



# INDIGENISING THE BLUE ECONOMY:

A case study of the  
Mori of Rēkohu

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SUSTAINABLE  
SEAS

Ko ngā moana  
whakauka



Report



**“A na ko ro kōura mauna ...  
It is the time of the  
shell-less crayfish.”**

**Cover image**

Tchieke Moana, Jefferson (1955). **Hokopapa o rongomoana**

# Karakii – Ro Toki-o-Heau-Mapuna

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<b>Mapuna i whea ta toki?</b>	To where does the axe ripple?
<b>Maouna i rangi i ta marangi ta toki</b>	The axe ripples above upon the east wind.
<b>Mapuna i runga i ta marepe ta toki.</b>	The axe ripples above upon the north-east wind.
<b>Homai ta toki. Karakii to toki.</b>	Bring hither the axe. Use incantations on the axe.
<b>Ko heau-mapuna ta toki, ko heau-matangi ta toki, ko heau-te-newa ta toki.</b>	The rippling wind is the axe, the gentle wind is the axe, the mighty winds is the axe.
<b>Pera hoki ra whakatere katoa ki ta rangi</b>	So in like the manner set in motion to heaven.
<b>E patupatu, e rangahure</b>	The jelly fish, the sea anemone.
<b>E upoko tu ki te rangi, e upoko tu ki a Rehua</b>	A head erect to heaven, a head erect to Rehua.
<b>Koura maunu, kihikihi wai o rangi.</b>	Shell-less crayfish, cicada water of heaven
<b>Motuhanga ta upoko o tch'amata, te rangi ka makoha</b>	Dividing the head of Tch'amata, the sky clears (the clouds break)

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 2011, p. 2.

## ***Karakii Moriori***

*Moriori utilised karakii before any and almost all activity they undertook. Karakii were dedicated to the weather, the sun, day and night, and the moon and stars. There were many different karakii, for example, the different types of rain, wind. In particular, karakii were said before eating, fishing, planting, harvesting, birding, deaths, births, mariages – all activities and daily living where there was a need to pave the way and relate to the various gods. See appendices for other karakii and key stories.*

# 1. Summary

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This case study focuses on Ta Imi Moriori o Rēkohu, their histories, traditions and relationship with the sea, as articulated through tohohungatanga Moriori. It is a study that provides an understanding of how Moriori cultural practices in fisheries management have continued throughout time, and captures ideas and innovations from the 'voices' of Moriori today, as to potential pathways for a sustainable fisheries into the future

We begin with the introduction, 'Rēkohu' that sets the scene for the Chatham Islands as the home of Moriori known as wainapono or original people of the islands. 'Tohohungatanga' traditional knowledge follows, with the Moriori creation story providing insights into the Etchu (gods) who govern the different realms and resources of the sea and highlights a number of Moriori customary practices and traditions contained within knowledge relating to karakii, rakau momori (tree carving), storytelling and archealogical evidence.

This is followed by 'Historical Knowledge' which explains Moriori harvesting practices in contemporary times, the impact of Fisheries Regulations and local island initiatives to the depletion in identified species in striving towards fisheries sustainability.

The section, 'Moriori fisheries today' highlights how Moriori is represented through Hokotehi Moriori Trust whose values and principles are underpinned by 'Ka Pou a Rangitokona' and knowledge that has been handed down since time began. Insights are provided in the context of the Trust's Strategic direction, cultural prerogatives and Nunuku's lore of Peace. The Māori Fisheries and Moriori Settlement Claims Acts are also highlighted. Moriori perspectives are also expressed through the 'voices' of the study's three research participants that captures hūnau (family) traditions and practices, the importance of intergenerational knowledge, cultural and spiritual values, and ideas and innovations for fisheries sustainability.

This study concludes with a discussion of fishing practices as a way of life which has been an integral part of living on the islands both traditionally and commercially for many generations.

## 2. Contents

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### Karakii - Ro Toki-o-Heau-Mapuna

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#### Karakii Moriori

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# Introduction

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## Indigenising the blue economy

This case study report, **Hokopapa o Rongomoana**, is a final output of the Indigenising the blue economy research project, which is a project within the blue economy research stream of the Sustainable Seas National Science Challenge. The case study was made possible through a collaboration between the research team of Indigenising the blue economy and Moriori o Rēkohu. An aim of the Sustainable Seas Challenge was to enhance the use of marine resources within environmental and biological constraints. From the outset, and becoming more apparent as the Sustainable Seas Challenge progressed, was an increasing focus on Moriori rights and interests and how Moriori cultural realities could be integrated with blue economy concepts.

The partnership explored ways in which the research could support Moriori aspirations for a blue economy imbued with totohungatanga (traditional knowledge), treaty principles, and a focus on Moriori wellbeing, human potential and relational balance with rongomoana as our tīpuna. It became clear during the project that the blue economy has a strong alignment with both traditional and contemporary Moriori economic approaches. Even so, while Moriori operating in the marine space enact blue economy elements, barriers remain which impact on the cultural and holistic manifestations of the blue economy across rongomoana.

Most notably, three barriers were identified from case studies that inhibit transitioning to a restorative blue economy. The first of these were the regulatory and jurisdictional environments which include quota fragmentation (Quota Management System, QMS) marine regulations, and marine jurisdictions. Second was the concentration of Māori investment in certain fisheries assets, along with adherence to conventional business models that are vulnerable to systemic shifts. The third constraint was the structural limitations on Moriori communities realising economic opportunities in the marine economy.

The Indigenising the blue economy research project explored processes, structures, technologies, and policies across three themes designed to address these constraints: (1) pāhekoheko (integration)—supporting Moriori/Māori-led, multi-generation, integrated planning across economic sectors in their marine jurisdictions to maintain te mauri o ngā taonga katoa (the mauri of all things) and enhance the efficiency of asset holding and resource utilisation; (2) auahatanga (differentiation)—differentiating kaitiaki generated products from commodities and diversifying Moriori/Māori activity in the marine economy; and (3) whakatautika (balance)—creating employment, enterprise, and other economic opportunities for hūnau/whānau and henu/hapū in coastal communities, leveraging the assets of Moriori/iwi and pan-iwi authorities. The programme partnered with five Māori authorities to explore these themes, including the highlighted case study covered in this report:



**Table 1** Case Studies

Organisation	Description	Themes
<b>Moana New Zealand</b>	Moana New Zealand is a large New Zealand seafood company owned by all iwi. Research focused on overcoming centralisation by generating balance between iwi fishing enterprise and whānau (family) enterprise.	Whakatautika
<b>Iwi Collective Partnership (ICP)</b>	ICP is a voluntary collaboration of 19 iwi fisheries companies, pooling their quota. Working with them to integrate tikanga (customary practices) and mātauranga into operations was the focus along with research on overcoming fragmentation with added value.	Pāhekoheko
<b>Moriori</b>	Moriori are the quota holding Indigenous people of Rēkohu (the Chatham Islands). The focus is on enabling uniquely Moriori-led fisheries and overcoming fragmentation, with potential for additional value.	Pāhekoheko Whakatautika Auahatanga
<b>Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri</b>	A Chatham Islands quota holding iwi who are concerned about cultural input whilst optimising economic outcomes. Research focuses on overcoming fragmentation and assessing the condition of the marine reserves.	Pāhekoheko Whakatautika Auahatanga
<b>Ōnuku Rūnanga</b>	Akaroa Salmon is an aquaculture company purchased by two Māori organisations, Ōnuku and Ngati Porou. Akaroa Salmon are looking to add value to their products through marketing and overcoming reliance on a few markets.	Auahatanga

For each case study, the research took a localised approach, with senior Māori researchers collaborating with community researchers. The community researcher was primarily responsible for fieldwork and community-oriented communication while the senior Māori researcher guided investigations, analysed data, and developed case study reports. This research was then given to the synthesis team, consisting of Māori and non-Māori researchers, who generated research and practice-based outputs. The project team comprised:

- **Jason Mika**, Co-lead
- **John Reid**, Co-lead
- **Matthew Rout**, Synthesis team
- **Jay Whitehead**, Synthesis team and Senior Māori researcher
- **Annemarie Gillies**, Senior Māori researcher
- **Fiona Wiremu**, Senior Māori researcher
- **Georgia McLellan**, Senior Māori researcher
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## Hokopapa o Rongomoana

Hokopapa o Rongomoana is a body of knowledge that provides an understanding of the barriers associated with marine resources located in Rēkohu (Chatham Islands), identifies Moriori cultural values and practices, potential pathways for economic growth and the need for protecting and balancing environmental sustainability. Sustainable Seas funded this case study research which contributes to a synthesis of all five Indigenising the blue economy case studies. Collectively, the blue economy research aimed to identify and address barriers that prevent Māori and Moriori using their marine resources in a more culturally relevant, economically impactful, and environmentally sustainable manner. An expected outcome was insights to enable the development of marine activities that generate economic value and contribute positively to ecological, cultural, and social wellbeing.

A separate comprehensive review of literature has been undertaken exploring the three themes and focused on both the constraints and the potential solutions. The constraints sections are relatively comprehensive and easily discernible through literature and past experience. This case study aims to examine more fully with Moriori potential solutions. However, not enough is known about Moriori people, their nation, their language, customs, traditions and story telling. As a result, in this case study we purposefully privilege Moriori ways of knowing and language, expressions of their values and practices. This case study focuses attention on both Moriori culture, identity, and language, and solutions to blue economy challenges.

# Methodology

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## Kaupapa Moriori ethical considerations

When working with Chatham Islanders, considering the importance of the Chatham Island way of life and the diversity of the Chatham Island identity is an essential consideration when undertaking research with 'home people'. Kaupapa Māori methods and methodologies as espoused by Smith (1997), Smith (1999) and others have also provided an opportunity to express Moriori theoretical perspectives and worldviews to inform this case study. Importantly, the opportunity for indigenous peoples all over the world to decolonise research methods and methodologies, perspectives and worldviews has provided new and novel ways of undertaking research in contemporary times. For this case study, considerations also include the nexus between Moriori and Māori Research and therefore, the ethical understandings applied in this research are:

- Respect of Chatham Islanders as hūnau/whanau, hapū and imi/iwi and recognition of the differences between those who identify as such.
- Respect and recognition of the Chatham Island way of life as a unique and isolated community.
- Gaining informed consent from participants and other key people or agencies fundamental to this research and that the method of consent may be outside the traditional academic process of 'signing a piece of paper' eg verbally recorded or via email.

- Privacy, confidentiality, sensitivity and care of cultural information and knowledge. These are regarded as miheke/taonga and belong to the participant or provider of the information.
- Research adequacy involves acknowledging kaupapa Moriori/Māori focused methodologies.
- Social and cultural sensitivity in terms of cultural diversity and includes the appropriate use of language whilst recognizing the differences in Ta Re Moriori and Te Reo Māori.
- Understanding of tikane/tikanga, protocols and kawa relating to the Moriori/Māori.

## Toolbox

### Tool one: Kaupapa – research ethical considerations

The research ethical considerations articulate the importance of the diverse realities experienced in the Chatham Islands, and the Chatham Islands way of life. Consent was gained through providing a clear understanding of the research and its objectives. All participants wished their names to be confidential and interview content returned to them.

### Tool two: 'Home people – tchakat henu'

There were several reasons as to why the three 'home people' were chosen. First, the appeal of past and present fishers who have lived or are living the fisher's life, the

diversity of the participants, Rangta Matua (elder), a female fisher and a fishing hūnau. Second, there was already an established relationship with these people. Most hūnau Moriori and whānau Māori who live and work on the island are known to each other and related in most instances. These relationships enabled the foundation of trust needed for the acquisition of a richness of knowledge required for this research.

### Tool three: Research information

In addition to oral narratives derived from the interviewees, a literature review was undertaken noting that a large amount of information was accessed from Hokotehi Moriori Trust.

Most of the information gathering was undertaken throughout the initial interviews. The researcher approached the participants and explained the purpose of the research and invited them to take part. This was done verbally and in an informal manner by way of a signed consent form. To begin, the research was outlined and explained, whilst trying to understand from their perspective what was important to explore in the research. Once access was gained, the researcher explored whether the participants were comfortable enough to share their stories and whether or not sufficient information would be gathered to meet the objectives of the research.

A small cell phone recorder was used to record the information. The length of time gathering the information varied between participants, 2-3 hours, several cups of tea and kai for the interviews. A small koha was given after interviews were completed.

The recorded information was transcribed verbatim, where relevant. Whilst the information was transcribed as near to verbatim as possible, there were times where [ ] parentheses were used to clarify certain aspects and these are

seen in some quotes that have been used in the text. 'Ums' were deleted to prevent embarrassment to participants when they read their transcripts. It was important to provide a written recording of the participants' words because of the importance of capturing the 'voice' of each storyteller. Furthermore, there is very little written history of the island that has been written by Moriori/Māori.

### Tool four: Analyses

During the analysis, the researcher added some possible reasons why things were the way they were, in order to further understand a certain aspect of a story and these are within parentheses [ ]. These developments came to life through the initial meetings and as part of allowing the story to find its own path.

There were several common aspects that developed throughout each of the participants' stories. For example, their perception of identity, the relationship with their accustomed environment (or 'home'), and how these factors were expressed through their knowledge, cultural practices, and traditions within their world of fishing. Analysing these common aspects assisted in the development of overarching themes and the power of their voices.

Through using a hokopapa approach to developing the 'story', overarching themes developed in so far as articulating the history of Moriori fishing over three phrases of time. The traditional Moriori fishing theme, starting with the story of Rangī and Papatuanuku, Etchu and traditional knowledge. The historical theme captures the impacts of colonisation and regulation on Moriori fishing today.

### Tool five: Post-analyses

All participants will be given a copy of their interview, their recordings, and this research report.

# Rēkohu

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## The Chatham Islands

The Chatham Islands are a geographically isolated group of eleven islands located approximately 899 kms east of mainland Aotearoa. Chatham Islands is named after the brig 'Chatham' that was captained by Lieutenant Broughton in 1791 and is known as the first European arrival (Seymour, 1924). Rēkohu(a) is the original Moriori name of the island and means misty sun. In 1835, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama arrived and took occupation to which they named the island Wharekauri (King, 2000). It has a population of 663 people distributed over two of the largest islands, Rēkohu and Rangihaute (Pitt Island, Rangiauria in Māori) (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022). The remaining islands provide protected habitats for many of the endemic birds, flora, and fauna. Surrounded by the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, Moriori traversed the sea from eastern Polynesia hundreds of years ago to Rēhoku(a), settled and were known as Wainapono.

*Moriori karāpuna (ancestors) were the waina-pono (original inhabitants) of Rēkohu, Rangihaute, Hokoreoreo (South East Island), and other nearby islands (making up the Chatham Islands). They arrived sometime between 1000 and 1400 CE and all Moriori hokopapa to (are descended from) the founding ancestor Rongomaiwhenua. Moriori developed an egalitarian society where there was little differentiation of rank, and warfare and killing were out-lawed. Moriori lived undisturbed for many centuries until their first contact with Pākehā, in 1791. (Moriori Claims Settlement Act 2021, s.8)*

## Moriori

Moriori spent many centuries being the sole human habitants on the islands of Rēkohu. They were heavily reliant on a way of life influenced by their relationships with the island environment and surrounding ocean. Custom and tradition for everyday living were manifest in the many karakii that have survived to guide and support descendants of early Moriori. Currently, most Chatham Islanders hokopapa (ancestry) to Moriori or Māori given the migration of tribes from Aotearoa around 1835 and later Moriori resettlements in Aotearoa.

Fishing practices have been an integral part of living on the islands both traditionally and commercially for many generations. Fishing is a way of life and the islands' economy is heavily dependent on its commercial inshore fisheries for income derived from high-value species such as pāua, kina, kōura, blue cod and hāpuka. These fisheries include New Zealand's largest pāua fishery, as well as nationally-significant rock lobster, blue cod, and kina fisheries. Fisheries here account for around 20 percent of inshore fish catch by value.

Rēkohu has one of Aotearoa's largest and least polluted lagoons, named Te Whanga. Te Whanga has an area of 18,600 hectares which provides a habitat for a combination of marine and freshwater fish species such as long and short fin tuna, whitebait, flounder, cockles, and mussels. Chatham Islanders treat the lagoon and surrounding reef fisheries as an important food source, often saying that the sea is their food cupboard (Fisheries New Zealand, n.d.).

The sustainable management of the islands' fishery has seen on-going conversations amongst imi, iwi, island fishers, the government of the day and the wider

community. All sharing a common aspiration of "creating a sustainable legacy to support future generations." (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 2011, p.7).

**Figure 1** The Archipelago of the Chatham Islands



Source: Alexrk (2008)

Moriori names of the islands follow:

- **Rēkohu** – Chatham Island
- **Rangihaute** – Pitt Island
- **Hokoreoreoro** – Southeast Island
- **Maung' Rē** – The Fort
- **Tapuenuku** – Little Mangere
- **Motchu Hara** – The Forty-Fours
- **Rakitchu** – The Sisters
- **Motchu Hope** – Star Keys
- **Tcharako** – The Pyramid
- **Tarakoikoia** – The Castle

# Totohungatanga – Traditional Knowledge

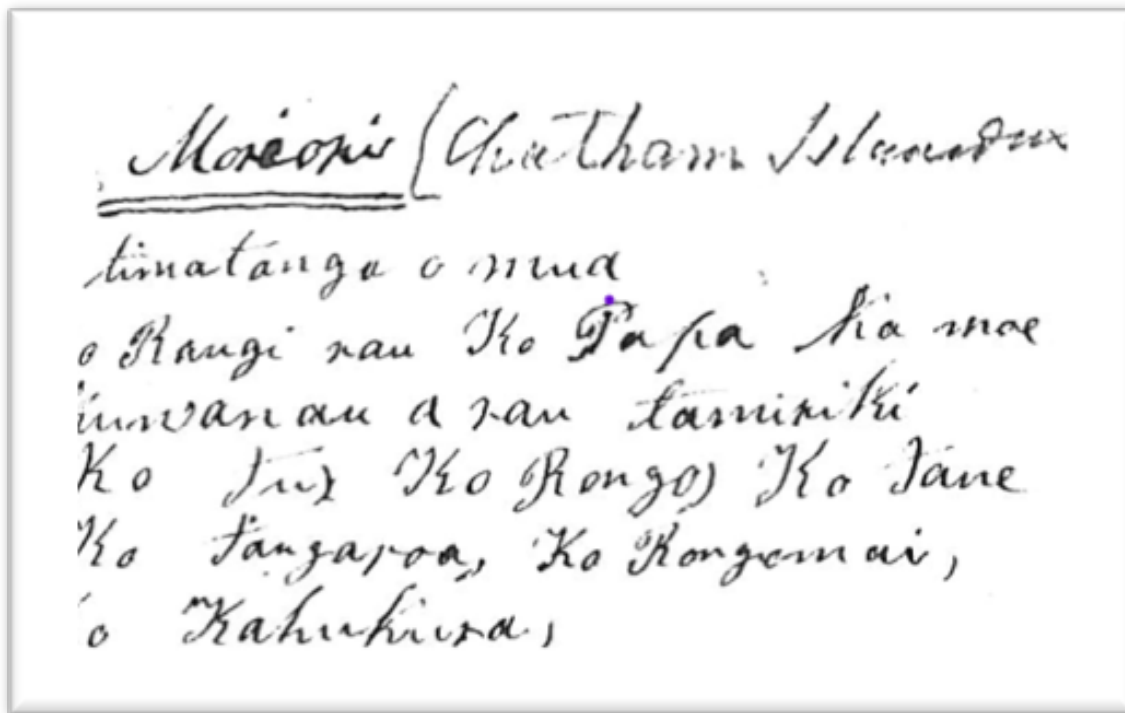
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## Hokopapa

The Moriori creation tradition begins with Rangī and Papatuanukū and Ta Hūnau o tā Rangī family of the heavens. According to Moriori tradition, there are thirty heaven-born gods, eight of whom are female (Shand, 1911;

Davis & Solomon, 2005). Tangaro', Rongo, and Maru being heaven born Etchu (gods) who preside over certain locations around various marine areas on Rēkohu, as tchieki moana or guardians, who oversee certain species of marine life, in their care.

**Figure 2** GNS MMS 144 (1862)



A translation of the above handwritten kōrero from karāpuna states

“I timatanga o mua, ko Rangī rau ko Papa ka moe hūnau a rau tamariki, ko Tu, ko Rongo, ko Tane, ko Tangaro', ko Rongomai, ko Kahukura” (Shand, 1911, p. 9).



