering economic, social, environmental and cultural outcomes."

Maunga atua

A haerenga to Aoraki looks into the past to prepare Moeraki whānau for the future. Kaituhi MARK REVINGTON reports. "SO HERE WE ARE AT THE SOURCE OF OUR AWA, OF WAITAKI." Justin Tipa (Ngāi Te Aotaumārewa, Ngāti Hinematua, Ngāi Tuāhuriri – Ngāi Tahu) dips his hands in the water, surrounded by a gaggle of tamariki with adults standing further back. "We've just come from the other side of our pōua Aoraki, and there are a couple of important things for us to hear about at this place. So we're gonna have karakia and I will share some of our history with you, and I will teach you children a karakia pertaining to the wai," he says.

"Kia ora, so this particular spring, this water is known as 'Kā Roimata o Aoraki'. Who can tell me what that means in English?" The answer comes quickly: The Tears of Aoraki.

"Can anyone tell me what the name 'Waitaki' means?" The answer comes tentatively. "The crying waters or weeping waters," he affirms.

"And if you can imagine Aoraki as the glacial snows melt and they flow down to [Lake] Pūkaki and into the Waitaki, it makes an awful lot of sense.

"We are working our way through our pepeha so you kids that have learnt your pepeha, y'know, 'Ko Moeraki te marae, ko Waitaki te awa... ko wai te maunga?" "Pōua Aoraki" is the answer, again ventured tentatively at first, and then with a little more certainty.

"So here we are at Aoraki and for those of you who have heard various creation traditions or pūrākau about Aoraki, Waitaki, Takapō and all these important features, we have a unique version and our own take on things according to our Āraiteuru traditions," Justin says.

It is near the end of the second day of a three day haerenga which began at Uenuku on the Moeraki marae, and journeyed up the Waitaki valley towards Aoraki. Around 60 people have travelled here, led by Moeraki Rūnanga upoko David Higgins (Kāti Huirapa, Kāi Te Rakiāmoa, Kāti hinematua, Kāti Kurī, Kāi Tūhaitara, Kāti Hāteatea – Kāti Hāwea, Te Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe, Kāi Tahu) on a Go Bus and van, naturally, part-owned by Ngāi Tahu Holdings. David reckons he got a good deal.

It is a haerenga to bring Moeraki stories to life, and to ensure that those on the Moeraki paepae know what they are talking about. Sometimes the haerenga, which happens every few years, from the mountains to the sea. This time, the Moeraki rōpū is travelling from the coast to the mountains.

Along the way they hear the whakapapa of the Waitaki Valley, and the importance of the Waitaki awa to Moeraki. They pass through the landscape as the kōrero comes to life. It is much more powerful this way, experiencing the kōrero among the majesty and power of the whenua, rather than listening to the stories at a wānanga.

"Regularly, Moeraki whānau have come up to Aoraki to pay our respects to our mauka atua, and to share the traditions and stories passed down from our tīpuna to our generation," David says.

"Moeraki is one of the kaitiaki rūnaka for this area and most particularly on the southern side of the Waitaki; and that's why we venture up into the hinterland – to pay our respects as kaitiaki rūnaka and kaitiaki whānau for this place. The stories and traditions of Aoraki and his whānau are shared among our Moeraki whānau.

"It's so natural for us to be among our atua, among these mauka. It is awe-inspiring. Just look around – it is so special to be here among our tīpuna. Part of the hīkoi, part of the reason we have travelled up here, is to share the traditions of this place with our tamariki me kā mokopuna," he says.



"Pōua David, our upoko, is one that has fostered the younger generations in terms of our work on the paepae, in terms of karakia, in sharing our histories

... As much as it's a privilege, it's also a test, to have the honour of sharing our kōrero with our young ones under the guidance of our upoko."

JUSTIN TIPA Ngāi Te Aotaumārewa, Ngāti Hinematua, Ngāi Tūāhuriri – Ngāi Tahu

The rōpū stayed the night at the Lake Ruataniwha holiday park in motels for kaumātua, and cabins for everyone else. Dinner is at a hotel in Twizel. Breakfast is toast and cereal at the camp.

There is no frost, but the days are clear. It is a special day to journey up to the maunga atua and his whānau and pay respect, David says. Although it does start off on a slightly strange note, with a stop at Lake Pūkaki for a talk on wilding pines and the proposed Meridian/ rūnaka redevelopment of the visitor centre.

But closer to Aoraki, the serious korero begins. Ultimately the haerenga is about keeping the korero of Moeraki alive, says Justin.

"It's about giving our children these memories of travelling their land with their parents, their grandparents and their kaumātua. It's about soaking up the atmosphere, the wairua, and hearing those kōrero first-hand.

"Also, it's part of a bigger picture. Poua David, our upoko, is one that has fostered the younger generations in terms of our work on the paepae, in terms of karakia, in sharing our histories. It's really significant for me as one of the younger generation to be extended the privilege of sharing our korero. As much as it's a privilege, it's also a test, to have the honour of sharing our korero with our young ones under the guidance of our upoko. If we're going to get things wrong, it's best to get them wrong while he's still here to clip our ears.

"We are really privileged that our upoko and our kaumātua are fostering our generations to fill the roles on the marae. In order to fulfil the role on the marae, you need to know your kōrero, the kōrero of your hapū, of your iwi; and this is part of it.

"This is really important for me to be here, largely because this is my stomping ground, and to come back with my whānau and to share the kōrero that we didn't have when we were growing up.

