

# TE KARAKA

## Settlement Pēpi

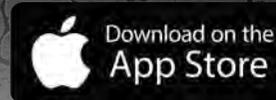


TE TĪMATANGA O TE KERĒME – WAI27 • THE NGĀI TAHU  
TREATY SETTLEMENT WITH THE CROWN: KEY PLAYERS  
AND BACKGROUND • POST SETTLEMENT – THE JOURNEY SO FAR •  
KELVIN ANGLEM: A GOOD MAN • TE KERĒME – A REFLECTION  
BY TĀ TIPENE O'REGAN • DOUBLE OSCAR WINNER HAMMOND PEEK •  
THE SOUTH ISLAND LANDLESS NATIVES ACT (SILNA) 1906 –  
HISTORY AND UNRESOLVED TENSIONS •  
WHITE MAN'S BURDEN REVISITED

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## 10 TE TĪMATANGA O TE KERĒME – WAI27

Dr Te Maire Tau provides an introduction to the recollections of his late father, Rakiihia Tau (Snr). In 1986 Rakiihia filed the Ngāi Tahu Claim with the Waitangi Tribunal and was heavily involved in the negotiation processes. Thanks to his detailed recording of these events and the generosity of his whānau we are able to share Rakiihia's account of this significant time.



## 16 SETTLEMENT PĒPI

Twenty years after the signing of the Deed of Settlement there is a generation of rangatahi who have grown up in a post settlement world. Kaituhi Anna Brankin talks to four of these rangatahi about the opportunities they have received – or not – and their vision for the future.

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**NGĀ HAU  
E WHĀ  
FROM THE  
EDITOR**

This year marks 20 years since the signing of the Deed of Settlement, a defining moment in a journey of over 150 years, which brought an end to the pain and struggle of a grieving people. And with this closure came a new beginning, with \$170m plus add-ons in the bank and a newly formed organisational structure to manage the settlement. However, in celebrating this milestone, it is important to reflect on where this last part of the journey began – the lodgement of the claim some 11 years earlier.

In this settlement-focused special edition we are privileged to have a first-hand account from the late Rakiihia Tau (Snr) who was responsible for the lodgement of WAI27, the Ngāi Tahu Claim in 1986 and the subsequent establishment of the A-Team negotiators. Heartfelt thanks to Te Maire Tau for allowing the publication of his father's personal recordings.

Claim negotiator and tribal rangatira Tā Tipene O'Regan, provides a challenging and thought-provoking account (page 32) of whether the original vision of those negotiators for a post settlement Ngāi Tahu has been realised and where things might be falling short.

And while there will always be a range of views and opinions on the post settlement success (or not), there really is no denying that on the face of it, the results speak for themselves – well certainly economically. But let's not get stuck in the journey thus far – what is the tribal vision for the next 20 years and beyond? A desire to restore rangatiratanga was at the heart of Te Kerēme. Today, how do we ensure that our young and burgeoning population have the good health, education and employment opportunities to allow them to determine their own paths? On page 16 Anna Brankin talks to four rangatahi born in 1997 who share their perspective on what it means for them to have been born post settlement and their aspirations for the future.

**Nā ADRIENNE ANDERSON**

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The South Island Landless Natives Act 1906 (SILNA) was created to alleviate the poverty caused to Ngāi Tahu by loss of land and the Crown's failure to meet their obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Kaituhi Renata Davis explores the history of SILNA including a number of issues which remain outstanding today.

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Kaituhi Mark Revington writes about identity and the struggle of non-Māori New Zealanders to find their sense of self. Originally written 16 years ago for *The New Zealand Listener*, this updated version includes Mark's own personal thoughts.

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



**ARE WE HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION?**

Recently I met the 20 Ngāi Tahu rangatahi preparing to head off on the trip of a lifetime to Silicon Valley. The room was buzzing with chatter until they all broke into a waiata rendition of *Manu Tiria*. Meeting these rangatahi took me way back to a similar experience as a 13-year-old. The only difference was that we were preparing to head to Wellington to visit Parliament and our waiata was the Anglican school hymn. Roll forward many decades and our young people are international travelling ambassadors for our iwi.

In recent years I have become increasingly passionate about driving our rangatahi into the spotlight, especially when it comes to the future development of technology, STEM and innovation. This is naturally the domain of young people as they are the beacons of social connectivity and are well attuned to using the tools to maximise the benefits that meet their youthful needs.

This is our second group heading off to San Francisco and it is now clear that a rangatahi movement is forming – they are fast becoming ready to tell us whether the iwi is heading in the right direction or not. Having a view and voicing an opinion is exactly what we want as young people should be the designers of their future, not bystanders or passengers, so I am determined to ensure that a one-off experience to the USA is not just a one-hit wonder – we must keep them engaged.

This journey is well timed with the work that the leadership of Te Rūnanga is currently undertaking. Throughout this year there has been a series of wānanga where Te Rūnanga has openly reflected and seriously looked at itself – the good, the bad and the ugly. They have mapped its course over the past 20 years and there is now an invigorated sense of enthusiasm for looking ahead to ensure that we are relevant and adaptable to change. Intergenerational outcomes remain at the forefront and we are taking on board our changing societal needs while preserving and protecting our traditional tikanga practices.

There is an openness and willingness to work together in our communities and this includes finding a place for the collective voice of our rangatahi to be heard and taken notice of. There may be a bit of tweaking required but I feel that the sentiment is positively anchored in moving to a desired future state. We have no shortage of rangatahi engaging across many Ngāi Tahutanga activities so I do see that they will have a critical role to play in ensuring that we are heading in the right direction. A message to all our young people – going through life asleep will not be an option so bring yourselves forward and participate! *Tohaina ō painga ki te ao.*

# TE KARAKA

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Spectrum Print – Blue Star Business

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Issue 75 published September 2017  
© Ngāi Tahu Publications Limited  
ISSN NO. 1173/6011

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has used Blue Star Group, which is an FSC® certified print supplier. The paper used for this publication is FSC® certified, promoting sustainable forest management through independent third party forest certification.



**FRONT COVER**

Settlement Pēpi: rangatahi who have grown up in a post settlement world (page 16).

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WHENUA



**Otago Harbour** Ōtākou was the name for a channel that ran down the eastern (southern) side of the Otago Harbour from the mouth to Harwood Point, past the whaling station site and main Māori villages. Aramoana ran down the western (northern) side through to Port Chalmers. Today the name Ōtākou specifically refers to the small Kāi Tahu kāika situated on the Otago Peninsula near the harbour's entrance. When the Weller brothers from England established a whaling settlement on the Peninsula in the 1830s, it became known to the whalers as Ōtākou, which was then later adopted by the wider region as "Otago".

PHOTOGRAPH: TONY BRIDGE





## Wai ora – we need to do better!

*In light of the 20th anniversary of the Settlement of the Ngāi Tahu claim, I thought it relevant to write on another issue Ngāi Tahu faces in terms of rights and property – water. Water is the most precious resource on Earth, and I think everyone can agree we don't value it to the extent we should. Recently I was asked to give a speech to Environment Canterbury (ECAN) workers and answer questions on a panel. The following is the speech I gave on rivers and the issues with our current legislation around water.*

When I was asked to give a three-minute speech on water, I had no idea what to discuss or say. If I'm to be speaking to ECAN reps, what's the point of giving facts and figures when I'm either talking to someone who wrote them, or knows them because it's part of their job to know them?

I don't think anyone really wants a high schooler to take the stage and regurgitate knowledge to more well-informed people. So I decided to go with some good old-fashioned anecdotal evidence – stories passed down.

Anecdotal evidence is widely considered to be logical fallacy. However, I felt it was the best thing I could bring to the table. As a boy who has grown up in Tuahiwi and explored many parts of Canterbury in the pursuit of mahinga kai, I do have some, admittedly limited, experience.

My first story is one given to me by my pōua Rik Tau. Anyone who knew him would know that like many grandfathers, he certainly wasn't above adding a little GST to his stories, especially around fish. However, this is one I've heard from many elders around the pā.

As a child, he would go down to the Ashley and with a stick herd shoals of whitebait into a net. There was always enough and it was easily caught. This process took minutes and the whole extended family could easily be fed.

Maybe there weren't shoals and maybe it wasn't as quick as stated, but when I talk to anyone of the older generation about whitebaiting, they say the same thing: there was certainly far, far more.

Fast-forward to today and there is still whitebait in the Ashley, and there are still people to catch it. However, there are days when all you leave the river with is an empty net, sunburn, and an extreme sense of Kiwi shame. There is also the lingering scent of cow faeces in your nostrils as the Ashley River reeks of it on sunny days. My pōua Noel says the river is slowly choking.

I remember when I was 10 we took two boys home for a bath because they smelt so bad. When I asked them why, they explained that when they stick their heads in the net, the water is mixed with cow faeces and it dried in their hair. To them this was natural. I consider it anything but. Reeking of cow shit should not be a regular part of whitebaiting with your family.

The Crown says no one owns water, so if they don't own it, surely they don't have the right to allocate water through the Resource Management Act? I agree the Crown doesn't own the water, because under the 1848 Canterbury Purchase it was never sold.

In my view this vagueness around assumed rights is the reason why we are failing in how we properly deal with water. Pollutants from intensive farming and storm water in towns are hitting irreversible highs. It's the tragedy of the commons – no one takes responsibility for property held in common. We take water for granted, and our collective in-action means my generation inherits a mess.

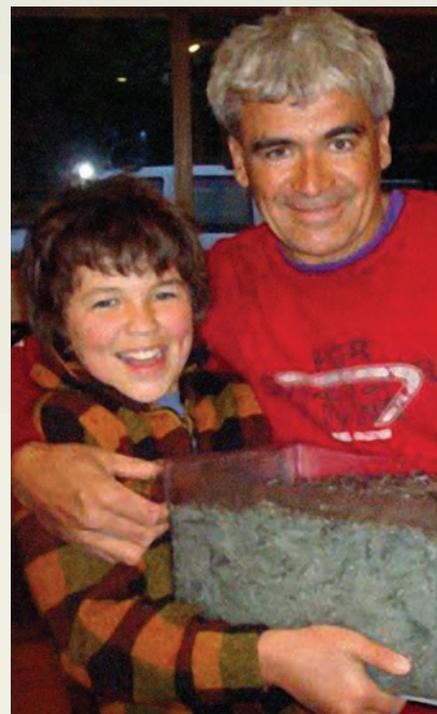
On our muttonbird island Pohowaitai, everyone conserves water because we all depend on the water we get off the roof. No one wastes it.

We need a system that makes people pay for use and pay dearly for abuse and waste. No corporate body should ever own water, and the granting of consents should be weighted on public versus private use.

A foreign water bottling firm in Belfast can pump 4.32 million litres a day, roughly equivalent to the water usage of the city's biggest suburb, Riccarton. The firm will likely pay nothing or very little for their use of this precious, pure, and globally-prized resource. Will the bottles they use be biodegradable, or will they also end up in the great Pacific Ocean garbage patch?

This is still everyone's problem, regardless of who you are. I have often seen people fish the banned spawning grounds at the Ashley with no regard for tomorrow.

My main message is that we all need to do better. We all need to become water warriors. I like to whitebait. I like lying in the grass with a book and my headphones, or watching the sun rise on the banks. I like the idea of catching my own food and eating it that day. It's an experience I want my kids to have, just like my ancestors had before me. The Ashley, Lake Ellesmere, and all the other water bodies of New Zealand are precious taonga and we all need to treat them that way. Nothing exists without water. There is arguably nothing more important than water on the planet. We can all do better. 



Nuku (aged about 10) with his Uncle Maru happy with their catch.

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

# Tāngata Ngāi Tahu

## People of Ngāi Tahu

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## Best person for the job



*“This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors. That the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just as equal with the dark skin. And to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily and that all men might enjoy a peaceful life and the Māori remember the power of thy name.”*  
**(Matiaha Tiramōrehu – Letter to Queen Victoria 1857)**

These famous words from our tupuna Tiramōrehu sum up our ongoing struggle for recognition and equivalency for the past 175 years. Ngāi Tahu have held firmly to the desire that Pākehā should be equal to Māori.

Our long-standing Treaty grievances with the Crown were resolved through the passing of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996, and then the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Act in 1998. Twenty years later we have turned a \$170m settlement into a \$1.3b taniwha. This pūtea enables a dividend of around \$50m to be paid to the tribal representatives for distribution to various Ngāi Tahu development initiatives. The commercial standing of Ngāi Tahu in the corporate sector is second to none.

Underpinning this financial success has been a firm adherence by the tribal representatives to the policy of “the best person for the job”. If we return to the words of Tiramōrehu, “... that the white skin be made just as equal with the dark skin ...”; this policy fits perfectly; at least at face value.

Why “best person for the job”? Well the history of Ngāi Tahu is long – far longer than the magical year 1840. Yet it’s that year and the subsequent 25 years that saw Ngāi Tahu go from the sole owner of 80% of Te Waipounamu to virtually landless. The history of this loss is well documented and well understood.

The loss was unlawful, unconscionable, and unquestionable; and this wasn’t lost on the Crown at the time. Subsequent efforts to recover that which was promised were either ignored, legislated against, or just “forgotten about”. Given that ethnographers were predicting the elimination of Māori, the “stick your head in the sand” policy was politically expedient.

It was not until 1991, with the immortal words of the Waitangi Tribunal "... that in acquiring from Ngāi Tahu 34.5 million acres, more than half the land mass of New Zealand, for £14,750, and leaving them with only 35,757 acres, the Crown acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the Treaty of Waitangi" that redress for the staggering loss of land would commence. And the rest, of course, is history.

Or is it?

The quote about "skins" from Tiramōrehu is about equivalency. It is not about homogeneity. The efforts by Tiramōrehu and subsequent rangatira clearly indicate the Ngāi Tahu desire to remain "Ngāi Tahu". It was about an economic and social base in which to engage the world equal with the "white skin".

The desire to find "the best person for the job" is Ngāi Tahu pragmatism. It recognised, with a once-small base, that we needed to look to wherever the skill lay to run the pūtea on behalf of our iwi. That began with Sid Ashton's appointment as first CEO. But it's only half the story. "Best person for the job" was also a political stance. It sought to defy the expectation that Māori were too immature to handle large sums of money, that we'd drink our settlement, make terrible investment decisions, and generally muck up. But the policy also divided Ngāi Tahu. Some predicted it would see the Iwi lose control of its own affairs. It has proven detractors both right and wrong.

But 20 years since settlement, we must ask the question – has the policy now served its purpose? Shouldn't the true measure of the "best person" policy no longer be our financial success, but the confident appointment of Ngāi Tahu to management roles?

Across Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu boards we have 55 directors, of whom 42% are Ngāi Tahu. Frankly, that's not a particularly egregious percentage. However, across Ngāi Tahu Holdings (NTH) the numbers depart more dramatically. Just 35% of our boards are Ngāi Tahu. Clearly Ngāi Tahu have a fair way to go before they are considered "best people".

Meanwhile, our wāhine make up just 22% of our appointed boards. For NTH that number drops to 19% across all boards.

**What are we saying to our Ngāi Tahu people every time we reject them for a role and then hand that role to a non-Ngāi Tahu? They are not the best people to work in their own organisation? We need to be careful of disempowering ourselves with our own words.**



Our 1000-year history is replete with Ngāi Tahu overcoming considerable odds to survive and thrive. From the decision to leave Whāngārā, the decision to leave Te Whanganui-a-Tara, and move south, to the eventual establishment of our powerbase, Ngāi Tahu people made the decisions for better or worse. And wāhine were integral to that. How many of us descend from the great Ngāi Tahu wāhine Tūhaitara and Irakehu? Can it really be that only 20% are capable of being on our boards in this day and age? I'm not so sure about that.

Dr Eruera Prendergast-Tarena (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau a Apanui) succinctly challenges the "best person for the job" policy when he says:

*"Best person" can be the most marginalising two words in our language if it's not grounded in our reality and culture or recognising our strengths ..."*

What are we saying to our Ngāi Tahu people every time we reject them for a role and then hand that role to a non-Ngāi Tahu? They are not the best people to work in their own organisation? We need to be careful of disempowering ourselves with our own words. The narrative of "best person" must be rejected, and quickly. That doesn't mean rejection of non-Ngāi Tahu who want to work for us. We should be as embracing of our tauiwi as we've ever been.

But the broader question is: how much of our identity and cultural expertise is incorporated into our requirements for those who wish to serve us? We should be asking applicants whether they have knowledge and understanding of our tikanga as part of their suite of skills. Why isn't this at the fore-

front of every role we seek to remunerate? Are we still hesitant to assert our identity as Ngāi Tahu both externally and internally?

At \$1.3b in wealth we now have the economic and political clout to set the agenda for ourselves. We should wield that political and economic capital for all it's worth. We have more than 150 years of marginalisation to overcome. We should take an unashamed stance on what's important to us as Ngāi Tahu, and ensure that is reflected in the people who work for us.

With at least 58,000 people who identify as Ngāi Tahu, we can and should take a more dominant role on our commercial boards and in our commercial management. Tiramōrehu wanted equality for the "skins". But I'm pretty sure he never thought those words might have to be applied within Ngāi Tahu. 

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

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

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

# Te Tīmatanga o Te Kerēme WAI 27

## Nā Dr TE MAIRE TAU

IN 1986 MY FATHER, RAKIIHIA TAU, FILED THE NGĀI TAHU CLAIM to the Waitangi Tribunal. The hearings began at Tuahiwi in August 1987, initially at Rangiora High School, and then, as the grind of hearings began and tribal members returned to work, they were held on the Tuahiwi Marae itself.

The following paper is my father's account of the events of this time. It bears reflection because it describes a world that has slowly been eroded and is fast disappearing. What is strongly evident is his "ture-wairua" and his faith. Today, there is a constant call for a return to traditional karakia and rituals. Rangatahi feel nervous about Christian beliefs, as if it's possible to understand the natural world of atua while living in an urban environment. Yet what is forgotten is the notion of faith, and that in Tuahiwi, Te Muka, and Moeraki, the community leadership was geared around the church. By my father's time and certainly in my childhood, the only regular place that the Treaty and Kemp's Deed were spoken of was during church at our marae. Those discussions were held and led by our Āpotoro, Poia Manahi, and Upoko, Pani Manawatu. Outside of our marae and church, very few spoke about the Ngāi Tahu Claim and the Treaty of Waitangi. In fact, in our time there weren't too many Ngāi Tahu.

In the pā, whether it was Rāpaki or Te Muka, Tuahiwi or Port Levy, everything started and ended with whakamoemiti. Pōwhiri consisted of the tangi, the speech of welcome, and whakamoemiti, followed by hīmene and then kai. Whakamoemiti simply "cleared the way", and simplified the process to manaaki. Two hours of whakamoemiti were not unusual.

Re-reading my father's paper brings to mind the fact that when Dad filed his claim, some of our key elders had passed away. The loss of Poia Manahi, our Āpotoro, was a devastating blow for Tuahiwi and the South Island. The tangi was at the end of winter, and it was cold and wet. Our loss was coupled with the ill health of our Upoko, Pani Manawatu. Likewise, the backbone of our cookhouse, Tasman Pitama, had died the year before. And, as Dad explains, old Jim Tau had passed away and many more were to follow over the next decade. If Tuahiwi was to move on any major issue, this was not the time. But as the saying goes, tai-timu, tai-pari – the tide goes in and the tide goes out; and a new generation of leaders followed with John and Ruahine Crofts surrounded by a host of elders.