**Figure 3** Hokopapa o Rongomoana

	<b>Rangi = Papatuanku'</b>		
	<b>Tangaro'</b>		
<b>Ika katoa</b>	<b>Mangō</b>	<b>Tuna</b>	<b>Rongomoana</b>
<i>Pou Maru</i>	<i>Tama-rau-ariki Tu Rangi-hiki-waho Tapuika</i>	<i>Rongo-mai-Tauira</i>	<i>Rongo Rongo-takuiti</i>

It may be added that the names of the people mentioned in the genealogy have been given to places all-round the Awapatiki and its vicinity which was, they say, their general habit in naming places. Several of the names are those of gods who were held to be the guardians of certain places and things. Thus Rongo-mai-tauira (Will-of-the-wisp) with Tahiwata, were the guardians of what were called Ka Ngangarehei—laws contained in certain stones hidden at Kohanga-ta-ra, near Whakahewa, such laws being: not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery. From this place Rongo-mai-tauira descended to the north end of the Whanga (lagoon), which he guarded, by the Mangatukarewa stream. Tahiwata descended by the Awa-inanga River and guarded the east end of the Whanga. Uhenga was the Will-of-the-wisp god of the south end of the Whanga (Shand, 1911).

As akin to many Polynesian peoples' tohungatanga or traditional knowledge stems from Etchu, the gods. Tohungatanga is expressed and exists through Moriori practices and traditions, ta re Moriori (Moriori language), hokopapa, rongo (song or sound), karakii (prayers), ree (rakau momori) and cave carvings and storytelling.

Totohungatanga is fundamental to Ta Ao Moriori, the world as Moriori understands it to be. It has guided the relationships between the spiritual world and the physical world in terms of the traditional sustainable management of the environment, for generations. A strong sense of legacy is utmost in the continuation of tribal identity and mokopu Moriori (Moriori grandchildren, the generations to come).

Knowledge embodies a worldview that is our inheritance, our legacy, and our gift to future generations (Mahuta, 2019). According to tradition, Tangaro' is known as the fourth born Etchu belonging to Ta Hūnau o ta Rangi, who presides over the realm of fish. Along with Tahiri-Mangate (god of the wind) and Tane Mataahu (god of the forests), the gods and their realms work in harmony together and are inter-woven with the deeds of other Etchu in governing all aspects of the Moriori environment.

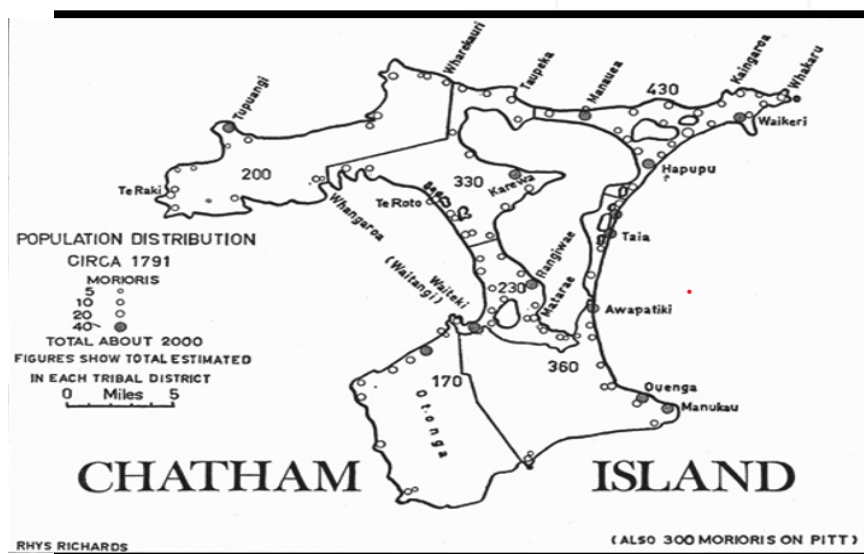
To ensure such standardised behaviour, and the conservation of the islands' limited assets, all activity, including food collecting, was guided by innumerable individual gods. Even land and inanimate

objects had individual gods .... There is no place which does not stand under the influence of their gods: there is a god of whale flesh, a god of parasites, a god who injures the backside, gods to injure the ears . . . [etc] And there were innumerable Gods ... more gods than human beings. They had two [carved] images (stone and wood) but nothing of that sort is to be seen near their lodgings. (Richard, 2006, p.4)

## Moriiori customary fishing - pre-1791, European contact

Moriiori lived within tribal areas that were adjacent to a coastline or Te Whanga throughout Rēkohu and Rangihaute. According to Richards (1972), the Moriiori population distribution around 1790 was about 2000, and showed that Moriiori tribes lived within seven tribal areas. The names of those tribes were Rru, Whēteina, Harua, Rauru, Poutama, Tch Ei-tara, Tch Eti-ao, Matanga and Makao (Makao was divided into two tribes, Makao-a-iha and Makao-a-to). The tribes Matanga and Makao reside on Rangihaute.

**Figure 4** Moriiori Tribal Areas



The Moriiori Tribal areas include:

- **Waikeri-Hāpūpū-Manauea**
- **Owenga-Awapatiki-Hāpūpū**
- **Karewa-Whangaroa**
- **Rangiuae-Waiteki**
- **Te Raki-Wharekauri**
- **Otago**
- **Rangihaute - Pitt Island**

A large proportion of the Moriiori diet was sustained by foods derived from the sea, in addition to accessing a variety of bird life. Moriiori had the availability of three forms of carbohydrate sourced from the fernroot, roasted kopi nuts that derived from the kopi tree (karaka tree in Māori), and seaweed. The harvesting of kaimoana was governed by the gods, the seasons, the moons and in accordance with traditional methods and

practices. Moriiori were known to be seasonal harvesters, traversing around Te Whanga hunting and gathering food.

Totohungatanga Moriiori began to be written throughout the late 1800's by resident magistrates, namely Alexander Shand and Samuel Deighton, as well as William Bauke. They were witness to a heavily reduced Moriiori population and saw the urgent need to capture Moriiori tradition, custom

and language. Much of these works were informed by Hirawana Tapu, a Moriori scholar of his time, who articulated the 'voices of the elders' capturing an enormous amount of knowledge pertaining to Moriori hokopapa, histories and traditions. Between the years 1898 and 1911 these manuscripts were published by the 'Polynesian Society of New Zealand'. This knowledge is a significant and valuable contribution in realising and sustaining Moriori knowledge as it is known today. For example, in understanding the traditional Moriori diet, 'the voices of the elders', through Shand's manuscripts, inform us that,

The sea provided the greatest part of their diet. Fish were hooked and netted in great quantities and shellfish were a staple food, especially pāua, pipi, and Kaeo (sea tulips). A limited number of seals were killed for both food and clothing. Small whales, blackfish, and other sea mammals ... they were frequently found stranded ashore, often in large numbers. At least, one type of seaweed was eaten, and the lakes and lagoons provided enormous quantities of sole, inanga, herrings and eels. (Shand, 1911, p. 4).

Evidence of Karapuna Moriori daily living are located throughout Rēkohu via a number of archaeological sites, one of which are middens. These miheke or treasures also provide knowledge and evidence of foods consumed by Moriori. Shellfish was in abundance with pipi and tuatua being harvested from the sandy beaches, cockles harvested from Te Whanga with pāua, mussels, and oysters being harvested from coastal rock areas. From the interview with a rangata matua (Tane) in 2023:

We excavated there, we had permission, we had a two-metre square grid, research was done by Otago University, and there was 4 or 5 people there. I stayed there all the way along, they sifted everything that came off the midden site, one thing that fascinated me was the amount of charcoal. Charcoal was able to be tested for its age, DNA and all that sort of thing. There was bird bone from birds now extinct, seal bone, whale bone, there were tuna bone in there, and flounder, all that sort of things were in there. But after we got to about 3/4 metre down into the ground in this midden, it came to light the side of a pāua shell, so they cleaned that off all around this pāua, and it was sitting on this rock, it was obvious that someone had placed the pāua on the rock and that the rock [may have been] hot, to cook it, it was all photographed and documented, then it came to light [again] another pāua and the pāua shell was huge, it was big pāua.

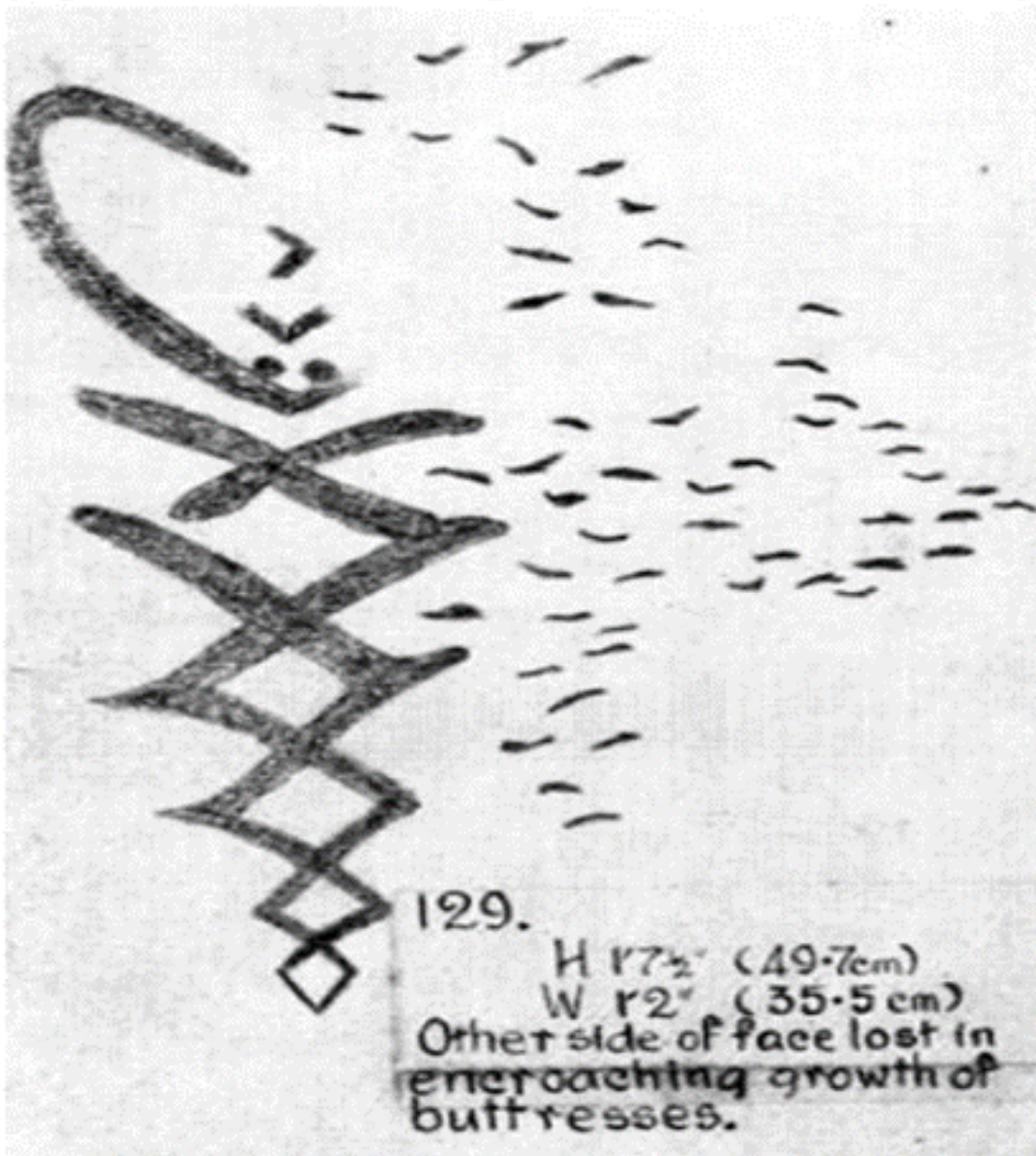
**Figure 5** Midden located on the Taia coastline, Rēkohu



Two species of tuna inhabit Te Whanga and many other fresh waterways. Tuna were also regarded as a staple dietary resource for Moriori. It was the practice that eels “were killed in the shoal waters with a wooden sword, but were also caught with eel-baskets (Punga) in deep water and creeks.” (Shand, 1911).

Ko ro karakii punga tuna describes the incantation Moriori recited in fishing tuna using an eel net/basket. Karakii were used by Moriori to assist in food gathering of a variety of food sources and for giving thanks for the catch when successful.

**Figure 6** Rakau Momori – Punga



### Ko Ro Karakii o Punga Tuna

<b>Ku ku ku kei o tomotomo</b>	Your entrance has been closed
<b>Ku ku ku kei o tuku</b>	Your net has been closed
<b>Ku ku ku keia Tamahare o tuna</b>	Your land has been closed
<b>Ku ku ku kei o ta anga kuku</b>	Tamahare o tuna, the god has been closed
<b>Ku ku ku kei o ta anga tupere</b>	The kuku mussel has been enclosed The cockles have been enclosed.

*(White, 1879)*

Stories of tuna were also handed down through Moriori storytelling. As described in *Tamatē ki ri Tuna*, Tamatē seeks revenge for his twins that were consumed by a tuna. Having captured the tuna, he sliced the tuna in half and roasted it. The tuna was the pet of Tinirau, Tutunoa o Tinirau.

### **Tamatē ki ri Tuna**

I haere ka mahanga a Tamate ki ri wai i t' whawharanga mai a tchuna. Ku! Ka pau k' hokaro ko Tamate, na tchi ah'. Ka kimi ko Tamate, tchiei kite. Ka kite hoki ko Tamate, tuku ana i tche maehanga, ra tona maehanga, hoki ana ku rung i tohor', t' whawhatanga mai a ra kāhū. Pu! Ka pau. Ka kimi hoki a Tamate i tona maehanga, ana, tchiei kite. Ka hure hara mai ai ko ro' t' whare e tangi. Mi ah' i tohū a Tamate, e ta ei ko ro kupenga, e whane ei ku rung' i tohor', e whao ei i aii ko tu kupeng(a), tatur' ro ake i ka kahu e rere mai ana ki ri kai i aii. Pera toki e ru porohang' o tchia kahu. Ka hure e hoki mai ko Tamate e whan' ei e tiri i aii ko ro' ta wai; ka ripo ta wai. Ka mutu, e whan' ei ko Tamate kokoti ngaro, tu atu i t' roro o t' whare; hou! ka tae ko ro ta wai. E wharoro ei t' waewae o Tamate ko ro ta wai, ka ripo ta wai o tchuna, k' hara mai ka kai i a Tamate; ke nekeneke ko Tamate ki pehakē, me te hara mai hoki i tchuna a, ta mai ki ri wahi maroke a, ka whakangaro ka nei ka pau mai enake i tchuna. Pera toki a Tamate, e ru porohanga, ehē ro akē tchi roto toterang' ana mai ka tamiriki tokorū; e tao ei ko te kara ra tae ki a Tinirau. Ka mihi mai ko Tinirau, "E te' kara o Tutunoa." Ko ta ingo tenei o tchia tuna na ko, "Tutunoa a Tinirau" tchia mokai. (Shand, 1911, p. 158)

### **The Story of Tamate(a) and the Eel.**

Tamate's twins went to the water; they were seized by the eel, ku! and devoured. Tamate' wondered what had killed his twins; Tamate' searched, but could not discover. When Tamate' saw this, he sent other twins also on to the open land; they were seized by the hawk, pu! they were devoured. Tamate' also searched for his twins, but did not find them. He then came into his house and wept (thinking) what he should do. He made a net and went on to the open land, putting himself into the net. Turning around, he saw the hawk flying towards him to devour him. With a blow of his axe the hawk was in two pieces. This done Tamate' returned and went to look at himself in the water. The water whirled. Then Tamate' went and cut skids, laying them up to the threshold of the house. Hou! He went into the water and stretched out his legs in the water. The water swirled with the eel, which came to eat Tamate'. Tamate' edged on shore and the eel followed up, and came on to the dry part, and the eel was nearly all out of the water. With one blow of Tamate's axe he was in two pieces. When it was cut up in strips the two children were lying inside. They roasted it, and the fragrance reached Tinirau. Tinirau sighed, "Oh the fragrance of Tutunoa." The name of this eel was "Tutunoa of Tinirau," that was (his) pet (eel). (Shand, 1911, p. 159)

Today many Moriori have their own stories. The following story tells of the migration of tuna in Te Whanga and provides a fascinating account of the event. The participant referred to the tuna as snakes and talked about how the bigger tuna seemed to guide the younger and smaller eels as if they were herding them to a holding pen waiting for the right time to let them out to sea. From the interview with a

rangata matua, he was amazed at the size of some of them being really huge but also very good to eat.

I love catching snakes, been eeling since a kid and I still try and get out to get some tuna. I can recall when the eel used to migrate, I seen it with my own eyes, with Eric Dix we were going to Kaingaroa on horse-back across the lagoon [Te Whanga] the eels were starting to migrate, at the very most it was about six inches of water, at the bend [near the lagoon mouth] the eels were there, it used to come up in conversation with grandma why are all those big eels still in the creek, saying they are there for a purpose and that was to when the migration started and wanting to breed, the big eels would push all those [other] eels towards Te Awapatiki. And that day with Eric I saw that with my own eyes, I saw literally hundreds of eels there and there were big eels all along the outside, a few odd

ones amalgamating with the smaller ones, and they pushed them right down to the channel and hold them there till they can get out to sea. The ones at Tiriakai that day some were in shallow water their backs were sticking out of the water, and it was very obvious to me the big eels, herding them you might say, herding out of Kopiri blend and pushing them right down. So that was a real eye opener to me, and Eric got one big eel there that day, and cut its head with a butcher's knife, and tied it on the front of his saddle, and the tail of the eel was still dragging in the water, huge bloody snake, very good to eat though, fat as hell, short fin eel.

Marine mammals such as seals were also hunted, not only for food, but also for their skins. As an important article of clothing, seal skins were part of Moriori clothing attire in terms of insulation from the cold, and for warmth.

**Figure 5** Hikurangi Channel where Te Whanga meets the Pacific Ocean. Te Awapatiki is located to the right of the channel.



Maruroa and Kauanga enquired, 'what are those things which you are killing? They replied 'hipuku (sea elephant), puhina (fur seal), mimiha (hair-seal). The skins are our clothing, but what is your clothing? they answered 'waruwaru (weruweru in Māori). Ko te pere nui a Tāwaru' (a proverb). (Shand, 1911, p. 114).

### **Ko Ro Karakii Tangi ki Ru Mimiha (A prayer of lament to the seals)**

<b>Ka tangi au ki Aotea</b>	I lament to Aotea
<b>Ka tangi au ki Aropaoa</b>	I lament to Arapaoa
<b>Koi rawa Humi</b>	Humi is there
<b>Koi rawa Kapua</b>	Kapua is there
<b>Ka tangi au</b>	I lament
<b>Ki ri ku ka ika kere toro</b>	To my fish swimming boldly
<b>Ka tangi au</b>	I lament
<b>Ki ri ku ika kere to e</b>	To my fish swimming boldly
<b>Pata tai o Tauao</b>	Where only the surf is heard
<b>He reka te tangi o ta rā</b>	Sweet is the day's lament
<b>Kēkē mai ta moana</b>	Sound of the sea breaking
<b>I au ra tāku wānanga</b>	This is my knowledge
<b>Ka tangi au</b>	I lament
<b>Ki ri ku ika kore to e!</b>	To my fish swimming boldly

**Figure 8** Kaeo



Source: (Gordon & Wassilieff, 2006a)



Two species of tuna inhabit Te Whanga and many other fresh waterways. Tuna were also regarded as a staple dietary resource for Moriori. It was the practice that eels “were killed in the shoal waters with a wooden sword, but were also caught with eel-baskets (Punga) in deep water and creeks.” (Shand, 1911).

Ko ro karakii punga tuna describes the incantation Moriori recited in fishing tuna using an eel net/basket. Karakii were used by Moriori to assist in food gathering of a variety of food sources and for giving thanks for the catch when successful.

Kāeo, *Boltenia pachydermatina* or sea squirts (Gordon & Wassilieff, 2006b), are commonly found around the coastlines of Rēkohu washed up on the shore after a rough sea. They grow alongside the bladder kelp and can grow to a metre long. “These were found in some Moriori middens, often in single species dumps, stacked with care.” (Richard, 2006, p. 7). The rangata matua participant explained his experience of kaeo in the interview:

Kaeo [sea tulip], it's as real tasty food, I like it, [eaten it] since I was kid. The old people use to cook 'em in the shell in the fire till they whistled like a kettle, shelled then eaten, [preserve] 'em in jars they would last for days and days, the kaeo back in the day were used as medicine, and I know Mick Pomare who was a good friend of mine, when he would come to the Chathams he would stay here with us and he would always ring and ask me if I would get a couple of ice cream containers of kaeo, for when he turned up which I used to do for when he turned up. [I asked him] what was the reason for eating kaeo he said 'it does my diabetes the world of good, so where there's a connection between kaeo and diabetes I do not know. He virtually used to stop taking his needle once he had a feed of kaeo.

Participants remembered their parents and grandparents cooking kaeo acknowledging that these were very tasty. Not only tasty, but there were some that swore by them as having medicinal properties that helped with various ailments and was good for their wellbeing.

