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ABSTRACT

The apparent treatment of some Maori following the September 4 2010 Earthquake in Christchurch resulted in the setting up of a Maori Response Network MRN when the subsequent February 22 2011 Earthquake occurred.

This paper briefly reviews what happened to Maori in the month immediately after that earthquake and suggests there are three key themes that Iwi need to address based on what happened in Christchurch namely:

1. To what extent are Iwi capable of dealing with emergency, transitional and long term reconstruction requirements in their areas?
2. How do Iwi ensure the sustainability of post-disaster reconstruction projects optimizing the economic, environmental and social constraints in alignment with the needs and priorities of the affected communities?
3. Can Iwi reconstruction programmes blend modern and traditional methods in ways that vulnerability is reduced and resilience is enhanced?

Maori appear to be more urban based with 84% living in metropolitan areas and especially for Auckland where 25% of that number reside¹. Thus, what can be understood from Christchurch may/would be expected to have significance in these other urban areas outside Christchurch.

INTRODUCTION

The MRN was set up at Rehua Marae in central Christchurch and was established ostensibly to facilitate communication and to identify the appropriate service providers over the short to medium term following the February 2011 Earthquake. But why was there a sense that such a

¹ (Te Ara The Encyclopaedia of NZ http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-1)
network was firstly needed and secondly why operate essentially outside the main Civil Defence Emergency Management (CDEM) response?

Certainly, the Maori perspective from the earlier September earthquake response was not good. An apparent lack of communication\(^2\) had Maori Party MP Rahui Katene calling for a public apology over the treatment of one 30-strong Christchurch whanau (the Martin Family) who were evicted from an Earthquake Welfare Centre. The family were publicly labeled as "repulsive" by Christchurch City Mayor Bob Parker based on Police reports that family members were intimidating others and that they had falsely claimed their houses as being uninhabitable. However, “Lala Martin showed The Press [the main daily newspaper in Christchurch] through her quake-hit Gayhurst Rd [located in Aranui] home yesterday and pointed out what appeared to be sewage coming out of a drain and into her mud-pit, flooded front yard. She was trying to keep her six children, two of whom were bottle-fed, out of the muck, but one of her babies appeared to have developed a gastric illness. She showed The Press the Green inspection notices [posted by Civil Defence Authorities] that bore Thursday's date [they only found about the Green notices basically saying the houses were “habitable” on the day they were evicted from the centre] but said it was the sanitation aspect that made her flee her home. "We've gone from being victims of the earthquake to victims of the people who were helping us out. I wouldn't use the facilities again, I would just stay home." Grandmother Manawai Martin wept as she said she was more traumatised by being labelled "bludgers" (and publicly castigated by the mayor) than by any earthquake. "Maori will be too scared, too embarrassed, to come use [relief services]," she said. Grandfather Noel Martin said he left his Mongrel Mob [Maori based gang] patch in the car when they arrived at the centre. "Yes I'm in the gang. What's that got to do with the state of emergency?"

Martin said Parker had "done the damage" to their family and he would be voting for Jim Anderton. Parker said he would meet the family if they wanted but it was "not a high priority". Manawai said the first the family knew of being evicted was when police approached them. At 1.20pm [on Friday] they were issued a trespass order saying they had until 2pm to move all 30 out, she said. Manawai started crying immediately. Her family had helped out at the centre and one of her 14-year-old granddaughters had been given a Civil Defence vest in recognition of all the work she did. The family only discovered their houses had green placards on Friday and she wanted one more night in the shelter as getting 30 people mobilised was difficult. There was no definition of who were allowed in the shelter, she said. Most of those they met had no damage to their homes and were there because they needed support or they were scared. Noel Martin said he was one of the workers cleaning up Christchurch and straight after the

quake he went to his daughter's house and then checked on her neighbours. "[Parker] has turned this from a positive into a negative," he said. Parker "absolutely refuted" that race played any part in the disaster relief effort. He said his comments about the family were in response to reports from police that the family was making things "significantly harder" in the centre. Though he did not believe he was wrong, he would happily admit it if he was, he said."