I think Dad would want me to give thanks for the help he had from the ringawera of that time. Alamein Scholtens headed the wharekai, with Patricia Anglem as the matriarch at the back. Joy Bond, Ngawini Hack, and Tokomaru Hammond kept the back going along with Joe Crofts, Bull Tau, Hoani Pitama, and Makarini Pitama, who worked the cook house. Marsden and Janet Reuben were there to help, and so too was Colleen Pitama.

Dad mentions Jimo Te Aika, Henry Jacobs, and Rima Bell. Aunty Rima was one of the few surviving elders who could recall the Ngāi Tahu Claim, its history, and the issues that surrounded the establishment of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. What we forget is that the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board was not popular amongst our people, and that its creation under the Labour Government had created a division within the tribe and in Tuahiwi. There had been two embezzlement scandals in its history, and in the 1970s our Upoko, Pani Manawatu, went with other Ngāi Tahu elders to support the Frank Winter submission for a perpetual payment of \$20,000 because the 1944 Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board Act did not take into account interest and inflation. The economist Professor John Ward estimated that in 1986 the Trust Board's \$1 received was worth less than 6 cents in relation to its 1944 purchasing power. The accumulated loss of wealth from 1944 was \$2,759,200.

Aunty Rima's advice to Dad at that time was that he needed to make sure that James (Jimo) Te Aika and Here Korako were there to support him. Both men were seen as mātāmua and as holding senior lines within our pā. Here gave Dad his support, but he wanted to spend his twilight years enjoying life, as he had spent much of his time raising his children as a sole parent. Jimo actively supported my father during these years. So too did Hilary Te Aika. Dad's brother-in-law, Henry Jacobs, regularly supplied sheep and beef for the ringawera at the back in the kāuta. Again, the lesson here was that the men of the marae understood their roles, and it was their job to supply the meat, kaimoana, and wood; and to be able to butcher and prepare the food in the kāuta for the hāngī or pots. The actual kitchen and dining room was left to the women, although the younger men would help when needed.

Although Dad called Aunty Rima a kaikaranga, she was really his taua and advisor. Aunty Rima did karanga when she had to, but she tended to avoid this duty as she had asthma, and it was also seen as an omen if a kaikaranga broke. Aunty Rima was able to fill in key gaps for the Ngāi Tahu Claim, such as the role of her ancestor Teoti Metahau, who filed the first Ngāi Tahu claim to Queen Victoria in 1848. She could explain the background to the argument between her Uncle Te Ruapohatu (Stone) Pitama with Rangitāne and Ngāti Toa, and the 1925 Ngāi Tahu hui, which established the Ngāi Tahu whakapapa file base and the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board. Aunty Rima's grandfather, Ihakara Karaitiana, had written a booklet on the Ngāi Tahu Claim which he gave to Harry Evison, who used it as the basis for his thesis and the eventual evidence he presented to the Waitangi Tribunal.

The kaikaranga during this period were Jane Manahi, Ruahine Crofts, and Aroha Reriti-Crofts. Again, the church was the common bond.

My recollection of this period is of the grinding work that Dad, Tā Tipene, and others undertook. They all worked long hours and into the night. Weekends didn't really exist, and if they did, they were a rare luxury. I think Dad was most at ease when he went muttonbirding, eeling, and whitebaiting – which were really long, drawn-out days of labouring – but at least it was physical. I remember when Dad came to Port Levy to help us shift into the bach and he spent most of his time on his hands and knees weeding the gardens late into the night. He just worked. I do wonder now whether he regretted the time he missed with his family, and if this was his way of apologising. I regret that our time together was always about the Claim, and not on proper matters that fathers and sons should have enjoyed. Our meetings were always a matter of "This is what we have to do next, Te Maire".

There are messages in this recollection and lessons to be learnt. Faith stands at the centre of Dad's account; faith and belief in ourselves and our people. Also, our people understood their roles, responsibilities, and obligations to their ancestors, to each other, and to their community. The lessons not learnt were about whānau.

# Volume 1: Te Tīmatanga o Te Kerēme WAI 27, lodged by Henare Rakiihia (Rik) Tau

**Ngāi Tahu Claim Processes Wai 27:** How I became the claimant, and how I established the Ngāi Tahu “A-Team” that presented the evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Nā RIK TAU



Members of the Ngāi Tahu Negotiation ‘A-Team’: Back Row (left to right): Kuo Langsbury, Trevor Howse, Edward Ellison.  
Front Row (left to right): Tā Tipene O’Regan, Charlie Crofts, Henare Rakiihia Tau.

## Notification

Stephen O’Regan then Maurice Pohio phoned me, stating that as Chair and Deputy of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board they had resolved to ask me to be the person to lodge the Ngāi Tahu Claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi that prejudicially affected Māori. This was in May 1986. O’Regan was working for the Conservation Department at the time, so that had eliminated him from being a claimant. I accepted. I was very familiar with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the history of broken promises made by the Crown to our ancestors. I grew up with the Crown’s dishonesty to the Treaty of Waitangi. My parents were members of the Hāhi Rātana, and so were all my uncles, aunts, and the leaders of our hapū,

Ngāi Tūāhuriri. My pōua had fought to have the Kemp’s Deed of Purchase recognised, and an outcome of that was the establishment of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board.

I immediately phoned my uncle Pani Manawatu, who was an Āpotoro of our church, and the Upoko of Ngāi Tūāhuriri.

I was an ākonga of our Hāhi, and very familiar with the whakapapa of our history. Our Hāhi was built upon two pillars, or pou. Those pou were the Paipera Tapu and the Treaty of Waitangi. Our whakapono was simple: Whakapono i te Matua, kotahi, te Tama kotahi te Wairua tapu kotahi me ngā Anahera pono me te māngai Āe. The importance of what they represented in te Ture Wairua and te Ture Tangata was always clear.

In September 1986 ... the Tom Te Weehi judgment was released by the High Court. It found that our customary rights were protected in law, as Tom Te Weehi was found not guilty of taking pāua from Motunau in excess of fishing regulations that none of us were aware of. I had earlier given him a tuku moana or a customary and Treaty of Waitangi right to take a feed for himself and whānau. I knew we owned the fish and fishery, as our ancestors reserved our mahinga kai in the Kemp's Deed of Sale and Purchase. Also, they were reserved from sale under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi.

## Inoi

I spent two hours in prayer, seeking strength and protection for the challenges before me as I would be walking with the ancestors. I would need spiritual and whānau support. Tests of trials and tribulations would be many, but the greatest strength for me would be my own whakaponono. I had my own whānau support – brothers, sisters, cousins, and sons, in particular Te Maire. He was studying our history of the South Island Māori at the University of Canterbury, which incidentally was the doorway to trained researchers. Whakamoemiti would always be before me in all things.

My media release was for an impending claim to be lodged on behalf of Ngāi Tahu whānui. It was of national interest, as our takiwā spread over half of the land mass of New Zealand. Many European organisations wanted to know what we were claiming, and whether our claim would affect their property rights. This commenced a continuous round of public meetings for the next three years explaining very clearly with my public utterances that we were not claiming privately-owned land held by individuals, as our claim was not to create further injustices by righting past injustices. Only the Government could right the wrong, as they held or claimed ownership of all the family jewels of New Zealand.

## Lodging the Statement of Claim

I officially lodged the claim with the Waitangi Tribunal during the tangi of our Deputy Upoko, Poia Manahi, who was also the Āpotoro Takiwā of Te Waipounamu. I discussed the words for our claim with my relation Kūkupa Tirikātene while attending the tangi. Hence the Statement of Claim begins with a prayer: E Ngā Mana E Ngā Kārangaranga O Ngā Herenga Waka Katoa Tēnā Koutou I Raro I Te Maru O Te Matua Tama Wairua Tapu Me Nga Anahera Pono... Then [solicitor for Ngāi Tahu] Mike Knowles wrote up the Statement of Claim, and faxed it to me for my signature. This always took place for me after 3 am, – the time I was getting home from the tangi to do these things before returning back to the marae at 7 am to be on the paepae. People from all over the North Island as well from the Chatham Islands and South Island all came. I asked one of our Āpotoro, Mano White, to pray for the Statement of Claim and myself. This he did, and that day our senior Āpotoro of our Hāhi buried Poia Manahi in the Urupā Kai a te Atua. That was on, I think, 1 September 1986; although the Statement of Claim is dated 26 August. When they left this marae to go to the Urupā Kai a Te Atua, I took the signed Statement of Claim to Sidney Boyd Ashton, the secretary of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, for him to give to Mike Knowles. I then drove home. The next thing I remembered was that I was in the country, and I noticed our Reserve Torotoroa. I was in Leithfield. So

I returned to the marae, and sat down on the paepae to wait, as the whānau pani had not returned home from the urupā. I went to sleep and when I woke, everything was over. So I said to the whānau, I will go to the hotel and have a drink. When I arrived at the hotel a phone call came for me, telling me that Pōua Jim Tau had died. I arranged to go with the whānau to take the body of our whanaunga to the marae at Rāpaki, and to also take the wife of Poia Manahi with us; all arranged for 2 pm the next day. I slept soundly that night, as well the next three nights at the tangi of our whanaunga. I had to travel to Wellington on the day of his tangi; that was a Friday. By then I had fully recuperated for the tasks in Wellington.

I was a permanent employee at the local meat works of Borthwicks and the CFM Plant in Belfast, working in a very highly-paid position. I knew I could not do the work as the claimant if I was working, so I applied for a year's dispensation, thinking that would be enough time to present our case and return back into paid employment. That was what I thought would be my contribution as the first claimant, and it was my first miscalculation. The evidence and hearings for our claim took four years. So I was paid off after the one year, and I received my superannuation contributions, which came in handy for paying bills.

At that time I only had historian Harry Evison with the necessary research skills, and I knew I would have to build up a team around me, which was my priority. I immediately needed people from Tuahiwi with me. I first phoned my relation Jimo Te Aika, then Auntie Rima Bell to be a kaikaranga for me, and asked them to join me with the claim. Nō te mea ko te hōnore te pono me te whakaaro pai, tētahi ki tētahi ngā kai here kai hono, te whakaaro kei roto i te Tiriti o Waitangi. I was drawing on the relationships of my teachings within our Hāhi. Many more were to follow.

Trevor Howse was a volunteer at that time, working with me as secretary of our rūnanga on Māori land tenure and the difficulties that Māori land and we as owners were faced with. I noticed he was attending all the meetings requested of me. I asked him why was he not at work. He said to me, "How can I support you if I am at work? I have handed in my notice to help out." Wide-ranging offers of help were continually coming from members of the wider Ngāi Tahu whānau offering to support the tasks to right the wrongs imposed upon our ancestors. This created a dilemma. I was not in paid employment and neither was Trevor. It was wrong to have two of us unemployed doing the work for the claim. Behind the scenes, I asked our secretary to put Trevor on a wage if possible, and also requested this from my fellow board members. They agreed, so Trevor was employed. It made me think about the people who would be required to assist us in our research and help pay the costs. Miracles do happen, and they were well documented in our church.

As an example of my strategy, I approached our retired county clerk Hamish McKenzie to assist me. I wanted him to research all the Māori land records for information relevant to our lands. He asked me, "What can you pay me, Rik?" I said, "Ten cents an hour more than I." He said "How much is that, Rik?" and I said, "Ten cents an hour." So he said, "Well, how about giving me petrol money for travel?" I put that request to our secretary, which he accepted.

How to pay for the claim expenses for employing lawyers and experts was continually on my mind. What I and my team thought was a possible miracle occurred in September 1986, when the

Tom Te Weehi judgment was released by the High Court. It found that our customary rights were protected in law, as Tom Te Weehi was found not guilty of taking pāua from Motunau in excess of fishing regulations that none of us were aware of. I had earlier given him a tuku moana or a customary and Treaty of Waitangi right to take a feed for himself and whānau. I knew we owned the fish and fishery, as our ancestors reserved our mahinga kai in the Kemp's Deed of Sale and Purchase. Also, they were reserved from sale under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi.

### High Court Judgment on Tom Te Weehi, and how to pay for legal costs

From reading the judgment of the Tom Te Weehi case, I identified the positives and also the negatives. I immediately convened a meeting at Rāpaki to protect our mana tuku iho, our heritage rights reserved from sale in the words mahinga kai which were rights and not privileges that belonged to certain members of Ngāi Tahu only. I was an owner in all those mahinga kai reserves the Crown granted, so I had no intention of letting anyone steal what was reserved for us, let alone what our tūpuna wanted reserved and were denied in a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. From that judgment I had invited representatives of the (then) Ministry of Fisheries (MFish). I welcomed, they replied, and then I told them that in view of the Tom Te Weehi case, we as Ngāi Tahu whānui needed to make some decisions first to protect our fishing rights before they could speak. This could only be done by placing a rāhui over the whole of our coastline from, I think, the Hurunui to Ashburton, until we could convene a meeting with representatives of all of our marae within the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu. This was adopted as an interim measure to allow us to sort out the web around ownership that MFish had created with our fisheries. Once we had agreed to this, then we could deal with MFish in due time. That judgment had the possibility that our ownership rights could be interpreted to be a Māori right, rather than a tūrangawaewae or mana whenua right to identified and legitimate owners. Hence the rāhui first.

### Fishing assets

Our conclusions from the Tom Te Weehi case and strategies were determined by our small team, which consisted of Trevor Howse, Jimo Te Aika, and Peter Ruka. Our strategy was that we would use our customary rights as per the Tom Te Weehi case, and fish for orange roughy, a highly-priced fish, selling them in Fiji where [General Sitiveni] Rabuka had seized control to protect their Aboriginal rights – whanaungatanga. We had the support of all people who were flocking to us, Ngāi Tahu fishers, etc. Support existed from the meetings we were having upon the Ngāi Tahu marae, as well as support from Jim Elkington and his uncle Rangi from Te Tau Ihu o te Waka. Also, many of our kaumātua were in favour of this method of paying the bills that were before us. But when we got back home to our marae here in Tuahiwi, our people looked at it differently. They saw me as the claimant for the whole of Ngāi Tahu whānui, and the need to protect me and my status as the claimant first. They requested that we get a legal opinion so that I as the claimant would not find myself in trouble and possibly jailed before we had commenced the hearings before the Waitangi Tribunal.

I asked Mike Knowles for his legal expertise on our proposal. His



Rik at Tuahiwi, 3 December 1989.

reply was not what we wanted to hear, so we thought to seek another opinion. Among our discussions the name David Palmer came up as a top-line lawyer. I said I knew him, and Pura Parata also recommended him. I made contact with him for an appointment. On the due date, Trevor Howse, Jimo Te Aika, and I walked across to Weston Ward & Lascelles to state our case to David Palmer. I took with me the details of Kemp's Purchase reserving our fishery and mahinga kai resources; told him what mahinga kai really meant, and that was not plantations as the Pākehā stated; and also showed him the Tom te Weehi judgment. I also said that I was to go to the Muriwhenua fisheries claims before the Waitangi Tribunal in Kaitaia to give them support in their hearing. David said he would read the information and tell us where we stood in a week's time. This extended out to another week, and then we went to see him. He told us to "Sit down, shut up, and listen." That got me into a defensive position straight away, but we sat and listened for almost two hours of lecturing as if we were naughty boys. In brief, he told us we were to be seen as leaders, not radicals. He never to my recollection stated it was an illegal act. He said he would write up a statement for us to take to Kaitaia in the Muriwhenua fisheries claim before the Waitangi Tribunal. I replied by saying very little but I got to the heart of the issue and with dignity and with tongue in cheek I said, "Thank you very much for your advice and for your offer of assistance. You are now employed to represent us and your cheque for payment is on the same boat as our fish." I told Sidney Boyd Ashton and our board members, and hence David became the full-time lawyer representing us. Our secretary had to find funds for David's expertise, and during the Claim period, we would find that expertise to be tremendous.

Our team was getting larger. At this point we had Michael Knowles and David Palmer as lawyers, with Harry Evison as a historian, and the possibility of my son Te Maire. Kuku Karaitiana, who worked for the Justice Department in Wellington, was able to inform us on what we had to do to comply with Government policies.



Above: From left: Tā Tipene O'Regan, Trevor Howse and Paul Temm QC; above right: Rik with Bob Whaitiri at the Tribunal Hearings, Te Rau Aroha, Awarua February 1988.

### Building the team

I met Paul Temm QC for the first time as one of our lawyers at a conference convened by the Waitangi Tribunal in Wellington. We were there to discuss the hearing protocols for all parties presenting evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal upon our marae at Tuahiwi. David Palmer attended with me. Paul Temm stood up before the Tribunal and started to tell them how our kawa would be operating on our marae. I had only met him about 20 minutes before, so you can imagine what I was thinking about this self-appointed Pākehā mouthpiece of our marae when he had never been to it and I did not know him. I stood up and made it quite clear to all present that Paul Temm had no speaking rights or authority to speak for our marae, that I was the person who shall make all those decisions. I received many reports from staff members of the many Government departments that left me suspicious of Paul.

Dr Maarire Goodall, as the Director of the Waitangi Tribunal had to implement the tikanga o te Tari Justice. Maarire said that to hold a meeting on a marae, the Waitangi Tribunal must have the authority to determine the rules of such a hearing or words to that effect, so the marae must give the Waitangi Tribunal mana over the marae. Well, this caused immediate problems to me and to our tikanga and kawa. However, I remembered discussions we had within the māramatanga of our Hāhi and the talks with my uncle and Upoko Pani Manawatu. Nā te Pō tutiro atu ki te Ao Mārama. Only people create problems, not God. The answer became very simple to me when I reminded myself of it, because of all the marae that would buck giving the mana of the marae to the Waitangi Tribunal, it would be us Ngāi Tūāhuriri and our relations at Temuka. This was the tikanga I developed for giving the mana of the marae to the Waitangi Tribunal. Before any opening of the tribunal hearings when they sat on our marae, I would open with whakamoemiti, then at the end I would have a hīmene. During the hīmene I would go to one of the Tribunal members, hongī, and hand to him the mauri of the marae, and it would make the task easier if I gave it to Monita Delamere, who was also Ngāi Tahu, a Tribunal member, and a relation. A miracle happened on the first hearing upon our marae. For reasons unknown to me, the chairman of the Tribunal,

Chick McHugh, convened an in-house meeting with Paul Temm. When they adjourned, I saw an opportunity. So I commenced to open the proceedings with whakamoemiti, and during the hymn I went to Monita to hongī, and I said, “Ka hoatu au te mauri o te marae ki a koe.” At the end of a week-long session of hearing evidence, Bishop [Manuhūia] Bennett took the whakamoemiti, and during the hymn Monita would hongī with me and the mauri o te marae was returned. God saved us all.

Sure enough when we got to Temuka for the hearings, their Upoko Jack Reihana tapped me on the shoulder and said, “What’s this about giving the mana of our marae to them?” I explained what I had put in place at Tuahiwi. Like me, Jacko was also a member of the Hāhi Rātana, and so I knew we could not argue against God. So our Hāhi and our beliefs overcame such obstacles. Faith in God overcame the problems, but they had to be addressed and overcome. Such concerns for the little picture drive the big pictures. Any issue of tikanga had to be overcome with good reason and compassion.