"We weren't fortunate enough to have these korero instilled in us. We've had to learn these korero as part of our language journey, as part of our research into being Ngāi Tahu, being from Moeraki, spending time with our old people.

"So we've done that research. It's really important to bring our



Above: Justin Tipa prepares for karakia with members of the Moeraki haerenga at Kā Roimata o Aoraki; below: David Higgins.



"Moeraki is one of the kaitiaki rūnaka for this area and most particularly on the southern side of the Waitaki; and that's why we venture up into the hinterland – to pay our respects as kaitiaki rūnaka and kaitiaki whānau for this place. The stories and traditions of Aoraki and his whānau are shared among our Moeraki whānau."

DAVID HIGGINS Moeraki Rūnanga upoko

children out here to hear the stories. They don't have to research, they don't have to read through manuscripts, they're not having to go to the libraries. They can say they learnt off their parents, their grandparents, their uncles and aunties. That's the significance for me. And being up here rejuvenates the wairua."

This is literally bringing the whakataukī "Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei" to life. David Higgins is passing on his knowledge to Moeraki whānui in a way that ensures the knowledge comes alive for successive generations; that they understand what it means to be kaitiaki rūnaka for this whenua.

David says it was the way he was taught, and he is simply following the traditions he was taught before it is too late. He has spent a lot of time up here. He remembers heading up the Waitaki with his uncles and grandfather in search of supplejack to make crayfish pots.

That created an opportunity for him and others like him to learn the histories and traditions important to Moeraki, he says. David Higgins is known for his generosity in passing on knowledge so Moeraki has younger generations coming through, ready to stand confidently on the paepae.

He has always believed succession should be planned, he says.

"That's how I was taught. I'm just following how I was trained, the traditions that I was taught; and I want to share them with the next generation before it is too late. It is all very well to say you have a succession plan in place, but to actually practise it is hugely important. I have an opportunity at Moeraki with some young pākeke who can pick up those skills and listen to the korero that I pass on."

He pauses. The sun is setting behind the mountains. "Isn't it beautiful at this time of day," he muses. Then comes the clincher.

"I've always believed that we as a people need to know two things: who we are and where we come from.

"Once you understand that, then you can shape your life around all these traditions and histories that have been passed down by our tīpuna."

Kā Whare Māori ki Awarua:

Bluff's **"Māori Houses"**

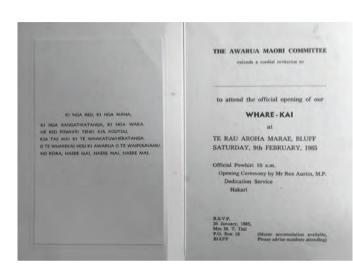
Part two, nā MICHAEL J. STEVENS (nō te whānau Metzger)



Waitaha Hall, 1962–1981

The Waitaha Hall, as it became known, was located on Barrow Street immediately behind the Bluff Town Hall. This building had earlier been Bluff's smallest church. Erected by a group of Brethren from Plymouth in about 1900, it originally had the name "Gospel Hall" painted in large letters above its front entrance. By the 1960s it was owned by a fraternal society and known as the United Friendly Societies' Hall or more simply, the U.F.S Hall. The building had a 90m² main hall with a supper room and kitchen at the rear, and cloakrooms and toilets at the front entrance. The Awarua Tribal Committee purchased this property in 1962 for £1100 with assistance from the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and the Department of Māori Affairs, and carried out alterations and repairs, mainly to the kitchen, so that it could function as a marae or Māori "civic centre". Despite its new owners and the ends to which it was now being put, a newspaper article recording its sale and purchase noted that the hall was "still available for public hire."

The Waitaha Hall was surely the building that noted ethnologist Raymond Firth referred to in a 1966 article on the importance of marae in contemporary Māori communities, saying, "far to the south in the town of Bluff ... in difficult circumstances, a small Māori community descended from Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, and Waitaha tribes, combined to institute an assembly hall with a courtyard to serve as a centre for the practice of Māori songs and the entertainment of visitors." Although the Waitaha Hall mostly fulfilled the needs of its community, its restrictive size and layout – and age – meant that by the late 1970s discussions were well underway within

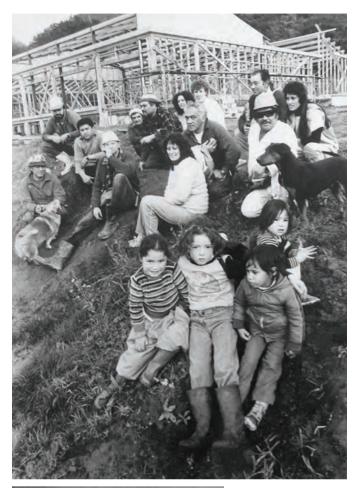


"Far to the south in the town of Bluff ... in difficult circumstances, a small Māori community descended from Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, and Waitaha tribes, combined to institute an assembly hall with a courtyard to serve as a centre for the practice of Māori songs and the entertainment of visitors."

RAYMOND FIRTH Article on importance of marae in contemporary Māori communities, 1966

the then Awarua Māori Committee regarding the establishment of a marae proper in Bluff. Matters were brought to a head in early September 1981 when the Waitaha Hall was destroyed by fire.

Committee minutes from the first meeting held after the fire note that,"[i]t was decided by all present that we would rebuild Waitaha on marae land in Bradshaw St." While this was the work of many, the committee chairperson, George Ryan, and its Secretary, Norman Bradshaw's daughter, Maria Tini, played particularly vital roles. According to the latter, the trustees of Tarere ki Whenua Uta supported the committee's plan to develop the Bradshaw Street site, with the proviso that the surviving house be retained.





