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THE LAST OF THE
BLUFF
OYSTERS?

Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu

23 July 1931 – 15 August 2006



*Tāruatia nei te mamae
He tikaka huri kino e!
Whatukarokaro atu rā koe
E te kōtuku rereka tahi
I karo tonu atu koe i tō iwi
Haere rā i te ara whānui,
He rori ka tika i a Hine-tītama,
I a Tahu-kūmea, i a Tahu-whakairo
Ka tōtika te ara ki te mate e!*

*Kōmiro kino ai te kākau, pēnei me au ē
Momotu kino nei taku manawa
Ki a koe, e te ariki e!*

*Kua hika atu rā te tōtara nui i Te Wao-tapu-
nui-a-Tāne!*

*Momotu kino nei te manawa i te weheka atu o
te ariki tapu, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu.
Hoki atu rā e te ariki, e te pouhereka tākata ki
tō kua, ki a Te Puea Herangi. Kia kākahutia
ai koe e te aroha o ōu tīpuna, a Kingi Potatau
Te Wherowhero, a Kingi Tawhiao, a Kingi
Mahuta, a Kingi Te Rata tae atu rā ki a Kingi
Koroki. E te tohuka o te manaakitaka, e te
puna o te aroha, he taoka koe o te motu e kore
rawa e warewaretia. Tūmokekemo noa nei
kā marae maha i tō weheka, ka kapokapo,
ka kimikimi noa tō iwi i momotutaka o te
taurahere tākata, haere atu rā e kui, haere,
haere whatukarokaro atu rā e!*

*Ka tuku hoki tō tātou aroha ki a Whatumoana
tae noa ki āna tamariki, huamokopuna hoki i
tēnei wā e noho nei i raro i te kapua o te pouri.
Ka nui te mihi aroha ki a rātou tae atu rā ki kā
iwi katoa o Tainui waka.*

Last month, hundreds of thousands of people attended or watched the six-day tangihanga at Turangawaewae Marae for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, who died at the age of 75. As the Māori Queen, she led her Waikato and Tainui people for four decades, and was a unifying force in Māoridom.

Dame Te Atairangikaahu, born Piki Mahuta on 23 July 1931, was the first and only child born of the marriage between her father King Koroki and mother Te Atairangikaahu, although she had whangai brothers and sisters, including her trusted advisor the late Sir Robert Mahuta. Her father was King of the Kīngitanga movement for 33 years before her.

She was groomed for leadership of the Kīngitanga, but her influential grand-aunt and respected leader Te Puea Herangi ensured that she became equally well-educated in the Pākehā world. She attended Ngāruawāhia's Rākaumanga School, and later boarded at Hamilton's Diocesan School where she excelled, becoming a house captain and prefect. She also excelled at sports including hockey, fencing and swimming, and gained a love of literature and music, becoming an accomplished pianist.

Te Puea remained a mentor to the young princess, until her death on 12 October 1952. And it was attempts by Te Puea to arrange her marriage that highlighted Dame Te Ata's strong spirit and certainty of purpose, which was later to characterise her reign. The princess insisted on marrying her first love, a farmer of Te Aupouri descent, Whatumoana Paki, with whom she had seven children.

In the 1960s Dame Te Ata was often called upon to deputise for her father when his health began to fail. In April 1965, her mother Te Atairangikaahu, whose name she was to inherit at her coronation, died. Weeks later her father died aged 59.

Dame Te Ata was named as the new leader of the Kīngitanga on the day of her father's burial. She became the sixth and longest-serving monarch, maintaining a direct line of royal descent from her great-great-great-grandfather King Potatau, who was crowned the first king of the Kīngitanga movement in 1858.

It was initially hoped that the Kīngitanga would unify Māori, protect tribal customs and arrest the land grab by European settlers. But following the land wars of the 1860s, more than 1.2 million acres of tribal land was confiscated. Dame Te Ata continued the drive, begun by her great-grandfather Tawhiao, to seek compensation for those confiscations, which had caused such severe deprivation amongst her people. She supported Sir Robert Mahuta in leading the tribe's Treaty of Waitangi claim, which resulted in the \$170

million Treaty settlement in 1995.

Dame Te Ata was committed to maintaining unity within Tainui. She also inspired greater unity amongst Māoridom, which many people attribute to her humble and unassuming nature. She was instrumental in the changes in structures within Waikato, including the re-establishment of Te Kauhanganui, or tribal parliament, and the separation between the tribe's cultural and financial arms.

Dame Te Ata also raised the profile of Māori overseas, acting as cultural ambassador for Māori and indigenous people and as hostess to many royal and diplomatic visitors to New Zealand, dining with dignitaries such as Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela. She fostered bonds with some of the world's royalty, including Queen Elizabeth and representatives of the Japanese and Danish royal houses, and strengthened contact with Polynesian royalty.

Many of New Zealand's prime ministers were visitors to the Queen's home at Turangawaewae, including Jenny Shipley and Jim Bolger. Helen Clark is understood to have maintained regular contact.

Dame Te Ata was awarded an honorary doctorate from Waikato University in 1973 and an honorary doctor of laws from Victoria University in 1999. She supported both traditional and contemporary Māori arts, and urged her people to pursue quality and excellence in everything they did. She was patron of a number of influential Māori initiatives including the Kōhanga Reo movement and the Māori Women's Welfare League.

Māoridom's first female monarch reigned during a time of great change for Māori and for the country. She led with a dignity, commitment and clarity of vision that won her the hearts of a nation.

Dame Te Ata died peacefully on 15 August 2006 amongst her family including six of her seven children, her 25 grandchildren and one great-grandchild, at Turongo house at Tūrangawaewae. She is buried on sacred Taupiri mountain in an unmarked grave, like her ancestors, as a sign of equality with her people.

FROM THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU,
TAHU POTIKI



Kei runga te mirimiri, kei raro te rahurahu

Above is the message, while below it is turbulent with troubles

During the 19th century, those Ngāi Tahu communities that had access to fertile land, fisheries and education flourished, producing outstanding successes in education, medicine, law, politics and sports. Ngāi Tahu and half-caste families were able to foot it with all the recent immigrants and were contributing to the culture and economy of wider New Zealand society.

Teone Wiwi (Jack) Taiaroa, Riki Temairaki Taiaroa and Thomas Ellison all played in the earliest New Zealand rugby teams, and it was Tom Ellison who actually introduced the black uniform and silver fern that is now so familiar in international sports' arenas. Jack Taiaroa and Tom Ellison were also solicitors before the turn of the century.

As populations increased, land-holdings decreased and the policies of a settler government ultimately caught up with nearly all Māori communities, these successes were less frequent and the momentum faltered. Disease, two World Wars and urban drift would also have defining impacts.

The Hunn Report of 1959, for example, stated that urban drift was to be a managed process intended to assimilate Māori into European society and eradicate Māori ways in favour of modern, city life. The failure of this project was monumental, as the necessary social policy to support those Māori families was never adequately put in place.

Since the 1970s, the social statistics of Māori have spiralled out of control. The prevalence of mental illness has increased to epidemic scale. Similarly, the incidence of Māori in the prison system or within violent-crime statistics is frightening.

The racial superiority and imperialistic policies of the 19th century are somehow more honest and easier to swallow than the insidious and corrosive media inference of the past few decades. The Māori proverb "kei runga te mirimiri, kei raro te rahurahu" (above is the message, while below it is turbulent with troubles) is a fair assessment of the current state of New Zealand's racism when it comes to Māori.

Every violent crime that involves a Māori becomes a Māori issue, not an issue of urban deprivation. The death of the Kahui twins begins a debate on why Māori are killing their children – not on the poor social policy compounding the desperation amongst the nation's poorest and most dispossessed. Someone makes a spurious connection between a poorly-understood gene and traits of violence, and the country descends into another debate about Māori being genetically predisposed to violence.

My vision for the future is inextricably linked to the promise of the past, made more poignant this month by the passing of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. Ironically, an event such as the tangi and succession within the Kīngitanga is a Māori issue, but it has become an issue for all New Zealanders. The thousands that attended, and the extraordinary media coverage, has somehow contributed to our own sense of identity as Kiwis.

For Ngāi Tahu culture to survive another century, other New Zealanders must see the value in the Ngāi Tahu contribution to national identity. The legacy of Ngāi Tahu culture already impacts upon all of New Zealand. Tom Ellison left the black uniform and silver fern that defines us to the outside sporting world. The Olympic and Commonwealth teams carry pounamu taonga, gifted by Ngāi Tahu, as well as a mauri touchstone to connect them with home, no matter where they are.

The value we currently place on these cultural icons retain their sense of nationalistic spirituality because they are grounded in genuine tradition and are connected to persistent cultural practices.

Ngāi Tahu, now in post-settlement mode, has the resources, and we are ideally placed, to lead the movement to ensure the Bluff oyster fishery is sustained into the future, and we can protect the iconic high-country muster. We can pick up the promise of leadership that the 19th century offered and realise the potential of this generation. We must make connections for our times. We must work together so those things that define Ngāi Tahu also serve to define other New Zealanders.



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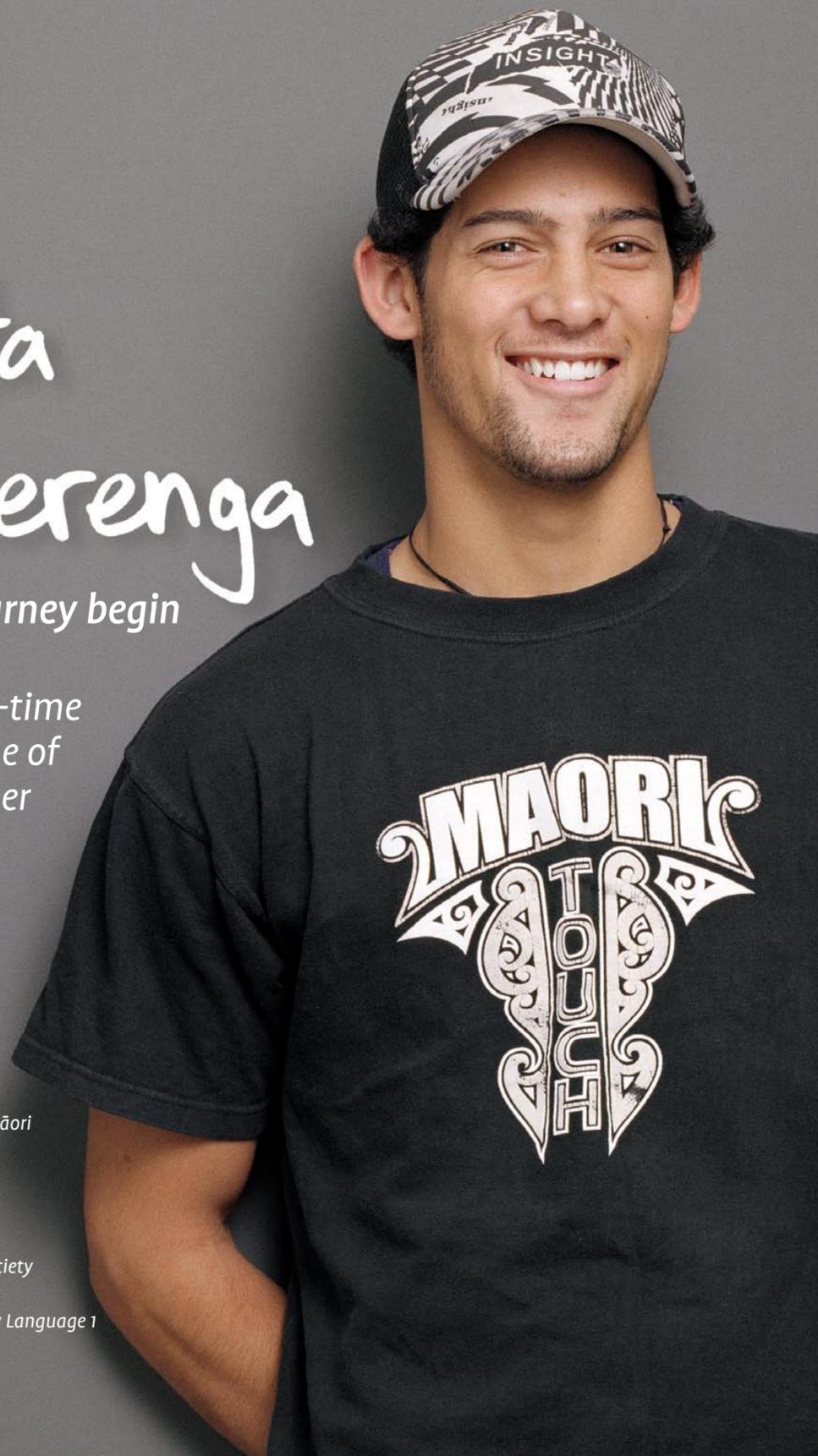
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LAST OF THE BLUFF OYSTERS?

Are the days of the Foveaux Strait oyster fishery numbered? There is no doubt the fishery has seen better days, but what will it take to turn the tide?

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AOTEAROA: LAND OF THE LONG WHITE CLOUD

The trend in New Zealand is away from smoking, but Māori are unfortunately bucking that trend. It is our biggest single killer, responsible for a third of all Māori deaths. Hone Harawira wants to ban smoking outright and his plans are finding favour, but the reality might be something different.

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SAYING NO TO ABUSE IN THE HOME

Moves are afoot to repeal section 59 of the Crimes Act, which gives a parent or guardian a legal defence to hitting their children. With a succession of high-profile cases of child abuse in the media, TE KARAKA looks at ways of solving the problem of family violence from a Māori perspective.

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KAITIAKITANGA: SUSTAINING OUR FUTURE

Both the rules and the playing field have changed when it comes to Māori looking after their environment. Sustainability was much simpler in pre-European times, but the onus of responsibility rests heavily on iwi to uphold their role as guardians on behalf of their people.

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AHAKOA HE ITI HE POUNAMU

A regular column about people and events that are making their mark in Aotearoa.

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ZERO TOLERANCE FOR FAMILY VIOLENCE

Rosemary McLeod contends that the reasons behind family violence are a distraction – in the end only zero tolerance will lead to a solution.

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AORAKI BOUND

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Outward Bound have joined forces to develop a new and innovative course designed to help revitalise Ngāi Tahu culture, build leadership and offer a view into the Māori world for all New Zealanders.

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FISHING FOR BLUIES

Fishing has been the economic backbone of the small coastal region of Moeraki for generations of Ngāi Tahu. Things have changed a lot over the years, but the sea and its bounty is still at the heart of the community. Executive chef Jason Dell spends a day with local kaumātua and cooks them a feast of blue cod fresh off the boat.

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WATER ALLOCATION

New Zealand's freshwater resources are under mounting pressure. Tom Bennion discusses where Māori customary rights fit in the scheme of things.

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ROSS HEMERA

Ross Hemera's art is inspired by Ngāi Tahu rock drawings.

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RED-BLOODED RIMU AN ANCIENT RELIC

The mighty rimu tree is a slow-growing giant of the New Zealand podocarp rainforest. Early Māori found a range of uses for it, from rongoa (medicines) to rama (torches).

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A LIFE LESS ORDINARY

Historically Ngāi Tahu has a long and continuous relationship with the land that encompasses the former Greenstone, Elfin Bay and Routeburn stations, near Queenstown. The Ngāi Tahu Settlement returned ownership of these areas to the iwi in 1997. We meet Stu and Anne Percy who have been farming this land for almost a quarter of a century.

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A new series from Rob Tipa showcases fascinating Ngāi Tahu taonga and uncovers stories about their origins and discovery.

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TE KARAKA welcomes letters from readers. You can send letters by email to tekaraka@ngaitahu.iwi.nz or post them to: The editor, TE KARAKA, PO Box 13 469, Christchurch.

INSPIRING AND UPLIFTING

So often in today's world Māori only hit the headlines when they are in trouble or have committed a crime.

If only more New Zealanders would read TE KARAKA they would discover the other side to New Zealand Māori. Full of positive, inspiring and uplifting articles, it is a real insight into Ngāi Tahu, past, present and future, and those who have achieved so much in their chosen professions.

Carol Beattie
Otago

NGĀI TAHU PRIDE

Congratulations TE KARAKA, Makariri, 2006. What a write up. Every word made me feel proud

of being Ngāi Tahu. What a team for our whānau, what pride they have given us. Be well my people. *Mō Tātou* is overdue. Arohanui to you all.

Rewa Dick

GOLD BULLION

You ask how I would like my payments. Preferably in gold bullion please.

G.H. Kay
Murwillumbah, NSW

INTER-GENERATIONAL GRINDING POVERTY

Perhaps my initial reaction to Whai Rawa was a little harsh, and I would hate the manager of my superannuation scheme to not like me. For what it is – a tribal savings scheme – Whai

Rawa is a first-rate initiative. The annual \$100 is, I suppose, some kind of dividend from Tront. If this is my iwi leadership's idea of delivering the state's compensation due to me and every other individual of Ngāi Tahu and Kāti Mamoe for the theft of our property by the state, then they had best start thinking again.

The state robbed my Ngāi Tahu ancestors, putatively British subjects, of their property and our birthright, to provide British settlers with property and a "birthright". The ensuing inter-generational grinding poverty was not endured by an institution such as an iwi or a hapū, but by flesh-and-blood individuals, yet the state has seen fit to compensate an institution

that is manifestly unwilling to pass more than a tiny fraction of the state's compensation to the actual descendants of the people the state robbed. What British subject and son of Tahu should tolerate this?

A decade ago it made good economic sense to keep the compensation in one bundle and grow the pūtea for the benefit of all. Five hundred million dollars sounds grown up enough and it is time for me, you and every other descendant of Tahu and Mamoe to get direct recognition of our personal loss. Since we are now worth \$14,000 each it should not be too hard for those who have directly economically benefited from the Settlement – our tribal gatekeepers – to acknowledge the

Letters

mamae of those of us who have not seen a farthing. A one-off disbursement of \$1,000 per adult (perhaps through Whai Rawa) would not even dent the tribal kitty, while providing tangible, if token, direct compensation to the direct descendants of the royally fleeced. Those who miss the initial disbursement could get their \$1000 as a 16th birthday present from their tipuna.