THE MRN TIMELINE

A timeline based on the MRN operations from when the Earthquake happened on the 22/2/2011 till when it was scaled down a month later on 21/3/2011 has been compiled and is in Appendix A. It has been formed from key discussions and information summarized from minutes of meetings, emails, reports and journals kept by volunteers working with the Kaitahu (Strategic) Steering Group (KSG).

The timeline (perhaps surprisingly) shows that the MRN worked well and had potentially better communication and information flow with the Government Departments through Te Puni Kokiri (TPK, the Government Department dealing with all Maori Affairs) than those outside the network. It also had good communications with Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu (the local Maori Iwi or recognised tribal authority) and acted as an effective information exchange centre, a contact point for other Maori Iwi coming in from outside Christchurch, the Maori Wardens Association (both local and national) and coordinated donations coming in and distribution going out. In addition, it was able to pick up and direct reports of particular cases like the Martin’s that would have otherwise “fallen off the radar. Almost by default it became a focal point for visiting dignitaries such as Kevin Rudd who at that time was the Australia Minister for Foreign Affairs.” And finally it became something of a touch point for the emotion of the disaster for which there was no other facility given that the CBD was cordoned off and many churches and other suitable buildings were damaged and hence closed.

However, the timeline also highlights a lack of access in specific areas such as health, provision of portaloos and entry into Welfare Centres. The health issue was particularly unfortunate as a team of trained nurses arrived from the Arawa (Iwi) from New Zealand’s North Island. They brought their own medical supplies and were deployed on the 28 February to the Aranui and Wainoni area of the Eastern Suburbs of Christchurch and were so successful that they used all their medical supplies by the 1 March. They requested supplies from Christchurch Hospital but were rejected and the team told that people in the Eastern Suburbs should

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1 It should be noted that the sanitation issue raised by the Martins from the Sept 2010 earthquake is now being more positively included into the requirements for earthquake prone buildings but was not part of the February 2011 Earthquake response.
come into the hospital. Travelling to the main hospital was problematic given the state of the roads, the lack of transport and the pressing issues of family and home. Moreover, the move to a community based approach for areas such as the Eastern Suburbs was a recognised method of health care delivery and the reasons for it's earlier adoption made even more sense in the post disaster context. This gap is summed up by one interview that "[It's] about advocating for the weakest, for the poorest, for the ugliest, for the least likely to earn some bread. And sometimes when you’re working with that...you’re working from the bottom of the barrel. People don’t want to work with these people because they’ve tried to and [it’s] too hard. For us, that’s our bread and butter...it’s about “we know you, we probably know your uncles and aunties, and we’re interested in how they are and you and we’re interested in how the rest of your whanau is working and how we can get in there and help support that". Other supplies were found and the nurses were still active through till the 7 March 2011. But the experience of the (community based) health workers/nurses perhaps underlines that there will be sections of the community that disaster professionals seek to assist but may not be able to because of “a gap” or maybe “the gap”.

Overall the sense within the MRN, like the Martin family earlier, were that Maori were on their own; a theme that was certainly coming through the Press, Maori/National Television and the radio media at that time and seemed to parallel what happened in the lower ninths of New Orleans.

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4 Ratima M. (2010), Māori health promotion – a comprehensive definition and strategic considerations Prepared for the Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand by Taumata Associates May 2010
6 National Television Apr 9, 2011 download http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aX3vMzBszvE National Television interview on the impacts of the Feb 2011 Earthquake on those in the poorer Eastern Suburbs of Christchurch. Most of those affected were Maori and Polynesians.
7 TV New Zealand Saturday April 09, 2011 download below advocating for the poorer Eastern suburbs of Christchurch that were badly affected by the Feb 2011 earthquake. http://tvnz.co.nzernational-news/parker-rejects-claims-ignoring-eastern-suburbs-4109430
8 Newsletter July 2011Rotary NZ World Community Service "Rotary New Zealand has such a long history of providing assistance to overseas disasters, and large-scale New Zealand disasters are so mercifully infrequent, that we simply didn’t expect to see the situation reversed. This time last year, who imagined that we would have our own 'New Orleans-scale’ disaster?"
9 P Perrin,A Brozyna, A Berlick, F Desmond, H Ye, E Boycheva 2008. Voices from the Post-Katrina Ninth Ward: An Examination of Social Justice, Privilege, and Personal Growth Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology Volume 1, Number 2, Spring 2008 “Talking with Ninth Ward residents, we had our own reactions, some of which mirrored to a much lesser degree the trauma reactions of residents themselves. Many of us alternated between emotional numbness, intense anger, sadness, and guilt. Trying to make sense of the destruction and our reactions to it often brought surreal confusion. At times, we felt detached from reality, and memories of our own homes seemed distant. Following the advice of a faculty member, we had brought pictures of our families to provide a sense of normalcy. The pictures seemed out of place among our surroundings; even phone calls home felt odd because loved ones could not fully understand what we were experiencing. On a small scale, we began to appreciate how residents may have felt amid their devastated lives”. This was especially poignant for the Eastern suburbs of Christchurch.
WHAT WERE THE LESSONS LEARNT?

