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NGĀ HAU E WHĀ
FROM THE EDITOR

Ruminating on the content for this issue of the magazine I am left with a strong impression of anticipation of all things new – new beginnings, new thinking, and new content.

We are priviliged to share with you the very personal and heartfelt account of Tahu Potiki's brush with death (page 24) – an incredible story of strength and courage against the odds that has left Tahu with a second chance and a new perspective on life. There are many whānau who face this kind of adversity daily, and Tahu's story highlights the importance of extended family support to share the load, and is a reminder of the very fragile hold we have on Papatūānuku.

Recently-appointed Kaiwhakahaere Lisa Tumahai is a familiar face for most iwi members, having been the Ngāti Waewae representative on Te Rūnanga for the past 16 years. Lisa brings a fresh perspective to the role, and a clear focus on the challenges and priorities. On pages 8-11 she gives her thoughts on leadership and her vision for the iwi heading into the future.

The need for forward thinking and clear direction is also first and foremost for kaituhi Alice Dimond, who recently attended WakaNZ: Navigating with Foresight, a "think thank" hosted by the New Zealand Treasury and the McGuinness Institute. Alice shares her learnings and thinking from a rangatahi perspective on the use of foresight as a strategy to create our own future. It is encouraging to see our rangatahi increasingly exposed to these kinds of opportunities which assist in cultivating the next generations of leadership (pages 20-21).

And finally to a new regular feature within our pages: *Aukaha*, a platform to showcase creative talents. We kick this off with *Out to Sea*, a short story by James MacTaggart (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāti Waewae). A truly delightful and poignant piece of prose. In the next issue we plan to bring back Letters to the Editor so please feel free to send us your thoughts and comments on any of the stories we publish.

Nā ADRIENNE ANDERSON WAAKA

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CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU
ARIHIA BENNETT

WHAT'S IN STORE FOR PĒPI

The new year has quickly moved into gear as whānau are back into the swing of the school routine and Easter eggs are already in the supermarket. The new government is embedding itself, and all eyes are on the Prime Minister and the pending arrival of a new baby. It's a bit of light relief for the many who will marvel in this child's journey via the magazine tabloids, which are sure to report on the Prime Minister's every move.

My attention is drawn to upcoming changes for parents as they prepare to welcome a pēpi into the whānau. First is the increase to paid parental leave from 18 weeks to 22 weeks from July onwards, and to 26 weeks from 2020 (I ask myself, "Where was that 27 years ago?"). We may think that this is transformational – however, we still lag behind other countries. Regardless of where we stand in the world, this has to be a positive for beginning the bonding relationship between parents and their pēpi.

Keeping the household income afloat is the next thing that parents are always mindful of when raising a whānau. It's no secret that with annual rising costs of home rentals, transport, health, and education needs, stressors within whānau can escalate very quickly. One such issue is highlighted by the "dampness in your home" question in the recent census 2018. This is a sad reality for some whānau, and leads to further health costs, especially during the winter months. I am reminded of the home insulation programme that Hokonui Rūnanga has led for many years to alleviate this.

Te Rūnanga has focused on improving household wellbeing through a myriad of programmes such as Whai Rawa, shared equity home ownership, and supporting whānau to innovate their own economic business outcomes through the Tribal Economies programmes. However, it's still a struggle for those at the lower end of the income scale, so we have to get smarter and be more relevant across our wider tribal membership. We are about to take another leap by investigating customised health insurance options, Takiaūe (funeral) assistance, easier access to necessary surgical procedures, and further education assistance where whānau don't have to jump through hurdles to gain access.

I often receive letters from whānau who proudly celebrate the achievements of their tamariki in arts, culture, sport, and academia. Sometimes this involves regional or even national representation. The downside is when whānau cannot afford those extra costs, and are too whakamā to ask for support. My view is that we need to enable easier access to sponsorship, instead of whānau needing to ring the CEO as a last resort. In some cases whānau can't afford the basic equipment, uniforms, or resources. As an iwi we are in the business of enabling whānau self-determination, so we must remember that this is a clear case of "not a hand out" but "a hand up".

Giving our pēpi the best start possible is a no-brainer, and we should be throwing all our resources into growing our tamariki wherever we can. The return on investment has to be positive. If we're lucky, our tamariki may even take care of us in our twilight years!

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FRONT COVER
Newly elected Kaiwhakahaere Lisa Tumahai. Photograph by Dean MacKenzie.

WHENUA

Moeraki Onekakara is the beach on the northern coastline of the Moeraki Peninsula, where the main Moeraki wharf is located today. In the 19th century, the name Onekakara was used to refer to the shore whaling station (established on the beach in 1836), and the European settlement that formed nearby. Traditionally, the name Moeraki specifically referred to the Ngāi Tahu kaik at Kawa Beach on the eastern side of the peninsula. However, late in the century, when Ngāi Tahu living at the kaik began to move closer to the European settlement of Onekakara for better access to employment, health, and education, the name Moeraki also shifted to cover the whole peninsula.

PHOTOGRAPH: TONY BRIDGE

Ka hao te Rakatahi

Nā NUKU TAU

Reading **between the lines**

I've been reading a book by Naomi Klein called *No is not Enough – Resisting the New Shock Politics and Winning the World We Need*. Among other things, Klein discusses how a fear and hatred of the "other person" (gays, African-Americans, Mexicans, women etc,) can be perpetuated by the media. Klein makes this case well with the example of 2005's Hurricane Katrina in the very African-American city of New Orleans. Decades of being demonised and targeted by populist media campaigns, such as former president Ronald Reagan's "welfare queens" characterisation, a derogatory term stigmatising black women on welfare, fostered indifference to Black Americans by the general populace. The flood barriers were allowed to decay and erode due to this lack of empathy and care, and neoliberal politics. The following disaster relief efforts were equally lacklustre, with then-Vice President Dick Cheney's office rerouting an electricity company to fix an oil pipeline, rather than supply emergency hospitals.

What stood out was the media's focus on petty crimes and burglaries by the starving population, rather than their suffering. Instead of sympathising, many Americans continued to write off the victims of the flood as thieves, looters, the "n-word", "thugs". Packs of white American men patrolled the streets as "vigilantes" on the lookout for "crime". I'm sure you can read between the lines.

This might all seem a bit far off and irrelevant to little old New Zealand and Ngāi Tahu. It's also generally agreed that for the most part, our disaster relief in Christchurch post-earthquake was well done. So what am I on about?

Divisive media is the key to my story here, and I'm sure that's something everyone can see when they're reading the papers or scrolling through Facebook feeds. Many of our papers and media companies are privately owned – it's naive to think that articles are written solely in the public interest. Privately-owned bodies exist to turn a profit, and in the news world, nothing creates profit better than sensationalism, covert racism, and disingenuous journalism.

While our media is not nearly as bad as certain overseas outfits, one still has to be critical. An example relevant to Māori is last year's "Welsh skull" debacle. Noel Hilliam, a farmer with zero relevant qualifications, had a lengthy article published about him in the *Herald* that was largely uncritical of his actions. Hilliam robbed a Māori burial ground of a skull. He claimed it was a hāngi pit, but it was a burial ground. He then claimed to have sent the skull to an unnamed expert from the University of Edinburgh, who verified the skull as one of Welsh origin that predated Māori arrival. No one from Edinburgh could verify Hilliam's claims, never mind the fact any idiot could tell you it's impossible to tell if a 1000-odd year-old skull was "Welsh". Such unresearched, Eurocentric, obviously racist drivel should never have made it into our national newspaper. Yet it did. The article was posted everywhere and seen all over feeds. I had people ask me about it at school. The editor and author of the piece flagrantly ignored the fact that Hilliam had robbed a burial ground to push an agenda that feeds an uglier side of the Kiwi population. The side that like to believe the white man really was here first; that everything post-Treaty was justified, and that as Europeans they're simply taking back what is theirs. Our media jumps on one of these stories each time a new one comes out – it's a national pastime. I remember in primary school, a man from the museum was shocked that three quarters of our class believed that a race was here before the Māori. When asked to explain, everyone had airy and half-connected stories of everything from the Vikings to the Greeks to the Chinese. I'm not closed to the idea of a prior people at all. I am closed to junk science and Eurocentrism that aims to justify past wrongs and legitimise the actions of settlers.

The same sort of dishonest journalism can be seen across the board, with many other ethnicities and social movements. Rowdy Tongan fans at the Rugby League World Cup got back-to-back coverage. They were on my newsfeed every night. The South Auckland pool carpark brawl was likewise slathered in everyone's face. I don't remember couch burners in Otago getting anywhere near as much coverage. Legitimate right-wingers with interesting views like David Seymour are often given little coverage or airtime. Yet when Bob Jones or Don Brash feel like crawling out of whatever hole they're in and making an obviously inflammatory statement, the media flock like vultures, even somewhat legitimising these men's shocking positions. The hounding of Metiria Turei by every media outlet in the country was deplorable, compared with the few articles that appeared on Bill English's financial discrepancies – nothing gets racist old men and basement virgins more riled than an "uppity" Māori feminist!

Many of our papers and media companies are privately owned – it's naive to think that articles are written solely in the public interest. Privately-owned bodies exist to turn a profit, and in the news world, nothing creates profit better than sensationalism, covert racism, and disingenuous journalism.

The key message in all of this is to be critical of what we see, hear, and read. Whether it's blatantly outrageous like the Wanganui Chronicle blaming feminism for male suicide or more subtle such as the thumbnail of a Māori woman attached to an article about "fussy" charities, bias and divisive journalism is ever present in all our media. When one sees stories of human suffering or another group at a disadvantage, it's natural to jump on the offensive. It's human to feel the need to legitimise yourself and attack anyone who may threaten that sense of legitimacy. Yet that road can lead to the reaction suffered by the working class African Americans of New Orleans. Because the media perpetuated a myth of welfare queen looters, it was easier for Americans to blindly hate, rather than help their fellow man and acknowledge the institutional racism of their country. New Orleans is a long way from home, and we are fortunate to be in an infinitely better place regarding the state of our journalism and people. Yet if many of us remain unaware of the conscious/unconscious ignorance and pseudo-intellectualism pushed by many of the country's top current events sources, we could easily be going down a similar path.

Eighteen-year-old **Nuku Tau** (Ngāi Tahu, Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri) is in his first year of a law degree at the University of Canterbury.

Iwi Chairs Forum

Another Waitangi Day has passed. It is now 178 years since Ngāi Tahu signed the Treaty at Akaroa, Ruapuke, and lastly Ōtākou – and what a journey it's been. From being the literal kings of the castle in 1840 to virtually impoverished not 30 years later is a stunning reversal of fortune. But what's more stunning is the recent rise of the Ngāi Tahu phoenix from the ashes of that time – well, at least economically.

In the 1840s Murihiku leader Tūhawaiki was already lamenting our state of affairs: "We are but a poor remnant now, and the Pākehā will soon see us all die out, but even in my time, we Ngailaki (sic Ngāi Tahu)* were a large and powerful tribe, stretching from Cook Strait to Akaroa."

Well I'm pleased our tupuna was ever-so-slightly wrong in his prediction, by around 60,000 Ngāi Tahu. We're a great story.

Since our settlement in 1996 we have taken a $170 million figure and grown it to $1.3 billion (give or take a few dollars). I don't think we can truly appreciate the stunning economic success story this represents. With the economic power has come political power, and a true expression (and exercise) of our mana.

Part of this has been the Iwi Chairs Forum (ICF) and the role of Ngāi Tahu within it. And if there's any doubt as to the Ngāi Tahu influence over it, it first convened at Takahanga in 2005.

During the reign of the National-led Government from 2008 to 2017, the ICF took on an increasingly important role in Crown/iwi relations. This was in no small part due to the Māori Party and its strong tribal development focus (along with its flagship "whānau ora" policy). National was happy to take the lead through the Māori Party as it engaged with iwi.

This was not unnoticed by the then opposition Labour Party, who came to increasingly resent the developing relationship between the ICF and National. It was seen as encroaching on Labour's turf, as Labour has always believed it is the natural party for Māori.

The new Labour-led government has signalled almost immediately its intentions regarding the ICF, with the newly-minted Minister of Māori Development, the Hon. Nanaia Mahuta, stating: "I don't think people in the room if they had their hand on heart would say to us that the way in which the forum has been operating has been entirely satisfactory".

And equally newly-minted Minister of Treaty Settlements, the Hon. Andrew Little, added: "I think they may have a few issues about emotionally disconnecting themselves from their ex."

These statements are to be expected, and signal that a new sheriff is in town. It's now Labour's gig, and iwi will just have to get used it.

But there is a troubling element to all this. Last December, New Zealand First's Shane Jones said "Halley's Comet would be back" before he met with the ICF. And Labour's Willie Jackson was dismissive of the ICF in relation to charter schools, because "they had never spoken for his constituency in Auckland".

Willie Jackson's comments in particular point to a growing sentiment that is feeding into a larger narrative about our tribal leaders and their mandate to represent. This, and not politicians' posturing, is the troubling aspect.

The term "tribal elites" became an increasing catchcry for those claiming to represent... well, I'm not exactly sure what. The term came to permeate the language of those resistant to both the Māori Party and to the mahi of the ICF (the accusation being that both were too close to National).

The slur carries on from the term "corporate warriors" that arose in the 1990s in relation to the rise of Māori economic success. And it was a term we Māori threw at our own. Today we use "tribal elite". The term conjures up images of suit-wearing, corporatised Māori, divorced from their tribal roots and having taken their positions via some form of either self or government appointment. Well, let's look at a few of those elites.

Tā Mark Solomon was a fitter and turner before his time as kaiwhakahaere. This is about as blue collar as it gets. Yes, Mark came to wear a suit and take on a leadership role across the country – but his roots are blue collar, and hardly elite. Our current kaiwhakahaere, Lisa Tumahai, came from a health administration background. If I go across to my other whanaunga on Wharekauri I see a farmer, hairdresser, small business owner, fisher, painter, and other working professions at the helm of Ngāti Mutunga. Hardly "elite", and most definitely not government appointed (let alone "self-appointed").

Across the country our iwi boards are full of anything but elites. Our representatives are our mothers and fathers; our brothers and sisters; and our aunts, uncles, and cousins. They are people who have been courageous enough to put themselves forward to be elected (not appointed) by their own iwi to take on these roles. And it is a thankless task they perform, as the term "tribal elite" points to.

They are subject to the most awful of tribal hui where their characters are denigrated, their integrity disparaged, and their "taha Māori" called into question. They are often verbally assaulted and physically threatened. And God forbid if they actually act like a human and make an inevitable mistake.

