



Photo credit: Colin Emslie

# Mātauranga Māori Project on the New Zealand sea lion (*Phocarctos hookeri*)

Recommendations and report prepared by Rauhina Scott-Fyfe for  
the Department of Conservation and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

October 2019

Revised May 2024

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ISBN 978-1-0670480-6-8 (online)

Published by:

Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai  
PO Box 10420, Wellington 6140  
Aotearoa New Zealand

and

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu  
P.O. Box 13 046, Christchurch 8141  
Aotearoa New Zealand

October 2019, revised May 2024

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Department of Conservation



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# Mihi / Acknowledgements

Ko Raki ki ruka, ko Papa ki raro, ko kā tini ki waekanui.

E pōua mā, e taua mā, e kā mate o tēnei o kā tau kai tēnā marae, kai tēnā marae o Rakiura, o Te Waipounamu, o Te Ika a Māui hoki, moe mai, okioki mai rā. Ko mātou te huka ora e whakamoemititia, e takihia, e maumaharatia ki a koutou.

E kā mana, e kā reo, nāia te mihi o Kāi Te Ruahikihiki e rere ana ki a koutou katoa. Ki kā mana whenua, ki kā mana tūpuna, ki kā mana tākata, nā koutou i tautoko i tēnei kaupapa - whānau mai, hapū mai - kai te mihi.

I want to acknowledge the Treaty Partners, especially staff at DOC and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu who supported me in completing this project, especially Rata Pryor-Rodgers, Sarah Wilson, Mark Witehira, James Harding, Tom Brough, Enrique Pardo, Jim Fyfe and Ros Cole.

To all of the interviewees - Cyril Gilroy, Tāne Davis, Michael Skerrett, Estelle Pera-Leask, Hoani Langsbury, Tiny Metzger, Gail Thompson, Moana Wesley, Rachel Wesley, Koreana Wesley-Evans, Te Moana Nui A Kiwa Rehu Ryan, Nathaniel Scott, Shannon Williams, Brendan Flack, Bill Dacker, Corey Bragg, Khyla Russell and Robyn Ashton - I send you my heartfelt gratitude for generously sharing your whakaaro and experiences.

The late Colin Emslie was a gifted photographer and a passionate member of the New Zealand Sea Lion Trust. The photos used in this report have been generously supplied by his wife, Thelma, and family.

A project like this one is a stepping stone which is only possible through the work of others. In particular, I acknowledge the late Rua McCallum for her research and collation work for the Komiti Taoka Tuku Iho in producing 'He Kete Taoka'. E Rua, e te māreikura, moe mai rā.

This report is dedicated to all of our Kāi Tahu tamariki, rakatahi and future generations: ko taku wawata, ka ako koutou i kā tikaka o neherā, ā, ka ū tonu ki kā mahi tiaki whenua, tiaki moana, kia tū pakari i ō koutou mana motuhake i tēnei whenua.

## **He kōrero mō te kairakahau / About the researcher**

He uri tēnei nō kā iwi o Kāi Tahu whānui, arā, ko Waitaha, ko Kāti Māmoe, ko Kāi Tahu. Ko Kāi Te Ruahikihiki, ko Kāti Kurī kā hapū. Ko Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, ko Takutai o te Tītī kā marae. Nō te whānau Goodwillie ahau. Ko Kuini Scott tōhoku hākui, ko Jim Fyfe tōhoku hākoro. Ko Rauhina Scott-Fyfe e mihi ana ki te mineka nā. Mauri ora.

Rauhina Scott-Fyfe is a researcher of Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha descent. Rauhina is based in Ōtepoti/Dunedin and has had a lifelong interest in the New Zealand sea lion's return to breed on mainland New Zealand. They are actively involved in kaitiakitanga initiatives through their marae, Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki.

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# Ko te whakahao te hoa kakari o Te Wera

*A sea lion was the only thing that frightened Te Wera*

## Kupu Whakataki / Introduction

### Project background

The New Zealand sea lion/rāpoka Threat Management Plan 2017-2022 (NZSL TMP)<sup>1</sup> was developed by the Department of Conservation (DOC) and the Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI) and published in July 2017. It described the first five years of a 20 year programme to manage the threats to New Zealand sea lions, which at the time were classified as ‘Nationally Critical’, with the goal of achieving a ‘Not Threatened’ status.

The Mātauranga Māori Project on the New Zealand sea lion was jointly developed by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Te Rūnanga) and DOC as a response to the following statement outlined in the NZSL TMP:

The principles of mātauranga Māori will be incorporated into the four workstreams [of the NZSL TMP] ... Working in partnership on issues relating to sea lions, DOC and MPI will enable whānau, hapū and iwi to fulfil their kaitiakitanga responsibilities towards sea lions.

As contemporary distributions of New Zealand sea lions currently remain solely within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, in the context of this report, ‘whānau, hapū and iwi’ refer to Ngāi Tahu whānui (the collective of iwi with mana whenua in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, including Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Rapuwai and Hāwea).<sup>2</sup> New Zealand sea lions are listed as a taonga species in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998<sup>3</sup>, acknowledging Ngāi Tahu whānui’s cultural, spiritual, historical and traditional association with sea lions, and their role as ‘active participants’ in the management of taonga species.

### A note on names used for sea lions in this report

One important finding and recommendation of this project relates to the name traditionally used for sea lion by Southern Māori / Ngāi Tahu whānui. We propose that the name ‘rāpoka’ was not traditionally used by Southern Māori for sea lions, but instead for leopard seals (*Hydrurga leptonyx*). This issue is addressed in Wāhanga tuarua / Section two. To avoid confusion, this report uses the name ‘sea lion’ and not ‘rāpoka’ when referring to sea lions. We recommend that the Treaty Partners discuss whether to settle on a preferred standardised name (endorsed by Te Rūnanga) for New Zealand sea lions going forward.

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Conservation and the Ministry for Primary Industries, 2017

<sup>2</sup> Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, Part 2, s 9

<sup>3</sup> Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, Schedule 97

## Project purpose and objectives

The **purpose** of the Mātauranga Māori Project on the New Zealand sea lion is:

1. For Ngāi Tahu to capture and retain the mātauranga of a taonga species - the NZ sea lion - and to enable whānau to grow a deeper connection to the species, including to associated stories and places;
2. To provide recommendations on how to integrate mātauranga into the workstreams of the New Zealand Sea Lion Threat Management Plan (NZSL TMP); and
3. To strengthen the relationship between Ngāi Tahu and DOC in relation to the management and kaitiakitanga of the New Zealand sea lion and allow both parties to understand the perspectives and aspirations of Ngāi Tahu whānui.

The project purpose will be met through the following **objectives**:

1. To research and gather together historical accounts, archival references and archaeological evidence about how Aotearoa's first settlers related to the New Zealand sea lion;
2. To interview a selection of Ngāi Tahu whānui individuals who are actively involved in kaitiakitanga, with the objective of creating a 'snapshot' of current Ngāi Tahu whānui views and perspectives on the New Zealand sea lion; and
3. To provide recommendations on how to integrate into the NZSL TMP: mātauranga Māori; Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives and aspirations; and mechanisms to enable Ngāi Tahu whānui to better carry out their kaitiakitanga responsibilities and therefore strengthen the relationship between Ngāi Tahu and DOC.

This report cannot hope to be a comprehensive account of mātauranga in respect to New Zealand sea lions. There is no doubt that more mātauranga tuku iho will be discovered as further research and kōrero with our whānau continues over time.

It is important that Ngāi Tahu whānui continue to have the opportunity to engage with the historical and current mātauranga around sea lions and to experience sea lions in a contemporary setting in order to get a full appreciation of the stories passed down. It is also important to us that we maintain tino rangatiratanga over our own practices and mātauranga, choosing to share it on our own terms.

## Report structure

**Wāhanga tuatahi/Chapter one** sets out a snapshot of Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives on their contemporary relationships and kaitiakitanga responsibilities in regard to New Zealand sea lions.

**Wāhanga tuarua/Chapter two** explores some of the names, place names and cultural narratives associated with New Zealand sea lions.

**Wāhanga tuatoru/Chapter three** provides recommendations on how to incorporate mātauranga and Ngāi Tahu whānui aspirations for sea lions into the NZSL TMP.



Photo credit: Colin Emslie

# Wāhanga tuatahi/Chapter one - Contemporary relationships and kaitiakitanga responsibilities

This chapter is presented in four sections:

- 1.1 The first section provides a **snapshot of contemporary perspectives** from Ngāi Tahu whānui on New Zealand sea lions.
- 1.2 The second section explores Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives on **threats to sea lions** and what it means to practise **kaitiakitanga** in light of these threats.
- 1.3 The third section presents two **case studies** of Ngāi Tahu whānui involvement in sea lion species recovery.
- 1.4 The fourth section contains **concluding remarks** for chapter one.

## 1.1 Contemporary relationships - Ngāi Tahu and sea lions

In the process of ‘capturing and retaining’ mātauranga about a species, it could be easy to fall into the trap of viewing mātauranga as something purely historical. Rachel Wesley (Kāti Taoka, Kāi Te Pahi), described how many archaeological publications imply that ‘Māori hunted moa and seals, and after that they fell out of use and knowledge ... rather than that there was an ongoing relationship’. This section establishes there is an ongoing relationship between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions, and provides a rich picture of connection and concern with this taonga species.

For this Mātauranga Māori project, I interviewed sixteen Ngāi Tahu whānui individuals about their contemporary interactions with sea lions, their perspectives on practising kaitiakitanga, and their aspirations for sea lion recovery in the future. This work directly supports Objective Two of the project and demonstrates an enthusiasm for engagement that informs the recommendations for integrating mātauranga mechanisms to enable Ngāi Tahu whānui in practising kaitiakitanga going forward.

Interviews were carried out in Murihiku and Otago with individuals from Ngāi Tahu whānui who had had some direct engagement with sea lions. Interviewees were asked a series of questions about their knowledge and interactions with sea lions. All intellectual property brought to the interviews by the interviewee is retained by them. I was granted permission to use certain quotes from the interviews for this report, and the recorded interviews will be transcribed and stored in the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu archives.

This segment is divided into two parts: a question and answer section, which presents a snapshot of views from Ngāi Tahu whānui, followed by a discussion of key points.



### 1.1.1 Sea lion Q & A with Ngāi Tahu whānui

This question and answer section gives a brief snapshot of: some of the interactions that interviewees have had with sea lions; their perceptions of sea lions; their knowledge of sea lion appearance, behaviour and habitat; and why they believe advocacy and education is important in sea lion recovery efforts.

<i>Pg</i>	<i>Sea lion Q &amp; A with Ngāi Tahu whānui - quick reference guide</i>
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	Q: Where have you seen sea lions? Have you seen their numbers increasing or decreasing?
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	Fear or surprise
11	Apprehension and wariness
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	Perceptions
	Q: How have your interactions with sea lions shaped your perceptions of them?
14	Knowledge
	Q: How would you describe the behaviour, appearance and habitat of sea lions?
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15	Habitat
	Q: How do you and your whānau tell the difference between fur seals and sea lions?
	Q: What should people do if they come across a sea lion?
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	Q: Why is sea lion advocacy and education important?
	Q: What's so unique about sea lions? Why should we look after them?

## Interactions

Q: Where have you seen sea lions? Have you seen their numbers increasing or decreasing?  
I'm not seeing decreases ... all of my interactions are probably Waitaki south, to maybe Kākā Point. And in those areas if anything I've only ever seen increases. And my reasoning for that is they're still recovering from being hunted or harvested to almost extinction, so they're still in a recovery phase. - Hoani Lansbury (Ōtākou)

We see the sea lions all along the main beach [at Taieri Mouth], and up in the dunes. We only see them at certain times of year, because they're having their pups here and then making their way to the [Otago] Peninsula. - Robyn Ashton (Moturata Taieri)

When I was a child, we didn't have to look out very much for seals and sea lions. Elephant seals - I remember quite a few of those around, but not many seals or sea lions. When I came back with the kids, we used to visit for holidays, Dad would say 'Be careful out the back there, because the sea lions are coming back. The seals and sea lions are coming back.' ... and they certainly were! - Moana Wesley (Ōtākou)

All the places where I have spent a lot of time on the Peninsula [I've seen numbers increasing]... all up and down the Otago Coast. It was mostly just bulls you used to see over the back [of the Peninsula], or adolescent males. And now seeing the full range, and quite a lot more as well. - Rachel Wesley (Kāti Taoka, Kāi Te Pahi)

They're regular visitors here [in Karitāne]. Just thinking back to previous work as a skipper on the Monarch, the Monarch Wildlife Tours [which operate in Otago Harbour] - we found that ... they're quite a draw-card for a lot of the tourists. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

Around the southern end into Broad Bay, it's quite spectacular, you walk along the beach there now and just see these big animals right along in the sand dunes. [The sea lion population] appears to be growing more around the southern end of Rakiura - Pegasus, Broad Bay, and then into the tītī islands. And our people are talking more, too. They see sea lions more on the [tītī] islands. - Tāne Davis (Ōraka Aparima)

I've seen them up Te Ākau o Tai Tonga, you know up the Catlins area. I've seen them at Broad Bay on Rakiura, and ... Pegasus, .... Paterson Inlet too, way up the South Arm I think it was, .... I've seen them at Puwai on Taukihepa, and, at ... Boat Harbour, on Taukihepa. And of course I've seen them at our place, ... seen them in the water and on the beach. - Michael Skerrett (Waihōpai)

We've noticed an increase in the numbers of seals and sea lions on the [tītī] islands. ... we've noticed areas that the seals have gone into that they weren't previously ... Both [seals and sea lions], actually. - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)<sup>4</sup>

There's actually a resident one in Bluff as well, down at Morrisons Beach that comes up... I had heard recently that he'd been shot as well. So this is something that occurs a lot down

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<sup>4</sup> Corey is a muttonbirding on Tiā and Te Poho-o-Taiea (Big Island), and member of the Rakiura Titi Island Administering Body

here, for whatever reason - I think there are [people] who take it upon themselves to do this thinking they're doing us all a favour when I think it's quite the opposite - I think these taonga have a right to exist and they are what make us unique as Kiwis and they need to be protected. - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

Q: What are some of the interactions you and your whānau have had with sea lions?