### The State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986

Stephen O'Regan came down to inform us about the process that was required for us to prevent the Crown's land assets from being sold in the privatisation policies of the then Labour Government. Somehow we had to identify all lands within the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu by the end of the following day, the deadline set by Government, and we had to register them with the Waitangi Tribunal. Fortunately I knew the local staff of the Department of Lands and Survey, so I asked Peter Ruka and Trevor Howse to go across and make an urgent appointment for me at either 8 or 9 am the next day. I met one of their decision-makers the next day at 9 am. I put the statutory requirement as required by Government to them and they agreed to comply. They said to organise all the fax machines in a certain place not far from their offices in Cathedral Square, and they would have their offices around the South Island email them to that office and they would fax them. All of their emails identifying Crown-owned lands in our takiwā were received by us between the hours of 11 am and 4 pm on that day, filling up several boxes. Trevor Howse was booked on a flight to Wellington to

Somehow we had to identify all lands within the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu by the end of the following day, the deadline set by Government, and we had to register them with the Waitangi Tribunal. Emails identifying Crown-owned lands in our takiwā were received by us between the hours of 11 am and 4 pm on that day. Trevor Howse was booked on a flight to Wellington to deliver these records to Dr Maarire Goodall of the Waitangi Tribunal. I think Maarire and Trevor finished stamping receipt of the letters at 11 pm, which met the deadlines set by Government. This prevented the Crown from disposing of the Crown's properties.

deliver these records to Dr Maarire Goodall of the Waitangi Tribunal. I think Maarire and Trevor finished stamping receipt of the letters at 11 pm, which met the deadlines set by Government. This prevented the Crown from disposing of the Crown's properties. It does sound similar to the sale of shares in the current SOE sale of water power generation companies. We ensured that the Crown of that era had resources to be used as a settlement with us when our hearings were completed and the Tribunal had written up its report and recommendations. I asked all marae to facilitate discussions to identify lands in their takiwā from these surplus Crown lands that the Crown desired to sell and could be used in a settlement. We would eventually land bank them.

### **Land bank for Ngāi Tahu**

Arising from this process, David Palmer observed that the Christchurch Polytechnic had advertised that they were selling off lands. David put an injunction in and notified the Crown of our action, as the sale was contrary to why we identified all Crown lands – to prevent the Crown from selling them off. This action created what was then a process in which if the Crown desired to sell property then they had to notify us through the Trust Board. If we desired to retain such lands, we would notify the Crown and say, “Hold it for use in a settlement.” This single step created what was called the Land Recovery Kōmiti, of which I was chair, and once again we were all volunteers. The agreement reached with government allowed us to land bank assets up to \$40m. This continued after the Waitangi Tribunal hearings into the negotiations process that started in 1991.

### **Public Relations**

We needed to be able to communicate with the people in the South Island. My relationships with the Department of Internal Affairs, which dated back to the early 1970s, came into play. I was assisting Garry Moore, Wally Stone, and many staff members; and so they started to come to our Friday night weekly discussions. They saw the need to assist, so funding was provided by the Department to employ a writer so that we could circulate information to all of our marae and community organisations. We employed Shona Hickey to be our writer and called that newsletter TE KARERE.

Bill Gillies from Rāpaki, who worked for the Education Department, attended our small team's strategy meetings when he could. He was friends with journalist and media personality Brian Priestley, as well as David Palmer. The need existed for training us in media realities. So Brian attended our meetings as a volunteer, and advised us on how to address the media and prevent them from

printing wrong messages. It was preferable if we could have a one-stop shop media person. David Palmer then had a meeting with *The Press* (Christchurch) editors, and the outcome was that they attached Jane England to us as their reporter. This was another miracle, as we needed only to talk to her. It did not always happen that way, but we discussed our strategies and public relations obligations with Jane, and that removed a lot of racial media reporting, guesswork and speculation by outside media personnel. Jane attended our strategy meetings and was treated as a member of our family.

### **Okains Bay's important part in our hearings protests**

We opened the proceedings to commemorate Waitangi Day at Okains Bay in about 1973. This was a leadership move determined by Murray Thacker, Hori Brennan, and Tip Manihera; and supported by our Upoko Uncle Barney, Poia Manahi, and myself as secretary of the rūnanga. This was a first in New Zealand. The year prior to that, as a Meat Worker and union advocate, I, alongside a colleague, advocated that our workers recognise the meaning of Waitangi Day and take time out on that day to study the history of it. This was agreed by resolution, so we had for the first time in New Zealand local workers taking an unpaid holiday in Canterbury to commemorate the Treaty of Waitangi. So when we had Waitangi Day commemorations at Okains Bay, we had volunteer workers to assist this small community leading the way in New Zealand to recognise Waitangi Day. It was after this that Waitangi Day became a statutory holiday. So you can see why public comments from me “that there was a better class of citizen in the South Island” were made. So each year some of us would travel over to Okains Bay and welcome the public to the museum marae, address the principles of the Treaty, paddle the waka, and participate in activities designed to commemorate the Treaty of Waitangi and fundraise for the Okains Bay Museum.

However, protests started in and around the 1980s, with people stating clearly that New Zealand was Māori land and that the Treaty of Waitangi was a FRAUD. In 1986, some protesters cut some fences over there. In 1987 I sent word out to them that I wanted to see them on the marae and discuss the Treaty of Waitangi with them. So after the official pōwhiri to the Governor General's representative and replies, we had another pōwhiri to the protesters. Most of the protesters were non-Māori. They heard what I said, then they replied. We listened to them. Stephen O'Regan was present. He said to me, “I will reply to the Māori spokesperson, a descendant of Wahawaha.” So with an effective response O'Regan dealt with the human frailties of the Tupuna Wahawaha, which quieted them all. Then I spoke about our claim seeking justice where justice was due, educating the wider public about the Treaty so that it will speak for us all, and it will come from the hearts of the people, which was a proverb of our Hāhi to the Treaty. I spoke about my history lessons at secondary school where our history teacher explained the history of New Zealand by reading out the three principles of the Treaty and then saying; “There is much we have to be ashamed about; the less said the better.” That was it. The colonisation of New Zealand in about two minutes. Hence I was aware that the Treaty of Waitangi was unknown among the Pākehā population – therefore there was a need for a lot of education.

*Story continues on page 48.*

# Settlement Pēpi

**This year marks the 20th anniversary of the settlement of Te Kerēme – the Ngāi Tahu Claim. Since then Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has continued to grow alongside a generation of rangatahi who enjoy the opportunities our tīpuna dreamed of – or not. Kaituhi ANNA BRANKIN talks to four of these rangatahi, all born in 1997 – the same year that the Deed of Settlement was signed at Takahanga Marae.**

## **Aloise Reuben**

Aloise Reuben (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Tūāhuriri) is the epitome of ahi kā, born and raised at Tuahiwi. “I grew up 200 metres away from my marae, and we were always on the pā,” she recalls. “I would be down there every week, whether it was for a tangi, or a meeting that my parents would be going to, and all of us pā kids would hang out outside playing around.”

Growing up in the heart of Tuahiwi has given Aloise a strong understanding of who she is – and who she isn’t. When asked about her Ngāi Tahu identity, she says, “I feel like I’ve had this question so many times on application forms and in person. I always write about how important it is to be connected, but in reality I am Ngāi Tūāhuriri, I am a Reuben.”

Aloise draws a strong distinction between iwi and hapū, and particularly between Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and individual Papatipu Rūnanga. “Te Rūnanga was created to make the Claim and receive the settlement,” she explains. “What I would like to see for our iwi is for our hapū to take back control of their resources and be able to make their own decisions.”

Aloise acknowledges the opportunities that Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu have offered her, including part-time employment with Te Taumatua and a Matakahi Scholarship that supports her through her university studies. However, she believes that individual hapū should be empowered to offer these opportunities to their members.





Like many rangatahi, Aloise's reflections on what it has been like to grow up post-settlement are directed towards the future. "The settlement was a massive achievement for our people, but we have been in a 'post-settlement' era for 20 years now," she says. "What really captures my attention is what is in store for the next 20 years."

Thinking back to her childhood, Aloise doesn't recall there being much kōrero about the settlement on the marae. "It's not that it wasn't talked about," she says. "But it was like, 'this has happened, where do we move forward from this?' Instead of dwelling on the past, it has been very forward-focused."

When Aloise looks to her own future, she hopes to continue her close relationship with her whānau and wider hapū. "I would love to be able to go back to Tuahiwi with my family and let my children grow up the way that I did," she says.

In the meantime, she is in her second year at the University of Canterbury studying International Business and Mandarin. Her goal is to use these qualifications to work overseas and travel for a few years.

"It's not that I don't want to be here and live and work in the place that I grew up," she says. "But I always see Tuahiwi as a place that I can come home to. It'll never be something that I could leave behind."

### **Max Moffat**

Max Moffat (Ngāi Tahu – Ōraka Aparima) has spent his entire life living well outside the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. "I was born in Sydney and lived there for pretty much all of my life until last year when I moved to Canberra for university," he says. "I'm now studying a Bachelor of Law and a Bachelor of Arts at the Australian National University."

Max's connection to Ngāi Tahu comes from his maternal grandfather, Neil Hartley. Through his other grandparents he also has Greek, English, and Scottish heritage. "But I definitely identify strongly as an Aussie more than anything else," he laughs.

Max freely admits that he knows far less about his Ngāi Tahu heritage than he'd like to. "I've been very much removed," he says. "It would have been great to have a better understanding of my cultural background from a younger age, but I guess it's something that has only developed in the last five years or so when I began taking an interest in where I'm from."

Fortunately, Max's grandfather has been doing what he can to ensure that Max knows about the iwi. "He has always wanted me and my siblings to have a bit more of a connection to Ngāi Tahu," Max says. "We've been over to New Zealand a couple of times with him, and we've occasionally done some tours with a Māori guide to understand a bit more about the culture."

While glad of the opportunity to learn more about his heritage, Max says that these visits weren't always easy. "My grandfather explained a lot about his upbringing, so I felt the connection through him," he says. "But I felt a little bit distant, especially when I saw what a strong community there is over there. I felt like a bit of an outsider, to be honest."

PHOTOGRAPHS SUPPLIED

“I realise that us rangatahi, we’re a part of things that have come from the Claim and that settlement time. It’s cool to think about the fact that the older generations were the ones that fought for the future, for us. And all the things that we get to do now are because of that. So I appreciate that, and I understand that it wasn’t an easy fight.”

**THOMAS AEREPO-MORGAN Ngāi Tahu – Awarua**

When asked what Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu could be doing to combat this disconnect with overseas whānau, Max is philosophical. “Often it comes down to the person themselves to find out about their cultural background, and I guess that happens when they’re a bit older and a bit more curious,” he says. “If you’re on Facebook, then that’s a good way to engage with people like me, because that’s what we live through these days.”

In the future Max intends to foster a greater sense of connection by learning more about the iwi and perhaps spending time here in New Zealand. “I have so much more ability to travel around and visit all the places that I come from now that I’m a student,” he says. “That’s something I’m keen to do, and I’m looking forward to seeing where it takes me.”

### **Meg Adamson**

Meg Adamson (Ngāi Tahu – Ōtākou, Hokonui) has always known that she is Ngāi Tahu, but it wasn’t until recent years that she has really begun to explore her identity. “My grandmother was one of those punished at school for speaking Māori,” she explains. “By the time I was born my Mum didn’t know a heck of a lot about our family heritage. It wasn’t until she decided to investigate a bit that we found out more.”

This early sense of disconnect has done nothing to dull Meg’s passion, and today she is studying te reo Māori and education at the University of Otago. “Obviously I’m part of the language lost, so I’d like to bring back more te reo in New Zealand,” she says. “That’s also my vision for my future whānau as well. I want them to be able to grow up speaking Māori.”

Meg has always identified with Māori culture, despite her family’s separation. “I feel a sort of spiritual connection to my whakapapa,” she says. “I love the whole Māori community and everything that you get with being involved.”

Growing up in the close-knit community of Invercargill and attending Southland Girls’ High School allowed her to explore this connection. She became involved with kapa haka and mau rākau, as well as participating in Māori girls’ focus groups.

“During high school I went through a stage where I was finding myself,” she laughs. “I definitely think that being involved in that kapa haka community helped me and gave me focus. It’s not just about performing, it’s the whole feeling behind it.”

But it hasn’t always been easy to enter into a world where so many others seem to be perfectly at home. “It is hard to connect. I always sort of feel like I’m on the outside a little bit,” Meg says. “I love the fact that this is my identity, but it is harder at the same time, because I have to make an effort to be in that world, rather than just being born into it.” This struggle has given Meg the determination to ensure that her own children won’t have the same experience.



For this reason, Meg is grateful that Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has provided her with opportunities to connect and further her education. “I’ve gotten Kā Pūtea grants while I’ve been studying, and I’m thinking of doing Aoraki Bound next year,” she says. “I’ve always wanted to apply for it because I think it’ll give me a massive boost.”

When she thinks about her vision for the future of the iwi, Meg is hopeful. “We just need to continue with how well we’ve been doing and continue supporting our people,” she says.

### Thomas Aerepo-Morgan

“I’m a Māori boy, born and raised in a little town called Bluff,” says Thomas Aerepo-Morgan (Ngāi Tahu – Awarua). “My grandmother Hana Morgan was one of the key drivers at Te Rau Aroha Marae. So I was raised with tikanga Māori, sort of had that marae life.”

Life on the marae meant that Thomas received an early education in Ngāi Tahu history. He remembers listening to kōrero from Tā Tipene O’Regan, the upoko of Awarua Rūnanga as well as the chief negotiator of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement.

“Being raised with him around meant that I always heard about the Claim, but it was sort of all settled by the time I was old enough to actually know what it was,” he says. “But I always remember it being talked about, especially at Hui-ā-Tau or Hui-ā-Iwi. I’d always travel with my grandmother to those types of hui.”

Thomas admits that he didn’t always pay too much attention when he was younger, and it is only in recent years that he has come to understand more about the role that the Ngāi Tahu Settlement has played in his life. “I thought about different things and realised that us rangatahi, we’re a part of things that have come from the Claim and that settlement time,” he says. “It’s cool to think about the fact that the older generations were the ones that fought for the future, for us. And all the things that we get to do now are because of that. So I appreciate that, and I understand that it wasn’t an easy fight.”

For Thomas, the most significant outcome of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement has been the opportunity to revitalise te reo Māori, both on a personal level and iwi-wide. “I want to bring the language back into my marae, because that’s the one thing I did not see there when I was growing up,” he remembers. “I want to make te reo Māori part of us as an iwi.”

He thanks Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu for enabling him to pursue his passion for the language with Kā Manukura o Te Reo, a grant offered by Kōtahi Mano Kāika that has enabled him to attend Kura Reo (te reo Māori immersion courses) throughout the last few years. Since he began learning at age 13, the Māori boy from Bluff made his way to Ngā Manu Kōrero, the national te reo Māori speech competition, where he placed first in impromptu speaking, and third overall.

Thomas is in his first year at the University of Otago, studying a Bachelor of Arts in te reo Māori. “My plan is to get into language revitalisation and hopefully work for the iwi in that side of things,” he says. “The Claim has given me that sense of identity to be able to follow my dreams and aspirations of te reo, and I want to spread that even further.”



# The Ngāi Tahu Treaty Settlement Negotiation with the Crown: Key players and background

Nā MARTIN FISHER

THE NGĀI TAHU SETTLEMENT WAS ONE OF THE PIONEERING negotiations of the modern Treaty of Waitangi settlement process and set precedents for all the negotiations that have followed. Ngāi Tahu had their claims heard by the Waitangi Tribunal from 1987–1989, and their direct negotiations began soon after the Ngāi Tahu Report was released in early 1991. The negotiations had two distinct phases: 1991 to late 1994, and early 1996 to 1997, with legislation formalising the settlement in 1998. At the signing of the Ngāi Tahu Agreement in Principle in October 1996, Chief Negotiator Tā Tipene O'Regan commented that the Ngāi Tahu settlement could hardly be called fair. It was a fraction of the quantifiable loss, as settlements are for all groups; but it was certainly the best that could be achieved under the political and financial constraints imposed by the Crown.

In August 1986 Henare Rakihia Tau, on behalf of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board (NTMTB), submitted a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal about the government's announcement that it would transfer Crown land interests to State-Owned Enterprises. Ngāi Tahu and Māori across the country were worried that after the government privatised land and assets they would become unavailable for transfer in future Treaty settlements. Over the following year-and-a-half, seven further amendments to their statement of claim were made that set out the grievances arising from land purchases and the lack of reserves provided by the Crown, and the loss of access to food-gathering areas (mahinga kai), including both sea and inland fisheries. Tau was the Deputy Chairman of the Trust Board, and the Upoko of Ngāi Tūāhuriri. Tā Tipene was the Chairman of the NTMTB, and he and Tau formed an effective partnership in leading the Ngāi Tahu claim in the 1980s. Tā Tipene was also the Chairman of the Māwhera Incorporation, a Ngāi Tahu landowners' trust on Te Tai Poutini, established in 1976.

The NTMTB held the mandate to represent Ngāi Tahu whānui in their Treaty settlement negotiations with the Crown, which provided a tribal base for Ngāi Tahu to organise its claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. Originally consisting of many interrelated but discrete individual and regional claims, the Ngāi Tahu claims were heard together. Although the Crown's Large Natural Groupings policy had yet to be established, the Crown made it clear that it would only negotiate with a tribal collective, rather than with individual hapū associat-

ing to each collective. This Crown policy undercut the calls for hapū autonomy by figures within Ngāi Tahu such as parliamentarians Sandra Lee (of the Alliance political party) and Whetū Tirikātene-Sullivan (Labour), as well as other opposition from individuals on Te Tai Poutini and Rakiura.

At the conclusion of the Ngāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal hearings in October 1989, the Presiding Officer Judge Ashley McHugh expressed concerns with the continuing sale of Crown land to private interests in the South Island. Following the Tribunal hearings, Tau and Tā Tipene brought the Presiding Officer's comments to the attention of the Crown and asked that a system be established where the NTMTB would be consulted before any Crown land was sold. By mid-December 1989 the Solicitor-General and Acting Deputy-Director General of Lands, following discussions with Tau and Tā Tipene, proposed an early warning system (or land bank) under which the NTMTB would be notified prior to the alienation of Crown land in the Ngāi Tahu rohe. Ngāi Tahu was the first negotiating group to have a land bank established.

The first of four Waitangi Tribunal reports, which covered the central claims, was released in February 1991. After spending seven months analysing the report, the Crown proposed that negotiations begin, and monthly meetings were held from September 1991 until negotiations broke down in mid-1994. These meetings were very formal gatherings led by each side's main negotiator: Tā Tipene for Ngāi Tahu, and Sir Doug Graham for the Crown. The named claimant for the Ngāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal claim, Henare Rakihia (Rik) Tau Snr, was a co-negotiator.

Other members of the Ngāi Tahu A-Team of principal negotiators were Kua Langsbury, Trevor Howse, Charles Crofts, and Edward Ellison; and later, Rik Tau Jnr and Gabrielle Huria. The B-Team, which worked with the A-Team in an advisory and support capacity, was led by the long-serving Secretary of the NTMTB, Sid Ashton, who played a prominent officials-level role for Ngāi Tahu. Ashton had been the Secretary of the NTMTB since the mid-1970s, and played an active role in the Tribunal hearings in the late 1980s. Nick Davidson was appointed as the lead legal consultant when Paul Temm stepped aside after acting as lead counsel for Ngāi Tahu during the Tribunal Hearings. Davidson was a prominent lawyer with law firm Bell Gully Buddle Weir. A commercial development consultant,

Stephen Jennings, was also appointed. Jennings was an economist for investment bank Credit Suisse First Boston, and formerly worked for the Treasury. He left the negotiating team in late 1992 and was replaced by another economist, Richard Meade, from First NZ Capital. The Claims Manager, Anake Goodall, also worked for the B-Team and was a key negotiator in the later phases of the process, when Tā Tipene and the Minister of Treaty Negotiations, Sir Doug Graham, were not on speaking terms. Another group of advisors to the Ngāi Tahu negotiating group was the C-Team, who worked on specific aspects of the negotiations. Justine Inns, Jan West, and Sandra Cook worked on specific cultural redress items, Te Maire Tau led the team working on the historical account and apology, and Tony Sewell helped with matters relating to economic redress.