No, these people are not elites – masochists maybe – but not elites. And when you see what most of these representative leaders earn for all of that – you'd wonder why anyone would actually take up the roles. So in the case of the ICF, the Chairs are your elected representatives. As in: the ones that were voted into their iwi entities.

Turning back to Ngāi Tahu, Lisa Tumahai has taken over the role Tā Mark Solomon played. And that is entirely right. She will head to the various ICF hui to put forward our Ngāi Tahu position, and to continue to try and exert influence as Ngāi Tahu has always done. She will be supported by the Office of Te Rūnanga in that endeavour. She will work collaboratively with other iwi chairs, and at times will argue with them on policy and iwi direction. She will continue to work to achieve the mana motuhake envisaged by the likes of pōua Tikao during his mahi with the Kotahitanga movement.

That doesn't mean, "Don't hold her and Te Rūnanga to account." Of course we should. They are paid to do the jobs they do, and they have a duty of care to ensure they act with integrity and with their best foot forward. However, let's not fall into the trap of treating our own whanaunga as "the other" – as somehow removed from us, the "ordinary Ngāi Tahu". Because they are just doing the best they can in the time they have at the table.

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

PHOTOGRAPHS RAOUL BUTLER

Above: Lisa feels most at home when spending time with her husband Francois and tamariki Dane and Chantal on the Arahura River.

LISA TUMAHAI SURVEYS THE CITYSCAPE OUTSIDE THE WINDOW of the meeting room on the third floor of Te Whare o Te Waipounamu – the tribal headquarters in central Christchurch. In the distance you can see Kā Tiritiri o te Moana (the Southern Alps). Lisa's tūrangawaewae, Te Tai Poutini, lies beyond.

For Lisa, life experience as a wahine, a mother, an employee, and a trustee has led her to acquire an impressive range of skills to prepare her for iwi leadership. "I have watched and learned from those around me. My parents, whānau, kaumātua, and many others across our communities."

Lisa says she is invigorated and excited by the challenges and opportunities before her. She speaks fondly of her gratitude for the support from her husband Francois Tumahai, who is the Chair of Ngāti Waewae. "We have strong, supportive whānau and we ensured we provided the same for our daughter Chantal (28), our whāngai daughter Tamara, (28), and our son Dane (18)."

Lisa learned a strong work ethic from her parents, which served her well on leaving school at the beginning of her sixth form year. She took a job in a sewing factory, and later, hospitality work.

Married by 22 and a mother at 23, Lisa decided it was time to further her education. She enrolled in a Diploma in Tourism course, which ignited a passion for learning. Years of juggling family, work, and study led her through a Bachelor of Commerce and positions in education and at the Canterbury District Health Board, to where she is today. Throughout it all, she never lost sight of her close connection to the West Coast.

"My Tai Poutini whakapapa extends from Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Wairangi, and our Ngāi Tahu people."

Lisa is quick to play down the significance of being the first female kaiwhakahaere, and points to the significant role wāhine have played throughout Ngāi Tahu history. She relates examples of the important role wāhine played in our tribal migration to Te Waipounamu, and of

Looking to the Future

In November 2017 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu elected its first female kaiwhakahaere to head its tribal board, which represents the 18 Papatipu Rūnanga of Ngāi Tahu. The appointment of Lisa Tumahai comes amidst a wave of change that is seeing increasing numbers of wāhine in top jobs throughout Aotearoa. TE KARAKA caught up with Lisa to talk about leadership and her vision for the next 20 years.

the many women from her hapū who fought alongside the men during the Ngāi Tahu war parties that sacked the West Coast.

She tells the story of Waitaiki, the mother of Pounamu, who Poutini Ngāi Tahu revere, and describes in detail the adventures of Raureka, the fearless female explorer who first traversed Browning Pass, to cross between the West Coast and the Canterbury Plains.

She talks about the sisters of Tūhuru, Kokoiti and Moroiti, who adorn the Whare Tipuna at Arahura. The weaving of these stories with Lisa's own life journey are important insights into the role models and life lessons that have prepared her for leadership.

No stranger to governance, Lisa is now a 16-year veteran on the board of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Her path from rūnanga meetings to a seat at the table began in 1998, when, much to her surprise, she was elected as the Ngāti Waewae representative.

"I went along to the meeting and next minute I was elected from the floor.

"In the early years I absorbed and listened to those around me. I participated where I could add value, and I ensured the voice of Ngāti Waewae was included on matters important to our people; but by and large those early years were a time to listen and learn."

Lisa was elected to the role of Deputy Kaiwhakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in 2011, and says she is humbled and honoured to have been elected Kaiwhakahaere in 2017. She acknowledges the work of her predecessor Tā Mark Solomon, who filled the role for 18 years. Her decision to stand for the permanent role came when Ngāi Tahu kaumātua Tā Tipene O'Regan took her aside and instructed that tribal leadership is not an optional exercise. She recalls his words, "The people have spoken, and you have mahi to do."

"I was and remain grateful for the valuable lessons I learned in my time on the board. Lessons from Tā Mark and other senior members around the table. We achieved some incredible success, but we also had some major challenges to get through. We had periods of

"Kotahitanga is [a] key priority across our board – to do what we need to do to ensure we are paddling the waka powerfully and in unison. What an impressive sight our waka is when it is surging ahead in driving the social, cultural, and economic needs and aspirations of our people."

deadlock at the table, and unhelpful factionalism. As a large board from very different parts of the South Island and often backgrounds, it is understandable.

"I also understand how important it is to nurture and support unity and respect around the board table. Ngāi Tahu have made incredible progress in the first 20 years of our post-settlement journey, despite our governance table not always rowing in unison."

Lisa's election is an opportunity for a fresh start, and she is looking forward to the challenge. "I have a number of key priorities; one of which is to nurture the leadership capability not only across our board table, but across our iwi and rūnanga, so that our whānau are leaders in the many communities we share throughout Aotearoa and further afield.

"We are entering a new and exciting period of improvement and change. I want to delegate aspects of leadership with my Deputy Kaiwhakahaere Matapura Ellison, who brings incredibly complementary skills to the role. I also want to share key responsibilities across the board. Leadership is not about 'me', it is about 'we' – we have an incredible depth and range of skills across our table. Part of my role as Kaiwhakahaere is to nurture and better utilise those skills to advance the needs and aspirations of our people."

This shared leadership approach, which also allows people with differing views to be respectfully heard, is what excites Lisa's supporters, including her newly appointed Deputy Kaiwhakahaere.

"Listening is a crucial part of leadership – listening to our people, hearing what my colleagues, those on our board, on the paepae, out among our whānau, have to say."

What is clear in speaking with Lisa is that she is passionate about bringing a new level of transparency and accountability to the board.

"Kotahitanga is another key priority across our board – to do what we need to do to ensure we are paddling the waka powerfully and in unison. What an impressive sight our waka is when it is surging ahead in driving the social, cultural, and economic needs and aspirations of our people."

Contemplating the need for greater support for some of the social issues that affect Māori and Ngāi Tahu disproportionately, Lisa says: "We spent the last 20 years building a really strong foundation and a strong economic base, but we know that we haven't done enough on the social side of the ledger. We have the same demographic issues as any other community."

Matapura Ellison shares Lisa's vision. With 17 years' experience on the Te Rūnanga board, he can see there is a new phase beginning in iwi development.

"We have been very focused on Article 2 for the past two decades … on the settlement, protection, and preservation of Treaty rights, and partnerships with various territorial authorities such as DOC," Matapura says.

Without losing sight of these, Matapura says, the time is right to refocus.

Last year the board launched a governance review tasked with refining and enhancing the board's form and function. Lisa hopes to evolve to a cabinet-like approach where board members will lead particular kaupapa according to their strengths. "For example, with an important kaupapa such as freshwater, why wouldn't we look at our board of 18 and identify who the experts are in these areas, and bring them through as the key leaders for Ngāi Tahu?"

This approach will allow Lisa herself to focus on what has always

Above: Back where it all began – despite the demands of her new role Lisa still makes time to attend monthly rūnanga meetings in Hokitika.
Left: Following her election in November 2017 Lisa was presented with a korowai from Waikato Tainui and Ngāti Maniopoto. She wears this proudly alongside Hon. Nanaia Mahuta (left) and Tipa Mahuta (right).

"We have almost 60,000 iwi members both here in Aotearoa and overseas. We are focused on doing our best to support the aspirations of all our whānau – targeting support with a limited amount of funding to where it can have the greatest effect for our young, our elders, and our marae.

been her passion – Ngāi Tahu whānau. She is aware that as it stands, there are some whānau living both inside and out of the tribal boundary who feel excluded or disconnected from the growing wealth which so strongly defines the Ngāi Tahu corporate image. The tribe's balance sheet has grown to $1.3 billion, a massive growth from the $175 million settlement in 1998. The resources of the tribe have grown significantly, but so too has the tribal register, and the needs and expectations of whānau.

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"In part, this means remaining absolutely committed to protecting and growing our pūtea so we have a worthy taonga to pass onto the next generation, while investing in programmes that deliver meaningful outcomes for the current generation."

In addition, Lisa says it is important to continually review and assess what is happening nationally and globally to address disproportionate social challenges in indigenous communities.

"How can we increase education outcomes? How can we create greater opportunity for home ownership? How can we improve the health outcomes for our communities?"

Lisa's vision of thriving Ngāi Tahu communities extends beyond the tribal takiwā. "We have to take a global approach, and make sure we have mechanisms for participation for all."

These are big issues, and Lisa is well aware of the challenges ahead of her. But she remains confident that she can bring about the required change. "I bring a different style of leadership, and I think I'm of a generation where we are looking for something different. If we don't remain relevant to our people, then what is it all for?"

Lisa says the years on the Te Rūnanga board were instructive in forming the pathway she wants moving forward. She is thankful to the mentors and coaches who have nurtured her in leadership.

She refers to a speech made by Tā Tipene O'Regan at Charles Darwin University in Australia, one that she turns to for guidance and motivation. She reads:

"When the tribe takes the decision that it actually wants to exist as a culturally identifiable kinship or whakapapa-linked community in a context of its traditional territory – in two or three generations' time – it has to take decisions now as to how it is going to fund, protect, and develop that culture over time. It is that underlying strategic requirement that must inform its economic governance."

Drawing inspiration from those past and present, Kaiwhakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Lisa Tumahai, is determined to direct the iwi firmly and surely into the future.

Returning home

Nā ARIELLE MONK

On a sunny Saturday, 27 January 2017, the Rapa Nui Ka Haka Hoki Mai Te Mana Tūpuna Repatriation Programme delegations arrived Tuahiwi Marae to acknowledge and thank all those who made it possible for them to reclaim their kōiwi tūpuna.

The kaumātua, repatriation researchers, and government officials were met by mana whenua hapū Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāi Tahu, and Canterbury Museum personnel, and brought onto the marae with a pōwhiri. There, within the mantle of Mahaanui II, they became the first of their nation to reconnect with two unknown ancestors in what is likely to be almost a century.

The tūpuna were farewelled and handed back to Rapa Nui care by Canterbury Museum and Otago Museum, supported by Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāti Huirapa and Ngāi Tahu whānui, and have no returned home in the first repatriation ever to the island.

Lynne-Harata Te Aika, Corban Te Aika and Puamiria Parata-Goodall were privileged to accompany the Rapa Nui delegation and kōiwi back to the island, completing the duty of care Ngāi Tūāhuriri has carried. The tūpuna have been placed in a wāhi tapu until the community can collectively decide on the most appropriate final resting place.

Above: Rapa Nui delegation arriving at Tuahiwi Marae – back, left to right, Tamaroa Rapu, Jose Rapu, Angel Cabeza, Tarita Rapu; front, left to right, Joaquin (Nizo) Tuki Tepano, Ida (Piru) Huke Atan, Lynn Rapu, Anais Huke.

In 1948, the New Zealand government purchased a large collection of Polynesian and Māori artefacts from William Oldman, an English ethnographical art collector and dealer. The sum of £44,000 was paid for more than 3000 items, which were distributed across the Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury, and Otago Museums in 1948 and 1949 by Roger Duff, the then curator of Canterbury Museum.

The collection remained largely undisturbed in Aotearoa – until indigenous Easter Island whānau investigations discovered two of their kōiwi tāngata were amongst the collection. The Rapa Nui tūpuna, kept in Christchurch and Dunedin, have been in New Zealand for 70 years and were part of the Oldman collection.

Without funding, governmental support, or experience in the arena of customs and international authorities, a handful of Rapa Nui whānui began the repatriation process five years ago, armed only with a determination to bring home their tūpuna.

This is their story.

THE RAPA NUI DELEGATION IS STAYING AT AN AIRBNB IN Mairehau, Ōtautahi. Mario Tuki, Collections Manager of the Anthropological Easter Island Museum, quickly whips on a shirt over the top of his shorts and proudly arranges his pounamu taonga for the camera. As if at an aunty's house, I am invited to make myself a cup of coffee. One of the elders offers kai – meat from a half-eaten joint of what looks like mutton – and we settle in to each other's company, communicating through common key words in te reo Māori and te reo Rapa Nui.

Mario is also officially the Rapa Nui Ka Haka Hoki Mai Te Mana Tupuna Repatriation Programme Coordinator and is fluent in English, so is nominated to speak on behalf of the kaumātua delegation.

"As young people on the repatriation programme, our role is as students. We are here with our elders to learn, all the time. The kaupapa of repatriation is held, and was started by, our kaumātua, some of whom are not with us anymore. One of them, who is an important icon to us, is Mama Piru." Mario smiles up at Piru Huke as she skirts around us to hang a few items of clothing out in the sun.

"She is not so old, but she has 38 years of experience in this. She went out, by herself, into the world, and started to research and investigate where our tūpuna and taonga were. She did the whole job by herself, with no support, no money. So for me, she is an authority in these repatriation issues. She is also part of the advisory panel of the repatriation process, which is made up of elders, with support from us young people."

Mama Piru is a diminutive, smiling figure, chatty and friendly. But the steely strength behind her eyes echoes that which might have been in the eyes of the Ngāi Tahu warriors in their fight for Te Kerēme. Her character and deeds epitomise clear parallels between the Rapa Nui battle for repatriation of tūpuna, and the Ngāi Tahu struggle for settlement.

Rapa Nui is a volcanic island at the south-east point of the Polynesian triangle, isolated by more than 2000km of ocean in every direction. It is also known as Easter Island, named after the Dutch discovery of the motu on Easter Sunday, 1722. Rapa Nui has become synonymous with the iconic moai – huge stone statues erected across the island.

Carbon dating estimates the island was first populated by Polynesian voyagers sometime between 700–1100 AD, and since then, the people of Rapa Nui have endured the trials of harsh Pacific conditions, depleted resources, civil war, colonisation, slavery, and disease.