#### *Fear or surprise*

My first memory of a sea lion was over at Reid's Beach - I must have been about 5 or 6 - Mum just about walked into it, and it leapt up and growled, as they do, and then it started to chase us .... [I remember feeling] very, very scared because it was very, very big - it was a bull. Mum started panicking, and Grump lifted his rifle to shoot it if it got Mum. That's probably not quite how it happened, but that's how my 5 or 6 year old brain interpreted it. And so I was very wary of them for quite a wee while. - Rachel Wesley (Kāti Taoka, Kāi Te Pahi)

Early on, in our first interactions with them, I do remember Suzi having our girls swimming at Back Beach at Karitāne - which I think is called Whakawaipakake, so [that's] the old name for Back Beach at Puke - ... I'd gone for a dive getting kaimoana ... this big boy turned up, I was watching what was happening and I was worried that Suzi and the girls were gonna get monstered by this thing! So that was my real early experience. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

Down on Rakiura ... we got chased by a female down there one day, she was quite aggressive. We were just pulling up to shore, I think we were at the DOC hut actually, we were going to stay the night and it was swimming past, actually I thought it was a seal in the water, swimming past, and I stepped out of the prow of the dinghy and it just shot up on the shore and started sort of barking at me and threatening me and I yelled back at it and it made it worse! ... Quite aggressive! And I was climbing back into the dinghy and Stewart Bull was in the road and not giving me much room. And I had an, it was sort of, it advanced pretty rapidly and I had an oar to try and... and Stewart said 'Don't hurt it!' ... I said 'If it attacks me, I'll hurt it alright!' - Michael Skerrett (Waihōpai)

I went with the Conservation Board down to Pegasus, which is at the bottom of Stewart Island, probably ten years ago. And we were walking along the beach. And I said to Viv, she was one of the board members, 'I'm going back,' I said. There was one in the water, you know, fifty metres away, or twenty metres I suppose. And I said 'That thing's going to have a go at us.' 'Aw don't be stupid.' 'Well I'm going back.' Cos I'm telling you, that thing in the water... you can just tell by their behaviour. And the next thing ... I was walking back, and I turned around, and this thing just jumped out of the water - it was quick as - and it was there, having a go at the ones that kept on walking. So it gave everyone a fright. You know who's boss when you come across one of them. - Gail Thompson (Awarua)

#### *Apprehension and wariness*

There was one time, on the tītī island, at night, I was out torching and I was coming down the track ... I could see behind a tree this white shape ... swaying ... like a diamond shaped head. And the eyes were orange! Burning, burning orange! For a second I thought 'What the heck's that?'... but I knew, just within a second, well I've never seen anything like that in my life, it was one of those whitish ones. And it was probably moulting, that's what seals and sea lions

do a lot when they come up on the shore ... So, every night we were having to pass it, just go twenty metres or so, where it is, and it didn't take much notice of us. Then ah, my tuakana and his family were down there, his daughters were there ... they wanted to go up and see it. So we went up there to see it and a grandson started getting a bit closer to it. I said, 'Leave it alone!' He just kept ignoring me ... Of course when he got a bit closer it took a big leap towards him and roared! ... My niece, who was between him and me, just turned on the spot and flattened me, we fell ... she got a hell of a fright! But they usually just give a jump like that and that'll be it, as long as you back off. - Michael Skerrett (Waihōpai)

I wouldn't say I have the same relationship with sea lions as ... with tītī. I'm not interacting with them. The only time I'm really observing them is if my children are on the beach or rocks, and prior to mahi kai ... For example, if you're diving for pāua, you'll be passing pāua to tamariki and rakatahi ... and that's when I'm looking to see, just for their safety, really ... I'm not personally scared of seals. But when you've got children there, you do need to be mindful. - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

I'd just been over there ... testing the waves out at Waikouaiti ... I just swam across on the outgoing [tide]... and I was coming back... they weren't there when I went down and they were when I was coming back. So... one, two, three, four of them... I was like 'okay...' so I just kind of wide-berthed them, and kept walking, and slid into the water, perhaps earlier than I'd have, on an incoming tide - there was much more water. So I just slipped in there and thought I'll just quietly sort of paddle my way across... all of a sudden, they did exactly the same thing. I didn't hear them coming, they just quietly slipped in.... And so I was thinking, okay, if I kind of just swim for that post, that's where the rock wall is, on the beach side of the fishermen's wharf, I can climb up onto that wharf ... so all this is going on in my head, and meanwhile, I've still got my friends swimming along beside me. They weren't crowding me but they were, if you know what I mean? So I couldn't decide if I thought they might like to have a play, or just watch me, like people watch them, I guess ... I wasn't fabulously terrified, but I was not easy with the accompaniment of these four teenagers. And they kind of just swam around, you know, maybe my pretending not to look at them and their pretending not to look at me, but they just did that, and then they went up the river and had a bit of a look, and then went back out ... they hovered a while, still sort of swimming and playing ... I guess they decided I wasn't going to get back in, so why would they hang around. And I still, to this day, don't know their intent, and don't want to! - Khyla Russell (Puketeraki)

When I was in the Snares, one of my jobs was to fix a board walk in Hauhau Bay, it was a big DOC board walk to the hut. And I had two huge sea lions sleeping on the board walk that I was charged with repairing. And every time I hit the hammer onto the board walk they'd put their head up and look up at me, so I was just gently tapping away, trying to get it done ... I did manage to do it. I got chased away a couple of times, but the sea lions ... you leave them alone, they'll leave you alone. - Estelle Pera-Leask

### *Connection and enjoyment*

All the whānau down there [on the tītī islands], at the time I was down there, they've all have had interactions with [seals and sea lions] ... in good ways: I mean, they've played with them in the dinghy - when they're playful, they're very good; people have swam down to get pāua,

and they've swum around them, ... been nudged by them, but they've never been, you know, fully attacked. - Cyril Gilroy (Waihōpai)<sup>5</sup>

I remember we had a bunch of about 40 or 50 phys-ed students and this juvenile male [sea lion] just bailed everyone up! And there was only one of them, and there was like 40 people who were almost the same size as this sea lion, and it just guarded all the equipment that we had, and chased everyone! ... I guess everyone would have had different perspectives but it was just funny, cos the ones that were out on the waka were just taking photos, and laughing at everyone getting chased by this thing - because it was just, you know, it was its territory. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

Just last week my daughter took a video on her phone down in front of the house at Wellers Rock of a sea lion, which she identified correctly, playing with an octopus just off the wharf, heaving it around and throwing it around, and generally just playing with its food like sea lions do. - Hoani Langsbury (Ōtākou)

I remember the first time I was ever sniffed on the nose by a sea lion, and that's just a... and you feel the breath, and that's an amazing... you know, this isn't something that's going to bite your face off, it's just something that's interested in you, and has a genuine connection and an interest in you. And that's a really, really special thing to have with a completely wild animal. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

## Perceptions

Q: How have your interactions with sea lions shaped your perceptions of them?

I think sea lions have greatly enhanced our lives by coming back to the mainland to have their babies. They've brought us a lot of joy. With that privilege, we also have the responsibility of looking after them. - Robyn Ashton (Moturata Taieri)

They look at you. They look at you as if they're talking to you. You know? They have those eyes that ... it sounds weird because they're still a wild animal. They're still a wild animal and you can't get complacent or anything, but they always have that look as if ... they're ready to communicate if you are. - Moana Wesley (Ōtākou)

I think, sometimes peoples' first experience with a sea lion isn't always a positive one. If you're surfing, they'll sometimes chase you out of the water, or they're in a sand dune and they don't realise there's one there and they wake one up, or they might get chased on a beach. But it's kinda letting people know that they're not nasty vicious things that are gonna eat you - they're pretty playful. And their idea of play is pushing each other around and chasing each other, and you're just another plaything. So again, it's that education. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

The way that the general public see them, that perception now, they're not just a pest, although they are a pest to a lot of fishermen - a lot of commercial fishermen - you know, they do rip nets to shreds, and they do steal the fish out of them, and they do try and climb on the boats to get a kai, because why wouldn't they? - Moana Wesley (Ōtākou)

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<sup>5</sup> Cyril adds: "For me personally, I keep well out of their way!"

They're aggressive. You don't go where they are. Especially if they've got a pup. And probably the time we're on the island is when they've got their pups, ... they're a non-friendly species ... You don't muck around with them. Not at all. They're the top of the food chain, I suppose, ... You've got to admire them. - Gail Thompson (Awarua)

I think they are also contributing to other species. If we looked at that, if there were large scales or large numbers of them, they're part of that holistic view that we have of the marine environment, where there's interactions between them. So some of them might've been eating penguins, but they might have also been providing food for albatross or other seabird species. - Hoani Langsbury (Ōtākou)

The Department here in Murihiku made a suggestion that us tītī island whānau keep an eye out, even on our own islands, keeping the numbers of how many [sea lions] we see, each time we're here through the tītī season. Which is a good source of monitoring. And then when we go back the following year, same again. Once you can distinguish the difference between kekeno and [sea lion], it's probably a bit of a highlight to see one again, isn't it? - Tāne Davis (Ōraka Aparima)

It is a taoka. And for me, it's just having an awareness of where they are, and keeping safe, and the family safe. From conversations I've had people, some people do see them as ... I don't want to use the word 'nuisance' ... but when you're muttonbirding, and you're working at night, and you know, you have your tamariki with you... it's about creating solutions, practical solutions. Like one, for instance, is that prior to birding or taking part in rama each evening, I'll walk the tracks before taking the children out, just to ensure there are no seals or sea lions on those tracks, and ushering the seals off the manu [tītī nest areas] ... I think families certainly don't want the seals in that space for those two reasons: safety, and damaging the manu. - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

Working down in Campbell Island last year gave me a better understanding of them. When I first went down I was, yeah, quite cautious of how this huge animal's behaviour was. And so, we went down, introduced ourselves to the animals, and just kinda found out they were just really inquisitive, and curious, and just beautiful animals. They weren't there for anything else but breeding, so, yeah, they were really amazing to watch. - Nathaniel Scott (Poutini Ngāi Tahu)

## Knowledge

Q: How would you describe the behaviour, appearance and habitat of sea lions?

### *Appearance and behaviour*

I always split it up, I say to people: the big boys are not the ones you've gotta worry about. The big, fully grown males, they're 400 kgs of just blubber, and they're not really the ones that are chasing you around, they're just mellow - they're impressive looking, but, you know, they've got better things to do. It's the young males that are the trouble, and ... they're a bit like a naughty teenage boy or a misbehaving puppy. They're the ones that chase you around and think it's funny, and annoy each other... they're kinda the goofballs. And then you've got the females that are often caring for their pups, and they can be very protective of their pups,

just like any mother can be ... The pups are just like a puppy dog, they're so inquisitive. The more time you spend with them, the more time you understand them! - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

The juveniles are just curious, I love our males. They chased our boat from the yacht round to the bay - they chased us in the boat every morning, and every afternoon going back - but it was just a game for them, they're so playful. But those big boys, they just want to be left alone! - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

They can gallop pretty fast. - Tiny Metzger (Awarua)  
Boy can they move when they want to! - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

I guess it just depends on where you are in association with them, if you're sitting on your surfboard waiting for a wave and one pops up, they can be quite intimidating ... but when you're on a waka and they're on the land then they're quite ... a different perspective there, they can seem quite slow-moving... but then when they turn, and they may stand up, they look pretty regal and I guess that's why they were called sea 'lions'. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

I guess with the female having the sort of more cream, or lighter colour, coat, and the dark around the eyes. And obviously smaller than the bulls of the sea lions. - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

The interactive interface between sea lions and humans can be quite ferocious, ... they're like a 'sea-dog'. - Robyn Ashton (Moturata Taieri)

They'll become patch-protectors if there are fewer fish, or different forms of competition, or too many of them get killed. - Khyla Russell (Puketeraki)

There are lots of stories about the bravery of the sea lions - and I think that would have struck a chord or two with Māori as well - that fearlessness. The big boys, they certainly aren't afraid of you, so there would have been a lot of respect there. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

### *Habitat*

With the sea lion, its habitat tends to be more adaptable to soft landings, beach areas and so forth. So not all tītī islands have beach areas. Although one we did see this season on the tītī islands was away up amongst the bush. So they seem to go right up where the soft ground is, or sand... the kekeno [fur seal] seem to ... populate anywhere in regards to the rocky areas, and then it appears that the pups actually go into the bush as well. - Tāne Davis (Ōraka Aparima)<sup>6</sup>

[I've seen] a few females, yeah, that beautiful golden coloured female ... they come further up into the forest, I think, well in my experience, I've always seen the females further up in the

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<sup>6</sup> Tāne adds, on the topic of kekeno (fur seals): "It appears the kekeno population is increasing around the various Tītī islands, and raising concerns with our Tītī Island whānau about the impacts kekeno have on the biodiversity of their islands."

forest, on Bluff Hill as well. And at Surat Bay, was the female I came across in the tōtara forest. So, another reason why these habitats need to be intact, and need to be protected ... and that's the trouble, anywhere there's sandy beaches, people want to be! And anywhere there's people, there's just, there's no room for the two. - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

*Q: How do you and your whānau tell the difference between fur seals and sea lions?*

Our whānau do know the differences between the two ... we have both species on the tītī islands. I guess depending on the time of year and the weather, they can be in different areas. - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

Sea lions are much bigger [than fur seals], and they don't have that pointy snout, and the little whiskers like a kitten. Our fur seals are beautiful, but furry! Whereas sea lions, they don't look furry, they just have that beautiful shimmer. And again, much bigger. The big sea lions - they do look furry and they have those great manes ... Habitat wise... fur seals prefer rocks, I think, you see them all on the coastline, they love that rocky sort of environment, whereas ... sea lions, they like sand. They like sandy beaches. - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

Fur seals have pointy noses, and there are lots of them. Sea lions have flatter noses, there are far fewer of them and they're usually on sandy beaches. - Robyn Ashton (Moturata Taieri)

I don't [think all whānau know how to tell the difference between seals and sea lions]. Some do, and some don't. I think there are some whānau that will see them as seals, all as one. ... That's the same with other plants, and some seabirds as well ... some families are brilliant at identifying the different species, but I think it varies from family to family.- Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

*Q: What should people do if they come across a sea lion?*

I mean, it's simple. All you've gotta do is give them space, and leave them alone. There's no point in trying to dive or surf if a sea lion doesn't want you there, because they'll ... just make it very difficult for you to be there. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

Give them distance, but if you do get in a situation where you are up close and personal, just to be calm, and ... you're not on the menu, they're not going to eat you. I think it's experiences in the water that are very different - surfers, or diving - because you're in their zone. You've gotta be passive ... that's a different experience. On land, just give them space. I always say to people - they're mainly a nocturnal feeder, the sea lions, so when we see them, this is like someone coming and looking at us at 2am. Would you want to have someone opening your curtains and poking you in the middle of the night, probably not! ... Observe them from a distance, respect them. Enjoy them. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

One of the guys down [on Campbell Island] ... he was telling me to just ignore them, they're full of cake really, they'll just bluff! So having resources on how to work around the animals if you're in that area ... give them space, yeah how to behave around them: don't make sudden movements; let them move - you don't try to move them ... if we're going to get more on the mainland, that is something that we need to start advocating. - Nathaniel Scott (Poutini Ngāi Tahu)



There's an old saying, too - Kaua e hopuhia te whiore o te kekeno, kei ngau koe i te taniwha! Don't go grabbing the tail of the kekeno, you might get bitten by a taniwha! - Michael Skerrett (Waihōpai)

*Q: Do you have any examples of inappropriate behaviour around sea lions?*

People want to be able to do absolutely everything, and almost, well not invade, but ... tourism or local fishing competitions ... and jet skis in the awa! - Khyla Russell (Puketeraki)

The beach at Bluff is not even 50 metres long. And there's a sea lion that comes in, and she's usually hapū. I see photos on Facebook, and these people are right up as close as they can get, so they get a reaction from the animal, and it makes for a good photo - no one wants to just see a sea lion lying flat. So, you know, they tease them until they get a reaction and it makes for a good photo. So then I end up having to tell them off on Facebook, and I look like the grump. But, you know, I'll keep doing it. - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

A couple of locals had a ... pitbull, and they were walking it along the beach, and the pitbull attacked this sea lion and just locked onto its snout. The sea lion just headed into the sea, with the dog still on it - it was the only thing it could do - and eventually the dog had to let go! And these people then complained to the Department that this sea lion tried to drown their dog, you know! ... that was quite early on, when sea lions were really quite rare. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