## Customary marine material

Traditional use of marine resources was not only confined to nourishment. Marine resources such as whale bone were used to manufacture implements and personal adornments such as the whale bone club and pendants (see Figures 10 and 11 below). Today, whale bone attained by whale strandings is managed by the Department of Conservation through a series of protocols, agreements, and in partnership with imi and iwi. In 2016, an allocation of sperm whale bone and teeth was made to both Hokotehi Moriori Trust and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri Iwi Trust (NMOWIT). Marine cultural material for the purpose of the continuation of Moriori practices and traditions enables our present and future generations to develop, maintain and retain expressions of Moriori culture through the arts. 'Hokopapano ka Toi Moriori', a carving of whale bone wananga held in 2016 is an example of Moriori aspirations to retain the practices and traditions of Moriori through the arts. A hokomaurihiri (welcome ceremony) was held during the wananga to receive the allocation of whale bone and teeth for the imi.

**Figure 9** Whale Bone Club



**Figure 10** Sperm Whale Teeth



**Figure 10** Miheke a whakatau – a contemporary Moriori necklace



### **Pāua shell**

Naturally polished pāua shell can be found through the coastline on Rēkohu. Wild pāua shell is a by-product of commercial pāua harvesting and is well sought after. Currently the importing of live pāua to mainland Aotearoa and further has seen a local level decline in pāua shell for on-sale in terms of making jewellery and lamination products. Pāua shell was an important resource for Moriori and were key in cultural gifting and adornment, identity markers.

... live pāua [being sent out] there is practically no shucked pāua [being processed] here. It's almost all live. One thing that happens with that is they take the seed with them so [there is a potential] of growing that stock on, giving away our resource, our knowledge, [the] pāua shell. (Shand, 1911)

The story of 'Tu-Whakararo, son of Apakura', speaks of Apakura's brother Whakatau. "When he jumped over the summit of Hikurangi, the rattling of the pāua shells Whakatau wore as a necklace was no longer heard. No te rerenga i tihi o Hukurangi ka ngaro ka tōtō o ka pāua i heia ra e Whakatau," (Shand, 1911, p. 78).

### Taumaha - thanks giving

The tuahu, or sacred alter, is where customary practices such as taumaha/thanks giving took place. Other practices included: baptisms; the joining of man and wife; and the laying down of weapons in accordance with the lore of peace. These are but a few customary practices performed by the tohunga of the tribe, traditionally,

It was considered of the first importance that appropriate invocations and offerings should be made to Pou and Tangaro', the head of the first fish stranded being placed on the Tuāhu, sacred to them, to induce a future recurrence of the like good fortune. The first fish caught were always kept and thrown on the Tuāhu, as an offering (whakahēre) to Pou; and so with eels—their heads were cut off and thrown before a Tuwhatu, in some places represented by a stone, but ordinarily by a lump of pumice very rudely shaped to represent a man's head, and which was sacred to Tangaro' and Pou, of whom these rude carvings were symbolical...

**Figure 12** Tuwhatu



...fish thus thrown before the Tuwhatu or the Tuahu were left to rot there. It may also be added that people going to fish were tapu, and might not eat abroad, but must bring the food home, where a Taumaha—thanksgiving—was first offered, then they might eat. If the food was fish, Pāuas, and fernroot it might be eaten outside; but if birds, Porure, and Patiki were included, it must be taumahatia and eaten inside the house. (Shand, 1911, p. 14)

Tuwhatu were representation of Etchu and connected the moral world with that of the spiritual world. One rangata matua participant remembers (Tane) being shown one of the pumice taonga:

I was lucky enough many years ago to be shown one of those gods [pumice figures of Moriori gods], [I was told] it was called a tuwhatu, ...[he] showed me [the inside of] a tree in bush. It's no longer there, it's been taken away. The rakau momori [Moriori tree carvings] are not too far away. Closest to the tree where the figure was hidden was a huge midden.

Similarly, a mahine interview participant (Teru) stated that:

The tradition of taumaha is still practiced by many and is just as important today as it was in the days of karapuna: We always throw our first fish back to Maru. We always share with the old people, that's a big one for us, if we have a spare tray of kina's it gets divvy it out [and] we don't shuck our kaimoana by the sea, the place we got it from.

In reflecting on Moriori traditions, there was acknowledgement hūnau have different ways of expressing their traditions and customs and that these came from watching and listening. For many, some practices had become habitual and lifelong so that even they found it difficult to establish whether it was a tradition (from old knowledge handed down) or more contemporary learning from parents, either way it seemed innate and natural and very much common sense. One of the mahine interviewees (Tetehi), explained that:

I don't think our people know about our fishing stories and traditions. I know there is [knowledge] there but I don't think it's been captured [enough], it's important to know what our karapuna did in the old days. I know that each family have their own traditions and stories. I remember when Auntie showed me how to get Paeka [karengo], do this and not that, this is how you cook it. I'm sure there are lots of stories out there.

## Rongomoana strandings

Rongomoana strandings were considered very special and wonderous events and it was the role of the tohunga of the tribe to undertake the necessary rituals before tribal members could have access to any of the rongomoana. For example, people were not:

allowed to desecrate the beach on which the fish were either stranded or in the act of stranding. Anyone coming by chance, and seeing such an occurrence, went away at once and informed the Tohunga of the district, lest his presence should prevent the fish from stranding. (Shand, 1911, p. 13)

...Following the appropriate rituals, "all could then come down to the beach, and, after the division, join in cutting up the fish. In this operation people from miles around assisted, such a stranding being considered a great event. (Shand, 1911, p. 14)

According to tradition, a school of rongomoana that had stranded (or smaller whale strandings) was attributed to the wairua of an important member of the tribe that had recently passed. It is believed that the power of the persons wairua had sent them.

In contemporary times, rongomoana strandings are managed quite differently and Moriori no longer harvest rongomoana for sustenance. This is mainly because of modern day regulations that have been put in place for managing the health and safety associated with strandings. On the island, the Department of Conservation manage whale strandings with the inclusion of imi and iwi. In October 2022, a rongomoana stranding event occurred on the north-west coast of Rēkohu at Maunganui Beach. Two hundred and fifteen rongomoana had died, some naturally and many humanly put down.

**Figure 13** Rongomoana stranding, Maunganui Beach, Rēkohu 2022



**Source:** (Hewett, 2022)

For a stranding of this size, it is near impossible to attempt to re-float and save the whales. Local Moriori have a small team that attend these events and respectfully perform the necessary karakii in acknowledging their presence and passing. Remembering also, the practices and importance that rongomoana stranding brought to traditional Moriori life as an important food source and the power of wairua.

The toothed whale species that strands most commonly and in the largest numbers on the Chatham Islands is the long-finned pilot whale, otherwise known as blackfish. Since 1901 over 4000 long-finned pilot whales are reported to have stranded on the Chathams.

Strandings of this species were an important, albeit sporadic source of food and bone for the Moriori. One of the largest strandings of this species, perhaps a world record, was in 1918 when 1000 whales stranded on Long Beach, Chatham Islands. (Department of Conservation, n.d.)

Stranding of such marine species has fascinated humankind who have struggled to understand this phenomenon. For Moriori it is simple, it is their connection to the spirit world that brings rongomoana to them, to nourish the wairua and the physical wellbeing of the people. These were joyous and notably great events for Moriori in traditional times.

## The months of the Moriori calendar

Based on Shand (1911, pp. 202-205), Moriori knowledge pertaining to the seasons, the months, the nights of the moon, the winds, and the tides guided all fishing endeavours (see Table 1). Whether it was harvesting pipi from the sandy beaches, spearing flounder in Te Whanga or fishing cod by canoe using hooks at sea, traditional knowledge played a significant role in the success and sustainable management of their fisheries resource. Many hūnau fishers are attempting a revival

of fishing by the Moriori calendar where they can. Much of the calendar is based on common sense, for example, it is harder to

grow food in the hotter weather when the land is dry and water sources negligible.

**Table 2** Moriori calendar

Month	Description
<b>Wairehu</b> January	Ko tohu i karangatia ko Wairehu—ko tari hingā ana. Ko Rehua Paonga ana. E tangatā enei. Tana kupu mo ka wai mo Pupaonga, “Mitikia e koe ka wai na.” The reason it was called Wairehu—the weeds are burnt up. It is Rehua Paonga. These are men. His word concerning the water (was), “Drink thou up the water” The meaning being that, owing to the sun’s heat, the weeds and herbage were burnt, and the water dried up.
<b>Moro</b> February	Ko tikanga o Moro ko kakahu kume ara ko Paenoa, ka mutu inginei tō wa mahanā. E tangata tenei. The reason of Moro was kakahu kume (drawn garment)—that is Paenoa —finished. The warm season ends here. This is a man.
<b>Mihi Torekao</b> March	Ka koti inginei tū huka a Mihi Torekao, ka rere a Kahupuarero. Tangatā nei wa me nei. The snow-biter (cuts) of Mihi Torekao, Kahupuarero flies (grass-stem borne by the wind). These things are people.
<b>Ta Upoko O T’ Etchi-Ao</b> April	A na ko ro kōura maunu. Ko ro kupu tenei a T’ Etchi-ao, “Naku ko ro kōura maunu.” It is the (time) of the shell-less crayfish. This is the saying of T Etchi-ao, “Mine is the shell-less crayfish.” The meaning is that the casting by the crayfish of their shell was the sign that this month had began; in the same manner that the former was known by the dry stems of grass mentioned floating for miles in the breeze.
<b>Tumatehae</b> May	Ka mea ano ia ka waru au. Ko ro me i mea ai rau’ ko Kahu no ro me ke put’ ei raūū. Ku mu i te kiato hokotiko hoki na ratau. He said I am eight. The reason why he and Kahu said this was that they two might surpass their following. It was an argument of theirs.
<b>Kahu</b> June	Tanana kupu tenei ka waru au. Ka tipu i totoe i muā. Nakena na Kahu. His word was I am eight. The first toetoe grows. It is mine, Kahu’s.
<b>Rongo</b> July	Ka timata ka okahu inginei ki ahuru t’ whenū(a); i timata ai ko Tongapua ti Hukurangi. The weeds or herbage commences now to grow; the soil grows warm. It being because Tongapua is in Hukurangi. The saying in reference to July is He whitu tataki tumu, “The seventh (July) always rainy.”

Month	Description
<b>Tahei</b> August	Ko tana e tau i ka tau. His occupation is to count the years. (1) Hitanuku, (2) Hitarangi, (3) Hitara, (4) Hitikaurereka, (5) Hitikaupeke, (6) Towhangaporoporo, (7) Towhangarei, (8) Muruwhenua, (9) Murutau, (10) Murukoroki, (11) Muruangina, (12) Putehāpā. T' arapuhi te me i kite ai i tangatā Moriori. E tu ana i roto i tehea me na ngahuru-ma-rū wha tau, ngahuru-marū ka marama, ngahuru-ma-rū hoki ka rangat'(a). The (plant) arapuhi was known by the Morioris. In it were twelve years, twelve mouths, and twelve people also. The arapuhi plant grew only in one place—at Hakepa, near Hawaruwaru.
<b>Keitanga</b> September	Tanana ki, “Katahi au i tahi ai.” Ko ro manu nei kukuria k' whanau tū hua. Ko ro manu nei t' wharourou tona hokowai “Ta upoko o Rakeiwēwē.” His saying is, “Now for the first time I am one” (begin). The (sea) bird the kukuria (now) lays its eggs. (Also) the bird the wharourou (bronze-winged cuckoo). Its proverb is “The head of Rakeiwēwē.”
<b>Tauaropoti</b> October	Tanana ki, “E kore au makona i tini no ro kai maha.” His saying is, “I will not be satisfied with the infinite variety of food.”
<b>Wareahe</b> November	Tana kupu, “Ka tahi au.” Ko ro matahi a ru kupoupou. His word, “I am one.” It is the beginning of the kupoupou seabird, fit to use for food.
<b>Tchuhe A Takarore</b> December	Tana ki mo ru kukuria, “Mahuta ta upoko o Maruroa.” His saying touching the kukuria sea-bird, “Come forth the head of Maruroa.”

The non-seaworthy appearance of canoes for marine fishing, especially around the outlying reefs and other islands required great judgement and a heavy reliance on Moriori knowledge of winds and tides.

In judging of the proper state of tide and current to avoid being carried away to sea, when crossing over to the outlying reefs and islands, great judgment was required. By taking advantage of the proper state of the wind and tide, they were enabled to make voyages which the appearance of the canoes would seem to forbid. (Shand, 1911, p. 7)

Moriori referred to the moon as a female deity which displayed differently as it aged. The ages and appearances of the moon would guide fishers to the best times and tides for successful fishing. The darkest nights were favoured given that fish generally disliked strong moonlight.

...The nights of the moon” (the moon's age) was their chief guide in all these expeditions. Beginning with the first night of the moon, when she appears as a thin slender crescent (Oterē 1st night, Tirea in Māori,) from this onwards to Omutu or Owhiro—nothingness; each night

conveying to them a certain idea in relation to the tides, especially Ka Tai Tamate(ā)—spring tides—when it was very dangerous to venture forth to sea. Ko tc' hinapouri—nights when the moon did not appear till late—were the favourite ones, both in sea

night fishing as well as on the rocks, and in eel-fishing. All fish dislike the strong moonlight. (Shand, 1911, p. 7)

Below all thirty-one fishing cycles are shown representing 31 days of a month on average.

**Table 3** Moriori fishing cycles by the moon

<b>1</b> Omuti	<b>8</b> OTamatē-tu-rua	<b>15</b> Outua	<b>22</b> Oika	<b>29</b> Otane
<b>2</b> Owhiro	<b>9</b> Tamatē-nui	<b>16</b> Ohotu	<b>23</b> Korekore-tu-tahi	<b>30</b> Orongo-nui
<b>3</b> Oterē	<b>10</b> Tamatē-hokopa	<b>17</b> Maūre	<b>24</b> Korekore-tu-rua	<b>31</b> Orongo-mori
<b>4</b> Ohewātā	<b>11</b> Ohuna	<b>18</b> Oturu	<b>25</b> Korekore-hokopau	
<b>5</b> Oua	<b>12</b> Howaru	<b>19</b> Rakaunui	<b>26</b> Tangarō-a-mua	
<b>6</b> Okoro	<b>13</b> Hua	<b>20</b> Rakaumotohe	<b>27</b> Tangarō-a-roto	
<b>7</b> Tamatē(a)-tu-tahi	<b>14</b> Mawharu	<b>21</b> Takirau	<b>28</b> Tongarō-kikio	

**Source:** Shand, (1911, p. 206).



## Aligning traditional sustainable management with contemporary practices

In the natural order of 'moon times' there were times to fish and times not to fish. The Moriori term 'Tangarō panake' was a term used to indicate to fishers that 'Tangarō had departed', no more fishing. This term tells us that there were times during 'moon times' that Moriori didn't fish, whether it was because of unfavourable conditions or whether it was simply to restore balance. Non-fishing moon times were just as important to Moriori as fishing moon times. As embodied in the Moriori calendar, Ta Upoko o t' etchi-ao or the month of April it was not appropriate to fish kōura as this was the time when kōura shed their shell. "A na ko ro kōura maunu. Ko ro kupu tenei a T' Etchi-ao, Naku ko ro kōura maunu."(Shand, 1911, p. 202).

The Chatham Island rock lobster closed season is in place for the months of March and April each year. During the closed season no person may take any rock lobsters or fish using any rock lobster pot within the Chatham Island waters. (Ministry of Primary Industries, 2015)

Rongomoana were divided amongst others, nothing was wasted. In line with what has been taught to hūnau over many generations, looking after the resources and sharing it among hūnau is really important tikane. Sharing with those who can no longer fish for the species they love to eat has its benefits for the younger generations because they get to hear the stories from their time and times before. This is a key element in intergenerational transference of traditional knowledge to younger generations who then apply those tikane to the next generation. Thereby, sustaining the knowledge but also exploring and developing new and innovative ways to sustain traditional practices. A mahine participant explained that:

Nothing is wasted or overfished, sharing knowledge, our next generation fishers, not to pollute our seas, we have a sense of Tchieketanga [guardianship], protect our seas.

We always share with the old people, that's a big one for us, if we have a spare tray of kina's lets divvy it out.

# Historical fishing knowledge

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## Traditional harvesting

Traditionally, the harvesting of seals was undertaken at night while they were resting, using a club. Hunters would clean the rocks of any blood as seals would abandon their home at the smell of blood (Davis & Solomon, 2005). Hunting only what they needed, Moriori harvested seals with respect and endeavoured to maintain the balance of their habitat.

Between 1806–1810, intensive whaling and sealing occurred on Rēkohu with a huge amount of seals being taken. This resulted in heavily reduced numbers which impacted

on the seal resource for food and clothing. Eventually, seal colonies became severely depleted although sealing continued until 1844. Today, the most common species on the islands is the fur seal, which are protected. Seal colonies are scattered throughout several locations, in particular, on the outer uninhabited islands, providing pristine, undisturbed and protected habitats for seals to thrive. Seal habitats can be found “at Point Munning, Te Whakaru, Tupuangi-Moana reef, Forty Fours, The Sisters, Rangatira Island, The Pyramid, Star Keys and Eastern Reef.”

**Figure 14** Seal Colony, Point Munning, Rēkohu



On the main island of Rēkohu, at Point Manning, north-east of the island is home to one of the largest fur seal colonies. This coastline forms part of a 47ha conservation covenant. It is enjoyed by locals and is a



popular visitor attraction. Today, this habitat represents 200 years of recovery from the devastation of intensive sealing during the early 1800's.

**Figure 15** Nunuku's Cave. Te Whānga, Rēkohu



Seals were also vast in numbers and living at Te Whanga which Moriori also hunted during the season. Currently, a few seals will make their way through the channel, but they generally do not inhabit Te Whanga anymore. As featured above, Nunuku's cave is one of the last remaining Moriori cave carvings depicting a number of seals and is a place where Moriori camped and hunted during the season. The symbolism expressed tells the story of tribal traditions and practices and are remnants and reminders of Moriori history. For Moriori, the significance of these miheke (treasures) remain an important cultural artefact and traditional memory.

### **Fisheries Regulations 1986 – Recreation fishing and tourism**

There are fifteen recreational fishing areas on the island, four are located on Rangihaute and the remaining throughout Rēkohu. These are regulations that prohibit commercial fishing in those areas. As the island has riparian rights which can be described as land ownership that adjoins a coastline or waterway where there is no reserve or 'queens' chain'. Some of the recreation areas are difficult to access due to remote access and permission for landowners to cross land is required. In some respects, riparian rights have aided the protection of these areas. For instance, a mahine participant stated that:

Don't think any Islanders like the recreational take when it comes to tourists and others coming to the Island. They're

not breaking any laws but we have our own Islands values. I've been out at the airport and seen people with many poly bins full of fish, not factory fish. That's always a concern. When you see it with your own eyes you do wonder if they have taken more than they should. It's the values, Chatham Islanders are bought up to take only what you need and maybe a feed for other family, give to rangata matua [kaumatua]. There are areas where you can't go to anymore because the fish isn't there anymore, you see the impact. That is just not from tourism but workers who come into the Islands I've noticed. Though of late, tourists can be quite respectful because they are told and starting to understand our values, our people remind them also and they can buy from the factories.

Tourism Chatham Islands have taken a proactive role in asserting island values concerning recreational catch limits and communicating through various methods the importance of kaimoana to the islands way of life. Fish are plentiful, protected and the take by visitors is at levels the islanders are agreeable with (Tourism Chatham Islands, n.d.). Essentially, islanders take what they need and prefer others to do so. Access to kaimoana through factory sales have become more available in recent years. Island values have been recognised in work that is currently being undertaken with the support of the Ministry of Primary Industries to see a reduction in recreational catch limits. The island will see this aspiration realised in the not-too-distant future and it is a milestone for the island in terms of a collective approach to sustaining the fishery.

Currently, Hokotehi Moriori Trusts' interests in tourism is focused on the impacts of

tourism on the islands fisheries, in addition to providing visitors to Rēkohu with a guided tour of Kopinga Marae and an understanding of Moriori history.

Local marine tourism is limited to a few island businesses providing fishing charters during the visitor season, along with the occasional visits from cruise ships touring the sub-Antarctic islands. Two fishery operators also provide guided tours of their fisheries facilities to visitors. There is potential here for Moriori to develop boutique accommodation such as glamping, art and culture, wildlife and food experiences.

## Quota Management System

The implementation of the Quota Management System (QMS) has had its challenges but also its benefits in terms of striving towards a sustainable fishery on Rēkohu. Many traditional fishers on Rēkohu missed out on winning quota and therefore, livelihoods were negatively impacted. A rangata matua interviewee remembered that

I was a commercial diver and I worked cray pots as well [prior to the implementation of the [QMS]. I missed out [on quota under the [QMS] by one year. Which was very disappointing, I worked my guts out really on the diving side of things because it was away of [having] another source of income to pay off my farm and build my house, educated kids and those sort of things. I think from memory you had to have a catch history of three years prior to the date they implemented it [QMS]. I had been approached [by people] at that stage to fight the people who allocated the quota, to try and get quota across for me and my family. I had spent \$11,500 of my own dollars to try and do that but I ran

out of money. Some other families here were also in the same boat, they went and fought for their fishing rights and missed out, some were lucky enough to get some 'backers' [and were] fighting for years [they] were lucky enough to get some quota allocated. You didn't have to buy the quota it was just allocated based on your catch history.