The Crown's A-Team consisted of Sir Doug and Secretary of Justice David Oughton. The B-Team initially was made up of a diverse array of officials from various different government departments including

When Ngāi Tahu began its negotiations with the Crown, there was no established policy for reparations regarding historical grievances. As historian James Belich has noted, if any commentator had claimed in the late 1970s that the government would provide Treaty settlements worth tens and even hundreds of millions to iwi, they would have been "carted away by white coats". The Crown had to manage expectations, and ensure that settlements would be financially affordable, yet large enough to satisfy and settle large and at times complicated claims.

the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit (ToWPU), the Crown Law Office (CLO), the Treasury, the Department of Conservation, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, and others. The Crown officials were generally led by the ToWPU, but the CLO and Treasury had significant clout and power. Dozens of officials would come and go during the negotiations. Sir Doug was the only constant on the Crown's side throughout.

The Ngāi Tahu agreement was the first comprehensive settlement to address environmental and resource management claims, in addition to grievances relating to the minimal sums paid for lands in the purchases of the mid-nineteenth century, and the lack of reserves provided by the Crown. Despite all of these issues, the most pressing matter for Ngāi Tahu negotiators was the establishment of a legal entity to represent the iwi. This would replace the NTMTB structure, which Ngāi Tahu viewed as impinging on their rangatiratanga because of the limited control of funds and assets that was inherent in the system. The Trust Board was ultimately accountable to the Minister of Māori Affairs, rather than to the iwi. The legislation that established the legal structure – Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu – was introduced to Parliament in mid-1993, but due to opposition from two Ngāi Tahu-affiliated MPs concerned about the new structure being proposed, especially the way in which representatives would have been elected, it was not passed until 1996. Many of their requests for changes were eventually adopted in the final version of the legislation.

Shortly after the negotiations began, the Crown and Ngāi Tahu attempted to reach agreement on the financial aspect of the settlement. But Ngāi Tahu envisioned a much larger settlement, and following the fisheries settlement in September 1992, that aspect of the negotiations was delayed until late 1994. The non-financial aspects of the settlement such as environmental issues and the return

of pounamu were discussed from 1991 until the negotiations broke down in 1994; but due to extended debates and disagreements among different government departments, there was little actual progress on those fronts.

There was also extensive third-party opposition from the public that had to be combatted by both Ngāi Tahu and the Crown. This included both casual and virulent racism, conservation groups, public access advocates, as well as a range of different lobby groups and industries such as fisheries, forestry, and farming. The beginning of the breakdown of the negotiations can be pinpointed to early August 1994, when the Crown asked that their monthly meetings be delayed until the announcement of the Crown's new Treaty settlement policy at the end of that year. The Ngāi Tahu negotiators had become increasingly agitated with the lack of progress, but they perceived that the continuation of discussion was still key to the negotiation of a final settlement. The negotiations officially broke down in December 1994. Ngāi Tahu would state that the Crown had unilaterally cut off the negotiations during the period of the breakdown from the end of 1994 until the start of 1996.

Once the negotiations halted, Ngāi Tahu embarked on a litigation strategy, filing over a dozen lawsuits against various Crown departments alleging breaches of the principles of the Treaty. The strategy would not have been successful in the long-term, but litigation was effective in playing some part in pulling the Crown back to the negotiating table. With the help of Prime Minister Jim Bolger in late 1995 and early 1996, the

Crown gradually approached Tā Tipene, and by mid-1996, the negotiations had officially recommenced. Following tense negotiations, an Agreement in Principle was signed in October 1996, and a Deed of Settlement in November 1997.

When Ngāi Tahu began its negotiations with the Crown, there was no established policy for reparations regarding historical grievances. As historian James Belich has noted, if any commentator had claimed in the late 1970s that the government would provide Treaty settlements worth tens and even hundreds of millions to iwi, they would have been "carted away by white coats". The Crown had to manage expectations, and ensure that settlements would be financially affordable, yet large enough to satisfy and settle large and at times complicated claims. Ngāi Tahu negotiators had to contend with demanding communities back home who were not as attuned to the necessity for compromise. Both sides ultimately had to reach a middle point under which the settlements could be lasting, while limiting the financial scope so that the public would support the endeavour.

The Ngāi Tahu settlement established the benchmarks by which most future settlements would be negotiated over the following decades and into the present day. These benchmarks developed out of what has been described as the modern Treaty of Waitangi claims process, and were one product of what was termed the "Māori Renaissance", a cultural and political revival for Māori in the late 20th century. The agreements were far from what the iwi had wanted, but they were nonetheless significant settlements. They were compromises aimed at achieving a measure of reconciliation and some closure for those who had been carrying historical grievances from generation to generation. While many hopes and aspirations remain, the journey has well and truly begun.



# Post Settlement – the journey so far

Nā ANNA BRANKIN

**1996:** the first Hui-ā-Tau is held at Tuahiwi and attended by 1000 whānau



**2000:** Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu becomes the second largest land-owner in Te Waipounamu after the Crown

## THE EARLY YEARS

Te Kerēme – The Ngāi Tahu Claim – was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986, and in the ensuing years of negotiations with the Crown the iwi began to

mobilise in preparation for the long-awaited settlement. The passing of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 established Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to protect and advance the collective interests of the iwi.

In 1991, Tahu FM began broadcasting, and the station soon became an icon of Ngāi Tahu identity, sharing our stories, playing our music, and speaking our reo live on air throughout Te Waipounamu. In 1995, the publication of the first issue of TE KARAKA created yet another way to connect with whānau and continue a long history of storytelling.

Prior to settlement, legislation such as the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 and the Ngāi Tahu (Pounamu Vesting) Act 1997 allowed us to reassert rangatiratanga over the resources within our takiwā.

And at long last, in 1997, the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement was signed at Takahanga Marae, bringing generations of grievance to a close as we turned to the next stage of our tribal journey. The settlement package offered us a range of resources and tools that allowed us to reassert our Ngāi Tahu identity and create a prosperous future for our people.

Te Tapuae o Rehua was established in 1998 as one of the first Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu initiatives to promote security and empowerment for iwi members. This organisation represents a collaborative partnership between Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and education providers throughout Te Waipounamu. They are committed to increasing Māori participation in tertiary institutions, and offer opportunities for whānau members in higher education, trades, and agriculture.

In 2000, after extensive consultation with kaumātua, Ngāi Tahu whānui, and Papatipu Rūnanga, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu created Ngāi Tahu 2025. This is a vision document which outlines our tribal aspirations, and since its creation it has acted as a tribal map, guiding the iwi towards empowerment and the realisation of our dreams.

In keeping with the goal of increasing wellbeing, He Oranga Pounamu Charitable Trust (HOP) was also established in 2000, under mandate from Te Rūnanga





PHOTOGRAPH TONY BRIDGE

**2002:** Taurahere groups are established in Auckland, Tauranga and Hamilton

o Ngāi Tahu. Over the next 14 years HOP organised and integrated health and social services for Māori in the Ngāi Tahu rohe. In 2015 the decision was made to disestablish HOP in favour of empowering Papatipu Rūnanga to deliver these services within their takiwā.

## 2002–2006

In 2003, Kotahi Mano Kāika was created to lead the reinvigoration of te reo Māori in our Ngāi Tahu homes here and overseas. Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (One Thousand Homes, One Thousand Aspirations) represents a 25-year strategy which aims to have at least 1000 Ngāi Tahu households speaking te reo Māori by the year 2025, supported by an extensive range of language initiatives and resources for learners of all levels.

To date more than 1500 whānau are registered with Kotahi Mano Kāika as part of their learning journey, and a further 50 of these whānau have committed to normalising and using te reo Māori as the language of first choice in their homes.

In 2006, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu launched a range of programmes that offer opportunities to whānau in all aspects of their lives. Whai Rawa, the iwi savings scheme, enables members to receive annual distributions as well as matched savings that can be withdrawn to cover the cost of tertiary education, to purchase a first home, or to create a more comfortable retirement.

In the same year, programmes such as Ngāi Tahu Funds and Aoraki Bound were launched to strengthen our Ngāi Tahutanga.

Ngāi Tahu Funds was created to allow whānau to build cultural knowledge and revive traditional practices such as weaving, carving, and mahinga kai. Individuals or whānau groups can apply for funding for projects that help them to connect with their cultural identity – anything from learning more about their individual whakapapa, to hosting wānanga to restore knowledge to the wider community, to running environmental revitalisation projects.



**2004:** Shotover Jet becomes 100% Ngāi Tahu owned



**2005:** Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation Ltd reaches net worth of \$500 million



**2007:** Whai Rawa makes its first annual distribution of \$125 per person

**2008:** Kia Kūrapa event at Te Rau Aroha Marae brings together three generations of Kāi Tahu reo speakers for the first time in over 100 years



**2014:** Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation Ltd reaches net worth of \$1 billion

**2014:** The Whakapapa Unit at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu registers the 50,000th member

Aoraki Bound was developed in partnership with Outward Bound. Over the course of 20 days, participants are immersed in the landscapes and histories of Te Waipounamu, walking in the footsteps of our tupuna, and learning more about their Ngāi Tahu identity.

## 2007–2011

The Murihiku Development Pool was established in 2008 in acknowledgement of the tribe's traditional relationship with the ocean and its kaimoana, creating opportunities for a new generation of Ngāi Tahu fishers. Ngāi Tahu Seafood hopes to form enduring relationships with Ngāi Tahu whānau members by offering mentoring and support.

In 2011, the Marae Development Fund was created out of recognition that the 18 Papatipu Marae are the beating hearts of their communities, working to keep our whānau connected and our culture alive. This fund allows Papatipu Rūnanga to develop or even rebuild their marae, creating places that uphold the mana and traditions of our tūpuna, while supporting the daily functions of modern life.

In September 2010 and February 2011, Ōtautahi was struck by the devastating earthquakes that changed the landscape of the city forever. But although the earth shook, our manaaki and resolve remained steadfast as the iwi threw itself into the recovery and rebuild. In March 2011 the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) was created, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was given statutory acknowledgement that placed them on equal footing in the steering group with the Christchurch City Council, the Waimakariri and Selwyn District Councils, and Environment Canterbury.

This recognition of the rightful role of iwi gave Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu the opportunity to have a tangible effect on the rebuild, and in particular to support Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tūāhuriri to exercise mana whenua.

## 2012–PRESENT

In 2012, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu staged its inaugural Hui-ā-Iwi at the Lincoln Events Centre, hosted by Te Taumutu Rūnanga. Whānau travelled from throughout the country for the three-day celebration of Ngāi Tahutanga, which has since been held biennially.

In the same year, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu were able to uplift approximately \$68.5 million owed under the Relativity Mechanism in the Ngāi Tahu Settlement – a tool which works to ensure that the value of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement maintains its relative value against all other settlements.

In 2014, Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation surpassed \$1 billion in assets, enabling Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to continue providing opportunities for our whānau members. In the same year, the Whakapapa Unit registrations surpassed 50,000 members.

Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu, the Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, was established in 2014 by the nine iwi of the South Island. It is the realisation of an iwi-led model that invests in flax-roots innovation to bring about positive change for whānau.

In March 2015 the Waitaha Cultural Council hosted Te Matatini, the national kapa haka competition, in Ōtautahi with the support of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. This is the largest celebration of traditional Māori performing arts, and was an amazing opportunity to showcase our Ngāi Tahutanga and manaaki by welcoming crowds of over 30,000 people.



In November 2015 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu introduced the pēpi pack, a resource provided to all registered Ngāi Tahu pēpi to connect them to the iwi from birth. The pack consists of a flax wahakura fitted with mattress and blankets, and contains items including a whaka-papa scroll tracing the baby's ancestry, and a piece of pounamu.

**2016: Ngāi Tahu**  
[Property open](#)  
[Auckland office](#)

On Christmas Day 2015 the 1500th kiwi chick was hatched at Ngāi Tahu Tourism's Rainbow Springs in Rotorua. The chick, named Mighty Dash, marked a significant milestone in kiwi conservation and the ongoing effort in ensuring that this taonga species continues to thrive.



In 2015, Tribal Economies was launched to assist Ngāi Tahu whānui to launch their own businesses and allow the iwi to prosper at a greater rate by developing and trading within our own unique economy.

At the beginning of this year, the Shared Equity Housing Project came to fruition when the first whānau moved into their new homes. Smaller mortgages and lower repayments, thanks to shared equity with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, make home ownership a reality for whānau.



All this has happened in the last 20 years. We have much to be proud of, and much to look forward to.

Now, 20 years on from Settlement, our commercial portfolio has grown to over \$1.3 billion, with careful stewardship of assets ranging from shares in Ryman Healthcare to ownership of several iconic tourism businesses, diversified farming operations, property development and investment, and premium seafood products. These assets have been crucial in allowing Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to develop the range of programmes and initiatives described. These programmes and others all aim to fulfil tribal aspirations of empowerment and success for Papatipu Rūnanga, hapū, whānau, and individuals.



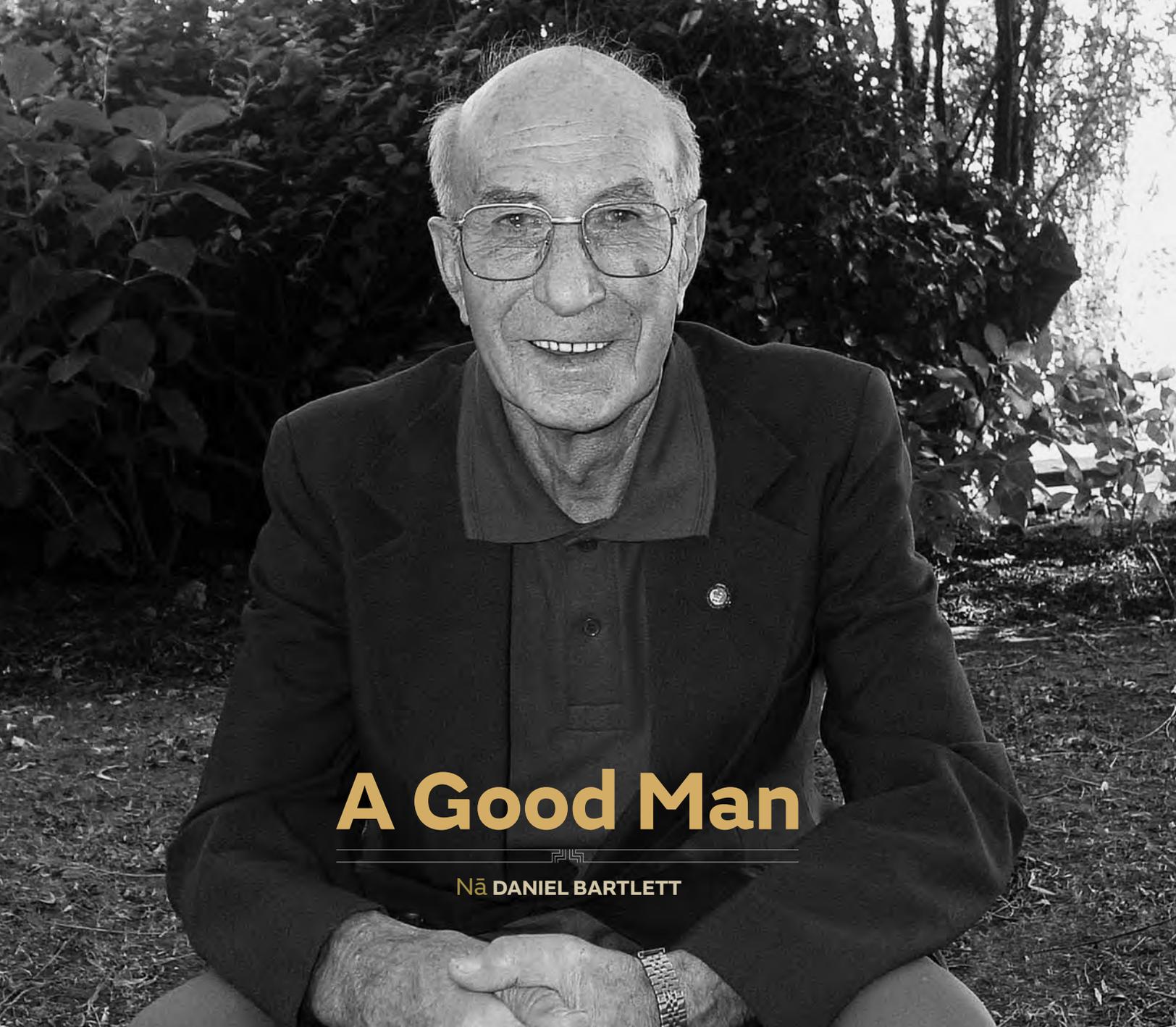
**2017: 23,670**  
[total Whai Rawa](#)  
[open accounts](#)

Our journey is just beginning, and our vision is to continue raising the horizon of opportunity for our whānau, helping them to achieve the culturally rich and bountiful future our tipuna dreamed of.



**2017: \$4 million paid**  
 (from Te Rūnanga) as direct  
[distributions to whānau who](#)  
[were members in 2016](#)





# A Good Man

Nā DANIEL BARTLETT

IN THE 1980s THE NGĀI TAHU MĀORI TRUST BOARD BEGAN grappling with the issue of developing a governance structure with its own legal personality with greater accountability to its people and that could deliver what Ngāi Tahu needed for its post-settlement future. Its first attempt was the creation of Te Runanganui o Tahu in 1990 under the Incorporated Societies Act, a precursor to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

Kelvin (Kelly) Mervyn Anglem, from Arowhenua, was the first kaiwhakahaere of Ngāi Tahu, heading Te Rūnanganui o Tahu until ill health forced him to retire in 1993. A close friend, cousin, and neighbour of my pōua Carlyle (Carl) Walker, Kelly is a man I have only ever heard spoken of in the very highest regard. Indeed, whenever his name comes up, my mother will say, “He was such a good man.” When I heard that TE KARAKA was planning a profile on Kelly, I proffered my services without hesitation. I grabbed a recorder and a raincoat, and headed south on State Highway 1 to go and talk to Pōua.

Kelly was born in 1930, and grew up at Waipopo, on the banks of the Ōpihi River. The small South Canterbury settlement is found 10 kilometres south-west of Temuka. Kelly’s mother was Minnie

Te Waimakariri Anglem, and he was brought up by his grandparents, Mereana Tarawhata Waaka (Aunty Piriha) and Walter (Wally) Te Maiharanui Anglem, who legally adopted him. He attended Seadown School and then Timaru Boys’ High School, before going to work on Rollesby Station, at Burkes Pass in the Mackenzie Country.

Kelly was renowned for his wisdom and understanding of whenua, whakapapa, and mahinga kai. My pōua Carl describes him as being “very knowledgeable”.

“He learnt everything from his tāua and pōua when he was a child, and it was instilled in him all the way up.”

Kelly would later draw upon this mātauranga Māori in support of his hapū, his iwi, and Te Kerēme.

This expertise was just one of the many reasons that Kelly was appointed the first kaiwhakahaere of Ngāi Tahu, when Te Rūnanganui o Tahu Incorporated was established on 5 October 1990.

Another was his ability to remain calm when there was kōrero in the whare. “He would just listen and talk quietly,” says Carl. “Some people start talking over you when they think they know everything. He wasn’t like that. He was a real gentleman.”

Kelly was actively involved in many committees, including the Arowhenua Rūnanga and the Waipopo Trust. “He wasn’t on [the Waipopo Trust] for a start. Then Mick O’Connor said, ‘Get Kelvin’. And so we went down and asked him to come and join us. So he joined us then and was with us ever since,” says Carl.