We went up to the rowing club at the other end of the harbour, and there were a group of kids throwing rocks at a sea lion lying up on the beach, a big old one, and they'd been teasing this sea lion for a while, and somebody had phoned Mary and said 'Can you get up there, or phone the police to go up there and tell these kids to leave it alone?' So my husband and Mary went up, and gave the kids what for. And the sea lion was so stressed, it tried to attack the truck that my husband had driven up in. So, these animals... that sort of stress, if it was a pregnant female, would be enough for her to abort, or if she had a pup, to abandon it. - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

## The importance of advocacy and education

*Q: Why is sea lion advocacy and education important?*

The fur seal - I know a lot of my cousins out on the tuna boats, they'll just shoot them, cos they don't understand their behaviour ... so to get that into the general public, that the behaviour of these animals is hugely different [from that of fur seals], then it would help the species as well. - Nathaniel Scott (Poutini Ngāi Tahu)

What changes I'd like to see is, there needs to be more information around seals and sea lions in general. There's a lot of, I think, negative perception towards seals. And that's partly, I think it's partly from, you know, fishermen, and changes to fisheries as well ... there are changes within the fisheries, and people want to protect their livelihood. I'd like to see more information around seals that gives us a bit more of an insight as to what they do, how they feed, and our relationship with seals. Not just today, but historically ... I'd be interested to know what we did in the past ... our relationship. And it is a taonga. - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

The difference between seals and sea lions needs to be made known to everyone! This is the thing, ... [there's a problem] if someone gets caught because they've killed a seal, which has been something that's causing a big problem for them anyway, and they go 'oh, we don't know what it was, but it could have been a sea lion.' So everybody needs to know, the general public need to know, hey, there's two different species there. The seal is now known down here as the 'possum of the sea'. And the sea lion is something totally different. - Tiny Metzger (Awarua)

I think the most important role is advocacy and spreading the word. I think that's probably the single biggest thing that we could do, in terms of kaitiaki, is that ... people see fur seals everywhere, and think, you know, 'it's just another seal, they must be fine.' But sea lions really aren't everywhere, and they're not doing that well ... so I think the single biggest thing we could do would be [to] improve public awareness, both with Māori ... but I think with the general public as well. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

I think misunderstanding [is the biggest problem], and for that reason I think the mātauranga is important ... getting those stories across ... People will generally people are coming from a place where 'it's a seal' ... so you know just having those conversations with people and describing the differences between the different species. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

*Q: What's so unique about sea lions? Why should we look after them?*

Within my lifetime they were very rare, so it's only, you know, in the last 20 or so years that they've become more frequent here. I know there's a lot of people that are passionate about looking after their ones, you know, naming them and tagging the babies and so forth, so you know all those opportunities come up quite regularly, discussing with people and then just passing some of that kōrero on to the younger ones when the time is right - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

Around the environment there's these really cool 'niche' words that we used. The behaviour of the sea lions, the way that they nuzzle each other, the way they protect their wāhine from the elements ... it's really ... whānau based. So you could break it down and say a colony is an iwi, and each harem is a hapū, and each whanauka of that hapū does its role. So one matriarch female will look after their harem of pēpi, while all the other females go out and hunt, and so when they come back, then the matriarch goes out all by herself ... and so we can relate that [back] ... mō muri ake nei, to the ones coming after us - base our whole whakaaro ... around the sea lions. - Nathaniel Scott (Poutini Ngāi Tahu)

In North America you have bears that people have to be aware of. In New Zealand we've got these amazing guys, so sometimes we're going to bump into one on the beach and we just have to behave appropriately ... I think we're lucky. I think we're really lucky to have them. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)



Photo credit: Colin Emslie

### 1.1.2 Discussion: Contemporary relationships with sea lions

The interview process uncovered a full spectrum of engagement between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions. **Incidental interactions** occurred while interviewees and their whānau were involved in a whole range of different activities, including swimming, surfing, walking, playing, paddling or sailing waka, fishing, diving for kaimoana, harvesting tītī, practising kaitiakitanga in other forms, or simply observing their surroundings while at the beach. **Intentional interactions** with sea lions have included involvement in sea lion research (on mainland New Zealand and in the Subantarctic Islands), helping with pup recovery, raising public awareness about appropriate human behaviour around sea lions, and getting involved in decision-making when dead sea lions are found in their rohe.

I saw a large range of **reactions and responses** to encounters that interviewees had had with sea lions. Often, when encountering a sea lion for the first time, or when in a situation which was out of the individual's control, fear or apprehension might be the first reaction. Through experience, observation, and learning more about the behaviour of sea lions, encounters with sea lions elicited responses of wariness, awe, a sense of entertainment, respect, learning and connection. This in itself shows the importance of mātauranga, or knowledge: armed with observational and learned mātauranga about the behaviour of a species, Ngāi Tahu whānui (and the public in general) can be prepared for any intentional or unintentional interactions they may have with sea lions.

Ngāi Tahu whānui keenly observed **changes in numbers** of sea lions over time, and were able to identify **differences in species** that they interact with through their appearance, habitats and behaviour. Interpretations of behaviour were often linked to stories from the past, and levels of engagement with the species directly informed the type of advice people shared with their whānau and community. The conversations I had raised many different views, perspectives and concerns about sea lions, their habitat, their behaviour, their encounters with humans, and their importance in the holistic ecosystems in which they lived.

**Mātauranga is continually evolving.** The ongoing relationship that Ngāi Tahu whānui continue to have and develop with sea lions, and the knowledge that we hold about the species, is not static, as expressed by Brendan Flack:

Mātauranga - I guess there's a perception that it belongs in the past and it doesn't evolve, but it does evolve. And being able to understand these species and their relationship to us [is] really important. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

To grow and share the body of knowledge or mātauranga, Ngāi Tahu whānui must continue to have the opportunity to interact with sea lions, through both incidental encounters and by practising active kaitiakitanga for this species. This mātauranga in turn will help inform Ngāi Tahu whānui and the wider public of tikanga for interacting with sea lions.

## 1.2 Practising kaitiakitanga in a threat management framework

Kaitiakitanga is not a concept that is easily defined. It is often translated using the English word 'guardianship', but represents much more than a Pākehā legal definition of this word. This report does not seek to define kaitiakitanga, although it is important that all Crown officials have a good grasp of the concept of kaitiakitanga to inform their practice and strengthen their relationships with mana whenua. As Professor Merata Kawharu wrote,

*Kaitiakitanga embraces social and environmental dimensions. Human, material and non-material elements are all to be kept in balance ... Kaitiakitanga cannot be understood without regard to key concepts including mana (rangatiratanga) 'authority', mauri 'spiritual life-principle', tapu 'sacredness, set apart', rāhui 'prohibition or conservation', manaaki 'hospitality' and tuku 'transfer, gift, release'.<sup>7</sup>*

Ngāi Tahu whānui's role as kaitiaki within their takiwā is a right and responsibility confirmed by the Treaty of Waitangi (tino rangatiratanga). The interviewees I spoke with viewed kaitiakitanga of taonga species such as sea lions in a much larger and more holistic matrix of habitats, alongside other species - birds, fish, plants and mammals, including humans. Ngāi Tahu whānui are active practitioners of kaitiakitanga in many 'social and environmental dimensions' all over the Ngāi Tahu takiwā and beyond.

I think the key to what needs to be done as kaitiaki is we can never look at a single species in isolation. Even with the sea lion threat management plan, it can't be looked at as a single species management plan, it has to fit within a framework, in a matrix of a holistic management approach to the entire environment. - Hoani Langsbury (Ōtākou)

Over the years I've taken and more holistic look at ecosystems realising that one species is not perhaps, you can't, I don't think a species can recover if the rest of the species and the rest of the environment don't recover. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

There is still a way to go in addressing the tensions that arise from the differences in world view between single species threat management and holistic environmental management. However, Ngāi Tahu whānui are well-practised in engaging with Crown-developed plans and look to a Treaty Partnership model that will give more recognition to practising kaitiakitanga.

This section is split into two parts: the first (1.2.1) summarises sea lion specific and holistic threats which were identified by Ngāi Tahu whānui interviewees; the second (1.2.2) provides a discussion of Ngāi Tahu whānui involvement in threat management and habitat restoration.

### 1.2.1 Knowledge of contemporary threats to sea lions

The interviewees had an in-depth knowledge of the specific threats to sea lions as well as more universal threats to taonga species. The biggest threats to sea lions were identified as follows:

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<sup>7</sup> Kawharu, 2008.

## The commercial fishing industry

I would like to think there's more governance over the deep sea trawlers in respect to all taonga species to Ngāi Tahu. - Tāne Davis (Ōraka Aparima)

Fisheries pressure was identified by the interviewees as a key threat to sea lions, especially around the Subantarctic Islands. The major concerns for many of the interviewees were timing of fishing, overfishing (limiting access for sea lions to food resources and forcing them to swim further and deeper), and sea lions being caught as bycatch (especially pregnant and breeding females). Other concerns were the impact that the commercial fishing industry has on their habitat, including disposal of waste.

Some of the interviewees acknowledged that sea lion exclusion devices (SLEDs) are being used on trawl nets by some commercial fishers, but also had concerns about what state sea lions were in after being caught in a net and then 'spat out the other side'. A few of the interviewees had concerns that the current Quota Management System (QMS) was driven solely by the total allowable commercial catch, and did not adequately protect natural fish, marine species and the environment. There were also concerns about the possible impact of increasing numbers of marine farms and aquaculture on marine species including sea lions.

## Climate change

Changes in ocean temperature and acidity due to global climate change was highlighted by several of the interviewees as a threat to sea lions and other marine species, affecting food supply, habitat and likelihood of disease.

## Human attitudes and behaviour

Human attitudes towards sea lions, misunderstanding and inappropriate behaviour were identified as key threats. As humans (and their dogs) have increasing numbers of encounters with sea lions as they become more common on our beaches, the likelihood of misinformed negative interactions increases. Humans also have a direct impact on sea lion habitat by changing and building up the coastal environment. Education, especially while outdoors having positive interactions with sea lions, was identified as a powerful way to change human attitudes and behaviour in regard to sea lions.

## Tourism

Interviewees were concerned about both large-scale and small-scale tourism. Ecotourism ventures have the opportunity to educate, but more often than not are promoting bad practice and disturbing sea lions resting on the beach. Increasing numbers of cruises and tourist operations using the same marine and coastal areas as sea lions occupy was also thought to interfere with them.

## Disease

Disease was also identified as a key threat, especially to populations of sea lions on the Subantarctic Islands. Vectors for disease could include humans, including tourists and researchers, and other sea lions. Outbreaks of disease could be viewed as a cultural indicator of shortages of food, with decreases in sea lion health increasing susceptibility to disease.

## Natural threats

It was acknowledged that there were some threats to sea lions, such as great white sharks, that were a natural part of a healthy ecosystem.

### 1.2.2 Involvement in threat management and habitat restoration

Ngāi Tahu whānui are already engaged in threat management and habitat restoration through kaitiakitanga practices. The interviewees gave a broad range of examples of how they are currently practising kaitiakitanga. Some made suggestions about improving the framework and tools available to increase Ngāi Tahu whānui engagement.

The interviewees spoke of a need for more than just consultation. They referred to the recent Supreme Court decision on Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki,<sup>8</sup> and spoke of a need for Ngāi Tahu whānui's involvement in governance of species management, working at a higher partnership level, and being involved from the earliest stage in co-developing strategy and policy.

For Ngāi Tahu whānui, kaitiakitanga is about so much more than managing the threats for a single species. The connectedness between taonga species was emphasised. Many of the interviewees spoke of the need to ensure that habitats are available for balance to be maintained for all taonga species. For Tiny Metzger (Awarua), this holistic way of viewing species management was summed up in a simple statement: "Everything should be given a space, as long as it's not impacting on something else."

The sense of connection felt by Ngāi Tahu whānui to the environment is a strong one. Mātauranga and tikanga can play a vital part to guiding people through processes of loss and renewal of habitats and species. Nathaniel Scott said that in his view, the connection Ngāi Tahu whānui have means he can give greater input around processes relating to death of animals and cultural safety. Tāne Davis expressed concern at the state of habitats for many taonga species around the region:

[the sea lion] is just one of many taonga species around this region. And whether it be in the moana or on the whenua... as time goes on, it's developing to being more and more concerning. - Tāne Davis (Ōraka Aparima)

Ngāi Tahu whānui are active in responding to threats and restoring habitats. These responses are driven by a sense of connection and responsibility. This section gives a snapshot of examples of whānau involvement in threat management and habitat restoration.

#### Examples of local engagement in kaitiakitanga

##### **Example 1: Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki Taiāpure and Mātaitai**

Due to concerns over depleting pāua stocks in their rohe, members of Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki applied for a taiāpure (local customary fishery) - the East Otago Taiāpure - on 9 March 1992, which was granted.<sup>9</sup> Puketeraki whānau members work with the community to actively manage this customary protected fishery. The Ministry for Primary Industries also

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<sup>8</sup> Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust v Minister of Conservation [2018] NZSC 41

<sup>9</sup> "East Otago Taiapure Management Committee," n.d.

granted a Mātaitai Reserve on the Waikouaiti River on 21 July 2016.<sup>10</sup> A temporary rāhui on pāua has also been placed on the Huriawa Peninsula. These three customary management tools - taiāpure, mātaimai and rāhui - have all been used by Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki to reassert their rangatiratanga and ensure sustainability for present and future generations, and for the species that benefit from a thriving protected marine area.

After many years working in an ‘honorary’ position managing the customary protected areas around Puketeraki, Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki) has begun in a paid ‘Ngāi Tahu ranger’ role. His work revolves around the customary protected areas and the species that benefit from the recovery in the fishery, including sea lions. The pilot programme means that Brendan can ‘dedicate full time to understanding and actively managing those customary protected areas’.<sup>11</sup>

### **Example 2: The Kia Mau Te Tītī Mō Ake Tōnu project**

The Kia Mau Te Tītī Mō Ake Tōnu Atu project was a collaboration between the University of Otago Zoology Department and the Tītī Island muttonbirding community, to research and to ensure the ongoing sustainability of tītī (sooty shearwaters), which are a taonga species to Ngāi Tahu whānui. The project resulted in many publications, unpublished reports and theses, and 22 issues of a community newsletter, the Tītī Times.<sup>12</sup>

During the project, muttonbirder Corey Bragg was in a paid research position and worked alongside staff of the Department of Conservation. Corey acknowledges Matapura Ellison (Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki), who was employed as a Kaupapa Atawhai manager for DOC at the time, for playing an integral role at the start of the research project, guiding the researchers and working with kaumatua and the tītī island committee. Corey spoke to me about the importance of having a long-term strategy to get more Ngāi Tahu whānui employed with DOC:

I think it's important to have our own people employed by DOC, and the Department recognising that as part of their long-term strategy, that we need Kāi Tahu to be employed, and within these areas. And if we have opportunities to involve [Kāi Tahu], those people that take part learn a lot, and they'll see a different perspective and get a broader view of our taonga ... And I think it's [about] ensuring that we are included, and that we are actively participating all the way through. - Corey Bragg

### **Example 3: Moturātā Taieri whānau**

Robyn Ashton (Moturātā Taieri whānau) looks after the Moturātā project at Green Island, near Dunedin. Moturātā Taieri whānau consists of descendants of the original tūpuna living at the Taieri papatipu kāika at Henley in the 1840s, and Kāi Tahu whānau who have moved into the area over the past 150 years. The whānau is recognised as being under the umbrella of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, and have a kaitiaki interest in the Taieri area and the wider Otago region shared with other Rūnaka and whānau.