Although first European contact occurred in the 1700s, it was not until the 1860s that the full might of the outside world began to violently disrupt the island. Peruvian slavers terrorised Rapa Nui over the course of several months in 1862, eventually sailing away with nearly 1500 men, women and children – about half the indigenous population. Over the next five years, survivors of the slave raids returned to Rapa Nui, bringing with them European diseases, further decimating the tribes. In the 1870s, Roman Catholic missionaries relocated almost the entire population to the Gambier Islands in French Polynesia, after disagreements with settler landowners.

By 1877, there were 111 indigenous people left in their homeland – and only 36 had children.

Mario explains that although so much was lost in that dark chapter of the island history, the Rapa Nui culture has experienced a strong renaissance for decades now, providing a genesis for the current repatriation programme.

However, he says that despite this renaissance, the relationship

Above, left to right: Tārita Rapu (Rapa Nui), Hon. Carmel Sepuloni (Associate Minister for Pacific Peoples, and Arts, Culture and Heritage) and Anthony Wright (Canterbury Museum Director).

"The matter of kōiwi tangata is something very sensitive to us, and to you as Māori. Because it is different to say, 'Give me back my pencil,' versus 'Give me back my tūpuna'. We have to put the idea, the vision and the importance of what we are trying to do, to the authorities in Chile. Previously, the belief has been that these things are in the museums for a reason; why should they give them back? But it is changing. We have more politicians, ambassadors, representing us and bringing these issues to the political table."

MARIO TUKI Collections Manager of the Anthropological Easter Island Museum

between Rapa Nui and the Chilean government is "20 years behind" what is experienced between Māori, the New Zealand government, and the British Crown in Aotearoa.

Today, Rapa Nui is a special territory of Chile and is governed by Chilean law from 3690km away – more than four times the distance between New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. The population is 7750 (2017 census), and about 60 per cent are of non-Rapa Nui descent.

Every indigenous person is able to trace their lineage back to one of the 36 families who managed to stabilise the indigenous population in the 19th century. But until recently, these descendants have struggled to have their collective voice heard within the Chilean government.

"Most of my kaumātua and myself are surprised – in a good way – by our experiences here in Aotearoa. It's a surprise because the repatriation was treated with a lot of respect, and handled in a very Polynesian way. We feel at home here. We can feel connected with the process – it is not only official and dealing with authorities; we are also able to be with the iwi and the whenua.

"And for us, that is a great difference to how this issue is treated in Chile. Here, it is like being back in Rapa Nui and going to my neighbours, who are also family. It is a unique example of how things work here in Aotearoa, and it sets a good example for our next mission – how to do it, what steps to take."

Mario and his companions are hopeful that the presence of Chilean government representatives on the delegation will provide a catalyst for shifts in thinking on the mainland "back home".

"I cannot say that the word repatriation always draws a good response from these entities … Actually, sometimes it is followed by a big 'no'.

"But the matter of kōiwi tangata is something very sensitive to us, and to you as Māori. Because it is different to say, 'Give me back my pencil,' versus 'Give me back my tūpuna'.

"We have to put the idea, the vision and the importance of what we are trying to do, to the authorities in Chile. Previously, the belief has been that these things are in the museums for a reason; why should they give them back?

"But it is changing. We have more politicians, ambassadors, representing us and bringing these issues to the political table."

Mario says small steps of progress have been evident through visits by Chilean representatives to Rapa Nui for the first time. Since the repatriation process was set in motion by Mama Piru and the advisory panel five years ago, Chilean authorities have visited to discuss the programme.

"They came to our house. They have shared with us. We had the opportunity to sit at the same table and speak openly. I think that is a major indication that times are changing.

"The subject of repatriation is becoming bigger and more

PHOTOGRAPHS SAMPSON KARST

Above: Rapa Nui whānau reunited with their tūpuna.

important around the world. This is a good period of time for us to be beginning endeavours to repatriate our tūpuna and our taonga home. People are more open to it now."

Canterbury Museum Director Anthony Wright agrees with Mario's sentiments. Anthony says attitudes towards repatriating human remains are also changing for the better within the international museum community.

When I spoke with Anthony on the eve of the transfer ceremony at Tuahiwi, he reflected that, in his 20 years as Director, there has been no template or blueprint for how something as significant as a repatriation works.

"It can be different in every case, because each tupuna is a different individual; but in this case it was very simple and straight-forward – there were no complications or doubts at all.

"The ancestors have been from Rapa Nui to London, although we don't know where they went in between, then from London back to Aotearoa, and now will complete the journey home. It's a really symbolic and important thing to happen."

Puamiria Parata-Goodall has been a driving force behind this repatriation since she became the chair of the Canterbury Museum Māori Advisory Board, Ōhākī o Ngā Tīpuna, in 2017.

"When [the Canterbury Museum] received the tono from Rapa Nui, it was obvious – we knew how important it was for these tūpuna to go home. Te Papa has been doing some amazing work under the Karaka Aotearoa programme, so we are all aware of the significance of repatriation."

Karanga Aotearoa is the New Zealand repatriation programme run by The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Since 2013, the museum has been government-mandated to repatriate Moriori and Māori kōiwi from institutions around the world.

"Part of the value of this process is that it has helped deepen our museums' understanding around the significance of iwi and whānau entrusting taonga to the care of museums – and that we can help with that care for our taonga," Puamiria says.

"We are not a culture that should be left in a store room, cold and sitting away from us and from the world. This was an amazing opportunity for Canterbury Museum to be part of our living Polynesian cultures and to understand just how important that living heartbeat is. These tupuna are still very much alive to us and to Rapa Nui.

The final word belongs to the Rapa Nui whānau, conveyed by their spokesperson Mario. "Thank you, thank you, thank you. To the iwi, to the museums, to the people of Aotearoa. Our kaumātua also say thank you. Now we have our responsibility to our tūpuna to keep going."

Kā Huru Manu

Kā Huru Manu is the highly-anticipated result of the Ngāi Tahu Cultural Mapping Project – a digital atlas that holds over 1000 traditional Māori place names in Te Waipounamu, and their associated histories. The website (www.kahurumanu.co.nz), which launched in November, can be seen as an assertion of Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga over the rohe, as well as the preservation and sharing of traditional knowledge. Kaituhi **ALICE DIMOND** outlines the history of the project, and speaks to some of the many people who contributed to this taonga.

IT IS HARD TO PINPOINT EXACTLY WHEN KĀ HURU MANU BEGAN, as kaumātua were collecting much of the cultural knowledge found on the website long before the project was even conceived of. However, all the contributors agree that the launch of Kā Huru Manu is by no means the end. The creation of the atlas, which has been in the works since whānau asked for a digital atlas at the 2012 Ngāi Tahu Cultural Summit, is undoubtedly cause for celebration after years of hard work by a group of committed Ngāi Tahu.

Tā Tipene O'Regan spent hours sharing his knowledge and has an obvious passion for the project. When recounting his Kā Huru Manu journey, he shared many accounts of the "migration of tradition", and the importance of retaining traditional place names so we continue to remember our stories.

"Essentially, the atlas is part of a much larger knowledge system," says Tā Tipene. "It is important to note that a major indicator of rakatirataka is owning your own knowledge base. All these things are part of the rebuilding and maintenance of our own knowledge base, so we can be the primary proprietors of our own knowledge."

The website is visually striking, featuring large-scale "cinemagraphs" or "living photos" of some of our most iconic landscapes. The website is divided into five sections: the atlas itself, the Cultural Mapping Story, Our People (biographies of longstanding champions of the project), Kā Ara Tawhito (Traditional Māori Travel Routes) and Acknowledgements.

"We wanted to make the website really visual and engaging for our people," says Takerei Norton (Ngāi Tahu - Ngāti Irakehu,

PHOTOGRAPH ALAN DOVE

Ngāti Kurī), who has managed the project as part of his work in the Ngāi Tahu Archives Team. "The website includes a mixture of photograph galleries, quotes, interactive maps, and videos. It was also important that it was simple to use – especially for those who are not familiar with GIS technology.

"Getting the website completed is definitely a significant achievement. At times it seemed like we wouldn't get there, but we did; and it will be a great foundation for future generations to work from," says Takerei.

The atlas includes over 1,000 traditional Māori place names, original Māori land allocations, and a selection of traditional travel routes throughout the Ngāi Tahu rohe. The information available on the site was selected and approved by Papatipu Rūnaka, and is only a small portion of the broader data set that has been collected and mapped as part of the Ngāi Tahu Cultural Mapping Project.

The bulk of the work was completed over 10 years of wānanga, hui, and field trips held throughout Te Waipounamu. "Initially we had a small paepae of kaumātua who would come into the Ngāi Tahu office at Hereford Street and help us map place names throughout the rohe," says Takerei.

Due to the limited technology at the time, the initial wānanga were laborious.

"We had a label machine and large topographic maps. We would type a place name into the label machine, print it off, and stick it on

Above: Cultural mapping wānanga at Puketeraki Marae.

the map. And then of course if we got the name wrong, we had to rip it up and start all over again," laughs Takerei.

"Our paepae really enjoyed it though. They would turn up, and tell us which name goes where. Of course, I made sure they were well fed!"

This paepae was initially made up of Trevor Howse, Kelly Davis, Matapura Ellison, Jimmy Russell, and David Higgins. When Kelly passed away unexpectedly on the eve of the first mapping hui in March 2007, it became more apparent than ever that there was some urgency needed around the Cultural Mapping Project.

"Our paepae started providing their own personal papers for the project. I think this set a precedent for others to follow," says Takerei.

Muriel Johnstone (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, Waitaha) had a huge input into mapping traditional place names in the Ōraka Aparima takiwā. Muriel remembers that when the mapping project started, she spoke to her whānau to ensure they were happy for her to share their materials.

"I spent many of my formative years with my taua and pōua," says Muriel. "My pōua thought it was so important to have us understand the names, and why our tūpuna called things what they did. We didn't have cars or anything, so we would walk everywhere, and he used to take me to these places and tell me the names and the stories."

In addition to input from whānau, much of the information gathered for the project was uncovered through research in archives and libraries around the country, including the Ngāi Tahu Archive. Manuscripts, diaries, maps, and journals were shared and discussed with whānau whose knowledge and experience of their specific tribal areas assisted with the interpretation of this material.

With the sharing of knowledge occurring, the wānanga began to expand, and field trips to the sites became a part of the process. Field trips were held over three or four days, and as Takerei recalls, "It was a really low-key whānau approach. We would jump in vehicles, and travel around visiting sites, with people sharing their stories.

"One of the real turning points was when Iain Gover came to work for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. He changed the way we mapped. We created a Māori place names database that was linked to our mapping programme. This allowed us to map directly into our mapping system on the marae. We could make changes in real time, which greatly quickened the process and accuracy. Mapping on the marae was great, and we were always well looked after wherever we went. We started to create a really cool buzz for the project," Takerei says.

This "buzz" meant that more whānau began to turn up to be a part of the process – some to share their knowledge, and others to listen and learn.

"When you think about how significant the kaupapa is, it was important to create a relaxed environment where people felt comfortable to share and learn," says Takerei. "Trevor would always say that we would be judged by our peers on the marae. So it was important that we didn't lock ourselves up in the office, but went out to work with the people at the grassroots."

The large number of contributors to Kā Huru Manu led to the unique decision to design the acknowledgements section of the website as a collection of photographs, in the hope that no one's involvement would be overlooked.

Acknowledgements aside, contributors drew their own rewards from involvement with Kā Huru Manu. Dean Whaanga (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine), who made a significant contribution to the mapping of names in Murihiku (Southland), believes the passion everyone had for the project meant they were happy to contribute their time.

PHOTOGRAPH ©STUFF/SOUTHLAND TIMES

Above: Dean Whaanga (Awarua), Stewart Bull (Ōraka Apirima) and Muriel Johnstone.

"I spent many of my formative years with my taua and pōua. My pōua thought it was so important to have us understand the names, and why our tupuna called things what they did. We didn't have cars or anything, so we would walk everywhere, and he used to take me to these places and tell me the names and the stories."

MURIEL JOHNSTONE (Ngāi Tahu - Ōraka Aparima)

"Everyone who put their time and effort into this did it because they see it as being very important for all of us. Everyone was really enthusiastic because they love this work just as much as I do." Amongst all the individuals and whānau who contributed to Kā Huru Manu, there are a handful whose input went above and beyond. When the website was launched last year, eight key champions were acknowledged in the Our People section of the website, with a short biography that introduces them and their mahi. The intention is that this section will grow to acknowledge everyone who has contributed over the years.

"The biographies are important because the informants or champions behind the scenes can often be left out," says Takerei. "We wanted to change that, and make sure our people who have been at the heart of this kaupapa are appropriately acknowledged."

David Higgins, whose position on the original paepae ensured his place in the first eight biographies, is characteristically generous when he describes the project. "There is nothing more pleasing for me than to see the younger guys and girls being hugely knowledgeable about their rohe. It is something I have always been keen to do, because it can be very hard to pass on the information and mātauraka that we have gathered."

It is this desire to preserve and transmit our traditional knowledge to future generations that made Kā Huru Manu a passion project for so many people. As time went on, Takerei began to see it as the formalisation of a process that our whānau have been working on for generations. "People were doing this mahi way before Kā Huru Manu came along," says Takerei. "We were able to create a project that people believed in, and wanted to be part of."

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WakaNZ – Navigating with Foresight

In November, 34 rangatahi Māori aged 18-25 were brought together as part of the WakaNZ: Navigating with Foresight workshop. The workshop, hosted by the New Zealand Treasury and the McGuiness Institute "think tank", focused on vision, foresight, and strategy to explore preferred futures for a post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. Kaituhi ALICE DIMOND was selected to take part, and shares her thoughts on how we could use foresight in our iwi.

THROUGHOUT MY REO MĀORI LEARNING JOURNEY THE WORDS "mua" and "muri" have consistently confused me. Two seemingly simple words made harder to grasp, because the thinking behind them is in contrast to the way we think as English language speakers.

In English the future is always discussed as something that is ahead of us; always in our sights as it approaches, while the past recedes into the distance. This thinking is turned on its head when we speak about the concept of time in te reo Māori.

"Muri" is a location word that means "behind" or "at the back of". However, in the abstract it can also mean "afterwards" or "the future". Muri or the future is behind us; we know it's coming but we are not completely sure what it is going to look like. The word "mua" has the opposite meanings of "in front of", and also "the past": it is right in front of us in plain view, able to be studied, discussed, and used as a means to predict the obscured future.