Alongside his mahi for the iwi, Kelly worked as a stevedore on the Timaru wharf for over 30 years – responsible for loading and unloading the ships in port. He married Eunice Margaret Walton (Margaret or Aunty Pop) in July 1956, becoming stepfather to her children, and later, a father to their daughter Christine. Kelly and Margaret were devoted and loving parents. Christine describes her parents as “two of the most remarkable people I have ever met ... community, teamwork and family were very important in our house.”

Kelly took the children to the Ōpihi River to teach them how to bob for eels using harakeke, to lay down hinaki, to hand line and spear fish, and to whitebait. As well as these practical skills, Christine says that her parents taught the children “many things. A work ethic second to none, that all people are created equal ... [and that] if you had knowledge, share it; your children and grandchildren are your future.”

The whānau lived in Timaru, but in later years Kelly and Margaret returned to live at his papa kāika, Waipopo, where they built a house. Carl says that Kelly reckoned “it was the best thing that ever happened, because if anything went wrong he could just walk down the road and get me, or I’d go up and get him.”

When I asked Gwen Bower, Kelly’s niece, for her earliest memory of him, she enigmatically replied, “3868”. In response to my obvious bemusement, Gwen, who is now the Arowhenua Marae manager, elaborated: “For some reason, I used to ring up Aunty Pop and Uncle Kel, quite frequently, and sing ‘*Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star*’. So I learnt their telephone number, which was 3868.”

The families were all very close, says Gwen, “because of Dad, Uncle Lallie [Carlyle Walker], and Kelly all being brought up down at Waipopo, and spending a lot of time with their tāua and pōua.”

Kelly and Margaret “lived up the hill from us, around on Andrew Street [in Marchwiel, Timaru], so we frequently went up there to see them. And Christine. And Judith, Michael, David, and Peter – they were the children from Aunty Pop’s first marriage.

“All throughout our lives Uncle Kel and Aunty Pop were really, really strong role models for us.”

In the 1980s Kelly helped the Māori Affairs Department when they were setting up work schemes in the region. Gwen remembers that he was “always helping people with their whakapapa and with land issues.” Kelly and Margaret were actively involved in the wider community, and Kelly was “highly regarded in every tauīwi group you can think of,” says Gwen.

He was also a staunch defender of the environment, and in 1988, when he spoke of his bucolic childhood to the Waitangi Tribunal, it was with a sense of sadness at the changes that had taken place:

“I recall as a child from the age of four onwards, being taken by my grandparents each year, on a night in March, across to the North bank (Milford side) of the Ōpihi River immediately opposite our home. We would anchor our boat under the willows, and using the moenu or bob, we would proceed to catch our winter supply of eels... These eels were cleaned, dried, and preserved; some being used as barter for other foodstuffs [and] the remainder as a winter food supply. I also recall in March 1944 going towards the river mouth one night and coming upon the Heke – the migration of the eels to the sea to spawn. The river mouth was blocked, and the eels had elected to travel overland and across the shingle beach to the sea. I picked out of the grass and shingle as many eels as I could carry in the space of 15 minutes. Alas, 1988 tells a different story.”



“He would just listen and talk quietly [when there was kōrero in the whare]. Some people start talking over you when they think they know everything. He wasn’t like that. He was a real gentleman.”

**CARLYLE (CARL) WALKER**

Identifying river realignment, removal of willows, commercial fishing, irrigation, and pollution as the main culprits in the declining eel population, Kelly quoted the *Timaru Herald*’s recent description of the Ōpihi River’s deplorable transformation “from a recreational resource into something unfit for dogs to swim in.” And it was with regret that Kelly averred, “I am glad my tūpuna cannot stand on the banks of the Ōpihi and see what I have stood back and allowed to happen.” A man with an innate sense of what was right and what was wrong, Kelly’s integrity was manifest when he outlined to the Waitangi Tribunal his grave concerns about the machinations of commercial polluters. Highlighting a Timaru company that had agreed to improve the quality of the effluent it discharged into the Washdyke creek, Kelly was not afraid to speak truth to power:

*“About two months ago at the expiration of its current entitlement, this company applied for an emergency water right, citing as its reason the non-arrival from overseas of equipment needed to improve the quality of effluent. They further went on to say that, should they not be granted this emergency water right, the company would have to seriously consider moving their operation to Christchurch. I suggest that this is not an isolated case where these sorts of pressures have been used by commercial operators, and in the light of the present economic climate and the high rate of unemployment in Aoraki, these tactics are nothing short of industrial and political blackmail, effectively rendering useless any powers that water boards and other regional authorities may have ... we need to remember that we do not live in a land that was left to us by our fathers, but rather a land that we have borrowed – TEMPORARILY – from our children.”*

Kelly passed away in 2006, aged 76. In a fitting testament to a Ngāi Tahu leader, indefatigable worker, and genuinely good man, Gwen remembers him thus: “To me, he was a person of integrity and mana. He was humble with it, and willing to share his knowledge. And it wasn’t just for Māori ... him and Aunty Pop were highly thought of in other circles too. At work, he always had that strong sense of integrity. He had mana wherever he went.”





# Te Kerēme – a reflection

Nā TĀ TIPENE O'REGAN

TWENTY YEARS AGO WE GATHERED AT TAKAHANGA MARAE, Kaikōura, to execute the Ngāi Tahu Deed of Settlement with the Crown. It was only after weathering another storm-tossed year of litigation and political stress, both internal and external, that the agreement was finally passed into law by Parliament – that year was to be another story in its own right. It was the Deed of Settlement, though, that marked the turning point in the several histories that comprise the seven-generation story of the Ngāi Tahu Claims – Te Kerēme o Ngāi Tahu.

As a significant participant in the later part of those histories, I've been asked by TE KARAKA to summarise my views after 20 years as to whether it was all worthwhile; as to whether our collective vision has yet been realised. Have we succeeded, or has our journey thus far fallen short of that inter-generational dream?

There's a widespread public view that we have done very well, that we have been something of an exemplary model of success for the Treaty settlement process; and there is little doubt that we have moved from being something of a disregarded non-event in a marginalised Māori world to a position of both cultural and economic respect. As a people we may not be much loved within the “Kiwi Village”, but we are certainly no longer disregarded.

Certainly, within our Iwi, there is a hugely enhanced cultural and economic confidence, and this is manifested in many ways – our marae stand increasingly redeveloped and proud, more of our young speak te reo Māori, our arts are reborn and flourishing, and we confidently and willingly invest in our own cultural renewal and the rebuilding of our own heritage. That re-established culture and heritage is increasingly becoming a significant component of the mosaic of cultures which comprise the core identity of Aotearoa New Zealand.

One of the great challenges Ngāi Tahu faced, as we began to believe that a settlement might become a reality, was to come to some conclusions as to what we'd do with it once we'd got it! Over all those generations since Matiaha first started articulating the grievance in 1849, the Claim itself had become the core expression of Ngāi Tahu culture. We'd even historically reorganised ourselves politically and socially around Te Kerēme – our generations-old rūnanga system was established to drive the Claims. With the exception of our whakapapa and our adhesion to our mahika kai, the Ngāi Tahu Claim had itself become our Ngāi Tahu culture.

But we had not formulated any clear collective aspiration of what we wanted beyond the claims themselves – of what we wanted to actually do with a settlement – of how we wanted to be! Neither had we any developed plan of what kind of organisation we wanted to manage our assets into the future, or indeed, what we wanted to do with any such assets. We were running after a bus without any clear notion of its destination!

In my earlier years I regularly had robust discussions with my

kaumātua mentor, Frank Winter, chairman of the old Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, about the role of the board. He argued that the only function of the board was to carefully administer money and distribute it for largely educational purposes. Beyond that, the mission was to get an increase in the annual compensation payment to the Board. In our time, through the 1970s and 1980s, my colleagues and I were to dramatically widen the role of our tribal authority. We moved out into such issues as challenging the perpetual leaseholds of the Māori Reserved Land Act (1955) and establishing the Māwhera Incorporation, the restoration of the Tītī Island title, remedying the SILNA land situation, promoting te reo, and a host of innovative actions in support of our regional rūnanga communities, including their statutory recognition. All of that, though, was done within the structure of the Māori Trust Boards Act (1955), a statute designed by the New Zealand State to manage and maintain control of Māori compensation funds nominally in the hands of tribal recipients. It was appallingly paternalist, and my generation was very much about testing the limits and the tolerance of that paternalism! The realisation that Ngāi Tahu was not allowed to spend more than \$200 of its own money without the permission of the Minister of Māori Affairs was to become a major trigger of indignation in the emergent climate.

The biggest extension that we drove in the role of our Trust Board, though, was to support the statutory struggle to extend the Waitangi Tribunal mandate, and prepare and then file the Ngāi Tahu Claims before the Tribunal. How that was done and funded, a huge story in its own right, and at an overall cost of just under \$20m, taught us one big lesson. That lesson was that the existing tribal organisation could never carry the burden of a settlement!

The prospect of settlement, then, challenged us with the issue of finding an appropriate institutional model that could work for a modern tribe emerging into the 21st Century. Many of our kaumātua wanted to retain their old Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and they took quite a lot of persuading that it could not work, that it was whakamōkai – a creature of The State – and we wanted a structure of our own, to meet our own purposes which could take us into a post-Claim future. Above all, it had to achieve an autonomous tino rakatirataka which reflected our status as a Treaty partner and with which the Crown could relate on an appropriate basis. We'd fought the Claim on a basis of the Treaty and now was the time to re-assert that Treaty relationship. That's what the Ngāi Tahu Legal Personality kaupapa was all about, and the Waitangi Tribunal agreed with us – and said so plainly.

The series of constructive debates that took place on these questions – our “Constitutional Conventions” – took place at our Hui-ā-Tau and as well at Arowhenua and Kaikōura and remain in my memory as some of the most elevated and serious group discussions I have ever had the privilege of experiencing. They proceeded on prin-

PHOTOGRAPH PHIL TUMATAROA



Ngāi Tahu Maori Trust Board 1965 including Tā Tipene's mentor Frank Winter.  
 Back row left to right: H.J.R. Mason (Mahaanui), W. Torepe (Arowhenua), T.P.W. Robinson (Akaroa), R.A.M. Whatiri (Murihiku), R. Ellison (Araiteuru).  
 Front row left to right: R. Solomon (Kaikōura – Deputy Chairman), F.D. Winter (Te Ika-a-Maui – Chairman), S.B. Ashton (Secretary).

ciple and with great courtesy and care. More than one of our (largely Pākehā) external advisors from that time still refer to those hui with respect and admiration. The outcome was the early form of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRoNT) structure. It's been played around with a bit since – not always very wisely – but it has served us pretty well on the whole and remains, after 20 years, one of the more effective models of contemporary tribal administration.

That's not to say I am content with the quality of debate and discussion at the TRoNT table or with the depth of discussion accorded some significant issues. It seems to me that too much of the debate I have observed is about process rather than substantive content, and that, too frequently, our representatives are not sufficiently in command of the subject matter they're dealing with. Again, there are major policy questions affecting Ngāi Tahu in the wider national context, issues to do with Treaty rights in a dramatically-evolving demography, a changing national constitutional discussion, and significant areas of contention over a range of customary rights which should be better protected, from a Treaty perspective. The big issues

seem to me to get parked up at the margin, while the most intense discussion takes place over relatively minor operational matters.

It was a matter of pained regret to me personally that my own beloved Ngāi Tahu could not find the energy – either intellectual or bureaucratic – to develop a formal response to the Constitutional Advisory Panel (2011–2013) of which I was co-chair. Over that two-year period a number of iwi and Māori organisations around the country took the trouble to advance their considered thoughts on the future of our Constitution and about how they believed New Zealand should evolve as a nation. Importantly, they all had a view of the future of the Treaty of Waitangi in the evolution of the New Zealand Constitution. Despite some stimulating hui at our Papatipu Rūnanga, our senior leadership structure had neither the will nor the interest to make a response. They just didn't care! I cannot accept the view that Ngāi Tahu believe that the Treaty is “past its use-by date” now that we've got a settlement! However, I don't hear the debate or even the questions. It's clear that these questions are still no longer at front of mind for our Iwi at a senior level. I can only observe that “those who

The series of constructive debates that took place on our “Constitutional Conventions” remain in my memory as some of the most elevated and serious group discussions I have ever had the privilege of experiencing. They proceeded on principle and with great courtesy and care. The outcome was the early form of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu structure [which] has served us pretty well on the whole and remains, after 20 years, one of the more effective models of contemporary tribal administration.

forget history are condemned to repeat it!” and retire, somewhat grumpily, into my archival preoccupations.

All that said, though, it’s probably fair to say that the standard of decision-making through our structure is no worse than that to be found in the New Zealand Parliament or in much of Local Government. It could be argued, though, that’s a pretty low bar for a people whose fundamental challenge is the re-birth and future nurture of our Ngāi Tahu Nation!

Having concluded that it’s not as bad as it might be, it’s only fair to address the question of what might be done to enhance the evolution of our leadership structure.

I believe that we need to address the effectiveness of our representational model so that the widest possible base of discussion, debate, and understanding can take place. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu should be actively and constantly refining and refreshing its mandate. The enormous proportion of our (58,000-strong) membership who are distant from our tribal communion need to be actively re-engaged; they need to believe that their views and aspirations matter. We should be making a start on that challenge by remedying some of our structural mistakes which result in thousands being denied a vote; by pursuing a more consistent, and less exclusive, basis of membership in our Papatipu Rūnanga and by more creatively engaging our taurahere iwi members. And that’s just for starters!

But the people are not going to care about engaging with a leadership structure which manifests neither vision nor strategic sense. There is little attraction in engagement with a leadership fixated with process and operational “pito gazing”. I am not saying that this necessarily describes our current overall leadership, but we do not, at present, competently and intelligently demonstrate a sense of informed and strategic vision; and we don’t take that out to our people and encourage their engagement. I believe that that is what should be happening. We must rebuild the widespread sense of purpose that we had 20 years ago, and breathe fresh life back into our collective purpose.

Whilst we have, undeniably, done reasonably well financially, I have been saddened by the constantly-eroding territorial footprint in which our tribal investment strategies have resulted. We now have far less land than we had following Settlement – this despite the fact that our forests have been some of our best-performing assets. We’ve been selling them off for cash to make alternative investments or to bail out various investment disasters. It’s not hard to understand the commercial reasoning, but it is very much the view of a Pākehā traders’ market, which has no place for growing heritage assets. But the dream of 20 years ago, and the generations before us, was that we would once again become a landed people in our own country – that



PHOTOGRAPH: JOHANNES VAN KAN/WORD CHRISTCHURCH

mana whenua should again have substance, and not be just a determinant of the speaking order in mihi whakatau!

I appreciate that there is currently a substantial tribal groundswell against this trend, and I welcome it. But the situation has been allowed to evolve over the last two decades by the absence of a clear, culturally and strategically informed direction to those charged with the management of our assets. That we recovered huge areas of profitable land 20 years ago and we today hold only a modest fraction of that territory is a huge regret to me. “Nō hea koe?” is at the very heart of the query, “Ko wai koe?”. To be rich and landless is a reasonable aim for a Pākehā investment trust. It can never be a sufficient ambition for an indigenous people seeking to recover their mana in their ancestral territory. Mana whenua needs some whenua under it!

All in all, though, even allowing for the disappointments in which I’ve been indulging and the (thankfully!) few commercial disasters, it would be churlish not to freely admit that we have done very well compared with a whole range of comparable entities.

So was it all worth it? Of course it was! There are a lot of old dreams unfulfilled – but we have time on our side and the opportunity to repair our own waka for the next phase of the voyage. That’s a privilege that those earlier generations, pooling their meagre kohi-kohi, never had. It is, though, our privilege – and our challenge – Aoraki Matatū!



# Double Oscar Winner

In the language of scriptwriters, the term “story arc” refers to a central theme that unfolds within each episode or scene. For Ngāi Tahu sound mixer and recordist Hammond Peek, the story arc of his life and career can be summed up in a word: **whānau**. The two-time Oscar winner talks to kaituhi **ILA COUCH** about a career that has taken him all the way to Hollywood, but has always led back home.



WHEN YOU VISIT THE HOME OF AN OSCAR WINNER THE FIRST thing you look for is their award, or, in the case of Hammond Peek – awards. For starters, he’s not the kind of guy who has his accolades out on display. Secondly, after giving you a sneak peak of the golden statues, he makes sure you’re not going to reveal their hiding place. “If they’re stolen the Academy won’t replace them.”

What is easy to spot are the DVDs. Stacks of them in front of the television: *Fences*, *Lion*, *Moana*, *Moonlight*, *La La Land*. Over the course of two months, 30 to 40 films have been arriving by international courier at his Christchurch home. These are no ordinary DVDs. In the Motion Picture Industry they’re called “screeners”, sent out to Academy members to view and vote on.

The two-time Oscar winner has been voting since 2011, and his library would be huge if not for a few rules. “I’m not allowed to lend them to anyone else. In fact, I’m meant to chop them up once I’ve viewed each DVD.” As time consuming as it is, voting is a way to give back to an industry he has been a part of for 40 years. “Even though I’ve been recording sound all these years, ultimately my main reason for doing it is that I enjoy telling stories.”

The whakapapa of every family holds an interesting story or two, and for Hammond it is his maternal grandfather Thomas Norton (Ngāi Tahu, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Kuri) who stands out as a fascinating character. “When you’re a kid you get told certain things you don’t question or follow up on, but I knew Granddad had been a whaler.



PHOTOGRAPH I.L.A. COUCH

At 14, he was the youngest gunner on the front of the whale chasers.”

Hammond grew up in Picton, not far from Arapawa Island, where his grandfather worked at Te Awaiti whaling station. The fourth of six kids, Hammond spent most of his childhood outside. “We didn’t get television until I was nine or ten years old, so we entertained ourselves.”

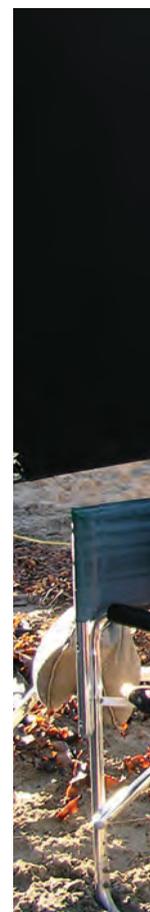
At 16 he got a glimpse into what would be his future career when a crew arrived in Picton to shoot a kids’ series. “There were lights, cameras, reflectors, and actors; and I thought, ‘Wow – Hollywood. It would be great to do that.’”

At the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, Hammond studied mathematics, a subject he was good at but lost interest in. Having

failed to pass enough subjects, he left university, made and sold jewellery, and enrolled in a graphic design course, where he met his future wife, Renata. The year he was married, Hammond accepted a job he was completely unqualified for. He agreed to fill in for a soundman who had fallen ill.

“We spent three days shooting mock interviews with the cameraman’s wife. That was my formal training.” From there he hopped on a plane to Auckland to record sound for a documentary. “I sort of adopted that stance, ‘Fake it ’til you make it,’” says Hammond.

“The rest I learned on the job.” And so it was that at the age of 24 and quite by accident, Hammond had stumbled into the magical world of production.



By the end of the 1970s the Peek family were living in Auckland, where a stronger market meant greater opportunities in commercials, documentaries, television dramas, and feature films. In those early years Hammond recorded location sound for *Bridge to Nowhere* and *The Quiet Earth* starring Bruno Lawrence; and *Came a Hot Friday*, featuring the country's most beloved comedian, Billy T James. "One of the hardest things recording that film was shutting the crew up," says Hammond. "They would be cracking up because he was just so funny."