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<sup>10</sup> “Mataitai application for the Waikouaiti River,” n.d.

<sup>11</sup> Personal communication Brendan Flack, 2019.

<sup>12</sup> “Written Outputs of the Kia Mau Te Titi Mo Ake Tōnu Atu research project,” May 2003



Almost 30 years ago, Moturātā Taieri whānau mobilised in response to the degradation of Moturata due to soil erosion and rabbits. They devised an environmental rescue plan and with assistance and guidance from Ōtākou, Huirapa, and DOC.

Manuka slash was transported to Moturātā by helicopter, laid down and pinned over the ground. This held what soil was left, dropped seed, and provided an environment for seeds to grow. At this time rabbits were also eradicated from Moturātā. The Taieri Beach School children propagated and grew locally-sourced seed plants for the project.

After 20 years, Project Crimson began supplying the whānau with Southern rātā trees. Fifty rātā trees are planted every two years, and watered and weeded for the following two summers, to ensure their continued growth. Now the Whānau have to remove pioneer/ weed plant species, to make space to plant rātā. The whānau are very careful when walking on Moturātā, so as not to damage the shallow burrows of little blue penguins or stand in seagull nests. The project hopes to have rātā trees flowering on Moturātā again, which can be seen as a red beacon when travelling up the coast, like it did in the past. Moturātā was known as the northern limit of the southern rata on the east coast of Te Waipounamu.

In 2018, Moturātā Taieri whānau signed a document with DOC to trap predators in the local area to protect biodiversity. It is hoped that with this additional predator control in the Taieri River Scenic Reserve and Allison Conservation Area, the local community are inspired to undertake further backyard and lifestyle-block trapping throughout Taieri Mouth in the future.

The project will empower Moturātā Taieri whānau as kaitiaki of the area, and provide opportunities for the younger generations to build connections to the places, flora and fauna treasured by the whānau.

The work that is done by the Moturātā whānau is an embodiment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's guiding whakataukī:

Mō tatou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei

*For us and our children after us*

#### *Suggestions for increasing Ngāi Tahu whānui engagement*

“Perhaps it is Ngāi Tahu that can cut through the problems that different local government and central government have in talking with each other - in our rohe, potentially it's Ngāi Tahu that can bridge that.” - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

Ngāi Tahu have people that can, and should be, involved in habitat and species restoration. Many interviewees made suggestions for increasing Ngāi Tahu whānui engagement. These suggestions included:

- Ensuring that Ngāi Tahu whānui are involved at a governance role in managing taonga species and that whānau and hapū are involved early on (a current model of co-governance and co-chairing is being developed for hoiho/yellow eyed penguin);<sup>13</sup>
- Building trust by continuing to invest in flax-roots level relationships, providing continuity, and continuing to involve local whānau in opportunities to exercise their kaitiakitanga responsibilities and customary rights;
- Resourcing dedicated Ngāi Tahu kaitiaki rangers and having more Ngāi Tahu whānui employed by DOC, with proper cultural support from Te Rūnanga, hapū and whānau;
- Incorporating mātauranga in educational resources through collaboration initiatives with Ngāi Tahu whānui and Te Rūnanga;
- Outdoor experiences and education opportunities for schools, whānau and tamariki;
- Extending customary fisheries models (such as taiāpure, mātaimai and rāhui) to include onshore and coastal conservation; and
- Developing an integrated system for all local governing bodies and Crown departments with a role in threat management for all taonga species in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā to work with Ngāi Tahu whānui through a common body such as the Te Ao Tūroa team at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

### 1.3 Case studies: Ngāi Tahu involvement in sea lion recovery

This section presents two case studies of Ngāi Tahu whānui involvement in sea lion recovery efforts. There are many, many more examples of whānau involvement, however the two examples chosen illustrate cases in which Partnership was evident on the ground in relation to sea lion recovery. The case studies are presented verbatim from interviewees about their experiences.

#### 1.3.1 Case study 1 - Pani

##### **Interview 1**

Rauhina Scott-Fyfe: Can you tell me more about the instance with Pani?

Hoani Langsbury: So in that particular event, I think I got a call from Jim Fyfe (DOC Ranger for Coastal Otago) and went out and met out on the beach with Moturata whānau. And we had a discussion about what the appropriate thing to do was; there was already dog footprints and those sorts of things on the beach. The mother hadn't been seen for a couple of days. The female was known to the Department and the sea lion researchers at the time. I think there were a couple of post grads, there might have been Shannon and somebody else. We had a bit of a discussion about what we should do. We felt the best thing to do was to move the pup. So we came up with a plan, ... which was to uplift the pup and transport it from there to Shannon's bathroom in his flat just above Woodhaugh Gardens until we could create an appropriate location. Well, it was actually to give us time to have discussions with the Department of Conservation, because at that time the normal thing to have happened - and we'd had a few males abandoned - we would leave it to natural courses and see what happened. But we argued that because it was a female (at that time I think there were less than seven females on the mainland) we thought there was an opportunity there, if we could

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<sup>13</sup> Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, Yellow-eyed Penguin Trust Te Tautiaki Hoiho and Fisheries New Zealand Tini a Tangaroa, 2019.

supplementary feed her through to maturity, then she would potentially be able to add to the breeding population. So we made a successful argument to DOC so that would happen, and we agreed to set up at the location where the nursery is for the females on the back bays there.



Image: Tom Dunnett, Shannon Williams, Hoani Langsbury and Jim Fyfe with Pani.  
Photo credit: Jojo Jackson, DOC Archives

## **Interview 2**

Rauhina Scott-Fyfe: Can you tell me more about Pani?

Shannon Williams: Pani - that's when we had an orphaned female pup, and went through, well, a pretty, I'd say close to life-changing experience, where we realised she wasn't going to make it. She went up to Wellington Zoo, where she got put onto a bottle, and ultimately brought back down here with the aim of reintroducing here to the local population. And we had a bunch of really committed people who worked really, really hard, but in the end just didn't quite get there, and that was heart-breaking. We lost Pani. But that was something that I think just galvanised a lot of people, and brought a lot of people in, and I think a really powerful thing to do ... We were so close... that was really tough, cos we all put in so much effort, and we just didn't quite get her over the line ... I guess it makes you realise, when you feel that here, there are hundreds of pups that go through that in the Auckland Islands through when their mothers are drowned in the squid trawl fisheries. Yeah, it's sad to see one or two pups die here, but that's happening on a much larger scale - it makes that real, when you've got that connection. So it does galvanise you and make you feel strongly about supporting them.

### **1.3.2 Case study 2 - Ngāi Tahu involved in subantarctic research**

**Interview with Nathaniel Scott** - working with the Campbell Island sea lion research team

Nathanial Scott: My main activities last year on the Campbell Island team based out of Paradise Point ... I was in charge of doing autopsies, biopsies and animal handling... we changed some of the standard handling practices to lessen the impact on the animals ... they found out they worked out quite well. So what I offered to DOC is just some of those handling techniques and how they could be improved and changed.

**Interview with Shannon Williams** - postgraduate research on migrations of male sea lions

Shannon Williams: [For my postgraduate research] I was looking at the breeding migration that the big males do. So we have a really, it's an amazing population here in the South Island, they were obviously all removed through - initially hunted by Māori, and sealing ... really finished them off I suppose, in those areas closeby, and they were really only hanging on in the sub antarctics. So in the 80s we started to get this small population coming back and breeding here, and all of the females we have here - certainly when I was doing my research - related to that founding female, who was called 'Mum'.

... we noticed we had these few females here, but we got a lot of males turning up. So we ended up getting this really big bias in that there were lots and lots of males, very few females. And we noticed the males disappearing every summer coinciding with the breeding season. So we thought they were probably going back down to the sub antarctics, and there'd been some research that suggested that was likely happening, but we had no idea how many were going, how long it was taking, whether they were having input into the breeding population down there.

... My research was really about bleach-marking - so putting a number and a letter - in hair dye, essentially - on the fur of the big males here, and then tracking them around all summer. And then we had a DOC crew down in the Auckland Islands who were spotting them when they turned up. And we had - most of the big males that were bleached here were spotted there in the Auckland Islands, which was pretty amazing. So we could time their migration, we could look at their input with that population in terms of breeding success. It looked like the males here were bigger and healthier and having a better input down there, which might suggest that food resources for the local males aren't so great compared to here. But probably the big conservation impact was disease transfer. So potentially any disease that they're exposed to on the mainland can be transferred to those fairly isolated populations. And there have been disease outbreaks many years down in the Auckland Islands. So potentially those males could be acting as a vector for that.

... [It was] a really neat project, some amazing results, and absolutely life-changing in terms of just getting to meet the animals and the people involved ... [being involved in the research] personally gave me a really strong sense of connection to my ancestors and to what the animals meant to them. It probably meant I did treat them with a lot of respect, and I did feel very honoured to do that research.

## 1.4 Wāhanga tuatahi/Chapter one conclusion

This chapter has explored the contemporary relationships that Ngāi Tahu whānui have with New Zealand sea lions. It has explored a snapshot of perspectives, observations, and interactions between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions in a modern context. It has touched on

some Ngāi Tahu views on kaitiakitanga, threat management and habitat restoration, including a few examples of whānau involvement in practising kaitiakitanga, and presented ideas on strengthening Ngāi Tahu whānui engagement in threat management. The chapter concludes with two case studies of Ngāi Tahu whānui involvement in sea lion restoration work.

It is important that Ngāi Tahu whānui continue to have the opportunities to acknowledge and to develop their relationship with all taonga species, including sea lions. Ngāi Tahu should be Partners with DOC in decision-making at governance level, and whānau need to be actively involved in local engagement. Ngāi Tahu need to continue to have rangatiratanga over the mātauranga that exists and continues to be developed about Ngāi Tahu whānui's relationship to the sea lions: the right people, telling the right stories, in the right way.

... I think, a little more direct action [is needed], establishing a community liaison person within DOC ... it should possibly be a Ngāi Tahu person - or several of them! ... it could be associated with other species. There are a bunch of species that are out there that are affected in a similar way by the threats - the threats that are affecting the recovery of the sea lion are affecting other species as well: bird species, fish species, and plant species. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

# Wāhanga tuarua/Chapter two - Kōrero tuku iho

This chapter is presented in five sections:

- 2.1 The first section, 'Mātauranga passed down, mātauranga lost', provides a discussion and perspectives on the **ethics and tikanga** around using historical mātauranga.
- 2.2 The second section outlines some of the **written and archaeological evidence of use of sea lions** in Aotearoa / New Zealand prior to European arrival.
- 2.3 The third section discusses **traditional names used for the sea lion**, and proposes that the names 'pakake', 'whakahao' and 'kake' be adopted for sea lions.
- 2.4 The fourth section identifies several **place names** and **cultural narratives** from Ngāi Tahu whānui associated with pakake, whakahao and kake.
- 2.5 The fifth section contains **concluding remarks** for chapter two.

## 2.1 Mātauranga passed down, mātauranga lost

In Te Ao Māori - a Māori world view - mātauranga, or knowledge, is treated with care and reverence. Mātauranga has a tapu nature to it, and in some traditions was collected by Tāne-te-wānanga in three kete - ngā kete o te wānanga - as he journeyed through the heavens.<sup>14</sup> In pre-European Māori society, certain people were selected to be the holders of specific mātauranga, for example whakapapa and spiritual lore, or mātauranga relating to mahinga kai practices.

In this section, the ethics and tikanga to consider around mātauranga are discussed. An awareness of loss and renewal of mātauranga was touched on by many of the interviewees. Finally, we ask the question, 'Is mātauranga a thing of the past?'

### 2.1.1 Mātauranga, ethics and tikanga

The ethics and tikanga around the treatment of mātauranga is a concern for Ngāi Tahu whānui. Considerations need to be made, including: who holds and shares mātauranga; who maintains the rangatiratanga over that mātauranga; the accuracy of the mātauranga; when/where/how the mātauranga is shared; and for what purpose. Methods of gathering, storing and sharing mātauranga can have more considerations than might be learnt in a Pākehā academic institution. Although having to make such considerations can seem complex, the answer is really very simple: Ngāi Tahu whānui need to maintain rangatiratanga over their own mātauranga, and it needs to be shared on their own terms.

Tikanga is about doing things in a way that is 'tika', or right. As Treaty Partners, this means following the right process, building trust and maintaining the right relationships, and sharing mātauranga for the right reasons.

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<sup>14</sup> Taonui, 2006.

Information sharing is important; mātauranga is only useful and can only be developed if it is shared. However, sharing mātauranga should be done appropriately, in partnership with mana whenua.

### 2.1.2 Awareness of mātauranga lost

Several of the interviewees spoke about the loss of mātauranga over time. Some of their thoughts and interpretations for the loss of mātauranga are shared below:

My grandfather's generation were not encouraged to teach the next generation the customary tikanga of making sure things were sustainable - tikanga that had been learnt over hundreds of years. - Tiny Metzger (Awarua)

It's probably just a little foible of our southern history in particular, I've noticed that a lot of the oral traditions that we have tend to relate strongly to Kāi Tahu, and a little bit to Kāti Māmoe and before that is pretty much non-existent, apart from the big cosmology/whakapapa sort of stuff. The everyday life traditions and oral knowledge has kind of disappeared to a certain extent. And unfortunately, the waves of Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu coming down here are either after or around that time that the sea lions started to become... fewer, around here. So our own knowledge that's been handed down around that use has kind of become lost to a certain extent ... With the fragmentary evidence that we have in museum collections and archaeological collections we can make interpretations of what little knowledge we do have. - Rachel Wesley (Kāti Taoka, Kāi Te Pahi)

A lot of knowledge has been lost, as a result of Southern Māori marrying into sealers and whalers so early on. - Robyn Ashton (Moturata Taieri)

### 2.1.3 Mātauranga: a thing of the past?

Mātauranga is not just a thing of the past. Mātauranga is constantly evolving and developing. While much historical knowledge has been lost, mātauranga can also be re-learnt, and can be re-interpreted in a modern context.

I think a lot of the mātauranga that we're discussing is new because [sea lions] were, you know, locally extinct for so long that there weren't those interactions and so re-establishing a relationship with them is key. The mātauranga that's coming through now is re-learnt stuff or it's new, in quite a changed sort of a world. - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

One example of mātauranga being gathered and shared in a modern context is the Ngāi Tahu cultural mapping project, Kā Huru Manu.<sup>15</sup> The project was carried out by Ngāi Tahu, for Ngāi Tahu, with data sovereignty maintained by Ngāi Tahu. Bringing and developing mātauranga in a modern context is important, but should be done in the right way, by the right people, for the right reasons. The next section explores recorded mātauranga gleaned from written and

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<sup>15</sup> Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2019

archaeological sources about Ngāi Tahu whānui's historic relationship with New Zealand sea lions.