During the workshop I found my mind kept returning to the concept of mua and muri and differing perceptions of time. The workshop challenged us to use foresight to explore our preferred future for a post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. It was held over four days and aimed to empower rangatahi to explore preferred futures, and to formulate and voice ideas. Day One was an opportunity to listen and learn from Māori leaders, such as Donna Flavell, Sacha McMeeking, Te Aopare Dewes, and Te Ururoa Flavell. Day Two was more hands-on, and was facilitated by Dr Richard Kaipo Lum, who is of native Hawaiian descent and is founder and Chief Executive of Vision Foresight Strategy.

The workshop concluded with a group presentation at Government House to Governor-General Dame Patsy Reddy, and a public presentation at Te Papa on our shared understanding and hopes for the future.

Before I attended this workshop, the concept of "our preferred future" in a post-settlement era seemed reasonably clear to me. I had been working at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu for two years and felt I understood our desired outcomes for Iwi Māori. In my role in Iwi Capability I support programmes that assist individual tribal members in their personal and professional development, to realise their potential as Ngāi Tahu. Throughout the four days of discussion at WakaNZ it became increasingly apparent that I had been suffering from tunnel vision, and hadn't quite understood how rapidly our world is changing and our ability to be influencers in future outcomes.

Māori have suffered a lot at the hands of our colonisers, and it is clear that the mamae or pain our predecessors went through is still present amongst our rangatahi. We were not at the workshop merely representing ourselves; we were there representing our tūpuna, our collective whakapapa and collective histories. We were all incredibly privileged to have been given the opportunity to come together to discuss and debate, but this also came with a sense of responsibility to uphold the mana of our people.

When we explore our preferred future as an iwi, we should first look at all the possible futures we can identify ... As an iwi, we need to consider what resources we have to fund the innovation and creativity of our people, and what avenues exist for whānau to share their dreams for the future.

All the rangatahi I worked alongside at WakaNZ were amazing and very similar in many ways – passionate and determined to reach better outcomes for our people. Yet as a group it was hard to reach a consensus at times, because our passion would often manifest as overprotection of our ideals.

For example, I had previously thought the debate regarding whether te reo Māori should be compulsory in schools had a clear-

PHOTOGRAPHS MCGUINNESS INSTITUTE

Above: WakaNZ participants with Dame Patsy Reddy and Sir David Gascoigne at Government House.
Left: WakaNZ rangatahi hear from panel speakers at Te Herenga Waka Marae.

cut answer for Māori – of course it should be. However, others at the workshop felt that forcing our language into mainstream schools could be dangerous, and that the place for revitalisation was in the home.

As a second language learner who was the first in my extended whānau to regain te reo Māori, I feel learning it in the home would have been an almost impossible feat. I don't feel I could have done it myself without formal learning, and the fact others couldn't understand this was frustrating. I was projecting my desires for what I would have wanted for my own past onto what I saw as our preferred future. With a culture that means our past is sitting right in front of us, it is only natural that we still feel emotionally bonded to it in this way. We need to avoid facing this same problem as an iwi so we are not prevented from being future-thinkers. The key is to move ourselves forward as an iwi, in a way that honours our traditions and tikanga.

To explore our preferred future we need to trust each other, and at times it appears that we may be finding it hard to let go of past grievances and do so. Trust is crucial if we want to be change-makers.

Our losses have made our people resilient and innovative, and if we trust each other and ourselves we can leverage these skills to do things in the way our ancestors would have.

The whakaaro, "The future does not exist – we are all helping to create it," was reinforced many times by Dr Richard Kaipo Lum. This struck a particular chord for me as a Ngāi Tahu staff member, working in a team that aims to create positive outcomes for all whānau members.

I wonder if we have been stuck in a "business-as-usual" approach and have lost our sense of autonomy in creating our own future. Although we are doing some amazing things at Ngāi Tahu, we need to constantly review and critique our programmes to keep up with social, economic, and technological changes. We then need to act on the critique with urgency, rather than being fooled by the concept that merely talking about change is sufficient evidence that we are change-makers. When we explore our preferred future as an iwi, we should first look at all the possible futures we can identify. As we are now a billion-dollar organisation, the concept of a "possible future" is reasonably expansive for us; we no longer need to be dictated by the status quo. It is said that it is not the smartest one who wins, but the one who is able to adapt to change.

As an iwi, we need to consider what resources we have to fund the innovation and creativity of our people, and what avenues exist for whānau to share their dreams for the future. I believe that our rangatahi can add value to this space, as young people often have an expanded notion of "possible" futures and are more progressive in their thinking.

Our tribal philosophy is, "Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri, ā muri ake nei – For us and our children after us", which proves that our iwi is invested in intergenerational thinking. However, this philosophy does not specifically articulate the future we envision for our descendants. As an iwi, we should be having ongoing discussions about possible futures, creating a tribal vision that is informed by purpose, foresight, and aspiration.

This vision should be consistently reviewed and the underlying assumptions questioned to ensure we keep up with the rapidly-changing world. We need to refuse to be left behind again, and to use our power to create the future we desire for our iwi and for our country. I don't pretend to know the answers, and in fact my experience at WakaNZ left me with more questions than I had before. But it also filled me with confidence that change is within our grasp if we utilise the greatest resource we have – our people.

It is my hope that our generation, the rangatahi of today, will be the generation that learns to trust each other again. It is my hope that we will be bold enough to challenge assumptions and create healthy debate, while remembering that everyone is on the same waka, working towards shared outcomes. It is my hope that we will bring the concepts of mua and muri together, as futurists who respect and embrace the work of our tūpuna, our collective histories, and tikanga.

This article is written on behalf of my rōpū at WakaNZ Ngā Pītau Whakarei. Many of my thoughts here were formed as a collective and it is important that they too are acknowledged.

Defenders of the environment:
the Ngāi Tahu Treaty Settlement negotiations and third-party interests

Nā DR MARTIN FISHER

THE ROLE OF THIRD PARTY INTERESTS IN TREATY SETTLEMENT negotiations is often not fully recognised. Their influence on the Ngāi Tahu negotiations (1991–1998) was significant and presented a series of challenges to the development of the Fourth National Government's Treaty settlement policy in the first half of the 1990s, with conservationists emerging as one of the strongest opponents of Ngāi Tahu and indeed the Crown. Many of these differences centred on the diverging views of the role of indigenous people in co-management of conservation areas – which Ngāi Tahu perceived as challenges to their rangatiratanga. There was a fundamental disagreement on the idea of Treaty rights and the very question of whether settlements were at all necessary.

The return of sites of cultural significance in the Ngāi Tahu negotiations was informed by the Waitangi Tribunal's specific recommendations on the Ngāi Tahu Claim. Ngāi Tahu sought the return of fee simple title to many sites which were conservation areas: Whenua Hou (Codfish Island), Rarotoka Island, the Crown Tītī Islands, the Arahura River, Aoraki (Mount Cook), Lake Waihora, and others. In areas where fee simple title could not be obtained, especially in the 'conservation estate,' Ngāi Tahu sought a co-management role. Opposition from the Department of Conservation (DOC) and third parties delayed agreement on the return of sites of cultural significance. They also affected the return of three high country pastoral leases held in the Ngāi Tahu land-bank: the Elfin Bay, Greenstone, and Routeburn stations.

There were numerous public relations fronts upon which Ngāi Tahu attempted to convince the general public of the justice of their case, but the most heated was perhaps the conservation movement. In some ways conservationists, such as Forest & Bird, would have been expected to be avid proponents of indigenous co-management. There were many other interest groups, including Federated Farmers, as well as those claiming to represent recreational values such as the Federated Mountain Clubs (FMC), Public Access New Zealand (PANZ), and Fish & Game New Zealand. Some had a very rational perspective, but some stoked racial fears. These groups chose to ignore the lasting effects of New Zealand's race relations history, and could not imagine that co-management or the transfer of conservation land could address the Ngāi Tahu claims.

Conservationists who supported Ngāi Tahu such as Dr Henrik Moller of the University of Otago, who had engaged with Ngāi Tahu in studies of muttonbirding on the Tītī Islands, were also targeted by conservation groups in the media. Government officials too were frustrated by conservation demands for consultation that nevertheless resulted in little participation by conservation groups.

Forest & Bird, PANZ, FMC, and, at first, Fish & Game believed that only the conservation estate was going to be used to address settlements rather than non-conservation land, but this was not the case. The other predominant fear was Ngāi Tahu participation in the management of conservation areas, as it was felt this would curb access to the public. Tangata whenua participation in management of conservation areas was often misconstrued as another part of the privatisation process, and Ngāi Tahu was merely another private interest. In early 1992, the FMC wrote to the Minister of Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Negotiations Doug Graham, making the analogy that "no one would suggest giving control of our public conservation parks to a private group, e.g. The Helicopter Line, or Fiordland Travel." This lack of understanding about the Ngāi Tahu Treaty rights was reinforced by the FMC later in the year in another letter to Minister Graham: "Ngāi Tahu have no strong visible relationship with conservation lands during European times. Their relationship to these lands before settlement is unprovable, and for much of the inland estate, appears minimal." The FMC continued: "Other New Zealanders have fought and won the preservation of these lands. Their mana, including their desire to see these lands protected in perpetuity, deserves precedence."

A similar rationalisation was produced by Treasury at the same time. It shared this pointed emphasis on the subjective nature of historical claims, and the belief that calculating a loss, much less a connection, was impossible. This is despite the undeniable archaeological proof.

In late November 1993, the TVNZ current affairs programme *Frontline* featured treaty settlement negotiations and the potential use of national parks. The programme sparked a flurry of letters from concerned New Zealanders opposing the use of any conservation land in a possible settlement. Many referred to the perceived need to maintain the principle that New Zealanders were one people.

In the midst of a constant stream of criticisms by most conservation groups, there were some examples of support. After the release of the first Tribunal report in 1991, the North Canterbury Conservation Board expressed its support for the return of Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) to Ngāi Tahu. In 1992 the Maruia Society, Friends of the Earth, and Greenpeace New Zealand wrote a combined letter to Doug Graham supporting the Government's policy on settlements, which the minister passed on to chief Ngāi Tahu negotiator Tipene O'Regan (now Tā Tipene). The views of these groups were the exception at the time.

The negotiations with Ngāi Tahu completely stalled from 1992 until well into 1996, but to conservation groups a settlement always seemed to be imminent. The negotiation over the Arahura River was a case in point.

The Waitangi Tribunal found that the Crown had "acted in breach of its Treaty obligations in failing to meet the wishes of Ngāi Tahu to retain ownership of the pounamu in and adjacent to the Arahura and its tributaries." The Tribunal recommended that the Arahura River and all its tributaries be vested in Mawhera Incorporation or another body nominated by Ngāi Tahu. The Arahura Valley has traditionally been one of the principal sources of pounamu for Ngāi Tahu. Pounamu represented both power and survival for the iwi, and was

recognised as both a sacred object and a valuable commodity. Despite the specific recommendation of the Waitangi Tribunal, the process of vesting the river was complicated by conservation interests both within and outside government. The Crown and Ngāi Tahu had largely agreed that it would be more cost-efficient to identify the catchment area of the Arahura River and its tributaries to their respective sources, and transfer that catchment to Ngāi Tahu, while ensuring the maintenance of conservation values and public access. When DOC consulted with conservation NGOs regarding the catchment transfer proposal, there was opposition. The conservation NGOs were concerned about preserving conservation values and public access to the Arahura Valley.

As a result of public consultation, DOC changed the parameters of the previous agreement. In an October 1992 report, DOC recommended the establishment of a reserve governed by the Reserves Act 1977. Ngāi Tahu was opposed to the reserve status, which Tipene O'Regan described as incorporating "effective powers of confiscation", saying that the "issue lies at the heart of the restoration of the Crown's mana." He linked the Crown's mana to Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga by expressing to the Crown the intimate connection that existed between the two under the Treaty of Waitangi, and that by vesting the Arahura catchment in Ngāi Tahu, "there could be few more tangible ways to confirm Ngāi Tahu tino rangatiratanga." The DOC position to establish a reserve became entrenched by the Crown, and Ngāi Tahu remained opposed to the reserve proposal. In March 1993 Ngāi Tahu re-affirmed its desire for the vesting of the river and its tributaries into the Mawhera Incorporation. The Crown maintained that the reserve status was the only option available.

In addition to the Tribunal's recommendations regarding the vesting, the Tribunal also recommended a survey of the entire river and its tributaries. Once Ngāi Tahu and the Crown reached an impasse on the issue of vesting, Ngāi Tahu still pressed for a survey of the area. The Crown complained that the cost of a survey was prohibitive, but Ngāi Tahu countered, pointing out that a survey would be unnecessary if the entire catchment were transferred to the Mawhera Incorporation as the Tribunal had recommended. For the remainder of 1993 until the breakdown of the negotiations in November 1994, the opposing Crown and Ngāi Tahu positions on the Arahura River remained firm.

When negotiations recommenced in 1996, both the Crown and Ngāi Tahu recognised that they would have to shift their position to reach an agreement. Ngāi Tahu understood that the Crown refused to vest the catchment, and that the iwi would have to maximise its opportunities within the reserve status of the area. Conservation groups pressed for the classification of the Arahura River area as a scenic reserve. Ngāi Tahu countered that if the area was going to be classified as a reserve against the wishes of Ngāi Tahu, it should be classified as a historic reserve. While both reserves have the same public access provisions in the Reserves Act 1977, scenic reserves are specifically designed for the use of the public, while historic reserves are not. In September 1996, conservation interests sought to have the scenic value of the area recognised in addition to the historic reserve sought by Ngāi Tahu. Ultimately the Waitaiki Historic Reserve was vested in the Mawhera Incorporation, and while it wasn't the entire catchment as originally requested, at least the area was recognised as a historic reserve. Much like the wider political structure of the negotiation process and the discussions over the economic rationales for compensation, there were limits to the Ngāi Tahu influence, but small concessions were gained that were important to the integrity of the settlement from the perspective of the iwi.

The Waitangi Tribunal found that the Crown had "acted in breach of its Treaty obligations in failing to meet the wishes of Ngāi Tahu to retain ownership of the pounamu in and adjacent to the Arahura and its tributaries." The Tribunal recommended that the Arahura River and all its tributaries be vested in Mawhera Incorporation or another body nominated by Ngāi Tahu ... the process of vesting the river was complicated by conservation interests both within and outside government.

Restrictions on the return of certain Crown lands, such as DOC lands, emerged from opposition within the Crown, but also from prominent conservation groups. Historian Dr Te Maire Tau pinpoints the diverging views which separated the two groups:

"Pākehā perceive Māori as claiming a spiritual relationship with the land, yet also managing to kill off the moa. Māori perceive Pākehā as both pillagers of the environment and yet claiming the role as guardians of the nation's treasures."