Recently I was re-reading Atholl Anderson's *The Welcome of Strangers*, when a passage regarding 19th century land sales and our tribal leadership leapt off the page: "the proceeds of such commerce were spent on luxury goods such as horses, saddles and brandy, and very little was disbursed to the tribe as a whole." And I thought to myself, the more things change the more they stay the same.

Mr C.C. McDowall
Rotorua
Abridged

BENEFITS ACCRUE OVER TIME

In response to Mr C.C. McDowall [Letter, Makariri, 2006], perhaps he and his whānau should start looking at the positive things that have arisen for Ngāi Tahu as an iwi since settlement.

Pride has got to be the most positive. All over Aotearoa we hear people saying, "I am Ngāi Tahu," and they are proud of it. This is priceless.

On the monetary side, the financial assistance provided to hundreds if not thousands of our students is much appreciated – \$500 can buy a couple of textbooks. They just have to make the effort to fill out the application forms and pass the exams, and that's what it's all about, it's doing, participating.

Take pride in the after-school programmes, the health schemes, the joint ventures with the universities, Outward Bound, and the encouragement to learn te reo. If there is a hui in your area go to it. See *Mō Tātou* at Te Papa (a day's drive from Rotorua) and be grateful that we

have the opportunity to see our taoka so wonderfully displayed and that it is being shared with so many others. Enjoy TE KARAKA and the other publications we receive. Sign up for Whai Rawa and think of the benefits of this scheme for the whole iwi, not just yourself and your whānau.

Te Kerēme took many, many years. Our tipuna were incredibly patient and it behoves us to be patient too. There are benefits, they are not all monetary, and they accrue over time.

Sue Milner
Cambridge

A WAY FORWARD

It was great to read your articles on unlocking Māori land. It is surely an issue that we are going to have to put some thought into over the next generation.

Due to my mother's passing, I am at present looking at applying for succession from mum's shares in eight blocks of land for myself and five siblings. One of these blocks alone (a bit of seaside real estate on the "Southern Rivera") has over 3,500 owners at last count – just add another six.

It is no wonder that this land lies under-developed and is probably leased cheaply for grazing stock in order to pay the rates. I can hear the conversations down at the local: "B— Māori don't do anything with their land anyway." Already the cost of managing this land on behalf of this many owners, together with the cost of rates, is probably more than the lease value.

Under the present system it seems almost inevitable that eventually the land will have to be sold to cover the accumulated costs of management (and not necessarily efficient management, due to the situation). And where does that leave us – alienated from our land by slow creep rather than the active policies of 19th century governments, but it's the same result.

The article talked about incorporation as a way forward but I

would be interested in having this process explained clearly and the implications for the above type of block.

For example when incorporating: How is the management committee decided? How are the goals of the incorporation decided, eg, what if the management of my incorporation decided to sell the land as the most economic use of it? What if it is impossible to get owners' agreement to incorporate? Should there be a threshold of owner numbers where it becomes compulsory to incorporate? And, if so, should Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu help develop a suitable model of incorporation that allows for values of careful land stewardship, creating a connectedness to the whenua for owners, shareholder input to management, etc. Presumably, when incorporated, shareholders could be told the actual value of their shares after each year of development. Are incorporated shares able to be bought and sold? And, if so, by whom?

I also wonder if there might be other ways forward. One way I have thought of is this: I personally don't think my 0.014 shares in some pieces of land are economically worth hanging onto, but I want to retain a connectedness to my whakapapa and the whenua. I would love the iwi to help my ancestral marae to set up a forestry project (probably as an incorporation) not far from the marae. I would like to swap my pieces of shares for an equivalent value of land in this new incorporation where I would be keen to come and plant and manage my own trees as a project that would reconnect me and my whānau to land that has some meaning to us.

If lots of people did this (not everyone would want to manage their own trees, and the incorporation would manage these areas), then the iwi would start to get large shareholdings in lots of fragmented blocks and be able to lead the drive to incorpo-

rate and develop those. Lots of Ngāi Tahu individuals and hapū would start to feel more connected with their ancestral whenua and marae, which would have to be good for Ngāi Tahu cultural development.

There will be other ideas around but we need to have these sorts of discussions to create some kind of sustainable system, because what we've got at present isn't working for many of us.

Richard Witheford-Smith
Wellington
Abridged

WHERE IS THE EQUITY?

I have to agree with Mr. C.C. McDowall, whilst our tribe continues to flourish on paper – and for those with the "right" whakapapa - the rest of us, i.e. average Ngāi Tahu iwi, things are not better. Given the fact that "we" are now worth over half a billion dollars, and began with \$170 million, where is the trickle down effect promised by those in control? I lived in the USA through the Reagan presidency where this economic theory amounted to rubbish, the have just acquired more and the rest got nothing. Tell me please where is the equity in that?

Which brings me to my second point: I lived in Hawaii for over 15 years. The Bishops, Castles, and Cookes, were land thieving Christian missionaries who deprived the Hawaiians of their land, rights and thus their culture and their heritage. That is not a model worthy of consideration, or emulating.

I enjoy your magazine; it is much better than its patronising counterpart from the north.

George Haremate

BOOK PRIZEWINNER

Congratulations to Richard Witheford-Smith, the winner of a copy of *The Ngāi Tahu Deeds* by Harry C. Evison.

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Ahakoia He Iti He Pounamu



Rakiihia Tau receiving his award from Associate Arts, Culture and Heritage Minister, Judith Tizard.
PHOTO CREDIT: MICHAEL HALL

REAPING THE REWARDS

After a lifetime promoting Ngāi Tahu culture, Rakiihia Tau (Ngāi Tuāhuriri, Ngāi Tahu) has been honoured with a Tā Kingi Ihaka award from Te Waka Toi, the Māori arts board of Creative New Zealand.

Rakiihia is an expert in mahinga kai, traditional food-gathering methods. He was also the chair of the Ngāi Tahu iwi steering group that filed the Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal on behalf of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board in 1986.

Te Waka Toi chair, Ngahua Te Awekotuku, said these annual awards recognised kaumātua who have helped develop what are today thriving and exciting Māori arts.

The other Tā Kingi Ihaka recipients were: Peggy Kaua (Ngāti Porou) for her work in performing arts and weaving, Sophie Keefe (Ngāti Kahungunu) for her contribution to the Raupunga-Mohaka district, Henare Kingi (Ngā Puhī) for his work in radio at Wellington station Te Upoko o te Ika, and renowned orator Rangitihī John Tahuparae (Whanganui).

Te Tohu Aroha mo Ngōi Kumeroa Pehairangi for contribution to te reo Māori was awarded posthumously to Te Aopeehi Kara (Tainui, Ngāti Kahungunu).

A new honour, Te Tohu Kē a te Waka Toi, for making a significant positive difference to the development and retention of Māori arts and culture was awarded to Huia Publishers co-founder Robyn Rangihua Bargh (Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa) for publishing and literature.

Young artists Cameron Webster (Ngā Puhī, Tuhoe) and Anna-Marie White (Te Ati Awa) were also presented with scholarships.

Te Tohutiketike at Te Waka Toi, the premier award, will be presented later in the year to weaver Digeress Te Kanawa.

A KUPU A DAY

If you want to start learning Māori, it may be as simple as getting a daily text from He Kupu o te Rā (Word of the Day). <http://kupu.maori.nz> is a new website that can text Vodafone mobiles, costing \$10 per three months, or you can subscribe for a free email service. (Telecom doesn't have the ability to write macrons.)

The text always comes with a sentence, to put the new word in context and to assist with grammar. The website is the brainchild of Franz Ombler (Ngāti Pākehā), Lavina Edmond (Ngāi Tahu) and Manu Edmond (Ngāi Tahu), who were receiving in-home language lessons from Victoria University Māori teaching fellow Kelly Keane (Ngāti Kahungunu).

Lavina Edmond says the idea was really a collaborative effort. "We also thought it would be a good thing for Ngāi Tahu, given the dialectal differences. All it would need was someone with the time and the language."

In its first month the site has gained 193 users and its membership is growing.

WEAVING BOOK RECOGNISED

A book exploring the innovative art of Māori weaving is being recognised in Aotearoa and overseas.

The Art of Māori Weaving: The Eternal Thread/ Te Aho Mutunga Kore by Miriama Evans (Ngāti Mūtunga and Ngāi Tahu) and Ranui Ngarimu (Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mūtunga) was chosen as a finalist in the Montana Book Awards Lifestyle and Contemporary Culture Category this year.

In addition, the Textile Society of America has nominated the book for the R.L. Shep Award, for its exceptional scholarship in the field of ethnic textile traditions. The winner will be announced later this year.

Ranui Ngarimu is the former chairwoman of

Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa, the National Māori Weavers Collective of New Zealand. Miriama Evans was a member of the Spiral Collective, who first published Keri Hulme's *The Bone People* in 1983.



CLOAKED IN SUCCESS

Ngāti Koata has undergone a spectacular financial and industrial revival in the past two years. Bouncing back from near insolvency, the Nelson-based iwi sold most of its trust's assets to pay off debt, and is now banking on the creativity and motivation of its people.

Driving the new direction is business guru Caron Paul. Caron spied a business opportunity with the traditional korowai that some Koata women were making for whānau. Now Koata Krafts Ltd has streamlined the korowai-weaving process.

"When we took the idea to our kaumātua and kuia, it was shock, horror, gasp. There were a lot of people saying it's not traditional and our koata-tanga is being compromised."

But now those critics are some of Koata Krafts biggest fans. Caron says the new enterprise has changed the gloomy attitude to one of excitement. The iwi opened a shop in Nelson this year, which is performing way above expectations. Next year there are plans for exhibitions in New York and in the UK.



MĀORI GARDEN NURTURED

A traditional Māori, pre-European garden has been opened at Hamilton Gardens.

Te Parapara Garden will take three years to complete. It will recreate traditional Māori gardening practices and demonstrate the significant local heritage and tikanga. In July, a gateway carved by Wiremu Puke was erected, symbolising the transition between the present and the traditional world.

The garden is a joint project between Ngā Mana Toopu, representing the five biggest hapū within Waikato, and Hamilton City Council. Underpinning the garden is the preservation and transmission of traditional Māori knowledge. Customary Māori crops will be planted and tended using traditional Māori tools.

Fundraising to create the \$2 million garden continues through the Te Parapara Trust.



MĀORI FILM FESTIVAL ON A ROLL

The Waimate Conspiracy is one of the Wairoa Film Festival's headliners on show this Labour Weekend. The good-humoured mock-documentary about a land claim stars Jim Moriarty, Helen Pearse-Otene, David McPhail and Jon Gadsby, and is directed by Stefen Harris.

Also featuring at the festival is *The Gathering*, a documentary about a meeting on the South Australia coast in 1998 of indigenous elders from around the world. It will be among a range of feature-length films, short films, documentaries and archival works. Alongside the Māori films there will be a programme of indigenous films from Canada, Australia, the US and Tonga.

GLOBAL ROLE FOR TE HEUHEU

Ngāti Tūwharetoa paramount chief Tumu Te Heuheu has been appointed the new leader of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee.

The committee chooses, funds, and monitors the care of, world heritage sites, which include a gift from Tumu's ancestor Horonuku Patatai (Te Heuheu Tukino IV). Horonuku gave the mountains Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu to the Government in 1887 for New Zealand's first national park and the world's fourth.

Next July, New Zealand will host the next session of the committee in Christchurch.

Continued on page 56.

Zero tolerance for FAMILY VIOLENCE



Somehow we avoid blaming the killers, as if we agree with them that they're not responsible for themselves anyway.

We're at it again. Concern about family violence comes around on an endless cycle of crisis and aftermath.

It always starts with the case of a child – or children – killed by their parents or other family members. The family is examined, and appalling neglect and violence are exposed, sometimes lying generations deep. And we are all shocked – again.

Agonized debate follows, stern editorials are written in newspapers, politicians speak up, and TV documentaries record the misery. A government agency cops the flak: if a social worker had acted sooner, if a teacher had spoken up, if other family members hadn't been drunk or stoned, the tragedy might not have happened.

We can't accept that some disasters are inevitable, and some families don't care enough to prevent them. Somehow we avoid blaming the killers, as if we agree with them that they're not responsible for themselves anyway. And then we form a committee.

A committee will produce a report, which will make recommendations. In the fullness of time the recommendations may be acted on, but quite likely a new committee will have to be formed to work out how that will happen. Next, a conference comes in handy, packed with experts with impressive academic credentials. And the Kahui twins – our latest disaster – are as dead as they ever were at the end of it.

Pardon me if I don't get excited about family-violence projects, which are always under-

funded and in crisis. They are set up and run by people with good hearts and fine intentions, who wear themselves out trying to help families that are walking disasters and whose kids don't stand a chance.

It reminds me of those scientific diagrams where a lot of spinning, or energy, is going on around a centre that stays absolutely still. The still point is the dysfunctional family, which enjoys watching the circus it generates, and doesn't change at all.

Currently we have 24 government-funded non-violence programmes, but the tiny Kahui twins, born premature and almost never visited in hospital by their parents, went home to a crowded, Auckland house where they were abused and finally dead before anybody thought something might be wrong.

The 12 people present in the house when they died have not been helpful to police running the murder inquiry, advised by lawyers that they don't have to be. That rather suggests that even the legal system is happy for nobody to be held to account. Notorious Tania Witika, joint killer and tormentor of her two-year-old daughter Delcelia, left jail in a limousine. What message did that give about the seriousness of what she'd done?

I don't blame John Tamihere for suggesting that welfare – the Kahui household apparently got \$2000 a week in handouts – should be organised so that negligent parents can't spend the money on booze or drugs. I share his frustration,

but I don't think the answer is to make people even less responsible. That said, it's an interesting fact that, when welfare came in, boozers were not eligible for it. We made moral judgments more readily in the 1930s.

Māori Party co-leader Tariana Turia, also frustrated and upset, advocates engaging the nation's aunties to work with and monitor problem families. It's a nice idea, but the aunties would be spread thin, for little reward and much heartache. And what about uncles, anyway? Is the idea to give up on men as hopeless cases, confirming what many have already chosen to be?

We avoid saying that family violence is a Māori problem, but sadly, it is. More Māori are affected; more Māori suffer.

There may be reasons for family violence, but in the end they're a distraction, giving neither answers nor solutions. Nothing will work until we stop tolerating violence, whatever its causes. I'm sorry, but it's as simple as that. 

Rosemary McLeod is a Wellington-based journalist, who is noted for her social comment. Her weekly columns feature in a number of newspapers around the country. She is a descendant of missionaries who arrived here before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and of other colonist families who arrived here in 1840. Her early childhood was spent in the Wairarapa.

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nā ROB TIPĀ

NEXT TIME YOU BITE INTO A BLUFF OYSTER, SAVOUR THE TASTE BECAUSE IT MAY BE YOUR LAST. THIS EXQUISITE SOUTHERN DELICACY IS FAST MOVING BEYOND THE PRICE RANGE AND REACH OF ORDINARY KIWIS.

LAST OF THE Bluff oysters?

In a restaurant, the iconic kiwi feast of a dozen oysters will cost you a princely \$2.50 a mouthful (\$30 a dozen), if you're in the deep south. And it's even more expensive the further you get from the turbulent tidal shallows of Foveaux Strait, once home to the richest wild-oyster fishery in the world and now one of the last that remains.

What is worse is that for many years experienced skippers and crews of Bluff's oyster fleet have warned anyone who will listen that this 130-year-old industry is in ruins from a combination of rampant disease, blatant over-fishing and a history of bad management.

Ironically, the boom and bust approach to New Zealand fisheries management is nothing new. When Bluff oysters were first harvested commercially in the 1860s from Port Adventure on the east coast of Rakiura (Stewart Island), sailing cutters were run up onto the sandbanks and oysters were shoveled aboard until the tide lifted the boats off, laden to the gunwales. The oysters were shipped directly to hungry markets in Invercargill and Dunedin.

Within ten years, these shallow oyster beds were decimated. The fishery got a lucky reprieve in 1877 when more extensive, deep-water beds were discovered in Foveaux Strait. Armed with dredges, the oyster fleet homed in, factories opened up at "The Bluff" and business boomed.

Rob Tipa visited Bluff, talked to oyster-boat skippers, crewmen, factory operators and scientists and found that history has a habit of repeating itself.

“MY INTEREST IS IN BOTH THE ENVIRONMENTAL STRUGGLE TO CONSERVE THE RESOURCE AND THE CULTURAL STRUGGLE ON THE PART OF THE FISHERMEN TO PRESERVE A WAY OF LIFE AND A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE.”

— PETER KNIGHT, A CANADIAN HYDROGRAPHER AND LECTURER IN HYDROGRAPHIC SURVEYING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO.



Bluff oyster fishery IN RUINS

The Foveaux Strait oyster fishery was once the richest and is now one of the last wild-oyster fisheries in the world. But today it is in ruins from a history of over-fishing, rampant disease and bad management, according to a Canadian hydrographer who is studying the industry for his doctorate.

Peter Knight is a lecturer in hydrographic surveying at the University of Otago's School of Surveying in Dunedin. Between 2002 and 2006 he interviewed more than 50 Bluff fishermen and collected over 30 years of documented evidence – records of meetings, newspaper clippings and scientific reports on the oyster industry.

“My interest is in both the environmental struggle to conserve the resource and the cultural struggle on the part of the fishermen to preserve a way of life and a body of knowledge,” he says.

The conclusions he has reached in several published working papers examining the history and management of the fishery, some of which have been presented internationally, are compelling. A documented decline in catch rates and the exploitation of oyster beds to the point of extinction in some areas are facts that speak for themselves. Today harvests are less than 7% of what they were in the 1980s.

Knight says a number of leading Bluff fishermen believe that merchants who own the oyster-boat fleet and hold property rights to oysters through quota ownership are “locked into a competition that represents the final stage of the fishery’s demise – destruction of the last-remaining breeding stock of oysters.”

