

He tono nā



Te Rūnanga o NGĀI TAHU

ki te

PRODUCTIVITY COMMISSION

e pā ana ki te

LOW-EMISSIONS ECONOMY – ISSUES PAPER

2 Ono/October 2017

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- 1.1. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Te Rūnanga) is focussed on the risks, challenges and opportunities associated with climate change and welcomes this inquiry into transforming to a low-emissions economy in New Zealand. We look forward to working together for change with Crown, local government, industry and iwi kātoa.
- 1.2. We provide a range of general comments for the Commission to consider, with a particular focus on bringing an iwi perspective into the dialogue. Thinking about mana whenua, the role of iwi authorities and Māori business must be front and centre when thinking about transformational change in the New Zealand economy.

2. GENERAL STATEMENT OF POSITION ON THE ISSUES PAPER

- 2.1. The position of Te Rūnanga in relation to the Issues Paper is that:
 - the role of iwi as actors in the process of change is largely absent from the content of the paper, although iwi are likely to be a significant partner in transforming the New Zealand economy over the coming decades.
- 2.2. The following overall recommendations are made by Te Rūnanga, in the order they appear through this response:
 - Recognise Ngāi Tahu and other well developed tribal authorities as significant, and growing, economic actors; as regional intergenerational investors, and natural partners in transformational change.
 - Use this opportunity to actively incorporate the Māori context within a frame of economic analysis and associated cost/benefit analysis.
 - Highlight milestone steps in the path of change where early opportunities exist to shift towards low-emissions activity.
 - Retain a primary focus on reducing emissions at the source, particularly in relation to transport and farming/land use, as a companion to afforestation initiatives.
 - Give significant attention to the economic potential for diversification of land use.
 - Highlight the role of local government in economic activity, including managing land use activities.
 - Follow the recommendations of the Forestry Reference Group, and in addition explore incentivising indigenous forestry.
 - Look into the role of central and local government collaboration, as well as partnership with industry and iwi, as a means of improving public transport and rail options as a significant element of a low-emissions economy.
 - Focus on utilising the Building Code and urban planning to facilitate change to low-emissions building practices across the board.
 - Consider ways to encourage and enable innovation and local solutions, including cultural enterprise and economic ecosystem models, to support

uptake of electric vehicles, decentralised renewable energy options, low-emission buildings and other low-emission approaches to existing activity (ie fishing).

- Explore the role of preferential purchasing policies.
- Emphasise the role of a fully functioning carbon price system (ie ETS).
- Look in more detail at R&D and commercialising innovation, with a focus on transport and land use.
- Consider how certainty around a vision, founded in Treaty partnership, might deliver social, cultural, environmental and economic gains in all regions of the country, particularly when that vision incorporates both mitigation and adaptation, and includes a realistic time window with milestones and steps along the path.

3. TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU

3.1. This response is made on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Te Rūnanga), statutorily recognised as the representative tribal body of Ngāi Tahu whānui and established as a body corporate on 24th April 1996 under section 6 of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 (the Act).

3.2. Te Rūnanga notes for the Commission the following relevant provisions of our constitutional documents:

Section 3 of the Act States:

“This Act binds the Crown and every person (including any body politic or corporate) whose rights are affected by any provisions of this Act.”

Section 15(1) of the Act states:

“Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu shall be recognised for all purposes as the representative of Ngāi Tahu Whānui.”

3.3. The Charter of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu constitutes Te Rūnanga as the kaitiaki of the tribal interests.

3.4. Te Rūnanga respectfully requests that the Commission accord this response the status and weight due to the tribal collective, Ngāi Tahu whānui, currently comprising over 57,000 members, registered in accordance with section 8 of the Act.

3.5. Notwithstanding its statutory status as the representative voice of Ngāi Tahu whānui “for all purposes”, Te Rūnanga accepts and respects the right of individuals and Papatipu Rūnanga to make their own responses in relation to this matter.