Opposite: Waitaha Hall; left, above: invitation to the opening of Te Rau Aroha Wharekai, 1985; above, top: Whānau and workers gathered at construction site; above: Pōwhiri invite from the Awarua Māori Committee.

Te Rau Aroha, 1985–present-day

The replacement building, which was a large wharekai, began with the Awarua Māori Committee acquiring ownership of a paper road between Elizabeth and Bann streets from the Bluff Borough Council. This block of land was amalgamated with the existing reserve grounds and vested in the committee in August 1983. The estimated cost of the wharekai was \$200,000, but this figure was reduced to \$105,000 as a result of voluntary labour, including many mātāwaka who "understood the value of a marae", as Tini's sister and long-serving chairperson of Awarua Rūnaka, Hana Morgan, later said.

After first being knocked back by the Department of Māori Affairs for a \$60,000 marae subsidy, the committee eventually snared nearly \$80,000. Iwi connections proved vital – both the MP for Awarua, Rex Austin, and the Minister of Māori Affairs, Ben Couch, were Kāi Tahu. In announcing the subsidy, Austin told *The Southland Times* that the committee had been "tremendously energetic" and worked with "great determination." Truer words were never spoken. In 1998, Tini humorously recalled that she and four others travelled to Wellington to visit Austin at his parliamentary office and did not leave until he had sourced funding for the project.

Invercargill's Mollison and Associates designed the wharekai and Bob Rudolph supervised the build. The foundations were laid in February 1984, the frame was substantially complete by late May, and construction was mostly finished by Christmas. A progress report in *The Southland Times* noted that a "relaxed and friendly atmosphere is evident on site with the presence of whole families, including household pets, and in the community a feeling of togetherness had been generated."

Charting the transition from Bluff's first "Māori House" to Tahu Pōtiki highlights big changes in Kāi Tahu life: from Awarua as a marginal southern Māori settlement and now a key heartland community, and the transition of te reo Māori as the community's first language to a state of near extinction, followed by the thrust towards revitalisation.



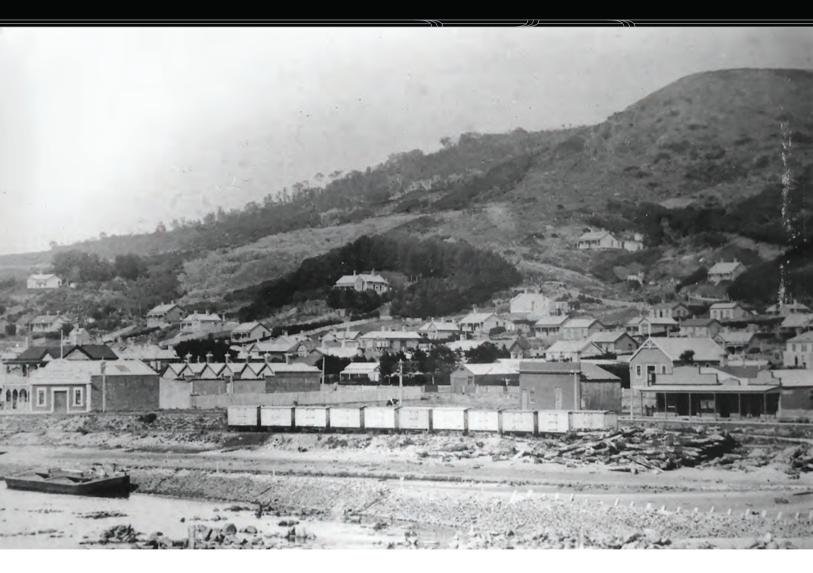
In 1982 the Awarua Māori Committee had moved that the new wharekai be named Waitaha in memory of its predecessor. However, it was ultimately named Te Rau Aroha. This was the name of the 1938 Ford canteen truck used by the 28th Māori Battalion during World War II, and then, in the 1950s, a kapa haka group in Bluff overseen by Norman Bradshaw and his wife Ngawara (née Kereti; nō Te Arawa). Te Rau Aroha is also the name of the wharekai on Te Pākira Marae at Whakarewarewa in Rotorua. Bluff's Te Rau Aroha therefore speaks to the cultural force of the Māori Battalion, "in the restoration of Māori assertiveness and collective confidence in the post-World War II environment," as Upoko o Awarua Rūnaka, Sir Tipene O'Regan says. But equally, it also owes much to the critical cultural role his Aunty Ngawara played within Awarua before her premature death, and the enduring connections established between Ngāti Wāhiao and Awarua as a result of her marriage.

The whakatuwherataka for Te Rau Aroha took place on 9 February 1985 and was declared open, fittingly, by local MP, Rex Austin, a staunch supporter of the project. The opening attracted approximately 2000 people and as *The Southland Times* wrote, "in keeping with its potential importance in the community, the ceremony was more than a hasty ribbon-snipping affair. It took four hours to say what needed to be said ... almost all ... in Māori." This bore out Austin's own comment that the marae was "a positive move towards the preservation of our inheritance."

In 1992 a large ablution block was added to the wharekai, and after Te Rūnaka o Awarua Charitable Trust was constituted in 1994, the Trust assumed responsibility for the Te Rau Aroha Marae complex. In 1995 the rūnaka purchased a neighbouring house at 12 Bradshaw Street that was owned by Kelly and Mabel Metzger from the 1920s until the 1970s. Coincidentally, Kelly's relation, Tiny Metzger, an active rūnaka member well-known for his commitment to te mahi pōhā, led its repair. This building now houses rūnaka administrative staff. The rūnaka also acquired further council-owned land adjacent to Te Rau Aroha in 1997. This provided space for the wharerauinspired wharenui Tahu Pōtiki which was erected in 2000, and, a few years later, a bilingual early childhood centre. In the lead-up to fitting out the wharenui, Te Rau Aroha was also adorned with tukutuku, whakairo, and kōwhaiwhai designed to reflect the area's mahika kai, especially te hopu tītī, the seasonal muttonbird harvest.