With Hammond frequently away on location, wife Renata was often left to single-handedly raise their five children – Eva, Ferand, Marcel, Lucita, and Michael. Hammond remembers how tough it was, hearing his son back home had broken his leg. "You'd hang up the phone and it felt really hard because you weren't there. You couldn't be the person who looked after the other kids, or take your son to hospital."

In 1990 Renata's own health took a turn for the worse when she suffered kidney failure. "When your kidneys pack up you've got to sit attached to a machine for 5–8 hours, three times a week. I seriously considered the possibility of ending my work in the freelance film and television industry so I could be home to sit with Renata and look after the kids."

Faced with a potentially long wait for a kidney transplant, the couple shifted their family to Christchurch so Renata could tap into the support of her whānau there. "We had some really tough years. It was hard on our kids seeing their mum sick for a huge part of their childhood."

To bring some stability to the family finances, Hammond took a break from freelancing and accepted the position of Head Tutor at

"I've filmed on quite a few marae, and in 1997 I was at Takahanga Marae for the signing of the settlement. I don't think it really hit me until later on. It was such a critical part of Ngāi Tahu history and my own as I start to develop my connections to Takahanga Marae and the rūnanga of Kaikōura."

#### HAMMOND PEEK

the New Zealand Film and Television School in Christchurch. "It was the hardest year's work I have ever done. There was all this stuff about waveforms and decibels. I had managed to get this far in the industry without really understanding the technical aspects of what makes sound, sound."

When he did return to production work, Hammond made sure to take jobs that allowed him to stay close to his family. In 1994 he was offered a feature film being shot in Christchurch. "I remember at the time thinking, 'This is Peter Jackson – all the films he's made to date have been splatter movies. Lots of blood and guts. Do I really want to get involved in a story where two girls murder one of their mums?'"

Before making a decision Hammond asked for a copy of the script. "I'm a pretty slow reader, but I was captivated." Saying yes to the film *Heavenly Creatures* turned out to be one of the best decisions of his career, cementing his working relationship with Peter Jackson.

By the time *The Lord Of The Rings* films came along, the tough times that had brought the family back to Christchurch were behind



Above: Thomas and Bertha Norton (Grandad and Grandma).  
Far left: Cast and crew on the set of *Heavenly Creatures*; left: on the set of *Kaitangata Twitch*.

them. After a seven-year wait, Renata had finally received a kidney transplant. “Her skin colour changed, suddenly she had lots more energy. It was like the Renata of old had come back to me. I was able to head off knowing my family was okay back in Christchurch.”

Hammond worked alongside a mix of local and international cast and crew during the 14 months it took to film *The Lord Of The Rings* trilogy. He describes the “family feel” on set as something special to the New Zealand film industry. “It becomes like a whānau for a particular period of time, and it’s very close. One of the runners on *LOTR* was a great surfer, so he took all the Hobbits out and taught them how to surf. That probably wouldn’t have happened in any other country.”

When Hammond won an Oscar in 2004 for Best Sound Mixing for *The Lord Of The Rings: The Return of the King*, he acknowledged the crew first in his acceptance speech. “A lot of people had their Oscar parties, and all the crew were glued to the TV. I felt incredibly proud being there.” Two years later he was back to accept his second Oscar for Best Sound Mixing on Peter Jackson’s version of *King Kong*.

Despite the additional accolades of a Cinema Audio Society Award for best sound in 2001 and a British Academy of Film Television Arts (BAFTA) nomination, he remains down to earth. “The unexpected thing was a lot of people didn’t call me up for documentaries and TV commercials. They weren’t sure now I’d won an Oscar that I would want to do them anymore.”

Hammond’s last Peter Jackson project was the 2009 feature film, *The Lovely Bones*. In 2010 he worked on the TV series *Kaitangata Twitch*, filmed in Governors Bay. These days he says he hasn’t retired – he’s just stepped away from the industry. “I got tired of being away from home, and then I got to a certain point where I would rather do

other things.” Alongside managing investment properties, he offers his services as tour guide with a Christchurch company taking *LOTR* fans to the Edoras location at Mt Sunday.

There has also been time for Hammond to dig further into his Māoritanga, which has intersected with his career many times over the years. “I’ve filmed on quite a few marae, and in 1997 I was at Takahanga Marae for the signing of the settlement. I don’t think it really hit me until later on. It was such a critical part of Ngāi Tahu history and my own as I start to develop my connections to Takahanga Marae and the rūnanga of Kaikōura.”

Having taken an introductory course in te reo Māori, Hammond is enthusiastic about the experience. “If you’re thinking about doing a te reo course, go for it. No matter what age you are. I always tell my wife, ‘I’m going to live to a hundred’, and they say the best thing to do to keep the old brain active is to learn a language.”

The arc of Hammond’s story comes full circle with his children Ferand and Lucita, who now work in the film industry. “My son often contracts to the digital department of Park Road Post in Wellington. He wants to direct his own feature film. Our youngest daughter works at Weta Digital on many of the latest blockbuster movies.” Just this year the family celebrated the 20th anniversary of Renata’s successful kidney transplant and 41 years of marriage.

“I thank God for the blessing of my soulmate and my five great kids, all who I am extremely proud of.”

As to whether he would like the chance to stash a few more Oscars around the house, Hammond has this to say. “If Peter Jackson called me up and offered me a job I’d have a nice chat and say no. I don’t miss it.

“For me, life keeps getting better.”



PHOTOGRAPHS AND WORDS  
Nā PHIL TUMATAROA

# Te Ao o te Māori

A WINDOW INTO THE  
RICH LIFESTYLES OF  
CONTEMPORARY MĀORI





For more than 80 years the Te Waipounamu Māori Girls' College helped young girls grow to become young women.

The college was the only boarding school for girls in Te Waipounamu so for hundreds of Ngāi Tahu families, and many others from the north and further afield, their daughters were sent there to be educated.

Recently a small group of former Te Wai girls came together at the old Ferry Road school site in Christchurch to reminisce and help celebrate a significant birthday for former college Matron Reihana Parata; aka Aunty Doe or just "Mum" for the old girls of Te Wai!

Opened in 1909 by the Anglican Māori Diocese in Ōhoka under the guidance of Rev Charles Fraer, the college never deviated from its focus of providing an education for Māori girls. In 1921 it moved from its rural roots to its Ferry Road site and in 1965 the on-site school was closed and the girls started attending nearby Avonside Girls' High School for their formal education.

"We might have gone to Avonside to learn our writing and arithmetic, but at the college we learnt how to look after ourselves and each other, about our culture and language, how to be resourceful and creative, cook and clean, grow food," says Leisa Aumua, who helped organise the reunion.

"It was real marae styles and 'Mum' was a huge part of that. She looked after us all, she was very much our Mum and we were a sisterhood – we still are today."

Aunty Doe says she just wanted to help when she took on the job of Matron in 1978. She was living in Rotorua with husband Pura and her two eldest daughters, Ripeka and Rangimarie, were boarding at the college.

"I used to go down to college and sort out my children," she says smiling. "I could see the school was having a few problems and I just wanted to help."

The whole family relocated to Christchurch and lived at the college for the next 11 years. Their youngest girl, Puamiria, also attended the college and the boys Taiawhio and Manawanui attended boarding school in the north.

"It was our home. Pura, or 'Dad' as they called him, was also very involved in the school. He was the good cop and I was the bad cop," says Aunty Doe laughing, having just recounted stories of her doing the night patrol carrying a hockey stick to deal with the hostel boys that were frequent uninvited visitors.

"Families would send me a young girl and they got back a young lady."

More than 150 whānau, friends and 35 Te Wai girls gathered at Te Pā o Rākihautū to honour and celebrate 80 years of life, love and service to whānau and community.

"When the girls started to sing those memories just all came back," sighs Aunty Doe. "I love their singing."





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# SILNA

**The South Island Landless Natives Act (SILNA) was a law passed by the Liberal government on 20 October 1906. SILNA was intended to alleviate the poverty of Kāi Tahu by providing “landless natives” with an asset base.** While this seems honourable, the intention was never achieved and SILNA was later outed by the Waitangi Tribunal for what it really was: a “cruel hoax”. In this article kaituhi **RENATA DAVIS** explores the history of SILNA and unpacks the issues that remain outstanding some 111 years later.

FROM 1844 TO 1864 THE CROWN NEGOTIATED 10 LARGE-SCALE purchases of land from Kāi Tahu, whereby some 34,500,000 acres of land, almost the entire land base of the iwi, was sold for £14,750. The promises of the Crown purchase agents created an expectation that Kāi Tahu would be left with “ample reserves” and access to mahika kai areas. These promises were not honoured, leading to widespread impoverishment and pervasive socio-economic issues for the iwi.

The problem of Kāi Tahu landlessness was the subject of several Crown investigations throughout the mid-to-late 1800s. The most poignant of these was the Mackay Royal Commission of 1886-87. Commissioner Mackay’s 1887 report condemned the approaches taken by the Crown purchase agents to obtain land from the iwi. Mackay recommended that land be set aside for use and occupation by landless individuals, and further land be set aside as an endowment to provide for the welfare of the tribe.

Commissioner Mackay’s recommendations were ignored by the government until about 1891, when he was again appointed commissioner to consider the question of Kāi Tahu landlessness. After visiting the principal kāika of the tribe, Commissioner Mackay’s second report painted a picture of poverty and malaise amongst Kāi Tahu. He found that 44% of the tribe had no land, 46% had “insufficient” land, and only 10% had sufficient land to meet their future economic needs. He reiterated his 1887 recommendations; that vast tracts of land be set aside for “landless” individuals.

Eventually, the need for Crown action was recognised. In 1893 Mackay and Percy Smith (Surveyor-General) were appointed to complete lists of landless Māori and to assign them parcels of land

(in Murihiku and Rakiura). Most of this mahi was done in their spare time and with little resourcing from the Crown.

By 1905 the Commissioners had allocated 142,463 acres to 4,064 people. They recommended that empowering legislation be passed to formalise the land transfers to the identified individuals.

Accordingly, the South Island Landless Natives Act was passed on 20 October 1906. The legislation authorised the transfer of land to impoverished individuals, in the hope that it would provide for their financial stability.

The reality of the SILNA scheme was very different to the altruistic outer appearance. Almost all the land set aside under SILNA was unfit for purpose. In other words, it could not in reality be used to live on, nor to generate a sustainable income. As noted in the many government inquiries and reports over the years, much of the land was uneconomic, inferior, remote, and required significant capital expenditure on roads and infrastructure to become productive. Some blocks were far removed from the actual residences of the “landless natives”. To add insult, the lands were a stark contrast to the productive and fertile lands provided to landless Europeans under other legislation at the time.

While the majority of the land set aside under the Act was transferred to the identified beneficiaries before the legislation was repealed in 1909 (including land at western and eastern Murihiku, Rakiura, Te Tai Poutini and Te Tau Ihu), four of the identified blocks remain in Crown ownership to this day. The four blocks are: Hāwea-Wānaka (also known as the “Sticky Forest”) in Otago, Whakapoai by the Heaphy River, and Toitoto and Port Adventure on Rakiura.

*Opposite: The four identified SILNA blocks that remain in Crown ownership to this day.*

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Whakapoai/Heaphy

Hāwea and Wānaka (Wānaka Plantation Reserve)

Toitō Port Adventure



Right: Whakapapa expert matua Terry Ryan; opposite: Jo McLean, Hāwea-Wānaka successor and Te Rūnanga representative for Waihao Rūnanga.

SILNA grievances were investigated by the Waitangi Tribunal throughout the Kāi Tahu Wai 27 claim process, including matters relating to the four unvested blocks. The 1991 report was scathing of SILNA, stating the Tribunal was “unable to escape the conclusion that, to appease its conscience, the Crown wished to appear to be doing something when in fact it was perpetrating a cruel hoax.”

The 1991 report (and other later Tribunal reports) became the basis for the ensuing settlement negotiations between Kāi Tahu and Crown officials, leading to the Deed of Settlement 1997 and the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. Included was a Crown acknowledgement it had breached the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi by failing to complete the transfer of the four blocks. A two-step process was created to resolve this problem, envisaging: (1) the identification of the living successors to the original “landless native” grantees; and (2) the successors deciding the substance and details of their desired redress. For example, whether they would receive title to the original land blocks or negotiate an alternative settlement package, the status of any land transferred (Māori freehold or general), and the entity that would own the land (Māori incorporation or a trust etcetera).

Twenty years on, the lack of progress on this portion of the settlement is far from satisfactory. Whakapapa expert matua Terry Ryan says: “It’s got to be resolved to put the tipuna to rest. The way I see it, they’re not at rest – they’ve been isolated for over 100 years. I’d like to see it resolved in my lifetime, otherwise another generation will inherit the problem, and they’re another generation further divorced from it.”

While work is almost complete on identifying successors for the Hāwea-Wānaka block, minimal mahi has been done for the Toitoto block and almost none for the remaining two blocks. Government officials blame inadequate Māori Land Court resourcing, the underes-

timation of the task, lack of available expertise, and logistical delays caused by the 2011 Christchurch earthquake.

The Hāwea-Wānaka block provides an example of how the SILNA settlement mechanism has played out since 1998. Under SILNA, 53 individuals were allocated land at Manuhaea or “The Neck”, being the narrow strip between lakes Wānaka and Hāwea. The land was never actually transferred to the owners before SILNA was repealed in 1909. To resolve the issue, the Crown and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Te Rūnanga) agreed that 50.7 hectares of land north of Wānaka township would be made available for the successors or current living relatives of the original grantees (the Hāwea-Wānaka substitute block, also known to locals as the “Sticky Forest”). The Hāwea-Wānaka successors are not able to negotiate alternative redress under the settlement provisions.

The land contains some 40 hectares of exotic forest, most of which is subject to the Emissions Trading Scheme. It is zoned ‘Rural General’ land by the Queenstown Lakes District Council. There are no legal roads on to the block. There are ongoing costs associated with the land, such as local authority rates, insurance and the costs of maintaining the forest. The land remains in Crown ownership on behalf of the successors in the interim.

Since settlement, the Māori Land Court, with assistance from the Te Rūnanga Whakapapa Unit, has almost completed the task of successor identification. Matua Terry Ryan was contracted by Te Puni Kōkiri to undertake some of this mahi. This involved building whakapapa by cross-referencing the 1908 gazette of original owners with Māori Land Court records. He says this was an arduous process, but he feels privileged to be able to assist with such an important and overdue kaupapa. Some 1,150 individuals have been identified as successors to this block.

The next step is for the Crown to locate the contact details for



“The Crown should support the owners where there is a perception that we might be taking something away from the community, for example, if we choose to use or develop the land in a way that is not necessarily what the community might seek to use it for. The Crown needs to support the successors as this problem is their creation. The successors shouldn’t have to bear the brunt of any negative community backlash, nor should they have to justify their decisions to the community.”

**JO MCLEAN** *Hāwea-Wānaka successor and Te Rūnanga representative for Waihao Rūnanga*

the successors (not an easy task), to then hold information hui for them regarding their options, and eventually for a formal “assembled owners” hui to be held for the successors to vote on the fate of the land. The successors will have to decide on the status of land (e.g. general or Māori freehold) and the landholding entity (e.g. trust or Māori incorporation etc.). To date, the hui attendance rate among successors has been poor. It is important that the successors are involved in these processes, lest their views go unheard.

Once the land is transferred, the successors will have the ability to use it as they see fit. However, the ability to utilise the land is severely

constrained by local government rules. The Rural General land zoning limits the scope of any residential development. One successor, Mike Beresford, has applied to the local authority to rezone the land “Low Density Residential”, with the intention of the successors exploring options for residential development or resale. This proposal was met with discontent by various members of the Wānaka community, who tend to see the Sticky Forest as a community asset due to its network of bicycle tracks.

Jo McLean, Hāwea-Wānaka successor and Te Rūnanga representative for Waihao Rūnanga, believes the Crown have a lot to answer for regarding the outstanding SILNA issues. “The Crown should support the owners where there is a perception that we might be taking something away from the community, for example, if we choose to use or develop the land in a way that is not necessarily what the community might seek to use it for. The Crown needs to support the successors as this problem is their creation. The successors shouldn’t have to bear the brunt of any negative community backlash, nor should they have to justify their decisions to the community.”

Jo also notes the Māori Land Court has been significantly under resourced since settlement, causing years of delays in successor identification. She thinks this needs to be prioritised, and resources placed into facilitating engagement of successors in the various hui.

The Crown appears to be in a rush to get the lands off their books, Jo says. However, the successors will be responsible for the costs associated with ownership once this is finalised. She would like to see some support from the Crown to ensure the successors do not inherit a substantial financial burden. Similarly, Jo also believes the Crown should be protecting the value of the land and ensuring it can be utilised once title is transferred. The lack of access to the block is a hindrance to any potential economic development.

“The Crown have created these issues and as far as I am concerned they have an outright obligation to ensure the absolute best outcomes for the successors, and they must support that with time, resources, pūtea etcetera,” Jo says.

Similarly, Jymal Morgan, another Hāwea-Wānaka successor, says: “I don’t think this SILNA block is unique in the fact that it is a few football fields away from delivering on what was originally envisioned. However, the dagger in the corpse remains in the hands of the Crown who are yet to offer substantial support and resourcing to deliver opportunities to the land owners.”

However, Jo is hopeful that lessons can be learnt from the Hāwea-Wānaka experience. “The process has been pretty poor to date but I am hoping if we, the successors, stand our ground and ensure the Crown commits to the matters that we have identified then that will hopefully set the template for a good process for the other SILNA blocks.” 

*If you think you (or someone in your whānau) may be a successor to one of the four unvested SILNA land blocks, we encourage you to contact the Office of Treaty Settlements, the Māori Land Court and/or Te Puni Kōkiri to discuss your rights and obligations regarding the future of your whenua.*

# White Man's Burden Revisited...

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**What does it mean to be a Pākehā in 2017, living in bicultural New Zealand?**

Kaituhi **MARK REVINGTON** revisits an article he wrote 16 years ago for *The New Zealand Listener*. The original piece was about identity and the struggle of non-Māori New Zealanders to find their sense of self in this land. In this update, Mark shares his own personal thoughts.





PHOTOGRAPH MARK REVINGTON

The notion of kaitiakitanga of water involving anyone other than the Crown [draws venom] despite glaring evidence that the Crown has only looked after one sector when it comes to stewardship of our water. The Crown's "kaitiakitanga" of water has led to rivers that we can't swim in, let alone drink from. Two thirds of the rivers of Aotearoa are too polluted to swim in, and half its lakes are irreversibly damaged.

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

FIRST THE WORD PĀKEHĀ, THEN WAITANGI DAY, AND NOW WATER. It seems there are some sectors of New Zealand society who can't get their heads around the notion of a bicultural country. Or some people who want to be offended regardless.

Never mind that Māori are tangata whenua, or that Aotearoa is unique in the world due to the richness of culture Māori bring to the table, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi which put in place a partnership between Māori and the British Crown.

Never mind that despite the Treaty and the protections it promised, successive governments and their mainly Pākehā voters came to believe that Lieutenant Governor William Hobson's "one people" meant a country dominated by Pākehā, where Māori felt dispossessed and faced the expectation that they would be assimilated into the dominant Pākehā culture.