4. TE RŪNANGA INTERESTS IN THE INQUIRY

4.1. Te Rūnanga notes the following particular interests in the inquiry:

Treaty Relationship

- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu have an expectation that the Crown will honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty) and the principles upon which the Treaty is founded.
- Te Rūnanga has a specific interest by virtue of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 (NTCSA). The Act provides for Ngāi Tahu and the Crown to enter an age of co-operation, which is the basis of the post-Settlement relationship underpinning this response. Co-operation is all the more important as we respond to the realities of climate change.
- The Crown apology to Ngāi Tahu, as shown in **Appendix One**, recognises the Treaty principles of rangatiratanga, partnership, active participation in decision-making, and active protection.
- In accordance with these principles, as the Crown considers pathways to a low-emissions economy, policymakers must be mindful of a fiduciary duty to protect the interests of iwi. Te Rūnanga is approaching change with the view that no whānau, no household or community should be left behind, and expects the Crown to apply a similar stance to the well-being of Ngāi Tahu Whānui, and iwi kātoa.
- Te Rūnanga also recognises that as Treaty partner, Ngāi Tahu must play an active role in the change process. We are well equipped to partner with central and local government, as natural agents of change and intergenerational investors within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā and nationally.

Rangatiratanga

- Te Rūnanga upholds the mana of Ngāi Tahu through leadership. On this kaupapa, we recognise that we must create our own pathways forward in a changing world.
- As the Commission identifies, our country has a unique emissions profile, which means our approach will not look the same as those of other countries. We also have a unique indigenous and cultural profile. An increasing number of iwi are settling with the Crown and therefore growing an indigenous economic base, regionally and nationally.
- Through our own exploration of tribal response to the risks, challenges and opportunities presented by climate change, a Ngāi Tahu specific approach is emerging, founded in the collective mātauranga of our whānau and kaimahi.
- This story will increasingly be replicated, with variations, throughout settled iwi over the coming decades. In view of what we have achieved over the last two decades, it is fair to assume that iwi kātoa will make a significant and currently underestimated contribution to economic transformation.

Kaitiakitanga

- Transition to a low-emissions economy is in keeping with the kaitiaki responsibilities of Ngāi Tahu whānui. Kaitiakitanga is about ensuring that future generations have a relationship with Te Ao Tūroa (the natural world) that sustains them in the way that generations before have been sustained. We are guided always by the whakatauki: “*Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei*”.

- We understand that change is occurring, that there is more to come, and that as a global collective, the more we can reduce our greenhouse gas emissions over the next quarter century, the better for future generations.
- We also understand that the contribution of New Zealand to the whole is small, that the Ngāi Tahu contribution nationally is small, but that to do any less would be to fail whānau yet to be born. By progressively doing our part, we have the opportunity to show others how they can do the same.

Whānaungatanga

- Te Rūnanga has a responsibility to enable the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of Ngāi Tahu whānui.
- We achieve this through a combination of tribal resource and asset management, tribal programmes and distribution arrangements, and engagement with external decision-makers. Participation in this inquiry process is about upholding our responsibility.

Pūtea

- Te Rūnanga relies upon the income of our holdings company to be able to meet tribal responsibilities and deliver for Ngāi Tahu whānui.
- Our subsidiary businesses are within sectors that will be at the heart of change, both in terms of response to environmental conditions (adaptation) and transformation to a low-emissions economy (mitigation). We are heavily invested in fisheries, farming, forestry, tourism and property, as are many other iwi, which emphasises both the important role we have to play, and the specific vulnerabilities we face.

4.2. With regards to the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, Section 5 of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 statutorily defines the Ngāi Tahu takiwā as those areas “south of the northern most boundaries described in the decision of the Māori Appellate Court ...” which in effect is south of Te Parinui o Whiti on the East Coast and Kahurangi Point on the West Coast of the South Island.