Charting the transition from Bluff's first "Māori House" to Tahu Pōtiki highlights big changes in Kāi Tahu life: from Awarua as a marginal southern Māori settlement and now a key heartland community, and the transition of te reo Māori as the community's first language to a state of near extinction, followed by the thrust towards revitalisation. However, the various whare outlined in this article also draw attention to continuities. These include the centrality of mahika kai, mainly sea-based, and seasonal mobility in southern Kāi Tahu households – two things made especially visible during the annual tītī harvest. Above all else though, these whare stand as testament to the enduring relevance of the social functions they enable and the resilience of southern Kāi Tahu families and our coastal culture.

Left: Te Rau Aroha under construction; opposite: Waitaha Hall on the right, behind building with verandah. The whakatuwherataka for Te Rau Aroha took place on 9 February 1985 and was declared open, fittingly, by local MP, Rex Austin, a staunch supporter of the project: "a positive move towards the preservation of our inheritance."



Bluff-raised **Dr Michael Stevens** (nō Kāi Tahu) is a Senior Lecturer in Māori History based in the Department of History and Art History at the University of Otago. In 2013, with support from Awarua Rūnaka, he was awarded a highly competitive three-year Marsden Fast-Start research grant by the Royal Society of New Zealand to research and write a history of Bluff. This article draws on work from that project, the main output of which is a book, *Between Local and Global: A World History* of Bluff, to be published by Bridget Williams Books in 2018.

HEI MAHI MĀRA A beginner's guide to growing organic vegetables **Nā TREMANE BARR**

Mahi Māra Winter – **Aloe Vera & Strawberries**

Winter is a time of rest in the māra and an opportunity to harvest the work of summer and autumn as it comes slowly to fruition. This winter season I have silver beet, spinach, kale, leeks, and broccoli outside; with parsley, coriander, and lettuce in the tunnel house. I sometimes forget that even at this time of year the plants still need a regular dose of liquid fertiliser once a week.

My favourite part of winter is looking at the empty spaces in the mara and planning for the coming spring growth. Even though we had a cool spring and summer, my strawberry patch was incredibly productive this year and rewarded my whanau for their foraging efforts. Having berryfruits in the māra is a real treat not just for one's taste buds, but also for one's health. They contain powerful antioxidants, dimethyl resveratrol (which promotes healthy organs and joints) and dozens of other phytochemicals, amino acids, and coenzymes. They also contain trace minerals including magnesium, selenium, zinc, molybdenum, potassium, and calcium. Elevated biotics on the skin of fruits including strawberries help to restore healthy gut function that enables the body to help produce all the coenzyme varieties of vitamin B12 one needs. This makes berries like strawberries great brain food and an all round health tonic.

However, strawberries decrease in production after their second year, so it is time for me to create a new patch. It is usually best to buy in fresh strawberry plants from a garden centre, as this way you can be guaranteed that they will be disease-free. The best time to plant them is mid-winter, as this will give them time to establish their root system before coming to life above ground in the spring, and also, this will allow for earlier fruiting. Strawberries thrive on copious amounts of compost, which can be dug in first. The soil is best mounded up in rows about 30cm apart, with the plants spaced 20-30cm apart in a row. Some prefer to use black plastic as a mulch as it helps keep the soil warm, suppresses weeds, retains moisture, and keeps the fruit clean. However, I prefer the more natural method of using



Berries like strawberries [are] great brain food and an all round health tonic. The main health quality of Aloe Vera is its anti-inflammatory nature, which is antiviral, antibacterial, antifungal, and antiparasitic.



straw mulch around the plants and between the rows. The health and productivity of the plants is boosted with a regular spray of liquid fertiliser once every 1–2 weeks after the plants start flowering in the spring.

Aloe Vera is another very valuable perennial plant that can be grown indoors in a pot at this time of year. The main health quality of Aloe Vera is its anti-inflammatory nature, which is antiviral, antibacterial, antifungal, and antiparasitic. This makes it great not only for skin complaints such as burns, cuts, scrapes, bruises, bug bites, and sunburn; but for ingesting to soothe conditions like acid reflux, bloating, constipation, irritable bowel syndrome, haemorrhoids, Crohn's disease, colitis, dysfunctional liver conditions, and autoimmune diseases.

Aloe Vera varieties are succulents from the lily family. They originate from North Africa, so prefer a warm environment. They won't survive outside in an Ōtautahi winter, but can be easily grown indoors. I purchased mine in autumn from a garden store, but they can usually be bought year-round. When buying an Aloe Vera, avoid plants that are dropping leaves, or have brown, yellow, or spotty leaves. Also, reject any plants with roots growing out of the bottom, as they have been in their pot too long.

Aloe Veras like plenty of sun, so a windowsill facing north during winter is just fine. When it warms up and the threat of frosts has waned, they can be moved outside in spring. They require little water, as water-logged roots easily rot. Watering every couple of weeks should be sufficient. Overwatering Aloe Vera is the number one cause of plant death or failure to thrive.

There is some evidence that the plants can be toxic to small animals such as cats and dogs, so it's best to grow them where furry friends can't nibble at the leaves.

