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COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST
in BANKS PENINSULA DISTRICT

Taylor Baines

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Updating Ward’s findings on ‘communities of interest’

Communities and sense of place

1. The majority of those interviewed commented on the increased mobility and more frequent travel to Christchurch than before. However, it is important to remember that increased frequency of travel to Christchurch does not, by itself, necessarily diminish the sense of place in local comparisons within the District.

Agriculture and its community

2. Ward’s conclusion that ‘the farming community on the Banks Peninsula has weakened’ is disputed strongly by several interviewees as not being accurate for the late 1990s. They accept that the number of people employed in farming has declined and that the number of viable farming properties has fallen over the past decade. They acknowledge significant challenges to farming in recent times - some of these challenges have existed for many years while others have appeared or intensified in the last few years - but describe responses by the Banks Peninsula farming community which indicate innovation, improved farming performance, business diversification and a farming community that is positive about its future prospects.

3. There is currently a younger farming population on Banks Peninsula entering a new development phase. There has been an increase in off-farm work, particularly amongst the women of farming families, and the links between farm families and tourism have become more evident.

4. Ward’s findings on connections within the farming community remain valid six years later, and there continue to be some distinct patterns of association, as indicated by the occasions when the farming community meets. Farming people in general - and the Banks Peninsula farming community is no exception - have higher expectations now of participating in other business and social activities than used to be the case. This coincides with greater opportunity and accessibility and results in less local self-containment. As with other trends reported here, this trend appears to be accelerating in recent years.

Education

5. During the period 1998 to 2003 there have been no school closures in the District, but there has been a consolidation of school premises in Akaroa.

6. Data provided by the Ministry of Education (Clark, 2004) show that the combined rolls of all schools in the District have declined by 13% in the period since 1998, from 757 students on the 1998 funding rolls to 659 on the 2003 funding rolls.

7. The overall trends in school roll numbers within the District can be explained by a combination of two main factors - trends in local populations in some areas and a significant increase in Banks Peninsula residents choosing schools outside the District, both for primary and secondary schooling.
**Sport and performance arts**

8. Local participation in organised sport for people living in Outer Peninsula communities and Little River has been declining progressively over the past decade, with the last few years seeing some organised sports cease altogether. In other words, to the extent that Banks Peninsula residents in the Outer Peninsula and Little River continue to participate in organised sports, they tend to do so by going to Christchurch, or in a few cases to the Ellesmere competitions based in Selwyn District. Despite this decline in organised sports participation, the sports clubrooms in several communities remain important social meeting places.

**Employment, occupation and workplace**

9. In 2001, fewer than half (47%) of all the workers resident in the Banks Peninsula District actually worked in the District. Work opportunities for more than half of the District’s resident working population (51%) were found at locations in Christchurch City, and 2% of work opportunities were found in Selwyn District. In 2001, fewer than two thirds (64%) of Banks Peninsula District’s workforce (i.e. people working for businesses located in Banks Peninsula District) actually lived in the District. Almost one third (31%) of the District’s workforce lived in Christchurch City, and 1% lived in Selwyn District. This situation has become more pronounced since 1991.

10. In a very real sense, these labour market relationships are beginning to challenge the historical balance between internal and external dependency - displaying a shift from self-sufficiency to inter-dependence, and even symbiosis in the case of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin.

11. The movement of workers from their place of residence to their place of work - within the three main areas of Banks Peninsula District - is minimal, and appears always to have been so, indicating minimal overlap in local labour markets.

12. Over the past 20 years (1981-2001) the number of District residents employed in farming has declined markedly, while tourism development has done much to compensate in terms of new jobs created over the same period. Recent diversification in land use is reflected in employment numbers in the horticulture and forestry industries, as well as a seven-fold increase in the number of real estate workers living in the District. The growing numbers of retirement-age residents in the District is already manifesting itself in workforce, where the numbers employed in licensed rest homes and other welfare institutions has grown almost four-fold over the same period. Some trends reflect the mobility of modern workers; the greatest increases in employment numbers in the District as a whole have been in business services, health services and education services, at much higher levels than can be accounted for by growth in demand within the Banks Peninsula District itself.

**The growth of tourism**

13. Growth in tourism activities on Banks Peninsula has been accelerating in recent years. From a District perspective, Akaroa is definitely the hub of tourist flows, with visitor numbers approaching 100,000 annually, and employment in Akaroa being almost 50% tourism-related by 2001 (Statistics NZ). It is now acknowledged as a major component of the District economy, with significant implications for community. By and large, tourism activity in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin is linked to and organised from
Christchurch. Tourism is a highly networked industry so that growth in tourism has added new dimensions to the community links between Akaroa and the outer bays; it has been one of the major drivers for the re-development and growth in Little River - on the route between Christchurch and Akaroa - and it has also created a very strong connection to Christchurch as the regional tourism hub.

**Access to services**

14. A consideration of services is important for communities of interest for the way in which access to a range of services supports settlement patterns and community focus, or undermines them. This is particularly true for services which are used frequently and regularly (e.g. schools, roads, electricity supply, rural mail, etc.) and for emergency services (e.g. rural fire services, health services).

15. Some services can play critical roles in binding together dispersed rural communities. For example, schools are often the central meeting place for families, the place where information is exchanged and social organisation occurs. Road maintenance takes on added importance in rural areas where there are no alternative routes if the weather turns bad or roads are closed through snow. Rural fire parties, which provide the nearest line of defence against scrub fires, depend on the voluntary participation of farming families and rural residents to respond to emergencies. In some places, the rural mail delivery has had a history of providing an informal social service as well.

16. As with other rural districts around the country, Akaroa is the location for a Heartland Service Centre, co-ordinated by the Ministry of Social Development to provide improved access to government agency information and visits, in collaboration with local community organisations and the Banks Peninsula District Council.

**Kinship links and religious affiliation**

17. Several economic drivers appear to have accelerated a gradual diminution of pakeha kinship links within the farming communities in Banks Peninsula District. The reduced numbers of viable farms remaining and the reduced numbers of Peninsula residents employed in farming means in a very direct sense that there has gradually been less opportunity for farm succession to remain within families. In very recent times, this trend is further overlaid with a number of cases where wealthy investors from outside the District have bought coastal farming property at prices hitherto considered exceptional. Both these trends are seen to have become more marked since 1998.

**A Māori perspective on communities of interest**

18. To understand rūnanga relationships it must be appreciated that the fundamental principle underpinning Ngāi Tahu relationships is whakapapa. The function of whakapapa is to anchor groups into known landscapes, and to establish the ongoing basis from which tribal mana [authority and power], identity, and activity in the present is validated by the past.

19. Whakapapa defines and differentiates the iwi identity and values and authenticates the existence of the marae and rūnanga. It is the guiding principle that validates and gives cognisance to the iwi’s authority, governance and traditional management over resources and people. It can be expressed through rangatiratanga [management, government] and kaitiakitanga [guardianship, stewardship] articulated through the care
and protection of the environment, taonga, cultural practices, and guardianship over the resources, economics the people and the Ngāi Tahu spiritual environments.

20. The Wairewa, Onuku and Koukourārata rūnanga have co-existed for centuries, and along with some form of local government will continue to constitute a legitimate and constant community. Since settlement, the focus of all three rūnanga has shifted and they are engaged in a broad spectrum of development initiatives - social, environmental, cultural and economic.

21. Social initiatives encompass the civic and political relationships that are an integral part of developing influence, and ensuring positive dialogue is taking place between rūnanga and various communities and encompasses national, regional and local interests. Their environmental role has necessitated the development of key relationships with statutory authorities eg: Banks Peninsula District Council (BPDC), Environment Canterbury (ECAN), Ministry of Fisheries and Department of Conservation (DoC). Cultural issues are often closely linked to Ngāi Tahu environmental perspectives and the protection of rūnanga sites of significance (wāhi tapu, wāhi taonga) and the cultural practices and sustainable management of natural resources known as mahinga kai. To ensure adequate protection mechanisms are in place, ongoing work is being undertaken with the Historic Places Trust, Kaupapa Taio (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation (NTDC)), ECAN, BPDC and various archaeologists. Building wealth and economic development is a priority for the Onuku, Koukourārata and Wairewa rūnanga. One example is Tapoitanga Māori, a joint partnership between Takuahi Research and Development (Wairewa) and the other peninsula rūnanga in a four-year research programme funded by the Foundation for Research Science and Technology (FRST) in partnership with the Tuhoe Tourism Federation, the Te Urewera Tairawhiti Forum, and the Manaaki Whenua. Other economic development initiatives include property development on the peninsula and wider Canterbury region, aquamarine farming and eco-cultural tourism activities. Business activities are often built on strong relationships and currently there is a broad spectrum of consultants and business advisors engaged in various ways including legal firms, Livingstones and Associates, the Business Strategy Group, QMedia, the Ngāi Tahu Holding Corporation, the Canterbury Development Corporation, and respective communities on the Peninsula.

22. Rāpaki residents have many social links to families from across the Peninsula. As mana whenua, Rāpaki people have direct cultural ties to Whakaraupo, where they have kaitiaki (caretaker) responsibilities. A second level of cultural ties are to the Horomaka - especially to the two lakes: Te Waihora/Ellesmere and Te Wairewa/Forsyth. Then there are the wider cultural links to the rest of Waitaha, and Te Tai Poutini (the West Coast). Socially, there are many family links to others in the bays of Whakaraupo, and to elsewhere on the Peninsula. Economically, Rāpaki residents have found work in a variety of fields in Lyttelton, Governors Bay and Christchurch.

23. The most prominent traditional resource with which the people of Taumutu share the responsibility of kaitiakitanga, is Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Te Taumutu Rūnanga, due to its location on the southern side of the lake where the lake is still and has always been open to the sea, assumes this role as a primary responsibility. Te Waihora also forms the basis of Te Taumutu Rūnanga’s key relationships with the various communities of interest at local, regional and national levels, including the BPDC, Christchurch City Council (CCC), Selwyn District Council (SDC), ECAN, DoC,
commercial and recreational fishermen, other commercial and recreational lake users, and the farming community. The most notable outcome of these relationships has been the development of the Te Waihora Joint Management Plan. But Te Taumutu Rūnanga has also developed its own Te Taumutu Rūnanga Natural Resources Management Plan, and fully participates in all Resource Management Act (RMA) consent applications and DoC concessions, from the Natural Resources office located at Ngāti Moki Marae. Te Taumutu Rūnanga is also currently participating in the implementation of Te Kete o Aoraki, which is the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu education strategy and currently employs one person on a part time basis to develop relationships with all schools within the district.

Conclusions for "communities of interest" - an update since 1998

24. Without exception, those interviewed endorsed Ward's findings on community of interest as accurate and relevant to the situation in 1998, bearing in mind the caveats expressed about trends in the farming community. This is certainly true for the three primary geographic divisions, which have been the level on which this update has focussed.

25. However, the nature and composition of communities in many locations are changing. While the usually resident population in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin increased by 798 (+18%) during the fifteen years between 1986 and 2001, and the usually resident population of Little River increased by 306 (+47%) over the same period, the usually resident population of the Outer Peninsula decreased by 99 (-6%). Overall, there has been a progressive shift in the balance towards greater connection with out-of-district activities, much of this city-oriented.

26. Individual localities still retain their distinctive character and points of difference so that their individual sense of place is still meaningful.

27. In much the same way as the residents in other rural communities around New Zealand are drawing closer to their urban counterparts in terms of attitudes and expectations of opportunity and services, so is it happening for the residents of Banks Peninsula District. It remains possible to live in relatively isolated places on Banks Peninsula but, in numerous ways, nowhere in Banks Peninsula is as isolated as it used to be. Improved access, increasing mobility and changing business and recreational interests combine to promote this trend.

28. Differences between the three primary geographic divisions identified by Ward still persist.

29. It is evident that for the communities of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, there are several important aspects - school and work - where the "shared interest and identity" may now be greater with the adjacent communities of Christchurch City than within the District itself; the balance may have shifted far enough for community of interest distinctions with the City to have become blurred for the majority of the resident community. Put another way, while at the local community level, they may still associate strongly with the place they have chosen to live, at the higher levels of territorial association, more of them may well connect more strongly to the City than to Banks Peninsula District.

30. For the Little River area and for the Outer Peninsula, there have been shifts in the balance as well, but not to the same extent. They still comprise distinct communities
and sets of communities, albeit with a greater external orientation, and this external orientation is for the very large majority in the direction of Christchurch, whether they are involved in the farming sector or the tourism sector.
1 Contract brief and approach

Contract brief

In a letter from the Local Government Commission to Taylor Baines & Associates dated 10 September 2004, the scope of the work required was set out as follows -

1) Update the review produced in 1998 to reflect the current situation;

2) Consider, in particular, any linkages between communities of interest in Banks Peninsula District and neighbouring districts (whether or not dealt with in the 1998 review); and

3) Include any additional perspectives on the issue of communities of interest on Bank Peninsula you may consider appropriate.

In the Taylor Baines proposal dated 15 September 2004 additional perspectives suggested for inclusion were to -

1) provide time-series data on demographic and other relevant trends;

2) provide comparative trend data for the three main community groupings identified in the 1998 report, namely for the Outer Peninsula (Hilltop East), Little River and environs, and Lyttelton Harbour Basin;

3) extend the coverage of input from service providers; and

4) provide a post-settlement update on the status of rūnanga/marae throughout the Banks Peninsula District, and the linkages between rūnanga and iwi.

This description constitutes the scope of the brief which was agreed between the Commission’s CEO and Taylor Baines.

Background

In 1998, while considering a proposal for the abolition of Banks Peninsula District and its inclusion in Christchurch City, the Local Government Commission commissioned a review of communities of interest on Banks Peninsula. This review was carried out and reported on by Martin Ward in September 1998.

The Commission is currently considering a similar proposal relating to Banks Peninsula District and wishes to update the 1998 review.

Approach to assessment

This update adopted the same concept of community of interest articulated in the previous review (pp.5-6). Indeed, that review drew in part on earlier work carried out by Taylor Baines, particularly a study of communities of interest in the Waitaki Valley, which was commissioned by Environment Canterbury and was the basis of expert evidence presented at the Local Government Commission hearing on a reorganisation proposal aimed at altering the boundary between Otago and Canterbury regions (Taylor Baines, 1997).
The approach incorporated elements of background document review (see references), secondary data review and analysis, and targeted key informant interviewing¹ (see Appendix A). Statistically representative surveying of Banks Peninsula residents and businesses has not been feasible within the time and resource constraints; nor is it really justified, given the existing statistical sources.

Investigations in bibliographic databases and enquiries at Banks Peninsula District Council indicate that no more recent studies related to questions of community of interest on Banks Peninsula have been published or reported since 1998. Thus, the principal historical researched commentaries remain the two studies referenced by Ward - Sparrow, 1979 and Hay, 1990.

The approach to incorporate a more substantial contribution on Māori communities of interest on Banks Peninsula involved discussions, facilitated via Te Rūnanga O Ngāi Tahu, to identify appropriate and acceptable individuals² to prepare the written material on behalf of each of the five rūnanga whose rohe intersect with Banks Peninsula District.

This review update specifically is not intended to canvas views on the desirability or otherwise of the current proposal to abolish Banks Peninsula District and amalgamate it with Christchurch City.

Framework for assessing “community of interest”

In his 1998 review (p.6), Ward stated -

> Earlier studies of community of interest for local government boundary purposes have ranged widely over the multitude of factors that "overlap and combine to a greater or lesser extent to support individuals' perceptions of 'community of interest' and communities' sense of identity". These have included:

- proximity or place
- ownership of property
- age and length of residence
- children’s education
- patterns of employment and business relationships
- gender roles
- matters of identity to do with kinship or ethnicity

This study has been assisted significantly by two earlier studies of Banks Peninsula (one somewhat dated) which have squarely addressed a number of the core issues relating to community of interest listed above. These studies are; Sparrow 1979, Banks Peninsula 1977, A Rural Survey; and Hay 1990, Sense of Place: Cross-cultural Perspectives from Banks Peninsula.

¹ Attempts were made to contact as many of those Banks Peninsula residents interviewed by Martin Ward as possible, and slightly more than half of these contributed to this update by way of interviews. Other key informants were added to achieve similar community coverage in cases where the original interviewees could not be contacted.