From a local level, the cost of compliance has its implications alongside the costs of equipment maintenance. If something breaks down, then costs could escalate, including flying in engineers and other experts, tools, and parts to bring things up to standard. From the interview with a mahine in 2023:

there seems to be a levy and a fee for everything, the cost of electronic monitoring system that came in. This was an added pressure to the business. I know its necessary safety wise. You can't go fishing if you don't comply, if you don't comply there are costly fines.

In order to relieve the pressure on Moriori fishers to meet their obligations in the implementation of electronic monitoring systems, Hokotehi Moriori Trust initiated the distribution of grants as contribution towards the cost of compliance.

## Pāua shelving

In response to concerns from local fisheries in relation to the depletion of pāua, quota owners led an initiative to develop a Pau4 Fishers Plan to improve the sustainability of pāua stocks. The plan aligns with the Fisheries Act 1996 and The Total Allowable Commercial Catch (TTACC) settings. The initiative is voluntary and this means the harvesting of pāua is below the total allowable catch limit and encourages larger

size limits. The shelving of pāua asserts the islands value of ensuring the sustainability of the pāua fisheries, an example of island self-determination.

Pāua on the Chatham Islands is highly valued by customary, commercial, and recreational fishers. The commercial fishery is managed under the Quota Management System as PAU4, comprising blackfoot pāua (*Haliotis iris*) and yellowfoot pāua (*H. australis*). Although quantitative information on the stock status of PAU4 is limited, the fishery is considered to be relatively productive and abundant. In recent years, however, the pāua industry has observed that the total biomass of PAU4 appears to be declining and some areas of the fishery are experiencing depletion. In response to these concerns, since 2010 quota owners have reduced commercial harvest by voluntarily shelving annual catch entitlement (ACE). The PAU4 industry now intends to adopt more sophisticated management measures using a fisheries plan approved by the Minister of Fisheries under section 11A of the Fisheries Act 1996. (Fisheries New Zealand, 2018)

The shelving of pāua has been well supported by the community, who have further ideas on sustaining pāua stocks:

I think with aquaculture it will take the pressure off [commercial]. Shelving of pāua at the moment, taking the pressure off the wild pāua is to put land based pāua farms in.

Moriori have ventured into aquaculture in a small way so further exploration in terms of partnerships and ventures may provide ways in which further ideas and expansions can occur.

## Te Whanga

Te Whanga is the largest water resource on Rēkohu, taking up a near third of the island. Te Whanga, including all waterways flowing into the lagoon, is protected from commercial activity under the Fisheries (South-East Area Commercial Fishing) Regulations 1986.

Te Whanga is a mix of both freshwater and seawater. “It contains significant ecosystem values, including remnants of broad-leaved forests, wetland rush species and a rich and diverse fish and bird life.”(Chatham Islands Council, 2020).

**Figure 16** Topographical map, Te Whanga



Water quality plays an important part in the sustainability of marine life. The monitoring of water quality in Te Whanga, lakes, rivers, and streams is managed by the Chatham Islands Council as part of their environmental responsibilities along with protection mechanisms under the 'Chatham Islands Resource Management Document 2020'.

Te Whanga is populated by the Australian black swan. Traditionally, Moriori hunted the poua, a native swan now extinct. Swan is still considered a valuable food source to many islanders, however, concerns with overpopulation, controlling numbers and pollution is an issue. A rangta matua described his experience:

One that sticks out to me is the quality of water in Te Whanga [and the] swan. Back in the day [swan] provided kai in the way of swan eggs, provided kai in the way of fat swans. Might as well say it was a Chatham Island chicken...so then came a big bunch of regulations to the Chathams, duck shooting we put a start date and an end date on the duck shooting, did the same thing for the swan, so it was bloody stupid cos' the dates they put on for the swan is when the swans were skinny as hell. So instead of leaving it in the kaitikai's hands, the island people to cull the swan [when populations got too big] oh no we' re gonna leave it for months, closed season. And then the swans lay the eggs in the closed season, the population of swans got out of hand, so instead of [managing] a couple of thousand swan, it went to ten thousand. So, the swan has eaten all the weed system out of Te Whanga, now that weed provided a place for our whitebait to spawn for the inanga, all our tuna, and that, they lived under that forest of weed, and our flounder too for

that matter, and plus a whole range of other species. Now the swan ate all that out and exposed the fish to all the predators went in there the gulls, the small Jackie's [eggs [and Noddies]eggs] . And slowly all the resource started to die out. To me that was a wrong move [regulations]. We use to have swan drives [to cull the swan] to get the weed back not only on Te Whanga, and also Tenants Lake and [lake] Marakapia. DOC made a bad move there and the powers to be in those days they didn't want to listen to no bugger. They [the swans] come into the farm land and eat all the food for the stock, they poison the grass through their 'tutai' and they eat all the creeks out of watercress and everywhere where the eel used to live all [their food] eaten out by the swan, and the pollution caused by the swan in the creeks flowing into Te Whanga. You only have to see it below my farm all the swan shit there. Huge amount of swan in [lake] Huro [they'll feed there] then go back to Te Whanga.

Since 2005 the Council has undertaken habitat mapping and monitoring of water quality with regular reports having been produced.

Water quality in the lagoon is generally of a high standard although it is likely to be sensitive to increased inputs of nutrients from the adjoining land due to limited natural flushing between the sea and the lagoon. Te Whanga is a unique system, but susceptible to contamination from grazing animals. (Environment Canterbury, 2020)

As a result of pending Treaty of Waitangi settlements, Hokotehi Moriori Trust and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri Iwi Trust will have a greater 'voice' in the sustainable management of Te Whanga. It is envisaged that once Ngāti Mutunga has settlement, a management

entity will be established. It is worth noting that Moriori and Ngati Mutunga o Wharekauri Iwi Trust will address overlapping Treaty matters under a separate settlement.

*It will be interesting to see under the pending new management [Treaty Settlements will see Te Whanga managed by imi/iwi/Council and DOC] of Te Whanga, what the aspirations and values will be.*

Te Whanga has always been regarded as the 'kai basket' of the Chatham Islands and is a recreation place for many islanders. These values are important to the sustainability of the contemporary island way of life and guardianship. "Hokotehi is already enacting our tchiekitanga through our research work and is demonstrating our commitment to improving the state of the lagoon for present and future generations." (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2016, p.16).

## **Chatham Islands Fisheries Forum Plan @ 44° 2011-2016**

The Chatham Islands Fisheries Forum Plan@44° (2011-2016) signalled a turning point for both imi and iwi having worked in collaboration as a 'unified voice' in asserting their expressions of tchiekitanga/kaitiakitanga in fisheries management and at the time the potential of aquaculture development. Together with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, imi and iwi established a forum known as Pa Tangaroa where the primary focus was on customary fisheries. The plan acted as a tool which enabled imi and iwi to build meaningful partnerships and facilitate kōrero between themselves and relevant government agencies in terms of improving communication and engagement. It has a number of high-level management objectives and performance measures and "captures a richness of discussions that took place" (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 2011).

To date, the plan has not been superseded by another customary fisheries plan, noting that, both imi and iwi since 2016 have strived to address their individual Treaty of Waitangi settlements. No doubt, as settlements conclude, pathways for future customary fisheries planning will develop and be further realised. The rakau momori visually describes the relationship that needs to be in place between both Hokotehi Moriori Trust and Te Runanga o Wharekauri Trust. A coming together of two peoples for common goals.



**Figure 17** Rakau Momori-Kaupapa Tchakat: kupenga tchakat or the net which binds people and events, one to another, and to the gods, sky, land, and sea



### Global influences - climate change and COVID-19

Many people think climate change mainly means warmer temperatures. But temperature rise is only the beginning of the story. Because the Earth is a system, where everything is connected, changes

in one area can influence changes in all others. The consequences of climate change now include, among others, intense droughts, water scarcity, severe fires, rising sea levels, flooding, melting polar ice, catastrophic storms, and declining biodiversity.

Climate change can affect our health, ability to grow food, housing, safety, and work. Some of us are already more vulnerable to climate impacts, such as people living in small island nations and other developing countries. Conditions like sea-level rise and saltwater intrusion have advanced to the point where whole communities have had to relocate, and protracted droughts are putting people at risk of famine. In the future, the number of “climate refugees” is expected to rise. (United Nations, n.d.)

Fishers and locals have for some time been aware of the changes in the depletion of bladder kelp in certain fishing areas. The interview participants described their experience:

The kelp used to provide kai for the kina and those on the ocean floor, provided a shelter, slowed all that wave power down when the waves hit the shore [erosion],

it provided for the Moriori people, a kelp bag for putting kai in, and also their Titi and other birds, to preserve, keep for months and months. They [the kelp bags] got the name Titi puk’ [puku].

Climate change has and will continue to have its challenges, [we need to] move towards aquaculture in light of the potential impacts of climate change.

The impact of the global pandemic, COVID 19 and its variants, had caused global markets to shut down. For Moriori fisheries, their livelihood at that time had ceased, causing loss of income and uncertainty about the future. In response to the pandemic, the Trust had significantly reduced lease prices of their fish so as to alleviate the pressure on fishers and their families, in the spirit of hūnautanga. This response highlights that the wellbeing of hūnau is essential to the wellbeing and sustainability of fishing.

## Moriori fisheries today

### Hokotehi Moriori Trust

Our mission to apply the wisdom and values of the past so as to ensure the physical and spiritual nourishment of present and future generations of Moriori; thus honouring the legacy of our karapuna. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022)

Hokotehi Moriori Trust was formed in 2000 and is an amalgamation of two prior Moriori entities, Te Iwi Moriori and Tchakat Henu. The

catalyst for the amalgamation was the then pending Māori Fisheries Settlement that had resulted in Moriori being allocated a share of the overall settlement allocated to Māori. Hokotehi means to ‘come together as one’.

The Trust represents the interests of Ta Imi Moriori, those who are the descendants of Rongomaiwhenua and Rongomaitere on the islands of Rēkohu and Rangihau, Aotearoa and elsewhere in the world where Moriori reside.

### Figure 18 Kopinga Marae, Rēkohu



Kopinga Marae is where Hokotehi Moriori Trust operates from and is supported by a number of people and organisations based in mainland Aotearoa. There are eight Trustees, three from Rēkohu, three from Te Waiponamu and two from Te Ika-a-Maui.

Hokotehi Moriori Trust is the mandated imi organisation authority on behalf of Ta Imi Moriori in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process. The settlement was finalised in 2021 and the establishment of the Moriori Imi Settlement Trust (MIST) was established to receive settlement assets.

The Trust is involved and has interests in several sectors of the islands economy including fishing, farming, and tourism, and also provides cultural, social, and educational services.

Hokotehi Moriori Trust has a number of subsidiary companies that enables the Trust to operate and generate income thus supporting the cultural, spiritual, environmental, social and physical wellbeing of its people. Namely, Hokotehi Settlement Quota Holdings Ltd, Kōpi Holdings Ltd and Te Keke Tura Trust.

Fisheries species such as blue cod, crayfish, pāua and kina annual catch entitlement (ACE) is available to registered members who are established in the fishing industry and also applies to partners members. Allocation is either by direct allocation or through one of the fish processing factories that Hokotehi Moriori Trust have agreements with. One interview participant stated that:

We started business in 2014, had applied to all Iwi and Imi here including the Chatham Islands Enterprise Trust to lease ACE. HMT were first on board to help us start our fishing business. [ACE] We lease from Imi and Iwi, pick up ACE from other fishing families who hadn't fished all their ACE helping them out, [we have] got a good reputation so people starting to approaching us to catch fish, and private Quota owners. We lease pāua, kina, crayfish and blue cod. We own two boats, a dive boat for kina and pāua, and a boat for crayfish and cod.

Hokotehi Moriori Trust currently derive income from the following fish species; blue cod, rock lobster, hoki, oreo, orange roughy, rough skate, pāua, kina, and scampi. One mahine participant explained that:

HMT own Quota in a number of fish species. Crayfish, Pāua, Kina, Blue cod and deepwater species. Deep sea species are leased out off Island cause we don't have the facilities to catch them, gets leased out and processed elsewhere, not economical to process it here. We have access to a big [fishers] resource and we are yet to tap into other species, our waters are clean. But you can't keep digging into the bucket, sooner or later that bucket is going to get empty. If we don't get smart [look at other avenues] about our fisheries we are not going to be able to sustain our business. We have to make sure the fish is always going to be there.

Hokotehi Moriori Trust has imi representation on a number of local fishery forums, namely, Pāua 4, Craymac 6, and Chatham Islands Finfish. They also have several key working relationships with Waitangi Seafoods Ltd, Chatham Islands Food Co, Ministry of Primary Industries (MPI), Te Ohu Kaimoana, Port Nicolson Ltd, the Department of Conservation, the Chatham Islands Council (water quality) and Tourism Chatham Islands (recreational fishing).

The Trust has four Tchieki kaimoana, who are appointed as as Moriori guardians of the sea and kaimoana, and who work along-side MPI in overseeing their customary fisheries responsibilities. The Tchieki kaimoana undertake monitoring and provide input into matters relating to customary fishing of kaimoana. Prior to the appointment of Tchieki kaimoana, honorary fisheries officers represented by imi and iwi were in place. From the experience of one mahine participant:

I was an Honorary Fisheries officer some years ago. The officers were established

through the fisheries officer at the time, it was a local mechanism to help protect our fisheries as a collective... supported by HMT and NMOWIT, people need to know we are looking out for our fisheries at a local level, community led. Better for people to see us monitoring than to just put up a notice. Presence plays a big role. All people, our people and tourist especially those who are coming into the Island to fish.

## Marine and Coastal (Takutai Moana) Area Act 2011

The Marine and Coastal (Takutai Moana) Area Act 2011 repeals the Foreshore and Seabed act of 2004. Its purpose is to provide “for the special status of the common marine and coastal area as an area that is incapable of ownership.” (Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011). In relation to Rēkohu it is described as the coastal and marine area between the line of mean high-water springs and the outer limits of 12 nautical miles surrounding the island’s territorial sea.

In 2017, on behalf of Moriori, Hokotehi Moriori Trust made application under the Marine and Coastal (Takutai Moana) Area Act 2011 to exercise non-commercial customary fishing rights in the Moriori takutai moana area claiming Moriori had rights before 1840 and up to present day. Applications were also received from Ngāti Mutunga o iwi Trust, Manukau Land Trust, and Ngā Uri o Mutunga. Accordingly, Moriori assert that:

Within the Moriori Takutai moana area, there are waahi tapu and waahi tapu areas with which the applicant group have connection in accordance to tikane and the group may have restrictions on access

to protect the waahi tapu and waahi tapu areas, with the location of these waahi tapu and waahi tapu areas and the nature of proposed restrictions to be subject to dialogue with the applicant group and the wider community before the nature of the waahi tapu conditions sought under section 79 of the Act is finalised. (High Court of New Zealand, 2017)

If the groups are successful in their applications, this could have the potential to protect or further protect certain customary areas around the Chatham Islands.

## Moriori Claims Settlement Act 2021

In November 2021, the Moriori Claims Settlement Act was enacted. This was a milestone of achievement for Moriori and the recognition and settlement of a long-standing grievance. Redress was addressed by a number of mechanisms, one of which was the return of land adjacent to the coastlines of Rēkohu and Rangihau along with a number of marginal strips.

Moriori have yet to settle ‘shared interest’, that being, areas of interest that overlap with Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri. These are still to be negotiated with the Crown and once agreed will result in a separate deed, a bill, and finally, enacted legislation.

Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri areas of interest overlap and encompass the entirety of the Chatham Islands.

Shared redress will include:

- the transfer of the bed of Te Whanga Lagoon and some adjoining lands;
- a management regime for Te Whanga Lagoon and some adjoining lands;

- a right of first refusal over Crown properties on the Chatham Islands;
- a new regime for the management of customary fishing on the Chatham Islands;
- the establishment of a Joint Planning Committee of the Chatham Islands Council;
- official geographic place name changes;
- a joint overlay classifications over the Cape Young portion of Wharekauri site 100;
- four Tikitiki Hill sites; and
- Kaingaroa school (land only) sale and lease back.

Whilst the individual deeds and legislation will comprehensively settle the historical Treaty of Waitangi claims of Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri. The exception is the shared right of first refusal over Crown properties on the Chatham Islands and provision for customary non-commercial fishing regulations, shared redress between Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri will be delivered through a separate shared redress deed and bill. (New Zealand Government, 2020)

## Hokotehi conservation priorities

In 2014, Hokotehi Moriori Trust set three priorities that highlighted the areas of focus they intended to work towards over a number of years. Namely, the kōpi groves and rākau momori, Moriori culture and heritage, freshwater management, and coastal area protection.

*We consider that ecological health and cultural wellbeing are deeply entwined. The returning health of kōpi forests, the regeneration of indigenous species and improvements in water quality are vital for the revitalisation of Moriori identity and culture. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2014a, p. 1).*

The freshwater management aspirations concerning Te Whanga were driven by the relationship Moriori have with their natural environment. In 2014, the Trust identified a number of issues regarding biodiversity species being under threat due to the current state of freshwater systems on the islands, further asserting the need for pest control, improving water quality and restoration of riparian margins.

Action had been taken whereby the Trust in partnership with DOC investigated ecological trends, mapped species movements which included tuna along with other freshwater species. The move was to provide useful and meaningful knowledge for better support around habitat protection.

*This work has only just started but eel monitoring work carried out is already generating unexpected results around population numbers and migration patterns. More work is needed to encourage riparian planting and fencing as well as protection for coastal areas. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2014a, p. 4).*

## Hokotehi Moriori Trust strategy

In 2010, Hokotehi Moriori Trust had developed a strategic direction that focused on culture, community, commerce, co-operation and communication, and conservation. In relation to commerce, a number of key fisheries initiatives were highlighted along with a drive to bring better returns and benefits to their members.

*Commerce – Hokotehi will continue to review the options for business operations in fishing, farming, and tourism with a view to ensuring all business ventures bring better returns and benefits for members and for Rēkohu. A greater*

focus on sustainable inshore fisheries that supports Moriori fishers and that meets international standards and demands for processing and transport of live fresh produce will be realised. Hokotehi will make ongoing research and development a priority with a view to developing high quality (high value/low volume) products from the island. As part of this, a distinctive quality brand for Moriori and Rēkohu will be developed and promoted. Development of Hokotehi tourism will see this business area increasingly become one of our lead investments. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 44)

## Current cultural prerogatives – Nunuku’s Lore

Hokotehi Moriori Trust’s cultural prerogatives stem from the Moriori creation story and Rangitokona known as the ‘heaven-propper’. According to tradition, Rangitokona is said to have separated Rangī and Papatuanuk’ by using ten pillars and by placing one pillar on top of another, and hence there became light, Te Ao Marama. A contemporary expression of Rangitokona takes pride of place as a ‘Pou’ standing as the central post within ‘Hokomenetai (gather in peace)’, the main whare at Kopinga Marae. Scribed on Ka Pou a Rangitokona are the names of the 1,561 karapuna (ancestors) who held strong to ‘Nunuku’s Lore of Peace’ despite the occupation of Māori and catastrophic events that followed. The legacy of peace is a fundamental and unique tradition of Moriori. It is a beacon of hope for the generations to come, tells the story of endurance, phenomenal resilience, the restoration of Moriori culture and asserts the importance of maintaining balance within Ta Ao Moriori.

## The ten pillars of Rangitokona

In 2016, during wananga, a process of collaborative thinking had occurred, resulting in a number of kaupapa being identified and validated as being important at the time. This formed the basis for further discussion and the model of the ten pillars of Rangitokona was developed as a framework of guiding principles. The ten pillars or pou express the values and traditions of Ecthu Moriori and Karapuna Moriori, including their knowledge and wisdom, and is essential to Hokotehi Moriori Trust endeavours to provide a sustainable future for mokopu Moriori. A mahine participant shared her experience during the interview:

Where we are at, at the moment, with reviewing and developing our policies and plans we will be guided by our values [ten pillars]. They are very important, the incorporation of them in everything we do, strategies. Our vision comes from those pillars. They are from our atua [Etchu] and our karapuna. They are there for a reason, traditionally our people lived sustainably, always giving thanks for everything they took.