That dichotomy and opposition is ongoing to this day. Some third party opposition has diminished as the Treaty settlement process has become accepted by nearly all political parties, but the opposition and the animosity between settling and settled Māori groups and some conservationists both within and outside government nonetheless continues.

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

A Second Chance

Sitting across from Tahu Potiki in a busy Dunedin cafe, there's no sign that only twelve months ago he was given three weeks to live. In November 2014 the father of three and Ōtākou Rūnaka representative was diagnosed with end-stage liver disease. Now, a year on from the liver transplant that saved his life, kaituhi **ANNA BRANKIN** catches up with Tahu and his wife Megan as they reflect on this difficult time.

PHOTOGRAPHS ALAN DOVE

Above, left to right: Edward Ellison, Timoti Potiki, Tahu Potiki, Megan Potiki, Tūkitaharaki Potiki, Rīpeka Potiki, Alison Ellison.
Below right: Thumbs up from Tahu immediately after his liver transplant. Previous pages: Tahu outside his Portobello home.

"BY THE TIME I FOUND OUT I WAS SICK IT WAS SO FAR ADVANCED that they couldn't do anything about it," Tahu tells me. "I remember feeling shit all year, and I just thought I was going to get diabetes or heart disease because I was so overweight and I didn't do any exercise. I was resigned to the fact that I couldn't do anything about it."

The next two years were gruelling, and in August 2016 Tahu was placed on the waiting list for a liver transplant. In December that year he was relocated to Auckland, so that he would be on hand as soon as the next one became available.

The next two months were a race against his deteriorating health, in the hopes that his body would hold out long enough to receive a transplant. It did, thanks to incredible health care, the unwavering support of family and friends, and less conventional interventions designed to care for all of the taha – tinana, hinengaro, whānau and wairua. This led to karakia Māori being performed just two weeks before a liver finally became available in February 2017.

When Tahu looks back on these long months, he is struck not by the challenges that he faced personally, but by the burden it placed on those around him. "I just had to sit about and be sick until I got better or died," he says frankly. "Everyone else had to live with the added pressure, unknown future, and ongoing uncontrollable consequences."

Naturally, it was Tahu's immediate family who suffered the most – his wife Megan, and their three children Rīpeka (11), Timoti (10), and Tūkitaharaki (8). Fortunately, living in close proximity to Megan's parents, Edward and Alison Ellison, meant that help was at hand.

"It was principally my wife Alison who provided the bulk of the support, looking after the kids, having them stay over, lugging them here and there," says Edward. "It was a difficult time, and the clouds seemed to get heavier and darker. The impact it had on the grandchildren, that was our greatest concern."

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the three children responded very differently to their father's illness. As the eldest, Rīpeka coped by taking on more responsibility at home, cooking, and helping out with her younger brothers. "She has always been very mature," Megan says. "She was acting more like an aunt than a sister, and it was a lot of stress on her. When we spoke about it just the other day, she remembers that she just felt confused."

Timoti has always been a lot more emotional than his siblings, and this experience was no exception. Megan found it particularly difficult when he would seek reassurances she couldn't provide. "I just had to be honest with him," she says. "But he was angry, very angry. 'Why is this happening to my dad?' he'd say.

"And my baby Tūkitaharaki, he just attached himself to me," she continues. "He was just far too young to get what the heck was going on."

This confusion was understandable. As well as the obvious physical symptoms that the children could see (jaundice, swollen legs due to fluid build-up, weakness, and lack of energy), Tahu began suffering from episodes of hepatic encephalopathy. This condition is common among sufferers of end-stage liver failure, when the damaged liver fails to rid the body of toxins such as ammonia that affect brain function, leading to mood swings, personality changes, and erratic behaviour.

Tahu reels off a list of the odd things he'd done, including wearing plastic bags on his feet instead of shoes, and forgetting how to carry out basic household tasks.

"One night Megan and the kids came home at half past eight – it's winter – and I'm just sitting on the couch in the dark, no heater, freezing cold, no television on," Tahu recalls. "I remember it clear as day. I had both hands on the wall going, 'There's a light switch here, this is crazy.'"

"Even before I got sick [Megan] felt the kids suffered because of my work and the way that I was. I had to make some changes, which hasn't been too much of a challenge really. I've just been away this weekend with Timoti. We were over on Stewart Island and part of that was a four-and-a-half hour walk up and down the bush tracks. I wouldn't have been able to do that before I got sick; I wouldn't have bothered even trying."

They can laugh about it now, with Megan sharing a story about the habit Timoti developed of coming into the bedroom every morning and asking, "Are you f****d in the head today, Pāpā?"

But at the time it was distressing for the children, especially on the occasions when Tahu forgot who they were. And as for Megan, these episodes were an unwelcome reminder of how difficult it would be if the worst were to happen – if she were to be left to manage her own grief along with the devastation of their three young children.

She found that the best way to cope was to focus on practical things: making sure the kids kept to their routine, as well as keeping up with her busy work schedule. According to Tahu, this determination to maintain her independence was a source of frustration to their close-knit circle of whānau and friends. "We had a whole community trying to get behind Megan, and they were getting pissed off that she wouldn't accept it," he laughs.

"I was trying to keep it all boxed in," Megan says apologetically. "If they read this they'll laugh, because that's exactly how I am. I remember breaking down only once, sitting in the car park at work after we'd been told he had three months to live."

When Tahu was shifted to Auckland in December 2016, Megan added regular trips up and down the country to the complex juggling act she had been managing for the last two years. She was determined to provide some stability at home for the children, while ensuring that they were able to spend time with their father.

As the whānau struggled to keep all the balls in the air, Tahu's health continued to decline. "They took me off the waiting list three times because of infections," he explains. "They were watching me deteriorate; my kidneys were shutting down. And once that happened, it was only a matter of time."

It was at this point that Megan decided to accept an offer made by their good friend Scotty Morrison to perform a cleansing karakia. "I remember thinking, 'Yep, I'll take anything'," says Megan. "It wasn't even about saving his life; I just hoped it would bring him a bit of peace."

"And I agreed for your peace of mind more than anything," Tahu says to his wife. "My only concern was that they were going to take me into the bush and throw me in the f***king creek in my undies."

Much to everyone's relief, the karakia was able to be performed in the hospital itself, with a handful of family and friends present. The room was darkened, and Scotty stood at the foot of Tahu's bed and performed a lengthy karakia, using a rākau to draw out any hara from his body.

"I went into it without expecting much, but I wasn't so cynical that I expected nothing. But I didn't expect what happened, which was that halfway through the karakia I started to feel physical pressure on my face," Tahu says as he recounts this incredibly personal experience. "I shook my head; I wasn't in any sort of trance. Then I felt it pulling on my legs. It went on for a minute or so, and then I started crying, not sobbing but tears just pouring out of my eyes.

"This is the strange thing, and I don't want to take anything away from the incredible health care I got, but my blood tests started getting better. I didn't feel any better, I still couldn't walk, I had no appetite, my mouth was still bleeding, but I was in a very strong position to actually receive a liver."

But his doctors were clear that unless a liver became available, he still had only weeks to live. As time wore on, Megan and Tahu planned his tangi together. "So I've got that on file," Megan laughs, before saying seriously: "I needed some clarity. I was terrified by the thought that I was going to be left with three grieving children and a tangi to organise."

By this point Tahu had accepted his fate. "I thought if ever I was going to be told I was terminally ill, I'd be shit scared," he says contemplatively. "But I never panicked. The only thing that I was terrified about was leaving Megan and the kids. Other than that, I'd given my fate over to the universe. I honestly believe that's how I've lived my whole f***king life."

On 17 February 2017 this philosophy paid off when Tahu underwent transplant surgery, and to date his recovery has been remarkable. "I was eating within two hours and walking within twelve," he says. "They told me I'd have periods of rejection, that I'd be opened up again because of infection, that I would have diabetes, that I could be on dialysis. I've had nothing."

The positive effects of Tahu's recovery were shared amongst his whānau, just as the burden of his illness had been. "It was quite remarkable when Tahu got his transplant and it took immediately," Edward recalls. "The children just seemed to blossom, which of course naturally they would; but it really showed us how much they had been bearing that weight."

While the kids adjusted quickly to the news that Tahu was going to survive, Megan found the prospect of his return home more complicated.

"Jeepers, I didn't think I was going to be able to live with him again," she says honestly. "For two years I had been through waves of emotion; sadness, loss, anger, frustration. And I was angry because part of me felt he had brought it on himself."

"To be honest, Megan made some ultimatums," Tahu says. "Even before I got sick she felt the kids suffered because of my work and the way that I was. I had to make some changes, which hasn't been too much of a challenge really.

"I've just been away this weekend with Timoti," he continues. "We were over on Stewart Island and part of that was a four-and-a-half hour walk up and down the bush tracks. I wouldn't have been able to do that before I got sick; I wouldn't have bothered even trying."

"We've learned a huge amount, and I think we all appreciate the fragility of life," Megan reflects. "It sounds odd to say it was a good experience, but it was an experience that took us right to the edge. And we're just lucky, we're so lucky that I'm not sitting here talking to you about his death. We're very blessed to be sitting together."

Māori
Trade Training reborn

When it arose from the rubble of the Christchurch earthquakes He Toki was said to represent a new era of Māori trade training. Kaituhi **MARK REVINGTON** reports.

THE NUMBERS TELL A GREAT STORY. A REPORT BY AERU, THE Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit of Lincoln University, shows that He Toki ki te Mahi has created economic value of more than $5.5 million since 2015. Further analysis suggests the potential to return seven times the value of the investment in economic benefits to the apprentices and the economy.

In 2011, Hawkins Construction, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, and the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology (now named Ara) entered into a partnership to create He Toki.

He Toki ki te Rika was set up as a response to rebuild demand following the February earthquake of 2011. Former Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Kaiwhakahaere Tā Mark Solomon, the founding patron of the Trust, said it was important to encourage leadership. "We are saying to our Māori youth, 'We'll provide you with this training so that you can become the foreman, or engineer, or city planner.' It's about leadership." In 2014, He Toki ki te Mahi Apprenticeship Training Trust was created to support pre-trade graduates to get and complete apprenticeships in the construction industry. It is an independent, not-for-profit trust that assists Māori trainees through their apprenticeships in a way that supports their work-based learning needs as Māori.

These two programmes work together to support three education pathways for Māori and Pasifika: a pre-trade pathway, an apprenticeship pathway, and a leadership pathway to help employees grow into leadership roles within the trades.

The economic value uncovered by AERU's research contains startling numbers, but behind them lie stories on a personal level which show that tuakana/teina relationships can build success in employment and apprenticeships.

The Trust directly employs Māori apprentices and places them with host employers to undertake their on-the-job work experience. It provides practical support, including paying wages, and provides mentors and a kaupapa Māori approach. It is this wrap-around support and cultural approach that makes a difference, says Dr Eruera Prendergast-Tarena (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau a Apanui).

"We take care of the employment and administration involved in an apprenticeship by paying the apprentice wages and holiday pay, and handling their ACC, as well as sick and bereavement leave."

Eruera calls He Toki ki te Mahi a revolution. "It is focusing on social change around whānau potential and what happens if we are not supporting those who need it most; and that has massive economic value.

PHOTOGRAPHS SHAR DEVINE

Left: He Toki co-ordinator Harrison Hunt, apprentice Masala Luafutu, He Toki Apprenticeship Trust manager Mathias Pitama.

PHOTOGRAPH HORI MATAKI

Above: Te Tapuae o Rēhua CEO Dr Eruera Prendergast-Tarena, Harrison Hunt, Carl Crofts.

"It is important to support whānau in every way possible to ensure they get the right experience to build their careers. What is needed is support in and out of work, and building relationships over a period of time is key. I am not just interested in what they do at work – they can call me any time."

MATHIAS PITAMA (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri)
He Toki Apprenticeship Trust manager

"He Toki Apprenticeship Trust was set up to support Māori success in industry; to support Māori to move up to be certified in industry. What we know is that Māori are twice as likely to be in low-skilled careers. We are the labouring workforce of New Zealand."

Due to disruption across sectors, lower-paid workers are more likely to lose their jobs, he says.

"Basically what you will see is the death of the middle class, and Māori in the low-skilled category will be undercutting each other to get work. If you look at those job titles, they are the ones marked for cataclysmic change in the future of work."

Mathias Pitama (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri), Trust manager has a background in civil construction. He says "it is important to support whānau in every way possible to ensure they get the right experience to build their careers.

"What is needed is support in and out of work and building relationships over a period of time is key. I am not just interested in what they do at work, they can call me any time."

He takes the odd late-night call but says what is mainly needed is a non-judgemental listener and occasional dispenser of wisdom.

"Support and a good set of ears can go a long way. As Māori we are quite humble and don't want to put ourselves in the front line. Having the right conversations is key and keeps everyone on track."

Pitama says "the Trust is here for everyone who wants to be a part of the industries we partner with. The biggest challenge for our whānau is often that they don't know about the range of work options in civil and built construction and also that the entry jobs provide a gateway to some highly skilled and highly paid jobs that allow you to see the world."

Harrison Hunt, (Ngāi Tahu – Taumutu). a training and employment co-ordinator and careers coach for the He Toki Trust, takes up the story.

"An 18 year old Ngāi Tahu whānau member came through our pre-employment programme. He did and still does have aspirations to break into the music industry, but recognises that while he works at this, it is good to have work and independence and earn a living wage. After he completed the training we brokered an interview for a position with a small residential exterior plastering outfit.

"He was so proud, He's still in work, I am in contact on a regular basis to see how he is going and we worked together to ensure success in his transition to work and make sure he had all the tools for the job and provided encouragement to help him secure housing, get his whānau on board and sort transport to get him to and from mahi. He knows if he needs help, he's got my number. His employer is rapt with this progress and we are keeping in touch to ensure he is following up on his apprenticeship."

Harrison characterises this as an investment of time rather than money. "We have some whānau on the Trust who are self-managing. If something happens in their lives outside mahi, they can carry on. But others need more awhi or support."

This experience of education and employment success has been replicated for more than 100 Māori whānau who have been involved with the Trust (32 Apprentices currently employed, over 60 have been transitioned directly to employers).

The Trust is the second-largest apprentice employer in Te Waipounamu, and was among the first wave funded by Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu under the Whānau Ora commissioning programme.

The pre-trade training courses cover a number of trades, including carpentry, cookery, plumbing, mechanical engineering, and electrical engineering; and have had more than 1000 graduates over the past six years. He Toki students are also taught the whakapapa of the programme and the history of Ngāi Tahu.

Employers can see the benefits of the trust, but not everyone is aware of its role, says Carl Crofts, resource manager for Farrell Construction, a Canterbury company with a proud track record.