² This work has been carried out by Robin Wybrow on behalf of Koukourarata, Onuku and Wairewa rūnanga, by Marni Stirling on behalf of Taumutu rūnanga, and by Donald Couch on behalf of Rapaki rūnanga.
We endorse this framework for assessment; indeed, Ward’s quote above is an extract from Taylor Baines (1997, p.4). Furthermore, this framework was pre-circulated to the Banks Peninsula residents prior to interviewing, and drew no criticism.

Ward also set out (p.5) some guidance that he received from the Local Government Commission regarding the concept of ‘community of interest’ -

“The term community of interest is not defined in the Local Government Act. It seems logical, however, that as the Commission is required to define geographic areas, the communities of interest it is required to identify cover a contiguous geographic area, as opposed to a community of interest of people based on socio-economic characteristics or some shared interest which is non-geographic in nature. This does not mean, however, that such characteristics or shared interests will not help shape geographic communities of interest.

In broad terms a community of interest will be the collection of people in an area where the level of social and economic interaction and shared interest and identity are greater within the area than outside the area.

An additional issue to take into account is that there are many different levels of community of interest. In determining the appropriate levels of community of interest for the purposes of this exercise, I consider that it is important to identify those which result in communities of interest that are reasonably self-contained for a variety of social and economic purposes. The definition of self-containment will vary according to the context. Often this becomes evident through the analytical process, for instance by defining a number of communities of a comparable scale with comparable levels of self containment.”

The guidance draws attention to several important features of the concept which are entirely consistent with the framework set out above. Firstly, there is acknowledgement of the interplay between different factors - geographic/topographic, social and economic - which underscores the rationale for linking communities of interest and administrative boundaries. Secondly, there is acknowledgement that the concept applies at various levels of community, particularly in the way it reflects identity and sense of place. Residents of Le Bons Bay will identify unique characteristics of their place which are subtly different from Little Akaloa or Pigeon Bay; however, all experience common interests which distinguish them from residents of Akaroa. While residents of Akaroa, Le Bons Bay, Little Akaloa and Pigeon Bay will see their part of the Peninsula as distinct from the residents of Lyttelton, they are very likely to share some sentiments in common about living in Canterbury.
2 Brief profile of Banks Peninsula District

Previous local government administrative boundaries

As noted by Ward (p.7) the Banks Peninsula District was created in 1989 as part of the nationwide local government reform and comprises the former Wairewa, Akaroa and Mt Herbert counties and the Lyttelton Borough.

Current Ward structure

Representation within the District is organised in three wards, which largely reflect the previous administrative boundaries. Indeed, they carry almost identical names - Lyttelton/Mt Herbert (which includes Port Levy), Wairewa (which includes Little River, Birdlings Flat, the southern bays on the Peninsula and Kaituna Valley) and Akaroa (which includes the Akaroa Harbour and the remaining outer bays from Pigeon Bay round to the Heads).

In the current round of developing Long Term Council Community Plans, the Council is consulting communities distributed across all three ward areas, with meetings planned in seven locations - Lyttelton, Diamond Harbour, Little River, Akaroa, Wainui, Okains Bay and Pigeon Bay. This distribution of meeting places reflects communities of interest at the broadscale, ward level as well as at the level of individual embayments.

Statistical Areas

Statistically, the District comprises nine Census Area Units (CAUs), two of which are inlets with negligible population. The seven populated CAUs are shown in Figure 1 and Table 1, with population data provided for the most recent census in March 2001.

Table 1: Banks Peninsula Area Units, Geographic Area and Population, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Area Unit</th>
<th>Geographic Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton</td>
<td>Lyttelton, Cass Bay, Rāpaki</td>
<td>3,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governors Bay</td>
<td>Governors Bay, Allendale, Teddington</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Harbour</td>
<td>Charteris Bay, Diamond Harbour, Purau</td>
<td>1,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Levy</td>
<td>Port Levy</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa</td>
<td>Akaroa Town</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okains Bay</td>
<td>Pigeon Bay, Little Akaloa, Okains Bay, Le Bons Bay, Takamatua, Duvauchelle, Barrvs Bay, Wainui</td>
<td>1,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River</td>
<td>Gebbies Valley, Kaituna Valley, Birdlings Flat, Little River, Cooptown, Okuti Valley, Puaha</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1998, Ward (p.7) gave the following description -

The majority is concentrated in the Port of Lyttelton, its ‘suburb’ of Diamond Harbour and the town of Akaroa. Other more-or-less small communities are distributed throughout the Peninsula mostly on or near the coast and the harbours shore. These include Birdlings Flat, Little Akaloa, Okains Bay, Le Bons Bay, Duvauchelle, Governors Bay and Little River.

At other locations, more dispersed population groups make up communities such as Port Levy, Pigeon Bay, Takamatua, Wainui, French Farm, Barrys Bay, and Coopstown. In other, often more remote parts of the Peninsula individual valleys or bays with only a handful of dwellings, often well dispersed, have elements of community, e.g. Kaituna Valley, Okuti Valley and Kukupa.

Some shifts in the relative scale of local populations are evident, since Ward’s comments refer to 1996 census data. Most notably, the population of the Little River area has grown significantly, while that of Akaroa town has shrunk.

**Geographic/topographic influences**

In terms of geographic and topographic character, Ward (p.8) noted -

Banks Peninsula is comprised of two deeply eroded and sea breached volcanic craters. The volcanic topography with its characteristic slope and valley forms, deeply embayed inlets and harbours and steep slopes, defines and unites.

This unique and rugged topography is a dominating characteristic of the region defining many community boundaries and challenging inter-community and larger cross community connections. At the same time it unites individuals and communities through their attachment to it.

Hay’s study based on detailed interviews of 270 residents clearly identified two Peninsula divisions, east and west of Hilltop. The western portion comprising Little River to Gebbies Pass and in Port Levy. The balance, to the east, is referred to as the Outer Peninsula. Both Sparrow and Hay in designing their studies of the Peninsula omitted all of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, acknowledging in this way this third primary geographic division.

At the next level of detail strong geographic boundaries serve to define communities and their connections. Port Levy for instance, typical of the isolated bay communities with almost mountainous landward perimeter, has better, shorter access to the Lyttelton Harbour Basin (by road to Diamond Harbour thence road or ferry to Lyttelton and the city), than to other parts of the Peninsula.

The major geographic units on the Peninsula are generally accepted to be:

- Lyttelton Harbour Basin
- Peninsula Northern and Eastern Bays
- Akaroa Inner Harbour
- Peninsula Southern Bays
- Little River - Kaituna

*Other terms for the Peninsula’s Northern and Eastern Bays is Outer Bays.*

The above description was provided to the Banks Peninsula residents interviewed. Again, they endorsed Ward’s description as remaining relevant. While this is hardly surprising,
since geography and topography do not change, it does suggest that the infrastructure for moving around the Peninsula or otherwise communicating between one locality and another and the mobility\(^3\) of Peninsula residents has not changed sufficiently to break down these geographic/topographic distinctions.

Population trends in Banks Peninsula District

The usually resident population of Banks Peninsula District (+15%) grew as fast as the national average rate of increase over the fifteen years between 1986 and 2001 (+15%) and faster than Christchurch City’s population growth (+12%), but not as fast as Selwyn District’s population growth (32%). However, this rate of population increase has been unevenly spread, as the data in Table 2 show when analysed according to the three primary geographic divisions noted above by Ward.

Table 2: Population trends in Banks Peninsula District by primary geographic division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Usually resident population</th>
<th>% of BPD UR population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lyttelton Harbour Basin</td>
<td>Little River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>4,410</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>4,539</td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4,996</td>
<td>858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>5,208</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the usually resident population in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin\(^4\) increased by 798 (+18%) during the fifteen years, and the usually resident population of Little River increased by 306 (+47%) over the same period, the usually resident population of the Outer Peninsula decreased by 99 (-6%).

These contrasts in total population trends are the first insight into the differing characters and communities of these primary geographic divisions within Banks Peninsula District.

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\(^3\) Mobility as in access to motor vehicles or public transport, and willingness to use these.

\(^4\) Consistent with Ward’s comment that “Port Levy ..... has better, shorter access to the Lyttelton Harbour Basin (by road to Diamond Harbour thence road or ferry to Lyttelton and the city), than to other parts of the Peninsula”, Port Levy has been included in the data for Lyttelton Harbour Basin.
3 Updating Ward’s “findings on “communities of interest””

Communities and sense of place

In discussing communities and their sense of place, Ward drew mostly on the primary research of Sparrow (1979) and Hay (1990), which remain the only in-depth research on the topic and the District in recent times. Ward complemented this primary research with the qualitative insights from his own sample of Peninsula interviewees. He reported (pp.8-9) his analysis of sense of place as follows -

Hay’s substantial work bears very closely on this present analysis. His in-depth interviews with a statistically significant (10%) part of the population obtained information concerning their likes and dislikes regarding their place and what aspects contributed towards its formation. The influence of the geography emerges again.

"Banks Peninsula has affected the development of respondents’ sense of place in several ways. The qualities of the Peninsula, its rugged topography and climate, its open landscape and small valleys, have left an indelible impression on respondents. Most of them love this place, and have formed a bond to it. In addition, the small communities which dot the Peninsula landscape are on a human scale of inhabitation: people get to know each other, and bonds to people form further ties to the land. Localised ancestry is also important to both Māori and pakeha residents.

Sparrow notes that in many rural areas the ‘service centre’ (location of general store, post office, garage) is also the focal point for most of the community life and observes that this is not the case in Banks Peninsula where churches and hotels are separate, additional and often more important foci. “The scattering of services throughout Banks Peninsula has impeded the development of community life in the area because it has reinforced the segregation of the community caused by the terrain.

The topography of the Peninsula provides easy distinction of boundaries for insider/outside divisions, thus boosting local feelings of place identity.” Hay continues:

"The majority of Peninsula respondents were tied to the Peninsula (56 percent), with one-third of these respondents also expressing a feeling for the Peninsula (see Table 2). Only 18 percent of respondents were tied solely to their "local place" (i.e. a small portion of the Peninsula, such as a valley). Twenty percent of respondents were also tied to the "region" which includes Banks Peninsula, Lyttelton Harbour, the greater Christchurch area, and the outskirts of Christchurch from Rangiora to Leeston.

Table 2 The spatial extent of Peninsula respondents’ senses of place (after Hay)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tied to Local Place in Peninsula</th>
<th>Tied to Peninsula</th>
<th>Tied to Peninsula and Canterbury</th>
<th>Tied to Peninsula and South Island</th>
<th>Tied to a Place Outside Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, defining respondents' spatial feelings for place was difficult, in that the "Peninsula" invariably meant the Outer Peninsula and Little River/Birdlings Flat/Southern Bays to residents who lived in the Outer Peninsula (216 respondents). About 10 percent of these respondents ended the Peninsula at the Hilltop, with a similar number ending it at Kaituna Valley/Port Levy. The respondents who lived west of the Hilltop (54 respondents) expanded the Peninsula’s boundaries to include the place where they lived, although Lyttelton Harbour or the Port Hills, bounding Christchurch on the east, were never included as part of the Peninsula, except by irakehu kaumātua".
Those interviewed for this update generally endorsed the commentary above. However, the majority of those interviewed commented on the increased mobility and more frequent travel to Christchurch than before; comments that apply to residents in all parts of the District.

These observations are supported by census data on vehicle ownership trends (see Appendix B) and work-related commuting trends, which will be examined further in a later section of this report. Household mobility is increasing on two counts - the proportion of households with no vehicle at all has been dropping steadily during the past 15 years, while the proportion of households with two or more vehicles has been increasing steadily. As would be expected, there are differences between urban and rural communities; with rural communities exhibiting higher degrees of household mobility (dependence on their own private transport) than urban communities, which have the advantage of public transport services. The differences between the three primary geographic divisions reflect the mix of urban and rural characteristics in each, with Little River and the outer bays (Port Levy and Okains Bay) showing higher levels of dependence on their own private vehicle compared with the less remote and more urbanised Lyttelton Harbour Basin, and particularly Lyttelton in the latter case. Higher proportions of retirees appear to correlate with lower proportions of no-vehicle households, but also lower proportions of multiple-vehicle households.

However, it is important to remember that increased frequency of travel to Christchurch does not, by itself, necessarily diminish the sense of place in local comparisons within the District; that is to say, there is probably a trend to increasing frequency of travel to Christchurch by residents in most parts of the District, whether they live in the Outer Bays or in Lyttelton Harbour. Both the census data and local observations now point to the existence of commuter traffic to Christchurch from Akaroa and the Outer Peninsula, and increasing frequency of visits to Christchurch by residents of the Outer Bays.

Agriculture and its community

Ward introduced his analysis of “Agriculture and its community” (p.10) with the following paragraph -

“The Banks Peninsula has a long and rich history in agriculture. Pastoral farming continues to dominate although diversification into horticulture has been a noticeable trend in recent years. On all indicators the farming community on the Banks Peninsula has weakened over the last decade and continues to do so.”

The suggestion that ‘the farming community on the Banks Peninsula has weakened’ was disputed strongly by several interviewees as not being accurate for the late 1990s. They accept that the number of people employed in farming has declined and that the number of viable farming properties has fallen over the past decade. However, their view is that a declining farming workforce5 and fewer farms do not actually indicate that the farming community has weakened. They acknowledge significant challenges to farming in recent times - some of these challenges have existed for many years while others have appeared or intensified in the last few years - but describe responses by the Banks Peninsula farming community which indicate innovation, improved farming performance, business diversification and a farming community that is positive about its future prospects.

5 Official statistics cited elsewhere in this report describe the numbers of people who nominate agriculture as their main job; it may however not be their only job, as other research (Baines & Newell, 2003) shows relatively high levels of farming people have more than one job and that the second job is often not in farming.
Ward continued (p.8) -

“Agriculture and in particular pastoral farming, has historically been the dominant land use and activity on the Peninsula since the late 19th Century. Dramatic changes in land use have occurred over last ten years as a result of a steady and continuing decline in real farm incomes. Responses to economic pressures have varied. They include decreased fertiliser use, postponement of additional farm investment and on-going maintenance, diversification, and subdivision and sale of parts of the farming units. Some properties have aggregated to ensure economic viability. Farming properties with better access have converted to forestry.”

Several farming interviewees questioned these observations as being less relevant to the late 1990s than to the 1980s and early 1990s; in other words, the farming community has moved on somewhat. Ward identified a decline in farm numbers during the early 1990s, but this may have corresponded to a period of inter-generational transition. Federated Farmers reports that there is currently a younger farming population on Banks Peninsula entering a new development phase\(^6\). There are various symptoms of this:

- some farmers have still been selling pieces of marginal land in order to acquire more productive land to bolster the viability of their properties with more intensive farming on the more productive land;
- there has been some diversification in farming, particularly in various types of horticulture/viticulture such as grapes, lavender, olives, proteas, etc, although this is regarded as boutique in nature since the proportion of land use is relatively minor. Earlier trends towards deer and forestry appear to have tapered off and sheep and beef farming still predominate;
- the past five years has shown a strong commitment by Outer Peninsula and Little River farmers to the monitor farm programme\(^7\), with two properties\(^8\) in sequence having been Central Canterbury monitor farms, and a number of farm discussion groups report good turnouts and high levels of interest.

These symptoms reflect an adaptive and resilient farming community. While the number of viable farms has declined, interviewees suggest that this decline is slowing as the phase of property rationalisation is completed.

Two other important changes have occurred within the farming community of Banks Peninsula. Firstly, there has been an increase in off-farm work, particularly amongst the women of farming families, in order to bolster the household’s income sources as well as for reasons of self-fulfilment. Secondly, the links between farm families and tourism have become more evident through the development of walking tracks, bed and breakfast operations and farm stays, and a greater diversity of arts and crafts aimed at the visitor market.

\(^6\) In fact, Ward’s commentary (p.11) reflected this trend – “While the distribution of farms has not changed significantly the number of farms has reduced by 20%. Requirements for more intensive farming has resulted in older farmers leaving the business with average age reducing by more than 10 years.”

\(^7\) Results from monitor farm activities reveal strong performance growth since 2000/01 (MWI, 2004)

\(^8\) The first in Pigeon Bay and the second at Wairewa.
The farming community has been galvanised by a number of significant policy issues in recent years, mainly to do with national and regional policy changes (e.g. moratorium on marine farming, public access to private land) and district planning (e.g. conservation initiatives). And on Banks Peninsula they have also faced other challenges -

- an overall decline in resident numbers in the Outer Peninsula affecting the costs of some services such as new power lines and phone lines;
- the arrival of newcomers with different values and a different perspective on environmental issues such as the impacts of using helicopters in farm work, and tailing practices on sheep farms;
- continuing farm finance pressures, continuing the pressure for off-farm work, increasing the attractiveness of outside investment and property purchase, and putting into question the affordability of family farm succession.