## 2.2 Recorded pre-European use of New Zealand sea lions

James Herries Beattie (known as Herries Beattie) is a name known in most Ngāi Tahu homes. He was an amateur historian, born in Gore to Scottish immigrant parents. In the early 1900s, Beattie travelled around the southern part of Te Waipounamu by train and bicycle, gathering oral traditions from Ngāi Tahu kaumātua and faithfully recording words and stories provided by his informants in his notebooks.<sup>16</sup> Beattie's work is not perfect - he was not fluent in te reo Māori, and although we know who his informants were, he does not reference them to each of their statements. However, it is an important source of much of what we now know about their traditional ways of life, names for flora and fauna, place names and history.

This section outlines some of the recorded written and archaeological evidence about the use of seals and sea lions prior to, and during the period of, European arrival. It draws on the work of early European observers and recorders such as Beattie. It also gives a brief overview of what is known about use of sea lions from the archaeological record.

There are difficulties when looking at recorded history. One of these difficulties is that, in English, seals and sea lions are often all referred to as 'seals'. Names could have been lost in translation, the individuals recording the information may not have been aware of the differences, or it simply may not have seemed necessary to separate the two species as the animals were used in very similar ways. Worked seal and sea lion bones and jaws also looked similar to those of kurī (dog) in the archaeological record.<sup>17</sup>

Herries Beattie probably never saw a sea lion, because at that point in time, sea lions and seals were all but wiped out from the mainland. He also refers to both 'hair seals' and 'sea lions' but in all instances these two categories seem to be the same species. With the return of sea lions in present times, for those who are familiar with them, their habitat and behaviour, Beattie's descriptions are like missing pieces of a puzzle. Piecing together the oral histories with observations and science, we begin to see a much fuller picture of the significance of sea lions to Southern Māori in the past.

We can, in essence, bring historical mātauranga back to life.

### 2.2.1 Use of sea lions prior to European arrival - written evidence

Early observations about the use of seals and sea lions were recorded by Europeans in their journals, while later accounts often record oral histories from Ngāi Tahu whānui themselves. This section provides a selection of these accounts found in the written record.

#### Early observations

Early European accounts include those written by John Hawkesworth, who travelled on

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<sup>16</sup> Anderson, 1998

<sup>17</sup> Personal communication with Rachel Wesley, 2019



Captain Cook's Endeavour; Thomas Brunner, a surveyor and explorer famous for his exploration in Te Tai Poutini / the West Coast; and John Boulton, a sealer who kept a journal of his experiences in Murihiku / the Southern South Island.

While in Te Moana o Raukawa / Cook Strait, Hawkesworth wrote:

"... there are indeed seals upon the coast, and we once saw a sea lion, but we imagine they are seldom caught, for though we saw some of their teeth which were fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued, we saw none of their skins."<sup>18</sup>

Brunner recorded in his journal in November 1847 an account of traditional methods of preserving birds, eels and seals in poha (kelp bags):

"The natives preserve the birds they catch during the winter months, when the birds are in excellent condition, in a rimu or sea-weed bag. The bird is opened down the back, and all the bones taken out; the flesh is then laid in a shallow platter made of the bark of the totara tree, called a patua, when they cook the bird by applying red hot stones. They then place the cooked birds in the rimu bag, and pour over them the fat extracted while cooking, tying tightly the mouth of the bag. I have eaten of birds kept two years in this manner, and found them very good. Eels and seals are also preserved in this way, using whale oil for their preservation."<sup>19</sup>

John Boulton reports in his journal that Southern Māori went on regular seasonal sealing and muttonbirding expeditions, and that seal flesh was preserved by smoking, or in kelp bags (poha) for later consumption.<sup>20</sup>

### Traditional uses of seals and sea lions

Recorded accounts show that seals and sea lions were traditionally used for their bone, teeth, flesh and fat. The skins of seals may or may not have been used prior to European arrival. This section is adapted from 'He Kete Taoka - Southern Cultural Materials Resource Kit'. Many thanks to Rua McCallum, who researched and collated this kit, and to the Komiti Taoka Tuku Iho.<sup>21</sup>

#### Bone

"A string of bones (usually of the seal) was also sometimes attached to the ear and was known as tautarika"<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Hawkesworth, 1773.

<sup>19</sup> Best, 1929, p 318.

<sup>20</sup> Begg & Begg, 1979.

<sup>21</sup> Komiti Taoka Tuku Iho, 2008, p 181.

<sup>22</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, p 54.

"A favourite device was to procure the knotted bones of the vertebrae of certain seals and string them on whītau thread and hang this as a chain around the neck."<sup>23</sup>

### Skin

"I have never heard of the olden Māoris using the skins of either the fur or hairseals but in the whaling days we sewed the skins up into moccasins to protect our feet."<sup>24</sup>

### Flesh and fat

"... when a child was born motu-pakake (seal fat) was given to it to 'clean it out' before feeding it for the first time."<sup>25</sup>

"At a later stage of development the old woman would sometimes give baby a pipi mussel to suck as a dummy if it was bad for crying. Motu-pakake (seal fat) was also used for that purpose."<sup>26</sup>

"The fat of seals was good food and a good medicine. It was good for babies (after it was cooked) and a sick child would be given a piece to suck of it."<sup>27</sup>

"Another [informant] narrates that when a boy he copied some white boys and made bow and arrows, and he got into sad trouble for shooting an arrow into a *poha* of *kekeno* flesh suspended to the roof. The *poha* was opened, and he says the seal-flesh made good eating, although fat."<sup>28</sup>

### Methods for killing seals and sea lions

Based on his interviews with his informants, Beattie wrote that 'the Māori method of killing the seals ... is said to have been by clubbing.'<sup>29</sup> Beattie expanded on his description of killing sea lions:

"... up to this formidable creature the Murihiku Maori walked with a club (*patu*) made of manuka or other hard wood and killed it by hitting its nose. There are still a few Native veterans surviving of those who took part in such encounters. One veteran said the Maoris who tackled the sea-lion were active on their feet and expert at dealing blows. The club was usually rough and knotted but not too heavy for instant use. It was frequently referred to as a *rakau* (stick) and the action of hitting was called *poi*. "We used a short club for the fur seal," said another grizzled veteran, "but big, long clubs were needed to fight the sea-lion. There was a knack in killing them and it took practice to acquire it ... Another retired seafarer said, "I went sealing for some seasons when I was a young man. We used a heavy rata club small at one end for the hand to grasp and with a knob at the other end. If the whakahau saw you were afraid he went for you

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p 56.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p 156.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p 267.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p 267.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p 261.

<sup>28</sup> Beattie, 1920, pp 60-61.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p 62.

at once and he could move very fast. If you hit him on the nose you stunned him, but it might take a dozen good blows to kill him. It also took several hits to kill the much smaller pakake and kekeno as a rule.”<sup>30</sup>

### 2.2.2 Use of sea lions prior to European arrival - archaeological evidence

The archaeological record shows that sea lions were once abundant throughout New Zealand, but are no longer. Sea lion remains have been found in caves, middens and sand dunes around the entire perimeter of Aotearoa, Te Waipounamu and the Chatham Islands.<sup>31</sup> Jon Waters et. al. found that prehistoric mainland sea lions had a greater genomic diversity, while the Chatham Island and subantarctic island populations had their own unique subset of the gene diversity found in the prehistoric mainland population<sup>32</sup>

Pinnipeds such as seals and sea lions were considered to be an important food source for the first Polynesian settlers. Ian Smith documents this in his PhD thesis<sup>33</sup> and as part of the ‘Taking Stock’ project commissioned by NIWA.<sup>34</sup> Hoani Langsbury also described his experience on an archaeological site at Sandfly Bay, on the Otago Peninsula. There was no shellfish found in the middens, but moa bone, large fish, albatross and marine mammals were found in abundance:

We did research in Sandfly Bay because there was a cultural site identified that was about the size of five rugby fields, it was like this mass of midden material, and it was after a ten day Southerly that just blew all the sand off this site. We went in there, we spent a couple of weeks in there, we investigated everything there ... We managed to get it carbon dated to the 1300s. There was no shellfish in the middens, so all the midden material was moa bone, large fish, albatross, marine mammals. So there was a period there where all of their food was megafauna. It was probably prior to Haast’s Eagle disappearing, that early occupation period where it was easier to catch a large animal and survive off that for a week or two. So I think after that period when some of those large mega-fauna were there, they would have continued to take, opportunistically, sea lions and fur seals. - Hoani Langsbury (Ōtākou)

Beattie wrote on the topic of patu used to kill seals and sea lions:

There is a “whaling club” in the Otago Museum. My informants considered it had no special name but was merely a patu. They mostly defined the killing weapon by the name of the species of seal killed with it as patu-pakake, patu-kekeno or patu-whakahau, and so on.<sup>35</sup>

Rachel Wesley spoke of the use of seal (or sea lion) bone and skin:

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<sup>30</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, pp 156-157.

<sup>31</sup> Childerhouse & Gales, 1998.

<sup>32</sup> Collins et al, 2014.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, I.W.G., 1985.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, p 157.

From what we have here in our collections in Otago Museum, seal bone was a pretty common material for making fish hooks and personal jewellery - pendants, and things like that. We've got a few jaws ... where the lower mandibles have been worked and filed down into being a lure, and a canine tooth left in place as a point for a fish hook.

The fact that seal bone is very common in a lot of early middens, definitely [they were used for food] ... [early Southern Māori were] seal hunters, supplemented by moa! In a lot of the early coastal sites around Murihiku, up to the Waitaki River, the amounts of meat weight you can deduce from the midden remains... it's actually much greater meat weight coming from seals than coming from moa.

An interesting thing that I'd be keen to look at one day are seal skins. Textiles don't really survive very well in the archaeological record, but we've got textiles in collections here that are made from stitched together bird skins - weka skins in particular, with strips of kurī skin going over the seams ... but we had a kākahu made from seal skin from the Chathams. So I often think, if our tūpuna were making things out of kurī skin, and our whanaunga over on Rekohu were making things out of seal skin, it just stands to reason that our tūpuna probably were as well, we just haven't got evidence of it. - Rachel Wesley (Kāti Taoka, Kāi Te Pahi)

From the archaeological and written records, it is evident that sea lions were indeed used by Māori as a source of food, and their bones used for tools and ornaments. But just as Ngāi Tahu whānui are today, early Southern Māori were versatile and innovative in their use of the resources available to them. As described above, other uses were likely, and a lack of evidence in the archaeological record does not mean it did not exist.

Early writings and archaeological records provide useful evidence, but are only part of the picture of the historical relationship between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions. In future, it could be interesting to look at associations Ngāi Tahu whānui had to seals and sea lions depicted in rock art, whakairo (carving) and other mahi toi (art).

The next two sections explore evidence for the names traditionally used by Southern Māori for sea lions, as well as place names and some cultural narratives that are associated with the species. These insights into oral history, when viewed alongside modern-day observation, help us to understand the significance of New Zealand sea lions to Ngāi Tahu whānui in the past.

## 2.3 Names for the New Zealand sea lion in te reo Māori

In the introduction to this report, we made a statement about the name traditionally used for sea lion by Southern Māori / Ngāi Tahu whānui: that the name 'rāpoka' was not traditionally used by Southern Māori for sea lions, but instead for leopard seals (*Hydrurga leptonyx*). This section addresses the issue of finding the correct name for the sea lion in te reo Māori, proposes some possible alternatives to the name 'rāpoka', and presents evidence to support the use of these alternatives. Finally, we make a recommendation to the Treaty Partners moving forward.

### 2.3.1 What is the naming issue?

Names are important to get right. But if a species is no longer commonly observed day to day, the everyday names for it fall out of common usage. This was the case with the New Zealand sea lion: when the first Polynesian settlers arrived in Aotearoa, they utilised sea lions for food and other purposes, and would certainly have had a name for them. But as discussed in the first section of this chapter, much mātauranga has been lost over many generations.

In Schedules 97 of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, the 'New Zealand sea lion/ Hooker's sea lion' is listed in the Taonga Species list for marine mammals as 'Rāpoka/Whakahao'.<sup>36</sup> DOC, as a consequence, has predominantly been using the name 'rāpoka' for sea lions in official documentation, including for the NZSL TMP and on the DOC website.<sup>37</sup>

The use of 'rāpoka' as a name for sea lions appears to be an error. Despite loss of language and mātauranga, we have many recorded instances of names for seal species. In the Murihiku (Southern South Island) area, we are lucky to have Beattie's meticulous recordings of names, descriptions and oral histories. In all his descriptions, Beattie never once uses the name 'rāpoka' for the sea lion or hair seal; he uses 'rāpoka' instead for the leopard seal, which he describes as 'the sea-leopard' or 'sea-devil'.<sup>38</sup>

Also seemingly an error in the schedules of taonga species in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 is the absence of leopard seals in the list. If it had been included, the naming error for 'sea lions' in Māori may have been picked up sooner.

Not only does Beattie provide names, but he also provides descriptions which, when matched with our observations of the two different species, corroborate with the argument that the rāpoka and whakahao are indeed different. For example, we know that the leopard seal is not able to move well when ashore. Beattie's description matches this observation:

Rāpoka is the sea-leopard, also known as the sea-devil. It is not so fearsome as its name and one veteran remarked, "An old woman could kill the rapoka it is so easily dealt with."<sup>39</sup>

In comparison, Beattie's informants described the whakahao quite differently:

"If you ran, the whakahao chased you and he would make you travel too as he moves with surprising speed for such a big, awkward-looking fellow. The best way to escape was to run towards the sea and then to one side and he could go on to the water."<sup>40</sup>

The name 'rāpoka' is not just a Southern name for leopard seals. It also appears to be used for leopard seals in the North Island. In his article 'Māori names for marine mammals: ngā ingoa o ngā tamariki o Tinirau', Rhys Richards states, "In the north, leopard seals (*Hydrurga*

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<sup>36</sup> Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

<sup>37</sup> For example, the 2017 NZSL TMP, DOC and MPI, 2017.

<sup>38</sup> Beattie, 1920; Beattie, 1949, p 87.

<sup>39</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, pp 156-157.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

*leptonyx*) were called ‘rāpoka’, ‘popoiangore’ or ‘poipoiangori’.<sup>41</sup> While Richards lists a number of names for sea lions, ‘rāpoka’ is noticeably absent from that list.<sup>42</sup>

Beattie twice gives the name ‘popoikore’ or ‘popo-e-kore’ for the hair seal, although from his descriptions these are also probably not the sea lion. They are more likely to be the leopard seal (another name for which is ‘popoiangore’ in northern dialects). Descriptions about this kind of seal given by Beattie’s informants include that it ‘has small flippers and ears, eats crabs, and is rather rare’<sup>43</sup>, and that it was ‘a very mild and sleepy creature and boys were wont to climb on its back in sport.’<sup>44</sup>

Given that sea lions and leopard seals are two very different species, it makes sense to use different names for each, both to ensure accuracy and to avoid confusion. The next part of this section provides alternative names for sea lions and evidence of their use. We then recommend to the Treaty Partners some names to consider as the standardised names for sea lions going forward.