Many of their staff are from offshore, he says, and the company worries that they will go offshore when the next large rebuild opportunity occurs somewhere else.

"We're anticipating a gap in future in the trades."

Complicating his company's efforts to recruit good apprentices is a generational change. According to Carl, many younger people are not interested in apprenticeships and would rather work with computers.

In the future it is likely that technology and apprenticeships will be more closely aligned and integrated.

Carl calls He Toki "a really good system", but says that because Farrell Construction grew out of Hawkins Construction, one of the foundation partners of He Toki, it knows what the Trust is about. The same cannot be said of all construction companies, he says.

"Our company is value-based and committed to Christchurch and Canterbury. We knew Ngāi Tahu is not going anywhere, and that's the same for us. It is a natural fit."

There's nothing better than seeing a new building and knowing you played a part in its construction, says Masala Luafutu (Ngāti Kurī, Ngāi Tūāhuriri – Ngāi Tahu, Samoa), a He Toki apprentice currently working for Ascend Construction.

"Who doesn't like to see a building and say, 'That's what I helped build'?"

Masala, whose mum is from Kaikōura and dad from Samoa, was brought up in New Zealand, and joined He Toki ki te Rika after leaving Queen Charlotte College in Picton.

"I spent six months doing nothing, and then thought I better get a job, so I moved to Christchurch, " he says. "I boarded with a cousin and got a place on the He Toki ki te Rika pre-trade training carpentry course at Ara. Then I got a job labouring on the King Edward Barracks development."

When the company he worked for fell over, Masala moved on to another labouring job before He Toki general manager Mathias Pitama helped him find an apprenticeship with Ascend. He has finished his first year of the apprenticeship and is effusive about the support he has received from He Toki and especially Mathias.

"I wouldn't have known the first step in finding an apprenticeship otherwise, or even known how to go about looking for one. When my first job fell over, it was sort of, 'What do I do now?'

"Mathias found me another labouring job and then this apprenticeship. I didn't really enjoy labouring – too much heavy lifting. Getting on the tools is great. The days go quickly, I'm learning heaps, and the crew is good to work with."

Whānau business

“a way of life”

PHOTOGRAPHS ROB TIPA

For the Connor brothers, the Ngāi Tahu/Te Āti Awa founders of the very successful, family-owned Waikawa Fishing Company, fishing is not just a business. It's a way of life, as Kaituhi **ROB TIPA** recently discovered.

GEOFF AND STEVE CONNOR GREW UP AROUND BOATS IN PICTON, and were still at high school when they started dredging for scallops commercially.

"We used to go out after school and fish until dawn," Geoff says. "We had a ball doing that, and that really got us hooked on fishing."

Steve remembers progressing from dredging scallops to drag-netting for garfish after school and on weekends.

"I used to sell garfish to kids at Queen Charlotte College. I kept it in the science class's freezer," he says.

The Connor family has a long historical connection with the Sounds, dating back to Captain James Cook's use of Ship Cove as a safe anchorage for his ships in the 1770s.

The Connor brothers' Ngāi Tahu grandmother on their maternal side was the last person born on Motuara Island, a landmark in the outer Sounds, directly opposite Ship Cove.

According to his journals, Cook climbed to the top of the island for his first clear view through the strait subsequently named after him, and erected a flagpole to fly the Union Jack.

Geoff and Steve's sister Glenice says the remains of the family's homestead, gardens, and shelter belts are still visible on Motuara Island today.

Family folklore has it that Cook's flag remained with the whānau for many years and was last seen in their old house at Waikawa; but where it is today, "no-one is saying."

The brothers have fond memories of growing up in Picton, spending every spare weekend with their family out in the Sounds.

"The boat was too small for all of us to live aboard, so we pitched a tent and that was our base, sometimes for three weeks during the Christmas holidays," Geoff says. "We never had to go out to the outer Sounds to get a feed of fish, pāua or kina."

It was their love of the lifestyle that drew them into the fishing industry.

Nearly 40 years later, the Connor brothers reflect on their expansion into a multi-million dollar family-owned business that now employs 30 people, including many of their own whānau.

They have a fleet of three specialised offshore fishing vessels working around the New Zealand coast, catching high value seafood delicacies for markets all over the world.

"We know how to catch fish, and that makes a big difference in the fishing industry," Geoff says with more than a subtle hint of irony.

"It's a passion we have. If you didn't have a passion for it, you wouldn't do it," he says. "It's very demanding, physically and mentally now, and sometimes there is not a lot of money in it. If you didn't have that passion it wouldn't be an easy industry to be in.

"We have seen a lot of people, including accountants and bank managers, come and go. If you don't know how to catch fish you're wasting your time."

The brothers vividly remember buying their first boat (*Mavis*) in 1981, a narrow 40-footer built in 1919. Their parents, Dale and Mildred Connor, mortgaged a section to raise a loan for the boys to buy the boat.

They started catching butterfish, then shark in the outer Sounds, and had a go at pāua diving. They also got a lot of stick from established fishermen who took bets on how long they would survive.

Through the early 1980s, interest rates of 25 per cent were almost crippling. Geoff and Steve's wives Liz and Christine supported them for their first two years at sea.

"I think one year we only made $8000 for the whole year," Steve recalls.

"We ate a lot of fish, but those hardships build your character," Geoff adds.

Today they look back on those early days with a real sense of nostalgia.

Steve reckons inshore fishing was more of a lifestyle than a business. Fishermen were happy to go to sea for a week to put food on the table for their families, and came home at weekends.

"We didn't hammer a place that we knew we had to come back to," he says. "We just took what we needed and came home."

"We worked inside the Sounds and around Cook Strait," Geoff adds. "We didn't need to make a lot of money to survive, but we made enough.

"We didn't know a lot about commercial fishing on the open sea, so we virtually had to teach ourselves all of that."

Steve says their goal was never to become big players in the fishing industry.

When the quota management system was introduced, inshore fishermen lost the ability to sell fish they caught, and quota prices have subsequently gone through the roof, well beyond their reach.

Big fishing companies had the resources and capital to buy up the bulk of the quota, and now hold the power in the industry. Inshore fishing operations have to contract to catch quota owned by them.

Steve says the system was never designed as a tool for sustainable fisheries or ever meant to include wet fish (fresh fish, not frozen, cooked, or dried). He says the system was originally designed to manage crayfish and pāua stocks, and to allow older people to exit the industry.

He says the system has been really hard on small inshore fishing ventures. The industry used to support a lot of families who fished commercially out of the Marlborough Sounds. Now there are only a couple of families left.

Steve blames foreign-owned super trawlers over-fishing off the New Zealand coast for the decline in fish stocks.

"Inshore fishermen got blamed for fishery depletion," he says. "We got blamed for taking all the fish. It wasn't us. It never was."

Left: Steve Connor, his daughter Amber, and brother Geoff at the Picton Marina in front of Te Kahurangi, *one of three fishing vessels the family's Waikawa Fishing Company operates in New Zealand waters.*

"The company is not all about money. Sometimes decisions are made that are more about the well-being of the whānau than they are about the profitability of the company."

GLENICE CONNOR
Waikawa Fishing Company

Above: Steve, Amber, and Geoff Connor in the wheelhouse of Te Kahurangi, *a fishing vessel the brothers had built in Picton in 1992 to catch bluefin tuna. The vessel has just come off the slip and is now used mostly to catch crayfish quota.*

Through this period the Connor brothers seriously thought about walking away from the industry.

"The quota system pushed us into what we are doing today," Steve says. "I think the reason we're still going is we're lucky to have kids who want to be a part of it."

Steve's daughter Amber and Geoff's son Lance are learning the ropes of running all aspects of the business, from administration and marketing to the operations side of keeping their vessels at sea.

"The only reason our business is still going is because it's adaptable," Geoff says. "We'll pick a species that no-one wants and develop it."

The scampi fishery was a classic case in point. The fishery, developed in partnership with Ngāi Tahu Fisheries, now generates about half of their business.

When they leased quota for scampi from Ngāi Tahu, they had to borrow a couple of million dollars to upgrade their boats to catch this deep-water species.

"When we first started, leases for scampi quota were between 30 and 50 cents a kilogram because there was so much out there. Now it's over $15 a kilogram, and that has happened within five years," Geoff says.

"We caught close to 50 tonnes in the first year. Last year we caught close to 200 tonnes, so the iwi's quota has gone up in value hundreds of times."

"We turned an asset they had that was worth very little into some serious money," Steve says.

For the Connor boys, it was a great opportunity to work with their Ngāi Tahu iwi, a business relationship that now spans 28 years. They also catch crayfish quota for Ngāi Tahu and other iwi.

Part of their scampi catch is packed and sold under their own Connor's Catch brand, and part is sold under a Ngāi Tahu brand.

Steve and Geoff are always looking for opportunities to diversify into other types of fishing.

In 2014, the Waikawa Fishing Company, in conjunction with Nelson's Cawthron Institute, was awarded a $7.8 million grant by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment for six years of research into the scampi fishery.

A special hatchery, the first in the world, has been developed in Nelson to explore the potential to farm the species commercially in an aquaculture venture.

"We know we can do it. We know we can breed them. The next step is finding someone to back us," Steve says.

The brothers are also testing a range of innovative ideas to develop more sustainable fishing gear, including ropeless pots to harvest scampi.

They already have one boat exclusively using pots to catch fish, and have tested some promising techniques to reduce the by-catch of endangered marine mammals.

The family says their views on sustainability are a natural fit with the environmental principles of Ngāi Tahu, and they would like to work with the tribe in future to explore more sustainable fishing techniques.

Glenice explains that her brothers work hard, know how to catch fish, and have a strong sense of kaitiakitanga – a vision for their business to remain profitable and sustainable for their whānau in future.

"The company is not all about money," she says. "Sometimes decisions are made that are more about the well-being of the whānau than they are about the profitability of the company."

"Waikawa Fishing Company is not just me and Geoff," Steve explains. "It's our wives, our kids, our sisters, our whole family involved in what we are doing. It's not just one person calling the shots."

"The future for us is to keep building on what we have achieved," Geoff says. "If you're not moving forward, you are going backwards in this industry."

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PHOTOGRAPHS AND WORDS
Nā PHIL TUMATAROA

Te Ao o te Māori

A WINDOW INTO THE RICH LIFESTYLES OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI


Potaka
Ruanui

Jade Maguire has planted a seed.

It's taken root, and although it's still early days that seed is already starting to bear fruit.

Jade (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Pahauwera) is growing a dream – one he had as a kid growing up in Invercargill.

"I've always had a passion for trying to grow things," he says. "When I was young I wanted a commercial tunnel house so I could grow natives and vegetables."

Jade (36) with the support of Ōraka Aparima Rūnaka has taken over the marae gardens and nursery area and plans to establish a native nursery which he hopes will be the first step in an ambitious plan to reintroduce areas of native bush to parts of Murihiku.

In 2016, Jade was involved in running a holiday programme for tamariki at the marae. "The kids were so keen, digging and planting. The nursery was there, not being used and the idea of doing something with it started to grow."

He has since developed a business plan and secured funding from Te Pūtahitanga which will pay him a wage for a year and fund the building and upgrade of a nursery area at Colac Bay. He has been meeting local farmers in the Pourakino catchment and has more than 40 landowners interested in working with him to establish riparian margins on their farms.

At this time of year Jade is busy foraging in the bush and collecting the seeds of local native species. He bags them and records the location so that one day he can return the plants back to the areas where they originated. "Ruia mai ngā kākano – sowing the seeds," says Jade.

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Chlorinated water and the māra

The recent discovery by the technocrats in the Christchurch City Council that some of our water supply infrastructure could lead to contaminants getting into the public water supply is rather surprising. It makes me wonder, given all the work that has gone into repairing and upgrading the city's infrastructure since the quakes of 2010–11 and subsequent flooding events, why nobody noticed this until recently. A bit like EQC telling me a short time ago that the sewage/drainage pipes on my property need to be dug up and replaced, nearly two years after all above-ground repairs were completed, including a whole new driveway, which they now say needs to be cut up! The concept of integrated planning to avoid unnecessary costs seems to have escaped them.

I can understand the need to protect public health, given the terrible consequences of water contamination issues up north – but there is also a negative cost in health terms when using chemicals like chlorine. When the Christchurch water supply was last chlorinated in the immediate aftermath of the February 2011 quake, I immediately felt ill with a pain in what I now know was a tumour in my pancreas (cancer typically usually grows for 5–10 years before it becomes detectable). Fortunately, a neighbour had their own well. For six months I filled our water bottles from the well every day, until chlorination ended.

One of the side effects of chlorine in the water supply is that it breaks down into a family of chemicals known as trihalomethanes. The US Environmental Protection Agency calls them "disinfection byproducts". However, the not-for-profit public health organisation the Environmental Working Group calls them what they are: "toxic trash".

The trihalomethane family includes bromodichloromethane, bromoform, dibromochloromethane (all known probable or possible carcinogens), and chloroform – a known carcinogen. As usual there is much debate among scientists as to the exact toxicity of chlorine and its breakdown products in the public water supply, but they are linked to bladder, colon, and rectal cancer, birth defects, low birth weight, and miscarriage. So, I certainly hope that this move by the Christchurch City Council is temporary, and for the shortest possible amount of time.

Research has shown that chlorinated drinking water has a negative effect on soil fungi and bacteria, which play a big role in breaking down organic matter and unlocking nutrients for growing plants.

The research done into the effect of water on plants in gardens shows (not surprisingly) that rain water is the best as it is "alive", with tap water being second best, even without chlorination. If it is possible to collect rain water off one's roof into barrels or some other form of water storage for use at a later date, then this is also a very healthy option. Public water supply that is chlorinated can be put into barrels and left for 24–48 hours so that the majority of chlorine evaporates, making it safer to use. This can also be done for drinking water, and boiling it first can help speed up this process. If you have a fish

Above: Summer māra kai, and right: Echinacea flowering in māra kai.

PHOTOGRAPHS TREMANE BARR

tank, then the water has to be de-chlorinated first when changing the water. Fish can die being put into ordinary chlorinated water (but it's "safe" for the public to drink?). I am planning to get temporary water filters for both household use and for watering the garden. I used a water filter last time when the water was chlorinated after the quakes, and that worked well, despite it reducing water pressure and taking longer to water.

Dechlorination or filtering is particularly important for plants growing in tunnel or glass houses, as they don't get the advantage of rain water. The tomatoes in my tunnel house suffered ill health until I got the water filtered last time.