These external challenges have brought the farming community more strongly together in recent times. Issues with the District Plan have also brought a more local focus to their collective activities. Their response has been evident in new initiatives through which the farming community maintains a measure of control over its own affairs - such as in conservation and pest management. The establishment of the Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust is one such example. This is the only organisation nationally, apart from the QEII Trust, which is empowered to establish conservation covenants. Its activities so far have achieved this for 28 parcels of land on private farmland around Banks Peninsula. The Trust involves farmers and representatives of SDC, CCC, ECAN, DoC, local rūnanga and Ngāi Tahu working collaboratively on promoting indigenous biodiversity, and improved weed and pest management. The BP Trust now employs two people.

Despite developments such as this, some farmers in isolated places do sometimes feel “under siege” from the public, both in terms of the formal District Plan experience and in terms of their experience of increasing numbers of visitors and backpackers frequenting more remote parts of the Peninsula. They notice on occasions a real difference in behaviour between New Zealanders and foreigners; “it’s the Kiwis who give us the most grief”; foreigners tend to be polite and considerate, whereas some New Zealanders show little respect and consideration and simply expect to walk across private farmland, which can generate tensions.

Ward concluded (p.12) that -

“The farming community is strongly linked through activities like the Rural Fire Authority, Search and Rescue, Flock Competition and Farm Discussion Groups. It connects with other rural and Akaroa folk through involvement in activities such as the Boat Club, Operatic Society, Church attendance and pre-schooling.

The farming community in the Outer Bays connects strongly to Akaroa for banking, shopping for food, for health care, recreation and culture, and for some, retirement.”

These findings on connections within the farming community remain valid six years later, and there continue to be some distinct patterns of association, as indicated by the occasions.
when the farming community meets. The location of Federated Farmers’ meetings\(^9\) is very much driven by venue - relationships and size of venue. The Banks Peninsula branch tends to meet at the Duvauchelle Hotel because of its central location; larger meetings use the Little River rugby clubrooms while smaller meetings might sometimes be at the Hilltop. Akaroa itself is seldom the meeting point. Smaller bay meetings are held in local schools, halls or members homes. On the southern and western side of the Peninsula, the Motukarara branch meetings are generally in Leeston or at the Greenpark Hall. The attendance trend at Federated Farmers meetings is also symptomatic of the positive disposition of the farming community: meetings a decade ago might attract 20 attendees; now there is a room full.

However, the findings on Outer Bays connections may have altered somewhat. There is probably more travel to Christchurch for shopping and recreation than there used to be, although most of the farming residents interviewed indicated that Akaroa now offers much better opportunities to socialise out with friends, particularly when it is not congested with visitors. Farming people in general - and the Banks Peninsula farming community is no exception - have higher expectations now of participating in other business and social activities than used to be the case. This coincides with greater opportunity and accessibility and results in less local self-containment. As with other trends reported here, this trend appears to be accelerating in recent years.

**Education**

*The role of schools in rural districts:*

Schools play a vital role which extends well beyond their educational function in most communities, particularly in smaller communities, and most particularly in very small, isolated rural communities. As noted by Taylor Baines (2003, pp.22-25), ‘The value of a rural school, it was explained, comes not only from the character of the school and the kind of environment it provides for its pupils whilst at school, but also from the nature of relationship between the school and its community and the other community-oriented functions provided by the school and the social networks it fosters - for which there is no substitute if the school is closed. ... the community functions and the physical infrastructure of rural schools embody a very substantial element of the social capital of rural communities. This social capital may have been built up over generations and is vital to the health of the community.’

*The network of schools in Banks Peninsula District:*

Residents of Banks Peninsula District enjoy ten primary schools distributed around the main population centres. The Lyttelton Harbour Basin has five primary schools, Little River has its own primary school, and there are primary schools in Akaroa, Duvauchelle, Le Bons Bay, Okains Bay and Pigeon Bay in the Outer Peninsula area. It is many years since the primary school at Little Akaloa closed.

In contrast, there is only one secondary school in the District – at Akaroa. As a result, some District residents have always chosen to send their children to secondary schools outside the

\(^9\) Ward reported (p.12) that “Federated Farmers have two branches to which Banks Peninsula farmers may belong. These are Banks Peninsula (based in Akaroa) and Motukarara. While there is no formal boundary between the two, the dividing line tends to be Lake Forsyth, with farmers west of there belonging to the Motukarara Branch.”
District, with the end of Year 8 historically signalling the major exodus.

During the period 1998 to 2003 there have been no school closures in the District, but there has been a consolidation of school premises in Akaroa where the primary and secondary schools are finally being united on a single site, a process which has been under negotiation since 1999. The two schools have been administered jointly since 1938, but budgetary constraints have made this increasingly less tenable in recent times. Vacating the primary school site and the physical consolidation of the two schools on one site is being accompanied by the construction of a new full-size gymnasium, and improvements to the swimming pool and other school facilities. In recent years, Akaroa Area School has embraced a number of distance learning innovations - associated with Cantatech on-line study, the Open Polytech and video-conferencing for small groups of students - aimed at encouraging local students to gain better than adequate senior education at their local school rather than leaving the area for higher secondary education. Improved IT access in the form of broadband internet\textsuperscript{10} has also helped to increase study options. Links between the Akaroa Area School and its community are also being enhanced with the building of two digital theatrettes, funded locally and attached to the school/community library. Most primary schools in the Outer Peninsula take children through to Year 8\textsuperscript{11}, whilst the Akaroa Area School provides manual technical training classes once a week for all Outer Peninsula children, and also the for the children from Little River School.

\textit{Trends in school rolls:}

Data provided by the Ministry of Education (Clark, 2004) show that the combined rolls of all schools in the District have declined by 13\% in the period since 1998, from 757 students on the 1998 funding rolls\textsuperscript{12} to 659 on the 2003 funding rolls.

In situations where the local population is not growing rapidly, it is not unusual for school rolls to exhibit cyclical fluctuating patterns as cohorts of families pass through the ranks. Several of the smaller rural schools have shown relatively constant rolls since 1998 - Duvauchelle, Le Bons Bay, Little River and Pigeon Bay. Funding levels for ‘rural’ schools on Banks Peninsula were reassessed several years ago when the Ministry’s criteria for determining the status of ‘rural’ schools changed. Several schools reported that their funding had been reduced as a result of a change of status. It was also suggested that the school network reviews commissioned in many parts of the country in 2003 have had a de-stabilising effect on rural schools in Banks Peninsula District. Faced with such uncertainty, some parents have already made decisions to send their children elsewhere; decisions that tend to be irreversible.

The roll at Diamond Harbour School has risen fairly steadily (+15\%) since 1998 while the rolls at most other schools in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin have declined over this period - Governors Bay (-9\%), Lyttelton Main School (-38\%), Lyttelton West School (-16\%) and St Joseph’s School (Lyttelton) (-24\%). In the Outer Peninsula, three schools have had steady rolls, as noted above, and two schools have been going through a period of declining

\textsuperscript{10} The PROBE project to extend broadband access around the country has already taken this technology to all the schools in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, to Little River School and to Akaroa Area School. It is expected to reach Duvauchelle and Le Bons Bay Schools in Nov 2004, and coverage to Okains Bay School is expected via a satellite-based link by mid-2005.

\textsuperscript{11} Duvauchelle School is the exception, taking children through to Year 6.

\textsuperscript{12} Actual rolls recorded in July of each year and used as the basis for forward funding,
numbers since 1998 - Akaroa Area School (-20%) and Okains Bay (-29%). However, interviewees in Akaroa and Duvachelle report significant increases in numbers of children whose families have indicated their intention to enrol for the 2005 year.\(^{13}\)

**Trends in the use of out-of-district schools**

Trends in the number of Banks Peninsula children going to schools outside the District show some marked differences between the three primary geographic divisions (Ministry of Education, 2001 and 2002). For children in the Outer Peninsula, the data suggest declining numbers of students using out-of-district schools in the past six years. For children of secondary school age, in 1997, 24 students went to four\(^{14}\) secondary schools outside the District, while in 2002, 17 students went to seven\(^{15}\) secondary schools outside the District. For children of primary school age, in 1997, six students went to one school outside the District, while in 2002, two students went to one school outside the District.

For children in the Little River area of Banks Peninsula, the data point to increasing numbers of secondary school age children going to school outside the District but declining numbers of primary school age children doing so. For children of secondary school age, in 1997, 24 students went to three\(^{16}\) secondary schools outside the District (none to Akaroa), while in 2002, 41 students went to six\(^{17}\) secondary schools outside the District (none to Akaroa). For children of primary school age, in 1997, 13 students went to two\(^{18}\) schools outside the District (none to other schools in BPD), while in 2002, 10 students went to three\(^{19}\) schools outside the District (none to other schools in BPD). For some families in the southern bays, which link to Little River, the location of primary school may be determined by the needs of secondary school-age siblings in order to avoid double trips morning and afternoon for the parents to connect with school bus services.

For children in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin area of Banks Peninsula, the trends have been most pronounced, with the numbers of secondary school children going outside the District for their schooling almost doubling in this period, and the number of primary school children doing likewise almost trebling. For children of secondary school age, in 1997, 129 students went to 16 schools outside the District (14 in Christchurch, one in Selwyn District and one in Timaru District), while in 2002, 243 students went to 20 schools outside the District (18 in Christchurch, one in Selwyn District and one in Nelson City). For children of primary school

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13 116 currently (Oct 04) indicated for the beginning of 2005 in Akaroa Area School, compared with 106 on the 2003 July funding roll; 45 currently (Oct 04) indicated for the beginning of 2005 in Duvachelle School, compared with 33 on the 2003 July funding roll.

14 Rangi Ruru Girls School, CGHS, St Margarets College and Catholic Cathedral College - all in Christchurch City.

15 St Bede’s College, CBHS, CGHS, Shirley BHS and Hagley Community College in Christchurch; Lincoln HS in Selwyn District, and Timaru GHS.

16 CGHS and St Margaret’s College in Christchurch, and Lincoln HS in Selwyn District.

17 Villa Maria College, CGHS, St Thomas of Canterbury College, Hagley Community College and Cashmere HS in Christchurch City, and Lincoln HS in Selwyn District.

18 Ferndale School in Christchurch City and Tai Tapu School in Selwyn District.

19 Sacred heart School in Christchurch City and Lincoln Primary School and Tai Tapu School in Selwyn District.
age, in 1997, 43 (10%) students went to 11 schools outside the District (10 in Christchurch, one in Selwyn District), while in 2002, 117 (27%) students went to 21 schools outside the District (19 in Christchurch, two in Selwyn District). In the case of children from the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, there has been a marked increase in the past six years in the number of schools in Christchurch to which they travel; these families in Banks Peninsula District clearly view the Christchurch schools market as theirs.

Overall, the number of secondary students travelling outside the District has almost doubled since 1997, reflecting the fact that there is no secondary option for residents of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin. However, the numbers and proportion of primary school children travelling outside the District have also increased markedly, despite the range of local schools available.

**Explaining the trends in school rolls:**

The overall trends in school roll numbers within the District (see Appendix C) can be explained by a combination of two main factors - trends in local populations in some areas and a significant increase in Banks Peninsula residents choosing schools outside the District, both for primary and secondary schooling.

In the Outer Peninsula, the main reason for static or declining school rolls in recent years has been the declining population and more specifically the decline in young children resident\(^20\). This decline in young families is attributed over the longer term to the decline in fishing and farming families, the loss of farm managers, and the fact that tourism is much more seasonal in nature and brings a younger, more transient working population, with fewer families. The restructuring of some service arrangements (e.g. electricity suppliers) has also contributed to a reduction in longer-term residents with dependent families.

The level of the school roll\(^21\) at the Little River Primary School has remained almost constant at around 80-90 pupils since 1998. While the population in the school=s area has been increasing, some of this increase has been in people who are commuting to work in Christchurch and taking their children to school in the City or in Selwyn District (Tai Tapu School and Lincoln Primary School and Lincoln High School). Nevertheless the school in Little River has grown in recent years - from two teachers plus a principal in the early 1990s to four teachers plus a principal now.

The combined effect of these two trends - increasing population and increased levels of commuting - has generally resulted in declining primary school rolls in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, with the pronounced exception of Diamond Harbour School, where data indicate a steady growth in the school=s roll over this period.

**Sport and performance arts**

Organised sport for people living in Outer Peninsula communities and Little River has been declining progressively in local participation over the past decade, with the last few years

\(^{20}\) Between 1986 and 2001, the proportion of the population aged 5-14 years in the Outer Peninsula has declined from 18% to 11%, whereas in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin this percentage has fallen only slightly, from 14% to 13%, while in the Little River area the percentage has remained constant at 15%.

\(^{21}\) As indicated by the July funding roll data held by the Ministry.
seeing some organised sports cease altogether. In other words, to the extent that Banks Peninsula residents in the Outer Peninsula and Little River continue to participate in organised sports, they tend to do so by going to Christchurch, or in a few cases to Ellesmere competitions based in Selwyn District. Despite this decline in organised sports participation, the sports clubrooms in several communities remain important social meeting places - examples mentioned during the interviews were the Little River Rugby Club and the Little Akaloa Tennis Club.

In line with the tendency towards increasing frequency of visits to Christchurch, numerous Banks Peninsula children travel through to Christchurch for training and also weekend games in team sports such as hockey, and also for individual pursuits such as swimming and speech and drama. While this requires a big commitment from parents providing transport, particularly over the winter months, as a general rule, rural people still expect to do this for their children.

One notable recent reversal of the trend towards an increasing Christchurch orientation for sports and training for Peninsula children is the establishment of regular ballet classes at Duvauchelle School since 2002, which draws students from all over the Outer Peninsula.

**Netball**

Ward reported in 1998 -

*Netball players on the Peninsula are split between two competitions - the Banks Peninsula Netball Association and the Canterbury Netball Association. Most belong to the latter.*

*The Banks Peninsula Netball Association comprises clubs at Little River, Duvauchelle and Akaroa, each with generally two senior and two junior teams. This comprises about 40 individuals involved in each club. The teams play each other, occasionally playing outside the area at field days organised by the Canterbury Country Netball Union.*

*Lyttelton netball is administrated by the Lyttelton Combined Sports Club. It has six teams playing on Saturdays in Christchurch.*

In the Outer Peninsula, organised club netball has now virtually ceased altogether. Compared with the picture described by Ward above, the 2003 season saw one team from Little River playing in the Lincoln competition.

**Rugby**

Ward reported in 1998 -

*Rugby has been selected in this analysis as it is the national sport and one to which Cantabrians have a recognised devotion. With the largest team size of the major team sports it can include large number of individuals from local communities recreating together (training, club functions etc) and with other communities.*

*For instance, each team has between 18 and 20 members including reserves, temporarily injured or unfit players and coaching staff. Parental involvement particularly with younger players is high and, allowing for more than one player per family and some one parent houses, say 1.5 parents per player has some involvement. Thus each team would comprise at least 40 individuals participating one way or another.*

*The Ellesmere Sub-union of the Canterbury Rugby Union administers age grade (non-schools) rugby for the majority of the Banks Peninsula District.*
The Banks Peninsula Rugby Club based at Little River has 6 teams drawing players from the Outer Bays to Kaituna but not the Lyttelton Harbour Basin. They play clubs from throughout South Canterbury as far south as Ashburton. Hornby, an outer suburb of Christchurch, is also included in this competition.

In years when there are insufficient players in the Banks Peninsula Rugby Club to make up an age grade team individuals usually play in a Waihora or Lincoln based team.

The Diamond Harbour Rugby Football Club also plays in the Ellesmere Sub-union competition but Lyttelton does not. Five teams from the Lyttelton Rugby and Combined Sports Club drawing players from Lyttelton play in the Christchurch metropolitan competition.

Club rugby in the Outer Peninsula was described as “just hanging in there”, showing a tendency to lose teenage players to teams in town, while sometimes gaining senior players in the form of ex-residents returning.

Basketball

Little River has until now been the only community in the District with a full-sized gymnasium. The refurbishment and new developments at Akaroa Area School will soon see a full-size gymnasium added there. As a result of this historical situation, Little River has been for the past decade the focal point for an active basketball competition involving teams from Birdlings Flat, Kaituna, Akaroa (2), Port Levy and several from Little River itself, each with different sponsors. Even as recently as 2003 there were 8 teams in the competition from Little River, Akaroa and Port Levy. However, the informal nature of the organisation, and resulting lack of organisational continuity has meant that this competition ceased altogether in 2004.