4.3. Section 2 of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 statutorily defines the Ngāi Tahu claim area as being:

“the area shown on allocation plan NT 504 (SO 19900), being—

(a) the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu Whānui; and

(b) the coastal marine area adjacent to the coastal boundary of the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu Whānui; and

(c) the New Zealand fisheries waters within the coastal marine area and exclusive economic zone adjacent to the seaward boundary of that coastal marine area;—

and, for the purposes of this definition, the northern sea boundaries of the coastal marine area have been determined using the equidistance principle, and the northern sea boundaries of the exclusive economic zone have been determined using the perpendicular to the meridian principle from the seaward boundary of the coastal marine area (with provision to exclude part of the New Zealand fisheries waters around the Chatham Islands).”

(See the map attached as **Appendix Two**)

- 4.4. The fact that our takiwā extends over roughly half the country means that the investments we make in our marae, our rohe and regions make a significant, growing contribution to local economies. As we work to be a low-emissions iwi within our tribal lands, we will bring about change from flax roots upwards.

5. INQUIRY SCOPE AND CONTEXT

- 5.1. We note the first broad question of the inquiry, which asks “what opportunities exist...?”. Te Rūnanga would like the Commission to consider how working with Ngāi Tahu and other iwi authorities at a similar state of post-Settlement development, within a Māori world view, has potential to maximise benefits across economic, social, cultural and environmental spheres.
- 5.2. The costs of getting it wrong for Māori have been highlighted by the Climate Change Iwi Leaders Group, as referenced in the issues paper (p15). Te Rūnanga considers that there is greater potential to get things right when viewing economic benefits, and associated co-benefits, from an indigenous perspective, through the lens of Treaty partnership. As iwi values of kaitiakitanga and whānaungatanga guide choices, solutions will build in a different way.
- 5.3. Supporting the continued growth of tribal authorities and the expansion of activities under tribal leadership, whether at marae or iwi authority level, should be a platform for change. Ngāi Tahu have been able to develop our Settlement asset base under the umbrella of the iwi authority. As Ngāi Tahu whānui have benefited from this growth, so have many communities and businesses within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, but also across the country where we have invested.
- 5.4. The Commission have an opportunity to model economic analysis and associated cost/benefit analysis that incorporates understanding of what choices, pathways and trade-offs mean for Māori. Even the language of trade-offs is loaded with connotations that there will be winners and losers. We are very much seeking to frame tribal response in positive terms, in ways that place high importance on whānau resilience, affordability, access and choice, alongside business growth opportunities and pūtea generation. We focus on seeking and developing win/wins, which is the art of co-benefits and mutual benefit propositions in the context of economic activity.
- 5.5. A longer-term perspective of the inquiry aligns well with the intergenerational perspective of Ngāi Tahu. Looking ahead, we understand that taking the earliest opportunities to transform will create the best long term benefits for whānau, and we are therefore seeking to identify what can be done within the next 5, 10 and 20 years.

Recommendations

- 5.6. Te Rūnanga recommends the following:
- Recognise Ngāi Tahu and other well developed tribal authorities as significant, and growing, economic actors; as regional intergenerational investors, and natural partners in transformational change.
 - Use this opportunity to actively incorporate the Māori context within a frame of economic analysis and associated cost/benefit analysis.
 - Highlight milestone steps in the path of change where early opportunities exist to shift towards low-emissions activity.