The following lessons were taken from the experiences within the MRN:

- Kanohi Ki Kanohi or face to face meeting the people in their homes. Anecdotal information about iwi and Maori organisations like the Maori Wardens travelling from outside of Christchurch to visit their beneficiaries/members was “hugely positive”. Iwi also learned that it is part of their emergency response to engage members/whanau face to face in the emergency phase as those most vulnerable felt alone and not understood with respect to their emergency needs and lack of communication to the suburbs from civil defence.

- Iwi/Maori cultural values were valued and practised widely so Maori communities and iwi were able to influence rapid decision making and planning practices by weaving Maori cultural values and practises across the spectrum of the emergency phase. *Aroha ki te Tangata, manaakitanga* were integral to apply at all times to help coordinate and determine priorities and to host Maori from around the country in the emergency phase.

- The rapid assessment of the emergency response was possible primarily due to the adaptive capacity of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu to apply its resources urgently and to work collectively with a huge variety of Maori and non Maori organisations from local, national and international networks.

- The governmental response and in particular the role of their Te Puni Kokiri department allowed exchanges in accordance with tikanga Maori, co-operatively aligned itself with iwi and local marae without imposing its resources but sharing its resources to assist decision making and planning during the emergency phase.

- The primary outcome of the Iwi-led approach to the emergency phase was as a collective – this seemed to be the important to the post disaster recovery and reconstruction phase.

- Rapid decision-making that produced rapid response was a resulting of directing financial, spiritual, cultural, physical and environmental resources to help those people that Iwi determined were most vulnerable from the impact of the 22 February 2011 Earthquake.

CONCLUSIONS

The Christchurch experience seems to suggest that all Iwi need to formulate protocols and preliminary contingency plans and agreements to streamline any future large disaster responses. Moreover, they cannot
assume equity and may be called on to advocate for “the weakest, for the poorest, for the ugliest…”

The three issues posted at the start of the paper are an attempt to integrate what was observed from the MRN into the current political and social agenda in the hope that “no one is left behind”.

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APPENDIX A: MAORI RECOVERY NETWORK TIMELINE
The MRN was based at Rehua Marae in Springfield Road just outside the Red zone CBD area of Chch.

Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iwi = Local tribal representation</th>
<th>TRONT = Governing body for Ngai Tahu.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TPK = Te Puni Kokiri Govt Dept. for Maori Affairs</td>
<td>Ngai Tahu = The local Maori tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSG = Kaitahu (Strategic) Steering Group</td>
<td>MP = Member of the NZ Parliament.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaumatua = Maori elder</td>
<td>Hui = meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whanau = (extended) family</td>
<td>Marae = Maori meeting house or community centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDHB = Canterbury District Health Board</td>
<td>MSD = Govt Ministry of Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Arawa &amp; Tainui are two other Maori tribes/Iwi from outside Chch</td>
<td>Rapaki and Tuahiwi are important Maori settlements just outside Chch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kohanga Reo = Maori preschool or “Language Nest”</td>
<td>Rehua Marae = Marae located in Chch central</td>
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<tr>
<td>WINZ = Govt Dept for Work and Income/Benefits.</td>
<td>Hapu =tribal sub group</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCDEM = Govt Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management</td>
<td>Nga Hau e Wha Marae National Marae in the Eastern suburbs unfortunately damaged by the earthquake</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHAKAMOEMITI = pray meeting</td>
<td>MOE = Govt Ministry of Education</td>
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<td>WAG = Welfare Advisory Group</td>
<td>CCC = Christchurch City Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kai = food</td>
<td>Mihi whakatau = formal greeting and introduction</td>
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**Day 1: Tues 22nd Feb:** 12.51pm 6.3 magnitude earthquake. ChCh. TPK
Regional Manager David Ormsby visits Rehua Marae and Kaumatua to assess whanau safety, buildings, property and utilities.