Because the gum in Aloe Vera leaves is so useful, people tend to pick too many leaves, overstressing the plant, and threatening its survival. However, Aloe Vera naturally sprouts offshoots which can be used for starting new plants. You do need to be patient though and wait until the offshoots



Above: potted Aloe Vera; left: strawberry harvest.

are big enough, which is usually when they are around one-fifth of the size of the mother plant and/or have three of their own leaves. At this stage they will have their own root system and can be carefully cut away from the mother plant with a sharp knife. They prefer to be planted in a dry cacti type of potting mix that is half compost and half sand, with gravel stones at the bottom of the pot to aid in keeping the roots dry. It is best to leave them a week after planting before watering for the first time. By potting up the offshoots, you will have a regular supply of new Aloe Vera plants to meet your needs.

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

Mania Hardy sedge makes a soft, warm bed

Māori name: **Mānia (also mānaia, maurea)** Common names: **Sedge, Glen Murray tussock, Trip Me Up** Botanical name: **Carex flagellifera**

Mānia is a densely-tufted, hardy, grass-like sedge that historical records suggest was mainly used for bedding and waist belts by Ngāi Tahu.

Botanical references describe it as a very distinctive ornamental grass with colours ranging from shiny to dark green to yellow/green, red/green, bronze, and various shades of brown or golden brown, depending on the source.

Mānia usually grows to about 50 cm tall in free-draining soils under scrub or open forest from coastal to montane regions of the North, South, Stewart, and Chatham Islands. It is rarely found in wetlands or permanently damp shaded places.

It thrives in full sun, light shade, and moist well-drained sites. It is drought tolerant, and resistant to browsing by deer and rabbits.

Flowering stems from September to November range from 35 to 75 cm, but as the seed matures, the stems stretch up to two metres in length and lie along the ground, probably giving rise to the plant's alternative name "Trip Me Up".

Its Latin name flagellifera, translates as "bearing a whip-like appendage".

The only reference to its traditional use by Ngāi Tahu in Herries Beattie's *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori* is as bedding.

Beattie describes in some detail the construction of rara (beds) using poupou (posts) driven into the bare ground, and a framework of battens, kareao (supplejack), akatea (rātā vine) or plaited harakeke arranged to create a springy sleeping platform.

The frame was covered with wīwī (rushes) and then mānia or pātītī (tussocks), before being covered with two layers of tīaka (flax mats) laid on top. The first layer (tīaka-wāhi) was made of unscraped flax, while the one above it (tīaka-hāro) that the person lay on was made of fine scraped flax. Generally this had been steamed in an umu, and was very white and soft.

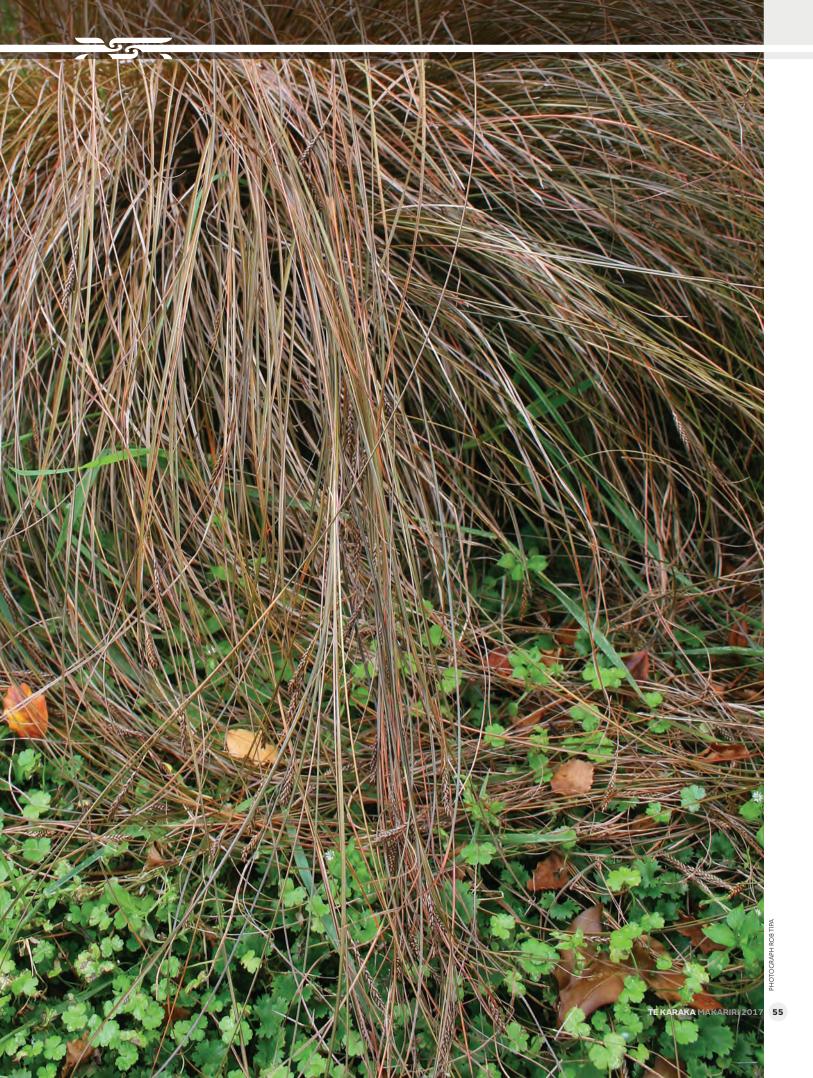
Beattie's contacts told him several kākahu of the softest whītau (flax fibre) were used as bed coverings. The name is the same as the cloaks worn, but those used as blankets were larger than those for personal wear.