These cultural prerogatives have since been updated. See Appendix 10 (page 86)

## Ka Pou a Rangitokona

I te timatanga ka noho ko Rangi raua ko Papa, e pouri noa ana; ko Rangi kei runga ake i a Papa e piri ana, kahore ano i tupu he tangata; ka puta ake tetahi tangata, he wairua, kahore ona putake, ko Rangitōkona te ingoa, haere atu ana ia ki a Rangi raua ko Papa, ka ki atu kia wehea raua, kahore raua i pai. Ka kite a Rangitōkona, wehea ana e ia a Rangi raua ko Papa, tokona ana e ia te rangi ki runga ki te pou—ngahuru aua pou, he mea tuho nohono ake i raro tae noa ki te tumautanga o te rangi. No te wehenga o Rangi i a Papa, ka tangi, a Rangi ki a Papa, koia ona roimata, ko te tomairangi me te ua e heke iho ana ki runga i a ia. (Shand, 1911, p. 26)

In the beginning dwelt Rangi and Papa, or Heaven and Earth. Darkness existed. Rangi adhered over Papa. Man did not exist. A person arose, a spirit who had no origin, whose name was Rangi-tokona. He went to Rangi and Papa and told them to separate; they would not consent; whereupon Rangitokona separated Rangi and Papa; he pushed up Rangi with pillars, ten in number, joined one under the other, until they reached the fixed-place-of-heaven. After the separation of Heaven from Earth, Heaven lamented for Earth, his tears being the dew and rain which descend upon her.

### Table 4 Karakii a Rangitokona

**Ko Rangitokona tokona i tehe rangi  
ko Rangitokona, tokona i tche ātā,  
ka tu te pou ki ru pakira o tā rangi,  
ki ru pehore o tā rangi,  
ka tu te mēmēa-a-nuku,  
ka tu te mēmēa-a-rangi,  
ka tu te kahī-a-nuku,  
ka tu te kahī-a-rangi,  
ka tu te pou, te pou,  
ka tu te pou, te pourangi, e**

Rangitokona prop up the heaven,  
Rangitokona prop up the morning  
The pillar stands in the baldness of heaven,  
In the bare of heaven  
The pillar stands  
The pillar stands  
The pillar stands  
The pillar stands  
The pillar stands  
The pillar of heaven



## The Pillars and Application to Fishing

Each pillar is explained, and an example is provided that links to various aspects of fishing and birdlife, the lake, and land. No pillar is more important than any other and therefore, no order is observed here. They highlight the ongoing connections, traditions, values, and beliefs that Moriori adhere to in daily living.

### Te Pou Tatakitanga – innovation and adaption

The concept of tatakitanga refers to the settlement of Moriori in traditional times. It is during this time of peace and isolation that Ka Uri o Rongomaiwhenua (the descendants of Rongomaiwhenua) developed a unique culture, utilising the resources available on their new island home (Rēkohu) and evolved into the people and culture known as Moriori. Tatakitanga expresses innovation and adaptability. In the modern context, tatakitanga refers to being proactively future-focused through the creation and implementation of new ideas (innovation) that significantly improve positive outcomes for Moriori. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 30)

A contemporary example of the above is the Trust currently undertaking a feasibility study for a composting project. It is an aspirational and innovative idea that wholly focuses on the diversion of organic waste from the current landfill with the potential to repurpose other non-organic waste. Through the establishment of a composting facility on Rēkohu, the island can receive organic waste and manufacture compost, potting mix, and other products. Some of the composting material will include fish waste and seaweed. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 30)

It has been an aspiration of the Trust to diversify its fisheries interests into other potential ventures.

We allocate fish but I'd like to think that in the future we would be looking at elevating 'Moriori fish' through aquaculture, market our own fish, have our own brand on it, that includes this is our vision and values, looking after our sea and fish. Everything that asserts being Moriori. A distinct Moriori identity brand or traditional knowledge labelling system that is uniquely Moriori. Rather than "from the farm to the plate" it is "from Rēkohu to the world" – a Moriori encounter.

This would include products from both the land and the sea, thus encapsulating a broad and wide-ranging experience of the unique elements of Rēkohu, its people and its ancestral landscapes:

Innovation is the way to go. Looking at new opportunities. Cheaper ways of doing things. Bringing the generations through and teaching them [knowledge]. Developing aquaculture and building skills around aquaculture, learning how to keep our fish sustainable. [We need] more initiatives from the Island [Iwi, Imi, Council, Enterprise Trust] for fisheries [development] and marine protection.

### Te Pou Tatakitanga – innovation and adaption

Hakapiri (*Olearia traversiorum*) is the Moriori name for the tree commonly seen around Rēkohu, bending against the pressure and stresses of the wind and sea-salt. 'Hakapiri' means to "cling tenaciously" and is an appropriate expression for Moriori resilience and the ability to recover and rebound from

challenges, holding steadfast to future aspirations and peace traditions.

(Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 31)

Moriori resilience forms part of the overall Chatham Islands way of life. The remote location of the island has many challenges in terms of the high cost of living as goods and materials are freighted in via plane or ship. The instability of shipping services and ability to freight, for example, fuel, has implications for divers, as in many instances there have been times when the island has had no supply of petrol resulting in divers unable to fish as there is no fuel for their dive boats. During the interview, a mahine participant stated that:

Having to fly surveyors to the Island, usually fishers get together to share the costs, the same with deisel engineers for breakdowns and maintenance. Freight on parts, equipment.

In finding solutions for a sustainable and reliable shipping service, the Trust is part of an island collective made up of imi, iwi, Council, and the Chatham Islands Enterprise Trust who are the leading entities on the island, known as 'the four entities'. At present, the four entities are working towards a review of the island's investment strategy that will articulate the vision of the community, and act as a tool for dialogue with central government and other funders on finding solutions for island challenges. The areas of investment are sustainable infrastructure, healthy environment sustainability, economic prosperity, and social and cultural wellbeing.

Focus areas relating to environmental sustainability include water quality, biosecurity and protection, and restoration of habitats. Focus areas for economic prosperity include a sustainable fishery, Chatham Island branding, and tourism.

## Te Pou Kōpitanga – co-operation and partnership

Kōpi is the Moriori name for the karaka tree on which Moriori embossed or carved art on the living bark. Kōpi only grow well when surrounded by protective shelter, when their canopies are interlocked and when root systems of individual trees can develop without competition. Kōpitanga is an expression for respecting the individual within the collective system, the importance of sound working relationships and realising collective outcomes. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 32)

During the interview, a mahine participant shared her insights:

I think, we [HMT] also need to look at a collective Island approach to our fisheries. [Enterprise Trust and Iwi] own quota. Imi /Iwi are driven by their cultural values, the [Enterprise Trust] is driven by the economy, the money. Where the difference is, is that we have different world views. I think there would be benefit in a collective approach to fisheries development.

As earlier discussed, a local agreement to shelve pāua had been well supported by local fishers and the wider community. Further ideas on sustaining pāua stocks is likely to be with aquaculture:

Aquaculture it will take the pressure off [commercial]. Shelving of pāua at the moment, taking the pressure off the wild pāua is to put land based pāua farms in.

## Te Pou Tchiekitanga – customary responsibilities

Tchieki is the Moriori expression of guardianship – the care and protection of our environment, resources, our imi and our identity for future generations. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 32)

Moriori expresses tchieketanga in many ways. Having people such as their tchieki kaimoana to oversee, manage and work alongside MPI. This is to ensure customary fishing is aligned

with the values and traditions of Moriori and allows statutory representation on the Chatham Islands Conservation Board. This representation ensures Moriori voice is at the decision-making table on environmental matters, and supporting community aspirations to care and protect island resources for future generations, “...nothing is wasted or overfished, sharing knowledge,

our next generation fishers, not to pollute our seas, we have a sense of Tchieketanga [guardianship], protect our seas”, said one mahine participant. The values of islanders when it comes to kaimoana is: “we only take enough for what we need”, explained another mahine participant.

**Figure 19** A harvest of kaimoana for the hūnau



### Te Pou Hokotipuranga – growth and development

Tipu refers to ‘new shoots’ and is a metaphor for the emerging generations that we must care for and support. It refers to laying the foundation for growth and development in building our future as a strong and thriving imi. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 32)

As a result of the conclusion of Treaty settlements, redress through the return of

lands, assets and monetary compensation will open new doors for the Trust to develop pathways for more commercial and cultural initiatives, thereby enhancing the wellbeing of Ta Imi Moriori. One initiative is likely to address both cultural and sustainability prerogatives as one participant suggests:

I’ve always been keen to see mataitai here. Moriori own a lot of land [adjoining the coastline] from Matarakau, Kaingaoroa, Okawa through to Rotorua. So I’d be keen especially for the Matarakau coast to get

mataitai in place. Shut it up for 20 years or so [to let stocks repopulate]. The Trust can see the benefits of that [mataitai for future generations].

...research and development are at the beginning of everything we plan to do. The science can tell us about the here and the now, the culture knowledge has told us what the journeys have been in the past to now. Our job (as Trustees) is to combine the two so we can use a combination of knowledge to guide a sustainable fishery. We can't do that without both. Forward thinking, understanding where the potential change is heading. That is the basis. Then we can look at what are the species we have here [that sustain us] and should we be looking at aquaculture. To make sure they continue. Looking at other species too. Land based aquaculture. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 38)

### **Te Pou Miheketanga - caring for our treasures**

Miheketanga is the expression for Moriori treasure(s). Miheketanga refers to acknowledging, respecting, protecting, and caring for Moriori treasures for present and future generations. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 39)

According to Ta Ao Moriori, 'all things' are regarded as miheke, to be protected, and cared for on behalf of future generations. Our fisheries are one example of Moriori miheke:

My dad always taught us to throw the first one back. You never shucked your pāua down by the water, always took your rubbish away. [As a child] I asked my dad why we did that and he said, 'would you live in a pond or place where others had killed or taken your friends, destroyed your place. That left me with a lasting impression as a child.

### **Te Pou Nunukutanga - peace traditions**

This pou refers to Nunuku's lore of peace. Nunukutanga reflects our commitment to peace making and conflict resolution. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 36)

The peace tradition of Nunuku's lore is a tradition that forbade warfare and killing. For hundreds of years Moriori lived in peace and harmony on Rēkohu. This tradition was extremely tapu and acknowledges the gods as the arbitrators of life and death.

### **Te Pou Manawareka - hospitality and marae development**

Manawareka is the Moriori expression of 'the warming of the heart'. As a metaphor manawareka refers to hospitality and compassion. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 37)

On Rēkohu, Kopinga marae is a beacon of peace. The main whare is named Hokomenetai, meaning to gather in peace. The marae hosts a number of on-island wananga, hui, community events, and accommodates people in times of civil defence and emergency management events. The expression of manawareka is through kaimoana, the nourishing and warming the hearts of others.

### **Te Pou Hokopanopano - revitalisation and renewal**

Revitalisation and renewal. The kupu panopano is a Moriori expression to ignite. Hokopanopano is a metaphor that refers to the rekindling or reignition of Moriori values, culture, and identity. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 34)

A major project for Hokotehi Moriori Trust is what has been termed the 'Recloaking Rēkohu project'. This project aims to reignite the indigenous ecology of the islands by recloaking or restoring endemic tree species. The project is part of the nationwide

'one billion trees' project and includes the preparation and planting of 284.12ha of the Rongotai block on Kaingaroa Station. Funding had been secured for the planting of 210ha of the current 284.12ha total, consisting of 80% indigenous eco-sourced species and 20% exotics (*Macrocarpa*). This will result in the planting of a minimum of 210,000 seedlings over six planting seasons. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 34)

### Te Pou Hokopapa - developing intergenerational knowledge

Moriori hokopapa (ancestry) and tohungatanga (knowledge). The development of intergenerational knowledge for future and present generations. (Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2022, p. 34)

The transmission of tohungatanga Moriori is essential to enable Moriori to retain their practices and traditions into the future. Many island children grow up learning how to harvest a feed of kaimoana. [I would] "like to see the Imi [HMT] make some more reserves and protect them so our kids and old people can always get a feed and our mokopu.", said one mahine participant.

**Figure 20** The next generation fishers gathering pāua at low tide



The knowledge is really important, the past and the present. Handing down of skills [knowledge] through hands on mahi, living the life, learn along the way.

A number of Moriori fishers come from generations of fishers before them. This is evident during the interviews:

We are a hūnau oriented business. Succession, from both sides of our families we have a history of fishing. My partners' line has generations of fishers, 6 generations. As well as my line 6 to 7 generations then indigenous fishers. My 17yr old son started when he was 16, my 20yr old nephew started when he was 17, another nephew 23yr old started

when he was 17, and another nephew who is 26yr old started when he was 16. My partner and I managed the business and the paperwork, the nuts and bolts of the business. My son and nephews love it [fishing] the boys are really passionate about fishing. My partner has taught them all about fishing.

Access to training in fisheries is fundamental to growing knowledge and the skills needed to be a successful fisher. "Do some fish safety courses for our young people coming up in fishing, to help them get into their own fishing business.", explained one mahine interview participant.



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## Discussion

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The blue economy concept has a strong alignment with both traditional and contemporary Moriori and Māori economic approaches. However, while many operating in the marine space can be seen enacting blue economy elements, roadblocks remain for the holistic manifestations of the blue economy across rongomoana and Tangaroa.

Moriori aspirations of a blue economy are imbued with *tohungatanga*, treaty principles, and a focus on Moriori values, wellbeing, human potential and relational balance with *rongomoana* and *Tangaroa*. A Moriori friendly or indigenised blue economy requires, in part at least, the wider marine economy and its supporting institutions to be indigenised. However, there are constraints that affect transitioning to a restorative blue economy. These include the fragmented regulatory and jurisdictional environment, quota fragmentation and the Quota Management System (QMS), marine regulations, and marine jurisdictions. Another constraint is the relatively high concentration of Moriori investment in certain fisheries assets, along with adherence to conventional business models that are vulnerable to systemic shifts (for example, from climate change, or changes in consumer preferences). Of course, there are also the structural limitations for Moriori in realising economic opportunities in the marine economy. The following three themes were designed by the research team to address these constraints across various scenarios. **Pāhekoheko** (integration)—supporting Moriori led, multi-generation, integrated planning across economic sectors in their marine jurisdictions to maintain

*tohungatanga* and enhance the efficiency of asset holding and resource utilisation; **Auahatanga** (differentiation)—differentiating Moriori generated products from commodities and diversifying Moriori activity in the marine economy; **Whakatautika** (balance)—creating employment, enterprise, and other economic opportunities for *hūnau* and *henu*, leveraging the assets of *imi*, *iwi* and *pan-iwi* authorities.

### Pāhekoheko (integration)

This research identified the enduring self-determination of Moriori in striving for autonomy and endeavouring to maintain a sustainable fishery now and for the generations to come. Moriori to date have maintained a level of sustainability both customary and economically with the resources and knowledge they have at hand. Moriori self-determination is founded on a strong sense of *hokopapa*, a way of life, the values embodied in *Nunuku's* lore and *Ka Pou a Rangitokona*. The desire to retain Moriori traditions/practices, and the strength of the collective island approach to fisheries sustainability has been captured in this case study. These aspects of self-determination have been asserted through the upholding of *Nunuku's* lore in the face of adversity; the reclamation of Moriori identity and culture as a significant outcome of Treaty settlements; the lived experiences through '*a way of life*'; as an expression of *wairuatanga*; and an island approach to regaining 'balance' through the *pāua* shelving and the implementation of local agreements and regulation that is more in line with collective island values.

## Pathways to integration

The following pathways are manifest in integrating activities, ideas and practices. For example, there is clearly value in the potential for Moriori to investigate partnerships with on-island and off-island entities in order to strengthen their tribal economy in fisheries growth, and sustainability. This includes increasing the integration of Moriori values in future fisheries regulations and policies pertaining to Rēkohu as a mechanism to uphold the mauri of the surrounding sea, Te Whanga, streams, rivers, lakes and everything that lives within and is integral to those waters. Ultimately, the Moriori voice needs to be part of the bigger and wider conversations with other iwi, agencies and institutions as a collective voice striving for an indigenous blue economy.

Furthermore, a key element that cannot be ignored is a focused investment in better and improved IT (Information Technology) and internet systems and AI (Artificial Intelligence) that can be integrated into new and novel Moriori initiatives and increases local access to work opportunities both on- and off-island, but also improved fishing and island infrastructure. Ideally, lobbying the Government to commit to these would be hugely beneficial for the Moriori, the islands as a whole and for Aotearoa.

## Auahatanga (differentiation)

This theme highlights differentiating Moriori generated products from commodities and diversifying Moriori activity in the marine economy. The research has identified that there is currently no established aquaculture on the islands even though there have been attempts to undertake aquaculture farming, it has not taken off. However, the

potential is still there, and a local company is undertaking research and development for an aquaculture venture. There are a range of potential product ideas that would be open to aquaculture initiatives such as the range of shellfish, seaweed, kelp, kōura and other key species that could lead to boutique businesses for Moriori. A good example to look at would be the Mahia peninsula kōura seawater holding tanks based out of a private residence but for a fishers and their whānau community venture.

Marine tourism is another industry that was identified on the island with potential to grow with the right sort of investment. Currently just two businesses are providing fishing charters on the islands and given fishing and diving are key visitor attractions there is huge potential to enter this market. As with fishing generally on the island it is very expensive to maintain the upkeep of boats plus the strict health and safety regulations can be a challenge. The ideal business scenario would likely be a joint imi/iwi venture once the settlement process is completed.

This case study has found that there are strong reasons and desire for aquaculture research and development because of the potential impacts of climate change. The reality is that climate change is happening – it is no longer a question of if or when. There needs to be ways explored for relieving the pressure on wild stocks and the future of the islands fisheries has been identified as essential for fisheries growth and sustainability. The importance of research cannot be under estimated.

Moriiori uniqueness should be more widely emphasised in promoting the fishing and other activities of the islands. Rēkohu, Rangihau and the outer islands are isolated and environmentally rich. By nature, this isolation,



has aided in the protection of the marine environment particularly in terms of pollution and some harmful marine pests and organisms that are not yet present on the island.

## Pathways to generating differentiation

The case study has highlighted Moriori-centric branding, communications, and social media, suggesting a ‘uniquely’ Moriori fisheries has potential to market fish products that are grown and come from a rich environmentally clean marine habitat – a from the sea to the plate or an authentic Moriori experience. It is also clear that investment in research and development should be undertaken to explore and investigate key economic development ideas that will not only bolster the fishing, aquaculture, tourism and other activities but also consider Moriori values, cultural, spiritual, language, social and environmental dimensions and blend these together. As in the previous theme, the case study findings advocate for meaningful investment in fishing infrastructure to enable not just a strong Moriori presence but a whole of island – a shared approach to fishing and economic development initiatives on the islands.

## Whakatautika (balance)

This theme involves creating employment, enterprise, and other economic opportunities for hūnau and henu leveraging the assets of imi/iwi and pan-iwi authorities. Currently there is no provision for on-island secondary schooling, industry skills training or higher tertiary education opportunities. While there is some that choose correspondence school rather than sending children to boarding schools there is still a fear that children will leave and many will not return if there are no opportunities for work, housing and or business.

This case study identified the importance of intergenerational knowledge transfer and the importance of next generation fishers being given opportunities and support to continue fishing. All three participants to this research were either a fisher or had been a fisher, and talked about how and when they had started fishing. They also talked about other family members nieces and nephews who were taking over the fishing businesses from their parents and grandparents. One of the major issues for hūnau is the cost of keeping their boats mechanically sound and seaworthy. Accessing parts, diesel, and engineers is very expensive as they need to be brought over from the mainland by sea or air. Even when there is no cost-of-living crisis in Aotearoa there is always high living costs on the islands for food, utilities and specialist skills.

Participants mentioned the low levels of imi/iwi population, intimating that there is no population growth on the islands. The following statistics from census data show the population of Moriori from the NZ census who identified as Moriori from 2001 to 2018. Of these total numbers approximately 4.5% of each year actually live on the island and this fluctuates slightly up or down each year.

**Table 5** Moriori population from New Zealand Census (2001-2018)

Census year	Total people
2001	585
2006	942
2013	738
2018	996

Source: (Stats NZ, 2013, 2021)

Rēkohu is unique in that Moriori hūnau are still able to gather kaimoana such as pāua and kina from the rocks at low tide. Mokopu grow up with this traditional practice and it is integral to their way of life. The importance of the retention of Moriori customary practices in gathering kaimoana is essential to feed the physical, cultural, and spiritual wellbeing of the generations to come.

## Pathways to creating balance

In identifying pathways to create balance participants were clear about the need to retain the ability for Moriori mokopu and elders to continue to gather their own Kaimoana. This will ensure that not only is their physical wellbeing replenished but the cultural, spiritual, mental, social wellbeings are being attended to as well. Kai is not just to feed the physical but also feeds the soul when people are able to gather the food that has sustained them over many generations.

A key aspiration which is becoming a reality for Moriori is the intention and opportunity to develop an island approach to skill-based industry training programs and establishing relationships with education providers at secondary school, and tertiary levels to deliver courses and programmes on island either physically at times and/or through technology. This will mean developing better information technology and internet services to meet these needs. Outcomes from such relationships could be scholarships or paid internships for local islanders.