**Day 2: Thurs 24th Feb:** AFTERNOON, Ngai Tahu whanau & staff of TRONT call Emergency Hui at Rehua Marae for Fri 25th Feb. TPK staff arrive from around the country & stationed at Rehua, Rapaki & Tuahiwi Maraes undertaking rapid assessments across Chch suburbs.

**Day 3: Fri 25th Feb:** 10AM – 20+ Iwi, Taurahere and TPK officials present: Aim-to provide a short to medium term plan to identify the appropriate service providers and facilitate communication lines.

**HEREWINI TE KOHA** (TPK Wellington) update from Civil Defence and asked everyone to ask the question **“What can we start doing now to mobilise a response for Otautahi?”** TPK and other services to get the general understanding of all areas ranging from where to send kai to assisting whanau leave the region.

The KSG is set up as a wider government response group to run parallel to the WAG. TPK to be the link to feed back to the hub. Pipeline of requests and referrals with TPK prioritising Marae needs. The importance of mobilising and getting out to streets to make contact with households via the wardens noted, provide support & information for whanau to register needs.

**MARK SOLOMON – TE RUNANGA O NGAI TAHU (Ngai Tahu Chairperson/Leader)** Discussed how the MRN would work regarding delivery/distribution and storage of food. Tainui and Te Arawa offering doctors and support. Many non-Maori groups offering help and needs to be well coordinated.

**ROGER PIKIA - TE ARAWA CEO/spokesperson for Te Arawa & Tainui:** confirmed Te Arawa & Tainui Iwi medical teams, kapahaka groups for manpower and admin staff flying out of Rotorua. KSG to resolve food and accommodation.

**RAHUI KATENE (MP FOR SOUTHERN MAORI ELECTORATE).** Acting for the Minister of Maori Affairs and advised she would set up access to Govt ministers based on needs assessment from the MRN. Red Cross emergency grants processed by TPK staff. Maori Coordinator for 0800 777 846 Emergency Helpline. Ngai Tahu begins establishing office admin needs.

**Day 4: Sat 26th Feb:** MRN/HQ TO BE LED BY Ngai Tahu & Ngai Tuahuriri with the aim of gets assistance to those in need in the community. Communication channels between TPK, MCDEM, WAG & local Iwi/Hapu. Govt response and Maori action framework tabled. TPK channelling CDEM information into the MRN and deployment of assistance. Informal monitoring of what, where and who? Whanau engagement seen as critical. Te Runanga o Nga Maatawaka for 0800 emergency helpline TPK & Civil Defence coordinate emergency relief to worst affected Marae, suburbs and whanau. TPK process Red Cross emergency grants, missing persons register & liaison with welfare centres. He Oranga Pounamu coordinate information and support from the Maori NGO’s and officials from MSD, CDHB. Kohanga Reo Whanau Networks & Maori Health workers.
on standby. Maori Wardens on standby (national and local) they are also working with Police but will attend KSG briefings. Te Arawa Rotorua: on standby with mobile team of nurses, drivers and support crew.

Te Wananga o Aotearoa / Open Wananga, Ora Hauora staff/whanau on standby. Red Badge Security 24 hr support stationed to coordinate entrance and exit from Rehua marae. All visitors checked in and checked out. Over 250 visitors, volunteers and officials visiting each day.

**Day 5: Sun 27th Feb:** 11.00HRS WHAKAMOEMITI or CHURCH SERVICE 53 Maori wardens on standby and deployed from New Brighton Police Station. Wardens comment on how a lot of people are not at home, appear to have left/abandoned properties. Concern about hygiene, health hazards due to sewerage, liquefaction, dust. Delivered non-perishable foods, fruit, vegetables, nappies, 400 1 litre cartons of milk, 400 small cartons of flavoured milk, 110 packets of assorted meat parcels.