6. MITIGATION OPPORTUNITIES

- 6.1. The emissions profile of New Zealand points to two obvious key areas of focus, on reducing road vehicle emissions and agricultural emissions.
- 6.2. As we go through the process of seeking to manage our carbon footprint, we are looking at similar questions of how to make a difference in our transport and farming activities. In answer to the second pātai in the issues paper (p18), our people have sent us a clear message that reducing emissions at source is a top priority relative to off-setting or sequestering carbon through afforestation, although we are active in both methods that lead towards carbon neutrality. We therefore expect the primary Crown focus to be on reducing emissions at source, in line with whānau expectations.
- 6.3. When thinking about farming and land use, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE) has sent useful signals about how to approach the issue, and how existing tools (ie Overseer) might be used. We expect the Biological Emissions Reference Group (BERG) to also provide useful guidance in this respect. However, given the widely acknowledged limitations of existing technology and approaches for reducing livestock emissions, it is clear that diversification of land use represents a primary opportunity, and that heavy reliance on the dominant industry model is a major barrier. In other words, pursuing growth potential in companion or alternative land use activity must be given high priority for a low-emissions economy pathway.
- 6.4. Te Rūnanga notes that the role of local government in guiding and managing land use change is not given a profile within the issues paper. Local government processes, including Resource Management Act (RMA) processes, represent a significant opportunity to influence land use choices, under a wider national vision for transforming to a low-emissions economy. We have already flagged with Environment Canterbury, through regular engagement, the importance we place on a regional council role in managing land use.
- 6.5. Our rangatira, mana whenua and kaimahi work closely with our local government partners in all of these regional processes. We are a natural intersect between central government policy, local government planning and industry activity (ie we refer you to our role in the West Coast Governance Group and the *West Coast Economic Development Action Plan 2017*). See *Figure 1* overleaf for a representation of how we view our part in the overall relationship with government and industry when it comes to economic development.
- 6.6. In relation to forestry pātai, we have representation on the Forestry Reference Group and support the recommendations already made by that group to the Commission. However, we would make the additional observation that Te Rūnanga has regularly expressed concern about on-going default to exotic species over indigenous species. Where there are indigenous alternatives to act as a nursery crop during indigenous regeneration, these should be the default setting. Commercial afforestation is almost entirely exotic, with legislative and regulatory settings favouring exotics. We want to see exploration of incentives for use of indigenous species, with all the co-benefits that flow from that.
- 6.7. We are often in dialogue with whānau who are passionate about the potential of electric vehicles and who have done a lot of thinking about barriers to uptake in the context of their communities. While there is a good charging network establishing across the motu, that will need to expand, recognising the extensive roading

network within our takiwā and current range limitations. Electric vehicle purchase costs are still high relative to incomes. We also know that whānau tend to hold on to their cars for a long time for economic and sentimental reasons. Our whānau are imagining creative solutions to these identifiable barriers, which we are exploring with them.