Tennis

In the mid-1980s there were six local clubs in Banks Peninsula District playing their own local competition. They included Charteris Bay, Little Akaloa, Duvauchelle, Wainui, Akaroa and Little River/Okuti. It is interesting to note that this group involved communities in all three major divisions of what is now Banks Peninsula District. In 2004, the Little Akaloa Tennis Club is the only active club on the Peninsula; several years ago, it joined the Ellesmere Tennis sub-association for home-and-away competition.

Employment, occupation and workplace

Place of work in relation to place of residence:

In March 2001, Banks Peninsula District had 3,805 residents who said they were working. The census also recorded that 2,789 workers said that they worked somewhere in the Banks Peninsula District. These two facts alone indicate that work opportunities in the District were substantially lower than the number of residents wishing to work. In fact, there was considerable two-way traffic in workers, with 1,929 Banks Peninsula District residents working in Christchurch City and 907 Christchurch residents working in Banks Peninsula District.

Despite this considerable two-way traffic in workers, the dependency is very one-sided. The 1,929 Banks Peninsula-resident workers constituted just over 1% of the Christchurch
workforce, while the 907 Christchurch-resident workers constituted 33% of the District workforce.

Such dependency of district-level labour markets on their nearest metropolitan labour market is not unusual (see Table 3). However, of the three districts which share common boundaries with Christchurch City, the dependency of Banks Peninsula District was the most pronounced in 2001.

**Table 3: Labour market exchanges between Christchurch and its neighbouring districts 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>District-resident workers</th>
<th>District-resident workers working in Christchurch City</th>
<th>% of Christchurch City workforce</th>
<th>District workforce</th>
<th>Christchurch-resident workers working in the District</th>
<th>% of District workforce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banks Peninsula District</td>
<td>3,805</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selwyn District</td>
<td>13,990</td>
<td>5,967</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10,519</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimakariri District</td>
<td>16,705</td>
<td>7,990</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10,028</td>
<td>1,392</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By contrast, those districts which are somewhat more removed from Christchurch have much more self-contained labour markets. Ninety-two per cent of Hurunui District’s workforce lived within its District, and 97% was the corresponding figure for Ashburton District.

Looking at this labour market relationship purely from the District perspective, in 2001, fewer than half (47%) of all the workers resident in the Banks Peninsula District actually worked in the District. Work opportunities for more than half of the District's resident working population (51%) were found at locations in Christchurch City, and 2% of work opportunities were found in Selwyn District. In 2001, fewer than two thirds (64%) of Banks Peninsula District's workforce (i.e. people working for businesses located in Banks Peninsula District) actually lived in the District. Almost one third (31%) of the District’s workforce lived in Christchurch City, and 1% lived in Selwyn District. This situation has become more pronounced since 1991, as the following table illustrates.

**Table 4: External labour flows into and out of Banks Peninsula District**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Workers resident in Banks Peninsula District</th>
<th>% of district-resident workers working in Banks Peninsula District</th>
<th>Banks Peninsula District workforce</th>
<th>% of district workforce living in Banks Peninsula District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>2,232</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3,805</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall picture for the District in 2001 has been disaggregated to reveal important differences between the three primary geographic divisions of community. Not surprisingly, it is the Lyttelton Harbour Basin which exhibits a dominant linkage with the Christchurch City...
labour market. Christchurch City is an important place of work for residents of Little River but less so for residents of the Outer Peninsula.

Table 5: Inter-district labour market flows, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary division</th>
<th>District-resident workers 2001</th>
<th>District-resident workers working in Christchurch City, 2001</th>
<th>% of district-resident workers 2001</th>
<th>District workforce 2001</th>
<th>Christchurch-resident workers working in the District 2001</th>
<th>% of District workforce living in Christchurch 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Harbour Basin</td>
<td>2402</td>
<td>1619</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River + Environs</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Peninsula</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks Peninsula District</td>
<td>3,805</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same analysis ten years earlier (1991) shows that all three parts of Banks Peninsula District have become more popular as places to live for people working in Christchurch. While a high level (50%) of worker in-migration to the Lyttelton Harbour Basin has been evident for a long time, the numbers of Christchurch residents working in Little River and in the Outer Peninsula has become noticeable only in more recent times.

Table 6: Inter-district labour market flows, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Harbour Basin</td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River + Environs</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Peninsula</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks Peninsula District</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>2,232</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a very real sense, these labour market relationships are beginning to challenge the historical balance between internal and external dependency - displaying a shift from self-sufficiency to inter-dependence, and even symbiosis in the case of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin.
Minimal overlap in local labour markets:

The movement of workers from place of residence to place of work - within the three main areas of Banks Peninsula District - is minimal, and appears always to have been so, as shown by the following table. The locality which shows the most tendency for workers to travel to another part of the District for their work is Little River, although the absolute numbers are still small; in March 2001, 15 Little River residents reported travelling to work in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin and 8 Little River residents reported travelling to work in the Outer Peninsula. By comparison, 22 reported travelling to work in Selwyn District and 164 in Christchurch City.

Table 7: Flows between local labour markets within Banks Peninsula District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of residence</th>
<th>Lyttelton Harbour Basin</th>
<th>Little River + Environs</th>
<th>Outer Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyttelton Harbour Basin</td>
<td>1991  100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2001  99%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River + Environs</td>
<td>1991  1%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2001  5%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Peninsula</td>
<td>1991  0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2001  1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above-average rates of home-based work:

Census night statistics are gathered nationally on the mode of travel to work that day, including work at home. In March 2001, 11% of all working New Zealanders reported working at home. The percentage for Banks Peninsula District is considerably higher, at 30%. Furthermore, there were some marked differences in the three main areas of Banks Peninsula District. Fifty-seven per cent of people working in Little River and its environs worked at home, and the figure for Outer Peninsula was 42%, whereas the Lyttelton Harbour Basin with 21% working at home was closer to the typical urban NZ rate. These differences reflect the greater farming and tourism orientation of the Outer Peninsula and Little River, compared with the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, and the higher proportions of Lyttelton Harbour Basin residents working in government services (health and education) compared with Little River and Outer Peninsula.

Some big shifts in employment patterns for District residents:

Over the past 20 years (1981-2001) the number of District residents employed in farming has declined markedly, from a total of 447 in 1981 to 327 in 2001, a decline of some 27%. It is well known that tourism development has done much to compensate in terms of new jobs created over the same period. The statistics bear this out, showing an increase from 183 in 1981 to 462 in 2001 (+152%). Recent diversification in land use is reflected in employment numbers in the horticulture and forestry industries, both of which exhibit relatively small numbers of workers at the present time, but where numbers have shown signs of significant recent increase; in other words, emerging industries. Fishing is an example of an industry whose workforce on the Peninsula has declined substantially in the last decade; an even more dramatic decline has taken place in the number of workers resident in Banks Peninsula.
District (mostly in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin) and employed in shipping services (water transport). These trends are summarised in Table 8.

Table 8: Trends in employment of Banks Peninsula District residents by industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming industries(^22)</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming workers as % of all residents employed</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism-related industries(^23)</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism-related workers as % of all residents employed</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water transport</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water transport workers as % of all residents employed</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There have been some other notable shifts (summarised in Table 9). The increased interest in land diversification and sales has resulted in a seven-fold increase in the number of real estate workers living in the District - from 12 in 1981 to 90 in 2001. The growing numbers of retirement-age residents in the District is already manifesting itself in the workforce, where the numbers employed in licensed rest homes and other welfare institutions have grown almost four-fold over the same period - from 21 in 1981 to 78 in 2001.

Some of the trends reflect the mobility of modern workers and the fact that substantial numbers of District residents travel out of the District to work elsewhere. The greatest increases in employment numbers in the District as a whole have been business services, health services and education services. These increases are at much higher levels than can be accounted for by growth in demand within the Banks Peninsula District itself.

Recent shifts in employment within each major geographical division

The recent changes in local employment patterns show some marked differences between the three major geographical divisions of Banks Peninsula District. These comparisons and contrasts are indicative also of the changing composition of the respective communities of residents, and symptomatic of other trends discussed elsewhere in this report (e.g. the trend towards fewer kinship ties, or the trend toward fewer households with children, or the trend towards accelerating change).

\(^{22}\) Sheep; dairy; beef; mixed and other livestock farming; and cropping.

\(^{23}\) Restaurants and cafes; motels, hotels and other accommodation; entertainment services; libraries, museums and other cultural services; amusement and recreational services.
Table 9: Further trends in employment of Banks Peninsula District residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed rest homes and other welfare institutions</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business services</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business service workers as % of all residents employed</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical, dental and other health services</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical/health service workers as % of all residents employed</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education services</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education service workers as % of all residents employed</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the Outer Peninsula (-17%) and the Lyttelton Harbour Basin (-13%) have experienced substantial reductions in the number of people working in agriculture in just the most recent inter-censal period (1996-2001). For the more rural Outer Peninsula, this decline corresponds to a loss of 42 jobs in agriculture, whereas for the more urban Lyttelton Harbour Basin, the decline corresponds to a loss of 15 jobs in agriculture. In the Little River area, the numbers of people working in agriculture have remained constant over this time.

For jobs in tourism, the Outer Peninsula has experienced rapid growth (+26%) over the past inter-censal period, leading the way with 36 new jobs, whereas tourism job numbers in the Little River area and the Lyttelton Harbour Basin have remained constant over this time.

Jobs in health professions have leapt by 28% for residents of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, corresponding to 60 new jobs, most of which will actually be in Christchurch. Little River residents show some of this trend with nine new jobs in health professions during this period, many of these likely to be city commuters. On the other hand, the increase of 6 health professional jobs in the Outer Peninsula is more related to the consolidation of health services based in Akaroa.

In education services, employment in the Outer Peninsula was static over the 1996-2001 period, reflecting the trend in overall school rolls. However educational professionals living in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin increased 23% during this period, despite significantly falling school rolls, suggesting that most of the additional 45 people involved will actually be working in Christchurch.

The growth of tourism

Tourism activities on Banks Peninsula have been evolving steadily over the past twenty years. However growth has been accelerating in recent years. From a District perspective, Akaroa is definitely the hub of tourist flows, with visitor numbers approaching 100,000 annually, and employment in Akaroa township being in the vicinity of 50% tourism-related by various statistical sources\(^\text{24}\). Indeed, Shone et al. (2003, pp.vii-viii) found that Akaroa

\(^{24}\) Statistics NZ Census of Population 2001; Shone et al. (2003) in which a telephone survey of Akaroa town residents yielded 95 respondents, 64% of whom were in the work force and 57% of these worked in tourism-related activities.
residents are more likely to be employed in tourism, and to have members of their household or family employed in tourism, than their Christchurch counterparts. It is now acknowledged as a major component of the District economy, with significant implications for community that are discussed at various points in this report.

The range of attractions which brings visitors to Banks Peninsula cover the natural environment, the built environment, the sea, the rural areas and the larger towns, and settlements. These include the historic buildings in Akaroa and Lyttelton, wildlife - Hectors dolphins, fur seals, blue and yellow-eyed penguins; walking tracks including Banks Peninsula walkway; and harbour recreation and fishing in both the major harbours of the Peninsula.

By and large, tourism activity in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin is linked to and organised from Christchurch. Further out on the Peninsula the Tourist Heritage Trail began in 2004, opening up and actively promoting the northern bays of the Peninsula to visitors.

While some events which are important to visitors have been on the calendar for a very long time (Duvauchelle and Little River A&P shows, and the Takake to Akaroa Road Relay), others are very recent additions to the calendar (Akaroa French Festival since 1996; Le Race Cycle Race since 1999; Bastille Day celebrations since 2000; and the Tuatara Peninsula Race).

Recent rates of growth in commercial accommodation in Banks Peninsula have been significant, as the following table illustrates -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of accommodation</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motel</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed &amp; Breakfast</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backpacker/budget accom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm stay - out of Akaroa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Akaroa Information Centre

This growth is reflected also in records of visitor bed-nights which show recent growth of 17% for Banks Peninsula District compared with 3% for Canterbury and 3.3% nationally (Innes, 2004).

Tourism sector interests see both benefits and risks from such growth. The main benefits to local communities include a more diverse and robust economic base, the development of local infrastructure, and opportunities to maintain and consolidate community resources²⁵. On the other hand, rapid growth in tourism and visitor numbers risks over-crowding at recreation areas and shopping areas, congested roads and walking tracks, and deterioration of physical environments. Indeed, the Outer Peninsula residents interviewed all pointed to levels of congestion in and around Akaroa during the summer peak visitor period, which

²⁵ These observations are reinforced by the responses to the survey of Akaroa residents reported by Shone et al. (2003). Of 95 responses, 83% pointed to economic/financial benefits, 27% to employment opportunities, 24% to improved facilities for locals, and 9% to positive cultural interactions.
tends to displace locals. However, they also acknowledged that Akaroa is more attractive when not overrun with visitors, and now provides better entertainment options and more non-farming job variety, which is particularly important for younger people.

There are other, indirect impacts from the scale of tourism growth which apply particularly to the Outer Peninsula. The links between farm families and tourism have become more evident through the development of walking tracks, bed and breakfast operations and farm stays, and a greater diversity of arts and crafts aimed at the visitor market. The tourism-oriented economy is bringing new people to the District, some of whom have a seasonal, transient occupancy. Observations from a number of interviewees suggest that, typically, people working in tourism businesses are younger and more mobile than for the general working population. Another demographic trait of the tourism workforce appears to be fewer families and therefore different types of connection into the local community. Expansion of the tourism sector in Akaroa has made housing and renting more expensive; this has displaced some lower-income households, and has also resulted in more interest being shown in the outer bays by property buyers, in search of peace and solitude. Large sums are being paid for farm land but not necessarily for farming, and new arrivals do not always mix easily with existing communities - they bring urban values and attitudes which can challenge farming practices, as noted earlier. Bach owners are reported to be using their baches more often than they used to, so that they have more of presence in the isolated outer bays, although it is still an intermittent presence.

The growth in tourism has re-invented Akaroa township in recent years. But its implications go much further than that. Tourism is a highly networked industry so that growth in tourism has added new dimensions to the community links between Akaroa and the outer bays; it has been one of the major drivers for the re-development and growth in Little River - with new commercial infrastructure now making it an identifiable destination on the route between Christchurch and Akaroa - and it has also created a very strong connection to Christchurch as the regional tourism hub.

The research of Shone et al. (2003) focussed almost exclusively on tourism in Akaroa township itself, and the experience which townsfolk had of tourism development. Their conclusions (p.52) on the links between community and tourism are pertinent to considerations of community viability –

"Akaroa has had a relatively long association with tourism and historically has been a favoured destination of Christchurch residents. Unlike Christchurch, however, the density of visitors relative to the size of the local population is high, with Akaroa maintaining only a

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26 These observations are also reinforced by the responses to the survey of Akaroa residents reported by Shone et al. (2003). Of 95 responses, 36% pointed to increased strains on infrastructure, 20% to increased congestion, with others referring to parking problems (18%), litter problems (13%), campervan effluent dumping (10%), dangerous driving (8%) and noisy visitors (6%).

27 Manifest in many ways, including the upgrading of physical infrastructure along the waterfront; the diversification of visitor attractions, restaurants and accommodation in the town; the establishment of a Heritage Precinct to protect buildings in the commercial centre of the town; the consolidation of the Information Centre as a focal point in the town, having taken over the operation of New Zealand Post services previously operated by the District Council.

28 The launching point for visitors on the Akaroa Walkway which is now a well established attraction; the Tourist Heritage Trail which is aimed at opening up the northern bays as an option for visitors who previously tended to focus on Akaroa as the main destination; farm stays in the outer bays as an accommodation alternative for visitors to Akaroa; and so on.
small permanent resident population. Because of its size, Akaroa is largely dependent upon tourism to provide the economic activity necessary to maintain the town and resident population. As a consequence, Akaroa residents’ experience of tourism differs greatly to that of Christchurch residents. As such, Akaroa residents appear to possess a more pragmatic view of tourism's place in the community, and of its impact on their lifestyles than their Christchurch counterparts. For example, Akaroa residents are more likely than their Christchurch counterparts to have an economic attachment to tourism. As many of Akaroa’s residents are employed in tourism, or have family members employed in tourism, they are acutely aware of the significant contribution the industry makes to the community as a whole. While this means that Akaroa residents, if by no other reason than self-interest, are accepting of tourism, it does not preclude them from holding strong views about the problems and concerns they have with the industry.