One of Beattie's informants said that when he was a boy he slept in a bed just like this, and that his flax kākahu were "fine, soft, and warm... as good as any Pākehā blankets."

Ethnographer Elsdon Best uses the name maurea to describe a rush with reddish culms used to make ornamental belts, but it seems likely this fibre was from a different species altogether.

The belts were made from the bright reddish yellow leaves of maurea, with a proportion of flax fibre blended in to strengthen it.





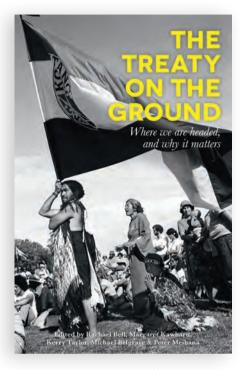
REVIEWS

THE TREATY ON THE GROUND: WHERE WE ARE HEADED, AND WHY IT MATTERS

Edited by Rachel Bell, Margaret Kawharu, Kerry Taylor, Michael Belgrave, and Peter Meihana Massey University Press, 2017 RRP: \$39.99 Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates

This book came from a "Treaty on the Ground" conference held in 2016 at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Museum. It is a sometimes awkward attempt to cover the wide-ranging offerings of some of the participants. The phrase "Treaty on the Ground" is from Pākehā historian Ruth Ross' 1972 piece attacking the "woolly-mindedness" that had allowed the Treaty to become all things to all people. The conference covered developments from 1945 to the present – although David Williams also traces links to Te Tiriti back to the Magna Carta - with a broad variety of offerings. Of the authors, 10 are Pākehā and six are Māori - an imbalance for sure, but not one that shows. Some of the papers are broad and survey the period well, reminding me again of the major - and smaller - issues between Māori and Pākehā in the Treaty space since 1945.

Massey University History Professor Michael Belgrave surveys the period of the 1961 Hunn report, which had a very limited view of the future for Māori as being in a private realm, rather than a "public world of universal participation." It took until 1967 for a critique of these ideas as "a threat to Māori tribal identity" to emerge, in the face of Prime Minister Keith Holyoake's attempts to implement Hunn's recommendations over Māori land. Younger Māori like Donna Awatere and her book Māori Sovereignty began a debate about the politics of race, and provided a rallying cry for her generation of Māori or "black" women, including Ripeka Evans. Victoria University History Lecturer Cybèle Locke provides a good history of "Māori Radicalism and Trade Unions" from



1967–86. Familiar names from the union movements like Tama Poata, who spearheaded the Māori Organisation on Human Rights, and Syd Jackson, who formed Ngā Tamatoa, come to the fore. Massey University Lecturer in Māori History Dr Peter Meihana (Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, Ngāi Tahu) covers the idea that Māori were seen as "privileged" by settlers – by having the good fortune to have their land converted to titles under English law, and also being subject to the on-again off-again Crown preemption right under the Treaty.

Auckland consultant and Crown settlement negotiator Michael Dreaver gives a personal account of how Treaty Settlements were dealt with in practice from his many roles in the negotiation processes. He examines what has changed in the last 20 years as a result of Treaty settlements, citing that despite the efforts of Hana O'Regan in providing visionary leadership in promoting te reo, there are still just two kura kaupapa in Christchurch – the same as 30 years ago.

Dr Te Kawehau Hoskins of the University of Auckland covers Waitangi Tribunal hearings in a rather academic treatise. She makes the point that "for Māori the relation is everything" through whakapapa, compared with the Western idea of the "self-positing autonomous individual as the dominant model of personhood." Social justice advocate Dr Kim Workman writes on the Treaty and the State Sector, and singles out the 1991 budget cuts to benefit levels as the major cause of why one quarter of New Zealand's children are now living below the poverty line. Massey University lecturer in Māori Environmental and Resource Planning Dr April Bennett looks at the Māori struggle to protect the environment, culminating in the Resource Management Act 1991 - an "important shift in the 'monocultural' landscape of environmental planning, the RMA now including Māori people and values." Biddy Livesey, who specialises in Māori urban development, gives a lively discourse on how local government plans acknowledge - or otherwise - Treaty settlements, using the Waikato-Tainui aspirations as examples. As it happens, I was on the Ruakura Plan Change Board of Inquiry that enabled the Tainui inland port proposal, and perhaps set a precedent in allowing land returned as redress to be used to provide a future income stream for the tribe.

On the whole, this book is a useful and important addition to Treaty literature.

THE BIG SMOKE: NEW ZEALAND CITIES 1840–1920 Nā Ben Schrader Bridget Williams Books, 2016

RRP: \$59.99 Review nā Dan Bartlett

Perhaps best known for his wonderful history of state housing in New Zealand *We Call it Home*, Wellington-based historian Ben Schrader is certainly no stranger



Gerry Te Kapa Coates (Ngãi Tahu, Waihao) was born in Ōāmaru, and is an author of poetry – a collection of poems and short stories called *The View From Up There* (2011) – and widely varied non-fiction. He is a consultant working on hearings as a commissioner and Māori advisory work.