"Until the 1980s, New Zealand was unofficially monocultural, with government policies favouring Pākehā culture. Since then, the Māori renaissance has led to a renewed emphasis on biculturalism, based on the partnership established between Māori and the Crown by the Treaty of Waitangi," according to University of Otago Professor (Politics) Janine Hayward in *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

And still some want to believe that "He iwi kotahi tātou" or "We are one people" means one people, on Pākehā terms. You hear from them every Waitangi Day, rednecks who come out with comments we can charitably ascribe to ignorance. Meanwhile, the notion of kaitiakitanga of water involving anyone other than the Crown seems to draw the same venom, despite glaring evidence that the Crown has only looked after one sector when it comes to stewardship of our water. The Crown's "kaitiakitanga" of water has led to rivers that we can't swim in, let alone drink from. Two thirds of the rivers of Aotearoa are too polluted to swim in, and half its lakes are irreversibly damaged.

Ngāi Tahu feel excluded from the wai Māori decision-making process. Yet, as kaitiaki Chris Brankin noted in TE KARAKA 71, "Water is woven deep into our identity as Ngāi Tahu. Without wai there is less mahinga kai for our people. No whitebaiting, no catch-

ing tuna, no access to watercress, and challenges for accessing safe drinking water for our marae. Water is the foundation for physical life, but for Māori there are further layers of meaning to these activities that make healthy waterways critical for the sustenance of Ngāi Tahu culture and spirituality. So many Ngāi Tahu practices rely on access to the resources freshwater sustains."

Or what about a recent example quoted on social media of a family out shopping who chose to speak in te reo Māori, the language they choose to raise their children in. They were abused in a supermarket by a woman who told them, "This is NZ." As the poster said, it is sad in this day and age to encounter that sort of ignorant racist behaviour.

What do I know? Well, the TE KARAKA editor asked me to revisit an essay I wrote for *The Listener*, more years ago than I care to remember. It was called "White man's burden" and, as I recall, was written in time for Waitangi Day.

Essentially it was about the fact that most Māori have a fair idea who they are and where they came from, while many Pākehā haven't a clue.

Finlay MacDonald, the then-editor of *The Listener*, in his wisdom, wrote this: "Waitangi Day, our national day, has become as confused as our sense of national identity. While Māori find it a fulcrum for protest and renewal, Pākehā New Zealand struggles to make modern meaning out of history. Even the word "Pākehā" cannot be agreed on. So is there such a thing? And how do they see themselves on the eve of the 21st century's first February 6?"

After nearly six years working for Ngāi Tahu, presumably the editor of TE KARAKA thought I would have something insightful to say. What I can say is that I have more respect than ever for the notion of mana whenua, for knowing where you come from, and from whom. If you don't know your past, you don't know your future, as Ziggy Marley once said.

Google "being Pākehā" and the first thing that comes up is historian Michael King's book *Being Pākehā Now*, a follow-up to his 1985 book *Being Pākehā*.

Coming in a close third on the Google algorithm's arbitrary list is

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I have no problem with being a Pākehā in a Māori world. It is who I am. And Aotearoa is my home.

the Morgan Foundation, and a short essay by Gareth Morgan from August 2015 in which he quotes Tā Tipene O'Regan:

“Sport, education, language, the arts, literature, the media, natural resource use, environment – all these already manifest a measure of Māori distinctiveness. This distinctiveness is not separatist. It is not something distinct from our national culture – it is a distinctiveness contained within that national culture. It is what makes it distinctive.

“On this issue of identity, I think we get far too precious about coming to a conclusion as to whether we're one thing or the other: Māori or New Zealanders, Māori or Pākehā, Pasifika or New Zealander. Actually we're more than either/or; we are both: we are in fact all sorts of things in different situations. I am Māori but I am also Pākehā. I am Ngāi Tahu, which makes me Māori. My roots are in Te Waipounamu, which makes me southern. I am a citizen, which makes me a New Zealander. On almost any issue I will, at different times, call on one or more of these ‘identities’ and emphasise one or more to the exclusion of others.”

I am a seventh-generation Pākehā, from a line of publicans and journalists. My tūrangawaewae is Ōhope Beach in the eastern side of Te Moana-a-Toi, or eastern Bay of Plenty, where I grew up. I have spent more time away from there than I have being there, yet still feel a strong affinity with the beach. So does my son, who has never lived there yet knows it well from annual visits to the family land at Ōhope. My tipuna are from Ireland, Scotland, and England; yet I am a part of this land and it is part of me.

Revington's Hotel in Greymouth, which looks likely to be demolished in the near future, belonged to my great-grandfather and somehow retained the family name (some of my colleagues have less than decorous stories of the place).

In short, I know who I am and where I come from. It doesn't worry me to be called Pākehā, although my colleagues are more likely to call me koro. But others tell me that there are still people out there who bridle at the notion that they are Pākehā, and would prefer to be known as Kiwis or New Zealanders.

Back in my *Listener* days I quoted *The New Zealand Herald*, which pronounced that those who happily embraced the word “Pākehā” probably felt a good deal more confident and secure about their place in the world than those “who continue to call themselves, for want of something better, European”.

I still run into people who don't like the word Pākehā, although usually it stems from ignorance, a suspicion that maybe someone is taking the p... when using the word to describe them.

To those who insist they are New Zealanders, or Kiwis, I would say, “What makes this country unique?”

Is it the result of a partnership, or should Pākehā just stick to acquiring a haka when they want to and use the odd te reo Māori word in conversation? Times are changing, although possibly not fast enough – for example, witness the tribulations of former New Plymouth mayor Andrew Judd who describes himself as “a recovering racist”. He was ostracised and vilified for a decision early in his first and only term to give Māori a voice on the New Plymouth council. Judd had won the mayoralty in a landslide, but after suffering threats and abuse from other Pākehā, chose not to stand for a second term. Nevertheless, he somehow ended up with 10,000 people in the Andrew Judd Fan Club on Facebook.

I work for Ngāi Tahu because I believe the iwi, and others, will have a large part to play in Aotearoa. And given that 50 per cent of the tribe are under 30, that future will look very different to the view from previous generations.

Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri, ake nei? Yes it is about taiohi, because it will be their world. I have no problem with being a Pākehā in a Māori world. It is who I am. And Aotearoa is my home. 

**Mark Revington** works for the Tribal Economies team at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Previously he was the editor of TE KARAKA.

*Story continued from page 15.*

I informed them that we were on the same side, but our approach was different. I remembered David Palmer's lecture, so I said we must provide leadership with our claim, hence we shall always act with dignity, grace, and charm in proving our case, identifying where breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi occurred. The organisers of the protests were from a structure called Project Waitangi, many of whom I knew. I asked them to join forces and assist us with our claim against the Crown. They agreed, and they gave us Jim McAloon, the son of a judge. Jim had long hair, a long beard, and always wore shorts that had holes in them. He looked like a penniless person. He was a researcher and historian. Well, most of us understood poverty, but Jim was to prove his value, as he was, like Harry Evison, a very competent worker, and a person who sought justice where justice was due and believed in the principles of human rights, and giving a person a fair go in life. So Jim McAloon came to work for us. We eventually found some funding to assist him in his work. But Project Waitangi paid him an amount initially, so I was able to get some funding for his position from the Internal Affairs Department, which I had assisted as a volunteer in their many endeavours. They would prove to be a blessing from heaven to us as well.

The other coup in the building of our team was finding Ann Parsonson and Barry Brailsford. Both were senior lecturers of history, Barry at the Teachers' College and Ann at the University of Canterbury. Also, both were lecturers of my son, Te Maire. I was asked to go to the Chatham Islands to inform the people there of our claim and to look at their history. I went, listened, and advised them. The first thing I said was to look at their whakapapa, and I informed them of an 1844 census that took place identifying all living Ngāi Tahu. The reason I said that was because I was fully aware of the invasion of the Chatham Island by Te Āti Awa, but in any island that is small and isolated, intermarriage is the norm and it runs rife. I said to them, learn these things as you will find out that you all descend from the eaters and eaten; the same as all Māori tracing their descent to their respective waka. To do that would assist them in overcoming divisions. Another of their take was that the Treaty of Waitangi did not apply to them. I said I think it would, because you come under the New Zealand constitution. On my return I contacted Ann Parsonson and asked her to write up a paper for me to send across to the Chatham Island people, identifying for us all whether or not the Treaty of Waitangi applied to them. She did that task for me voluntarily, and I then invited her to be a part of our local Ngāi Tahu team that would assist us with evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal. By this time, David Palmer became the conductor of our team, and was able to discuss with Sidney Ashton the importance of such people. Ann's father was also a historian, and in times to come the Crown would employ him to represent the Crown, opposing his daughter giving evidence for us in the Ōtākou Deed of Purchase.

I also spoke to Barry Brailsford, and he agreed to assist us. By March 1987 we had a powerful team of orators. Immediately after lodging the Claim I was giving about six talks a week on the Treaty of Waitangi to all interest groups within the many communities of Canterbury. I had Harry Evison and David Palmer assisting from the early beginnings, then Jim McAloon and Ann Parsonson joined us in

Immediately after lodging the Claim I was giving about six talks a week on the Treaty of Waitangi to all interest groups within the many communities of Canterbury. I was always very clear with our policies that the claim I lodged would not affect privately-owned property rights. Our claim was against the Crown, and we did not support remedying injustices against us by placing an injustice upon fellow innocent citizens.

the many requests to explain what the Ngāi Tahu claim meant and whether it would affect their property rights.

I was always very clear with our policies that the claim I lodged would not affect privately-owned property rights. Our claim was against the Crown, and we did not support remedying injustices against us by placing an injustice upon fellow innocent citizens. This policy was damaged by Stephen O'Regan in his media debate with Robert Muldoon when O'Regan said that our claim would affect private property rights. He was incorrect, and his statement backfired. So our A-Team then had to repair the false and divisive statements made by O'Regan in that interview, among the many community groups that were supporting our claim seeking justice where justice was due.

### **Waitangi Tribunal and pōwhiri**

Before the commencement of the Waitangi Tribunal Hearings upon our marae, I spoke to one of our team members, Jim McAloon. Jim never dressed for occasions – I never, ever saw him wearing a tie. So I said to him, "For our opening, Jim, I would like you to wear a tie and jacket. Do you have one, Jim?" He said, "Yes Rik, I will put on a tie and wear a jacket." True to his word, on the day he came up to me dressed with a tie and jacket and said to me, holding his red tie with a smile, "Alright, Rik?". I said "Pai rawa atu" and smiled back, saying, "I know what the red tie signifies." We laughed as we were both happy.

By the time the first hearing had been set, four amending claim statements had already been made to the Waitangi Tribunal by our solicitor David Palmer. The hearing date was set for 17 August 1987, more than a year after I officially lodged the Ngāi Tahu Claim. By then I had to give up my job at the Meat Works.

I had arranged with the Director of the Waitangi Tribunal, Dr Maarire Goodall, that the pōwhiri would take place upon the Tuahiwi Marae and then we would have kai before going to Rangiora High School at 1 pm for the hearing, as our whare Maahunui would not be big enough to hold all the Ngāi Tahu people who would be there at the opening of our case, as well as the Crown representatives and the media. We expected 400 to 500 Ngāi Tahu would come, and that was an accurate estimate. When the Tribunal and the Crown representatives arrived and parked outside the marae gates, many Māori also arrived. We were ready and confident in ourselves that we could handle most challenges. When it appeared that the manuhiri were ready, the karanga came from our mahau and the replies in return. As per our custom, we opened all proceedings with karakia to whakawātea and whakanoa our hui. We had three speakers I think: Bob Whaitiri, Stephen O'Regan, and I concluded. The manuhiri replied. I cannot remember who the Tribunal speakers were, but somewhere in the mix, speakers from Te Tau Ihu o te Waka stood up and spoke. A Rangitāne speaker stood up to oppose our claim and the boundaries to our claim, and laid a koha upon our marae. Stephen O'Regan said to me, "Have you ever seen a koha returned?" I inno-



Rik with Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan at Ōnuku for the Crown Apology 1998.

cently replied, “NO”. He said, “Would you like to see how it is done?” and I said “OK”. On that, he stood up, picked up the koha, thanked them, placed it before them, and then kicked it to them. Well, once he did that I could hear expressions of concern from behind me from our own people, let alone what was happening on the other side. With dignity, they replied and replaced the koha back. I immediately put my arm in front of O’Regan, and said to my son Te Maire to pick it up. He did, and I sighed a breath of relief. That action surely represented what the marae ātea is, te wahi o Tūmatauenga and the kawa, ka pūrehu te hau. The dust was surely stirred, but we then knew that the dust could also settle on us. What was done could not be undone.

The mihi took quite some time, and it was obvious that we would not make the deadline to officially open proceedings at the Rangiora High School at 1 pm. We had prepared well for feeding all manuhiri, with meals at Rangiora High School during the week. Our head ringawera was Alamein Scholtens, and her team. We had about 200 fresh muttonbirds and 80 salted muttonbirds as a koha from those of us who bird on our island, Pohowaitai. Henry Jacobs, my brother-in-law, said to me quite early in the piece that he would give some lambs

to feed our manuhiri. So he and I butchered 10 of his lambs, and cut them up for our ringawera to feed our manuhiri. Hilary Te Aika provided all the vegetables, and I provided many eels as well as flounders. Other people provided support in other ways. My sister always provided the lollies for our hearings. Although the hearings for week one were held at Rangiora High School, we had our Ngāi Tahu people also staying on our marae at Tuahiwi and other manuhiri who came. For example, Matiu Rata and some from Ngāpuhi arrived on the evening of day one or two. Mihi and exchange of information took place as they came to support our claim, reciprocating our visit to Kaitiāia to support their case before the Tribunal. So all these activities were occurring during the first week of Tribunal hearings.

### Summary

Many more blessings were to come to our local team. For us, the Treaty principle of our Hāhi, Ture Wairua, and Ture Tangata were well established within our local team, which became known as the Ngāi Tahu A-Team. The Treaty and Bible principles were inseparable in my beliefs.



## Spring and the beginning of a Mini Ice Age?

The past cold and wet spring, autumn, and winter has got me thinking about the extreme climate events happening on our planet, and the debate swinging between global warming and the next mini ice age.

The sun is currently going through its usual decline in sun spots as part of its 11-year solar cycle of increased and decreased sun spot and solar flaring activity. Some scientists now speculate that the sun has entered a prolonged period of very low sun spot activity which will lead to a mini ice age like the “Maunder Minimum”. This event, also known as “the prolonged sunspot minimum”, was experienced between 1645 and 1715, when there was a drop in average temperature of around 1.5–2°C. There is some debate over whether it was just the prolonged drought of sun spot activity that caused this temperature drop, or whether it was in combination with increased volcanic activity at the time (or maybe low sun spot activity increases volcanic activity), changing ocean currents, or the Earth's axial tilt. This is a scientific debate that remains to be settled, and probably won't be any time soon.

What is known is that when the climate becomes colder, with more extreme rain, frosts, wind, and drought, it is harder for humans to grow the food we need to support ourselves, as was evidenced by the death of millions in the last mini ice age in Europe. In Aotearoa we are all familiar with cold periods and large rain events pushing up the prices of vegetables and fruit as they become inaccessible to harvest and/or so damaged they are left to rot.

As the weather becomes more extreme, food security for personal and whānau health increasingly becomes an issue, and as such the ability to grow kai in one's own māra has never been more important health-wise and financially. The good news is that even if we are heading into a mini ice age for the next couple of decades, there will still be the usual four seasons, but just not as warm and settled as we would like on average.

The past few springs in particular having been colder than average, but that is no



*As the weather becomes more extreme, food security for personal and whānau health increasingly becomes an issue, and as such the ability to grow kai in one's own māra has never been more important health-wise and financially.*



Above and right: Silver Beet growing in containers in Garden by the Bay, Singapore, which are housed inside a colossal glass conservatory that is kept cool to grow temperate climate plants from all around the world.

excuse not to get into the māra now that the weather is starting to warm up. I have turned my māra into a bed system, which means I can avoid walking on growing areas and compacting the soil. In spring I use the garden fork to loosen the soil without turning it over, to help maintain its structure. This is followed by a dressing of dolomite lime, rock mineral fertiliser, and finally a layer of compost. In the tunnel house I dig the top 10cm of soil out and spread it on the outside māra, before spreading lime, mineral, and compost fertiliser. In the tunnel house in early spring, I am going to focus on an early crop of lettuce, and herbs like parsley and coriander. I will interplant tomatoes, cucumbers, capsicums, and chillies later in the spring when it is warm enough.

One of the first vegetables I plant in spring is silver beet, and while it may seem common and plain, it is a superfood with a dazzling array of nutrients. It is an excellent source of vitamins A, C, E, and K, as well as being high in B1, B2, B3, and B6. It is great for important minerals like magnesium, calcium, copper, manganese, potassium, iron, zinc, and selenium; and is a very good source of dietary fibre, choline, folate, pantothenic acid (vitamin B5), phosphorus, and protein. It is also a powerhouse source of phytonutrient antioxidants like beta-carotene, lutein, and zeaxanthin; as well as health-giving flavonoids like syringic acid, quercetin, and kaempferol. Many of these antioxidant phytonutrients provide silver beet with its colourful stems, stalks, and leaf veins.

I remember my grandmother's garden

being full of silver beet, and being forced to eat it as a child – I detested the taste of it at the time, but my grandmother lived to be 90. When I was diagnosed with cancer I remembered this and thought if it was good enough to help keep her alive, then it would probably work for me. Call it dumb luck, serendipity, or the hand of God – no matter what the reason, without the copious amounts of silver beet I ate and juiced in the first few years of my ongoing recovery from cancer, I don't think I would be here today. Interestingly, studies have shown that silver beet is great for the pancreas, as it helps to regulate blood sugar levels and has even been shown to have the ability to help pancreatic cells regenerate.

I plant silver beet in early spring, and this can be done by seed or by seedling from a garden store. The general rule of thumb is that seeds need to be put as deep in the soil as the size of the seed, which is about 10–12mm in the case of silver beet seeds. I always put at least 2–3 seeds in each hole, and if there is more than one that sprouts, I thin them out later on, leaving the healthiest one to grow. Because silver beet grows to a decent size, there needs to be around 30cm between seeds planted, as well for the row distances. This always looks far too big in the beginning, as it takes them about 2–3 months to mature, but with regular watering and liquid fertiliser, silver beet can carry on producing leaves for quite a few months.

For a super health tonic, silver beet can be juiced with other green vegetables like broccoli and/or wheat grass powder, which I then

mix into a nettle tea to help make it more palatable (who am I kidding ... this is where the term “grass muncher” comes from). Silver beet is great lightly steamed and eaten with taewa, or chopped and put into a stir-fry or quiche, where it still delivers all its health benefits, but its taste is disguised somewhat.

PHOTOGRAPHS TREMANE BARR

## Resources

Yates

<https://www.yates.co.nz>

<https://www.yates.co.nz/products/organic-gardening>

Agrissentials Mineral Fertiliser

<http://www.agrissentials.com>

Grand Minimum – The Sun is Going to Sleep

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7whL9jvdL5s>

Solar Cycle

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solar\\_cycle](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solar_cycle)

Weatherman's Guide to the Sun

<http://stickmanonstone.com/product/weathermans-guide/>

Earth Changes

<http://earthchanges.org>

Next Grand Minimum

<https://nextgrandminimum.wordpress.com>

Why “Global Warming” Failed

& Why Climate Change is Real

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5c4XPVPJwBY>

The Next Ice Age –

An Introduction to a Possible Shift Soon

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UuYTcnN7TQk>



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.