This position is compounded by the relatively small size of Akaroa's township, which means local residents have more frequent contact with visitors than do Christchurch residents. The high level of contact is, to a large extent, a consequence of the density of visitors relative to residents, and of the large proportion of Akaroa’s commercial area given to tourism. Residents have no choice other than to mix and interact with visitors on a regular and frequent basis. However, the fact that many residents in the town have had to alter their shopping and recreation patterns, and in some cases moved away in order to avoid visitors is cause for concern. It is from these small inconveniences that the 'seeds of discontent' within the resident population can be sown, and the long-term sustainability of the industry threatened."

Access to services

A consideration of services is important for communities of interest for the way in which access to a range of services supports settlement patterns and community focus or undermines them. This is particularly true for services which are used frequently and regularly (e.g. schools, roads, electricity supply, rural mail, etc.) and for emergency services (e.g. rural fire services, health services).

Critical social roles

Some services can play critical roles in binding together dispersed rural communities. For example -

- schools are often the central meeting place for families, the place where information is exchanged and social organisation occurs;
- road maintenance takes on added importance in rural areas where there are no alternative routes if the weather turns bad or roads are closed through snow;
- rural fire parties, which provide the nearest line of defence against scrub fires, depend on the voluntary participation of farming families and rural residents to respond to emergencies; regular training requires a high level of commitment by these local volunteers;
- in some places, the rural mail delivery has had a history of providing an informal social service as well - complimentary delivery between friends in neighbouring farm properties or neighbouring bays – “taking the casserole to ..... who's not well”

This section provides a very brief commentary on the status and/or recent trends in a variety of services operating in Banks Peninsula District. Education services - as in schools - has been described in detail in an earlier section of this report.
Health

Primary health services are currently undergoing potentially significant organisational and administrative change as a result of the PHO initiative. At the present time, primary health services are provided as follows -

- Lyttelton has two GPs.
- Governors Bay residents go to Christchurch or Lyttelton.
- Diamond Harbour has a part-time GP and full-time team of nurses (practice and district).
- Little River is visited by a GP from the Rolleston/Templeton practice on a fortnightly basis, which services enrolments taken through the Lincoln medical centre, whose previous doctor initiated the outreach to Little River. An after-hours service is provided through Selwyn Rural Health; otherwise Little River residents tend to visit medical centres in Lincoln, Halswell or Hornby.
- the Outer Peninsula is serviced either through a range of services based at Akaroa hospital\textsuperscript{29}, or by visiting Christchurch.

The Akaroa-based services have greater capacity than they did ten years ago (two GPs instead of one). Otherwise the situation with primary health services has been unchanged over the past six years.

Ministry of Health data indicate that a very high proportion of Banks Peninsula babies (>85-90%) are born in hospitals outside the District, either in Christchurch City or in Selwyn District. More details are provided in Appendix C.

Passenger transport

Lyttelton is serviced by Christchurch-based bus services, which extend as far as Rāpaki. Residents of Diamond Harbour have a connecting ferry service to Lyttelton. There has been little substantive change to these services in recent years.

One issue was noted by numerous interviewees about public passenger transport for the Outer Peninsula. This is that the shuttle services, originally started as an Akaroa-based business, now cater primarily for the visitor market rather than Banks Peninsula users. That is to say, the timetable has changed so that what used to be an easy one-day trip to Christchurch for locals has become a two-day trip requiring an overnight stay for those who don’t have or wish to use private transport.

Road maintenance

Several residents of the Outer Peninsula remarked on what they see as improvements in the road maintenance service. The current service is described as achieving a very high standard because the needs of the rural community are well understood by the private contractor. It is no longer acceptable for road maintenance gangs to start work at 8 am the next morning whenever the roads are closed by snow or slips; crews are out in the middle of the night if necessary. This high standard of service means less isolation in inclement weather conditions.

\textsuperscript{29} These include two resident GPs and three nurses, physiotherapist, podiatrist and optician (Akaroa Anglican Church, 2003). The hospital has seven beds: two are for maternity use which is infrequent and primarily for post-natal rest, five are general beds used variously for convalescence after surgery in Christchurch, carer relief and palliative care.
Communications

The standard of communications is reported as having improved, by virtue of the fact that broad-band internet access has been rolled out to many residents. In fact, the roll-out is not quite complete at this juncture. Lyttelton Harbour Basin residents have broadband access, as do the residents of Little River and Akaroa township. Le Bons Bay and Duvauchelle schools were due to be connected in November 2004, while Okains Bay School is expected to receive a satellite link up by mid-2005.

Rural Fire Parties

Rural Fire Parties were described as “a really important element of local co-operation, unique to rural areas” where people pull together to provide assurance in each of their local communities. Interviews elicited comments that the network of Rural Fire Parties around the Outer Peninsula still functions effectively; there are “some new recruits but ‘most are old hands’ and lots of community support to fund raise for improving equipment”. This reflects the degree of self-reliance and commitment necessary to make such community institutions work. However, there were some concerns expressed that Rural Fire Parties are becoming more difficult to sustain in some localities - through turnover in personnel, lack of time for regular training, and in one case “the only really skilled person now works out of the bay”.

Rural mail

The most notable change observed - in this case for the Outer Peninsula - was the nature of the service provided since the long-time contractor sold the business. This has resulted in the loss of the ‘social service’ dimension referred to previously, although it could possibly be only a matter of time before a new relationship is established. In one part of Akaroa Harbour, rural mail deliveries have recently been extended, providing a substantial improvement in service levels.

Professional services

No changes were reported in the range and method of delivery of business services across the District in the past six years.

Farming services

The consensus amongst farming interviewees was that while services to farming - stock and station services, vet services, fertiliser, soil testing, contract spraying, banking, accounting, farm management, and so on - may have changed in their organisation and method of delivery, overall the level of service is no poorer and may even be better than ten years ago. Even though some services are not based in the district anymore, they are not less accessible to farmers as a result because, for example, farmers have become accustomed to ordering services by email or text messaging.

Government social services

As with other rural districts around the country, Akaroa is the location for a Heartland Service Centre, co-ordinated by the Ministry of Social Development to provide improved access to government agency information and visits, in collaboration with local community organisations and the Banks Peninsula District Council.
In conclusion, it is important to recognise that the relative remoteness of rural communities means that some services - and more particularly, the way services are provided - are critical to the viability of rural communities and rural businesses. Of the services discussed in this section, the Banks Peninsula District Council has a direct involvement and coordinating role with road maintenance and rural fire services.

**Kinship links and religious affiliation**

In 1998, Ward (p.15) concluded that -

*The Peninsula population illustrates strong and enduring kinship links. This is particularly apparent in the farming community and amongst Maori. Sparrow’s work in 1995 consisted of surveys of heads of household and showed that 57% of male heads of household and 39% of female heads of household had links with previous generations. That study found the Northern Bays to have a very stable population, more stable than other parts of the Peninsula.*

Hay identifies local ancestry as being important for bonding and for excluding. This is closely linked to factors that are central to sense of place:

- place attachment
- insider feelings
- localised ancestry
- motivation to remain in place

Several economic drivers appear to have accelerated a gradual diminution of pakeha kinship links within the farming communities in Banks Peninsula District. (Note: Māori kinship links are discussed in a separate section following later in this report). The reduced numbers of viable farms remaining and the reduced numbers of Peninsula residents employed in farming means in a very direct sense that there has gradually been less opportunity for farm succession to remain within families. In very recent times, this trend is further overlaid with a number of cases where wealthy investors from outside the District\(^{30}\) have bought coastal farming property at prices hitherto considered exceptional. The acceleration of property values, out-pacing the capacity for traditional farm returns to build equity, has made farm succession that much more complex and expensive to facilitate. While it is undoubtedly true that many farming properties in Banks Peninsula are still in the hands of the same family after the 4\(^{th}\), 5\(^{th}\) or 6\(^{th}\) generation - and therefore the depth of kinship ties is still evident - this is by no means as dominant a phenomenon as it used to be\(^{31}\). Both these trends are seen to have become more marked since 1998.

Further (pp.15-16) Ward reported -

*“Only 58.5% of the Banks Peninsula population classify themselves as Christian. Only 1%, or 84 individuals, belong to non-Christian religions.*

*Anglicans dominate in all Area Units. A consistent 44% to 46% of Lyttelton, Diamond Harbour, Governors Bay and Akaroa Christians are Anglican. In Port Levy, Okains Bay and Little River a larger but more-or-less uniform 56% and 60% are Anglican.*

\(^{30}\) Several have been overseas buyers

\(^{31}\) This conclusion is drawn on the basis of interviewee responses, rather than a survey of farming property ownership.
The Catholic respondents fall into three populations. Lyttelton (20%), Akaroa (19%), and Little River (18%) form one. The remainder of the Area Units have around 14%, except Port Levy which has 10%. Presbyterians have a similar population and distribution to Catholics except for Lyttelton and Akaroa where they are a minority.”

Only one of the interviewees, to whom Ward’s findings were circulated, made any comment on this section, noting a very recent change in the parish-level organisation of the Anglican Church. This involved the transfer from Akaroa Parish to Diamond Harbour Parish of parishioners from Port Levy. In preparing for this change, the vestry of the Akaroa Parish had recorded travel distances and typical travel times from each of the northern bays to Akaroa, and found that travel times from Port Levy to Akaroa were far greater than for any of the other bays, in most cases double the time. It was concluded that travelling from Port Levy to Diamond Harbour would be considerably quicker. This aligning of Port Levy with Diamond Harbour is not without precedent. As noted earlier, Port Levy is in the same Council Ward area as Diamond Harbour, and Port Levy children have for many years travelled to the Diamond Harbour School.

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34 Services maintained in the Outer Peninsula by holding them in Akaroa every Sunday at 9am and in one of the outer bays at 11am, travelling around the outer bays sequentially during each Sunday in the month.
4 A Māori perspective on communities of interest

Ward (pp.12-13) acknowledged that -

“Ngai Tahu are the Tangata Whenua. There are five runanga whose rohe is the Banks Peninsula. These are set out in the First Schedule of the Te runanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996 as follows:

1. Rāpaki Runanga. The takiwa of Rāpaki Runanga centres on Rāpaki and includes the catchment of Whakaraupo and Te Kaituna.

The Rāpaki settlement is west of Lyttelton. The catchments of Whakaraupo (Lyttelton Harbour) and Kaituna Lagoon are shown on Figure 4.

2. Wairewa Runanga. The takiwa of Wairewa Runanga centres on Wairewa and the catchment of Te Wairewa and the hills and coast to the adjoining takiwa of Koukourarata, Onuku Runanga, and Taumutu Runanga.

The Wairewa Marae is located between Little River and Cooptrtown. The catchment of Lake Te Wairewa (Forsyth) is shown on Figure 4. Boundaries in other directions are clearly less precisely defined and are noted accordingly.

3. Te Runanga o Onuku. The takiwa of Te Runanga o Onuku centres on Onuku and the hills and coasts of Akaroa to the adjoining takiwa of Te Runanga o Koukourarata and Wairewa Runanga.

The Onuku Marae is on the shores of Akaroa Harbour at Onuku (the Kaik) a few kilometres to the south of Akaroa town. Its takiwa includes the harbour catchment.

4. Te Runanga o Koukourarata. The takiwa of Runanga o Koukourarata centres on Koukourarata and extends from Pohatu Pa to the shores of Te Waihora including Te Kaituna.

Koukourarata has the European name Port Levy. The Pohatu Pa is located in what is now known as Flea Bay. The Runanga takiwa which includes most of the Outer Peninsula is shown on Figure 4.

5. Taumutu Runanga. The takiwa of Taumutu Runanga centres on Taumutua and the waters of Te Waihora and adjoining lands and shores of common interest with Te Ngai Tuahuriri Ruanga and Te Runanga o Arowhenua in the area south to Hakatere.

Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) and its margins are the Banks Peninsula connection of the takiwa of Taumutu Runanga.

Ward’s Figure 4 is included on the next page.
For this update of the review of communities of interest, a different approach has been adopted. Representatives of each of the five rūnanga were approached and invited to nominate a person to prepare their contribution to this document. The three individuals nominated, and the rūnanga for which they have prepared their community of interest review, are listed below:

Robin Wybrow  Wairewa Rūnanga  
  Te Rūnanga o Onuku  
  Te Rūnanga o Koukourarata.

Donald Couch  Rāpaki Rūnanga

Maani Stirling  Taumutu Rūnanga

Their contributions on contemporary relationships are provided below. More extensive discussion of historical relationships is provided in Appendix D.

General overview

Key Relationships

To understand Rūnanga relationships it must be appreciated that the fundamental principle underpinning Ngai Tahu relationships is whakapapa. Ngai Tahu remember and understand the creation of the universe, the formation of the earth and all its elements, the emergence of environmental and bio-diversity systems, the source of all knowledge, the creation of humans, and the migrations of people to Aotearoa/New Zealand, through whakapapa. In its most basic meaning, ‘whakapapa is the principle from which order and chaos may be understood. It places order upon space and time. It is the binding agent between opposite fields and connects the living with the dead, atua with humankind, and the intangible with the tangible.’ (Tau 1999). In a more general context the meaning of whakapapa is ‘to lay one thing upon another’ as, for example, to lay one generation upon another. The tīpuna or ancestors associated with all three rūnanga, ‘imposed whakapapa upon the Southern landscape’, and ‘consecrated the land’ by ritual with their whakapapa. The function of whakapapa is to anchor groups into known landscapes, and to establish the ongoing basis from which tribal mana [authority and power], identity, and activity in the present is validated by the past.

Whakapapa defines and differentiates the tribal identity and values and authenticates the existence of the marae and rūnanga. It is the guiding principle that validates and gives cognisance to the iwi’s authority, governance and traditional management over resources and people. It can be expressed through rangatiratanga [management, government] and kaitiakitanga [guardianship, stewardship] articulated through the care and protection of the environment, taonga, cultural practices, and guardianship over the resources, economics the people and the Ngāi Tahu spiritual environments.

The principles of rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga are as applicable today as they have been for generations and underpin the development and sustainability of many rūnanga relationships. Wairewa, Onuku and Koukourārata Rūnanga have co-existed for centuries and along with some form of local government will continue to constitute a legitimate and constant community.

Since settlement the focus of all three rūnanga has shifted and they are engaged in a broad spectrum of development initiatives. The rūnanga recognise that to accomplish their
aspirations requires the support and mutual co-operation of others and are in the business of establishing, valuing and maintaining robust relationships that are based on integrity and reciprocity for the benefit of all.

Relationships with statutory agencies, local government and community organisations are essential in order to meet obligations and responsibilities post settlement. For the sake of expediency these have been broken down into four key areas albeit that they are often inter-related and connected - cultural, environmental, economic and social.

**Environmental**

All three rūnanga are concerned with rehabilitating and protecting the environment and managing their individual and collective responsibilities as set out under the Resource Management Act.

This role has necessitated the development of key relationships with statutory authorities eg: Banks Peninsula District Council, Environment Canterbury, Ministry of Fisheries and Department of Conservation. All three rūnanga are about to engage in a collaborative Natural Resource planning exercise known as “Ki Uta Ki Tai” This will culminate in a plan that will include the values, policies and processes that will be applied consistently across the three rūnanga takiwā in respect of natural resource management.

The issues of resource management in the broadest context have necessitated the building of research capacity and the establishment of strong linkages and relationships with the scientific community, in particular Crown Research Institutes such as Manaaki Whenua and National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA) and Ministry For the Environment and Ministry of Fisheries. These relationships have lead to the establishment of research partnership programmes that have a national perspective with case studies based on the peninsula.

Environmental issues have also promoted the establishment of stronger linkages with other agencies and landowners in the respective rūnanga communities where rūnanga are working towards collaboration with the productive sector including Federated Farmers, Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust, Fish and Game, Recreational Fishers and other voluntary community agencies. Examples include the rehabilitation of reserves at Koukourarata and the establishment of a mātaitai fishing management tool the proposed Taiapure in Akaroa Harbour and stream relocation at Onuku, The Mahinga Kai Cultural Park and rehabilitation of the lake at Wairewa.

**Cultural**

Cultural issues are often closely linked to Ngāi Tahu environmental perspectives and the protection of rūnanga sites of significance (wāhi tapu, wāhi taonga) and the cultural practices and sustainable management of natural resources known as mahinga kai.