The case study participants suggested intergenerational transference of knowledge through ensuring that plans for economic development, education, tourism, fishing or any other activity keeps future generations top of mind. Hokotehi Moriori Trust is tasked

with those aims and goals on behalf of Moriori. However, there needs to also be wider considerations to include imi, iwi, and other islanders. While fisheries is the main mode of employment on the island, other wider options for economic development needs to be explored and blended/shared with others.

It is important for Moriori to maintain sound working relationships with other island entities, external agencies, and central government in working collectively to address the challenges that exist on the island. For example, a combined island approach to lobby government for investment in infrastructure – cheaper utilities, fuel, food, and housing.

Finally, the ten pillars of Ranigtokona have been described in detail in this report – it was developed as a framework of guiding principles. The ten pillars or pou express the values and traditions of Ecthu Moriori and Karapuna Moriori, including their knowledge and wisdom, and is essential to Moriori endeavours to provide a sustainable future for mokopu Moriori whether it be fishing or any other lifeways that mokopu choose.

## Key challenges for Moriori

A key issue for Moriori and the Chatham Islands in general is its geographical isolation and relatively small population spread over Rēkohu and Rangihau. The diminishing island population is exacerbated by the absence of a high school and therefore either whole hūnau leave the island so that they can support their children, or they send them to boarding schools on the mainland. Some are also boarded with hūnau on the mainland for their high schooling. Correspondence and home schooling are options for hūnau

as well. Many of these young people do not return for many years, spending their adult working lives elsewhere in the world. This has a huge impact on hūnau spiritually, culturally and physically – seemingly a sustained modern-day de-population. The challenge for Moriori and other islanders is to investigate and develop a range of sustainable economic development initiatives and educational opportunities that either keep young people on the island or draw them back to the islands when they have completed their education, to live and work. For example, better internet technologies which would help with primary, secondary, and tertiary education and/or work opportunities given that with good technology and internet people can work anywhere in the world.

Moriori have also had a difficult past to navigate on the islands having been colonised by both Pākehā and Māori after many centuries of living on the islands. Prior to the arrival of the colonists, living off the sea and freshwater fisheries and other wildlife was integral to the survival of the people. European whalers and sealers were first to disturb the habitat and then in 1835 Māori were welcomed to the islands but took a more abrasive role to ensure access to resources and almost wiped out Moriori tribes. Most Chatham Islanders now, hokopapa to Moriori and Māori.

Fishing practices both traditional and modern are an integral part of living on Rēkohu and the local economy is dependent on commercial inshore fisheries with key species such as pāua, kina, kōura, blue cod and hāpuka. While the Aotearoa coastlines are experiencing high levels of pollution, Rēkohu still has relatively pristine marine and fresh waterways. However, participants in this research highlighted how the prevention

by Government or other authorities of accessing some food sources is starting to impact negatively on keeping the eco-systems, environment, fish, birds, and wildlife in balance and harmony. For example, limiting the culling of swans means that fresh waterways are being polluted with their waste and food sources contaminated. Potential limiting of kina catch will reduce the seaweed and therefore eventually impact the hāpuka catch.

Participants agreed that tohungatanga about sustainable Moriori fishing practices has been transferred through the generations of many hūnau fishers. Many practices have become so ingrained and habitual that fishers do these practices without thinking about where they have come from. For instance, not shucking the shellfish or processing fish near where you have gathered it or the practice of throwing the first catch of the day back into the sea, the lake, river or lagoon. Many do karakii before and after fishing or other food gathering activity. In the past after taking a seal the rock or area where it was killed would be thoroughly cleaned so that other seals would continue to come to that place. These sorts of knowledge remain in the psyche of hūnau fishers.

A whale or blackfish stranding was more often than not seen as a blessing from the gods because of all the valuable oils, skin, fat, meat, bone and many other resources that a stranding would make available to the people for many months even years. Access to resources after a stranding in these times are now not available or are prevented through legislation. If any allocation of these resources occur, it is controlled by Government who try to maintain an unbiased approach to allocation.

## Factors affecting Moriori development

This case study research identified that there are and have been different phases in Moriori development over many generations which have significantly impacted the Moriori people, their culture, language, and their survival. It became clear that the Moriori voice altered during those phases. For example, the first of the phases – pre-1792, tohungatanga – traditional knowledge emphasized a strong unwavering Moriori traditional voice where hokopapa, karakii and tohungatanga and practices ensured a peaceful and relatively harmonious existence among the people.

The second phase is identified as being from 1792-1862 or the silenced Moriori voice where the arrival and serious fishing and hunting practices of European/Scandinavian whalers and sealers had detrimental effects on a range of Moriori food and clothing sources. In 1835 Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama arrived and were initially welcomed by Moriori to Rēkohu, however, in order to access land and resources the two Māori tribes, used to

fighting for land and resources, decided to do the same in the Chatham Islands. Moriori did not retaliate to the invasion abiding by Nunuku's Law that stipulates no killing and/or violence towards others. Pākehā settlers too, came a little later bringing their settler government laws and completed the colonisation process on Rēkohu. The Pākehā arrival brought those that captured in written form the history of the Moriori before the last of the karāpuna passed on. This phase has been identified as the time of the silenced Moriori voice.

The restored Moriori voice (1862-2021) asserts itself very strongly in the revitalisation of the language, culture, karakii and customs. Key Moriori researchers have authenticated the Moriori voice through the triangulation, even quadrangulation of ancient kōrero from the Etchu, hokopapa, karāpuna, hūnau, cave drawings, rakau momori and the written history by Pākehā observers of the 19th century. Possibly early Norwegian/Scandinavian whalers and sealers would have records of their time on Rēkohu as well.

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## Conclusions

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This case study research has provided a space for the Moriori voice in its various forms - karakii, rakau momori, etchu, hokopapa, and rongo and key Moriori cultural values to be manifest in ongoing matters of Chatham Island economic, cultural, spiritual, environmental and social developments. In actualising the indigenisation of the blue economy, the voices and perspectives of the indigenous groups need to be integrated at all levels of industry, governance, operations and community. This includes at local, national and global levels.

A key outcome or aspiration is for Tohungatanga Moriori to be a fundamental factor in ensuring the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and practices for hūnau, henu, and imi, to ensure a sustainable fisheries future for Moriori and other islanders. This means that Moriori will proactively seek to collaborate, partner and develop meaningful, mutually beneficial coalitions and joint ventures with iwi and other islanders. Grouping together in these ways is likely to have benefits for the island as a whole and provide a stronger position to lobby government for appropriate resource and infrastructure to support a thriving economy and contribute to community wellbeing. Given, these aspirations and agreement with some collaborations there are still overlapping areas of shared interest between Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri that are yet to be settled in a separate redress deed and bill.

Hokotehi Moriori Trust continues to actively review economic development options in

fishing, farming, community, conservation and commerce. For example, a greater focus on sustainable inshore fisheries encouraging better returns and potential benefits to Rēkohu with opportunities to engage at international levels. Plus exploring ventures in aqua and land farming, promoting eco-tourism, and boutique high value and quality, low volume products.

A key conclusion is the overwhelming support and eagerness for a distinctive Moriori – Rēkohu quality assured and internationally promoted brand to be developed and launched. A brand unique to Moriori – Rēkohu will differentiate their products and their businesses from anyone else and make it stand out in a range of sectors. There will be no other place in the world where consumers can access the products, experience or business. A unique branding differentiation will ensure that Moriori-Rēkohu are highly competitive, able to foster long-lasting connections both nationally and internationally, and uplift their own communities and people wherever they live in the world.

There are many challenges and positives for Moriori and these include on one hand, its geographical isolation which brings higher living, freight, food, reduced population, lack of on-island education, and specialist costs. On the other hand, its isolation means that most of the waterways are still relatively pristine, fish stocks are still relatively plentiful, land and forests looked after, conservation and environmental opportunities exist, so that ideas for economic initiatives can

learn from the mistakes made by the rest of the world and imbue cultural values and perspectives into the way initiatives are developed. Other countries are looking to indigenous communities and their perspectives to help stem the impacts of climate change. Rēkohu can be an exemplar, especially in terms of an indigenous blue economy but also in the various economic and community development initiatives that could ensue.

There is evidence that Moriori are yet to fully engage in various economic development

initiatives including fisheries, as a result of the many challenges, constraints, regulations and legislation. There is a long and enduring hokopapa of participation in fisheries that extend back many centuries indicating a deep knowledge of the overall environments of the islands. This overall research has provided an exciting way in which to utilise the themes of differentiation, integration and balance to help visualise, plan for, and actualise a number of identified projects, enterprises and focused strategic planning for future generations.



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# Appendices

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## Appendix 1 Interviews

Rangata Matua, Tane  
Nuhaka  
Rēkohu  
5 Mihi Torekao 2023.

Mahine Tetehi  
Te Maramara o Aotea  
Rēkohu  
19 Moro 2023.

Mahine Teru  
Wewenga  
Rēkohu  
19 Moro 2023.

## Appendix 2 Chatham Islands Fish Species TACC

1 April 2021 - 31 March 2022

Species Code	Fish-stock Code	Name	Reported comm. catch (kg)	TACC (kg)	Cust allow. (kg)	Rec. allow. (kg)	Target	QMS
<b>SPE</b>	<b>SPE4</b>	<u>Sea Perch South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>	212,302	910,000	0	0	No	Yes
<b>CRA</b>	<b>CRA4</b>	<u>Spiny red rock lobster Wellington/Hawkes Bay</u>	106,687	280,000	35,000	40,000	Yes	Yes
<b>PAU</b>	<b>PAU4</b>	<u>Paua South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>	105,705	326,543	3,000	3,000	Yes	Yes
<b>SUR</b>	<b>SUR4</b>	<u>Kina South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>	87,412	225,000	20,000	7,000	Yes	Yes
<b>BCO</b>	<b>BCO4</b>	<u>Blue Cod Chatham Rise</u>	49,478	759,339	10,000	20,000	Yes	Yes
<b>STA</b>	<b>STA4</b>	<u>Stargazer Chatham Rise</u>	41,428	2,157,800			Yes	Yes
<b>HPB</b>	<b>HPB4</b>	<u>Hapuku &amp; Bass Chatham Rise</u>	27,482	322,600			Yes	Yes
<b>SCH</b>	<b>SCH4</b>	<u>School Shark Chatham Rise</u>	10,142	238,500			Yes	Yes
<b>TRU</b>	<b>TRU4</b>	<u>Trumpeter South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>	3,718	59,000	0	0	No	Yes
<b>TAR</b>	<b>TAR4</b>	<u>Tarakihi Chatham Rise</u>	2,088	316,200			Yes	Yes
<b>KWH</b>	<b>KWH4</b>	<u>Knobbed whelk South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>	727	6,000	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>SFE</b>	<b>SFE14</b>	<u>Short-finned eel South Canterbury/Waitaki</u>	525	10,000	2,570	1,000	No	Yes
<b>LFE</b>	<b>LFE14</b>	<u>Long-finned eel South Canterbury/Waitaki</u>	25	1,000	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>BUT</b>	<b>BUT4</b>	<u>Butterfish South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>		10,000	4,000	4,000	Yes	Yes

Species Code	Fish-stock Code	Name	Reported comm. catch (kg)	TACC (kg)	Cust allow. (kg)	Rec. allow. (kg)	Target	GMS
<b>BYA</b>	<a href="#">BYA4</a>	<a href="#">Frilled Venus Shell South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000			No	Yes
<b>COC</b>	<a href="#">COC4</a>	<a href="#">Cockle South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		0	1,000	1,000	Yes	Yes
<b>DAN</b>	<a href="#">DAN4</a>	<a href="#">Ringed Dosinia South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000			No	Yes
<b>DSU</b>	<a href="#">DSU4</a>	<a href="#">Silky dosinia South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000			No	Yes
<b>HOR</b>	<a href="#">HOR4</a>	<a href="#">Horse Mussel South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>KAH</b>	<a href="#">KAH4</a>	<a href="#">Kahawai South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		9,000	1,000	4,000	Yes	Yes
<b>MDI</b>	<a href="#">MDI4</a>	<a href="#">Trough Shell South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000			No	Yes
<b>MMI</b>	<a href="#">MMI4</a>	<a href="#">Large trough shell South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000			No	Yes
<b>MOK</b>	<a href="#">MOK4</a>	<a href="#">Blue Moki Chatham Rise</a>		24,545			Yes	Yes
<b>OYS</b>	<a href="#">OYS4</a>	<a href="#">Dredge Oyster South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		43,500	2,000	2,000	Yes	Yes
<b>PAD</b>	<a href="#">PAD4</a>	<a href="#">Paddle Crab South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		25,000	1,000	4,000	Yes	Yes
<b>PDO</b>	<a href="#">PDO4</a>	<a href="#">Deepwater tuatua South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,000	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>PPI</b>	<a href="#">PPI4</a>	<a href="#">Pipi South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		0	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>PZL</b>	<a href="#">PZL4</a>	<a href="#">Deepwater clam South-East (Chatham Rise)</a>		1,200	0	0	No	Yes

Species Code	Fish-stock Code	Name	Reported comm. catch (kg)	TACC (kg)	Cust allow. (kg)	Rec. allow. (kg)	Target	QMS
<b>SAE</b>	<u>SAE4</u>	<u>Triangle shell South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>		1,000			No	Yes
<b>SCA</b>	<u>SCA4</u>	<u>Scallop Chatham Islands scallop fishery</u>		23,000	1,000	1,000	Yes	Yes
<b>SCC</b>	<u>SCC4</u>	<u>Sea cucumber South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>		2,000	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>TUA</b>	<u>TUA4</u>	<u>Tuatua South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>		0	1,000	1,000	No	Yes
<b>OCT</b>	<u>OCT4</u>	<u>Octopus South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>	318				No	No
<b>ECK</b>	<u>ECK4</u>	<u>Ecklonia South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>					No	No
<b>GRA</b>	<u>GRA4</u>	<u>Gracilaria Weed South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>					No	No
<b>KBL</b>	<u>KBL4</u>	<u>Bull kelp South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>					No	No
<b>LES</b>	<u>LES4</u>	<u>Lessonia South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>					No	No
<b>PRP</b>	<u>PRP4</u>	<u>Porphyra South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>					No	No
<b>QSC</b>	<u>QSC4</u>	<u>Queen Scallops South-East (Chatham Rise)</u>					Yes	No
			648,037	5,758,227	87,570	94,000		

## Appendix 3 Karakii o Maitai (ocean)

### Ko Ro Karakii ka Punga

*Takina a ta punga i Tahopuni ki marotenga*

*Takira a ta punga a Koronaki ki marotenga*

*Takira a ta punga a Taruka kimarotenga*

*Takira ta punga a poreitua*

*Here ta tuna a ta kona a ta rohi*

Be taken to the trap of Tahakopiri to fill it to overflowing

Be taken to the trap of koronaki to fill it to overflowing

Be taken to the trap of Taruka to fill it to overflowing

Be taken to the trap of Poreitua (John, 1879, p.22)

Go eels, there, into the bag of the net.

### Ko Ro Karakii o Mimiha

*Tihe kei mai i Aotea*

*Tihe kei mai i Aropaoa*

*Tihe kei mai i Tongopu*

*Tihe kei mai i Tongohaka*

*Tihe kei mai i Korokoro*

*Tihe kei mai i Tamatea*

*Tihe kei mai i Ohuru*

*Tihe kei mai i Rungere*

*Tihe kei mai i taha Whanga*

*Tihe kei mai i ta he\*a Rata*

*Tihe kei mai i ta hura tara*

Carry it from Aotea

Carry it from Aropaoa

Carry it from Tongopu

Carry it from Tongohaka

Carry it from Korokoro

Carry it from Tamatea

Carry it from Ohuru

Carry it from Rungere

Carry it from Tau ao

Carry it from lagoon side

Carry it from Rata's wrong

Carry it to sea (John, 1879, p.23)

*Ko Ro Karakii Tao arā ka Wero ki ru Mimiha  
Ka wero ta tau a Tangroa  
Tū me ta auwhati whānonga o Mihi  
Ka ū ki Aotea  
Ka tū ki Aropaoa  
A i rere ta kau ma  
Ta tere o miha  
I kari mau e  
Tū te kau na  
Ngau na ki Tiroroa  
Nga na ki Tiropoto  
Nga na ki Tirotumanawea  
E Tū ta kau na  
E Tū ta kau na.*

We challenge the spear of Tangaro'  
Stand with the separated relatives of Mihi  
Arrive at Aotea  
Stand at Arapaoa  
Ah there is the departure  
Going to you  
Getting going  
Going to Tiroroa  
Going to Tiropoto  
Going to Tirotumanawea  
The going starts  
The going starts

## Ko Ro Karakii ka Haehae o Mimiha, ka Tahuna ki ta Umu

*A ka haehae ta mimiha ka tahuna ki ta umu, a ka maoa ko a ta maoatanga i ta umu ta karakiitia ta taumaha, otira he tiri ano ana mea e mea ia, a ta tohunga kararkii i ta mimiha, a koia nei ta mauri i karakii ai ta tohunga i muri iho o tana wero ki ta upoko o ta mimiha i mua atu o ta wa e tahuna ai ta mimiha ki ta umu.*

The seal is cut up to be cooked in the oven and when the cooking is proceeding in the oven then taumaha prayer is said but another offering is said, is spoken by the tohunga who is doing the prayers over the seal, this is life force which is prayed over by the tohunga before the challenge to the head of the seal before the seal is cooked the time when the seal is cooked in the oven.