### 2.3.2 Alternatives and supporting evidence

There were many different names used for sea lions, and this section seeks to outline the most common names used by Southern Māori. Richards lists Māori names for whales, dolphins, seals and sea lions; his list for sea lions is as follows:

Sea lions had numerous Māori names, many of which also applied to fur seals. Their main name was ‘pakeke’ [sic], with the large males called ‘whakahao’ or ‘whakahau’, ‘whakahu’, ‘kautakoa’, ‘pākahokaho’ or ‘poutoko’. The much smaller females were called ‘kake’ or ‘kaki’, although these names were sometimes also used for male seals.<sup>45</sup>

‘Kakerangi’ (or ‘kakeraki’ in the Southern dialect) is also listed as a name for both fur seals and sea lions.<sup>46</sup> The names ‘pakake’ and ‘pakaka’ were often used in a generic way to cover ‘any or all whales, seals and other sea-dwellers’.<sup>47</sup> Richards discusses the phenomenon of overlapping names, and his words are worth repeating here in full:

... Moreover, when one seeks to identify each species separately, there is an overlapping and duplication of names. Thus, a seemingly simple list of all the surviving names becomes a bewildering mix, full of repetition and confusion.

Why were there so many different names for the same marine mammal species? Why were some names used over and over for different species? Old-time Māori were neither unobservant nor ill-informed about the natural world upon which they depended

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<sup>41</sup> Richards, 2008, p 5.

<sup>42</sup> Richards, 2008, pp 5-6.

<sup>43</sup> Beattie, 1949, p 87.

<sup>44</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, pp 156-157.

<sup>45</sup> Richards, 2008, pp 5-6.

<sup>46</sup> Williams, 1957.

<sup>47</sup> Richards, 2008, pp 5-6.

for their daily food and survival. Nor were later European collectors careless and guilty of recording mistakes.

In fact, the number of names is highly significant. Different groups of Māori used different names for the same marine mammal from district to district. Moreover, this transference phenomenon has several parallels among fish and birds. Many inshore fishermen know that Māori names for some fish species change bewilderingly from coast to coast, and from place to place.

Thus, there can be no certainty that a Māori name for a marine mammal was standard, uniform or immutable throughout the whole country. A name used in one locality might well mean something else in another locality. It cannot be said now that a designated name is wrong, only perhaps that its use was likely, or unlikely. Present trends are moving strongly towards a tidy, consistent standardisation of 'Māori' names throughout New Zealand. While this is certainly a logical and practical approach, it seems likely that it will reduce both the regional diversity and flavour of the original Māori language.<sup>48</sup>

The following sections outline and provide evidence for some of the common names used for sea lions in the Southern South Island, where New Zealand sea lions are beginning to repopulate.

#### Whakahao (or whakahau) and kake (or kaki)

Beattie's informants generally listed the sea lion (possibly just the male sea lion) as 'whakahao' or 'whakahau'.<sup>49</sup> The female was given the separate name of 'kake' or 'kaki'.<sup>50</sup> Beattie wrote:

Whakahao or whakahau is the sea-lion and it is noted for the great disparity in size between the sexes. So marked is this disproportion that the Maoris gave the female the separate name of Kaki.<sup>51</sup>

Some of the interviewees made interpretations of these names. In his interview, Nathaniel Scott spoke about the word 'whakahao' in te reo Māori, which means 'to scoop'. He matched this action with the behaviour of young male sea lions he observed at Campbell Island 'scooping at the shoal' of harems of female sea lions. 'Whakahau' can mean to exhort, to command, or to protect, all of which could be associated with the actions male sea lions take.<sup>52</sup> 'Kake' (one meaning of which is to climb or ascend) could be associated with the action of female sea lions climbing up into the dunes and bush away from the beach.

Historian Bill Dacker shared what he had learnt from Harold Ashwell, a Ngāi Tahu fisherman from Murihiku, who recorded oral history that he had found or had recalled during his lifetime:

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<sup>48</sup> Richards ref pp 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> Beattie, 1920, pp 60-61.

<sup>50</sup> Beattie, 1949, p 87: Beattie writes 'the whakahau (the sealion, and its female is called kake, which is pronounced 'kucky')'.

<sup>51</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, pp 156-157.

<sup>52</sup> Maori Dictionary Online, n.d.

Whakahau - male sea lion; Kake - female sea lion ... under that one we have 'Te Ara a Kake - pathway of the female sea lion: sea lion because they usually go right into the bush when they come ashore on the muttonbird islands. - Harold Ashwell

It is clear that the names whakahau, whakahau, kake and kaki were all used for sea lion by Southern Māori. The names for male and female sea lions appear to be different because of sexual dimorphism in the species. Interestingly, male and female kekeno may once have had separate Māori names too:

It is considered that at one time the male and female [seals] had separate names like the sea lions, but these have been forgotten, the suggestion being that the mothers were called pūpū and the young punu or punuka. The usual names for the two sexes are toa (male), and uha (female) but some of the forgetful younger generation use the terms tāne and wahine, the same as for human beings, a misuse of language quite distressing to the older generation.<sup>53</sup>

The next section looks at another name that appears to be used for both male and female sea lions, at least in the Southern South Island - pakake.

### Pakake

The name 'pakake' appears to be used in the Southern South Island for all seals generally, but also for sea lions in particular.<sup>54</sup> This is similar to the use of the word 'seal' in English, which can be used more generally to cover many species, but also specifically to mean the fur seal. In the quote below, one of Beattie's informants refers to the pakake as the 'hair seal' (another name given to the sea lion at the time), and provides a description of its behaviour:

Pakake, in common estimation, is the hair seal but my principal informant said it was a general name for all seals. Giving the name in its popular usage one old man said: "The hair seal or pakake lies on the sands sunning itself and does not frequent the rocks. It breeds up in the bush by ponds (hapua) and makes a track called he ara pakake from there to the sea." The saying "He-takotoraka-pakake" means a lying-place for hair seals; it describes sandy beaches of easy access.<sup>55</sup>

The description of the pakake's behaviour in this quote matches our current day observations of sea lion behaviour, and not that of fur seals. While 'pakake' in a general sense could include fur seals, a much more common name for fur seals is 'kekeno'.<sup>56</sup> Beattie's informants obviously knew the difference between the two species:

"There were two kinds of seals, the numerous kekeno (fur seal), and the scarce pakake (hair seal), and although the former breeds in the Sounds, opinion was divided about

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<sup>53</sup> Beattie, 1949, p 85.

<sup>54</sup> Beattie, 1920, pp 60-61.

<sup>55</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, pp 156-157.

<sup>56</sup> Beattie, 1920, pp 60-61.



the latter, so I will leave the matter open. One of my informants had often seen baby fur seals, but only adult hair seals.<sup>57</sup>

“Only the kekeno (fur seal) breeds at The Backyard, and if a hair seal (pakake) goes in it is a stranger in a strange land. This hair seal seeks grass and breeds in the bush behind sandy shores, but fur seals breed in caves and ‘tumbledowns’ (masses of rock), where the sea does not reach.”<sup>58</sup>

The jury is still out amongst Ngāi Tahu whānui as to the use of the name ‘pakake’. By looking at descriptions of appearance, behaviour and habitat in recorded oral history, we can match present-day observations with some of the names given, and make our own interpretations. What is most important is that any discussions around deciding on a standardised name for sea lions should include the Ngāi Tahu whānui hapū and whānau who work with them.

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<sup>57</sup> Beattie, 1949, p 85.

<sup>58</sup> Beattie, 1945, p 136.

### 2.3.3 Recommendation on finding a standardised name for sea lions

We recommend that DOC and Te Rūnanga (on behalf of Ngāi Tahu whānui):

- 1) discuss whether to settle on a preferred standardised name (endorsed by Te Rūnanga) for New Zealand sea lions going forward;
- 2) consider using 'pakake' as a general name for sea lions, 'whakahao' (or whakahau) for male sea lions, and 'kake' (or kaki) for female sea lions; and
- 3) avoid using 'rāpoka' for New Zealand sea lions in all future documentation, and provide reasoning for this change in the next iteration of the NZSL TMP.



Photo credit: Colin Emslie

## 2.4 Ngāi Tahu whānui place names and cultural narratives

Place names and stories prove a strong association between Ngāi Tahu whānui and pakake. The prominence of pakake and whakahao in storytelling may not be as great as some other species, but what we do know demonstrates Ngāi Tahu whānui's keen observation skills of their environment and social dynamics, the importance of pakake as a food source, and observations in changes over time. My research has only scratched the surface of a huge topic, and more research by Ngāi Tahu whānui into these place names and cultural narratives is advised.

### 2.4.1 Place names associated with pakake, whakahao and kake

Place names can show a richness of association, the background to which may have been lost. It is possible to reclaim these place names and bring them back into everyday usage. The following names, which show a strong association between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions, were uncovered in the research process. They are not a comprehensive list and future work can be done to expand on the mātauranga associated with these places:

- Te Onepakake (Revolver Bay, Preservation Inlet, Fiordland) - Beattie translates this as 'the beach of the hair seal'.<sup>59</sup>
- Takipakake (beach below light house on Rakiura)<sup>60</sup>
- Te Hemoka o Pakake (coastal mahinga kai near Rakaia)<sup>61</sup>
- Te Wehi a Te Wera (at The Neck, Rakiura)<sup>62</sup>
- Te Ara Kake (Lowry's Beach, near 'the neck') in Rakiura - it was a pathway going up over the dunes between two beaches.<sup>63</sup>
- Waiwhakahau (deep water area in Papanui Inlet)<sup>64</sup>
- Whakawaipakake (Back Beach at Karitāne)<sup>65</sup>
- Takotoraka Pakake (on Rakiura)<sup>66</sup>
- Pupuri Kautaua<sup>67</sup>
- Kā Kautaua<sup>68</sup>

"A number of place-names in the South reveals the Māori interest in these mammals, such as Whakawai-pakake (to entice seals), Tangi-pakake (when the mother seals were killed the young ones would tangi and shed tears), Ara-kaki (the path of a female seal) ... One old man said, 'The two hind flippers of a seal are called kā-kautaua, and two rocks near Ruapuke are called this because of their shape.' Another said, 'The bight below Lord's River, Stewart Island,

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<sup>59</sup> Beattie, 1945, p 132.

<sup>60</sup> Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2019.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Personal communication with Brendan Flack, 2019.

<sup>66</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, pp 156-157.

<sup>67</sup> Beattie, 1920, p 61.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

is called Pupuri-kautaua (Hold on to the flipper) because here a chief named Kahu surprised a whakahau (sea-lion) and caught hold of its flipper and held on till his men could kill it.”<sup>69</sup>

## 2.4.2 Cultural narratives associated with pakake and whakahao

### Peketā and Matauira pā

The pakake is an important animal in Ngāi Tahu’s early migration history. A deceptive technique was used by Ngāi Tahu when attacking two Ngāti Māmoe pā: Peketā on the Kaikōura coast, and Matauira Pā at Preservation Inlet in Fiordland.<sup>70</sup> In both instances, a person camouflaged as a seal or sea lion in the water in order to draw their enemies unwittingly out of the pā. These traditions show a strong association with pakake, and that pakake was highly valued as a food source to Ngāi Tahu whānui:

It was a really important food source, and you can see why: huge animals, 400 kg of prime meat that has no fear of humans, it would have been a really valuable food source. And you can see when other species started to diminish, you could see why something like a sea lion would be really valuable. - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

The following excerpts expand on what is known about the incident at Matauira pā, at Preservation Inlet.

When the news of [Tarewai’s] *kohuru* (murder) reached Pukekura, the two uncles of Tarewai, Te Aparaki and Maru, set out in a large war-canoe bent on avenging his death. Arriving at Preservation Inlet by night, they paddled silently past Matauira and landed further up the sound. They hauled up their canoe and hid it amongst the bushes. Then Maru took his men stealthily through the forest and they hid themselves under the *pa* among the undergrowth fringing the beach. Before dawn Te Aparaki, with his *mere* in his belt went down to the sea, and in the grey of the morning rolled about in the surf, ‘*mahi whera me te pakake*’—imitating a *pakake* or hair seal. Ngati-Mamoe, looking down from the *pa* and seeing a dark object moving in the foam were deceived, and rushed down on the beach to secure the prize. The Aparaki rose with a shout, and simultaneously Maru’s men emerged from their hiding-place above the beach and fell upon the terrified and unarmed Ngati-Mamoe and slew them and burnt the *pa*.<sup>71</sup>

The version told to Beattie of the ‘fight at Preservation Inlet’ was similar, but in his version Maru was said to be the person in the water pretending to be a seal:

An old man said: “When the Kai-Tahu chiefs, Maru, Te Aoparaki, Tarewai and Rakaitauhiki defeated Kati-Mamoe at Otago Heads, the defeated people fled to Preservation Inlet and built Matauira *pa*. The Kai-Tahu followed them round in three double-canoes and laid off in a bight near. In the dusk a Kati-Mamoe man dived out

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<sup>69</sup> Beattie, 1920, p 61.

<sup>70</sup> See Anderson, Carrington & Tau, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Buddle, 1912, pp 173-180.

from the shore and under Tarewai's canoe and attached a rope under the centre deck, and the first thing Tarewai knew was that his canoe was hauled ashore and he and his men prisoners. In the *pa* he tried to escape, but slipped on some flax lying about, and was killed and so were his men. The other two canoes went up the Sound, and the crews landed and held a council-of-war. Matauira Island is connected with the shore by a spit at low tide, and the Kati-Kuri hid opposite while Maru acted like a seal. The people in the *pa* rushed out unarmed, when Maru's men dashed in and killed them, took the *pa* and burnt it.<sup>72</sup>

Cowan also discussed the account at Matauira Island, again with Maru tricking Kāti Māmoe into believing he was a seal:

One of the last Ngati-Mamoe *pas* was that which stood on Matauira Island; this *pa* was taken, and nearly all its inhabitants slain. Another spot where the unfortunate tribe were slaughtered was on the beach of the Inlet, near the present township of Oneroa. On the invader's side, one of the most redoubtable of the Ngai-Tahu warriors, a Samson-like chief named Tarewai, was killed. He was of great stature and herculean strength, and his favourite weapon was a club made from the jaw-bone of a sperm-whale. A curious stratagem, often employed in Maori warfare, was successfully practised on the Ngati-Mamoe on the shores of the Inlet. A Ngati-Kuri chief named Maru, dressed in a rough *pokeka*, or cloak, of *toi*-leaves, acted the part of a seal gambolling on the beach, in the early morning, and succeeded in decoying the Ngati-Mamoe down on the sands, armed only with their cutting-knives of obsidian. Their concealed enemies suddenly rushed upon them, cut them off from their fort, and slew nearly all. The few survivors fled in the direction of Dusky Sound. Some of the Ngati-Kuri pursued them even there.<sup>73</sup>

Another story told by Beattie flips Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu around in the Preservation Inlet situation:

“Reaching the mainland Ngātimāmoe found the enemy had succeeded in stealing the march on them and was advancing along the coast of the mainland pushing ahead toward Rakituma (Preservation Inlet) where Te Whara, one of their chiefs, had established a fortification. Ngātimāmoe landed at Ōraka and followed Kāitahu invaders to Rakituma. Ngātimāmoe saw the position was impregnable, and as sealskins were plentiful they dressed a number of their men in sealskins, and so deceived Ngāitahu and led them into an ambushade.”<sup>74</sup>

The ‘seal’ deception was not a unique strategy to Peketā and Matauira Pā only, as we see references to a similar technique being used, even on a greater scale, in other historical references.

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<sup>72</sup> Beattie, 1916, pp 53-65.

<sup>73</sup> Cowan, 1905, pp 193-199.

<sup>74</sup> Beattie, 1954, p 77.