To ensure adequate protection mechanisms are in place ongoing work is being undertaken with the Historic Places Trust, Kaupapa Taio (NTDC), ECAN, BPDC and various archaeologists.

Cultural relationships also exist between all three rūnanga and the other 15 Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga based on whakapapa and shared interests in the resuscitation of cultural
practices including language. This involves relationships with Te Waka Reo Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation.

The Waihora Joint Management Board is an example of rūnanga working in collaboration and dealing with environmental, cultural, social and economic issues.

**Economic**

Building wealth and economic development is a priority for Onuku, Koukourarata and Wairewa Rūnanga. Ensuring that adequate resources are generated to undertake the broad spectrum of work that the entities are engaged in and to provide opportunities for our people and others. Over the next decade all three rūnanga will build their economic base and influence within the region.

One such example is Tapoitanga Māori a joint partnership between Takuahi Research and Development (Wairewa) and the other peninsula rūnanga in a four-year research programme funded by FRST in partnership with the Tuhoe Tourism Federation, Te Urewera Tairawhiti Forum, and Manaaki Whenua. The overall aim of this research is to increase foreign exchange earnings from international tourists by developing eco-cultural tourism products with iwi. This will involve developing innovative product, best business practice models and addressing business and organisational capacity issues for Māori and will culminate in products being developed at each of the three rūnanga.

Other economic development initiatives include property development on the peninsula and wider Canterbury region, aquamarine farming and eco-cultural tourism activities. Business activities are often built on strong relationships and currently there is a broad spectrum of consultants and business advisors engaged in various ways including legal firms, Livingstones and Associates, Business Strategy Group, QMedia, Ngai Tahu Holding Corporation, Canterbury Development Corporation, and with respective communities on the peninsula.

**Social**

This area encompasses the civic and political relationships that are an integral part of developing influence and ensuring positive dialogue is taking place between rūnanga and various communities and encompass national, regional and local interests. Engaging with local government from local landowners to community voluntary interest groups to national agencies involved in the delivery and development of planning and policy across all sectors. This is part of an evolving process that will see the rūnanga eventually become stronger integral and productive members of their local communities of interest. In this sector initiatives are often collaborative inter-rūnanga and inter-community and have the ability to produce social, cultural and environmental outcomes.

Examples include

- The Kaupapa Kererū Programme in collaboration with the community, schools, DoC and rūnanga is one such example.
- The Ngāi Tahu eco-cultural trail concept that involves all three rūnanga will also involve the community.
The Taiapure Fishing Management tool Akaroa involves all three rūnanga, Recreational Fishers and the wider community.

Te Kete o Aoraki educational initiative involves rūnanga and all schools on the peninsula.

Te Rōpū Kaitiaki involves all three rūnanga and includes Ngati Wheke (Rāpaki), Te Taumutu Rūnanga, Ngai Tuahuriri, Kaupapa Taio and DoC

Various economic development initiatives

Following is a list of key stakeholders that include: members and landowners of various communities of Banks Peninsula, BPDC, DoC, the Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust, ECAN, Manaaki Whenua / Landcare Research, the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA), Motukarara Nurseries, Federated Farmers, the Historic Places Trust, Environment Research and Science (ESR), the Ministry for the Environment, Ministry of Fisheries, Te Tari Tai Whenua/ the Department of Internal Affairs, the NZ Police, the Māori Land Court, various environmental trusts and community interest groups, District Area Health Boards, schools and educational institutes.

**Rāpaki Contemporary Relationships**

Since the Ngāi Tahu establishment of Te Rāpaki o Te Rakiwhakaputa (Rāpaki) 300 years ago, the community has fulfilled an important Ngai Tahu cultural role not only in Whakaraupo / Lyttelton Harbour, Horomaka / Banks Peninsula and Waitaha / Canterbury, but indeed for the motu of Te Wai Pounamu. During a typical year there would be 3 or 4 hui on the Rāpaki marae which include representatives from the other Horomaka hapū or from elsewhere in Waitaha / Canterbury. In November 2004 Rāpaki hosted the Ngāi Tahu Hui-a-Tau [annual meeting], which drew 1,000 Ngāi Tahu from throughout the country.

Many of the whanau of Rāpaki have married into families from adjoining bays around the Harbour and on the Peninsula. Thus there are close family links to others associated with the Peninsula.

For several years there has existed the Lyttelton Harbour Issues Group with representatives from most communities from around the harbour including: Diamond Harbour, Church Bay, Charteris Bay, Governors Bay, Cass Bay, Corsair Bay and Rāpaki plus the Port Company, BPDC, Public Health and Environment Canterbury. The current elected Chair of the Group is from Rāpaki.

By statute there is a Summit Road Protection Authority with membership from the CCC, BPDC and the SDC. There is also a statutory Advisory Committee whose membership specifically provides that tangata whenua representation be from Rāpaki.

The Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 designates the takiwā of the 18 constituent rūnanga of Ngāi Tahu. Rāpaki’s takiwā includes the Whakaraupo catchment area and a sharing with Koukourarata of the Kaituna Valley. Rāpaki’s hapū, Te Hapu o Ngāti Wheke, is the mana whenua of these areas. For purposes of working with territorial authorities, Rāpaki’s takiwā is mostly BPDC, but also includes areas of CCC e.g. Godley Head and the Port Hills down to the Opawaho (Heathcote River).

Economically, the employment of Rāpaki residents shows considerable diversity. In Lyttelton there are employees of the Port Company, BPDC and the service sector. Several individuals work at the Cholmendley Home in Governor’s Bay. In Christchurch, employment of Rāpaki residents includes a travel agency, health centre, fisheries, the Corrections Department, the
Office of the Ombudsman, stockbroking firms, gardening supplies, an engineering company, a publishing company, Ngāi Tahu, and retailing and transportation firms.

Educationally, Rāpaki residents attend primary school in Lyttelton (West), Governors Bay, or Christchurch (Cathedral Grammar). Secondary schools in Christchurch are attended - especially Cashmere. One Rāpaki resident lectures at Lincoln University, another is a student there.

These examples demonstrate that Rāpaki has a variety of links to the rest of Horomaka/Banks Peninsula and also to the nearby major urban area of Christchurch. The various linkages include a range of social, economic, administrative and political activities.

*Taumutu contemporary relationships*

For the people of Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki / Ngāti Moki (Te Taumutu Rūnanga), it is whakapapa that binds them to all the various hapū/rūnanga of Banks Peninsula, and therefore to a shared interest in the traditional management over resources.

The most prominent traditional resource with which the people of Taumutu share the responsibility of Kaitiakitanga, is Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). All of the various hapū/rūnanga of Banks Peninsula link to Te Waihora through whakapapa and therefore have a kaitiaki responsibility over Te Waihora. However, it is Te Taumutu Rūnanga, due to its location on the southern side of the lake where the lake is still and has always been opened to the sea, that assumes this role as a primary responsibility.

It is this resource that also forms the basis of Te Taumutu Rūnanga's key relationships with the various communities of interest at local, regional and national levels, including the BPDC, the CCC, the SDC, ECAN, DoC, commercial and recreational fishermen, other commercial and recreational lake users, and the farming community.

The most notable outcome of these relationships has been the development of the Te Waihora Joint Management Plan. But Te Taumutu Rūnanga has also developed its own Te Taumutu Rūnanga Natural Resources Management Plan, and fully participates in all RMA consent applications and Department of Conservation Concessions, from its Natural Resources office located at Ngāti Moki Marae.

For the residents of Taumutu, employment covers the range of occupations from commercial fishing and farming (both as self-employed and as employees of these industries), to teachers, lecturers, and office managers.

Te Taumutu Rūnanga is also currently participating in the implementation of Te Kete o Aoraki,. This plan was developed to encourage, promote, monitor, and where possible, assist with projects and programmes, that assist schools to develop strategies to improve educational outcomes for young Ngāi Tahu. Te Taumutu currently employs one person on a part time basis to develop relationships with all schools within our district.

*NZ Maori usually-resident population*

Compiling long-term time series data for the NZ Māori population is problematic because of significant changes in the census questionnaire wording between 1991 and 1996. However, a comparison of census data between 1996 and 2001 suggests that the Banks Peninsula District usually resident population recorded in the census as NZ Māori declined slightly from 591 in 1996 to 573 in 2001, a decline of 3% across the District as a whole. In contrast, the
usually resident Māori population for the whole country increased by 0.5%, for Christchurch City the increase was 2% and for Selwyn District the increase was 8%.

5 Shared community interests

Changes in community composition and the bases for shared interests

A number of factors are leading progressively over time to significant changes in the composition of residential communities in many parts of Banks Peninsula District. These factors have been touched on elsewhere in this report; however they are brought together in a brief summary at this point.

The main factors leading to cumulative change in community composition are (in no particular order of importance) -

- declining resident population in some areas (Akaroa) and increasing resident population in others. Both sorts of changes can result in changing demographics.

- increasing numbers of retirees moving to live in their properties, particularly in Akaroa and Diamond Harbour. Many of these have spent most of their lives living and working elsewhere, particularly in Christchurch and Canterbury. Some will have been accustomed to holidaying at their properties, but have latterly taken up permanent occupation. Consequently, many of these may have had a long-term association and affinity with the District.

- purchase of property in Banks Peninsula by people from outside the District, outside the region and even outside the country. Internet-facilitated land purchase is starting to result in an observable incidence of new arrivals with no previous connections with Banks Peninsula at all, and with no prior knowledge or experience of the cultural make-up of the place. It can be expected that these new arrivals come for a variety of reasons - adopting a new lifestyle, retirement, investment in land or tourism ventures, and so on. They appear to be most evident in the Outer Peninsula and the Little River area. The lively interest in the property market as a result has put pressure on rentals and property prices and thus the affordability of property for low and middle-income residents, which has an effect on the age and gender mix within the community.

- the significant expansion within the District economy of tourism activities as a focus for investment, enterprise and employment. This appears to be particularly relevant to Akaroa in the Outer Peninsula. While there is some overlap between tourism and farming, by and large the tourism-oriented economy is bringing new people to the District, some of whom have a seasonal, transient occupancy. Observations from a number of interviewees suggest that, typically, people working in tourism businesses are younger and more mobile than for the general working population. Another demographic trait of the tourism workforce appears to be fewer families and therefore different types of connection into the local community.

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33 'Cultural' used in its broadest sense, not referring simply to ethnic difference.

34 2001 census data indicates that median income levels in Akaroa ($17,300), outer bays ($16,400) and Little River ($17,100) are still lower than the national average ($18,500).
an increase in numbers of people prepared to commute between Banks Peninsula and Christchurch City, in order to combine the residential amenities of the former with the much more extensive work and business opportunities of the latter. While this is evident even in the Outer Peninsula, it is most evident in Little River and the Lyttelton Harbour Basin.

Taken together, it is apparent that these factors influence not only the composition of local communities, which are now more diverse than they used to be, but also the orientation of Banks Peninsula residents between their immediate communities and those outside the District, particularly the major metropolitan area of Christchurch. In the rural areas of the District, this change in composition of landowners is having a perceptible effect on the extent to which inter-generational title still pre-dominates. For example, in the southern bays of the Peninsula, it is reported that there are now very few properties remaining in the ownership of families which have owned them for several generations, although this may be one of the areas where the trend is most extreme.

Long-term residents refer to "a loosening of close-knit community feel", or "a more hard-nosed business focus; less love of Banks Peninsula". As discussed earlier, the presence of more outsiders now puts pressure on ways of farming with the introduction of different views and attitudes. However, it is also acknowledged that "new arrivals do contribute in other ways" - for example, investing in a new digital theatrette at the Akaroa Area School for joint school/community use.

The persistence of shared interests

Despite the changing composition of communities, there is also plenty of evidence of community collaborations that have sprung up throughout the District in very recent times. This has been happening at all levels of community in Banks Peninsula District. In other words, there are recent collaborations which have a District-wide focus, some which involve residents from several neighbouring settlements and others which are predominantly very localised in nature, reflecting the common interests of individual bays and settlements. Short lists exemplifying some of these collaborations are given below –

Collaborations with a District-wide focus

- the establishment of the Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust several years ago, involving farmers and representatives of SDC, CCC, ECAN, DoC, local rūnanga and Ngāi Tahu;
- the establishment three years ago of the Tourism and Economic Development Board chaired by the mayor and involving a range of business people associated with the Peninsula;

Collaborations involving residents of several neighbouring settlements within the District

- the Lyttelton Harbour Issues Working Party to work on water quality monitoring;
- the Akaroa Harbour Issues Working Party to work on harbour management issues;

Note that 'commuting' may take a variety of forms; some people commute on a daily basis while others go to Christchurch for several days each week and then return to their homes and families for the remainder of the week.
the Banks Peninsula Early Learning Centre, established as a result of community fund-raising and sponsorship in Duavauchelle in 2002 and catering to families from Little Akaloa round to the southern bays;
the kapa haka programme based in Akaroa but involving children from as far afield as Little River;
the monitor farms in Pigeon Bay ('00-'03) and Little River ('03-), and their supporting community groups;
the Akaroa & Bays Lions Club efforts to raise funds for upgrading the fire tender equipment to support the Rural Fire Parties

Collaborations within a local community

- the formation of Probus Clubs in Diamond Harbour and Akaroa in the past three years;
- the Fisherman’s Feast annual fund raising for the Le Bons Bay school, organised for the past few years by half a dozen parents;
- the Okains Riverside Enhancement Project;
- a local Trust initiative by three Akaroa people to refurbish the Gaiety Theatre and resurrect its use by locals;
- successful lobbying to have the central area of Akaroa designated as an historic area;
- the formation of the Railway Station Trust in Little River to refurbish the old railway station and the formation of the Little River Craft Co-op to facilitate its use;
- the Pumpkin Festival fund-raising event in Little River, first aimed at raising funds for the local heritage park and now aimed at raising funds for the primary school;
- the Wairewa Community Development Trust, established in 2000/01, pursuing local development aimed at improving the public and community infrastructure in Little River, and involving both new arrivals and long-standing residents;
- and so on.

While many of these have an economic, environmental or cultural focus, all of these collaborations have social implications as well, and in themselves indicate considerable investment in the social capital of networking and collaboration. Practically all of them are based on voluntary commitment of time - another indication of common community of interest.

The dilution of shared local interests

Notwithstanding the persistence of a strong sense of place for people with attachments to particular settlements and communities, and the evidence of new collaborations just described, there are other unequivocal symptoms that the closeness and self-reliance which have historically been associated with distinct communities are less strong in almost every community now.

It is evident, for example, that much of the organised sport on Banks Peninsula has all but disappeared, unless it is linked to the City competitions, as is the case for Lyttelton. To some extent this has happened because families are taking their children to participate in sports in the City.

But this out-of-district orientation is much more systemic now. By 2001, one-in-four of all school-age children living in Banks Peninsula District went to school in Christchurch City or Selwyn District and every second person in employment was crossing the same District boundary to go to work. Table 11 summarises the situation at the latest census.
Table 11: Out-of-district flows for school and work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Banks Peninsula District</th>
<th>Lyttelton Harbour Basin</th>
<th>Little River</th>
<th>Outer Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident children going to</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school out of the District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident workers going to</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work out of the District</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Time is a finite resource. When households are spending so much time travelling to school, work, sport, shopping and socialising, there is less time for local community activities. People in the district who were interviewed notice more 2-car households, more ‘Skydish’ households.

While some are working harder at local community collaboration, others are developing shared interests away from their place of residence. That this is happening in a District like Banks Peninsula is hardly surprising. The part of the District that is the Lyttelton Harbour Basin is in many ways joined directly to Christchurch City, even though its residents may have chosen to live ‘over the hill’ to be apart from the City. And for the more rural parts of the District, this trend is part of a universal change. Benediktsson et al. (1990) argued that off-farm work has been a feature of rural occupational patterns in New Zealand since pioneer times. Le Heron (1991) recognised, however, that a trend to greater off-farm income is part of a general societal trend towards dual incomes, casualisation of work, and individualisation - even of the nuclear family household. It is probable farmers are moving closer to urban society in their social and economic aspirations, and therefore closer to New Zealanders as a whole.
6 Conclusions for "communities of interest" - an update since 1998

In 1998, Ward concluded (pp.16-17) that -

“The geography - more fundamentally the topography of Banks Peninsula - is an overriding influence in determining the location and nature of present day communities and in shaping the character and intensity of their interconnections. Many formerly unifying characteristics based on pastoral farming have been eroded by land use changes - mainly as a result of the continued, and more recently marked, decline in the profitability of pastoral farming.