**Day 6” Mon 28th Feb:** HQ fully operational with daily briefings of the KSG 08.30hrs - 09.30hrs. Civil Defence & Police Update (from New Brighton), Maori Wardens Update. Lack of toilets is a problem. Portaloos urgently need to be cleaned. Need for medical/nurses staff. Need for water containers. Concerned that no one is visiting and checking on people’s well being in their homes. Reports that security staff at some Welfare centres are “unfriendly” to Maori Wardens. Meetings organized with Welfare centre managers. Marae Updates – all activated; Call Centre Update – pamphlets being organized; Emergency Relief – water, food, toilets needed; Logistics and Supply – not enough assistance; Te Arawa Nurses / team deployed to Aranui, Wainoni & New Brighton: Public Briefings at 10.00am & 7pm: Welfare centres report Pioneer 700pax, Burnside 800 pax, Rangiora 360 pax, Windsor?, Rolleston on Standby, Cowles Stadium operating as a info centre/referral centre only. KAITAHU as a helpline & call centre facility 6000 leaflet drop of Earthquake Emergency Helplines, Marae phone numbers and addresses to be delivered by wardens and volunteers. MOE – no schools open till 7th March, 27 seriously damaged, 50 moderate damage, remainder minor damage. WINZ mobile services deployed to East side, 14,500 emergency payments made, 20,000 super annuitants called – 19495 checked, 8 referred to emergency and 90 site visits conducted. Operation Suburb 14 day target to visit 50,000 homes “red” (people must leave), “yellow” (restricted access, can take personal belongings), ”green” (safe). 600-1000 Wed, 7000 – 40,000 over the next two weeks. Pacific Recovery Network visiting HQ daily and stationed out in the suburbs and Hampshire St Hub. Office gear (i laptop and printer). Liaison with Public Health officials re hygiene, water quality checks and establishing hygiene protocols, boiling water and food preparation. Meals at HQ for 120 – 200 volunteers. Hygiene Stations: with water, face masks, hand sanitizing solutions set up. Reports of issues of at least 20-25 families located in Council flats in Shirley, elderly and disabled people have been registered with Red Cross but need medical attention, swollen ankles, diabetes....

**Day 7: Tues 1st March:** Updates from Police, Fire, CDEM & Kohanga Reo,
Rotorua Maori nurses run out of their own medical supplies and produce an itemised list of emergency supplies to be topped up.

**Day 8: Wed 2\textsuperscript{nd} March:** Updates from Marae, Police, Fire, CDEM, Kohanga Reo, Maori Nurses Visits & needs assessments with Whanau of Maori mental health & disability services underway. Te Arawa Nurses request for basic medical supplies denied by CDHB. Working on a strategy to remove barriers for this request. Ngai Tahu asks for meeting with CDHB officials to work through this issue.

**Day 9: Thurs 3\textsuperscript{rd} March:** Operation Suburb and first field reports completed with main concerns being: Isolation and lack of services; Sanitation and sewerage discharge flowing into streets; Lack of access to water; Complaints about no portal-loos in Avonside; Noted there is about 50% occupancy in Avonside. MARAE Status: Nga Hau e Wha Marae still not cleared for use; Tuahiwi 200 meals prepared per day and taken to whanau in need; Rapaki – GP on standby, no internet access, 8 houses “red”, Counsellor on site, in process of drafting evacuation plan; Kaikoura – preparing for 50 new arrivals, food is sufficient; Otaihau Runaka met with Diplomatic Corps to discuss rubble from the sites of the tragedies being given to families & Blessing of the Burwood landfill for more rubble to be temporarily stored. NZ Police: Mihi whakatau for Japanese Diplomats and families (Blessing ceremony) at Burnham Military camp, Cultural guidance and support for Coronial Unit established. Blessing for site. Blessing of the CTV site for all rescue workers and the rubble that is to be taken to designated landfill sites: Blessing of the memorial stones that will be given to families of victims – ceremony conducted at Burnside High School. Evening meal at Rehua for Israeli DVI contingent.