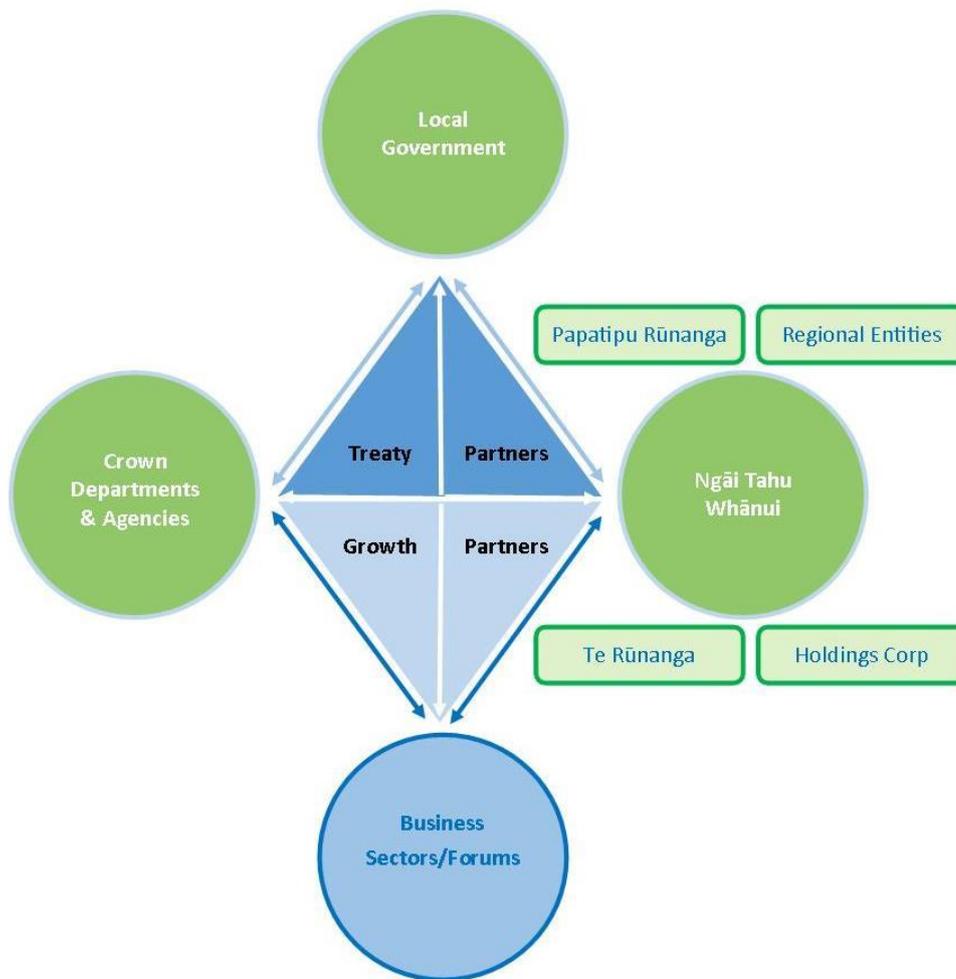


Figure 1: Treaty Partners, Growth Partners Diagram

- 6.8. Improved, affordable and reliable public transport options and rail options would enable low-emission choices for whānau and businesses, as a companion to increased uptake of electric vehicles. Any low-emissions economy vision would necessarily include public transport and rail initiatives, with a significant role for both local government and central government in provision of these initiatives, potentially partnering with industry and iwi.
- 6.9. During our process of building a cohesive tribal response to climate change, and as a consequence of a number of natural disaster events (ie earthquakes, flooding), we have come to recognise the importance of protecting against or preparing for failure of infrastructure. Wherever marae, households or small communities have a degree of independence from the wider electricity supply network, we see a greater potential resilience for those marae, households and communities. For that reason,

we are interested in regulatory, institutional and infrastructure arrangements that encourage or enable local initiatives in renewable supply (ie microgrids) as a means of both mitigation and adaptation.

- 6.10. We commissioned a report from NIWA outlining the projected impacts of climate change on our takiwā and resources. This has alerted us to some potential challenges to hydrogeneration within the takiwā, with greater extremes projected for low flows and flood flows, particularly on the east coast. We also expect increased hot days, which may benefit solar uptake, and higher intensity extreme winds, which may challenge wind generation. Our whānau are focussing significant attention on the role of solar generation and battery banks.
- 6.11. In relation to low-emissions building, levers exist in relation to the Building Code and in the role of local government when it comes to urban planning, which should be used to level the playing field and future-proof new buildings.
- 6.12. Ngāi Tahu flax roots business Awarua Synergy, connected with Te Rau Aroha marae and Awarua Rūnanga, has been built from retro-fitting old housing stock in Murihiku/Southland to reduce energy demand and encourage a shift towards renewable energy sources at the household level. There are enormous advantages that come from creating warmer, more resilient homes, that when combined with principles of cultural enterprise (kaitiakitanga, extending mātauranga, training and education, employing whānau), create a localised economic ecosystem founded on co-benefits.
- 6.13. An overseas example we refer you to is Thimble Island Ocean Farms and 3D ocean farming (<http://thimbleislandoceanfarm.com>). This takes co-benefit principles further along the direction followed by another Ngāi Tahu flax roots business, Okains Bay Longline Fishing Company (<http://www.okainsbayseafood.co.nz>). We would like to see policy setting that incentivises or enables economic ecosystem thinking, which creates clear social, cultural and environmental co-benefits to economic activity.
- 6.14. We note that the discussion of linkages (p35) corresponds with the idea of thinking about economic ecosystems at the local level. Considering that the particular solutions mix may be different depending on regional and community resources, iwi and hapū are well placed to identify local needs, linkages and opportunities, joining with local partners. Ideally, provision would be made to support networks of local low-emissions initiatives, through access to additional resources where those are lacking (ie funding, research, specialised skills).