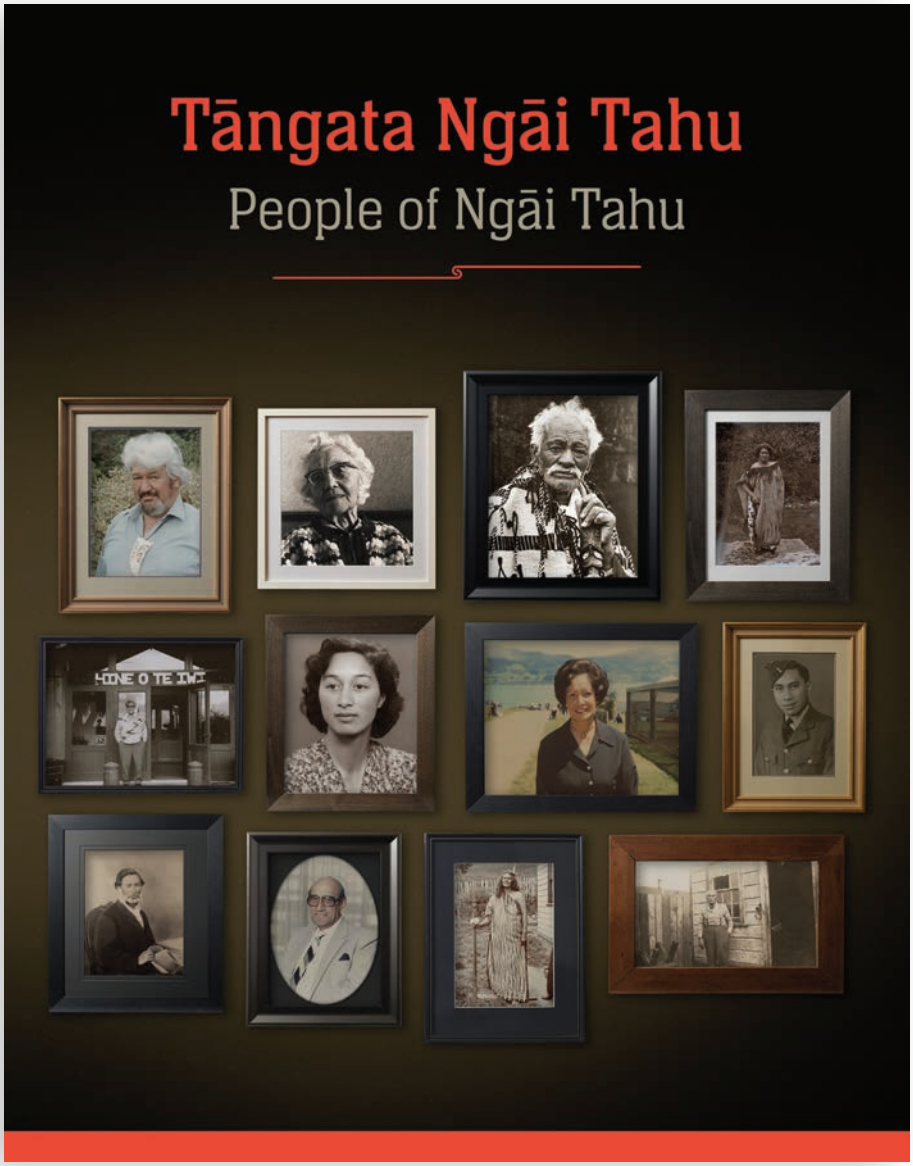
Research has shown that chlorinated drinking water has a negative effect on soil fungi and bacteria, which play a big role in breaking down organic matter and unlocking nutrients for growing plants (adding in fluoride to a public water supply has an even worse impact on soil and plant health). This in turn can negatively affect plant growth and health. However, the research also shows that the soil life can bounce back relatively quickly (within a few days after the watering stops); which is not very useful in a summer with hot periods like we have just had, where there is a need to water every couple of days.

WATER TREATMENT CONTAMINANTS: Forgotten Toxics in American Water
https://www.ewg.org/research/water-treatment-contaminants#.WnKDGGaB27M

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.

TĀNGATA NGĀI TAHU: PEOPLE OF NGĀI TAHU (VOLUME 1)

Edited by Helen Brown and Takerei Norton
Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Bridget Williams Books 2017
RRP: $39.99
Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates



This splendid book came from an agreement between the publishers in early 2017 to produce a book of Ngāi Tahu biographies to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the tribe's Te Tiriti settlement. The editors acknowledge it was a difficult task to select the 50 people whose stories would feature in the first volume, leading to some omissions that will no doubt be rectified by subsequent volumes. The selection covers a wide range of people – some well-known tribal figures, and others more known through their activities with hapū or whānau. These whakapapa-centred biographies span 200 years of our history, and were prepared and collated by the team at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Archives, along with history students and whānau members. And so, "interviews and conversations ... have taken place at kitchen tables from Rotorua to Awarua." An introductory section on whānui also provides the background to Te Kerēme that occupied and underpinned the lives of many Ngāi Tahu at the time. Being asked to review a taoka like this is both an honour and a challenge.

The selection of tūpuna included is broad, with a stunning array of photographs. I have made this a more personal review by focussing on the biographies of those I have known or interacted with while they were alive. My engagement with Ngāi Tahu began in the 80s and in earnest in 1992, when I came down to Waihao with a film crew to interview Thor Heyerdahl, of Kon-Tiki fame. He was coming to Waihao to talk to Tim Te Maiharoa and Kelly Davis about mōkihi – our raupō reed boats and rafts – of which they were the experts. Some examples were kept at Waihao. So began my search for my whakapapa and my attendance at every Hui-ā-Tau from that time on. Before the pōwhiri, Kelly came up to me and said, "Hey, you're takata whenua to Waihao – come over onto this side." Kelly was a complex person, and as this book shows, "he was a passionate advocate for the protection of Ngāi Tahu customary rights, mahinga kai, and the area in and

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

around his beloved Waihao River." He and I were on the Te Rūnanga governance table for Waihao together as Representative and Alternate until his death in 2006, and afterwards I became the Representative.

At those Hui-ā-Tau I can remember the line-up at the front of the venue of the kuia and koro in comfortable chairs, such as Auntie Magda, Cath Brown, Kera Browne, Maru Stirling, George Te Au, and many others in this book. They would bestride the pae as befitted their age and wisdom. Others included Trevor Howse, who was a key researcher for the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust board during the Waitangi Tribunal hearings, and was on the "A-Team" of Te Kerēme negotiations in 1997–1998, with whom I sometimes worked. Trevor never lost his interest in the natural environment, returning many times to Waihao marae as a key figure in getting the web-based cultural mapping project over the line.

Erihapeti Rehu-Murchie was another kuia who was active in the arts, and an accomplished actor performing in Bruce Mason's *The Pōhutukawa Tree* at Downstage Theatre in Wellington in 1984. She became a Human Rights Commissioner, and, as a member of the Māori Women's Welfare League, became its research director and later President. Her headstone at the urupā at Arowhenua reads, "He Taua Tino Rawe."

Wiremu (Bill) Solomon, from Ōaro, was the Kaikōura representative on the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board for 20 years from 1977. He was instrumental in gaining Marae Reserve status for the old Takahanga pā site in Kaikōura, with the new marae opening in 1992. He also got Whale Watch Kaikōura off the ground, despite local resistance. He insisted that local whānau decorate the wharenui themselves, building their skills as they did so. He died unexpectedly while carving for the new wharenui at Awarua (Bluff) in 2001.

Maru Stirling, who also had Ngāti Porou roots, was a stalwart supporter of the revitalisation of te reo and the kōhanga reo movement. She was also appointed with Kukupa Tirikatene as a resident kaumātua for the *Mō Tātou: The Ngāi Tahu Whānui* exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa in Te Whanganui-a-Tara from 2006 to 2009, which is where I met her again.

This is only a brief sketch of the mine of information and photographs displaying the lives of these tūpuna. Yet this is a significant achievement so far, and lets our forebears shine enough to make the present generation thrill with pride.

THE 9TH FLOOR: CONVERSATIONS WITH FIVE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTERS

Edited by Guyon Espiner and Tim Watkin
Bridget Williams Books 2017
RRP: $39.99
Review nā Te Hau White

Disclaimer: I am a political tragic. When I was young I was once asked what I wanted to be when I grew up, and without hesitation I answered "Prime Minister". Thankfully I have somewhat moved on from that dream, but am still rather obsessed with politics and the machinations of government. This book reignited my internal conflict as to whether this would be the best or the worst job ever.

This book contains transcripts of interviews with five former Prime Ministers of New Zealand: (Geoffrey Palmer, Mike Moore, Jim Bolger, Jenny Shipley, and Helen Clark). It also contains a small essay prior to each transcript providing context and analysis by the interviewer. There are pros and cons to this format, but it does allow for the narrative to be told from the Prime Ministers' perspective, which is the selling point for this book.

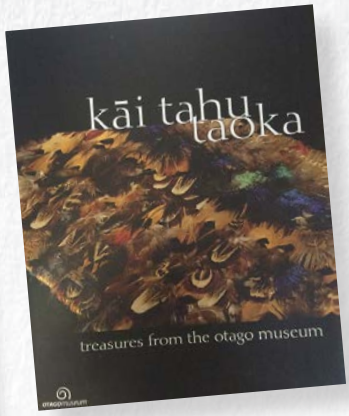
One surprising theme that was prevalent throughout these interviews was the human impact that power has on an individual. How these five individuals adjusted (or didn't) was a fascinating insight. I found the earlier Prime Ministers were much more forthcoming and frank with how they viewed their achievements or lack thereof; perhaps due to the passing of time and the chance to meaningfully reflect. The time each spent as Prime Minister also varied, from two months to nine years, but there was more reflection and frankness from those who had the least amount of time in the role.

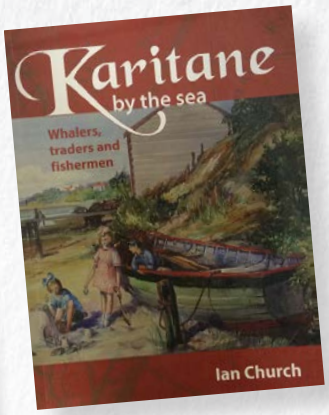
While the interviews themselves were fascinating, I particularly enjoyed the analysis of each of the former Prime Ministers, three of whom held the role before I was born. This book also provides an interesting depiction of the political and historic context in which these five people led our country.

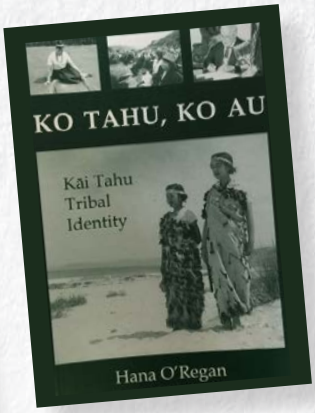
The interviews in this book are well conducted and do challenge the former Prime Ministers, although in some cases I found that they were somewhat let off the hook in the interest of civility. In particular I was unimpressed with the answers by

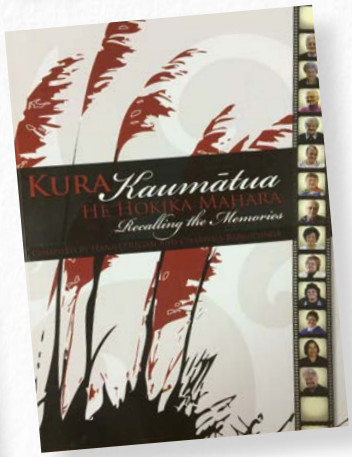
Te Hau White (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāti Huirapa – Ngāi Tupoto) is a Policy Advisor at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. He was raised in Ōtautahi and Hokianga.

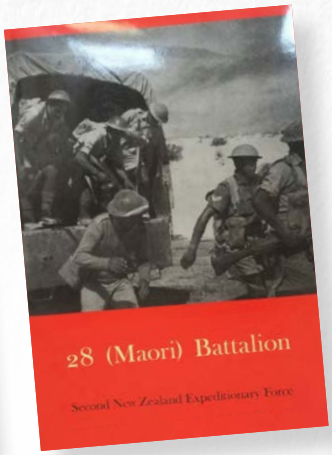
Maria Bartlett was born in Motueka, within a family of horticultural farmers. She lives with her son in Horomaka/Banks Peninsula and has been working within the Office of Te Rūnanga since the 2011 earthquakes. Tribal response to climate change has been a key focus of her mahi within Te Whakaariki, the Strategy & Influence team, building on a strong personal interest in intergenerational resilience.

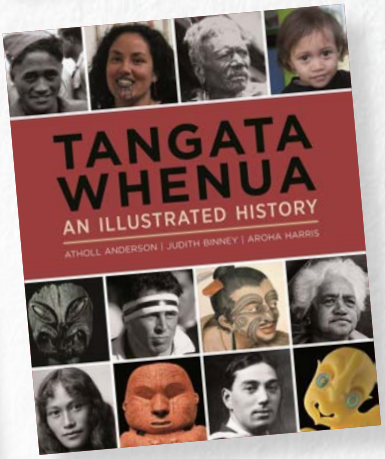


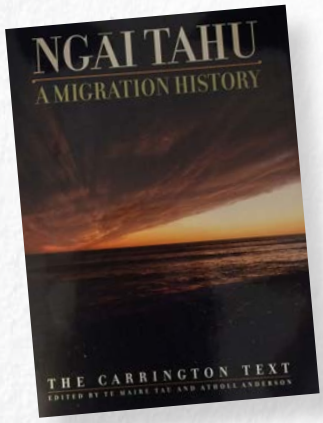


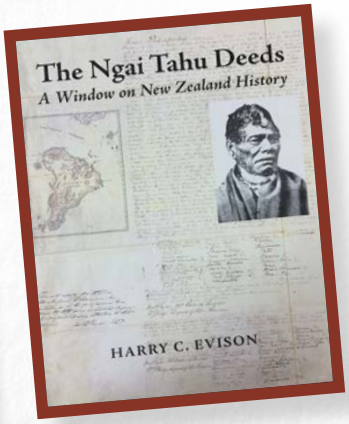


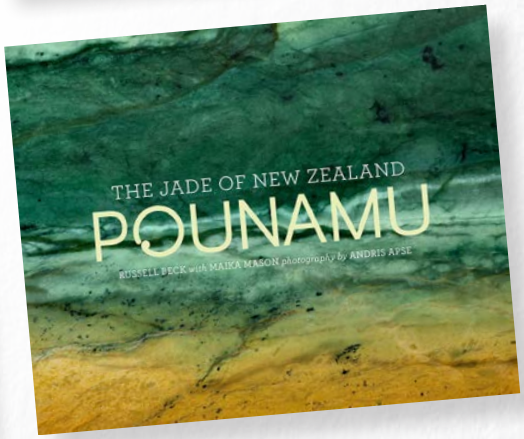












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Helen Clark regarding the Seabed and Foreshore issue. In some cases, the questions that weren't asked or answered spoke volumes.