**Day 10: Fri 4\textsuperscript{th} March:** MP Rahui Katene: Tuahiwi Marae cooking 200 meals a day, Kaumatua are refusing to accept money for this, food is being sent into city by whanau members using their own transport: Tuahiwi advises they expect to be on stand-by for 6 weeks: Rahui requests funds from TPK to provide Tuahiwi with funds so Marae can continue providing food and TPK ACTIONS REQUEST and deploys personnel to Rapaki and Tuahiwi. Otaihau Runaka prepares paper to define difference between regular rubble and kokakoka tapu (sacred rubble). Nobody has access to any of this rubble except through Ngai Tahu, Police & NZ Fire service.

**Day 11: Sat 5\textsuperscript{th} March:** 400 houses visited in Eastern suburbs: 480 calls to 0800 kaitahu line, 21 calls from 0800 quake; 124 referrals made to Maori health and social services, The flying squad, builders, labourers, transport providers: Key issues – homelessness, many whanau do not have water containers, relocation assistance, lack of access to water, whanau unable to go to welfare centres.

**Day 13: Mon 7\textsuperscript{th} March:** Nga Hau e Wha Marae to be given clearance and will be a EQ Recovery Assistance Centre supported by CDEM, CCC, MSD. OPERATION SUBURB – Maori Wardens visited 160 houses in New Brighton, 42 calls to 0800kaitahu, 2 referrals to 0800 quake, 39 referrals to health and social services, builders, labourers. It is noted that after
almost 2 wks. of no water, power or sewerage, people do not appear to be coping well. Nga Hau e Wha Marae to be opened as a EQ Recovery Centre – hundreds are visiting. Most pressing issue – access to toilets and unattended health issues. Te Arawa Nurses continue to work in the areas. Concern regarding people with disabilities including deaf and blind not being visited in the same way Maori are being visited. Need more people on the ground to help with these visits.

**Day 14: Tues 8th March:** 49 houses visited 27 calls to 0800 quake requests for info and financial assistance, 2 calls to 0800Quake. 33 referrals made to Maori health and social service; Ceremonies/Blessing for Chinese families to visit morgue at Burnham Military camp; Farewell arranged for Israeli DVI team and contingent from Japan supporting families of victims killed in earthquakes: Nga Hau e Wha Marae is cleared by engineers and supported by CDEM as a EQ Recovery Assistance Centre (RAC). Maori trauma/therapeutic team, Positive Directions Trust, ORA Network, Ngai Tahu staff, EQ Recovery Coordinators, Community Law Centre, CCC Maori Liaison, IRD liaison.

**Day 15-22: Wed 9th –Wed 16th March:** EOC Updates; Maori Community Hui 16/3/2011 “Where to next“ after the national emergency is over? Consultation Paper to be developed from 16/3/11 hui and feedback from Maori community to 21/3/2011 hui

**Day 23-27: Thurs 17th - Mon 21st March:** 21/3/11 Consultation Paper on Maori Recovery Plan tabled by S McMeeking for feedback. 21/3/11 Ngai Tuahuriri (manawhenua representatives) feedback to Hui is that the Maori Recovery plan is not needed and planning and decisions will be through TRONT Te Awheawhe Ruwhenua Working Group. 21/3/11 Report on the activities of the KSG is tabled by Jane Huria Except for Nga Hau e Wha all marae have stopped EQ emergency and relief. Nga Hau e Wha Marae will remain open. Govt and community social service agencies are on standby. Over 100 Earthquake recovery coordinators are still operating to assist with relocations, financial hardship, insurance and repairs. Community Showers still available at Cowles Stadium, Avonside, Kaiapoi, Portaloos

The way forward is identified clearly by Ngai Tuahuriri representatives at the Hui:
- Iwi and manawhenua as statutory partners to CERA;
- Ngai Tahu will comment on CERA’s Recovery Plan and Council’s Plans CBD Rebuild
- He Oranga Pounamu will liaise with CERA on Maori health and social wellbeing
- Mahaanui Kurataio Ltd will liaise with Councils on city planning

**Maori Response Network Shut Down**