*Ka maunu mai i Aotea*

*Ka maunu mai i Arapaoa*

*Ka maunu mai i Tongorei*

*Ka maunu mai i Tauao*

*Ka maunu mai i ra Ngeri*

*Ka maunu mai i ru Korokoro*

*Ka maunu mai i Tamatea*

*Ka maunu mai i Tihi a hanga*

*Ka maunu mai i Tihi a apata*

*Ka maunu mai i ta hū o Tāne*

*Travel here from Aotea*

*Travel here from Arapaoa*

*Travel here from Tongorei*

*Travel here from Tauao*

*Travel here from Ra Ngeri*

*Travel here from the reptiles*

*Travel here from Tamatea*

*Travel here from the summitt of Hanga*

*Travel here from the Tihi a Apata*

*Travel here from the hill o Tāne (John, 1879, p.25)*

## ***Ko Ro Karakii Ika***

### **Taumaha me ta ika. Karakii before eating fish, asking a blessing**

*Na rakai ka ona*

*Na rakai ka*

*Ka kai mai i Aotea*

*Ka kai mai i Aropaoa*

*Ka kai mai i Tongopu*

*Ka kai mai i Tongohapa*

*Ka kai mai i Tongorei*

*Ka kai mai i Moananui*

*Ka kai mai i Moanarua*

*Ka kai mai i Moanapouri*

*Ka kai mai i Moanapotanga*

*Ka kai mai o ro Mataranga*

*Ka kai mai o ro Matararo*

*Kai o tchui tchui*

*Kai o takuehi*

*Kai o tokine mounu*

*Kai o ro Putiki*

*Kai o ro Pekepeke*

*Na rakai Rama*

*Kai o ta ana patu*

*Kai o ta ana wherero*

*Kai o ro Pau here*

*Kai mai i a Pou*

*Na rakai whanatu mai na*

*(John, 1879, p.149)*



## Appendix 4 Ko Matangi-Ao O Maitai

### Ko Reiapangā

Ka moe ko Tchu i a Reiapanga, ka put(a), a rauu tamiriki, tokoru ka tamiriki maro (or tane), kotahi ka tamiriki wahine ko Ru-ka-hinihini. Ka mat' ta umu ka whano ko Tchu ko to moanā; i aii e noh(o) anā i roto moan' tahir' ro ake ki a Ru-kuru-pakupaku e kau mai anā, ka tae mai ki tona waka e uti ei ku rung' i ri wakā e ror' ei rauu ki utā. Whawha mai ko Rei-kuru-pakupaku ki na ka ika a Tu, kei mātā, ka roro i kainga po ro ake ka po ka tango ko Reikuru-' i a Tchu e tāne mana. Ka tohu ene ko Tchu i roto i aii e kore tē i aii te hoki ki tona wahine marī ki a Reiapanga ka ro a me ka rir' ii i wahine tchipū. Ka tak' i tchi ra ka tae ii ki ri metehine o' tamiriki ka ki ētū, "Hara mai ra ki au e te hanahana o Pāpā."1 Ka ' ētū ko Reiapanga, "Pehē' koa ko'?" "Ti-i pehē' hoki? pena i tohū me ro' te wei, 'tchia kaweng' o tchia mātē." Ka me ētū a Tchu, "Koi kotau a tauu tamiriki e mate ta umu awhe' ranei kohikohi, kohikohi kotau ta tauu whanau ki taha o ro waka i tchi ata kurakura." A ka mate ta umu i tchi ata kurakura khia roro a Reiapanga ratau ko tona whanau ki taha o ro waka ka tae, a, tae ātū ko Tchu k' hunētū ākē nei ka to ene i ri waka e uta i a ratau ku rung' i tchē motu. Ka me ētū a Tchu ki tonā whaerērē, "Ke tohu, ke tohu ki a kotau e t' whanau." Ka ngaro t' whenu ka tchu mai ta motu k' here nei ratau ke reir' ka put' ta wahine Tchipū e ruku hēre mai, ka po tā ruku a ra kuau tā mai ki to ratau waka ka huri i tā waka k' hongonā ātū e Tchu o, o e uta ku rung' i ri waka, ka me mei ki a Tchu me hoki rauu, ko ro wahine o Tchu me oro ko roto wei, ka me ātū a Tchu, "Taii, taii, taii ke eke ki uta i ki reir' pange ei." Ka eke ki uta e waih' i reir' i a Reiapanga ratau ko wa tamiriki. Ko timit' mahine ra ka rir' i tchia wahine Tchipū' na e mokai mana, e hoki mai ko ro waka ka tae mai ki to ratau tchumu kaing'. Ka nohō tenei a Reiapanga ma ku rung' i ri motu ra, kumara tē kei, a, ka matchū(ā) t' whanau a Reiapanga karang' ētū ko Reiapanga ki o' tamiriki, "Korū ro ra e kimi no'(a) mei i tche pohatu." Ka kite e ka tamiriki i ka pohatu k' hokotarere mei ki to rauu metehine. "Na-a." "U-u, e oro ra ku rungi pohatu tataramē," hoangā e tchia pohatu. Ka oti ka toki, "Koru ro ra ko roto paeho e – kimi mei i tche rakau tongomangā. Na e tarei ra ki o korū toki makukutū." A, ka u wa toki o ka tamiriki na, "Korū ro ra e heau i tche rakau ma korū." A, ka oti t' wakā ka mat' ta umu, ka roro ko roto moan(a) ka kawē i tena umu, i tena umu. Ka to mai ki to rauu metehinē, "Kaare ki au ka roro korū ka tchiro no(a), i t' whenu o to korū matchu tane, koi korū kia tohu, kia tohu. Rurā korū hokite ētū i a korū i tchia nohoangā o tchia Toroeho, e tari mari korū okoa kite korū i to korū hūnau tamiriki mahine ko roto paehō k' hokitē ētū i a korū hokaatū i a korū ki aii." Ka oti mai ko tangi i to rauu metehinē, ka pou i a rauu. K' haramai ko ro waka o ka tamiriki tchiei eke ki tauranga o ro waka o to rauu matchū tāne ka eke ki pehakē, ka nohō rauu i roto paehō, k' hara mai to rauu tchuahine ki ri wahii mana, tumau kitē ētū ko wa tamiriki e noh(ō) anā ka tango i a rauu mokai mana, ka ra pani ka konehi ki ri ngarehu, te ētū i kaing' mouu te kei ko ka pakapaka o ka kumara hoatu ma rauu. I tche atā o tchē ra tchutang(a), ta rauu tangi: Marama hunake i a Tchu, Titi-koro-ruekē, Marama hunake i a Reiapanga, Titi-koro-rueke, Marama hunake i a Ru-ka-hinihini [Titi-koko-rueke] E tangi ra, te koriki, te koroka, te koro-pou-manāwae, Titi-koko-rueke, Titi-koko-rueke, E ku au ra, ku au ra ko Ru-maniania, ko Ru-maniania, Te puna wai, te Tama Reiapanga tchi oru e— Titi-koko-rueke, Titi-koko-rueke. Karangā puku ko Tchu ki to' tamahine, "Aū, o hūnau potiki." Ka matike ku rung'

ko Ru-ka-hinihini purupuru ātū ta upoko ko roto i ona hūnau potiki. Ka poi i kora wa tamiriki, poi a te tau mai i ko, karangatii ētū, “Nau mauu waiho mokai mau.” E unge ei ko Tchu i o’ tamiriki khia roro k’ hhia wahii homai ko tchū(ā) i t’ whare, ka po k’ hokokauaro mai ka wahii ki ka tara o t’ whare, ku rung’ i tchu-rong(ō), ki t’ roro ka tchutū tā whare ki tch ehi. E tari e Tchu okoā ha hiki tā mura ku rung’, ka pou tch arā iti. A, tō, ka poi ene ko Tchu i roto, a te tau mai i waho, tutakina mai tō roro tahuna mai hoki. Ka metikē ku rung’ ko Tchipū, tinei nō(a) tinei nō’ a ka pau i tch ehi. Here ei ko Tchu ki tona wahine ki a Reiapanga ka riro mai (Shand, 1911, p. 154).

## The story of Reiapanga

TCHU (or Tu) dwelt with Reiapanga, and they had born to them two male children and one female child named Ruka-hinihini. When it was calm, Tchu went out to sea (fishing). While he was out fishing, turning round at last (he saw) Rei-kuru-pakupaku swimming towards him; when (she) came to the canoe, he took her into the canoe and they two went ashore. Rei-kuru-pakupaku seized hold of Tchu’s fish and ate them raw; they went to the dwelling, and when it was night Rei-kuru-’ took Tchu to be her husband. Tchu knew within himself that he would not be able to return to his own wife, to Reiapanga, because he was taken by the monster-woman. On a certain day he went to the mother of his children and said, “Welcome (or come) to me the warmth of woman.” Reiapanga said “How indeed are you?” “Ti-i-. How also (really)? It is like being in the midst of water. The burden of calamity!” Tchu said, “But you, O our children, as soon as it is calm (or fair weather) hasten, hasten you, our family, to the side of the canoe in the early dawn.” And when it was calm in the early dawn, Reiapanga with her family went, and arrived at the side of the canoe. And when Tchu arrived, they dragged the canoe down to take them to another island (or place). Tchu said to his wife (or mother of his family) Be careful, be careful of yourselves, O the family.” When the land was out of sight, and the land showed up to which they were going, the monster-woman appeared, diving as she came, like the diving of a shag. Arriving at the canoe she tried to capsize it, but Tchu appeased her, and then got her into the canoe. She said to Tchu -they two must return, but must throw Tchu’s wife into the sea. Tchu said, “Wait, wait, wait till we get on shore, then throw her out.” When they got to land they left Reiapanga and her children, but the daughter the monster-woman took to be her slave. The canoe returned and came to their own home. Then Reiapanga and others dwelt on that land, kumaras were their subsistence, and Reiapanga’s family grew up. Reiapanga called to her children, “Go you two and search for a certain (kind) of stone.” When the children found the stones they showed them to their mother, “See.” “Yes, grind them on a rough stone.” After the axes were sharpened, “Go you two into the forest, or wood, and search for a bent stick. Now chip it with your make-shift axes.” And the axe (handles) of those children were fastened firm. “Go you two and fell a tree for yourselves.” And when the canoe was finished, and it was fine (or calm) they went to sea; they went each time it was fine. The thought came to their mother, “I think (or it seems to me) you two must go and see the land of your father; yes, you two be careful, be careful, do not let your two selves be seen at the dwelling of that monster. Wait for a time until you see your sister in the forest, and let her see you, and explain who you are to her.” A song was recited

and learnt by them, they two. The canoe of the children came (went) but did not land on the place where their father used to land, it landed further on; they stayed in the forest, and their sister came to get firewood. She saw fully the children staying, and took the two to be her slaves. She blackened their faces with charcoal. When they reached the abode and the food was ready the burnt outsides of the kumara were given to them. In the morning of another day they began their song: Moon rising where Tchu dwells, Titi-koko-rueke, Moon rising where Reiapanga dwells, Titi-koko-rueke, Moon rising where Ru-ka-hinihini dwells [Titi-koko-rueke] Sound forth then, the speech, the song, the heart yearning song, Titi-koko-rueke, Titi-koko-rueke, O 'tis I, 'tis I, Ru-maniania, Ru-maniania, Of the water source, the son of Reiapanga, tchi oru e— Titi-koko-rueke, Titi-koko-rueke. Tchu called secretly to his daughter (exclaiming), "Aū! Your younger brothers." Ru-ka-hinihini sprang up and thrust her head into (against) her younger brothers. The children sprang, they sprang (away), lighting at a distance, and called to her, "You made slaves of us." Tchu sent his children to get firewood and place it at the back of the house; when it was night they packed the firewood criss-cross round the sides of the house, against the back and against the entrance and set the house on fire. Tchu waited a while and the flames rose over. The middle of the roof was burning; with a thud Tchu jumped from within, he lit outside; he shut the doorway and set it also on fire. The monster rose up, tried to put out the fire (and) tried to put out the fire, and she was burnt by the fire. Then Tchu went to his wife Reiapanga and got her back again (Shand, 1911, pp. 151–152).

## Ko Rū rauu ko Hāpē

Ka noho a Ru rauu ko Hape i to rauu kaing' i Kokai, ko Utangaro(a) i Pae-hakura. Kanei ka whano ei a Utangaro ki Kokai, ki ri patu i ka mokai pahina a Ru rauu ko Hape. Patu i ri po wa mokai na, e orehore ei, e pokipoki ei a Utangaro i ka mutchu ku rung' i aii hērē ei ki tona kainga ki Pae-hakura. Ao ake ta ra, ka roro a Ru rauu ko Hape, ka tchiro i a rauu mokai; potehi ētu 'na ka imi enak' toterang' ana, ka tch orehore ka mutchu (matchu). Ka tohu eneti rauu, na Utangaro e patū. Kanei ra mona a Ru ranu ko Hape ka roro ki Paeha' ka patu i ri mokai hipuku a Utangaro. Potehi ētū - e Ru ma a Utangaro, ka riro ko ro' to māna. Ka patu enei ko Ru ma i ri mokai a Utangaro, ka mate ēhē ei, e kari i ta umu, e tao ei. Ko te kara ka tae ko ro' to māna ki a Utangaro, k' hara mai a Utangaro ki uta, ko mouu tona mokai i ta umu o Ru rauu ko Hape; e hokopiripiri a Utangaro i ka mutchu ku rung' i aii; hokopiripiri no', tchiei e piri ku rung' i aii. E tukutuku ei a Ru ma i a Utangaro ke whano ke kei i tona mokai a, tchiei kei a Utangaro, na ra me ko tche hunū Kō hokāro a Ru ma, mi ah' i tohu te kei ei a Utangaro i tona mokai nei, me aomehēki ki ri karikii; tenei wa karikii: Ku au ko Hape, kainga e au to tihi, Ku au ko Hape, kainga e au to pakira, Ku au ko Hape, kainga e au to pehore, Ku au ko Hape, kainga e au o aniwaniwa, Tchi aniwaniwa o Rongomai. Tere te ikā, tere ki Whiti; tere te ikā, tere ki Tongo, Tere te ikā, tere ka whai; tarakawai a Utangaro, Puāhu Rongomai-whiti e uiho rangi. Ko te Hia o Utangaro (he kai oraora): E Hape, ka kei au to pakau e katau nei, E Hape, ka kei au to pakau e maui nei, Te Tihi o Matarangi ekore e taea e au koe e re kutukutu, e re pēkēpēkē, E noho tama manawa ki a Rua, E noho tama manawa ki a Hape, E noho to manawa'tai ka tika, E noho to manawa'tai toni, e— E, mo' whakatutu korū, Mo' whakatutu ko Hape Mo' whakatutu ko Utangaro, Mo' whakatutu whaka-te-tauira (Shand, 1911, pp. 162–163).

## The Story of Rū(a) and Hāpē with Utangarō(a)

Ru and Hape dwelt in their home at Kokai. Utangaro at Pae-hakura. Then Utangaro set out to Kokai to kill the pet seals of Ru and Hape. He killed the pets (seals) at night, skinned them, and laid the blubber on himself, and proceeded to his home at Pae-hakura. The next day Ru and Hape went to see their pets and found only the skeletons lying, the blubber had been stripped off; they comprehended that Utangaro had killed them. Then indeed Ru and Hape went to Paeha', and killed Utangaro's sea-elephant; Ru and others finding Utangaro had gone to sea to fish. Ru and others killed Utangaro's pet, cut it up, dug an oven, roasted it, and the fragrance went out to sea to Utangaro. When Utangaro came ashore, he found his pet (sea-elephant) cooked in Ru and Hape's oven. Utangaro laid (fitted) the blubber upon himself, he laid it on, but it would not adhere (or lie close) upon him. Ru and others left Utangaro to go and eat his pet, but Utangaro would not eat, because it was a part of himself. Ru and others thought what device they should employ in order that Utangaro might eat his pet. They would beguile him with an incantation. This was the incantation: I Hape have eaten thy crown, I Hape have eaten thy bald pate, I Hape have eaten thy bare pate, I Hape have eaten your spirits, The spirit of Rongomai. Let the fish drift, drift to the east; let the fish drift, drift to the west; Let the fish drift, drift the rays, the sting-ray of Utangaro, Let Rongomai-whiti ascend—it is heavenly blubber. Utangaro's hunger (a kaioara or curse): O Hape, I will eat your arm here on the right O Hape, I will eat your arm here on the left, The crown of Matarangi, I cannot reach you because of the birds and pekepeke which are said to mean nearly the same thing, kutukutu being a word used to comprehend all vermin, insects, and in a general way birds. What the distinction is, is not quite clear, or how they obstructed his reaching Matarangi. "Ka kutukutu a Tarapanga" was the name given to the part of the foetus which, if it remained on the birth of a child, caused the death of the mother. Hangarutu also was word including all birds, vermin, lizards, and insects of all kind. Stay, son of my heart, with Rua, Stay, son of my heart, with Hape, Stay, thy ocean-heart, 'tis well, Stay, thy ocean-heart, for ever. Because of your strife, you two, Because of your strife, Hape, Because of your strife, Utangaro', Because of your acolyte-like strife.

This story belongs to the Hokorong'-taringa, or the Chatham Islands period, as the places mentioned are at, and in the vicinity of Cape Young on the North Coast of the Island, where each of the people is alleged to have had his pet fur-seals and sea-elephants. Utangaro' was the name of one of the crew of Rangimata, after whom was named a dyke of volcanic rock which runs up the face of Cape Young cliff, and is called the Tokotoko, walking-stick of Utangaro. The killing of his pet sea-elephant, and the fragrance when roasted, being wafted out to sea to Utangaro, appears very suggestive of the Polynesian story of Kae and Tinirau's whale, of which this may possibly be a variation localised (Shand, 1911, p. 158).

### **Fisheries (South-East Area Commercial Fishing) Regulations 1986 (SR 1986/219)**

5B Fishing prohibited in defined areas around Chatham Island that no commercial fisher shall take any fish from, or have in possession any fish taken from, the following waters: Pitt Island

**(a) Flower Pot:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing at the breakwater (at 44°14.400'S and 176°14.337'W); then due north for 100 metres to a point at 44°14.340'S and 176°14.337'W; then in a westerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 44°14.575'S and 176°15.85'W; then due south to the coast at a point r 5A Fisheries (South-East Area Commercial Fishing) Regulations 1986 Version as at 30 December 2022 36 44°14.629'S and 176°15.85'W; then generally in an easterly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(b) Waipāua:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 44°18.496'S and 176°11.906'W; then due east for 100 metres to a point at 44°18.496'S and 176°11.831'W; then proceeding in a southerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 44°18.73'S and 176°11.701'W; then due west to the coast to a point at 44°18.73'S and 176°11.776'W; then generally in a northerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(c) Waihere:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 44°16.648'S and 176°15.46'W; then due north for 100 metres to a point at 44°16.591'S and 176°15.46'W; then in an easterly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 44°16.486'S and 176°14.89'W; then due south to the coast to a point at 44°16.545'S and 176°14.89'W; then generally in a westerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(d) Kahuitara:** all of those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 44°15.807'S and 176°09.93'W; then due north to a point at 44°15.739'S and 176°09.93'W; then in a generally easterly and southerly direction to a point at 44°16.140'S and 176°09.435'W; then due west to the coast at a point at 44°16.140'S and 176°09.530'W; then generally in a northerly and westerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement: Chatham Island

**(e) Waitangi:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing at the Waitangi wharf (at 43°56.756'S and 176°33.617'W); then on a bearing of 070° for 100 metres to a point at 43°56.738'S and 176°33.547'W; then in a north-westerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high water mark to a point at 43°56.470'S and 176°34.021'W; then due south to Point Webb (at 43°56.532'S and 176°34.021'W); then generally in a south-easterly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(f) Whangamoe:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 43°48.660'S and 176°41.157'W; then due east for 100 metres to a point at 43°48.660'S and 176°41.069'W; then in a northerly direction to a point at 43°48.634'S and 176°41.091'W; then in a north-westerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at

43°47.956'S and 176°41.120'W; then due north to the mouth of the creek at 43°47.898'S and 176°41.120'W; then generally in a southerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement: Version as at 30 December 2022 Fisheries (South-East Area Commercial Fishing) Regulations 1986 r 5B 37

**(g) Waitangi West:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 43°47.206'S and 176°49.117'W; then on a bearing of 340° to a point at 43°47.095'S and 176°49.173'W; then in an easterly direction at a distance of 200 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 43°46.748'S and 176°48.736'W; then on a bearing of 160° to the coast at a point at 43°46.956'S and 176°48.631'W; then generally in a westerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(h) Mairangi:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 43°43.140'S and 176°38.120'W; then due west for 100 metres to a point at 43°43.140'S and 176°38.196'W; then in a southerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 43°43.261'S and 176°38.128'W; then due east to the mouth of Lake Waikauia (at 43°43.261'S and 176°37.914'W); then generally in a northerly direction along the mean high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(i) Wharekauri:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 43°42.389'S and 176°34.78'W; then due north for 200 metres to a point at 43°42.258'S and 176°34.78'W; then in an easterly direction at a distance of 200 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 43°42.327'S and 176°34.44'W; then due south to the beach at 43°42.500'S and 176°34.44'W; then generally in a westerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(j) Taupeka:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing at Taupeka point (at 43°43.237'S and 176°29.524'W); then on a bearing of 060° to a point at 43°43.213'S and 176°29.462'W; then in a south-westerly direction to a point on the coast at 43°44.025'S and 176°29.571'W; then generally in a northerly direction to the point of commencement:

(k) Kaingaroa: all those waters enclosed within an area commencing at the inner edge of the Kaingaroa Harbour Wharf (at 43°43.907'S and 176°16.073'W); then on a bearing of 110° for 100 metres to a point at 43°43.927'S and 176°16.000'W; then in a northerly and westerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 43°43.715'S and 176°16.379'W; then due south to the coast at a point at 43°43.774'S and 176°16.379'W; then generally in a south-easterly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(l) Owenga:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 44°01.451'S and 176°21.74'W; then due north for 100 metres to a point at 44°01.352'S and 176°21.74'W; then in an easterly and southerly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 44°01.51'S and 176°21.031'W; then due west to the coast at a point at 44°01.51'S and 176°21.108'W; then generally in a northerly and westerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement: r 5B Fisheries (South-East Area Commercial Fishing) Regulations 1986

**(m) Manukau:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing at Manukau Point (at 44°01.948'S and 176°19.551'W); then due east for 200 metres to a point at 44°01.948'S and 176°19.382'W; then in a southerly direction at a distance of 200 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 44°01.38'S and 176°19.518'W; then due west to the coast to a point at 44°01.38'S and 176°19.673'W; then generally in a northerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(n) Karen Inlet:** all those waters enclosed within an area commencing on the coast at a point at 43°59.921'S and 176°39.366'W; then on a bearing of 320° for 100 metres to a point at 43°59.880'S and 176°39.414'W; then in a north-easterly direction at a distance of 100 metres from the high-water mark to a point at 43°59.490'S and 176°38.774'W; then on a bearing of 140° to the coast at a point at 43°59.531'S and 176°38.726'W; then generally in a south-westerly direction along the high-water mark to the point of commencement:

**(o) Te Whanga Lagoon and its tributaries:** all the waters of Te Whanga Lagoon and the rivers and streams flowing into the lagoon. Regulation 5B: inserted, on 30 September 1993, by regulation 8 of the Fisheries (South-East Area).

## Appendix 5 A Moriori fishing method

The men, nevertheless, were constantly occupied obtaining food, consisting chiefly of fish, which they caught either at sea in their canoes, with a circular net lowered by a line to the bottom, or with a scoop net having a long handle, used in suitable places on the rocks at low water and when the tide was flowing. In consequence of using these nets (Kupenga), the old bone fish-hook fell into disuse at a remote period of their history; the Kupenga proved to be much more efficacious.

They also possessed fishing-nets (Kupenga) of various kinds; seines (Kupenga-hao-ika), made of ordinary flax; Kupenga-kowhiti (shrimp nets), made of muka twine; Kupenga-titoko, a scoop net with a long pole for fishing on rocks in the surf, made of common flax; and lastly, a deep-sea circular Kupenga, the same shape as the Kupenga-titoko, suspended by four cords, equally divided, on a Piritā, or rim of supplejack (*Rhipogonum scandens*). These cords converged, and were tied to one long line, by which the net was lowered and hauled up.