Ironically, Bluff fisherman have a record of publicly speaking out against commercial exploitation of the fishery, as far back as the 1930s, despite the fact that their conservation-minded views were generally unpopular in a small, tight-knit community dependent on the fishery for its survival. Fishermen were torn between a livelihood and unsustainable commercial harvests, Knight says.

“Many who have criticised management have found themselves ostracised or without a job.”

Historically, oystering was a controlled fishery for almost a century. The fleet was limited to between five and ten boats, and oystermen practised a form of rotational fishing based on minimum catches. When catch rates dropped below about eight sacks an hour, they moved on to more productive beds and left depleted beds to recover. They also developed the first comprehensive plans for orderly exploitation of the fishery.

Now many fishermen believe their conservation ideals have forced

them out of the industry, and exploitation of “the last oyster” is proceeding unchallenged. All know and talk of beds that were fished to commercial extinction through the pressure of intense dredging.

Most oystermen blame the decline of the fishery on delicensing of the industry in 1963, when the oyster fleet doubled from 12 to 23 boats, along with the environmental impact of heavy dredges introduced in the early 1970s.

The total quota was set at 170,000 sacks during the 1960s, but many thought that limit was far too high. The fleet never caught the quota (the record annual catch was 164,000 sacks), so effectively there was no restriction. By the late 1970s the quota was reduced to 115,000 sacks, a tidy 5,000 sacks each for the 23 boats working the beds.

The industry flourished and prospered, injecting millions of dollars annually into the Bluff economy, and so did the oystermen and the merchants. Stories abound of the good-old days when oyster boats staggered home with a substantial list to starboard, their decks consistently laden with 100 sacks and more each day, six days a week for five or six months of the year. The record of 208 sacks, on today’s prices, represents a catch worth somewhere around \$400,000 for a day’s work.

Through the 1970s, signs of over-fishing began to emerge and catch rates began a slow decline. The warning signs were there for anyone with a long memory. Old-timers still remembered the lesson from the 1870s when, in the space of a decade, over-fishing destroyed the inter-tidal oyster beds on the shores of Rakiura.

The oyster-wasting disease bonamia first appeared in the early 1960s, upsetting a delicate ecological balance, but a devastating outbreak in the mid-1980s changed the face of the fishery for ever, Knight explains. The season closed early in 1986, and the quota was cut to between 2,800 and 4,000 sacks per vessel in the 1987-89 seasons.

By the early 1990s, the treasured Bluff oyster beds were in critical decline, with up to 90% attrition from bonamia in some areas. The fishery was closed in 1993 and remained closed for the following two seasons.

Fishery management took another sharp change of direction in the mid-1990s with the introduction of the quota management system (QMS). When the fishery reopened in 1996, 70 jobs had disappeared, experienced fishermen were “thrown on the scrap heap”, and the oyster fleet was cut in half.

Significantly, Peter Knight explains that the balance of power had

moved from local level into the hands of the Ministry of Fisheries’ Shellfish Working Group in Wellington. The Ministry of Fisheries (MFish) together with their industry partners, the Bluff Oyster Management Company and their main science provider NIWA (National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research), now dominated the management and scientific input into the fishery. He says their focus was on monitoring disease and counting oysters for the purpose of calculating yield and setting quotas.

“The QMS is a system conceived in abstract isolation and operating in bureau-space,” Knight writes. “It is not about oysters and people; it’s about quota numbers and property rights. It is non-management at the highest level.”

NIWA is the principal science provider for the Bluff oyster fishery, funded under contract to MFish. It claims it is not involved in the management of the fishery, but its scientific reports to MFish are often the basis for management decisions.



Both scientists and MFish maintain that fishing pressure will have no significant effect on the total oyster population, if the effects of bonamia are taken into account. A widely-held attitude in the industry, according to Knight, is that the oysters are going to die anyway, so the industry may as well catch them before they do.

“Fishing is believed to have relatively little influence on the beds, given losses to bonamia,” Fisheries Minister David Benson-Pope stated in 2004. “The reduced commercial-catch limit will help ensure that the fishery recovers as rapidly as possible once the disease has run its course.”

Peter Knight explains that scientists calculate oyster populations by statistical methods that average and extrapolate figures over a larger area than the oyster boats actually target. In setting quotas each season, scientists claim that less than 10% of the total oyster population is harvested each year, which they say is sustainable.

However, Bluff oystermen with decades of experience under their belts, say that up to 90% of the available oysters are taken from the specific beds targeted by fishermen.

Meanwhile, the merchants (quota owners) claim dredging is good for the beds: it cultivates them, breaks up clumps of oysters, gives young oysters room to grow and provides new surfaces for spat to attach to. They blame bonamia for the decline in the beds, not over-fishing.

“THE [QUOTA MANAGEMENT SYSTEM] IS A SYSTEM CONCEIVED IN ABSTRACT ISOLATION AND OPERATING IN BUREAU-SPACE ... IT IS NOT ABOUT OYSTERS AND PEOPLE; IT’S ABOUT QUOTA NUMBERS AND PROPERTY RIGHTS. IT IS NON-MANAGEMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.”

— PETER KNIGHT

With the introduction of the quota-management system, the Government allocated 20% of the reduced quota to Ngāi Tahu iwi and paid out \$6 million in compensation to oyster-boat owners for their share. Within two years the perception in Bluff was that Ngāi Tahu Fisheries had aligned itself with the Bluff Oyster Management Company, although the Awarua Rūnanga entered the industry and caught quota under contract to Ngāi Tahu Fisheries.

During the late 1990s and early years of the new century, catch rates looked promising, before another devastating outbreak of bonamia struck in 2001 and catches plummeted. In 2003 quota owners took a “voluntary cut” in quota from 900 sacks to about 450 sacks. Effectively, the Foveaux Strait harvest was halved from 15 million oysters to 7.5 million.

“Bluff fishermen scoff at the quota set by the Minister of Fisheries, which they believe simply follows the decline in the fishery, rather than preventing that decline,” Knight states. “Bluff-oyster merchants point out that they have shelved half their quota entitlement out of conservation-mindedness, but the fishermen see this only as confirmation of their belief that the oyster population is so low that the higher quota could not be caught.”

After ten years of management under the quota system, catch statistics show the fishery is now in a worse state than it was when low catch rates forced the Government to shut it down from 1993 to 1996, Knight states.

In the season just finished, 11 boats struggled to fill their quotas, with daily catch rates of 20 bags regarded as good, and some catches slipping to as low as eight bags a day.

“It may well be too late to preserve the physical side of the Bluff oyster fishery, but it is not too late to learn from the experience of the fishery’s demise and to preserve what remains of the cultural fabric of the fishery,” Knight concludes.

“There is a practical knowledge, a way of life, including a strong moral sense, that is part of the legacy of the fishery, and it is this legacy that should inform the management of the fishery.”

“The fate of the Bluff oyster fishery should teach us that it is a mistake to operate at the level of property rights without honouring the culture embodied in the history and knowledge of fishermen within the local community.”

Local fisherman: FISHERY CAN BE SAVED

“WHAT WE USED TO REGARD AS A POOR CATCH RATE OF SIX SACKS AN HOUR IS NOW REGARDED AS UNBELIEVABLE. BY 2002 CATCH RATES WERE DOWN TO 3.2 SACKS AN HOUR.” – BLUFF OYSTERMAN WILLIAM “BUBBA” THOMPSON



The treasured Ngāi Tahu tio, a taonga species, is in serious decline, says seasoned Bluff oysterman William “Bubba” Thompson. Worse than that, he believes the fishery is so fragile it’s on the point of collapse.

Bubba and his wife Gail have whakapapa links to Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mamoe and Waitaha, and are both actively involved with the Awarua Rūnanga. Their fear is that their customary rights and those of their children and future generations are being jeopardised by the unsustainable commercial harvesting of oysters.

Bubba left the industry in 2002 after 15 seasons crewing on oyster boats as far back as 1983. Since then he has been a vocal critic of unsustainable exploitation of the fishery. He wrote to a former Minister of Fisheries, Pete Hodgson, to remind him of the Government’s legal responsibility to actively protect Māori customary rights under the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Bubba’s concerns are based on his experience, common sense and keen observation from his years at sea. Many older fishermen with decades of experience oystering in Foveaux Strait were ringing alarm bells about declining catches 15 years ago, but Bubba says any critics of over-fishing and bad management have been quietly but surely pushed out of the industry.

“They could see the decline back then, and so could a lot of other older fishermen, but they all got pushed out. Now it’s a hundred times worse,” Bubba says.



William “Bubba” Thompson, a former Bluff oysterman and vocal critic of unsustainable harvests of the treasured Ngāi Tahu tio.

“In the 1980s we used to catch 105 sacks every day for six months. Our catch rate was up to 20 sacks an hour. Now guys are struggling to catch 20 sacks in a 12-hour day,” Bubba says. “What we used to regard as a poor catch rate of six sacks an hour is now regarded as unbelievable. By 2002 catch rates were down to 3.2 sacks an hour.”

That catch rate was lower than the 3.4 sacks an hour caught in 1992, when the Ministry of Fisheries stepped in under emergency measures and closed the commercial and recreational fisheries because of the effects of the disease bonamia, which devastated the Foveaux Strait fishery.

Catch figures since then suggest it has slipped further. This season many experienced oystermen were lucky to land 20 sacks a day. Some catches were as low as eight sacks a day. In better times, if catch rates dropped below eight sacks an hour, the oyster boats hauled their gear and moved on to more productive beds, a self-imposed restriction observed by fishermen to protect the fishery’s brood stock and their livelihood.

Bubba Thompson says the Ministry of Fisheries has been told by scientists that the resource is fragile and could collapse, yet it allows commercial interests to continue fishing for the “last oyster”, jeopardising the long-term sustainability of the resource.

“It’s terrible what’s going on here,” Bubba says. “The general public has no idea what’s happening. There’s no forum for us recreational or customary people. What [the commercial operators] are doing out there now

is actually already impacting on our customary fishing rights, big time. It’s being well and truly over-fished.”

Bubba says the management of the oyster fishery leaves a lot to be desired, but the infrastructure is secondary to the health of the fishery itself. So-called managers are not looking after a public resource, he says. The commercial owners of the quota do not own the resource, yet they have all the say in its management.

“[Commercial operators] are not addressing the decline because they’re worried about the dollars. They make up their losses by putting the price of oysters up. The ordinary person can’t even afford to go and buy a feed of oysters now,” he says.

Bubba argues that the commercial harvest is unsustainable. In recent seasons the oyster fleet did not catch its full quota, an indication it is already over-fished. In 2003 the Ministry of Fisheries halved the quota, but Bubba questions the formula used. He suggests the figure was randomly plucked out of the air. The total quota is now less than 10% of what it was in the 1980s.

BUBBA BELIEVES COMMON SENSE SUGGESTS BONAMIA IS A CLEAR SIGNAL THAT OYSTER NUMBERS ARE AT A LOW EBB BECAUSE THE FISHERY IS SICK AND NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TIME TO REST AND RECOVER.

The decline in the fishery has generated mixed emotions in a close-knit town like Bluff where everyone knows everyone. Some oystermen have walked off their boats rather than continue an unsustainable harvest. Others may agree privately that the fishery is unsustainable, but feel unable to speak out publicly, for fear of losing their livelihood.

“I don’t blame the skippers on the boats, because they have families to support,” Bubba says. “They don’t make the rules. If they don’t take the boats out, employers will find someone else who will.”



“There’s not the same pressure today on oyster boats. The days of men fishing seven days a week are gone. Now it’s a Monday to Friday job. The boats have six months to catch half their usual quota, so they can pick the days they go to sea. Oystering has become a fine-weather occupation,” he says.

Meanwhile, the industry blames bonamia for its woes, but Bubba says fisheries’ managers have never effectively addressed the issue. Bonamia has been around for 15 years, but the problem is “a hundred times worse now than it was when it first appeared.” He believes common sense suggests bonamia is a clear signal that oyster numbers are at a low ebb because the fishery is sick and needs to be given time to rest and recover.

“We have government scientists running around saying we need to look after the environment, yet they allow dredges to carry on out there, contributing to the demise of the industry. The scientists seem to look for reasons to justify opening the fishery each season,” he says.

In 2002 the oystermen could see the devastation caused by bonamia and waited for the beds to be closed, but it didn’t happen. The boats continued fishing and consequently the full quota was never caught. At a meeting with the management group, Bubba asked to see a management plan but was told by a spokesman there wasn’t one.

So what is the answer? For Bubba Thompson that’s simple – close the fishery down. He would like to see representatives of the commercial, customary and recreational sectors get together around the table to sort it out.

“I would like to see a public inquiry and ask why the fishery has been allowed to get to this state where the catch rate has dropped so low.”

“If iwi were able to look after our own fisheries and create our own management plans, I reckon we have the expertise. It wouldn’t be blokes in offices we’d be going to – it would be blokes on fishing boats who have been successful fishermen.”

“I reckon the oyster fishery can be saved, but it needs urgent action,” Bubba says.

For Bubba and Gail Thompson, their livelihood and traditional family links with the oyster industry now look likely to end with their generation. As Gail puts it, “The sad part about it is our son will never be an oysterman because of the way the fishery has been managed.”



Above: photographs taken in the Bluff Maritime Museum, including an oystering chart showing Foveaux Strait beds in 1900.

Salt of the Earth SCIENCE

MENTION THE WORDS “OYSTERS” AND “SCIENCE” IN THE SAME BREATH ON THE STREETS OF BLUFF AND ONE NAME INVARIABLY CROPS UP. “HAVE YOU TALKED TO BOB STREET?”

Independent fisheries scientist Bob Street is highly respected by generations of Bluff oystermen for his experience and years of down-to-earth research through his breeding, seeding and tagging experiments with oysters in Bluff Harbour and Foveaux Strait.

Since he started fisheries work with the former Marine Department in Otago in 1956, Bob has mainly focused on pāua, rock lobster and oyster research in Otago and Southland. At 76 he still has a busy schedule, running between trials and experiments from Otago Harbour to the Catlins coast and Bluff.

“I wish I was 30 years younger,” he admits. “It’s a challenge you might say. Some people like to grow roses, which wouldn’t interest me. Fish are my interest.”

He began work on oyster-enhancement trials in the mid-1990s and, with funding assistance from the industry and a grant from Technology New Zealand, has revived that programme in the last two years with a pilot project to capture wild-oyster spawn on spat collectors suspended in Bluff Harbour.

The strong tides of the harbour have provided a good nursery, and the project has shown it is feasible to settle surplus oyster larvae on clean oyster-shell collectors and grow them to the size of a 50-cent coin before they are released into selected areas of Foveaux Strait.

These seed oysters reach legal size in a further two years’ growth, with the same growth and mortality rates as small wild oysters that have been tagged and returned after culching from the oyster dredges.

Pilot trials have been cost-effective and Bob Street says the results are encouraging enough to warrant stepping it up gradually to a full-scale commercial operation. The key to enhancement is keeping a tight rein on seeding costs and monitoring survival rates in the wild, he says. He sees enhancement of beds as an aid to natural regeneration – “giving nature a helping hand.”

Bluff oysters are notoriously difficult to work with for aquaculture. Breeding is infrequent and unpredictable, which makes it difficult to catch sufficient seed oysters for culture or to produce them in a hatchery. Spawning oysters retain the larvae within the shell and each release up to 50,000 larvae at once. The larvae are carried by the tides and will settle on any clean, shell surface soon after release.

“The principle of the whole oyster enhancement work I’m doing is putting down sufficient clean settlement surface to trap surplus wild larvae,” he says. The same principle is the basis of large, commercial oyster fisheries worldwide.

Bob is confident oyster numbers should recover to levels higher than present catches of 7.5 million oysters (about 9,000 sacks), but he doubts they will



Bob Street, an experienced fisheries scientist, whose experiments show it is feasible to give nature a helping hand by commercially seeding Bluff’s oyster beds. Above he holds seed oysters from larvae collected on clean shell in Bluff Harbour. They have been grown to a size where they could be released in Foveaux Strait and legally harvested in two years’ time. Below, Bob Street holds a spat collector – clean oyster shells laced onto stainless steel wire, which are suspended in Bluff Harbour to collect wild-oyster larvae.



ever return to the glory days of the 1970s and early 1980s.

The major wild card is the disease bonamia. Scientists estimate the last outbreak in Foveaux Strait between 2001 and 2003 killed a billion oysters. Bob Street says the cyclical mortality of oysters from this disease will always be an unknown limiting factor the fishery will have to live with.

He believes a La Niña weather pattern and warmer water temperatures may have triggered the last two bonamia cycles.

“My own view is that the initial trigger is the plankton food supply, which is in turn related to water temperature,” he says. “When it first started off in its second cycle (in 2001), we first noticed the oyster quality was very poor, which indicated the lack of plankton in the water.”

“The two cycles have always started in the west beds (of Foveaux Strait), gradually spread eastward, and run its course,” he says. “In the west, where it first flared up again about five years ago, there is good regeneration now. There are a lot of small oysters.”

“The thing with this disease is that bonamia has probably happened right through the history of the fishery. No one knew anything about oyster diseases in the earlier days and probably took it as one of those things and shifted away from that area when catch rates dropped.”

“Certainly the cycles of occurrence in the last 20 years have become a lot closer together. I can’t explain why that should be, but there’s all sorts of things going on with climate change.”

There are management strategies to minimise its impact, he says. Harvests could be increased locally when bonamia occurs, to utilise a resource that would otherwise die, reduce the density of the beds and slow the rate of infection.

Moderate levels of dredging throughout the fishery have some benefits in breaking up clusters during culching, but that is difficult to put into practice with fewer productive beds. It’s certainly not a good practice to “hammer the same beds too much,” he says.

Bob Street concludes there is no reason to close the fishery, and he is confident they will recover naturally, particularly when the west beds recover. He has confidence in the Bluff oystermen, particularly the younger generation of deckhands he has worked alongside on his trial work.