Hay found that people like the Peninsula as a place to live, with many of them having lived elsewhere for a period of time before returning to settle there. "Qualities such as the sea, nature, panoramic views, mild climate, close communities and proximity to Christchurch make the Peninsula the best place to live in their minds. During the first few years of residence, new residents, especially immigrants, are well aware of these qualities. They first feel affection for the Peninsula, and, over a number of years, develop strong place bonds.

Sparrow concluded her 1977 study by observing that the traditional idea of social life in a rural area was of being of a single strong supportive community and noting that: "the rugged terrain on Banks Peninsula prohibits this, so the survey encompassed a number of sub-communities, many of which are too small to sustain their own facilities. With travel between the settlements difficult, it is therefore, not easy to maintain services and organisations in the area. The problems of communications and services thus dominate the report just as it dominates the lives of the people on the Peninsula.

The sense of place of respondents was partially defined by travel patterns, and also by the Peninsula's topography and social character. "Territoriality also built up over years of residence, and was tied to the action space where respondents regularly roamed.

However, Christchurch and the Canterbury Plains were excluded from most respondents' spatial definition of their sense of place, even though they travelled there regularly. It was the special qualities of the Peninsula instead which has become part of the respondents' lifeworlds, tending to both characterise and limit the spatial range of their sense of place."

Hay's conclusion was that people who live in the Peninsula tend to cluster into groups, especially insiders and outsiders, with the insiders - those raised on the Peninsula - stereotyping outsiders as intruders into "their" place. Group influences on those raised there are thus strong, passing down through the generations (e.g. from father to son) and being a feature of school childrens' lives as well.

This present analysis has confirmed the widely recognised three primary and five secondary geographic divisions within which community of interest factors have a greater intensity.
The three primary divisions are:

A. Outer Peninsula (Hilltop east)
B. Little River and environs
C. Lyttelton Harbour Basin

The five secondary divisions are set out below. (In most instances secondary divisions have discernible sub-areas.)

1. Northern and Eastern Bays
2. Akaroa Inner Harbour
3. Southern Bays
4. Little River - Cooptown
5. Lyttelton Outer Harbour

There are three sub-areas with particular and separate character and these are:

- Kaituna and adjacent valleys
- PortLevy
- Te Kaituna / Te Waihora

Eastward beyond Hilltop is the heart of the Peninsula. Based on Akaroa this is a remarkably self-sufficient area. Agriculture and the visitor industry are the main commercial activities on which communities of interest are built. Outward connections strongly founded on commercial activities tend to bypass adjacent Little River and the Lyttelton Basin directly to Christchurch. So do inward connections.

Without exception, those interviewed endorsed these findings on Community of Interest as accurate and relevant to the situation in 1998, bearing in mind the caveats expressed about trends in the farming community. This is certainly true for the three primary divisions, which has been the level on which this update has focussed.

However, the nature and composition of communities in many locations is changing. These changes have been occurring for some time, but data and interviews suggest that the pace of change has accelerated in recent years. Overall, there has been a progressive shift in the balance towards greater connection with out-of-district activities, much of this city-oriented.

Individual localities still retain distinctive character and points of difference so that their individual sense of place is still meaningful. Their identity is modified - as elsewhere - by the extent to which associations outside the district have come to play a more important role. In much the same way as the residents in other rural communities around New Zealand are drawing closer to their urban counterparts in terms of attitudes and expectations of opportunity and services, so is it happening for the residents of Banks Peninsula District. It remains possible to live in relatively isolated places on Banks Peninsula but, in numerous ways, nowhere in Banks Peninsula is as isolated as it used to be. Improved access, increasing mobility and expanding interests combine to promote this trend.

Differences between the three primary geographic divisions identified by Ward still persist.

Returning to one aspect of community of interest which was highlighted by the Local Government Commission when commissioning the 1998 review -
“In broad terms a community of interest will be the collection of people in an area where the level of social and economic interaction and shared interest and identity are greater within the area than outside the area.”

It is evident that for the communities of the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, there are several important aspects - school and work - where the ‘shared interest and identity’ may now be greater with the adjacent communities of Christchurch City than within the District itself; the balance may have shifted far enough for community of interest distinctions with the City to have become blurred for the majority of the resident community. Put another way, while at the local community level they may still associate strongly with the place they have chosen to live, at the higher levels of territorial association, more of them may well connect more strongly to the City than to Banks Peninsula District.

For the Little River area and for the Outer Peninsula, there have been shifts in the balance as well, but not to the same extent. They still comprise distinct communities and sets of communities, albeit with a greater external orientation, and this external orientation is for the very large majority in the direction of Christchurch, whether they are involved in the farming sector or the tourism sector.
References


Eddy, A. 2004. Personal communication from Alison Eddy, NZ College of Midwives, Christchurch.


Ministry of Agriculture and Forests - Agstats


Appendix A: List of interviewees

Residents of Banks Peninsula

Alison Craw, Chorlton and Little Akaloa
Sue Grimwood, Akaroa
Harold Suttees, Akaroa
Tim and Sue Craw, Duvauchelle
Sandra Innes, Pigeon Bay and Akaroa
Ray Bygate, Akaroa
Pam Richardson, Pigeon Bay
Bryan Morgan, Little River
Gillie and Chris McFarlane, Little River
Stuart Wright-Stow, Little River
Yvonne Dalglish, Le Bons Bay

Other key informants

Mick O’Donnell, Community and Consultation Manager, Banks Peninsula District Council
Jill Coe, Canterbury District Health Board
Susan Noseworthy, Canterbury District Health Board
Jo Ride and Claire Russell, Barrington midwives
Alison Gallagher, Akaroa Hospital
Carey Clark, Ministry of Education
Ali Undorf-Lay, Federated Farmers
Appendix B: Mobility - vehicle ownership

Comparisons with other local authorities and with All New Zealand

% of households with No vehicle

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<th>Christchurch City</th>
<th>Banks Peninsula District</th>
<th>Selwyn District</th>
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% of households with two vehicles or more

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Comparisons between the three primary geographical divisions in Banks Peninsula

% of households with No vehicle

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% of households with two vehicles or more

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Comparisons for more remote locations in Banks Peninsula

% of households with No vehicle

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% of households with two vehicles or more

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Appendix C: Location of birth for mothers living in Banks Peninsula District

The Ministry of Health’s Maternal and Newborn Information System (MNIS) provides data on the location of facilities throughout the country at which mothers give birth to their babies (Ministry of Health, 2001 and 2004). The Plunket Society also provides data on the numbers of births in each local authority area (Eddy, 2004). The only birthing facility within the District is at Akaroa Hospital. The nearest birthing facilities in neighbouring districts are Christchurch Women’s Hospital, St George’s Hospital and Avonlea Hospital, all in Christchurch, and Lincoln Hospital in Selwyn District.

The data for calendar year 2003 indicate there were 80 babies born to mothers resident in Banks Peninsula District. This figure is likely to be a reasonable indication of current birth annual numbers; such data is not readily available on a year-by-year basis. In 1999, seven babies were born at Akaroa Hospital, and the figure for 2002 was two babies. Discussions with several midwives who offer obstetric and midwifery services to residents of Banks Peninsula suggest that the number of home births in the District is probably in the range of 5-10 per year.

From these data, it can be seen that a very high proportion of Banks Peninsula babies (’85-90%) are born in hospitals outside the District, either in Christchurch City or in Selwyn District.

Observations by midwives suggest that the level of home births amongst Banks Peninsula District residents is generally in line with patterns elsewhere in the country; and also that people who live more remotely from base hospitals are somewhat less likely to opt to have a home birth. Thus, in Banks Peninsula District, most of the home births tend to occur in the Lyttelton Harbour Basin, and very few in the Outer Peninsula. They also commented that the trend for home birthing may be for a very slight increase over time, rather than a decrease.

Regarding the distribution between Christchurch and Lincoln Maternity hospitals as birthing locations, very few births actually take place at Lincoln, although Lincoln Maternity Hospital is used for post-natal care. In 2004, 19 women from Banks Peninsula used Lincoln Maternity Hospital in this way.
Appendix D: Runanga perspectives on historical relationships

Wairewa, Onuku and Koukourarata

Ko te waka Uruao, Ko Rakaihautu te tangata tua tahi, ko Te Pātaka o Rakaihautu te whenua nei

According to Ngāi Tahu traditions following the wreckage of Te Waka o Aoraki that became the South Island, Rakinui (Sky Father) sent a number of his mokopuna (grandchildren) from the heavens to transform the waka into land that could sustain human life. The principal grandchildren were Tuterakiwhanoa whose job was to carve the keel of the upturned waka into mountains and valleys, Kahukura who forested the bare landscape and filled it with animals, and Marokura who carved the bays, inlets and estuaries and populated them with fish of many varieties. Rakinui was well pleased with the work of his mokopuna, as they had prepared the land for man.

Following the land’s preparation a great canoe arrived to the shores of Te Wai Pounamu. The name of this waka was the Uruao and its captain was Rākaihautū. With him were his people the Waitaha and they lit the first fires of occupation in the South Island. Shortly after his arrival Rākaihautū decided to create a more liveable landscape for those that were to follow. So with his great digging stick, his kō, Rākaihautū carved out the great lakes breathing life into the new land. He completed his work on Banks Peninsula with two Lakes Te Waihora (or Lake Ellesmere) and Te Roto o Wairewa (Lake Forsyth). When Rākaihautū surveyed the magnificence of his artistic endeavours on the Peninsula the beauty overwhelmed him and he decided to stay. So he took up his great digging stick for the last time and went into the hills above Akaroa Harbour and drove the kō deep into the ground where it turned into Tuhiraki or as some know it Mt Bossu. In recognition of the exploits of Rākaihautū and the abundance of mahinga kai (the variety of food and natural resources) the people named the peninsula “Te Pataka o Rākaihautū” the great food storage house of Rākaihautū.

After Waitaha came Kāti Māmoe from the North Island displacing the peaceful Waitaha through conflict and eventually intermarriage.

Some generations later Kāti Kurī voyaged across Raukawa-moana (Cook Strait) to Te Waipounamu. This migration is known as ‘Te Hekenui a Puraho’ after Puraho the expedition leader. This is widely acknowledged as the first migration of the modern assembly known as Ngāi Tahu. Puraho brought with him his children, Marukaitatia, Makō, Te Apai, Tokerau, Kahupupuni, Te Ihupaea, Hineitemuri and Te Ranginekea and other whānau members including Te Rakiwhakaputa, Waitai, Te Rakitaurewa and Te Aotaurewa.

Ngāi Tuhaitara was the name of another section of the Ngāi Tahu people, closely related to Kāti Kurī, who followed the example of Puraho and migrated to Te Waipounamu. Moki and Turakautahi led this migration.

The combined forces of Kāti Kurī and Tuhaitara saw Kāti Māmoe eventually displaced southwards and firmly entrenched in the Murihiku (Invercargill area).

Eventually victorious Ngāi Tahu forces reached Banks Peninsula. The various chiefs then set out confirming the land for themselves: Mako at Wairewa; Te Rakiwhakaputa at Rāpaki; Huikai at Koukourarata; Tutakakahikura at Pōhatu and the eastern side of Akaroa Harbour; Te Ruahikihiki at Wainui and Taumutu; Moki settled at Kaiapoi; Manaia was gifted
Whakamoia; Turakipo Sumner; and Te Rakitaurewa and Te Ake at the head of Akaroa Harbour.

As a consequence a number of Ngāi Tahu hapu each with its own land and mahinga kai rights were established. The tīpuna (ancestors) needed to establish this whakapapa right by conquest and occupation. This conquest and occupation involved intermarriage with those of Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha descent and hence the connection to Rakaiahautu and that has culminated in centuries of occupation on Te Pataka o Rakaihautu or Banks Peninsula.

Ngāi Tahu Treaty Settlement

In 1996 the iwi of Ngāi Tahu settled long-standing grievances regarding breaches to the Treaty of Waitangi with the agreement entered into with the Crown by representatives of the Māori iwi living in Aotearoa/ New Zealand in 1840. The Treaty was signed in three locations in the South Island at Onuku in Akaroa, Ōtakau Peninsula and at Ruapuke. This document guaranteed certain rights and privileges to indigenous Māori. The Crown did not honour these obligations and rights and amongst other things large tracts of Ngāi Tahu land was confiscated and stolen to make way for the new colonists. This led to the iwi of Ngāi Tahu being severely displaced and disadvantaged in a cultural, spiritual and economic context. Ngāi Tahu calls this struggle to correct these injustices "Te Kereme". It took the iwi 150 years to resolve this conflict. In 1996 the New Zealand Government passed The Ngāi Tahu Act and the Crown and Ngāi Tahu reached a settlement agreement. This agreement acknowledged the validity of the grievances.

The Ngāi Tahu settlement included financial compensation, the renaming of traditional places, guarantees of working relationships with Crown agencies, land, first rights of refusal on land being sold by the Crown, acknowledgement of iwi occupation and iwi boundaries, traditional fisheries and a formal apology by the Crown.

The reasons Ngāi Tahu pursued the claim are best described in the whakatauki laid down by our kaumātua (respected elders) at the establishment of the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board: “Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri a muri ake nei.” “For us and for our children”

Post Settlement

Since the Ngāi Tahu Settlement the 18 Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga have been re-organising and building the capacity of their organisations and members to meet a variety of new responsibilities and maximise any opportunities that the new environment presents. A high degree of accountability and transparency is required. As Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga organisations are mainly voluntary an enormous commitment by actively participating members is necessary to enable this to happen. Building the capacity of their own people to determine the shape and tenure of their future is the challenge.

Key Relationships

Onuku, Wairewa and Koukourarata Rūnanga recognise that to accomplish their aspirations requires the support and mutual co-operation of others. These rūnanga are in the business of establishing, valuing and maintaining robust relationships that are based on integrity and reciprocity for the benefit of all. Some relationships have been redefined as a result of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement and “Treaty obligations” govern others. However Onuku, Wairewa and Koukourarata Rūnanga must co-exist and operate within a series of communities and there are a number of organisations and agencies that have been identified as key
stakeholders. Some of these relationships are maintained through the regular exchange of relevant information, experience and participation at a variety of levels including cultural, environmental, economic and social development.

Key stakeholders include:
Members and landowners of various communities of Banks Peninsula, the BPDC, DoC, the Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust, ECAN, Manaaki Whenua / Landcare Research, the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA), Motukarara Nurseries, Federated Farmers, Historic Places Trust, Environment Research and Science (ESR), Ministry for the Environment, Ministry of Fisheries, Te Tari Tai Whenua/ Department of Internal Affairs, NZ Police, Māori Land Court, various environmental trusts and community interest groups, District Area Health Boards, schools and educational institutes.

Ngāi Tahu Rāpaki, Whakaraupo and Horomaka

The people who lived in Whakaraupo/Lyttelton Harbour when the colonists arrived in 1850 to settle Canterbury called themselves tangata whenua - the people of the land.

Ngati Wheke was their hapū and Ngāi Tahu their iwi.

One of the older stories of this area from the first people, Waitaha, tells of the early explorer Tamatea-pokai-whenua naming the Harbour (Whaka) after the raupō which in those days was found in abundance at the head of the harbour in what we now call Allandale and Teddington. Tamatea’s name is found throughout Aotearoa wherever descendants of the Takitimu waka live. Locally it has been given to several prominent landmarks including the dominant peak overlooking Rāpaki - Te Poho o Tamatea.

1850 was also the 150th anniversary of the Ngāi Tahu arrival in this place. Te Rakiwhakaputa was the first Ngāi Tahu rangatira whose waka came up Whakaraupo - now known as Lyttelton Harbour. For centuries before then, the Ngāti Mamoe had lived here. Ngāi Tahu fought and intermarried with them.

Te Rakiwhakaputa left his two sons to lead the main Ngāi Tahu kaika - communities - around the Harbour. Wheke stayed in Rāpaki and the hapū there became Ngāti Wheke. His brother Manuwhiri overthrow the Mamoe pā at Ohinetahi and built his own - Te Pā Whakataka - where the new tennis courts alongside the Governors Bay firehall have since been built.

Te Rakiwhakaputa’s descendants have lived in Whakaraupo to this day.