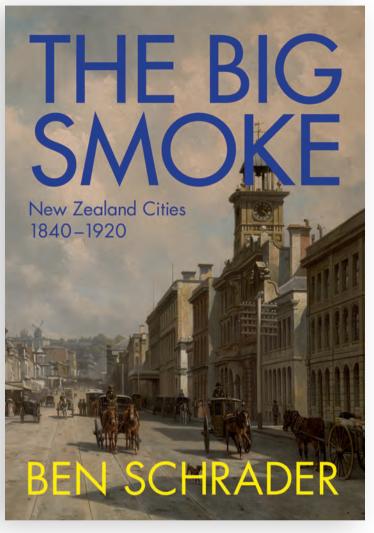


Dan Bartlett is a researcher and writer with the Ngāi Tahu archives team. Opinions expressed in REVIEWS are those of the writers and are not necessarily endorsed by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. to our country's urban past. His new monograph, The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities 1840-1920, is not only detailed, informative and well-researched, but it is brimming with the voices of everyday people; making it an absolute delight to read. Covering the period from 1840, when Wellington was founded, to 1920 when New Zealand was becoming a post-colonial society distinct from Britain, Schrader's book focuses on our four main cities: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.

Seeking to challenge the anti-urbanism inherent in New Zealand historiography, and to provide a "counterweight to the strongly masculine reading of colonial society", Schrader's book is also a clarion call for further New Zealand urban history research. His hope is that The Big Smoke "provides a starting point for better understanding of why between 1840 and 1920 hundreds of thousands of New Zealanders chose to live in cities rather than the countryside". Schrader argues that, with the excep-

tion of Erik Olssen and the ground-breaking Caversham Project in Dunedin (a multi-disciplinary study of the city's southern suburbs from 1881 to 1940), anti-urbanism has maintained a "vice-like hold on New Zealand society and culture [that] has extended to historians, who have generally championed the idea that cities were handmaidens to the shaping of a strongly ruralised society". Two of our most well-known histories, Jock Phillips' A Man's Country? and Miles Fairburn's The Ideal Society and its Enemies, are rural-centric, and, pointing to the most recent edition of The Oxford History of New Zealand (2007), Schrader laments that towns and cities "barely rate a mention".

Uninterested in nostalgia for a bucolic past that the majority of New Zealanders did not experience, Schrader wends his way along city streets on Saturday nights. Street scenes that feel at once both foreign and familiar populate the chapter *City Crowds*.



The theatrical street ritual of "doing the block" was the Antipodean answer to the British promenade, and involved "traversing a section of a city's main street and being seen by one's peers." Beginning at one end, individuals, couples, and groups "would amble along the footpath, acknowledging friends and acquaintances, sometimes stopping to chat, and then, on reaching the end of the block, turn around and walk back to the start." Doing the block was a bourgeois ritual, however; so it was left to Saturday night to mix social classes. Cuba Street in Wellington was a "stream of humanity"; the "congested footpaths" were populated with "all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children" enjoying their Saturday evening out. Although one contemporary observer recorded that "Auckland's ladies seem to be overwhelmed with ennui", it was arguably the social aspect of cities that was most attractive to settlers. City-dwellers

joined clubs, societies, and institutes; they patronised museums, theatres and art galleries; they promenaded and they protested.

Schrader discusses Māori not as passive dwellers being shaped by the city, but instead as city-builders and shapers of metropolitan social and cultural life in their own right. The chapter on Māori experience of the cities "charts the marginalisation of Māori in New Zealand's cities, but also considers some of the ways Māori continued to exert their agency in city spaces." Māori dominated the fresh produce trade in the 1840s. with Bishop Selwyn observing that Nelson residents were almost totally reliant on Māori-supplied foodstuffs and fuel, but when Pākehā settlers began to feel threatened by Māori commercial interests they marginalised them, arguing that cities should be white places; their racism reinforced by the experience of the New Zealand Wars. But Pākehā city-dwellers were never unified in their views on Māori, and many encouraged them to the new urban centres - native hostelries were constructed and cultural performances

were well-attended.

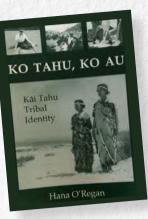
Schrader asserts that "the hackneyed images of taciturn and rugged outdoors men, the mustering and shearing of sheep, and romantic backblocks sheds no longer resonate with how New Zealanders see themselves – if they ever did." Indeed, when Speight's made their Southern Man redundant in 2012, the beer company's marketing manager explained that the urbanisation of New Zealand meant the relevance of outdoor life had changed. *The Big Smoke* persuasively argues that the rebranding may have come a century too late.

We forget our past at our peril, and I applaud Schrader's rallying cry for further New Zealand urban history research. I also congratulate him on an excellent book.

Reviews continue over.



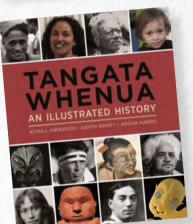


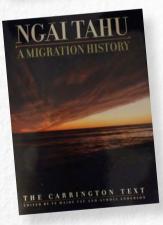




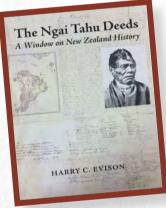


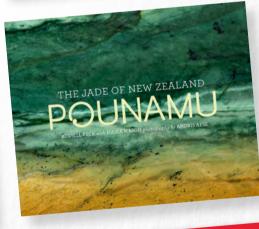






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REVIEWS

RUA – REO PĒPI SERIES 2

Kitty Brown and Kirsten Parkinson Reo Pēpi, 2017 RRP: \$49.99 Review nā Waipounamu Te Karu

When I heard about the second series of *Reo Pēpi* pukapuka I was so excited, as my 19 month old son absolutely loves the first series. He especially loves the *Kanohi – My Face* book and I can tell it has helped him to understand the reo – he quickly learned to imitate the "arero/tongue" page by sticking out his own tongue, and he literally kisses the "ngutu/lips" page. So I was intrigued to see how he would react to the second series.