“The key is to stay in touch with them,” he says. “Always respect their opinions. Let them know what you’re doing and why you’re doing it. Once you get alongside them, they’ll go out of their way to help you. They’re all bloody good blokes – salt of the earth.”

TK

nā PHIL TUMATAROA

AORAKI BOUND

To learn about the footsteps of your tīpuna is one thing, but to actually walk in them is another.

Aoraki Bound, an innovative new course being developed by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, is providing just that opportunity for a generation hungry to experience their culture. Cultural revitalisation is one of the cornerstones to developing Ngāi Tahu individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi, so more and more the iwi needs to find new and creative ways to engage with its people.

Aoraki Bound is a concept that combines Ngāi Tahu cultural knowledge and tikanga with the expertise that Outward Bound has gained from more than 45 years of delivering internationally respected personal development programmes.

“I am Ngāi Tahu”



“I am Ngāi Tahu.” It seems a simple enough statement, but Tiaki Latham-Coates utters these words with a new-found conviction. This conviction comes from the heart, because Tiaki now has an understanding of what it means to be Ngāi Tahu.

Tiaki was one of 14 students who took part in the groundbreaking Aoraki Bound pilot course in March this year. “The key thing I’ve taken away from Aoraki Bound is an appreciation of how unique Ngāi Tahu are and the incredible pride I have in now saying, ‘I am Ngāi Tahu.’”

A student in the University of Otago’s Māori studies and physical education programme in Dunedin, the 20-year-old, who affiliates to Waihao Rūnanga, has gained a new sense of identity and sense of self, and kindled an insatiable hunger to learn about his culture.

“Personally, I’m so much surer of myself, which ties into my sense of identity too. I’ve grown so much from the Aoraki Bound experience, and I am not afraid to be me. I’m more responsible, show more compassion, have a greater understanding of the importance of protecting our environment and am just so much stronger now,” he says.

As early as 2003, momentum was building and, through a series of relationships and events, the unique character of Outward Bound, with its

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon is 100 percent behind the Aoraki Bound concept and believes a strength of the course is that it is not just for Ngāi Tahu, but for all New Zealanders: “If we want to be seen as an active member of the community then we need to involve the community. Enhancing cultural tolerance and understanding doesn’t come from being exclusive, we have to be inclusive and the learning and sharing of knowledge works both ways.”

reputation as an agent of change, was beginning to filter through to Ngāi Tahu. In November 2004, critical mass was reached and Ngāi Tahu took the first steps towards developing a relationship with Outward Bound. The aim was to investigate how the two organisations could work together to provide an effective vehicle for cultural revitalisation and leadership development for the tribe.

After a successful first hui at Rapaki, it quickly became clear there was a synergy and commonality of purpose between the two groups. Outward Bound chief executive officer, Trevor Taylor, recalls vividly his visit to Rapaki and the sense that this was the beginning of something special.

“That day at the marae, sitting on the waterfront talking to Te Whe [Phillips] was a turning point for me. When I listened to Te Whe talking I could hear Outward Bound, and I knew we were people with the same values and the same aspirations. From that day on, I was confident that we would work together.”

Outward Bound has been working successfully with ethnic communities in Auckland for the past three years running 21-day courses known as Southern Cross. These bring together Māori, Pacific Island, African and Asian cultures and teach understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity.



“These courses are about recognising that cultural differences are an asset rather than a liability, so when I was approached by Ngāi Tahu I saw it as an ideal opportunity to extend our organisation’s objectives of being culturally aware and culturally relevant.”

Cultural relevance is something Trina Lowry never gave much thought to before applying for her place on the pilot course. Trina is a 31-year-old Wellingtonian working in the field of mental health. She was selected for a place that was offered to the Ministry of Health, and counts the experience as “the best I have ever had.”

“I haven’t had a lot of cultural experiences ... but I never imagined that I would be able to come back having learnt so much, not only language, waiata, karakia, whakatauki and haka, but also a confidence in using what I learned, a greater understanding than I thought possible and a new-found passion for Māori culture in general,” she says.

Trina has a Māori partner and together they have an 18-month-old daughter, Ellarhys.

“It wasn’t just about the cultural parts of the course, it was what the culture brought to the group – all the aroha. I feel like we’ve come out with so much more. Aoraki Bound has helped me to embrace Māori culture

instead of being afraid of it. It has given me the confidence to want to teach my daughter about her culture.”

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere, Mark Solomon, is 100 per cent behind the Aoraki Bound concept and believes a strength of the course is that it is not just for Ngāi Tahu, but for all New Zealanders.

“If we want to be seen as an active member of the community, then we need to involve the community. Enhancing cultural tolerance and understanding doesn’t come from being exclusive; we have to be inclusive, and the learning and sharing of knowledge works both ways,” he says.

Mark has seen first-hand the benefits that come from the programme.

“At dawn on the final day of the pilot course I had the job of manning a drink station at Aoraki near the end of the 25km run. I saw the sweat, the pain and the exhaustion in their faces, but I could also see the joy and pride in being able to have the experience and to achieve it.”

Mark believes the payback to the tribe will be motivated people able to stand up and represent themselves, and an increasing group of non-Māori in the community who are culturally aware.

“You can’t be proud of something unless you know what it is all about. The value of Aoraki Bound will be realised by the differences that it makes to the next generation in terms of the revival and perpetuation of Ngāi Tahu culture, knowledge and identity and the development of our people as future leaders.”

This theory will again be tested in 2007 when three further courses are run in February, March and August.

Project manager Patsy Bass has been driving the concept since its inception. She witnessed much of the course and has recently completed the review and evaluation process.

“The course is still in the development stage and we are operating under a continuous improvement philosophy, but the positive and enthusiastic feedback about the pilot from students, their employers and whānau has been really positive. Aoraki Bound has exceeded everyone’s expectations,” she says.

Ten of the pilot participants were Ngāi Tahu and four were non-Māori or from other iwi. Patsy interviewed all 14 participants and debriefed the Outward Bound and Ngāi Tahu instructors. She describes the effect the course has had on everyone concerned as unique and profound.

“Everyone has taken something special and personal away from the course, but across the board, they all acknowledge the significance of the cultural components of the programme. Listening to Maika Mason’s kōrero



on pounamu and then walking the pounamu trails, paddling waka up Lake Pūkaki to Aoraki on a perfect, clear day, building hīnaki to catch eels, visiting rock-art sites at Arowhenua, having Tā Tipene O’Regan share Ngāi Tahu history, and finally reaching Aoraki at the end of their 25km run are all highlights,” she says.

“What Aoraki Bound has achieved is a tangible way to experience Ngāi Tahu culture, while at the same time gaining personal development, by challenging people culturally, mentally and physically by pushing them out of their comfort zones, yet all in a safe and supportive environment. The experience has created a thirst for cultural knowledge in all students, especially the Ngāi Tahu participants.”

Non-Ngāi Tahu participants expressed a deeper understanding and appreciation of Māori and specifically Ngāi Tahu culture and tikanga. Three of the students are policy analysts with the Ministry of Health and Office of Treaty Settlements. They said they have gained a new perspective in their work as it relates to Māori, and they will now view political decisions New Zealand makes in a new light.

A team has been working to develop and refine the content for the next course. The pilot involved nine days based at the Outward Bound School at Anakiwa in the Queen Charlotte Sounds, where participants went tramping, sailing and rock climbing, completed a high-ropes course and learnt to paddle single and double-hulled waka.

The next 11 days were spent on a hikoī from Anakiwa to Aoraki, a symbolic journey reflecting the traditions that saw Ngāi Tahu tūpuna traverse every corner of Te Waipounamu to access mahinga kai sites and trade food and pounamu.

Liz Hirst isn’t what you would imagine as your average Outward Bound participant. For a start she is Māori, and they are under-represented at the

Trina Lowry: “I haven’t had a lot of cultural experiences...but I never imagined that I would be able to come back having learnt so much, not only language, waiata, karakia, whakatauki and haka, but also a confidence in using what I learned, a greater understanding than I thought possible and a new found passion for Māori culture in general.”

school. Secondly she is 49 years old, but then the Aoraki Bound philosophy is one that embraces not only race and gender, but age. The oldest participant was 51-year-old Brian Marsh (Waihōpai, Ōraka-Aparima) and the youngest was Tiaki at 20.

Liz (Koukourarata), who lives in Nelson and is a health and community development consultant, says the inter-generational range in ages was a

“powerful” component of the course. “We need the support of generations; there was great benefit in the older generation working with the younger ones and vice versa. I think it was a really unique aspect.”

Liz has always been aware of her heritage and about “being Ngāi Tahu.” “But when you are white and blonde with blue eyes like me, you have a choice whether you validate that part of you or not. When I was young it didn’t mean anything. I lived an everyday, mainstream life.”

There came a time in her life when she decided to acknowledge her whakapapa when her career led her to work increasingly with Māori. So she began to learn te reo and joined the Whakatū branch of the Māori Women’s Welfare League in Nelson.

“I immersed myself in the culture, but now my path has moved back to the middle ground – Pākehātanga has always been there. I went through a stage of balancing the scales and building up the bit that had been neglected,” she says.

Her experiences on Aoraki Bound were profound and, on reflection, she believes the value of whanaungatanga is what remains strongest with her.

“Whanaungatanga was the key for me – to be able to work as a collective and still be able to achieve individual goals – there is real power in that. Now it is about my children. Because I am in a stronger place I can impart what I have learnt to them.”

Bringing about change in people is a difficult undertaking; often we resist change or don’t think we need it. Now the work begins building Aoraki Bound as an agent of change, promise and hope for Ngāi Tahu.

Already more than 100 people (half are Ngāi Tahu) have registered their interest in attending courses. The project team is continuing to build relationships with Crown agencies and community groups keen to supply participants.

Discussions are underway with some rūnanga to establish scholarships to send two members on the course each year, and the hope is that eventually all rūnanga will offer these scholarships for their people.

While Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has made a financial commitment to support the course, the project team is also talking with sponsors to help achieve self-sufficiency and ensure Aoraki Bound continues into the future. Meridian Energy was a key sponsor of the pilot.

If ever there were reasons to have faith in the Aoraki Bound ethos, then the young charismatic Tiaki Latham-Coates from Waihao epitomises them. His hunger to learn anything and everything to do with his culture is inspirational. Since completing the course he has been making contact with whānau in the Otago area and creating opportunities to continue his cultural development.

“My flatmates say I’m walking taller, that my head’s held higher. Following Tā Tipene’s presentation on Ngāi Tahu history, I decided that one day that is going to be me – I’m going to share our history with the young ones.”

If you want to find out more about Aoraki Bound you can visit the Ngāi Tahu website: www.ngaitahu.co.nz or phone Patsy Bass, project manager, on 0800 524 824 or email patsy.bass@ngaitahu.iwi.nz



nā ADRIENNE REWI

NGĀ HUA O MOERAKI

FISHING FOR “BLUIES”



“You never starved in those days, despite the fact that most of us were hard up. You could always throw a piece of tin can on a fire and cook up a feast of cockles on the beach.” NGAIRE COY

It's misty and overcast when we drive into the tiny fishing village of Moeraki, and there is a still, tranquil beauty about the place.

The pretty, horseshoe bay is distinguished by its apricot-coloured sand at water's edge, by the rocks clambering up to the grass and by a gathered fist of cribs that climb up the hillside. Seagulls soar over the “Freshest fish on the Coast” signs, and a little fishing boat unloads a catch of blue and red cod, ling and travelli at the wharf. Cray pots are stacked at wharf's end.

We can see all that from Marama Leonard-Higgins's house perched on the hillside directly above. There, in the snug comforts of Marama's living room, we have a gull's-eye view right across the bay to the 60-million-year-old, spherical boulders, nestled like eggs in the sand, that have made Moeraki famous.

Blanket Bay executive chef Jason Dell is ready for action, having fired up the deep fryer in Marama's kitchen and enlisted the help of his seven-year-old son Harry, who is decked out in an over-sized, striped apron to match his father's. Today Jason is preparing lunch for Moeraki's gathered kaumātua. Blue cod – or “bluie” as the locals call it – is the focus of his menu.

“That's blue cod three ways,” says Jason. Along with his deep-fried, beer-battered cod with hollandaise sauce, he'll also be serving

sweetcorn, coconut and lemongrass soup with blue-cod and crème fraîche, plus citron-dusted, oven-baked blue cod served on a char-grilled potato salad.

It's a flurry of coriander chopping, avocado mashing, lemon slicing and fish turning as the clouds lift and Gloria Coloty turns her mind back to her experience of growing up in the bay. Her grandfather, Appleton Donaldson, was a fisherman here in the late 1800s. He came in with the whalers, she says, and started fishing for groper, blue cod and crayfish.

“I was brought up here in the 1930s and 40s. My father was a fisherman by then too. There were 36 line-fishing boats based here and we knew them all and who they belonged to by the sound of their engines. They left at about three in the morning in those days so they could be on the fishing grounds – anywhere from Ōamaru in the north to Karitane in the south – by daybreak,” she says.

Māori are said to have occupied Moeraki since the 13th century, and European settlement came with the establishment of a whaling station there in 1836. In just over a decade most of the whales disappeared and only six families stayed on, subsisting on fishing and small, cultivated plots of land.

That first group of whalers was led by John Hughes, W.I. Haberfield and others from the



Weller brothers' Otago whaling station. When they arrived they noted only nine Māori living in the area under Takatahara. But in 1838 a large group of Māori arrived from the north under the leadership of Matiaha Tiramorehu and they settled in close proximity to the whalers.



PHOTOGRAPHY PHIL TUMATARGA

Wayne Tipa sweeps his arm in an arc to encompass the people gathered in the living room. “All of us here are descendants of the marriages between whalers and the daughters of those early chiefs.”

Wayne (59) is Marama's first cousin and she was his teacher during his early Moeraki school days. When he was just 11, he started an after-school job at the National Mortgage Fishing Company at Moeraki. There, often working for a 12-hour stretch after school, he tailed crayfish for 15 pounds a week. “It was a good sum back then but I only ever saw about two and sixpence of it. My mother took the rest because she was raising nine of us on her own,” he says.

Marama also remembers the big National Mortgage shed on the foreshore; in fact, she takes a watercolour painting of it off her wall to show around. “It was the first National Mortgage Fishing Company building in New Zealand,” she says.

Skeggs and Independent Fisheries also had premises at Moeraki then, with much of the freshly-caught fish, mostly groper, leaving by train to markets in Christchurch and Dunedin.

“That was before the days of ice and freezers. And we also had a big smokehouse down there too,” Marama says, pointing to the shore end of the current wharf. “It was built by Jack Edmonston in the 1930s. And what was the old Skeggs fishing shed is now Fleur's Place, a thriving restaurant that has brought a lot of new people to Moeraki.”



Wayne and David Higgins (Marama's son) both remember making supplejack cray pots when they were boys. “We went into the bush with my grandfather, David Leonard, to collect supplejack, and we'd make hundreds of pots. That was always an Easter or pre-winter task,” says David.

“I also worked in the crayfish tailing shed for pocket money when I was about ten. I'd do four or five hours a night. And in those days we only kept the cray tails – the rest of the bodies were dumped out at sea.”

That early experience paved the way for David's future. He and his brother John started the Higgins Brothers Fishing Company with their grandfather in 1968 and they ran their own boats until 1990. David then went to Christchurch as the executive chairperson of Ngāi Tahu Fisheries.

“There were 36 fishing boats here before World War II, and it was a competitive business. It was all line fishing in those days, and my grandfather was known as the blue-cod king because he could catch a ton of blue cod a day with a hand-held line slung out each side of the boat. His finger had a permanent bend in it from manning the line.”

“One of my favourite stories he used to tell was about his adventures on the *Akura* when he was about 16. He went out on the boat one day with his uncle Jack Paina and, when a savage south-westerly blew up, they had to cut the anchor rope and make tracks for Moeraki with my grandfather lashed to the tiller so he wouldn't be swept overboard. A trip that would normally have taken two hours took them 13 hours in rough seas, and my grandfather remembered giant walls of black water coming over the boat.”

Six generations of David's family have been fishermen – “right back to the whalers,” he says.

“Fishing is definitely in the blood and I miss the sea now that I live in Christchurch. I remember as kids our whole lives revolved around the sea. We used to collect the bull kelp from the Kaik and blow it up to make poha. We'd hang them on the clothesline to dry and they'd be used for preserving muttonbirds. Our family exchanged the bags for birds. We have our own tītī island here – Maukiekie Island – which is about 100 metres off-shore at low tide. We also used the kelp bags for cooking fresh fish, or cockles, pāua or mussels on a fire on the beach. We did everything as kids. The beach was our supermarket.”

Ngairi Coy recalls a happy Moeraki childhood living with her grandparents. Her grandfather worked for the railways and was also lighthouse keeper, and Ngairi spent many hours fishing off the landing with a bit of string.

“It was easy to get red cod and, if you wanted



to cook it, you just slipped the fish into a piece of kelp and put it into the fire. It was cooked when the kelp became scrunched up. You never starved in those days, despite the fact that most of us were hard up. You could always throw a piece of tin on a fire and cook up a feast of cockles on the beach.”

“Gloria's father always brought fish and fish heads for anyone who wanted them. We'd string the heads on wire and boil them up with puha and spuds. Everyone shared everything in those days,” she says.

Blue cod, or rawaru, was Ngairi's favourite fish. This talk of “bluies” draws the attention back to the kitchen. Jason is plating up his blue-cod delicacies and the kaumātua are gathering around the table eager to try this new slant on one of their favourite fish.

“I can't say I've ever used citron with anything, but it tastes delicious,” says Marama. Everyone agrees and reaches for more.

Outside, the seagulls are circling. They've also developed a taste for “bluies”, swooping low on this perfect, moody day, to steal from a plate being photographed on the front deck overlooking the sea.

Inside, the living room is a happy murmur of fishing memories, laughter and recipe exchanges. Jason Dell has won-over the kaumātua once again.