Before the new settlers of 1850 could come here they needed land. And so, the year before they arrived 65,000 acres was acquired for £200. The Port Cooper Purchase was signed on 10 August 1849 at Oketeupoko - a former name of Lyttelton not well remembered. Not surprising - the translation is ‘the place of the basket of heads’ of Ngāti Mamoe. The much more romantic Ohinehou is the preferred place name!

Ngāi Tahu were willing to sell land for their new neighbours, but the non-negotiable government price and the lack of reasonable areas of reserves (810 of the 65,000 acres - barely 1% - was set aside), soon lead to the Ngāi Tahu claim and generations later to a new agreement in 1997 between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown.

1850 was during a bad period for Ngāi Tahu in Whakaraupo. During the earlier good times there had been at least 6 settlements around the Harbour - all thriving on the rich kai moana
(seafood) available: pipi, tuangi, kutai, pāua, tio, pupu, kina, pāpaka, pātiki, hoka, aua, koiro and pioke - for starters!

Ripapa had been an ideal site for a fortified pā during the musket wars of the 1820s. Taununu was the rangatira there, but he was driven from the island in 1826 during the kai huanga inter-hapu wars.

1832 was not a good year either! Ngāti Toa with their leader Te Rauparaha, won the battles at Kaiapoi and Onawe and passed through Whakaraupō en route. Ripapa was never occupied again and so it became a wāhi tapu site recently provided with legal Topuni status (confirming the overlay of Ngāi Tahu status on the land) managed by Te Papa Atawhai (DOC) with Ngati Wheke as kaitiaki.

By the 1840s, Ngāi Tahu had reclaimed their territory as far north as Marlborough and signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Takapuneke in Akaroa; but the population had been considerably reduced and re-located.

Koukourarata (Port Levy), because of its isolation, became (temporarily) the largest centre of Ngāi Tahu population in Canterbury. The kaika in Whakaraupō had been reduced to 3: Purau, Taukahara (the valley west of Rāpaki), and Rāpaki. By the end of that century only Rāpaki would remain.

Then there was the measles epidemic of the 1840s which further devastated Ngāi Tahu.

But 18 Ngāi Tahu did sign the Port Cooper Purchase in 1849 which set aside two native reserves for Ngāi Tahu. Legal title was not forthcoming for another generation - in 1870. The Crown Grant of that year identifies by name the 70 members of Ngāti Wheke who were entitled to land in Rāpaki Māori Reserve 875.

A claim for Otamahua (Quail Island) as a reserve was unsuccessful, but tamariki (children) still gathered hua (seagull eggs) there. The sea still provided food, sufficient bush still remained to provide some food and firewood, but the land use was changing.

In 1850, Ngāi Tahu were still recovering from a generation of major impacts on their lives. Though now far fewer in number, they were adjusting to the new ways. Cultivation - which had been very difficult with kūmara, became widespread with the introduced taewa (potato) and grains. Animals began to be kept: sheep, cows, pigs - and especially horses. Trade with the growing pakeha settlements provided new opportunities.

Ngāi Tahu would survive these invasions and eventually come once again to play their rightful role as kaitiaki of Whakaraupō.

The Rāpaki community has continued to fulfill an important Ngāi Tahu cultural role not only in Whakaraupō, Horomaka and Waitaha/ Canterbury, but indeed for the motu of Te Wai Pounamu. During a typical year there would be 3 or 4 hui on the Rāpaki marae which include representatives from the other Horomaka hapū or from elsewhere in Canterbury.

In November 2004 Rāpaki is hosting the Ngāi Tahu Hui-a-Tau [annual meeting], which may draw up to 1,000 Ngāi Tahu from throughout the country.

Many of the whānau of Rāpaki have married into families from adjoining bays around the Harbour and on the Peninsula. For several years there has existed the Lyttelton Harbour...
Issues Group with representatives from most communities from around the harbour including: Diamond Harbour, Church Bay, Charteris Bay, Governors Bay, Cass Bay, Corsair Bay and Rāpaki plus the Port Company, BPDC, Public Health and ECAN. The current Chair of the Group is from Rāpaki.

By statute there is a Summit Road Protection Authority with membership from the CCC, the BPDC and the SDC. There is also a statutory Advisory Committee whose membership specifically provides for representation from Rāpaki.

The Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 designates the takiwā of the 18 constituent rūnanga of Ngāi Tahu. Rāpaki’s takiwā includes the Whakaraupo catchment area and a sharing with Koukourarata of the Kaituna Valley. For purposes of working with territorial authorities, Rāpaki’s takiwā is mostly the BPDC, but also includes areas of the CCC e.g. Godley Head.

Economically, the employment of Rāpaki residents shows considerable diversity. In Lyttelton there are employees of the Port Company and the BPDC. In Christchurch employment of Rāpaki residents includes a travel agency, health centre, fisheries, the Corrections Department, the Office of the Ombudsman, stockbroking firms, gardening supplies, an engineering company, a publishing company, Ngāi Tahu, and retailing and transportation firms.

Educationally, Rāpaki residents attend primary school in Lyttelton (West), Governors Bay or Christchurch (Cathedral Grammar). Secondary schools in Christchurch are attended especially Cashmere. One Rāpaki resident lectures at Lincoln University, another is a student there.

These examples demonstrate that Rāpaki has a variety of links to the rest of Horomāka / Banks Peninsula and also to the nearby major urban area of Christchurch. The various linkages include a range of social, economic, administrative and political issues.

Māori Settlement of Te Waipounamu, Te Waihora and Taumutu - Our perspective

Following the wreckage of Te Waka o Aoraki (the canoe of Aoraki) that became the South Island, Rakinui (Sky Father) sent a number of his mokopuna (grandchildren) from the heavens to transform the waka into land that would sustain human life. Among these demi-gods were Tūterakihauaunoa whose job was to carve the keel of the upturned waka into mountains and valleys, Kahukura who forested the bare landscape and filled it with animals, and Marokura who carved bays, inlets and estuaries and populated them with fish of many varieties. The mana of Tūterakihauaunoa remains to this day given his ongoing residence as the Atua Tiaki (a supreme guardian) for Te Waihora. His resting place at Whakamātakiuru (Fishermans Point), Taumutu gives the mana to the people of Taumutu as the tangata tiaki for this area.

The first people to arrive in the central Canterbury area were those on the Uruao waka under the captaincy of Te Rakihouia. Te Rakihouia had been instructed by his father Rākaihautū to seek out the rich resources of the coastal area (ki tai) while he traversed the mountain regions identifying the resources of land (ki uta). Te Rakihouia discovered the wetland of Te Waihora that teemed with fish and birds and upon reuniting with his father took him to the lake where Rākaihautū proclaimed Te Waihora as Te Kete Ika a Rākaihautū - The Great Fish Basket of Rākaihautū. Te Rakihouia equally named the coastline of this area as Kā Poupou a Te Rakihouia.
Some generations later a Ngāti Māmoe/ Ngāi Tahu chief named Tutekawa, who had been embroiled in skirmishes with his chiefly relations in the North Island, came to live at Ōhökana near Kaiapoi. After a time Tutekawa heard that the eels of Te Waihora were of a better quality so he removed to the shores of the lake and built the pā of Waikākahi. His son Te Rakitāmāu meanwhile built his pā at Taumutu which he named Hakitai. Surrounded by his allies, and at a distance from his enemies, Tutekawa felt quite safe. After many years though his hapū were growing anxious with the rapid southward advance of Ngāi Tahu. They urged the old chief to escape while the opportunity remained but his only reply was "What will then become of the basket of flat fish spread open here?"

Upon the arrival of the Ngāi Tahu forces at Waikākahi, Tutekawa was killed. The various chiefs of Ngāi Tahu then set out to secure land for themselves. Prior to their arrival on Banks Peninsula a young chief Te Ruahihiki had received reports about the abundance of inaka, pātiki and tuna in Te Waihora and proclaimed "Tāku kaikā ko Orariki" (Orariki at Taumutu is my place), thus placing a tapatapa (claim) on it. Once at Banks Peninsula though, Te Ruahihiki claimed several places with his first landing at Wainui (Akaroa) where he commenced to dig fern root and cook it. He then passed around the coast leaving his stepson Manaia at Whakamoa, other relatives at Waikākahi, and finally took up his permanent residency at the pā of Orariki, Taumutu.

The remaining Ngāi Tahu chiefs equally set about claiming areas of Mid Canterbury. Moki (son of Tuahuriri) settled at Kaiapoi; Turakipo at Sumner; Te Rakihakaputa at Rāpaki; Huikai at Koukourarata; Tūtakahikura at Pōhatu and the eastern side of Akaroa Harbour; Te Rakitaurewa and Te Ake at the head of Akaroa Harbour and Mako at Wairewa.

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The ahi kā of these Ngāi Tahu chiefs and their hapū remain to this day. For Ngāi Te Ruahihiki at Taumutu this ahi kā status together with the residence of Tūterakihaunoa instils the responsibility of kaitiaki or guardianship of Te Waihora. In this role though the hapū recognises the surrounding related hapū of Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi whose rights all extend to the lakeshores.

Te Taumutu Rūnanga Society Incorporated is the administrative council of Ngāi Te Ruahihiki ki Taumutu.

Te Taumutu Rūnanga Takiwā - Our Perspective

The area of interest for Ngāi Te Ruahihiki ki Taumutu radiates north, south, east, and west, to places that hold whakapapa associated with the hapū of Ngāi Te Ruahihiki, as well as important mahinga kai areas. In various places, these interests are shared with other hapū, including Ngāi Tūāhuriri at Kaiapoi, Ngāti Huirapa at Arowhenua, and the hapū of Horomaka / Banks Peninsula.

This area can be summarised as:

*Ka timata i te Waikakahi me haere mai ki te akau o Te Waihora o nehera, ara, Te Kete Ika a Te Rākaihautu tae atu ki Ahuriri. Me whai te awa o Huritini ki te matapuna, a, ki te Rakipaoa me huri ki Pukehinau, haere tonu ki te taha toka o te Waimakariri. Haere taha ki Tulepiriraki whakawhiti ki te maunga o Puke Te Raki tae atu ki te raki. Mai te taha hauauru o enei mauka, haere tika tonu ki Noti Raureka tae atu ki te mauka o Te Ruahihiki. Ka haere ki ka matapuna a te awa Orakaia, whakawhiti ki te rakau tapu o Hinepaka. Rere tonu ka wai o Hakatere tae atu ki Tuhinapo.*
Starting at Waikakahi (pā site on Birdlings flat) follow the original lake shore to Ahuriri. From here follow the Halswell River to its source then on to Upper Riccarton, Christchurch. Turning northwest to Yaldhurst and on to the south bank of the Waimakariri River travel up this side of the river to the Gorge. Crossing the river follow the ridge of the Puketeraki Range to the end of the Dampier Range. From this western point, follow a line to Browning’s Pass and on to the mountain known as Te Ruahikihiki. From here a straight line is followed to the source of the Rakaia River and then crossing over the Black Hill Range to the old tree at Alford Forest. From here follow the North Branch of the Ashburton River to the main Ashburton river and on to its mouth.

For coastal matters the area of interest is:

*Mai te Pa o Waikakahi ki Kaitörete tae atu ki Tuhiapo ki te awa o Hakatere, te kāinga. Mai tenei takutai atu ki te moana, ara, Te Tai o Mahaanui.*

The inshore coast extends from Waikakahi on Kaitörete southward to the mouth of the Ashburton River and extends seaward into the Canterbury Bight and out into the Pacific Ocean.

**Kemp’s Deed and Te Kerēme**

Ngāi Tahu occupation of Te Waipounamu changed with a series of land purchases beginning in 1844. Eight major land purchases (with three Banks Peninsula purchases considered as one) occurred between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown.

The Canterbury Purchase, or Kemp’s Deed, occurred in 1848. Henry Kemp, acting on behalf of the Crown, purchased 13,551,400 acres of land for $2,000. Out of this purchase, the Crown set outside 6,359 acres for Ngāi Tahu. Under the terms of the sale, adequate reserves were to be set aside for the present and future wants of Ngāi Tahu. In addition, all mahinga kai areas were to be set aside. In the years following Kemp’s Deed, it was apparent that the Crown failed to meet these obligations. Ultimately, Ngāi Tahu lost ownership, control and access to almost all of their lands and waters. By 1849, the lack of good faith on the part of the Crown gave rise to the beginnings of the Ngāi Tahu claim - Te Kerēme.

Ngāi Tahu took its first case to the Māori Land Court in 1868. The generations that followed continued to bring Ngāi Tahu grievances against the Crown forward. In 1986, following the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 and its amendment in 1985, Ngāi Tahu lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal for Treaty breaches related to the loss of land and mahinga kai. The Tribunal found that:

*...the Crown, in acquiring the Canterbury Block, failed to negotiate fairly, failed to meet its undertaking to reserve sufficient food resources for Ngāi Tahu, and failed to meet its obligation to provide ample reserves for the existing and future needs of Ngāi Tahu. The Crown did not set aside the area defined by the Waimakariri and Kāwari Rivers, as requested by Ngāi Tahu. The Tribunal found that, in so acting, and in its subsequent failure to remedy these faults, the Crown breached its duty to act with the utmost good faith towards Ngāi Tahu.*

With specific reference to mahinga kai, the Waitangi Tribunal found that:
When purchasing Ngāi Tahu lands, the Crown failed to ensure that Ngāi Tahu retained reasonable access to places where the iwi produced or procured food, and especially unimpeded access to Lakes Waihora and Wairewa.
Te Tiriti O Waitangi

In 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) was signed between the Chiefs of Aotearoa and the Queen. With the Treaty as founding document, Ngāi Tahu believed that while they sold land during the land sales of 1844 - 1864, their rangatiratanga (chieftainship) over mahinga kai and other taonga would be protected and maintained. This belief was well articulated during the Waitangi Tribunal hearings:

“Article Three of the Treaty offered fellowship and brotherhood, a world where all men would be free, that we may be one people (kotahitanga) for these were the rights of all British citizens. Article Two of the Treaty would give protection to the Maori and this was to include the protection of Maori property rights, i.e. Rangatiratanga over our mahinga kai that we desired to retain. Articles Two and Three were our Treaty partner's commitment that would earn them the right to Kawanatanga, the right to Govern under Article One of the Treaty© (Rakihia Tau, 1987, in Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. xvi).

A number of statutes refer to the principles of the Treaty. There is no exhaustive or conclusive list of the principles, however the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal established that they include such provisions as:

- Māori retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and have all the rights and privileges of citizenship
- Redress for past grievances
- Active protection of Māori interests by the Crown
- Partnership and reasonable cooperation
- Equal status of the Treaty partners
- Mutual benefit leading to the duty to act reasonably, honourably and in good faith
- The courtesy of early consultation
- The Government should make informed decisions
- Options - the principle of choice
- The Crown cannot evade its obligations by conferring its authority on another body.
The Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998

The Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 records the apology given by the Crown to Ngāi Tahu, for injustices suffered by the Crown’s actions in purchasing Ngāi Tahu land. It also gives effect to the provisions of the Deed of Settlement entered into between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown.

Many of these provisions are part of the cultural redress offered by the Crown. They are aimed at restoring the ability of Ngāi Tahu to give practical effect to kaitiaki responsibilities. Such provisions included:

- Ownership and control of various resources and areas of land of significance to Ngāi Tahu
- Statutory acknowledgements/deeds of recognition as a tool for incorporating Ngāi Tahu values into environmental management
- Tōpuni, as an ‘overlay’ of Ngāi Tahu values on specific areas of land managed by the Department of Conservation, in order to provide public symbols of Ngāi Tahu mana and rangatiratanga
- The re-establishment of customary place names on the landscape
- Nohoanga, or temporary campsites adjacent to lakes and rivers, to facilitate access to mahinga kai
- Greater access to customary fisheries of importance
- Coastal tendering
- Increased Ngāi Tahu input into management with provisions for statutory advisory roles, dedicated memberships, Department of Conservation protocols, Resource Management Act 1991 implementation improvements and heritage protection reviews.

Taumutu Today

Like the whole of Ngāi Tahu Whānui, Te Taumutu Rūnanga is about tino rangatiratanga. They want to have the ability to create and control their destiny, where they are empowered as individuals, whānau, hapu, papatipu rūnanga and iwi to realise and achieve their dreams.

To realise these aspirations, Te Taumutu Rūnanga promotes support and co-operation; teamwork; open communication, flexibility and adaptability; a high level of accountability, integrity and professionalism; and a commitment to the collective vision and principles of Ngāti Moki / Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, Te Taumutu Rūnanga members and the wider Ngāi Tahu Whānui.