“Tāpuka (was) a great chief of the Middle Island. He dressed up some of his men in sealskins, and carefully planted his men in ambush inland... The Natives saw these pretended seals sporting about in the breakers... When the whole tribe was thus drawn out... out rushed Old Wig and his tribe and cruelly massacred them.”<sup>75</sup>

### Waiata tangi: Tō ana te pakake

Many of the interviewees I spoke to were aware of, or knew well, the waiata tangi known as Tō ana te Pakake. Many were taught it by Taua Erihapeti Rehu-Murchie, and associated it with the story above about the fight at Rakituma (Preservation Inlet) between Kāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe, or sometimes with the fight at Peketā near Kaikōura - Te Pariwhakatau was also a pā near Kaikōura. The waiata is sung at tangi (funerals) and when remembering people who have passed away.<sup>76</sup> Hana O'Regan explains some of the background to this song, which she calls a 'keri' (or ngeri) in an episode of *Mōteatea*.<sup>77</sup> Two versions are presented below.

Version 1: Tō ana te pakake Ki roto wai Kumea ana te koreke ki uta Tō ana te pakake Ki roto wai Ka taki te pakake Aue! Aue! Taukiri e... Kai te patua au Hei puru rourou O te pariwhakatau uii <sup>78</sup>	Version 2: Tō ana te pakake ki roto wai Tō ana te kereke ki uta Tō ana te pakake ki roto wai Ka taki te pakake Aue, aue, taukiri ... Kei te mau au Hai puru rourou Mō Te Pariwhakatau ...ii! <sup>79</sup>
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Yet another version is given in George Grey's 'Ko Ngā Mōteatea me Ngā Hakirara o Ngā Māori', entitled 'He Haka Patu Pakake'.<sup>80</sup>

As well as the association the waiata has with the Ngāi Tahu migration stories, the words contained in the waiata itself tell their own story. While we may never know the depth of reference and meaning imbued in this waiata, the story is relayed by Beattie as follows:

The koreke (quail) and the pakake (seal) were friends, although one was a bird and the other a mammal. The pakake said to his friend, "Let us go out to sea together." "No!" replied the koreke, "We'll stop on land." "No!" said the pakake, "We'll go out to sea." With these words he began to move towards the ocean but the koreke caught hold of him to keep him back. Then the pakake began to tangi (cry) and sang a little lament as follows: "Thou, O Quail, my friend, canst stop on land, but this is my lamentation. Alas! Alas! If I stay here I will be killed to be meat on the flaxen plate at

<sup>75</sup> Beattie, 1945, p 105.

<sup>76</sup> Personal communication with Moana Wesley, and Te Moana Nui a Kiwa Rehu Ryan, 2019.

<sup>77</sup> O'Regan, H., 2009.

<sup>78</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, p 217.

<sup>79</sup> Personal communication with Bill Dacker and Te Moana Nui a Kiwa Rehu Ryan, 2019.

<sup>80</sup> Grey, 1853.

Te Pariwhakatau.” After this sorrowful farewell the pakake kept on his way and went out to sea while the koreke stayed on shore and turned inland.

This is a korero-tawhito (fairy tale) of the Maori.<sup>81</sup>

The story contained in the waiata ‘Tō ana te pakake’ provides some insights into a Māori world view. On the surface it shows that Ngāi Tahu whānui believed friendship was possible between two different species of animals, and that animals have the ability to feel complex emotions such as sadness. It shows an awareness of resource use, and, potentially, overuse. It shows an awareness of different habitats for different animals.

In discussions with Ngāi Tahu whānui, a deeper metaphorical meaning was spoken of, with each animal representing either Ngāi Tahu or Kāti Māmoe, and the parting of ways signifying the ‘only when convenient’ nature of some friendships.

Whakataukī: Ko te hoa kakari o Te Wera, ko te whakahao

Ko te whakahao te hoa kakari o Te Wera  
*A sea lion was the only thing that frightened Te Wera*

Te Wera was a fighting chief of Ngāi Tahu descent. This whakataukī tells of an instance where he was frightened by a whakahao; according to tradition, he was not afraid in any fight but in this one instance, he was caught unawares by his opponent. The story was retold and remembered in various whakataukī, place names, and waiata, including this one recorded by John White:

He waiata mo Te-wera.<sup>82</sup>

Hu au a Kana i huna ai kai ngaro,  
He wiwini, he matakū, he ta mairehau,  
He kura taka pini, tou tohu  
E te Wera, i tahuri ai hoki  
Ko te Maka-paruparu.

Other writers also documented the story of Te Wera:

When Te Wera and his men sailed away from Waikouaiti, he went to Rakiura (Stewart Island). This island was very sparsely inhabited, so that Te Wera had no fighting to do to take possession of it. ... One of my informants said: “The foe of Te Wera was a sea-lion, and the place he got the fright in was at Kai-arohaki on The Neck. It is spoken of as ‘*Te Wahi i matakū ai Te Wera*.’ (The place of Te Wera’s fright.) Sometimes I hear the words *wehi* and *hopo* (or *matakū*) applied to that place, but those are North Island terms.”<sup>83</sup>

The sea-lion, wakahao ... once frequented the shores of the Middle Island. The natives describe it as being about the size of the cow. It is said to have been of a red color,

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<sup>81</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, p 217.

<sup>82</sup> White, 1887, Upoko XI, p 118.

<sup>83</sup> Beattie, 1916, pp 55-56.

and to have gone inland to breed, and as having been very savage and powerful. One of their chief warriors, named Te Wera, was put to flight by this animal, although attended by seventy of his followers—hence the saying, “Te hoa kakari o te Wera he wakahao,”—“The enemy of te Wera is the sea-lion.”<sup>84</sup>

A huge lion is an awe-inspiring sight and Te Wera may be pardoned for thinking discretion the better part of valour. From this historic incident two proverbial sayings arose and translated they run, “Te Wera never flinched from the point to a weapon but he fled from a sealion”, and “The foe of Te Wera was a sea-lion”.<sup>85</sup>

Ka rere mai ka u ki O-tara (kauranga tenei O-tara e tata mai na ki Rua-puke, he O-tara ke ia e tata ana ki More-uaki). A ka noho a te Wera ma ki O-tara. Ka tuataata pa ka tae ki nga taruwhenua ki te wharu nei ka maoka te karari a, ka pae te pakake, ka pae te Whakaha (whaka-hoa). A, ka haere a te Wera ki reira, rokohina e tu ana i te Wai-kori. A ka whana atu a te Wera, a ka tata atu ki tana taha e haere mai ana, ka tata atu a te Wera, ka panga atu ki te rakau e te Wera ki te Whakaha. Ko te pakake anake akina mai ai, tae ana mai te maha (wehi) o te whakaha ki te tangata, ka matakau a te Wera, a ka hoki atu ai te Wera, ko te painga anake akina mai ai e te Whakaha. Ka riro a te Wera, ka oma, pena tonu kahore hoki kia mate te Whakaha peti katoa ki te moana. Na ka pepeha a te Wera, “Kahore au kia matakau ki te mata o te rakau, kotahi anake ka matakau i te Whakaha.”<sup>86</sup>

By the time Te Wera arrived in Rakiura (or to Murihiku) and had his encounter with the whakahao, sea lions were much more scarce than they had once been. Te Wera was possibly not familiar with the behaviour of sea lions so was intimidated by not knowing what to expect. The whakataukī could be interpreted as: Be prepared. Know your surroundings. Learn as much about your opponent as you can. Armed with mātauranga, taking the right action is much easier.

## 2.5 Wāhanga tuarua/Chapter two conclusion

In this chapter, we have journeyed through time to learn about Ngāi Tahu whānui’s historic association with sea lions. We have discussed ethics and tikanga that should be considered around mātauranga. We have looked to historic records, both written and archaeological, to gain a broader understanding of how seals and sea lions were used, and trawled through names, place names and a few cultural narratives relating to sea lions.

As we learned in chapter one of this report, mātauranga is not static. We must look to the past to move confidently into the future, and this chapter presents an argument for a correction in the naming used by DOC and Te Rūnanga for sea lions going forward. It proposes that ‘pakake’, ‘whakahao’ and ‘kake’ should be considered as more accurate names for the New Zealand sea lion than ‘rāpoka’, which is more strongly associated with the leopard seal.

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<sup>84</sup> Taylor, 1855, pp 395-396.

<sup>85</sup> Beattie & Anderson, 1994, p 636.

<sup>86</sup> White, 1887, Upoko XI, p 122.



Through a proper process, endorsed by Te Rūnanga and supported by evidence presented in this report, an opportunity is presented to the Treaty Partners to 'right the record.'



Photo credit: Colin Emslie

# Wāhanga tuatoru/Chapter three - Mā tātou e mahi

This chapter is presented in three sections:

- 3.1 The first part discusses the **significance** that the return of pakake/whakahao/kake to Te Waipounamu has for all New Zealanders, and the importance of integrating Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives and mātauranga into the story that is told about them.
- 3.2 Section two looks at a snapshot of **Ngāi Tahu whānui aspirations for the future** for sea lions, species/habitat recovery in general, and enhancing Treaty Partnership.
- 3.3 The third and final section presents **report recommendations** on how mātauranga Māori and Ngāi Tahu perspectives can be integrated into the NZSL TMP.

## 3.1 Significance

In September 2018, Priscilla Wehi, Hēmi Whaanga and Murray Cox published an article entitled 'Dead as the moa: oral traditions show that early Māori recognised extinction'.<sup>87</sup> They analysed whakataukī associated with the extinction of the moa, and the lessons associated with them. There are many whakataukī which lament the disappearance of the moa, highlighting their significance as a food supply and as a 'poster species' for loss and extinction experienced by pre-European settlers. They point out that we cannot assume that just because there are fewer oral histories about other extinct species means that those species were less valued or their loss less lamented.

Losing the names of [species] that died out centuries ago illustrates one powerful connection between language, culture and biodiversity. When a species goes extinct, the words and knowledge associated with that species start to disappear from the world, too. This extinction pattern is particularly acute in oral cultures.<sup>88</sup>

From the evidence and oral histories gathered during the Mātauranga Māori Project on New Zealand sea lions, we can confidently say that sea lions were valued as a taonga species by Ngāi Tahu whānui. Their flesh, bone and fat was utilised for food, decoration, tools and medicine. They were a symbol referred to in kōrero, whakataukī and waiata.

Their local extirpation from the New Zealand mainland and the Chatham Islands could have meant total extinction, but it did not - a hidden pocket in the subantarctic islands remained. In the light of localised extirpations in mainland New Zealand and the Chatham Islands, the recolonisation of the subantarctic group of sea lions on the mainland is a remarkable opportunity: **sea lions returning to our beaches on mainland New Zealand is the equivalent of moa coming back from extinction** to live among us today.

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<sup>87</sup> Wehi, Whaanga, & Cox, 2018.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

## 3.2 Ngāi Tahu whānui aspirations

There's some serious threats to all our taonga, and I bang my head against the wall thinking 'What's next for these species?' ... when do we finally put our hands up and say 'This is our fault, and this is our problem to deal with?' Because they all have a place in a healthy ecosystem. When they're gone, the mauri is diminished again and again, and that doesn't give us much hope for us as a species either ... I just hope that any future threat management plans or recovery plans are bold, and that they have legislative input. - Estelle Pera-Leask (Awarua)

Outlined below is a summary of responses from the Ngāi Tahu whānui interviewees when questioned about their aspirations for sea lion recovery, habitat recovery and Treaty Partnership in the context of kaitiakitanga. These responses inform the report recommendations.

### 3.2.1 Aspirations for the recovery of New Zealand sea lions

"My vision would be to see some of our beaches on the mainland covered in sea lions, with their babies playing, undisturbed ... if we want them to stay, we need to make a place for them." - Robyn Ashton (Moturata Taieri)

#### Safe habitats for sea lions to thrive

Several interviewees stressed the need for safe and undisturbed habitats for sea lions. They spoke about shutting off certain beaches to people, dogs and vehicles; implementing rāhui at some points in the year; and in some cases translocating sea lions to 'safe havens'.

#### A reassertion of Ngāi Tahu whānui's relationship to sea lions

Interviewees expressed that it was important that Ngāi Tahu whānui reassert their relationship with sea lions and all taonga species by developing greater awareness of whakapapa connections with sea lions and through opportunities to work with the species. Some envisioned Ngāi Tahu supporting the recovery of sea lions until the population reached a time in which a sensible and sustainable customary harvest would be possible.

#### Raising public awareness

A key theme that arose in the interviews was a need for greater emphasis on education and raising public awareness about sea lions, especially promoting proper behaviour around them, and understanding the difference between seal and sea lion behaviour. A mix of approaches working together were suggested, including: employing kaitiaki rangers and advocates having conversations with people in the community; educational kits, resources and curriculum content in schools; wānanga; audio-visual information; pamphlets; signs; effective social media campaigning; regulating practices of tourist providers; and giving the public opportunities to take part in fieldwork. An awareness of Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives and mātauranga Māori should be included in educational material.

... a tourist seeing a person standing a metre away from a large male will think it's normal, [whereas] we promote a care code that says you should be 20 metres away. - Hoani Langsbury (Ōtākou)

## Legislative changes to strengthen regulation in fisheries and tourism

Suggested solutions to the threats caused by the fisheries and tourism industries included: make robust legislative changes in fisheries; review the Quota Management System; review target species; ban certain methods of fishing (such as set netting and trawling); lobby fisheries at an international level; enforce fisheries regulations in the Southern Ocean and prosecute those who violate regulations; enforce fishing and squid fishing exclusion areas (and/or times) around the Auckland Islands; improve regulation of tourism to lessen human impact on sea lions.

## Customary and localised solutions based on relationships

Some interviewees suggested that the use of customary management tools under the Fisheries Act such as *rāhui*, *taiāpure* and *mātaitai* could be more useful if they were transcended into the Conservation Act and used for conservation purposes. If this were to happen, the Partners would need to review the boundary line for the 'marine and coastal area' in association with customary management tools to acknowledge a more holistic habitat approach. In some instances this might give Ngāi Tahu the ability to remove access to beaches when and where female sea lions are breeding through temporary *rāhui*.

Interviewees stated that while banning fishing at certain times and in certain places would be ideal, it was not necessarily practical. It is important that good relationships are maintained. If fishing were to be banned anywhere, it would be important to involve local fishers in the process to build trust, and to support them to continue to make a living.

## Practical solutions

Practical solutions to threats were raised, such as: sharing methods and strategies for safely removing sea lions from unsafe areas (such as roads and high-use tracks); installing temporary barriers so as to reduce disturbance to sea lions; improving animal handling techniques and implement newer technology/methods for research; and building boardwalks for tourists around sea lion habitat in the subantarctic islands. A role for Ngāi Tahu kaitiaki rangers was also identified with helping to find practical solutions.