BLUE COD

Blue cod is a treasured commodity amongst our people. It is, after all, one of our prized foods from the sea, commonly sourced from Rakiura (Stewart Island) and all around the lower east coast of the South Island.

Many people argue that the best way to cook blue cod is simply to pan-fry fillets in a little butter, straight after they have been cleaned and filleted. This is consistent with my mantra “fresh is best.”

For those keen on raw fish island-style, as long as the fish is straight from the ocean, try thinly sliced fillets in coconut milk that is well-flavoured with freshly squeezed lime juice, freshly chopped chilli, a

little fresh root ginger, lots of chopped, fresh coriander leaves and a little fresh mint. Allow the acid to “cook” the fish for at least 3-4 hours before serving.

For our excursion to Moeraki, we brought along the fryer and the barbecue plate, to create a feast of fish and chips, citron-dusted blue-cod fillets with a char-grilled potato salad, and sweetcorn, coconut and lemongrass soup with blue cod and crème fraiche.

Jason Dell (Ngāi Tahu/Ngāti Wheke)
Executive chef, Blanket Bay,
Glenorchy, New Zealand



FISH AND CHIPS

INGREDIENTS

- 2 eggs
- 2 cups self-raising flour
- 1 pinch of salt
- 330ml bottle dark-ale beer
- 8 small, boneless fillets of fresh blue cod
- extra flour
- French fries

HOLLANDAISE SAUCE

(optional – see recipe below)

METHOD

Combine beaten eggs, flour, salt and beer in a bowl and whisk until a smooth batter is achieved. Rest for 30 minutes before using. Dip the boneless fillets of fresh blue cod in extra flour and then drop into the batter. Fry in hot oil until crisp and golden. Serve with French fries and your favourite dipping sauce.

On this occasion, we accompanied the meal with sauce hollandaise (a personal favourite) and lemon wedges. But you might also try it with home-made tomato chutney or even a creamy mayonnaise sauce. Serves 4.

HOLLANDAISE SAUCE

INGREDIENTS

- 250g clarified butter
- 4 egg yolks
- 1 tbs water
- 2 tbs lemon juice
- 1 tbs white wine vinegar

METHOD

Melt the butter and keep it warm. Place the egg yolks and liquids into a stainless-steel bowl. Sit the bowl over a pot of near-boiling water. Whisk and cook the egg-yolk mixture over a bain marie until ribbon stage is achieved. Remove sauce from the heat. Very slowly whisk in the warm melted butter, 2 tbs at a time. Continue until all butter is incorporated. Season and keep warm until service.

Hollandaise is a basic sauce, yet a difficult one to master. The important thing is to remember to keep all the ingredients

at the same temperature. If the sauce gets too cold, it will cause the butter to harden, in which case start again with fresh ingredients. If the sauce gets too warm, it will split, or separate. In that event, start again or fix by the following method. Start with a fresh egg yolk in a clean stainless-steel bowl, and whisk it very well. Then very slowly incorporate the split sauce into the egg yolk, whisking continuously.

CITRON-DUSTED BLUE COD WITH CHAR-GRILLED POTATO SALAD

INGREDIENTS

- 4 fresh fillets of blue cod
- salt and pepper
- olive oil
- zest of 2 lemons, 2 oranges and 2 limes

SALAD INGREDIENTS

- 12 green beans, blanched, then cut in half
- 12 black olives, stones removed, then cut in half
- 6 red cherry tomatoes, cut in half
- 6 yellow cherry tomatoes, cut in half
- 1/2 red onion, cut into thin strips and softened with a little vegetable oil in a frying pan
- 4 small potatoes (skin on)

HOLLANDAISE SAUCE

(see recipe above)

METHOD

Dry the zest in a warming drawer overnight, or in a very low oven for approximately 1 hour. When completely dry, grind the combined zests in a coffee grinder, or chop by hand with a large knife, to a powder. Sprinkle zest over the fresh fillets and season with salt and pepper. Moisten with olive oil. Place fish under grill and cook until done. The fish could be wrapped in tin foil and cooked on a barbecue plate or baked in the oven to achieve the same great result.

FOR THE SALAD

Cook the potatoes by boiling in salted

water until just cooked (do not overcook or they will go mushy). Slice the potatoes into thick slices when cool enough to handle. Season with salt and pepper, moisten with a little vegetable oil and then char-grill on a hot skillet/char-grill pan. This can be done on a barbecue plate outside if you do not own a char-grill pan.

Arrange the grilled potato slices in the centre of a serving platter, scatter over the green beans, olives, cherry tomato halves and red onion slices. Moisten with a little home-made vinaigrette.

Sit the cooked fish fillets on top of the salad and serve with a little hollandaise sauce. Serves 4.

SWEETCORN, COCONUT AND LEMONGRASS SOUP WITH BLUE COD AND CRÈME FRAICHE

INGREDIENTS

- 50ml peanut oil
- 50g unsalted butter
- 300g fresh corn kernels
- 1/2 white onion, diced
- 1 stalk of fresh lemongrass, finely chopped
- 1/4 tsp turmeric powder
- 1/2 tsp ground cumin
- 1 potato, peeled and chopped
- 250ml coconut cream
- 250ml chicken stock
- 250ml vegetable stock
- seasoning
- 1 fillet of blue cod
- oil for frying
- fresh coriander leaves
- crème fraiche

METHOD

Sweat the diced onion with the corn, lemongrass, turmeric and cumin in a pot with butter and peanut oil. Add the chopped potato and liquids. Bring to the boil and simmer for 10 minutes. Allow to cool, then puree in a food processor. Pass through a fine sieve. Adjust the seasoning. Chill until required. Pan-fry the blue-cod fillet in oil. Reheat the soup. Serve in individual bowls and garnish with crème fraiche and coriander leaves, topped with a piece of the blue-cod fillet.

OPINION nā TOM BENNION

WATER ALLOCATION for the common good

In Garrett Hardin's famous article *The Tragedy of the Commons*, Hardin posited that resources which were common to all could become over-exploited because each user had no incentive other than to take what marginal extra benefit they could get out of a common resource, and no incentive to prevent its ultimate collapse. It is a good theory, and one that has applications to many resources today, such as fisheries in the high seas beyond the economic zones of countries.

However, one criticism of Hardin's approach is that, where some at first glance might see a “commons”, others see a use of a resource which is actually governed by rules, albeit unwritten or customary ones. In fact, the English commons which Hardin's article referred to were actually managed by a complex set of unwritten rules and understandings that, ironically, were only broken apart by the concerted efforts of lawyers and others in the 17th and 18th centuries.

This brings us to the current debate over water allocation.

Contrary to recent statements of the president of Federated Farmers, there are definite limits to the capacity of our water resources, and it has been known for some time that those limits are rapidly being reached and exceeded.

In terms of Māori interest in the debate, the pattern emerging in recent discussions is a familiar one: that of increasing pressure on a physical resource which is currently treated in the general law as a “commons”, leading to suggestions of more regulation by the creation of rights and trading regimes. Frustrated iwi respond by asserting that there never was a “commons” but, rather, a set of unwritten customary rules governing water use that colonial governments tended to ignore.

For several years now, the Ministry for the Environment has been quietly developing a programme of action in relation to water. It consulted widely with Māori groups early in 2005.

The report on consultation noted that many speakers were concerned that the Treaty was not being mentioned early in the discussion and that “there was a general consensus that iwi and hapū have some form of customary rights or interest in water, with a greater interest in its

use and management than those who are seen as stakeholders.”

According to the report, “Almost all of those who discussed the use of market mechanisms such as tradable property rights in water, or auctioning or tendering of rights to use water were opposed to such proposals. There was a common view that freshwater is essential to all, and that market-based approaches would advantage a wealthy minority at the expense of others. Some also felt that an increase in commercialisation would be a threat to the environment. The option also raised ownership issues for some, and a fear that Māori interests would be traded off or extinguished.”

Currently, New Zealand operates a first-come-first-served approach to the allocation of water rights. An electricity company with hydro power stations can obtain virtually all the rights to use water in a river so that none is left for other uses such as irrigation. In terms of groundwater, it is possible to drill a fresh bore on one property and reduce to zero the flow to a neighbouring property that has been using a bore for drinking water for the last 50 years or more.

The Government intends to change that situation because of two major concerns: farming activities that are polluting important waterways, and competing demands between irrigators and hydro power-station operators.

Some examples of the problems:

- Ngāti Raukawa are currently opposing large-scale takes on the Waikato River as former forest lands become attractive for dairying. Their current ally is an electricity company. This is a repeat of battles between irrigators and electricity companies on the Waitaki River, which now has a water-allocation scheme created under special legislation.
- Ngāti Tūwharetoa, who are owners of both the bed of Lake Taupō and a number of farms on its banks, are having to contend with a regional council proposal to save the lake from further pollution by capping nitrogen emissions on farm land, and possibly even rolling back existing emissions. That would place severe limits on the ability to convert farms to high-earning dairy operations.

Recent government announcements suggest that in the next few years we will probably see:

- A single list of nationally-outstanding, natural water bodies, which will be protected by special conservation orders or policy statements or legislation.
- Where a particular water resource is over-allocated, a “cap and trade” approach or something similar, where the overall amount of water that can be taken from a river is set, and individual users can trade their allocations. Indeed, the Government has indicated that it generally wants to make it easier to trade water consents.

The problems are considerable, but in this area there is also good reason to think that solutions will be achieved with less angst than, say, over the foreshore and seabed issue. This is because the basic framework for water management is already in place.

For over 40 years, the use of water has been centrally controlled and planned by local authorities, and no one is seriously challenging that as the norm. In addition, since 1991, the Resource Management Act regime has actually allowed for trading in water rights in the same catchment (although under strict conditions). Finally, there are already provisions in the Resource Management Act dealing with Māori customary uses of geothermal water for community purposes, and customary uses of the foreshore and seabed. The ultimate question will be how far planners are prepared to let Māori rules for water enter into allocation schemes. ■■

Tom Bennion is a Wellington lawyer specialising in resource management and Māori land claim and Treaty issues. Formerly a solicitor at the Waitangi Tribunal, he is currently the editor of the Māori Law Review, a monthly review of law affecting Māori, established in 1993. He recently wrote a book, *Making Sense of the Foreshore and Seabed*.





Aotearoa: land of the long WHITE CLOUD

In Washday at the Pā, first published as a Department of Education school bulletin in 1964, photographer Ans Westra captures the innocent way cigarette smoking has long been an accepted part of Māori family life.

The image of children playing at smoking like their parents, with wood from the stove, was just one that upset the Māori Women's Welfare League. They argued that the publication, which told the

story of a poor Māori family living in rural New Zealand, did not reflect contemporary Māori life. In an unprecedented move, the Minister of Education ordered that Washday at the Pā be withdrawn from primary schools throughout New Zealand, and the copies destroyed.

This image comes from a republished version made later the same year by Caxton Press in Christchurch.

FOR CENTURIES AOTEAROA HAS MEANT LAND OF THE LONG WHITE CLOUD. TODAY, HOWEVER, RATHER THAN PUFFY WHITE CUMULUS, THAT CLOUD IS MORE LIKELY TO BE THE ONE WAFTING FROM THE THOUSANDS OF CIGARETTES THAT ARE LIT BY MĀORI SMOKERS.

While non-Māori aren't immune to the addiction, Māori are proving slow to learn, with one in every two Māori being a smoker, compared to one in five non-Māori.

The long white cloud does not just hang over our shores: the World Health Organisation (WHO) states that tobacco is the second major cause of death in the world – it kills five million people each year. That's one person every eight seconds. By 2020 this figure will double.

The statistics read no better here, with the Ministry of Health maintaining that smoking is the leading cause of preventable death in New Zealand. The results are especially staggering for Māori, as smoking accounts for a third of all Māori deaths, and is our single biggest killer. Diseases associated with tobacco use include lung cancer, heart disease, Sudden Infant Death Syndrome, respiratory infections, glue ear, meningococcal disease and diabetes, and the social costs are incalculable.

The Ministry of Health says that there is a clear link between a high prevalence of smoking and ethnicity and low socio-economic position, which makes it a significant contributing factor to the health inequalities seen between Māori and non-Māori.

One of the leaders of the fight against Māori smoking is Hone Harawira, the first-time backbench Member of Parliament from Te Tai Tokerau. He has a simple vision – ban smoking in New Zealand.

Straightforward enough in principle, but the theory and the practice soon flush out difficult issues around black markets, tax revenue, the impact on tourism, and not least the issue of freedom of choice versus the greater good.

The smoking industry has been under siege, not just from Harawira, but also from Māori organisations that promote the smokefree message. Auahi Kore has been running a hard-hitting campaign, and the Māori Smokefree Coalition grabbed international headlines by fronting up to tobacco-giant Philip Morris in New York. Add Harawira's campaign to this, and there is a feeling that the momentum is building.

Harawira hasn't puffed on a smoke since 1993. That was the year his mentor, the Reverend Māori Marsden, passed away from a smoking-induced cancer. "I was so pissed off – it was such a waste of knowledge," exclaims Harawira. "I know, for me, that was the day I not only gave up smoking but declared war upon the smoking industry."

"Now that I am in Parliament I have an oppor-

tunity to raise awareness about the issue and use all avenues open to me to close down an industry that feeds off murdering not just Māori but anyone who lights a cigarette."

Auahi Kore has attracted its fair share of attention on this issue too, with a campaign referring to young, healthy-looking Māori as an "Endangered Species", and another featuring a young Māori woman accompanied with the words "Maori Murder. Have you heard how the tobacco industry kills Maori? R.I.P."

Shane Bradbrook has been the front man for the Māori Smokefree Coalition as its Te Reo Marama director. Hailing from Ngāi Tāmanuihiri, Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Kahungunu, Bradbrook has been an advocate for the coalition for the past seven years.

In April he attended a shareholders' meeting of Philip Morris, where he made an impassioned speech, describing the company's use of the word "Maori" in a cigarette brand as "an absolute affront to my people". Released in Israel, the brand titled "Maori Mix" featured a quasi-Māori design and a map of New Zealand on the packet.

"Your company's misappropriation and exploitation of our culture to sell your product of death and illness to Israelis was at a minimum culturally insensitive," Bradbrook told the company, "and at worst another form of oppression and abuse that indigenous peoples have faced for decades."

Louis Camilleri, who heads Philip Morris, apologised in what was a rare public apology from a global giant in the tobacco industry.

Bradbrook said: "I, like many Māori, have seen the worst of this product's impact, depleting our ranks of leaders, advisors, innovators, young and old. The pain of seeing our people die unnecessarily drives me on. We should all cry for this loss and question why tobacco even exists in the 21st century."

Hone Harawira plans to lodge a Private Member's Bill making it illegal for tobacco companies to produce, manufacture and sell tobacco products in Aotearoa. But Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Cullen, believes prohibition is a "bad idea," saying, "It will make criminals of a large number of people, and they are often the people at the bottom end of society."

Harawira disagrees. "One of the most common criticisms aimed at my plans to ban tobacco is that I am prosecuting the smoker and that it will be impossible to police people who smoke. Nothing could be further from the truth. Why should we lock up people who are addicted to a

legalised drug? No, the focus of the legislation is to make the tobacco companies the bad guys, not Joe Bloggs on the street."

Another argument that opposing MPs mount against Harawira's proposals is that prohibition doesn't work: it just drives industries underground. In their view, prohibition tends to create black markets and, along with them, more crime.

Creating a black market is a scenario that Otago University law lecturer Selene Mize would like to avoid.

"An outright ban on all tobacco sales in the near future could have negative consequences for New Zealand, including causing suffering for those currently addicted to tobacco, raising the possibility of a black market and hurting the tourism industry by discouraging smokers from visiting New Zealand," says Mize.

She suggests however that, if handled well, New Zealand would not suffer any negative effects from prohibiting tobacco sales – subject to two provisos. The first proviso is that existing users should be maintained if they are unable to quit.

"Banning the sale of tobacco, while at the same time maintaining current users, would avoid these problems. A programme similar to the one currently providing methadone to heroin addicts could be implemented." And Mize stresses that, if this is done properly, there would be no "underground market."

The second proviso to a ban on cigarette sales is that tourists be able to import a small amount for their personal use. This would counteract any negative impact on tourists' willingness to visit New Zealand.

Would a ban on smoking infringe upon the rights of the individual? Mize, who specialises in civil liberties, concedes that there is a credible argument that people can do what they like with their own bodies, so long as others are not hurt.

The website of the Institute for Liberal Values, New Zealand, hosts writings posted by Jim Peron, the institute's executive director. After observing that he finds smoking repugnant, he blames the move to ban smoking as coming from what he describes as the "PC Platoon". He states that smoking is a right and people should be allowed to ingest whatever they want into their bodies, so long as it doesn't interfere with the rights of others, such as smoking in the same space as others.

Mize, on the other hand, uses the analogy of seat belt and helmet laws in her argument against smoking. They are examples where there is a clear case for requiring people to adhere to laws

To test the waters and see if Māori living in Christchurch support a smokefree Aotearoa, TE KARAKA took to the streets to conduct an informal survey. We asked:

1. DO YOU SMOKE, OR HAVE YOU EVER SMOKED?
2. DO YOU KNOW OF ANYONE WHO HAS DIED FROM A SMOKING-RELATED ILLNESS?
3. DO YOU AGREE WITH HONE HARAWIRA'S PLANS TO BAN SMOKING?
4. WOULD YOU ALLOW YOUR CHILDREN TO SMOKE?



ANDREW BROWN (Ngāti Mutunga)

1. No.
2. Yes. My great-grandfather.
3. Absolutely. He is doing it to change the pattern for the better. Too much money and life is sacrificed for nothing with smoking. Not enough people see it for what it is, a chemical-based addiction that only leads to death.
4. I would never allow my children to smoke.



TRISH JOHNSTON (Te Arawa, Ngā Puhī)

1. Yes. For 50 years.
2. Yes.
3. No, I don't agree with it, because it is a personal choice.
4. No, if they are under-age. But it is their own choice to make their own decisions when they come of age. I would hope that they would make the right choice and not smoke.