## REVIEWS

### BLACK MARKS ON THE WHITE PAGE

Edited by Witi Ihimaera and Tina Makareti  
Vintage

RRP: \$40.00

Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates

The editors say “this is an Oceanic collection”, and it is certainly a major feat having Māori, Pasifika and Aboriginal writers and artists in this robust and handsome 335-page hardback volume, with its cover by artist James Ormsby. Of the 29 stories, at least half are superb, and none are unworthy of their place in this collection. I have always argued that writing is an art form alongside the fine arts, so it is also pleasing to see eight quality artworks included here.

In the short introduction to this collection, the editors vow to “go beyond the edges of what is expected from Oceanic writing” – the boundaries of where (all over the Pacific), what (endlessly diverse), and how (gender-bending and experimental amongst other styles) we write. Some of the stories fail to live up to the “Oceanic collection” label, but most use the diversity inherent in being on, or in, the rim of fire. It is inevitable that I would like some stories more, and others would challenge me, yet nothing led me back to dreary old stereotypes. The authors – apart from the editors themselves – range from doyens like Albert Wendt, Patricia Grace, and Déwé Gorodé to other familiar names with their own publications, or whose work has appeared in other collections.

Grace’s “*Matariki All-Stars*” is a beautiful story about a solo father bringing up daughters aged three to thirteen, in the face of a critical older sister who berates him with, “What do you know about girls?” No special twist at the end, just compulsive reading. Nic Low (Ngāi Tahu) has two stories from his own book, *Arms Race*. The best one, “*Rush*”, is about Aboriginals using the “white man’s laws” to take power into their own hands with a mining claim under Melbourne’s Shrine of Remembrance. Tusiata Avia’s



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

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

"I Dream of Mike Tyson" is a locomotive of a story that gathers steam in the dance clubs of Samoa until its inevitable but shocking end.

Fijian writer Mary Rokonadravu's "Famished Eels" is a family narrative story with wonderful lines like: "...her great grandmother had hair the sheen of sea-washed rocks at dusk." Alexis Wright, an Aboriginal writer, has two stories, both excellent. "Carpentaria" is a fast-paced action story using the argot of the place and people about activists destroying a mine on their land. Her other story, the surreal "Whale Bone City", teases out the suicide of a boy called Aboriginal Sovereignty in a town called Praiseworthy. Kanaky political figure Gorodé's universal story "Tribe My Nation" is about the protest movement "against exploitation and domination in all its forms." Hawaiian Michael Puleloa's story "The Stone" is about a native who sells a sacred stone with a mind of its own, and the retribution it brings.

Kelly Ana Morey (Ngāti Kuri, Te Rarawa, Te Aupōuri) has a slow, nostalgic story, "Poor Man's Orange", about a 17½-year-old fruit picker in Aotearoa, and the people that she meets. Also included is an extract from Samoan writer Sia Figiel's novel *Freelove* – an excellent coming-of-age story that doesn't labour the point or the morality. Hawaiian Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada's "Ke Kāhea: The Calling" is a very compelling "steampunk fantasy" from the eyes of the daughter of a kahuna, about "old gods and religions" and their conflict with "the religion of the Crucified Man".

On the visual art side, there is a still from an amazing video art piece by Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi). Entitled "in Pursuit of Venus [infected]" 2015-2017, it whets our appetite for more. Witi Ihimaera's fiction work "Whakapapa of a Wallpaper" was also included in the book that accompanied its Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki exhibition. Finally of these highlighted stories is Fiji's Mary Rokonadravu's "Sepia", a magnif-

icent word-picture about Indian immigrants to Fiji – anecdotes from a fabled past. This is an endeavour that deserves to be repeated in future years.

#### FIVE STRINGS

Apirana Taylor  
Anahera Press  
RRP: \$35.00  
Review nā Arielle Monk

This is not a story for the faint-hearted. Painful themes like racism, poverty, and a whole spectrum of abuse dominate; yet this is undeniably a story of love, and ultimately, costly redemption.

Searingly honest with at-times overwrought descriptors, there is no hiding from the misery Apirana Taylor (Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau a Apanui, Ngāti Ruanui, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Pākehā) crafts with *Five Strings*. His second novel is an offering laden with the reality of poverty in Aotearoa. The established author and playwright often centres his craft on poor and working class New Zealand and here, he does not let up. One senses that perhaps Taylor wishes to bear witness to such realities – to not look away from the painfully confronting.

And it's the finer details Taylor jam-packs each page with that, piece by piece, brilliantly provide context around our protagonist, Puti, and her partner in life and petty crime, Mack. The pair are driven in a weekly cycle of welfare payments, bingeing on booze and weed until Sunday, followed by three days of subsistence living. Their room boasts a bed, a few beer crates, a shoe-box fridge, and a curtained-off bog that only sometimes works. A gas cooker heats them and their sausages, they wash at the local swimming pools, and clean their dishes at the public



toilet block down the road.

Occasional flashbacks offer just a taste of the characters' former lives. Both raised in their early years by mothers who loved as well as they could, Puti and Mack experienced loss early, pushing their paths far off track. Artful reveals explain Puti's aversion to water, the depth of Mack's alcoholism, and the pair's mutual inability to process grief.

Although there is little appearance of anything Māori at first, a parallel story of Te Ao Māori is woven throughout; foreshadowing the significance culture inevitably has in the main storyline.

My slight qualm with *Five Strings*? I'd have to say pace. Readers are treated to the merry-go-round that is Puti and Mack's existence and could become repetitive (forgiven in my opinion by exquisite use of description, devices, and insight into the characters' hearts and minds).

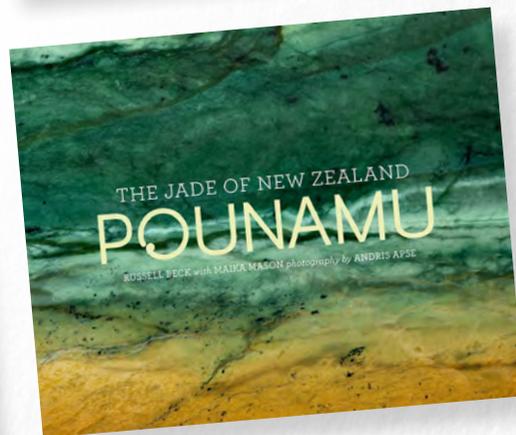
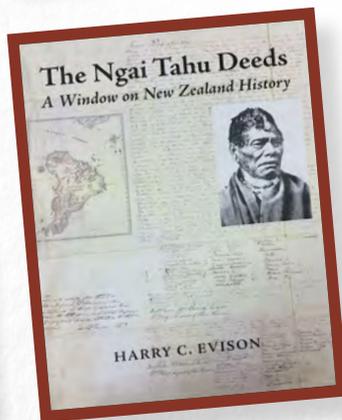
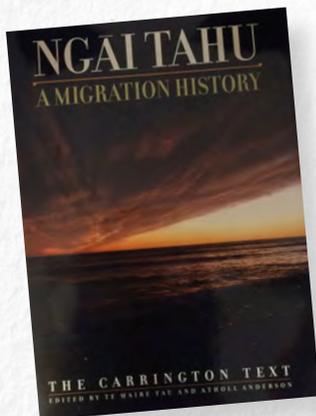
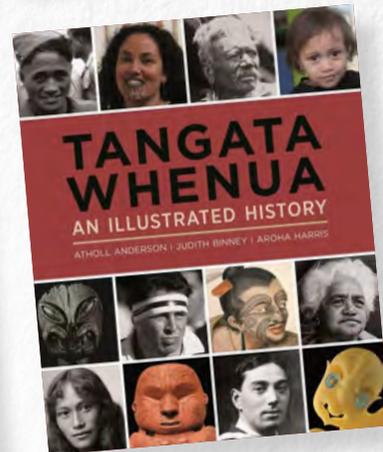
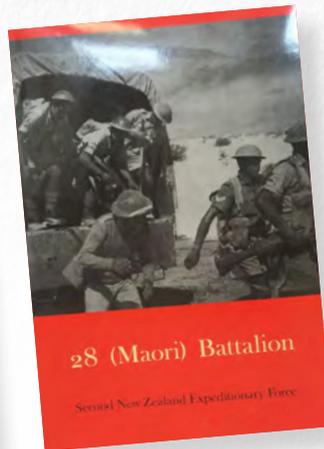
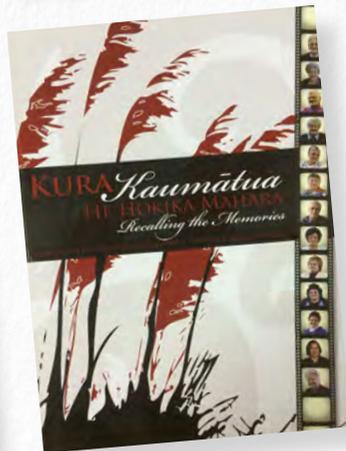
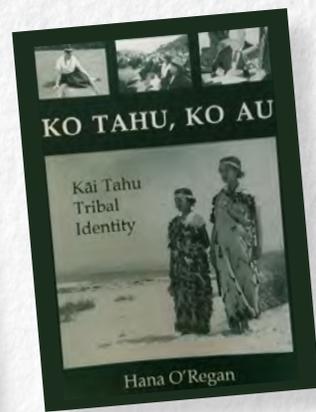
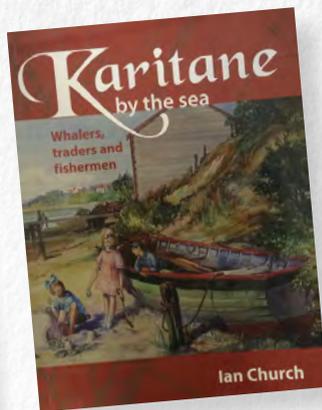
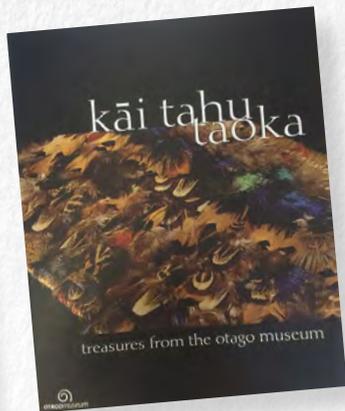
I also wasn't sure about the transition from the story climax to conclusion. It's a slow read to the climactic event, which leads to a redemptive path for only one of the characters. Once there, the pace accelerates steeply to conclusion, where I found myself wanting more.

Other critics of *Five Strings* have been wary of salvation through reconnection to culture, questioning the reality of such hope

*Reviews continue over.*



**Arielle Kauaeroa Monk** (Tainui, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Muaūpoko, Te Āti Haunui a Pāpārangi, Ngā Rauru) is the editor for *Te Pānui Rūnaka*, the Ngāi Tahu monthly newsletter. She moved to Ōtautahi four years ago to work as a journalist and thus began a relationship with the local iwi and tāngata. Arielle currently works as a freelance writer and communication consultant and loves to promote the Māori narrative and perspective in journalism, fiction and non-fiction writing.



Check out the books available online at the [tahufm.com](http://tahufm.com) shop



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## REVIEWS

under such dire, poverty-stricken circumstances. Some cases are too far gone, if you will. However, we as Māori know the power our culture has in our lives, and the salvation in this narrative is utterly realistic – even happens on the regular.

### TIGHTROPE

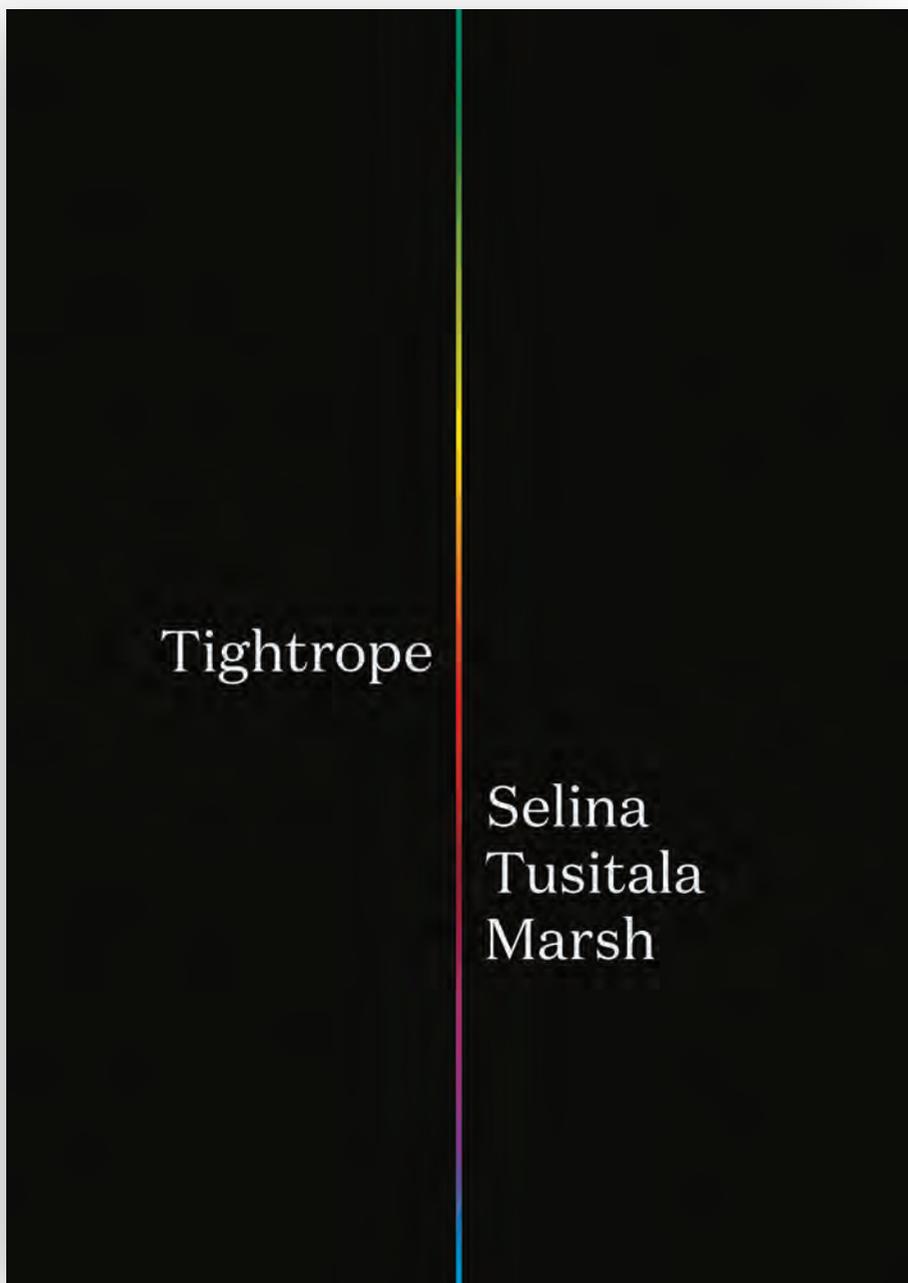
Nā Selina Tusitala Marsh  
Auckland University Press 2017  
RRP: \$27.99  
Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates

The title of this volume of poetry alludes to Albert Wendt's quote, "... history is the remembered tightrope that stretches across the abyss of all we have forgotten." Marsh is termed a "Pasifika poetry warrior" by the media release, and her roots are in Samoan, Tuvaluan, and French whakapapa. This well-produced book has a vertical rainbow "tightrope" on the cover. Her poem "Unity" was performed for the Queen in Westminster Abbey in 2016, and includes the lines: "There's a 'U' and an 'I' in unity / costs the earth and yet it's free" a riff about the Commonwealth, nature, and the comfortable irony of London being in the UK but of "seeing Ronton in the South Seas."

There is a wide and interesting variety of powerful poems and styles traversing Pasifika themes and other contemporary and sometimes edgy topics. They are grouped under the headings "Abyss", "Tightrope", and "Trick". The poems reflect on what has been forgotten, what has been remembered, and the self's tricks. A poem that threads its way through the entire volume consists of redacted text from Albert Wendt's 1977 novel *Pouliuli* – about an old matai who wakes to the fact he has been living a lie – with just enough text remaining on each page to create a phrase such as "be afraid of nothing and nobody / be a slave to love". An interesting if somewhat tortuous creative idea, worthy of a writers' workshop.

The first section has some significant poems. "Apostles" shows that poetry can be revolutionary. It is ostensibly about Pacific apostles "mostly unheard", betel nuts, and the gruesome fate of Keparu Leniata, accused of being a witch in Papua New Guinea in 2013. "Le Coup" is about Philippe Petit, the real-life tightrope walker who walked between New York's twin towers eight times in 1974. "Gafatele" (pity there was no glossary) is about a "bloodgirl lived in a sleepy how town", and has echoes of the style of e. e. cummings.

The second section, "Tightrope", focuses



more on "Queens I have met" – as well as HRH Elizabeth II – and the author's experiences of New York. There are also powerful protest poems – "Essential Oils for the Dying" with its line: "I remember your coconut-oil voice / immiscible with injustice", and "Atoll Haiku Chain" about French nuclear tests at Mururoa in the 1970s. The final section, "Trick", is the metaphorical "how" to retrieve forgotten memories. "The Working Mother's Guide to Reading

*Seventy Books a Year*" has tips such as, "don't be time poor and extended family rich." "Marriage" has tips for the ceremony, and after. "Warrior Poetry" is about "putting together a poetry collection, boys" which "means syncing this kinda crowd / where flicking the page / like a Mexican wave / has gotta leave the reader wowed."

A book that deserves a place on any indigenous writer's (or anyone else's) bookshelf.



**JANE DAVIS**  
Ngāi Tahu – Ōraka Aparima

# He Tangata



PHOTOGRAPH: RAOUL BUTLER

## WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?

I try to make every day a good day. There will always be some days that are more difficult than others. A fine clear morning and the tūi calling me to hurry up and fill his sugar water bowl is a good way to begin my day.

## ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

My family are precious to me.

## WHO OR WHAT INSPIRES YOU AND WHY?

I think Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu. Our late Māori Queen was an inspiration to many women. She was a graceful lady with a quiet inner strength and honesty. Nelson Mandela was such an inspiration to his own people and to all people throughout the world who suffer under the yoke of racial discrimination. Closer to home, the members of the Ngai Tahu Māori Trust Board were an inspiration to me. They, with many pōua, taua and whānau from all of Te Waipounamu with a small committed staff completed Te Kerēme, the Ngāi Tahu Claim that our whānau had carried for seven generations. Many of our whānau put their lives on hold during that time so

Jane Davis, known to most as Auntie Jane, is a stalwart of Te Kerēme – The Ngāi Tahu Claim. Born and raised in Murihiku, she has always had a strong connection to the Tītī Islands, which was shared by her late husband, Bill. The two of them became involved in Te Kerēme in its early days, and in 1989 Auntie Jane was elected to the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. After Bill's death in 1992, she continued their work, and played a key role in the return of the Crown-owned Titi Islands. She and Bill had four children: Rewi, Tāne, Patu (who sadly died in an accident), and Karina. To this day Auntie Jane continues her mahi for the iwi by serving on Te Pae Kōrako, and is very active in her rūnanga.

they could support the Claim. It was a time when Ngāi Tahu had to stand together as one people for the greater good of all. That was inspirational.

## HIGHLIGHT OF YOUR LAST YEAR AND WHY?

The recent journey to Whenua Hou has been the highlight of this year for me. The unveiling of those beautiful pou was an absolute joy.

## WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?

I like good perfume, which is usually expensive.

## FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT? FAVOURITE PLACE?

In my garden.

## DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?

Dance.

## WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

Fruit.

## WHAT MEAL DO YOU COOK THE MOST?

Beef steak stew.

## GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?

Being part of achieving The Ngāi Tahu Settlement.

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

I believe the long-term future of Ngāi Tahu is in remaining together as one people. There is strength in numbers. To split apart weakens the whole system.





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