"Signage [educating people of proper behaviour] is part of the story, but I think it's got to be more than that... I think it's got to be people out there doing the talking." - Shannon Williams (Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Tahu)

Practical solutions should be adopted in conversation with Ngāi Tahu whānui, and address wider interconnected concerns, for example the impact of seals and sea lions on the manu (tītī nesting areas), which is recognised as an issue within the muttonbirding community:

"We do have a problem with seals on the tītī islands... it's about health and safety and the damage to the manu. So firstly that needs to be addressed amongst Rakiura Māori and the muttonbirding community, and working to find some practical solutions ... and I don't mean harvest ... like, how can we safely remove seals from the manu? Are there methods that our families can be adopting? ... perhaps it could be something like a temporary barrier to stop the seals from coming out of those haul-out areas for a few weeks of the year [while whānau are on the islands] ... obviously those [barriers] would need to be designed by someone with the expertise and knowledge of seals and sea

lions working alongside the whānau on the islands... I think that's going to alleviate some of that stress." - Corey Bragg (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Ngāti Kahungunu)

### 3.2.2 Aspirations for habitat and holistic species recovery

#### A holistic and integrated approach to habitat recovery

Interviewees were adamant on the need for a more holistic approach to species management, including habitats, people and ecosystems. A more integrated approach to holistic management would need to be multidisciplinary, and focus on ensuring good habitats for multiple species, without compromising the knowledge and relationships required for individual species recovery. Effective communication and action across all organisations, including local and central government, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, papatipu rūnaka and whānau needs to be improved. Databases with contacts for the right people to contact in any given situation should be developed and maintained. A future aspiration for Ngāi Tahu whānui is for Ngāi Tahu to be leading the way in the management of its taonga species.

#### Education and raising public awareness

As well as specific education and public awareness raising about New Zealand sea lions, a need for education more holistically about proper behaviour around wildlife was identified. Spreading awareness, igniting passion for taonga species, and advocacy for species need to be valued, and there needs to be more opportunities for Ngāi Tahu whānui to work with taonga species 'on the ground'. Key people working with species and habitat restoration within the iwi need to be identified. Teachers and parents also have an important role in getting children into the outdoors and learning about kaitiakitanga.

"Education! As tangata tiaki ... our greatest gains I think are when we take an educational role. ... we can legislate, but when you get the public involved in some of that decision-making, and educate rather than legislate, I think you've got a greater chance of success. It takes longer and it can be quite frustrating but eventually the message gets out and then there's that like a peer pressure kind of a thing that takes over where people are talking about ... conservation of species, humans regulating some of their actions, ... [and] younger ones coming through that have a different view of the world rather than perhaps my generation." - Brendan Flack (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki)

As with specific sea lion educational material, awareness of mana whenua perspectives and mātauranga Māori should be included in the production of all educational material.

### 3.2.3 Partnership

#### What Partnership should look like

Interviewees identified the *Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki* Supreme Court decision on section four of the Conservation Act as a pivotal source for the Treaty Partnership, including partnership, active

participation in decision-making, active protection of the rights and interests of mana whenua, and rangatiratanga.<sup>89</sup>

For the interviewees, Partnership meant:

- talking to mana whenua right from the beginning of any process;
- an even balance of Crown representatives and Ngāi Tahu at the table;
- customary tools and regulations having equal power as the Crown's tools and regulations;
- recognising the interests and work of mana whenua in species recovery;
- having conversations with Ngāi Tahu whānui ahead of what is going to be done;
- ensuring that Ngāi Tahu have the opportunity to be active and included all the way through;
- doing things early, rather than to a deadline;
- building trust and lasting relationships (not just a one-off visit);
- Ngāi Tahu providing a cultural safety oversight role; and
- making sure Ngāi Tahu and the Crown are on the same page in regards to transparency and governance issues.

Ngāi Tahu whānui want to have co-governance role in the threat management of taonga species, for example by:

- Leading or co-chairing recovery groups for threatened taonga species;
- Co-authoring documents such as threat management plans, as opposed to only being given the opportunity to review;
- Agreeing on information sharing arrangements; and
- Being involved in research design and providing cultural oversight for methods.

#### Resourced to practice kaitiakitanga

“Like with any taonga species, we (Ngāi Tahu) should take the lead ... we should be able to manage [taonga species], eat them, utilise them for mahi toi ... yes, we should be [involved in their recovery], but we need to be more hands on, because it's okay saying this and that, but unless people get paid, they can't take time off to do recovery work and restoration.” - Gail Thompson (Awarua)

A very real issue identified by many of the interviewees was that current resourcing for Ngāi Tahu whānui to carry out their kaitiakitanga obligations was insufficient. While Crown representatives are often able to attend meetings, read material and provide a considered response to proposals and plans such as the NZSL TMP, the balance is not even. While Ngāi Tahu representatives are the right people to be there, they are usually not doing that work as part of their paid mahi, so they often come from a defensive position.

Kaitiakitanga responsibilities should be properly resourced, possibly with funding secured from industries that impact on species and habitats (including fisheries and tourism).

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<sup>89</sup> Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki v Minister of Conservation, 2018.

More resourcing could be put into:

- Properly resourcing Ngāi Tahu representatives to prepare for and attend hui;
- Developing education initiatives at community, whānau and hapū level;
- Training and employing Ngāi Tahu kaitiaki rangers who can educate about kaitiakitanga within schools, communities and in the natural environment;
- Enabling whānau and rūnaka to engage with, co-develop and co-write plans;
- Making sure resourcing is available for one-off instances in which intensive action is required for sea lion recovery;
- Supporting rūnaka and regional level Kaitiaki Roopu to meet more regularly to respond to requests;
- Resourcing Kaitiaki Roopu to employ someone full time in each region (or at each rūnaka) to do the day to day work of responding to requests;
- Supporting Ngāi Tahu kaimahi toi (artists and designers) to contribute to the work and to ensure plans and reports are relatable and accessible to whānau members;
- Financing translation and the continued development and collection of mātauranga.

Interviewees also expressed their desire for more freedom to practise their kaitiakitanga responsibilities, with fewer financial restraints and deadlines.

### Ongoing relationships, including all the right people

Ngāi Tahu whānui interviewed aspire for genuine, ongoing and lasting relationships with DOC staff, including regular (rather than one-off) meetings. DOC and Te Rūnanga should be aware of key people who are active at all levels of iwi, hapū and whānau within Ngāi Tahu within the habitat and species restoration space, and need to call on the right people when needed, whether that be working on the ground, or in governance and decision making. Ngāi Tahu whānui also see the opportunity to improve processes around cultural safety through having a Ngāi Tahu cultural advisor or kaumātua ethics council to consult when issues come up, and that researchers should meet with Murihiku, Awarua or Ōraka Aparima whānau before going down to the subantarctic islands.

In the development of reports and plans, the interviewees stressed that whānau and hapū need to be contacted early, before DOC decides what it will be doing. Ngāi Tahu whānui should have the opportunity to be actively involved every step of the way in developing plans relating to taonga species, which should include focus groups with interested whānau members for their shared input. Interviewees also wanted to see Ngāi Tahu's own kaimahi toi/designers approached to be involved in the visual design of reports and plans. Reporting back to whānau and hapū on the end product of research and reports should be done in person - at hui on marae or in a kaupapa Māori environment where possible.

Hapū and whānau want to contribute, and should be contacted early. Interviewees wanted to see effective communication to hapū and whānau through the appropriate channels. Some envisioned a more coordinated approach, perhaps through Te Ao Tūroa (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's kaupapa taiao team), instead of multiple government departments all communicating different things in different ways to different people, as they see currently.

### Employment opportunities for Ngāi Tahu in DOC roles on the ground

Many interviewees envisioned a Treaty Partnership which involves more Ngāi Tahu people (especially young people) employed by DOC, and with more opportunities to get actively involved in DOC work. By employing several Ngāi Tahu kaitiaki rangers, with adequate training supported by DOC and Te Rūnanga, interviewees believed that more whānau would get involved in conservation work and get a broader view of taonga species. Employing Ngāi Tahu to do surveys on the ground would also help the wider community see the Treaty Partnership in action.

### Value mātauranga/knowledge, tikanga, kawa and Treaty principles

The interviewees want to see a future where mātauranga or traditional knowledge is given just as much importance as science. DOC can show that it values mātauranga, tikanga and kawa by continuing to involve mana whenua early and throughout any given process relevant to them.

The continuation of the current mātauranga research, incorporating mātauranga and mana whenua perspectives into plans relating to taonga species, employing kaitiaki rangers, giving mana whenua opportunities to get involved in research and work on the ground, consulting kaumātua for advice on tikanga/ethics/cultural safety, and involving cultural observers in research expeditions are all examples of valuing mātauranga. It is important that DOC moves beyond consultation towards genuine engagement that is done as early as possible, and not rushed.

Consistent with the Supreme Court decision in *Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki*, DOC will need to make sure that all of its work considers and gives effect to the Treaty principles, including partnership, active participation in decision-making, active protection of the rights and interests of mana whenua (in this case Ngāi Tahu whānui), and supporting rangatiratanga.



## 3.3 Report recommendations

### 3.3.1 Recommendations on the NZSL TMP workstreams

#### Workstream 1: Engagement

1. Continue to engage with Ngāi Tahu whānui every step of the way of decision making about sea lion recovery and education, both locally and at a governance level.
2. Make a formal place for two nominated Ngāi Tahu representatives on the Sea Lion Advisory Group (one from Otago and one from Murihiku), and resource those individuals to prepare for and attend meetings, to stay on top of issues and to meaningfully participate.
3. In collaboration with Ngāi Tahu whānui, the Department of Conservation and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu should discuss whether to settle on a preferred standardised name for New Zealand sea lions in te reo Māori, what that name (or names) should be, and which cultural narratives are appropriate to share about them.
4. In collaboration with Ngāi Tahu whānui, produce educational material to increase public awareness about sea lions, using a mix of approaches (kanohi ki te kanohi / face to face conversations; educational kits; wānanga; audiovisual material; pamphlets; signs; effective social media campaigning; opportunities to take part in fieldwork). Include Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives and mātauranga Māori (endorsed by Ngāi Tahu) in educational material.
5. Educational material and resources developed should be used to help train Ngāi Tahu people to carry out kaitiakitanga / threat management of sea lions.
6. Ensure ongoing and transparent relationships between personnel from Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the Crown, including developing and maintaining effective communication and collaboration strategies with Ngāi Tahu iwi, hapū and whānau through the appropriate avenues.

#### Workstream 2: Direct mitigation

7. Continue to give Ngāi Tahu whānui (including individuals, hapū and whānau) opportunities to take part in sea lion related fieldwork. Recognise the relationship between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions by actively providing opportunities for whānau to be included in this work, recognising the skills they have, their whakapapa connections to sea lions and the ancestral places that sea lions inhabit.
8. Resource several Ngāi Tahu kaitiaki rangers to work with sea lions (and other coastal taonga species) in Murihiku and Otago to raise public awareness about sea lions, including about sea lion behaviour and proper human behaviour around sea lions.
9. Training for kaitiaki rangers should include mātauranga Māori and Ngāi Tahu whānui perspectives gathered for this project.

### Workstream 3: Targeted research

10. Ensure research is strategic, well coordinated, includes Mātauranga Māori and Ngāi Tahu perspectives, and is approved by Ngāi Tahu.

11. Continue to provide opportunities for Ngāi Tahu whānui involvement in all research - as part of research teams and/or for cultural oversight. Recognise the relationship between Ngāi Tahu whānui and sea lions by actively providing opportunities for whānau to be included in this work, recognising the skills they have, their whakapapa connections to sea lions and the ancestral places that sea lions inhabit.

12. Provide an opportunity for research teams to meet and share informations with Ngāi Tahu whānau from Murihiku, Awarua or Ōraka Aparima Rūnaka before departing for the subantarctic islands.

### Workstream 4: Evaluation

13. Ensure Ngāi Tahu are present in evaluation discussions and that evaluation of processes and methodologies give regard to the Treaty principles (including partnership, active participation in decision-making, active protection of the rights and interests of Ngāi Tahu whānui, and rangatiratanga) and mātauranga Māori about the New Zealand sea lion.

14. Develop and maintain a centralised database of the body of research and evidence collected on the New Zealand sea lion, including mātauranga Māori, which can be accessed by the Treaty Partners for the purposes of transparent information sharing and informed decision making.

### 3.3.2 Recommendations on the next NZSL TMP development process

15. The NZSL TMP should reflect that Ngāi Tahu are the Crown's Partner and the kaitiaki iwi for New Zealand sea lions, as sea lions are currently only found in Ngāi Tahu's takiwā.

16. Engage early with Ngāi Tahu whānui to co-author the next iteration of the NZSL TMP, including holding focus groups with hapū and whānau in Murihiku and Otago, and ensure the process is fully funded for active participation.

17. Commission Ngāi Tahu kaimahi toi / designers to develop visual material for the next NZSL TMP.

18. Incorporate Ngāi Tahu values, perspectives and mātauranga (endorsed by Ngāi Tahu whānui) into the next NZSL TMP.

19. Consider a co-governance and co-chairing arrangement for the decision-making bodies involved in the NZSL TMP.

## 3.4 Report conclusion

The purpose of this Mātauranga Māori project on New Zealand sea lions was to provide

recommendations on how to integrate mātauranga into the workstreams of the New Zealand Sea Lion Threat Management Plan (NZSL TMP). It gave Ngāi Tahu whānui an opportunity to capture and retain some of the mātauranga associated with this taonga species - the New Zealand sea lion. Through this ongoing process, it is hoped that this project and report can help to enable whānau to grow a deeper connection to the species and places associated with them, to strengthen the relationship between Ngāi Tahu and DOC in relation to the management and kaitiakitanga of the New Zealand sea lion, and to allow both Treaty Partners to understand the perspectives and aspirations of Ngāi Tahu whānui.

In Te Wāhanga Tuatahi / Chapter One, we created a 'snapshot' of views and perspectives on the New Zealand sea lion from Ngāi Tahu whānui individuals interviewed for this project who are actively involved in kaitiakitanga. Ngāi Tahu whānui interviewed advocate for more education and public awareness about sea lions, with mātauranga incorporated which acknowledges the significant relationship Ngāi Tahu whānui have with sea lions and promotes tikanga and kawa around kaitiakitanga. Ngāi Tahu have people who want to be involved in sea lion recovery and threat management, and should be paid appropriately for their time, experience and knowledge to do so.

In Te Wāhanga Tuarua / Chapter Two, the results of research into historical accounts, archival references and archaeological evidence was presented. The chapter began with a discussion of ethics and tikanga to consider when working with historical mātauranga, and acknowledges mātauranga that has been lost. The following sections looked at historical uses of sea lions, names used, and a selection of associated place names and cultural narratives. Lessons from past events can be gleaned from the oral history contained in names, place names, waiata and whakataukī. Viewed in the context of contemporary knowledge, descriptions about sea lion behaviour in the past can be more easily interpreted and allows us to have greater connection with the intended meaning of old stories.

Both chapters together establish the unique and ongoing relationship that Ngāi Tahu whānui have with the New Zealand sea lion - also known as the pakake, whakahao and kake.

The report concludes with a discussion of the significance of the return of pakake to the New Zealand mainland. It gives an overview of Ngāi Tahu whānui aspirations in regard to sea lions, and presents recommendations on how to integrate into the NZSL TMP. The message is clear: **Engage early** with Ngāi Tahu whānui, and ensure processes are done in such a way that enable **partnership** and provide genuine (and resourced) opportunities for Ngāi Tahu individuals, whānau and hapū to be **active participants** in kaitiakitanga for sea lions.

As we see more and more interactions between sea lions and the public, public discourse needs to include mana whenua perspectives and mātauranga now more than ever.

Te hoa kakari o Te Wera?  
Ko te whakahao!

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