LORETTA TE PAA (Ngāti Kahu)

1. Yes. But I gave up seven or eight years ago.
2. Nobody.
3. No. It's a personal choice.
4. Not at all. But it's their choice when they turn the appropriate age. None of my three children have smoked.



WIKI MALTON (Ngāti Kahungunu)

1. Yes. I only smoke when I feel like it, which is a couple of times a year in social settings.
2. Yes. A grandparent.
3. I don't know. I think people have a right to make their own decisions, but on the other hand banning smoking would certainly make a difference to the health and wealth of many Māori.
4. No.

for their own safety, rather than the safety of others.

"If we aren't prepared to follow the principle all the way and let people make their own decisions in all of these cases, then the incremental harm in not allowing people to begin smoking is microscopically small."

Harawira is aware that he needs the numbers to pass a law and so his strategy requires more than one strand. He is currently investigating the idea of a class action in the courts on behalf of Māori. But it appears that this strategy has already been tried and failed in our court system, with the recent decision in the Janice Pou case against British American Tobacco (NZ) Ltd and WD & HO Wills (NZ) Ltd. However, Harawira has received legal advice that leads him to believe the case was argued wrongly.

"There is still room to convincingly argue that smoking is bad for your health and that it can result in death. At the end of the day, those companies should be found guilty on a count of murder and I intend to see to it that it happens."

Harawira was not the only person left scratching his head after the Pou verdict was announced. The director of the Public Health Association, Dr Gay Keating, issued a media release that condemned the judgment. Noting that Pou should have quit smoking but was unable to beat the addiction, Keating stated: "Tobacco is the only consumer product that, when used as the manufacturer intends, kills half its users."

The case focused on personal responsibility versus the culpability of a company that sells a deadly product. The lawyers arguing on behalf of Janice Pou took the line that the company was aware of the dangers of its product and yet lied blatantly by hiring public relations consultants to give the product a "sexy" and "cool" image.

Followers of the case believe that Pou's lawsuit will be the first in a succession, as happened in the United States, until the tobacco companies are made to pay for the deaths they have allegedly caused.

When looking at the grounds for further legal action against the likes of giant tobacco companies Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds, there is no shortage of damning documents. Both companies have created, after numerous legal battles, an "Online Litigation Document Archive" on their websites. Type "Māori" in the search function of either website and it will reveal a host of relevant records.

We invited the office of Philip Morris responsible for New Zealand operations, based in Moorabbin, Melbourne, Australia, to comment on the issues raised in this article. TE KARAKA spoke to Allison Davis who is employed in their corporate affairs division. Davis was unaware of Harawira's proposal to ban smoking. Despite the assurance of a statement, the company did not take the opportunity to respond.

Other tactics in Harawira's arsenal to combat tobacco include a royal commission of inquiry, a referendum and a petition to Parliament. However, he sees these options as the second tier of attack, and wants to concentrate his attention on the legislation and the court case. "Those two



When going through a separation it's easy to put other things before your kids. Don't forget the impact a break up can have on them. Your kids need you. An information programme on how you can help your kids when you separate has been set up. It's free and takes place over two sessions of about two hours each. To find out more call 0800 211 211 or visit www.justice.govt.nz/family



options are the only ones that can result in the direct halting of tobacco sales," he says.

There is one other option that Harawira could pursue, but it seems to be a dead-end within the current New Zealand political climate. Increasing the tax on tobacco can act as a deterrent but, as Finance Minister Michael Cullen has indicated, there are no immediate plans to increase the tax dollar gained from sales of tobacco.

Māori contribute \$260 million in taxation from tobacco. Of this figure, between five and six million dollars per annum goes toward tobacco control efforts, such as the Auahi Kore programme.

Cullen believes the implications for New Zealand from banning tobacco and the resulting loss of tax revenue would be out-weighted by the increase in expenditure trying to enforce social law. "It's a bad idea," he says.

The WHO lists the economic costs associated with smoking as devastating. It is not just the cost of treating tobacco-related diseases, but also the harder-to-quantify cost of people dying at the height of their productivity, which in turn deprives families of an income. Then there are the associated effects of an ill workforce that results in lower productivity. In 1994, a report estimated that the use of tobacco resulted in an annual global net loss of US \$200 million.

A third of that net loss comes from developing countries. The strategy for tobacco companies to target third-world populations comes hot on the heels of a declining market in the US and a series of successful lawsuits against those who produce and distribute the product. This is a trend that WHO predicts will grow.

By the mid-2020s WHO estimates that 85% of the world's smokers will come from third-world



Courtesy ASH NZ

countries. And WHO forecasts that smoking could become the world's biggest killer over the next 20 years, causing more deaths than HIV, tuberculosis, road accidents, murder, and suicide put together.

Perhaps the most common criticism of Harawira's view is that it is too idealistic. Prime Minister Helen Clark is one person who has expressed this opinion.

"You know what, Clark and the others can say what they want. At the end of the day, we are here as MPs to present people's views on different issues. I am getting a lot of support from the community on this one. If MPs aren't going to strive for ideals, then who the hell is? People thought that putting on seat belts would never be compulsory, just like having to wear a motorbike helmet. People also said that smoking in

pubs would be here forever and a day. Society has changed. We now know about the dangers of smoking and we need to move with the times."

So what are the effects if New Zealand becomes smokefree? Tony Blakely, associate professor at the School of Medicine, Otago University, undertook a study to investigate how many Māori lives could be saved if New Zealand were smokefree. Within the age bracket of 45-74 year olds, Blakely estimates that 400 Māori per year would live if they didn't smoke.

Bradbrook sees Māori accruing huge benefits from an outright ban. The health and economic benefits are obvious, but he also sees "cultural" advantages to be gained too. "If people live longer, then Māori will have the ability to ensure a longer transmission of cultural practices and knowledge to the future generations."

Blakely foresees that Harawira's success will depend on getting the community onside, including the smokers. He will also need to pacify those who resent "nanny state" telling them what to do,

Blakely believes one of the most potent strategies to counter people who object to interference from the state is to ask them, "Do you want your children to smoke?"

Mize endorses this approach. She believes the fact that young people are becoming addicted to smoking before they reach adulthood weakens the civil liberties argument. "If we are going to give anyone the power to decide to begin smoking, surely it should be limited to adults," says Mize.

Hone Harawira has asked this question more than once. "No one has said yes. That says it all for me. Let's get rid of smoking once and for all."



HE ORANGA POUNAMU SMOKEFREE RŌPU

The second most popular place to have a ciggy used to be the workplace, and the first was the pub. Oh how the times have changed! Now, not only is it illegal to puff away at work, but employers such as He Oranga Pounamu (HOP) are supporting their employees to kick the habit.

HOP organises and integrates health and social services on behalf of Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation. Given that a large part of what they do is focused on improving health outcomes for Māori who live in the Ngāi Tahu rohe, HOP management were keen to assist their troops to "walk the talk."

One year down the track, all except one of ten participants in HOP's workplace programme to stop smoking are still smokefree. As a collective, the staff support each other and have an understanding that whenever the craving comes along they can ring or text each other.

An adverse side-effect of giving up smoking is the extra weight some people gain. So HOP allows their workers to attend the gym within their eight-hour day and outside of their lunch break. Not only has it helped keep people smokefree, but it has increased the fitness levels of all concerned, another obvious benefit.

The working atmosphere is also better. Staff have noticed that it is great to work in an environment that doesn't allow smoking, with the temptation of watching other colleagues smoke removed. This, they say, is rare for Māori workplaces, especially for Māori women.

Other positive spin-offs have included no more smelly clothes, more money in the pocket and more time to spend with whānau. As Vania Pirini comments, "When you are a smoker you spend at least five to eight hours a week outside puffing away; now that time is taken advantage of by my whānau."

Perhaps the most pleasing gain for those on the scheme has been the role modelling they are providing to their children, by sending the message that smoking is not a good thing to be doing.

So are there any plans to promote their programme more widely amongst Ngāi Tahu whānui? HOP has noticed that increasingly there is a drive for marae to be smokefree. Some rūnanga feel so strongly about the issue they won't even provide a smoking area on marae grounds. Te Rangimarie is a recent example of becoming smokefree, with Hone Harawira launching their "Auahi Kore" policy.

Asked what she notices now that more marae are smokefree, Vania Pirini states that it is tumeke to be able to go to a hui and not have that addiction which inevitably leads to going outside to have a puff. "Māori don't need to smoke to socialise," she adds.

When asked if she had any concluding comments about herself and her colleagues being smokefree, Pirini exclaims, "Kamau te whi ratou!" It's easy to see the infectiousness that being smokefree has on a Māori workplace.



Endangered species

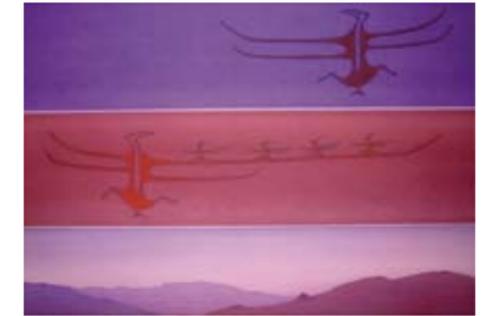
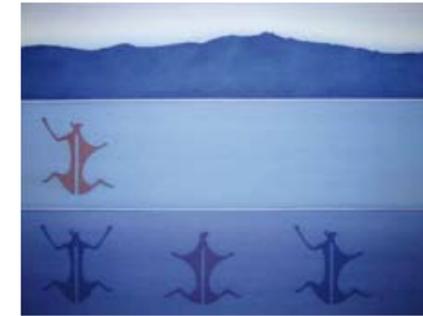
Tobacco companies are killing Māori like you wouldn't believe. It's time to work together to save our most precious native species.

Join the tobacco resistance movement
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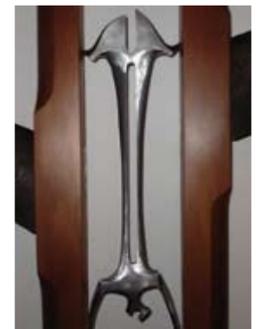
nā ROSS HEMERA
(NGĀI TAHU)



“Creating these works is my way of connecting with my tīpuna.”



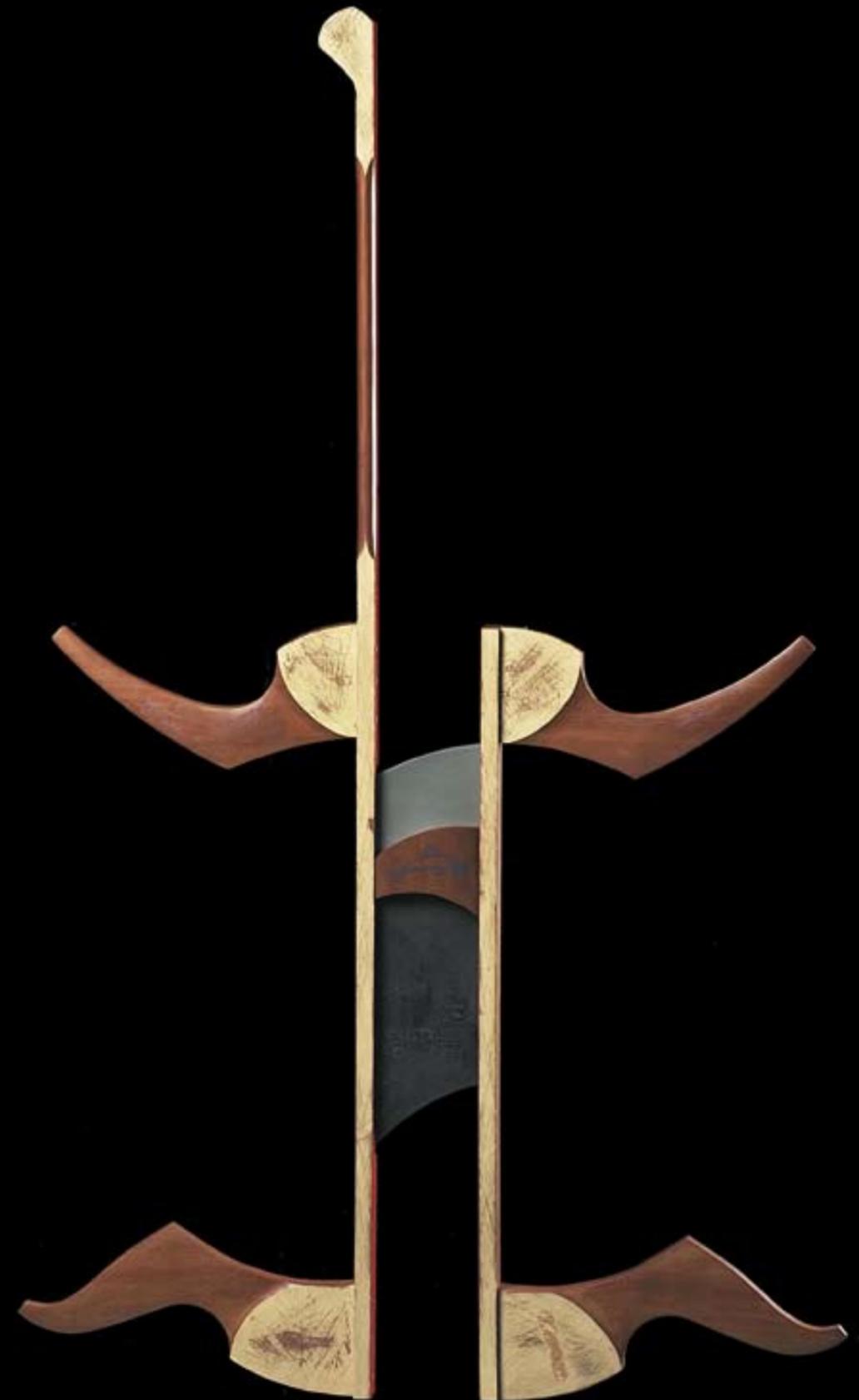
About 500 years ago the Waitaha people created drawings on rock walls in the South Island. For Ross Hemera (Ngāi Tahu) these ancient images are a way of identifying cultural meaning. Inspired by the images, his creative objective is to represent people and their relationship with the land. The figures depicted are land people – whenua tiki. They are physical, intellectual and spiritual residues, now inseparable from the land – tīpuna living in the land. They provide Ross with a means of “conversing” with his ancestors.



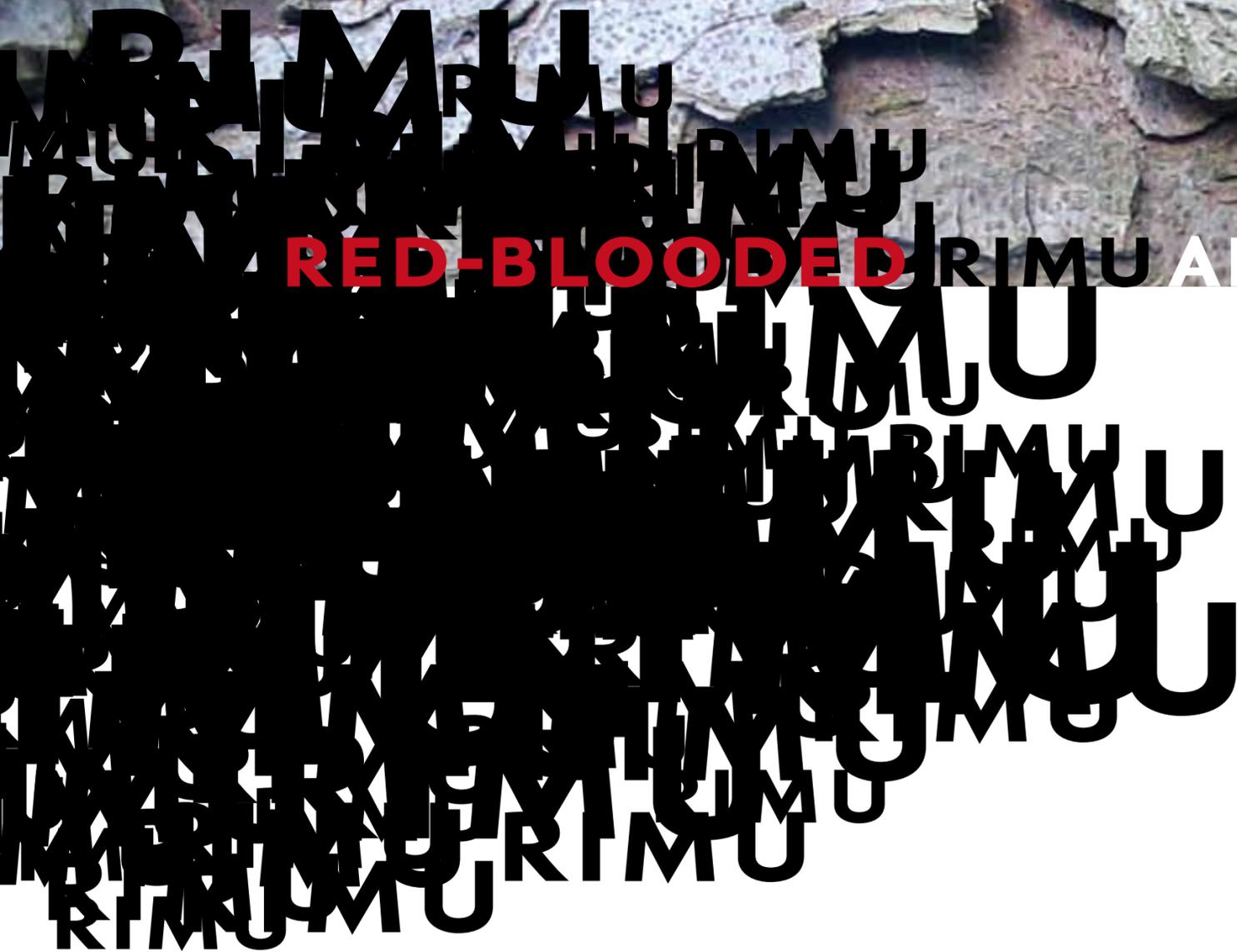


Ross was born at Kurow in 1950. He is currently a senior lecturer in the School of Visual and Material Culture at Massey University.