Recommendation

- 6.15. Te Rūnanga recommends the following:
 - Retain a primary focus on reducing emissions at the source, particularly in relation to transport and farming/land use, as a companion to afforestation initiatives.
 - Give significant attention to the economic potential for diversification of land use.
 - Highlight the role of local government in economic activity, including managing land use activities.
 - Follow the recommendations of the Forestry Reference Group, and in addition explore incentivisation of indigenous forestry.

- Look into the role of central and local government collaboration, as well as partnership with industry and iwi, as a means of improving public transport and rail options as a significant element of a low-emissions economy.
- Focus on utilising the Building Code and urban planning to facilitate change to low-emissions building practices across the board.
- Consider ways to encourage and enable innovation and local solutions, including cultural enterprise and economic ecosystem models, to support uptake of electric vehicles, decentralised renewable energy options, low-emission buildings and other low-emission approaches to existing activity (ie fishing).

7. POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS

- 7.1. When thinking about subsidies (p38) we note reference to preferential financing. Preferential purchasing policies are another mechanism that could incentivise low-emissions businesses and business practices, and could be employed within central and local government. Placing an internal price on carbon is another useful approach to drive behaviour change within institutions.
- 7.2. We understand that the Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) alone will be insufficient to transform our economy, and that companion measures will always be necessary. Te Rūnanga has long called for the ETS to be strengthened so that it functions as originally designed, incorporating all sectors and all gases, in order to appropriately price carbon and correct distortions that currently punish owners of forest lands, particularly iwi owners of Settlement lands.
- 7.3. We support a focus on research and development (R&D) and improved pathways to commercialising innovation. We also agree that there needs to be a focus on areas of high importance, such as low-emission transport and land use options that have the potential for greatest impact on the NZ emissions profile.

Recommendation

- 7.4. Te Rūnanga recommends the following:
- Explore the role of preferential purchasing policies.
 - Emphasise the role of a fully functioning carbon price system (ie ETS).
 - Look in more detail at R&D and commercialising innovation, with a focus on transport and land use.

8. ACHIEVING TRANSFORMATION

- 8.1. A clear vision and strategy, that transcends short term electoral cycles is what will provide the necessary confidence for businesses and households, and bring about transformation to a low-emissions economy. We have given this message already in a number of different forums. We also believe that there is sufficient certainty about where our particular areas of focus should be in New Zealand, and general trends, that we are able to establish a realistic vision for change with the information and research we already have available to us.
- 8.2. We are not convinced that the story of transformation to a low-emissions economy needs to be about costs and losses, winners and losers. If the vision sets

expectations of positive impact at the household, local, regional and national levels, then solutions will be filtered for best fit to those expectations. The question is really how to develop and resource the solutions, how costs are spread, and which solutions offer change at an affordable level. Low-income households, which are disproportionately Māori, should be top of mind when considering where costs fall, and also where investment may provide significant co-benefits, for example in terms of better employment and health outcomes.

- 8.3. A particularly important mechanism within any long term vision and transformation pathway will be the combination of certainty and a time window within which to make change. A ten year or twenty year timeframe for certain change is the kind of window that should enable any business or household to make necessary adjustments without radical economic shocks. This approach only works when the goalposts don't move over that time and there is trust in the certainty of the end point.
- 8.4. The last comment we wish to make is in relation to co-benefits and how these might be considered. Te Rūnanga has adopted a "no regrets" approach to planning for climate change, thinking about mitigation and adaptation together. Any low-emissions action that is also linked to adaptation (ie "off-the-grid" marae) links the two strands of climate change response, which is an important way to think about co-benefit opportunities and any low-emissions economy vision. A low-emissions building that floods may be of little overall economic value in the long run.
- 8.5. Where there are co-benefits in multiple dimensions (ie social, cultural, environmental and economic), then additional weighting should be given to that pathway or approach when considering options.