The box-set of three pukapuka includes $Ng\bar{a} \ \bar{A}hua - Shapes$, $Ng\bar{a} \ Tae - Colours$, and $Te \ Kaute - Counting$. Even though my son isn't speaking yet, he tries his best to repeat after me as I count with him using $Te \ Kaute - Counting$. Sometimes he sits by himself and flicks through the books, so I know he really enjoys the pictures too. The books are made of heavy card, which is great as they stand up to the wear and tear (and kisses) of a toddler.

I am passionate about the revitalisation of te reo Māori so these are a great resource to have at home for my son, and in the homes of all pēpi throughout the country as there aren't enough reo Māori books for our tamariki. The books are really fun and easy, and are a great tool to teach tamariki the basics in te reo Māori. Whether you're raising your tamariki in a reo-speaking household, or you just want to give them a basic foundation in te reo Māori, these books will work for you!

HE KURA KĀINGA: A TREASURED HOME – UNDERSTANDING IDENTITY THROUGH WAIATA AND HAKA Nā Kingi Kiriona Wintec, 2016 RRP: \$50.00 Review nā Courtney Bennett

One of New Zealand's top kapa haka teams, Te Iti Kahurangi from the Waikato region,



recently released this book of exclusive images and song lyrics celebrating the team's 10-year anniversary. Its name speaks of a treasured home – something the founders of this team created for themselves and their members at their inception over a decade ago.

Not only does this book quell the curiosity of haka enthusiasts who have long wondered what the "real words" to their favourite Te Iti Kahurangi items are, it provides an insight into what is important to this kapa. The explanations accompanying each waiata show a deep loyalty to their iwi, its stories, and the Kīngitanga; their respect for kaumātua and acknowledging those who have passed; and a devout belief in The Almighty.

It also reveals the development and skill of the team's composers, whose use of metaphor, allusions, word play, kīwaha, whakataukī, and whakatauākī move from strength to strength as you flip from year to year.

Training for and travelling to Te Matatini – the national kapa haka championships is not cheap. The book quotes \$60,000 a year as the running cost for a competitive senior team. Te Iti Kahurangi have thought outside of the box by selling this book for fundraising, and are sure to make a dent in that figure from the sale proceeds.

As an added drawcard, a CD of some of the team's most loved songs is also included. Some have been given a modern twist with pop backing tracks, power ballad arrangements, and even one with a hip-hop twist – and we would expect nothing less from this team, known for continually pushing the envelope in their never-ending pursuit and unquenchable thirst for excellence.





Waipounamu Te Karu (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri) is a radio announcer for Tahu FM and the proud mother of Aoraki.



Courtney Bennett is a junior environmental adviser at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. She has a Bachelor of Māori Performing Arts and has been deeply involved with kapa haka for many years. She is currently a kaihaka with the Ngāi Tahu senior kapa, Te Pao a Tahu.

EMMA WYETH

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Kāi Tahu, Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāi Tama

He Tangata

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?

We lead very busy lives so a good day is one where I have a little bit of downtime, am with whānau and friends, have had a good night's sleep, and can enjoy good food.

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

Our whānau – despite having no immediate family close by, we rely on their encouragement and support a great deal.

WHO OR WHAT INSPIRES YOU AND WHY?

My kids inspire me to be the best I can be and to give everything 100%, for them. I'm also inspired by the many people who dedicate their time, energy, and resources to enhance our Ngāi Tahu communities via a wide range of activities and commitments.

HIGHLIGHT OF YOUR LAST YEAR AND WHY?

Spending time with four generations of my in-laws, all living under one roof, on the tītī island. We also made great progress on our crib at Ōmāui, being built by Mike and various whānau members.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?

Shoes and handbags I can always be tempted to add to my collection!

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT? FAVOURITE PLACE?

We don't get much downtime with three young children and demanding jobs, but my favourite place to relax and unwind is Karitane. Despite only living 30 minutes away we don't make it out there as often as I'd like, but when I drive over the top of the hill I immediately feel at ease.

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER? Wallflower.

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

Bluff oysters, crayfish, whitebait, and dark chocolate.

WHAT MEAL DO YOU COOK THE MOST?

Not much! I'm very fortunate that Mike does most of the cooking at home but I've just come off the tītī islands where I had the open fire and camp ovens down pat, cooking all sorts of kai for the whānau!



Dr Emma Wyeth belongs to the Parata, Ellison, and Taiaroa whānau. Emma grew up in Karitane where many generations of her whānau have lived, and still do. She is based in Dunedin, where she completed her studies in genetics, and has worked in the field of Māori public health in the Department of Preventive and Social Medicine Te Tari Hauora Tūmatanui at the University of Otago for the last 10 years. Emma is the Director of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Health Research Unit (Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngāi Tahu), and Co-Deputy Director of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence. She is married to Dr Michael Stevens (nō Awarua) and they are the proud parents of three tamariki: Kura-mātakitaki (8 years), Te Haeatanui (5 years), and Tūhiku-a-Kiwa (3 years). All of this keeps her on her toes and makes her one busy lady!

GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?

My kids. And, surviving many seasons muttonbirding with my in-laws living under one roof without many luxuries!

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

By 2025, it'd be great to see Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu investing more actively and meaningfully within our regional communities. I believe it is also important that as an iwi we know our people, aspirations, and needs well so that Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu can intentionally, and in a more co-ordinated manner, work to address these and improve Ngāi Tahu social, cultural, and economic well-being.

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