Commissions include the Whakamarama sculpture at the entrance to the Māori section of Te Papa Tongarewa, and glass windows for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Te Waipounamu House in Christchurch. Work in exhibitions includes the USA tour of Te Waka Toi (1994), the Māori exhibition at the British Museum in London (1998), the inaugural exhibition Te Puāwai o Ngāi Tahu at the Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū (2003), Kiwa – Pacific Connections (2003) and Manawa – Pacific Heartbeat (2006) at the Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver, Canada. ■■



RED-BLOODED RIMU AN ANCIENT RELIC



The podocarp rainforests of Aotearoa are among the oldest forests in the world, dating back to the ancient continent of Gondwanaland.

Rimu (*Dacrydium cupressinum*) was often the dominant tree of podocarp forests that once covered most of this country, although it is not as old as its lofty cousins the kāuri and kahikatea.

In *The Native Trees of New Zealand*, John Salmon explains that the pollen of every tree is as distinctive as a human fingerprint. Pollen grains identical to today's rimu, preserved as fossils in sedimentary rocks, have been dated at 37 million years old. Pollen grains from podocarps similar to rimu have been found that were twice that age.

This slow-growing giant will sprout anywhere between sea level and 600 metres from Rakiura (Stewart Island) to North Cape, and can live up to 1,000 years. Naturally it prefers the protection of the rainforest to remain strong and healthy, but it will grow in the open or in sheltered clearings, and is a stunning specimen at all stages of its long life.

Seedlings need shelter from wind and hot sun. Ideally, they also need deep, rich soil and ample moisture to thrive, but once established will grow into leggy whip-like saplings on the forest floor. As teenagers they fill out into a classic pyramid shape, and during middle age they raise their heads for the sky, eventually lifting their wild, shaggy crowns above the canopy as respected senior citizens.

One of the distinctive features of the young rimu is its foliage. Long branchlets hang gracefully in a verdant cascade to the forest floor, making it one of the easiest of our native trees to identify in the bush. During winter the foliage may turn bronze, and then green in spring. Males have smaller, sharper leaves than the females, whose leaves are longer and softer. Male and female cones are produced on different trees.

The rimu flowers irregularly and sets small, black seeds on a red, fleshy base, perhaps once or twice every ten years (mast years), providing a valuable food source for tūi, makomako (bellbirds), and kererū (wood pigeons).

Interestingly, in the deep south, the breeding cycle of endangered kākāpō is closely linked to the mast-year fruiting cycle of rimu.

A mature stand of rimu is a sight to behold, reaching up to heights of 35 metres and occasionally 50 metres. Trunks grow straight and branch-free up to 10 metres, with a girth up to 1.5 metres and sometimes 2 metres. The bark peels off in thick flakes, and it burns hot and clean on a cooking fire, apparently warding off evil spirits on dark, shadowy nights.

Historically, rimu is best known for its beautiful, hard, durable timber. Along with kāuri and tōtara, rimu produces the finest timber of our native forests. Heart rimu has a dark, red-brown, streaky grain that is beautiful when polished. Early colonists called it red pine, but that name is misleading because it is actually an evergreen conifer.

For well over a century, rimu was used extensively in housing construction, for everything from structural framing, flooring, cladding and joinery, to fine furniture. Today timbers grown in production forests, such as pine, have largely replaced it, but heart rimu is still highly prized for finishing, decorative work and high-quality furniture.

Many original stands of rimu forest have now disappeared. Felling is forbidden on public lands, but limited logging continues on private land.

In Māori mythology, the wood, sap and gum of rimu run red with the blood of the water monster Tunaroa, who was killed in a fierce battle with the legendary Māui, writes Murdoch Riley in his ethno-botanical reference book, *Māori Healing and Herbal*.

Māori ate the fleshy, red seed-base. Rimu fruit was either shaken from young trees or collected from the tops in kete, which were lowered to the ground. Platforms were sometimes built in the tops of these tall canopy trees, from which to snare birds.

Southern Māori certainly utilised rimu for construction purposes, but there are not many specific references to its uses in the usual sources. In *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, James Herries Beattie records that one of his "informants" remembered seeing great rimu posts with male figures carved into the tops and pāua shells for eyes on the old Tau-o-te-maku Pā on Ruapuke Island. Beattie also recalls seeing them, and marvelled at how they had got there when the nearest bush was two miles away.

Beattie also records that karehu, a dark-blue tattooing ink, was made by burning māparu, the gum of rimu. Soot from the thick, black smoke was collected and mixed with the hinu (oil) from weka, tuna, kererū or pūtakitaki.

Rama (torches) were made from kāpara rimu, the resinous heart of the rimu, which was split into long sticks, tied together and set alight. Kāpara rimu was also used as a tooth powder to remove the black stain from teeth, Riley notes.

The inner bark of the rimu, always taken from the side of the tree facing the sunrise, was used to heal ulcers, burns and scalds, while the astringent gum or bark of a young tree was applied as a dressing for severe wounds to stop bleeding.

Riley also records reports of the dark-red gum that exudes from the bark

of the rimu being used to treat stomach-aches, headaches, or bleeding from the lungs or bowels. Witnesses reported seeing a special preparation of this stop a severe attack of bleeding from the lungs.

Perhaps the most famous use of rimu comes from the master mariner Captain James Cook. He credited his famous "spruce beer" for keeping his crew happy, in good health and free of scurvy during their extended voyages of discovery in the Southern Ocean. Equal parts of rimu and mānuka twigs were boiled together in water, then molasses was added, and it was boiled again. As the liquid cooled in casks, grounds of beer or yeast were added to start the fermentation process, and the brew was ready to drink in a few days.

They brewed this by the ton, and Cook declared it "little inferior to American spruce beer" and "extremely palatable and esteemed by everyone on board." In those days, there were no laws against sailing under the influence.



A LIFE LESS ORDINARY

“IT DID STRIKE ME,” ANNE PERCY SAYS, “LAST TIME WE STAYED WITH RELATIVES IN CHRISTCHURCH, THAT CITY LIFE IS EASY.”

By comparison, living in the valley of a vast land-holding requires both physical and mental toughness. Amidst “World Heritage” country and land of great historic significance to Ngāi Tahu, this is the high country that Anne and Stu Percy farm. They’ve done so for almost a quarter-century.

The day I visit, the weather is perfect. The road from Glenorchy to the Greenstone, Elfin Bay, and Routeburn turn-offs, tar-sealed only a few months ago, travels through a majestic, awe-inspiring landscape which envelopes the 80-kilometre-long Lake Wakatipu Waimāori. Mount Earnslaw and Sugarloaf, blanketed in snow, stand sentinel over the Dart and Routeburn valleys.

Occasionally, on the 45-kilometre journey from Queenstown to Glenorchy, walls of rock lean precipitously over the road: “boulders big as houses”, according to poet James K. Baxter.*

Greenstone Elfin Bay, the high-country station which the Percys manage these days for Ngāi Tahu, covers 29,197 hectares. Of these, 25,005 are leased in perpetuity to the Department of Conservation (DOC), with Ngāi Tahu holding a ten-year grazing licence. In early July this year, the additional 4172 hectares were gifted back to the Crown, to be held as conservation land. The gifted land, Kā Whenua Roimata, comprises the rugged southern Ailsa and southern Humboldt mountain ranges, a national treasure.

* From POEM IN THE MATUKITUKI VALLEY by James K. Baxter.





The challenge of managing this enlarged high-country station has been entrusted to the Percys since Ngāi Tahu's ownership in the late 1990s. Within the huge tract of land lies incredible bio-diversity. Even rainfall varies greatly from one station boundary to another.

But step back for a moment to 1982. The Percys applied for the management of the 10,000 acres at Greenstone Station, ten kilometres from Kinloch.* Farming was what they knew. Anne grew up on a farm in the historic Otago gold-mining town of Lawrence. Stu, from a farm-management background in Culverden, had always envisaged his life spent on the land. Ask him if he'd be able to live in a city town-house, and he's adamant, "I just wouldn't do it."

Stu: "It's challenging, living here. It's not tame. There are narrow bits and bluffs, high rivers which you have to make a call about crossing or not ... and you just have to be careful."

Anne: "There are no second chances around here."

Successful in their bid, the Percys initially became farm managers for a well-known, multi-property owner, who five years later sold the property. They were signing up to nearly six years of "quite basic" living – no electricity, cooking on a coal range and, later, once children arrived, four years of correspondence schooling.

Their children are Briley, now 23, Scott, 21, Michelle, 16, and Grace, aged 9, who is the only one still at home full time.

Those Greenstone-based years were certainly tough, even without the extra hectares they now manage. The landscape ruled then to a greater extent than now. Daily events were measured out in kilometres of dirt track (21 from the Kinloch/Routeburn crossroads), in centimetres of rainfall, and in fords, of which there were 25 between Greenstone Station and Kinloch.

"The creek crossings were so numerous and the road conditions so rough and weather-dependent that I just wouldn't have wished the trip on the family twice a day," Anne remembers.

Weather has always been an important factor in their lives. There have been occasions where rain has been so unremitting and torrential at the family's home (now in the Routeburn valley) that they've brought all the farm dogs inside for the night; at times the large lounge window has threatened to "give way"; and kittens have drowned right outside the doorstep.

"When people see it like this," Anne indicates the sparkling mountains outside, "often they have no idea that it can rain for a month here non-stop."

It can be a carefree utopia one day and, with scant warning, turn into a nightmare the next.

Impressively, Stu and his right-hand man for the last 14 years, Tim Morris, still use horses on the station. Sometimes they ride solidly for eight hours, just to check out the run-holding's back boundaries. They do this about five times a year, with the main musters being carried out in January and April.

* Kinloch literally means "Head of the Lake", and is found at the end of the Lake Wakatipu road.

"It's challenging, living here," Stu states in his laconic, Southern Man manner. "It's not tame. There are narrow bits and bluffs, high rivers which you have to make a call about crossing or not ... and you just have to be careful."

As with most things that Stu says, you suspect he's understating everyday dangers that would scare many of us rigid. "There are no second chances around here," Anne cautions.

This unique part of Te Waipounamu, with its breath-taking surroundings, has always been rugged and difficult. Two centuries ago Ngāi Tahu men were successfully combing the high country between here and Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) for signs of pounamu.

Anne thinks it was generally known that they used tracks from here over into Piopiotahi on their pounamu searches. They were no strangers to the rigours of mountaineering.

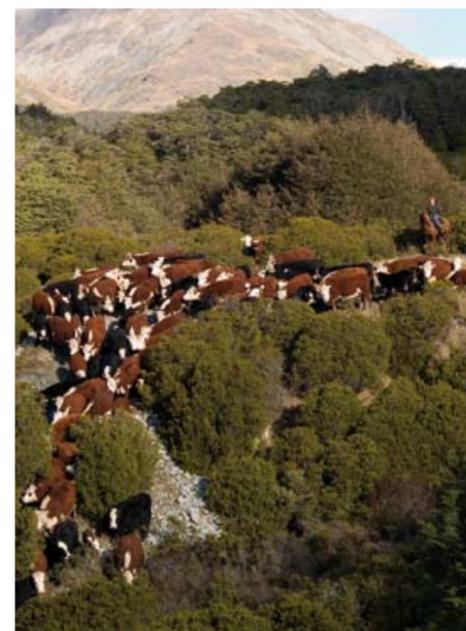
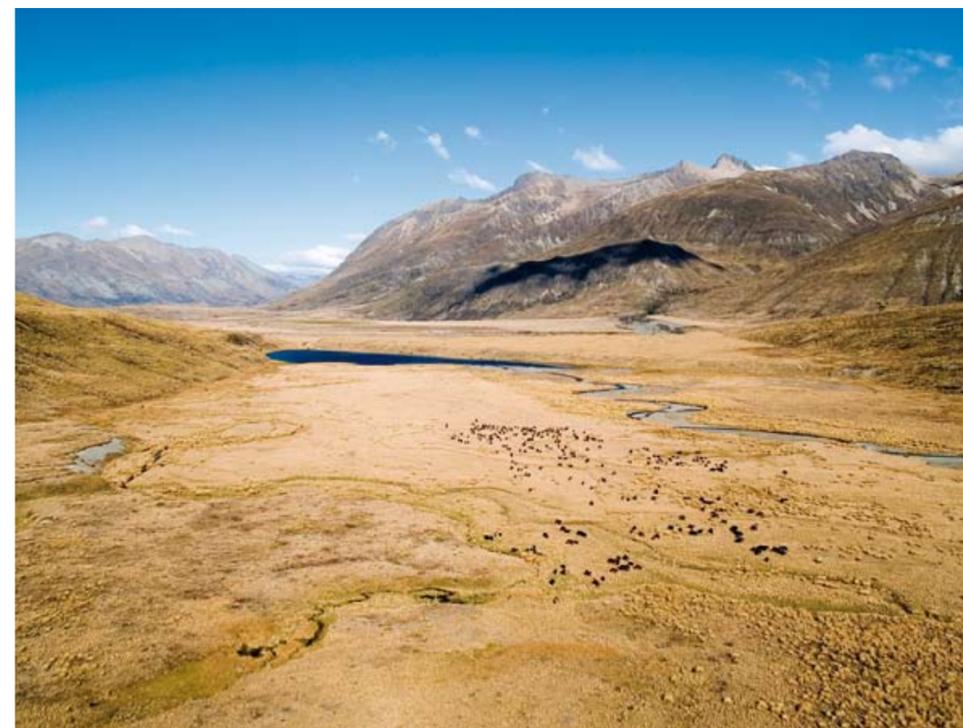
Amazingly, the fact that the Wakatipu, and not just Piopiotahi, were both rich sources of the highly-valued inanga (a pale-coloured pounamu) was not known by Europeans until as late as the 1970s. This seems strange, given that the name "Greenstone" describes a track and region right here by Kinloch, but it's true nonetheless. The 1970s marked the discovery of one of the largest-known quarried jade deposits in the world, here above the western Slip Stream area of Te Awa Wakatipu (the Dart River).

We know from Shortland's census records of 1843/44, that Ngāi Tahu people must have thoroughly prospected not just these peaks but other southern mountains in search of their precious stone, known for its toughness and durability. Shortland's records reveal that pounamu was at that time still being obtained from three places: Piopiotahi, Arahura, and Lake Wakatipu.

Essentially, not much changes in territory like this. Effort and reward remain faithful bedfellows. Anne remembers the extra work required when the stations were first amalgamated. (It was decided in the late 1990s that the previously individually-oper-



PHOTOGRAPHY PHIL LUMATARAKA & SHEENA HAYWOOD



ated stations of Elfin Bay, Greenstone, and Routeburn be pulled together to run as a streamlined whole.)

Ian McNabb, general manager of property development for Ngāi Tahu, has lightened the load by working in partnership with the Percys since then. He visits them every couple of months. It's a relationship both parties greatly enjoy. "Ian and I sit down at the start of each year and decide on priorities for the station's management and improvements," Stu says.

Ngāi Tahu's involvement with this land, however, has involved a hard-fought battle. Kaumātua Sir Tipene O'Regan says this is "entirely why the 4172 gifted-back hectares have been dubbed Kā Whenua Roimata (Land of Tears)."

The struggle for ownership of this land has been in train since the 1990s.

"There were," O'Regan says, "11 high-country properties which were agreed to be passed over to Ngāi Tahu once the Crown procured them as they came onto the open market."

"In the event, the Crown reneged and delivered only three. Even these were subjected to punitive re-acquisition to the Crown's benefit." Sir Tipene refers to the "wander at will" proviso placed on the Ngāi Tahu station.

This high-country remnant of land, owned by Ngāi Tahu since the late 1990s, is of the type that is very important to Ngāi Tahu heritage and mythology, as it represents the "cradle of the Māori South Island creation story." Not only that, but the pounamu routes through here make the land "historically strategic."

In itself the farming terrain is challenge enough, and will be for the foreseeable future. Which means, for instance, that horses are not kept here as pets or tourist attractions: they're all working animals, which get turned out to pasture in winter. "We do a lot of farm jobs like feeding out and mustering on horseback. We sort of have to," Anne explains.

That's because there's no four-wheel-drive access to a lot of the mountainous station land, and it would prove uneconomic to be repeatedly servicing vehicles to withstand the ravages of constant river crossings.

I inquire somewhat randomly whether the Percys grow their own vegetables. They're silent for a second, regarding me curiously as if I might suddenly

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have lost some neural connections. Growing a good portion of your food is just what you do up here. We like eating fresh vegetables, they politely reply.

Of course, these days the absolute necessity to tend a garden is gone. Now Anne is able to order her groceries online and they'll arrive from Queenstown at the farm gate. Twenty years ago that would have constituted fantasy. Just as the prospect of taking the children the 40 or so, gravel kilometres to Glenorchy's primary school would have been a non-starter.

Neither the concept nor the reality of home-schooling enthused Anne. Once the primary school at Glenorchy became a feasible daily journey, a burden lifted. Grace is the only Percy who still attends, picked up each day by the school bus.

Now the extra road-sealing between Glenorchy and the turn-offs to the station has revolutionised life. Trips into Queenstown, which were once a fortnightly mission, are now comparatively frequent. Children's involvement in sporting teams, such as Grace's ripper rugby, coached by Stu, are a reason to make the journey.

Once in Queenstown for a sporting fixture, Anne typically fits in an afternoon of skiing or boarding, in addition to some shopping. She and a sisterhood of local friends often ski together, buying passes each season to the fields at Coronet Peak, the Remarkables and Ohau.

Stu saves his enthusiasm for rugby, saying he works in snow enough to curb "any desire to play in it." He has a point. To the high-country farmer, climactic extremes have negative connotations.

The conversation reverts to rain. Anne recalls, "We had 15 inches overnight in 1993 – enough for roading to wash out, enough to lose ten kilometres of fencing and power for five days. Those were the days before Ngāi Tahu ownership, when we were farming for the government.