Recommendation

- 8.6. Te Rūnanga recommends the following:
 - Consider how certainty around a vision, founded in Treaty partnership, might deliver social, cultural, environmental and economic gains in all regions of the country, particularly when that vision incorporates both mitigation and adaptation, and includes a realistic time window with milestones and steps along the path.

APPENDIX ONE: TEXT OF CROWN APOLOGY

The following is text of the Crown apology contained in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

Part One – Apology by the Crown to Ngāi Tahu

Section 6 Text in English

The text of the apology in English is as follows:

1. The Crown recognises the protracted labours of the Ngāi Tahu ancestors in pursuit of their claims for redress and compensation against the Crown for nearly 150 years, as alluded to in the Ngāi Tahu proverb 'He mahi kai takata, he mahi kai hoaka' ('It is work that consumes people, as greenstone consumes sandstone'). The Ngāi Tahu understanding of the Crown's responsibilities conveyed to Queen Victoria by Matiaha Tiramorehu in a petition in 1857, guided the Ngāi Tahu ancestors. Tiramorehu wrote:

“This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors ... that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily ... and remember the power of thy name.”

The Crown hereby acknowledges the work of the Ngāi Tahu ancestors and makes this apology to them and to their descendants.

2. The Crown acknowledges that it acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in its dealings with Ngāi Tahu in the purchases of Ngāi Tahu land. The Crown further acknowledges that in relation to the deeds of purchase it has failed in most material respects to honour its obligations to Ngāi Tahu as its Treaty partner, while it also failed to set aside adequate lands for Ngāi Tahu's use, and to provide adequate economic and social resources for Ngāi Tahu.
3. The Crown acknowledges that, in breach of Article Two of the Treaty, it failed to preserve and protect Ngāi Tahu's use and ownership of such of their land and valued possessions as they wished to retain.
4. The Crown recognises that it has failed to act towards Ngāi Tahu reasonably and with the utmost good faith in a manner consistent with the honour of the Crown. That failure is referred to in the Ngāi Tahu saying 'Te Hapa o Niu Tireni!' ('The unfulfilled promise of New Zealand'). The Crown further recognises that its failure always to act in good faith deprived Ngāi Tahu of the opportunity to develop and kept the tribe for several generations in a state of poverty, a state referred to in the proverb 'Te mate o te iwi' ('The malaise of the tribe').
5. The Crown recognises that Ngāi Tahu has been consistently loyal to the Crown, and that the tribe has honoured its obligations and responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi and duties as citizens of the nation, especially, but not exclusively, in their active service in all of the major conflicts up to the present time to which New Zealand has sent troops. The Crown pays tribute to Ngāi Tahu's loyalty and to the contribution made by the tribe to the nation.

6. The Crown expresses its profound regret and apologises unreservedly to all members of Ngāi Tahu Whānui for the suffering and hardship caused to Ngāi Tahu, and for the harmful effects which resulted to the welfare, economy and development of Ngāi Tahu as a tribe. The Crown acknowledges that such suffering, hardship and harmful effects resulted from its failures to honour its obligations to Ngāi Tahu under the deeds of purchase whereby it acquired Ngāi Tahu lands, to set aside adequate lands for the tribe's use, to allow reasonable access to traditional sources of food, to protect Ngāi Tahu's rights to pounamu and such other valued possessions as the tribe wished to retain, or to remedy effectually Ngāi Tahu's grievances.
7. The Crown apologises to Ngāi Tahu for its past failures to acknowledge Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga and mana over the South Island lands within its boundaries, and, in fulfilment of its Treaty obligations, the Crown recognises Ngāi Tahu as the tangata whenua of, and as holding rangatiratanga within, the Takiwā of Ngāi Tahu Whānui.

Accordingly, the Crown seeks on behalf of all New Zealanders to atone for these acknowledged injustices, so far as that is now possible, and, with the historical grievances finally settled as to matters set out in the Deed of Settlement signed on 21 November 1997, to begin the process of healing and to enter a new age of co-operation with Ngāi Tahu.”

APPENDIX TWO: NGĀI TAHU TAKIWĀ