Overall this book provides a unique take on the most powerful job in New Zealand. It is not a taxing read, and I would recommend it for those interested in the machinations of power, or in furthering their understanding of our more recent history through the lens of the decision makers.

SEA CHANGE: CLIMATE POLITICS AND NEW ZEALAND

Nā Bronwyn Hayward
Bridget Williams Books 2017
RRP: $14.99
Review nā Maria Bartlett

Bronwyn Hayward's contribution to the Bridget Williams Books series of "short books on big subjects" is highlighting the social and cultural dimensions of climate change politics in New Zealand. Its importance, as with many of the books in this series, is the gap it is seeking to fill in public debate. The author notes how rare it is for issues of inequality to be mentioned; or issues associated with climate justice, such as environmental racism and decolonisation; or intergenerational inequity.

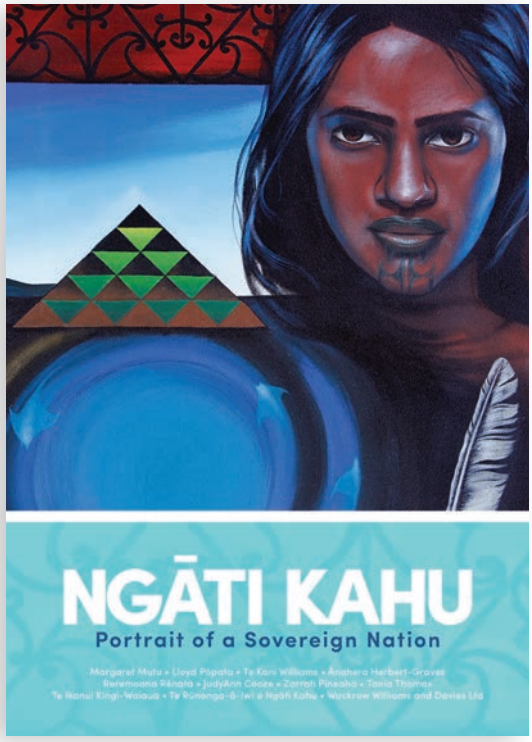
This book is speaking to the power of flax roots action, collective mobilisation, and shared political vision for change; working on the fundamentals of economy and society as necessary elements of climate change response. Without doubt there are opportunities for positive transformation that cannot be realised without such action, mobilisation, and political vision.

Maybe it's because I've already been thinking about climate change within the context of Ngāi Tahu values and aspirations that it feels familiar, rather than creative or challenging. It was important, for instance, to read thoughts about grief in relation to effects on treasured places, and solidarity in the face of suffering. Maybe it's because the themes of citizenship, justice, and political transformation are long-standing threads of political discourse that it seems to remind, rather than extend.

Ultimately, it is good to be reminded and for these dimensions to be elevated, as a companion to existing reports and political movements that describe pathways for change in New Zealand. We absolutely need all hands and all networks at all levels and from every political corner, to meet the challenges ahead. Kua takoto te mānuka, kawe ake.

NGĀTI KAHU: PORTRAIT OF A SOVEREIGN NATION

Nā Margaret Mutu et. al.
Huia 2017
RRP: $65.00
Review nā Rahera Clark



In this book, University of Auckland Professor Margaret Mutu and a collection of writers share the recollections of kuia and kaumātua from the 16 hapū of Ngāti Kahu. These oral histories include stories that capture special relationships with the land, flora, and fauna, peppered with pepeha, whakapapa, and kōrero nehe. Te reo Māori enthusiasts will enjoy reading this history in the Ngāti Kahu dialect, supported by the English translation.

The chapters that describe the interaction between Ngāti Kahu and its Pākehā guest are informative and confronting. It is a familiar story of deprivation, theft of land, the mechanisms used by the government to disenfranchise a people, and the numerous breaches of The Treaty of Waitangi. As a result the iwi has suffered the loss of 95 per cent of its lands, and also its language, through the Pākehā education system.

The final chapters outline how these breaches can be remedied, stating what a final settlement looks like through the eyes of those who suffered the atrocities. They address what it will take to repair the extensive damage. This book contains themes of a nation resolute in its stance to maintain its sovereignty, despite the difficulties it has faced for many generations.

As a descendant of Kahutianui and Parata living in Te Waipounamu, I'm inspired to find out more from my own whānau. This book is a reminder our rich history and the aspirations we have for future generations.

Rahera Clark (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahu, Ngā Puhi) was born in Christchurch, is a mother, and school teacher currently studying a Masters in Māori Education, at the University of Canterbury. After a long stay in Australia she has returned to Te Wai Pounamu, and enjoys participating fully in events such as Kura Reo Kāi Tahu and Aōraki Matatū. Rahera is passionate about reviving te reo Māori me ōna tikaka and is grateful for the opportunities to embrace her Kāi Tahutaka.

AUKAHA
Nā JAMES MACTAGGART

Out To Sea

He woke up on the wrong side of the bed again. Literally on the wrong side, so when he tried to swing his legs out of bed they just slammed against the wall. There used to be a nightstand and a bit of a walkway, but he had no use for either after his wife passed away. He'd moved her old nightstand into the spare room and pushed the bed up against the wall, but now he just wound up sleeping on her side of the mattress anyway. Funny how that worked.

Of all the things he'll never forget, the drudgery of a forty-five year morning routine is probably one of them. Same shit, different pair of mismatched socks. One is a merino work sock with a hole in the heel, the other has polka dots and barely comes up to his ankle. It wouldn't be the ideal combo for a job interview and any set of dress pants liable to ride up his leg, but it'd manage the daybreak shuffle into the kitchen. He flicks the jug on and fishes a mug out of the sink. The jug is bone dry but he won't realise until he catches a whiff of the element frying its guts out.

The carpet is damp from the cold and the wallpaper is shaded with soot. The coal range will solve one of those problems and worsen the other. Beggars can't be choosers, and the coal range also heats the water cylinder, so unless he wants to ferry jug after jug full of boiling water from the kitchen to the bath tub, then he has to get his hands dirty. There's no guarantee the jug still works anyway.

Electronics have a habit of shitting themselves around here. He reckons it's the sea air rusting up all the wiring, and he's too old to bother changing his mind now. He'll stick by this theory even on occasions when a deceased appliance has clearly been helped to the grave by user error, like leaving a metal fork in the microwave. It's always easier to blame someone else.

The door sticks on the coal range, jamming in place so his hand whacks against the kindling box. He swears and rightly so, that same damn spot has been taking a beating. A crimson blot presses against the bandage on his knuckles. Same damn spot, every damn morning. "Lift and pull, lift and pull," he mutters, twenty seconds and a thimble of blood too late.

There's not a speck of dust left in the range after he's finished sweeping it out. You could eat your dinner off it, if you wanted your dinner to taste like shit. He's always been fastidious about maintaining the thing. It probably helps him reconcile the fact that he's been pumping coal fumes up, up, and away for the better part of his environmentalist career. It used to be a bone of contention every time he ran into a pack of dreadlock-sporting hippies protesting outside the local coal yard.

He doesn't run into much of anything or anyone these days, but it doesn't seem to bother him. He's a creature of habit, even when those habits have changed. Take the old carving bench he wanders past on his way outside to empty the ash pan. It used to be covered with pounamu dust and wood shavings – now it's just dust from neglect and spider webs linked between a scattering of old chisels and worn rock paper. His face twitches right on cue and bloodshot green eyes flit towards the bench. A jerky face isn't convincing enough to break his scuffing stride, but it does explain the hole in his sock.

He empties the ashes into an old Talley's fish-bin. One side of the bin is warped and melted from the time when the embers were still red-hot. A nearby round of rotting pine doubles as a chopping block. He freezes as he spots the axe embedded in the wood, and then drops the ash pan as he shambles back to life. The axe hasn't cut deep enough to stop him wrenching it free. He's an old hand at this wood-cutting gig, and a wiry strength has stuck by him against all elderly, arthritic odds.

I let him leave. Usually this is the point where I'd have to get involved and break the bad news that mismatched socks aren't really OSH-approved footwear for a retired wood chopper. It's the first day of summer though and the ground is warm enough so that he should be all good. Thank Christ. I'm happy to stay a fly on the wall this morning.

I stick around long enough to make sure he doesn't stray off the

beaten path. Through the back paddock, up the sand dunes, down the sand dunes, last stop – driftwood city. I sigh and run a hand up my forehead, probing for any trace of a passable hairline. It's not good news, so I head back to the house to turn off the jug before things can get any worse.

If I'm being honest, it's not just my sixhead that has taken the jam out of my donut. Every single day sort of does that by default, right around six a.m. when my Dad forgets that he is about to knee strike the side of his bedroom wall. "Forget" and "Dad" are pretty much synonymous for me these days. I'm definitely not the first guy to watch his father rot away into an Alzheimer's autopilot, but then being the next sheep in line to get savaged by the wolf is piss-poor comfort for the sheep as well.

If he'd been reduced to a mewling, ranting mess then things might have been different; less surreal maybe. Not like this shit. A robot of a man with all of his character deemed surplus to programming requirements. No more environmental high horse or philosophical mumbo jumbo to go hurtling straight over my head. No more dominoes, Blackadder binges, or Baileys with ice. This wasn't the man who taught me how to dribble a soccer ball and carve a toki. All he had left was a mastery for going through the motions, doing the same damn routine that had been nagged into him for decades.

I know I'm not the best man for this job. I can see it in every un-mowed lawn and unkempt reflection. I won't pick up the dead rhododendron flowers because if everything else in this shithole is dying, then they can too. His other kids might have done things differently, tried to talk to him, made an effort to get through the haze. Sam was always his favourite, she wouldn't have written him off. But they aren't here; they have lives to live, whereas I've got a sickness benefit and all the time in the world.

I just can't stand it when he doesn't recognise me. Sure, my hair is a bit longer and my jacket could use a wash, but I can still see him through a trench line of wrinkles and dandelion patches of beard. If I could find the hole in his head where it was all leaking it out, then I would plug it with my fucking heart. I just figure that when a man spends the best years of his life sticking his neck out for you, then you owe him some serious payback somewhere down the track.

A couple of Dad's lessons have stuck out to me more than others. I remember him getting angry on the car ride home from visiting pōua in a nursing home. "If I ever get like that, then you better point me in the right direction and let me walk into the sea," he had told us kids. He had a couple more that weren't quite as dark, like "Don't ever steal your best friend's missus", or "Relatives are all well and good in their place, as long as that place is on the other side of the door when you shut it at night." Bonus points for being able to impart such wisdom after sinking that many glasses of Baileys.

Maybe he had a point. When I go down to the beach to check on him later, I could always try and point him out to sea; it wouldn't take much of a wave to knock him over these days. There's also option number two. Maybe he's better off on the other side of the door when I close it at night. Maybe he'd want that. I'll think it over while I sit here and stare at the rhododendron bush. I think I owe him that much.

In this issue we are introducing *Aukaha*, a regular feature that celebrates the creative talent of Ngāi Tahu whānau. The name *Aukaha* was chosen in reference to the contemporary Kāi Tahu Arts Festival *Aukaha Kia Kaha* held in Dunedin in 2000. This short story by **James MacTaggart** (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāti Waewae) was runner up in the NZ Writers College Competition 2015.

If you would like to see your work (prose, poetry or visual arts) published in TE KARAKA, please contact us.

BY EMAIL: tekaraka@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

BY PHONE: 03 974 0177

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TUI CADIGAN
Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, Poutini Ngāi Tahu

He Tangata

Tui Cadigan affiliates to Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, and Poutini Ngāi Tahu. Her hapu is Kāti Māhaki ki Makaawhio. She is a religious Sister of Mercy and is in her ninth year as member of the Leadership Team of Ngā Whaea Atawhai o Aotearoa Sisters of Mercy New Zealand. She has held the role of Congregation Bursar for eight years. Sister Tui is also a member of Te Kāhui o Te Ariki – Māori Priests and Religious Brothers and Sisters. She is Kaiwhakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Te Hāhi Katorika o Aotearoa – the National Catholic Māori Council advisory to the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference. and a director on Kāti Māhaki ki Makaawhio Ltd.

PHOTOGRAPH SUPPLIED

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?
The warmth of the sun on my skin, sitting at the seaside, watching the waves roll in.

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?
Friends and whānau.

WHO OR WHAT INSPIRES YOU AND WHY?
My parents. I descend from two whakapapa lines that suffered from British colonial oppression. From a Poutini Ngāi Tahu mother and an Irish Catholic father, I learned to value myself and not to tolerate bullies or injustices when I see them. It gets me into trouble, but I never fear speaking up when I am aware someone is not being treated justly. I learned from them that the risk is worth taking!

HIGHLIGHT OF YOUR LAST YEAR AND WHY?
Returning to live in Ōtautahi after eight years in Wellington. To be back with whānau, hapū, and iwi, to reconnect with friends and get to see the aspects of the city being developed since the quakes, and to see the level of recognition of the place of Ngāi Tahu finally acknowledged and visible in this city.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?
Possibly my cat Moe – he is not cheap to run! Close behind that would be shoes. I am no Imelda Marcos, but I have a lot of shoes for a nun.

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT? FAVOURITE PLACE?
At home with my cat.

FAVOURITE PLACE?
Hokitika. I love the rain, the magnificent sunsets, the beauty of the Hokitika Gorge, the amazing snow-covered mountain ranges on a crisp, fine, frosty morning. There is no place like home!

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?
The ageing process determines that these days – more wallflower.

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?
Whitebait – it is in my DNA.

WHAT MEAL DO YOU COOK THE MOST?
Fresh fish: any variety I can access, with the exception of salmon. However, at this time of year, Bluff oysters in a light batter go down a treat with a cold beer.

GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?
Being invited to attend a conference of indigenous women scholars of religion and theology at Duke University, North Carolina, USA. We were each asked to write a chapter for a volume titled *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theology*. My chapter was titled *The Impact of Globalization on Wāhine Māori*.

DO YOU HAVE AN ASPIRATION FOR NGĀI TAHU TO ACHIEVE BY 2025?
Te Rūnanga needs to demonstrate its uniqueness as an iwi business – everything Ngāi Tahu does has impacts on her people. We still have too many people living in poverty, too many in prison, too many with poor education. We also have to make sure our young Ngāi Tahu don't suffer from a sense of entitlement. Don't turn up at hui making demands and moaning about your mana not being respected if you aren't willing to contribute to iwi life! Self-respect is an essential for every person, but it must not cross the line into arrogance. Our tūpuna worked for years over generations to get to this point – let's make sure we are not the generation that squanders the lot by trying to emulate Pākehā big business!

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

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