The bait was fastened firmly in a tokere mounu, a small meshed bag in the bottom of the pendant Kupenga, and held in its position near the bottom; it was hauled up quickly when required. The Morioris do not appear to recollect any distinctive name for this class of net; it was made chiefly of muka twine, but sometimes of ordinary flax, and was exceedingly effective, catching sometimes 15 or 20 fish at a time (Shand, 1911, pp. 85–86). A rangata matua shared his experience,

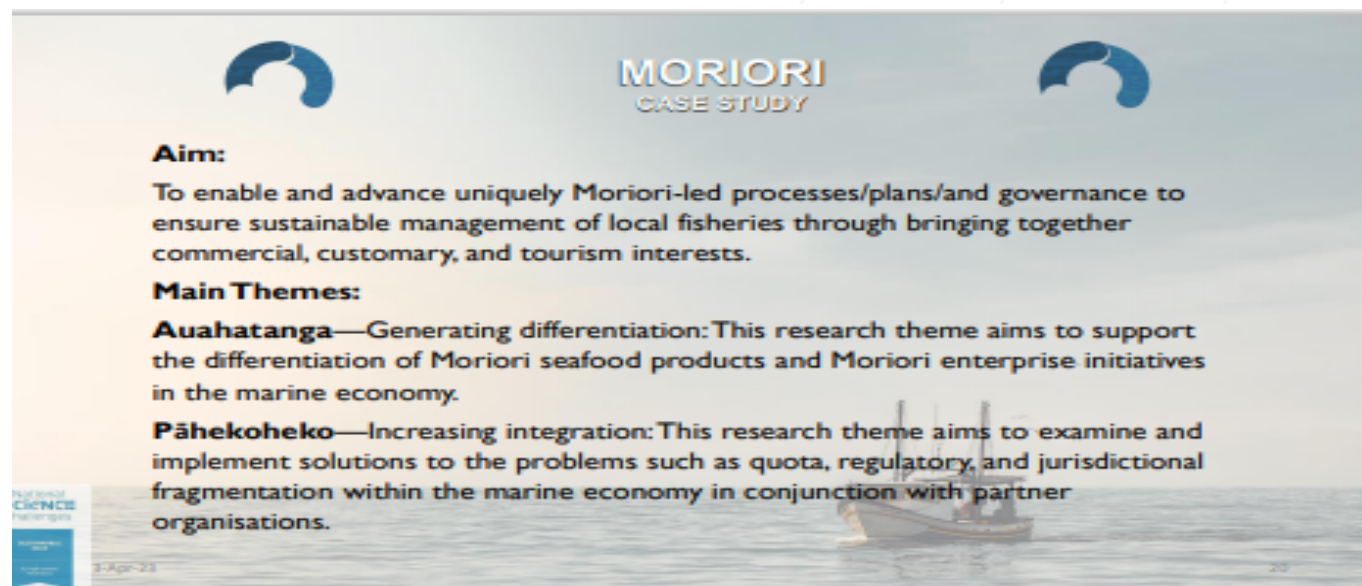
Our favorite way of catching blue cod would be to break a few kina into a long gut way, and the kina gut would wash around, and then cod would come up that gut [on the change of the tide] and we would spear them. They [the blue cod] were hungry and they would come up as far as a foot of water or less, we used to catch our cod that way.



## Appendix 6 List of marine resources important to Moriori

<b>bladder kelp</b>	containers
<b>Cook's turban</b>	Cook's turban
<b>hakoma</b>	blue cod
<b>hāpuka</b>	groper
<b>hipuku</b>	sea elephants
<b>hu</b>	kina roe
<b>inanga</b>	white bait
<b>kaeo</b>	sea squirt, sea tulip
<b>kahawai</b>	kahawai
<b>kekune</b>	fur seal
<b>kina</b>	sea urchin
<b>kōura</b>	crayfish
<b>kuku , taire</b>	ribbed mussel
<b>mango, ngu, tatere, huanga, mango-ru-ake</b>	sharks
<b>marari</b>	butter fish
<b>mimiha</b>	sea lions, hair seals
<b>ngakihi</b>	limpet
<b>pāeka</b>	sea lettuce
<b>pakaka</b>	sea leopards
<b>patiki</b>	flounder
<b>pāua</b>	black foot pāua
<b>pāua</b>	yellow foot pāua
<b>pāua shell</b>	necklaces
<b>pipi</b>	pipi
<b>porpoises</b>	iakauta
<b>puhina</b>	fur seal
<b>rimu</b>	bull kelp
<b>rongomoana</b>	black fish or pilot whale
<b>rongomoana</b>	all whales
<b>shark teeth, whale teeth</b>	pendants
<b>tuatua</b>	tuatua
<b>tuna</b>	eel
<b>tupere</b>	cockles
<b>uiho rangi</b>	whale blubber
<b>whai, tarawai</b>	sting ray
<b>whale bone</b>	implements, pendants

## Appendix 7 Presentation at Sustainable Seas Conference 2023



**MORIORI**  
CASE STUDY

**Aim:**  
To enable and advance uniquely Moriори-led processes/plans/and governance to ensure sustainable management of local fisheries through bringing together commercial, customary, and tourism interests.

**Main Themes:**

**Auahatanga**—Generating differentiation: This research theme aims to support the differentiation of Moriори seafood products and Moriори enterprise initiatives in the marine economy.

**Pāhekoheko**—Increasing integration: This research theme aims to examine and implement solutions to the problems such as quota, regulatory, and jurisdictional fragmentation within the marine economy in conjunction with partner organisations.

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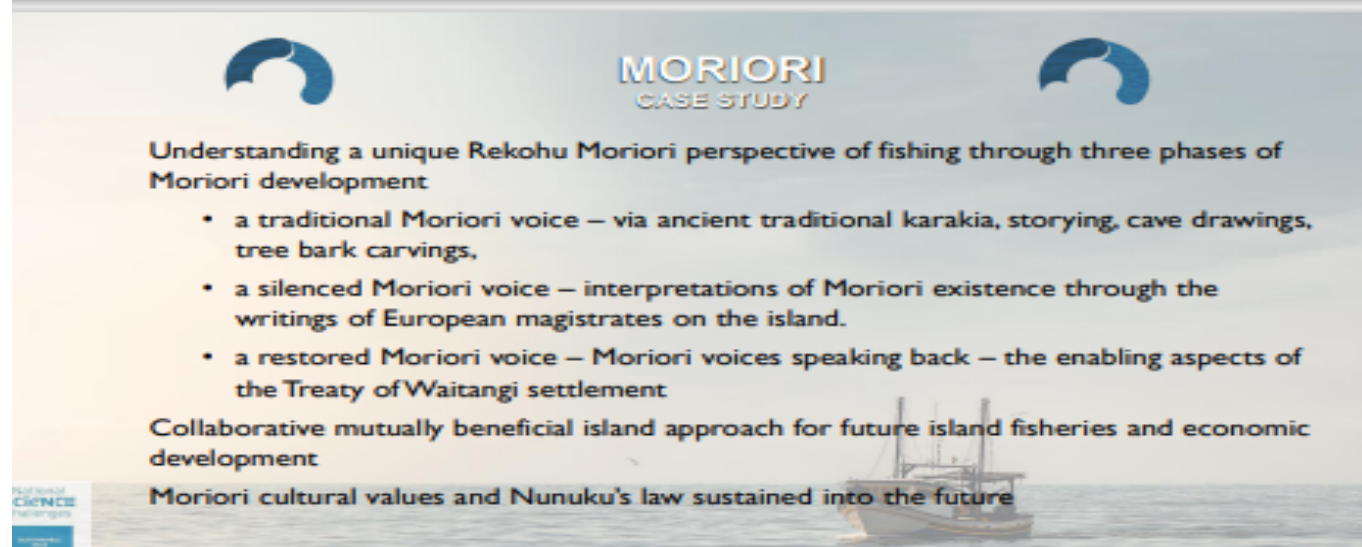


**MORIORI**  
CASE STUDY

**Methodology**

1. In-depth interviews with rangata matua, mahine teru, hunau
2. Site visits
3. Document review
4. Literature scan

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**MORIORI**  
CASE STUDY

Understanding a unique Rekohu Moriори perspective of fishing through three phases of Moriори development

- a traditional Moriори voice – via ancient traditional karakia, storying, cave drawings, tree bark carvings,
- a silenced Moriори voice – interpretations of Moriори existence through the writings of European magistrates on the island.
- a restored Moriори voice – Moriори voices speaking back – the enabling aspects of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement


Collaborative mutually beneficial island approach for future island fisheries and economic development

Moriори cultural values and Nunuku's law sustained into the future

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## Appendix 8 Kupu Moriori

MORIORI	ENGLISH
Etchu	God(s)
hokomaurahiri	welcome
hokopapa	ancestry
imi	tribe, bones
ka	the (plural)
<b>Ka Uri o Rongomaiwhenua</b>	All Moriori descend for Rongomaiwhenua
Kahu	June
karakii	prayer, chant, incantation
karapuna	ancestors
Keitanga	September
ko matangi-ao	ancient stories in the times of eastern Polynesia
mahine	woman
maitai	ancient word for ocean
manawareka	warming of the heart, to care and share
miheke	treasures
<b>Mihi Torekao</b>	March
mokopu	grand-child, the generations to come
Moro	February
mouri	life-force
Papatuanuk'	Earth mother
rangata	people
rangata mātua	elder(s)
rangatehi	youth
Rangi	Sky father
rongo	song, sound
Rongo	July
<b>Rongomaitere</b>	The brother of Rongomaiwhenua who journeyed with his bother but did settle
<b>Rongomaiwhenua</b>	The first Moriori ancestor to have settled Rēkohu
t'chakat henu	first people, home people
t'chiekitangata	guardianship
t'chimiriki	children
timiriki	child
ta	the (singular)
<b>Ta Upoko o T'Echi-Ao</b>	April



<b>Tahei</b>	August
<b>tāne</b>	male
<b>Tauaropoti</b>	October
<b>taumaha</b>	the ritual of giving thanks
<b>tchiekitanga</b>	guardianship
<b>Tchuhe a Takarore</b>	December
<b>teru</b>	two
<b>tetehi</b>	one
<b>totohungatanga</b>	knowledge
<b>tuahu</b>	sacred alter
<b>Tumatehae</b>	May
<b>tuwhatu</b>	pumice or wooden carved images of Moriori god(s)
<b>Wainapono</b>	First people
<b>Wairehu</b>	January

## Appendix 9 Summary of Thematic Analysis

**Table 6** Key findings

Key finding	Traditional voice	Silent voice	Restored voice
<p>A key finding of this research is the development of the Moriori voice that articulates the stories of Moriori fisheries throughout history. The voices provide us with clarity and an understanding of a unique Rēkohu Moriori perspective of fishing through three phases of Moriori development.</p>	<p><b>A traditional Moriori voice: Pre 1792</b></p> <p>Ancient totohungatanga pertaining to Moriori hokopapa, karakia, rongo, storytelling, cave carvings and rakau momori (tree carvings).</p>	<p><b>A silenced Moriori voice: 1792-1862</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Impacts of European whaling and sealing,</li> <li>• changes to the environment,</li> <li>• enslavement by Māori resulting in a loss of culture and population,</li> <li>• lack of the Colonial Governments protection of Moriori and their rights.</li> <li>• Native Land Court decisions and</li> <li>• disconnection from their traditional tribal lands, traditions, and practices.</li> <li>• Interpretations of Moriori existence from the ‘Voices of Moriori elders’, as scribed by Hirawana Tapu (a Moriori scholar of his time) who informed European magistrates and others present on Rēkohu during the mid-1800’s. The first recordings of Moriori history, as written by Moriori, was Rakei GNZ MMSS 16, followed by GNZ MMSS 144</li> <li>• The voices of Moriori elders informed the works of magistrates Alexander Shand and Samuel Deighton.</li> </ul>	<p><b>A restored Moriori voice: 1862-2021</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moriori voices speaking back was first articulated in the 1862 petition to Governor Sir George Grey. A plea that told of the demise of Moriori and sought the return of their traditional lands and rights.</li> <li>• One hundred and fifty-nine years later through the Moriori Claims Settlement Act 2021 those voices were finally heard. The enabling aspects are:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Moriori Claims Settlement Act 2021 -the return of tribal lands adjacent to coastal areas, coastal marginal strips, and joint management of Te Whanga.</li> <li>2. Collaborative mutually beneficial island approach for future island fisheries and economic development.</li> <li>3. Moriori cultural values and Nunuku’s lore sustained into the future.</li> </ol> </li> </ul>

**Table 7** Thematic analysis

<b>Pāhekoheko:</b> <b>Increasing integration</b>	<b>Auahatanga:</b> <b>Generating differentiation</b>	<b>Whakatautika:</b> <b>Creating balance</b>
<b>Findings</b>	<b>Findings</b>	<b>Findings</b>
<p>In undertaking this case study research key elements of enduring self-determination, autonomy, sustainability, inter-generational care, custom and economic viability emerged as considerations for increasing integration.</p> <p>Self-determination is founded on a strong sense of hokopapa, a way of life, the values embodied in Nunuku’s lore and Ka Pou a Rangitokona.</p> <p>The desire to retain Moriori traditions/practices.</p> <p>There is strength in the collective island approach to fisheries.</p>	<p>In this theme differentiating Moriori generated products from commodities and diversifying Moriori activity in the marine economy is key.</p> <p>There are opportunities to explore partnerships for unique Moriori ventures eg aquaculture of different species.</p> <p>Marine tourism is currently limited to a few fishing charters businesses and is a key visitor attraction for fishing enthusiasts.</p> <p>In light of climate change, research is required to find ways to relieve the pressure on wild stocks and future of the fisheries.</p> <p>Uniqueness. Rēkohu, Rangihau and the outer islands are isolated and environmentally rich Islands. Nature, and isolation, provides some protection of the marine environment – specifically pollution and harmful marine pests.</p>	<p>This theme involves creating employment, enterprise, and other economic opportunities for hūnau and henu leveraging the assets of imi/iwi and pan-iwi authorities.</p> <p>There is no provision for on-island higher education opportunities or skill-based industry training.</p> <p>Intergenerational knowledge and the importance of generational fishers are key to Moriori development.</p> <p>The impacts of the high living costs on the fishing industry are ongoing and include the high cost of fuel, shipping, air freight, and accessing specialised skills.</p> <p>No population growth.</p> <p>Rēkohu is unique in that Moriori hūnau are still able to gather kaimoana such as pāua and kina from the rocks at low tide.</p> <p>Mokopu grow up learning traditional practices which is integral to their way of life and wairuatanga.</p> <p>The importance of the retention of Moriori customary practices in gathering kaimoana is essential to feed the physical, cultural, and spiritual wellbeing of the generations to come.</p>

<b>Pāhekoheko: Increasing integration</b>	<b>Auahatanga: Generating differentiation</b>	<b>Whakatautika: Creating balance</b>
<b>Pathways to generating differentiation</b>	<b>Pathways to generating differentiation</b>	<b>Pathways to generating differentiation</b>
<p>There is value and potential benefit:</p> <p>for the Moriori tribal economy to investigate partnerships with on-Island and off Island entities to enable fisheries growth and sustainability.</p> <p>for increasing the integration of Moriori values in future fisheries regulations and policies pertaining to Rēkohu, as a mechanism to uphold the mauri of the surrounding sea, Te Whanga, streams, rivers, lakes and everything that lives within and is integral to those waters.</p> <p>for increasing the Moriori voice by participating in the bigger and wider conversations . For example, with other Iwi, agencies and institutions as a collective voice striving for an indigenous blue economy.</p> <p>better and improved IT and internet systems that can be integrated into new and novel Moriori initiatives and increases local access to work opportunities both on and off island.</p>	<p>Branding, a ‘unique’ Moriori/Rēkohu brand on all fisheries products, activities, experiences that come from a rich environmentally clean marine habitat from the sea to the plate or authentic Moriori experience.</p> <p>Research and development in the range of activities that impact on the Island.</p> <p>Exploring all avenues to access fisheries infrastructure that support fisheries growth.</p> <p>Investigate potential opportunities for marine tourism. A ‘uniquely Moriori’ experience.</p> <p>Explore boutique industries eg pāua jewellery with Moriori branding, Kaeo medicinal potential, culture and heritage tourism.</p>	<p>Continue to share traditional knowledge and customary practices to current and future generations.</p> <p>Actively engage in an on-Island approach to up-skilling people, building partnerships and relationships with Industry, Tertiary institutions for higher education of higher education qualifications.</p> <p>Continue to lobby Government for increased resourcing to grow economic development on the Island and for Moriori.</p> <p>Foster intergenerational planning through a Moriori Fisheries and economic development plan.</p> <p>Intergenerational planning via the development of a Moriori Fisheries Plan and align to an overarching strategic plan that endorses cultural, and spiritual knowledge.</p> <p>Actively invest in the next generation with funding and incentives to enable participation in economic development activities and fishing.</p> <p>Support and allocate fishing quota to local Moriori fishers – eg find ways to increase quota to make fishing viable for hūnau.</p> <p>Grow people within the imi but also for the Island. This means realising the potential of growing fisheries assets that will in turn simulate employment.</p> <p>Uplift the social, cultural, spiritual, environmental, and economic wellbeing of all islanders.</p> <p>Moriori need to maintain sound working relationships with other Island entities, external agencies, and central government by working collectively to address the ongoing challenges eg lack of housing stock, and high cost of living.</p> <p>Establish Mataitai marine areas to strengthen the existing customary fishing traditions and practices of Moriori so that there is continued access to kaimoana for future generations.</p>

## **Appendix 10** Hokotehi Moriori Trust Cultural Prerogatives Updated

### **Hokopapa - developing intergenerational knowledge**

This pou refers to Moriori hokopapa (ancestry) and tohungatanga (knowledge). Connection to Ta Ao Moriori, and the development of intergenerational knowledge through the 'voices of our elders' for future and present generations. Strengthening and reaffirming tribal, hunau, and individual cultural identity.

### **Ta Re - reconnection and wairua ora**

This pou refers to the life source of Moriori culture and identity, an expression of all things Moriori. Through the revival of Ta Re the spiritual (wairua ora) well-being of Ta Imi Moriori is nourished, and supported.

### **Nunukutanga- self-determination, leadership and tribal footprint**

This pou refers to Moriori self-determination, leadership, and tribal footprint. Nunukutanga is in reference to two historical events, the story of Nunukuwhenua and also the 'great hui' of Moriori tribes held at Te Awapatiki in 1836 whereby the decision to uphold the ancient Moriori lore of peace (Nunuku's lore). It is an expression of leadership and self-determination by those before us and the significance of peace, in maintaining balance and harmony and our commitment to Nunuku's lore.

Moriiori tribal footprint refers to the physical and visual representations of Moriori in the Trust's endeavours to develop and secure a tribal future.

### **Tchiekitanga- customary responsibility and guardianship**

This pou refers to Moriori traditional rights and responsibilities to ensure the well-being of the Papatuanuk' (the environment) is cared for and sustained for now and for future generations.

### **Manawareka- Hospitality and Marae Development**

Manawareka is the Moriori expression of 'warming the heart'. As a metaphor manawareka refers to hospitality and compassion.

### **Hokotehitanga - unity and relationships**

This pou refers to being 'united as one'. It is a metaphor for developing and maintaining sound respectful working relationships for the greater good of Ta Imi Moriori.

### **Hunaungatanga - hunau well-being**

This pou refers to hunau well-being. Hunaungatanga is about forming and maintaining relationships and strengthening ties between hunau and others. This pou plays a pivotal part in binding people together, providing the foundation for a sense of unity, belonging, and cohesion. Hunaungatanga is interwoven with Hunau ora in supporting hunau to achieve their health and well-being aspirations. Hunau ora is driven by a focus on hunau being self-managing, living healthy lifestyles, and confidently participating in Ta Ao Moriori.

Tchakat Henu describes Moriori as the 'People of the Rēkohu' and is the home of all Moriori no matter where they reside in the world. Wainapono describes Moriori 'pride of place' as the original inhabitants of Rēkohu.

### **Hokotipuranga- growth and development**

Tipu refers to the 'new shoots' and is a metaphor for the emerging generations that we must care for and support. It refers to laying the foundation for growth and development in building our future as a strong and thriving Imi.



### **Miheketanga - Caring for our treasures**

Miheketanga is an expression for Moriori treasure(s). Miheketanga refers to acknowledging, respecting, protecting, and caring for Miheke Moriori for present and future generations. Ensuring physical and cultural resources are available and sustained now and in the future. Valuing and acknowledging those before us and the return of miheke Moriori back to Rēkohu.

### **Tikane Moriori**

This pou refers to Moriori customary traditions and practices that are founded on Moriori cultural values and concepts in providing guidance on the 'correctness' of how we do things.



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