The region's trend towards a greater reliance on outdoor-adventure tourism has grown. Apart from hunting, tramping, fishing, skiing and boarding, there's jet-boating, horse-trekking, sky-diving, and kayak river safaris. Domestic and international tourists alike flock in for the outdoor pursuits and high-octane fun that's on offer.

Other "gut-wrenching" times that are etched indelibly on the Percys' memories are January of 1994 and November of 1999 when the fury of nature wiped out five years of station improvements in one fell swoop.

If the regional council predicts major rainfall, the Percys' first concern is to move all stock to high ground, well clear of flood paddocks. But there is an upside to high rainfall – pest control. DOC doesn't have a large rabbit problem up here; the rain sees to it instead.

People, on the other hand, can be underestimated pests when it comes to optimal stock management. Tourists, trampers, fishers and hunters present the Percys with the need to move stock to unpopulated segments of station land.

This area is a national-park playground on a grand scale for kiwis and tourists alike, for much of spring, summer and autumn, between Labour Weekend and the end of Easter. You can almost set your watch by those dates, Stu says, although a fair amount of



recreational, ballot-based hunting continues in the Greenstone and Caples "hunting blocks" throughout winter.

Safeguarding the whereabouts of 9,270 perendale and hill-country romneys, 916 hereford and exotic cattle and 893 deer in the face of the annual influx of these groups is no mean feat.

Since the gifting of Kā Whenua Roimata to the Crown, Stu, Ian and DOC are overseeing the destocking of the portions of this land previously used for grazing in the upper Caples and Greenstone valleys. From DOC's viewpoint, the gifting has secured the future of the public's rights of access to Kā Whenua Roimata, including an extended (now 1,080 hectares) Lake Rere Recreation Reserve. This is in Elfin Bay, on the far side of the Greenstone River.

Longer in the tooth now, Stu never lets people take him unawares. Where stock disturbance is likely, he works on a principle of prevention. "If it's fishing

season and certain licences have been granted, I just make sure stock are well away from the lake and river boundaries or from action in general," he says. The same applies with trampers.

DOC staff provide some warning, with several of them liaising with Stu and Anne on issues like track maintenance, possum control, boundary fencing, and "Operation Ark", a Mōhua-protection scheme.

The tramping, right on the Percys' doorstep, in all directions, is massive. More than 13,000 people complete the Routeburn track, (a couple of kilometres up the road) each year. The Greenstone/Caples track (starting several kilometres in the Kinloch direction) attracts its fair share of trampers, as well as hunters.

"In this job you're always co-operating with people. You're fielding calls all the time about the changing of tracks, permits for fires, fishing and hunting licences. Just this morning DOC phoned me about dropping off another water tank." The water tank



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is needed for toilet-flushing purposes on the Caples/Greenstone, in preparation for a bumper summer season.

Anne has a different take on the seasonal influx of people. "Because of our amazing location everyone we see here is on holiday. That to me is the worst thing about living in such scenery – we seem to be the only ones who need to keep working."

The region's trend towards a greater reliance on outdoor-adventure tourism has grown. Apart from hunting, tramping, fishing, skiing and boarding, there's jet-boating, horse-trekking, sky-diving, and kayak river safaris. Domestic and international tourists alike flock in for the outdoor pursuits and high-octane fun that's on offer.

The Percys would no doubt relish more time to sit and contemplate. Instead they've had to become good at multi-tasking.

"Whenever you're somewhere else you suddenly realise there's no mud and hay being trailed through the house. No one is calling in to tell you that your deer are wandering over a road somewhere. You don't have to attend to the gate someone's left swinging open. Or rise early to move sheep, to be ahead of trampers who're also chasing an early start in pursuit of peace and quiet."

That said, however, when the couple have been away they're always glad to return. The land, exactly as Ngāi Tahu iwi understand it, exerts a pull.

Anne and Stu, thankful for their health, relish the physical nature of being farmers. With an eye to their future, they've bought land in Queenstown, which will eventually feature a house earmarked for their retirement. "If you've lived around here I don't think you'd ever choose to move far away," Anne says.

Interestingly, the whole South Island derives its Māori name from these cold, sparkling, unfathomably beautiful headwaters.

Ngāi Tahu people from the east and south of the South Island called this very region Te Wāhi Pounamu, the place of pounamu. It was shortened to Te Waipounamu, meaning Waters of Greenstone or The Greenstone Island.

Wakatipu Waimāori will always command a good deal of human awe and respect. **IK**

nā ANDREA FOX

SAYING NO TO ABUSE IN THE HOME

In the ugly brew of stress, isolation and spiritual poverty that helps feed the monster in New Zealand's child-bashing statistics, there is one inescapable truth, according to Barnardos Te Waipounamu manager Arihia Bennett: it's not social workers who abuse our children, it's members of the family.

This fact gets lost in the public outrage over news of another child fatality at the hands of family, while Child, Youth and Family Services' staff get another caning for not preventing the tragedy.

The statistics are stark says Bennett and she draws our attention to the research and evidence:

- Child death from maltreatment in New Zealand is most likely to be associated with either a family member or someone known to the child.
- Cases of confirmed child abuse in New Zealand leapt by 45% to 13,017 in the year to June last year (while the experts are argu-

ing this may simply be a result of increased willingness to report abuse, Parentline says all the signs are there that child abuse is increasing).

- In the past year, 1,010 Māori children were victims of abuse, compared to 613 Pākehā and 451 Pacific Island cases handled by CYFS.
- Of 91 child killings in New Zealand between 1991 and 2000, 52% were Māori children, according to research by Canterbury University's Mike Doolan.

Bennett (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou) is well-qualified to comment. She is a former director and board chairperson of Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, and has spent much of her career at the child and family service coalface. She believes it is time for the iwi to get proactive about an issue recently thrust into the spotlight by a proposal before Parliament to remove a section of the Crimes Act 1961 that provides a defence for a parent or caregiver who has been charged with assault of a child. Green MP Sue Bradford, using a Private Member's Bill, is behind this move to strike out what is known as section 59.

In support of her Bill, now being considered by Parliament's Justice and Electoral Select Committee, Bradford says, "section 59 ... acts as a justification, excuse, or defence for parents and guardians using force against their children where they are doing so for the purposes of correction ..."

Strongly supported by child-advocacy organisations, including Barnardos, Plunket, the New

Zealand Families Commission, and UNICEF, the Bill has run into vocal opposition from parent advocates, some church and service aid organisations and parts of the legal profession. They argue that the section's removal could disempower parents, impinge on their rights to discipline their children, and potentially make them criminals for smacking a child.

The select committee is due to report back to Parliament on 31 October.

Meanwhile, as the debate continues, Bennett is concerned that the Bill may end up being diluted, while Christchurch barrister and Families Commissioner Carolyn Bull regrets that the Bill has been "trivialised".

"Let's be very clear," says Bennett. "It's not about smacking; this is about assault. It's about a child's right to grow, develop and flourish and to model from parents and caregivers what is good parenting. They should have the same rights as adults in this. If a person went up to someone in the street and hit them, that is an act of assault. However, if an adult hits a child, the child doesn't have those same rights."

Referring to the Barnardos submissions she says section 59's sole purpose is to provide a defence for the parent who is prosecuted for assault of their child. Cases that reach the courts involve heavy-handed assaults applied in the name of discipline or correction, prosecuted by the Police. "The only parents who need be concerned about the repeal of section 59 are those who are responsible for such assaults on children," she says.

“It’s a lot to do with Māori being disempowered... It’s not a cultural thing; children were very, very precious to Māori.”

ELIZABETH MCKNIGHT



ARIHIA BENNETT
Barnardos Te Waipounamu manager



JIM ANGLEM
School of Social Work and Human Services, Canterbury University



ELIZABETH MCKNIGHT
Christchurch Family Safety Team,
Child Victim Advocate

Bluntly speaking, Bennett is talking here about the difference between belting a child with a jug cord, as opposed to a smack on the hand.

Bull, who primarily acts as a lawyer for children in parenting and abuse cases, says repeal of section 59 is one of many steps that need to be taken to attain “zero tolerance” for family violence in New Zealand.

“It is only one plank in the way forward. It is legally permissible to hit children, but it is not legally permissible to hit an animal or another adult, either in the home, or in the workplace. But it is permissible, if section 59 is used, successfully to hit a child.”

Supporters of the repeal Bill say it is nonsense to suggest that, if this statutory protection for parents is removed, the public is suddenly going to rush to call in the police if they see a child being smacked. Bennett says we must have faith in the judgment of the police and justice system. It is highly unlikely that overnight their attitudes and processes will change to aggressive prosecution of minor incidents.

But hopefully the public attitude will change, Bennett says, so that zero tolerance for assault against children becomes “normal”, as has been the case in relation to smoking in bars and restaurants and corporal punishment in schools. Remember the public fuss when those practices were outlawed? Now we hardly recall why.

Canterbury University head of the School of Social Work and Human Services, Jim Anglem, isn’t convinced that the repeal of section 59 will alter the behaviour of parents who bash their children.

“We have a lot of violence in our society, and the worst aspects of violence are carried out by people whose education is minimal, whose employment and status in society are low. In effect they are marginalised, and unfortunately that’s where a lot of Māori people are, in a marginalised position. And they’ve been there for a few generations now.”

Of course well-educated professionals in well-heeled suburbs also bash their kids. “They do violence against their kids – we know it happens – but they have the means to hide it. Those who are less sophisticated don’t have those means. Often they are fuelled by drug and alcohol problems.”

It’s hard to ascertain how many times the section 59 defence has been used. Bradford’s office didn’t know, but Vision Network, a national grouping of mainly churches and service aid groups, said in a submission to the select committee that the defence had been used fewer

than 20 times in the past 15 years. Vision, which opposes the repeal, believes the defence was successful in only two or three of those cases.

The Families Commission, like Anglem, also recognises that repeal of section 59 alone is unlikely to significantly reduce family violence. It told the select committee family violence prevention was a complex area requiring “a multi-layered, intersectoral approach including legislation, policies, public education and service delivery.”

But the commission says repeal will build on the current momentum and commitment to eliminating family violence, including the work of the new Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families, a multi-sector initiative, which presented its first report in July to the Family Violence Ministerial Team.

Anglem (Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoē, Ngāi Tahu, Ruahikihiki te hapū) says it’s hardly surprising that family violence is out there. “We have a real adherence to a most violent sport, rugby, and we precede this violent confrontation we call sport with a pretty violent challenge, what we call a haka. Not all haka are violent; the haka means “dance” in the broadest sense, so the choreography can be lovely. But we don’t think of the rugby haka as lovely.”

“I used to be a high school teacher, when kids were belted with a stick. But if you as a parent belted your kids with a stick, it was outrageous. So there’s a confused background to it.”

Anglem works with researcher Mike Doolan, whose findings about Māori child killings make such chilling reading. But Anglem notes Doolan’s research suggests the figures are declining.

“But they are declining in relation to previous Māori statistics, which are still higher than non-Māori statistics. We have concluded that there is less [general] violence now than there has been, but the violence is different – it’s much more violent when it happens. We didn’t look [specifically] at violence against children, but we think it’s pretty clear it is decreasing. But again, when it happens, it’s much worse.”

Enough of the bad news. Ngāi Tahu people interviewed for this story all said it was time to look forward, to offer solutions and hope. But, as Arihia Bennett says, that means taking responsibility and taking ownership of the problem at whānau level.

“There’s no denying the statistics. The information is there in your face. It is a problem of New Zealand society, but we have to be at the forefront, and we have to ask ourselves some serious questions – not just in our iwi, but in our own homes.”

“We have to ask ourselves: what sort of methods am I using that support the growth and development of my child? We have to ask that question of ourselves, our cousins, our whānau. It’s about not being afraid to constructively challenge and ask how they are managing, and how to look at it in a more proactive and solution-focused way.”

Education, the experts say, is by far the best medicine against family violence. Child victim advocate for the new Christchurch Family Safety Team, Elizabeth McKnight, calls it “the number one tool in the kete.”

“For me it’s about education, education – not only for our people but within the system. We need to educate judges and lawyers. Do they have a clear understanding of domestic violence? My understanding is they get maybe one or two hours’ training, and in some cases it’s overlooked altogether, so they don’t have a really clear picture of the effects of it.”

McKnight (Waitaha Ngāi Tahu, Tūmatākōkiri Ngāti Māmoē hapū) deals with very high-risk families who are referred to her team through agencies such as the Christchurch Womens’ Refuge, the Ōtautahi Māori Womens’ Refuge, the police, and Child, Youth and Family Services.

The Christchurch team, set up in October, is part of a nationwide initiative to stop at-risk families and children falling through the gaps between the numerous agencies a family might be involved with. It is headed by a senior police officer, and has three police investigators, three advocates for adult family members and three child advocates. It also has two senior analysts – one for adults, one for children. McKnight’s job is to ensure the safety and wellbeing of child victims of violence, including unborn children.

“The whole idea of the team is to make sure all the different organisations in family safety are all talking to each other and sharing information. I make sure the child has legal representation; it’s really important the child’s voice is heard. We also make sure everything is put in place for them, education-wise, health-wise, and if they are in hospital and there are protection orders, we make sure they are in place.”

As if New Zealand’s child-abuse figures aren’t bad enough, McKnight says only 18% of domestic violence cases are reported.

So, why are Māori disproportionately represented in the statistics?

“It’s a lot to do with Māori being disempowered,” McKnight says. “That stems from 1843 and colonisation. Māori haven’t got that right of self-determination. It’s a whole lot of things, but for me the biggest thing is education. It’s not a

cultural thing; children were very, very precious to Māori.”

Education gives people back a sense of empowerment, she believes. Anglem agrees, “It seems to me what will make a difference is making sure people have meaningful lives through the work they do and the education they’ve had. That requires a long-term solution, not an initial-term measure, which is where I think this thing [section 59 repeal] is at.”

Families Commissioner Carolyn Bull says parents need a “greater toolkit” of strategies and ways of disciplining their children and teaching them boundaries. She wants to see the introduction of parenting programmes, such as Sweden has, where a pregnant woman is placed on a register and automatically attends a programme until her child is eight years old.

“That is developmental stuff that is normalised there. But it is only normalised in this country when people have had their children removed by CYFS, or when people have sorted out their own education and read books. But for vulnerable families who aren’t quite in the CYFS category, but could still do with extra parenting skills, that process of being able to ask for help needs to be normalised, so there is no stigma attached to it.”

Bull says in her work as a barrister acting for children she sees parents who can’t deal with their own levels of stress and lack of resources, never mind the stress of bringing up say four children under the age of five. “They are away from their extended families and are very vulnerable.”

“Some of the contributing causes to whānau abuse are alienation from Māori institutions and being away from home. Something like four-fifths live away from their tribal area, about one-fifth don’t know their tribal origins and two-thirds don’t have regular access to a marae.”

The result is a misunderstanding of tikanga (guidelines for survival) and a misunderstanding of mana, which can lead to a risk-taking lifestyle, abuse that becomes normalised, spiritual poverty and distorted values, says Bull.

McKnight also cites Sweden’s example. “Parents all attend a programme, but also Sweden puts money into the home in regard to the safety of children. When people smack children who go near a hot stove, they do so as a deterrent. Sweden puts money into housing, and safe-proofing the whole home.”

McKnight says parental stress that can flare into violence is often fuelled by money worries. When both parents work, a child’s sickness can cause huge tension. Whereas, in Sweden, a

working parent is reimbursed if they have to stay at home to care for a sick child, she says. “I think that’s wonderful. If we could have that in New Zealand, stress levels would go right down.”

Family violence is a significant social issue, often intergenerational in some whānau, especially if this has been the only approach modelled in the home. Bennett: “It’s complex with many variables such as isolation, low self-esteem and other stress factors, but this need not be a barrier to finding solutions. Sometimes the thought of complexity can be too hard unless we are truly prepared to look at both the problem and what lies beneath.”

Bull says men, the main abusers, tend to minimise what they do. “It’s only when I talk to them about their own childhood experiences that many of them can see any connection at all between that and what they do to their wives and how it will impact on their children.”

While education will go some way towards addressing generational abuse, how do we fix the problems of isolation and alienation?

Bull believes, “It’s a problem arrived at through generations and colonisation. You fix it with pride in one’s heritage. Ngāi Tahu is probably better placed than some other tribes at this stage, because we have had our settlement and because we have a goal for the Ngāi Tahu dialect to be in 1,000 homes by 2025.”

“Te reo is a conduit for the culture. It is all to do with values, pride and wanting to maintain the mana of one’s whānau. If you have pride in your whānau, you don’t want to be doing things that will bring shame on the family.”

McKnight likens generational domestic violence to the “tools that are put into our kete.”

“The tools we were born with, the tools of coping strategies, what our parents know, what their parents knew. If they don’t know any different, then that’s what they are going to pass on.”

McKnight and her team have approached Ngāi Tahu with a plan to go onto marae throughout the South Island with an education package to combat domestic violence.

“It’s about filling the kete up with tools that are appropriate and going to work – tools to understand what they are doing, the effects it is having on our children, short and long term.”

She says these effects include depression, anxiety, eating disorders, suicide attempts, panic disorders, attention deficit, post-traumatic stress disorders, cognitive difficulties, lower academic achievement, social difficulties and poor attachment patterns. As children get older, there can be a whole new basket of problems, like relation-

ship difficulties, teen pregnancy, delinquency, drug use and mental health problems.

“They normalise violence and abuse, and it just goes on.”

McKnight wants to work on the approach to hapū with Ngāi Tahu’s new whānau development arm Toitū te Iwi, which is currently working on a strategic direction.

Gabrielle Huria, senior manager of Toitū te Iwi, says, “Being a loving parent is one of the most important and most challenging things we can ever do. However, as a community, we spend very little time talking about how we can be better at it. The repeal of section 59 may not stop child abuse overnight but it is a first step, and let’s face it we need it.”

Jim Anglem recalls that Māori used to have a saying that “parenting is far too important to be left to parents”, so grandparents used to do the job. “When you look at some of the awful cases of violence against children, those parents were extraordinarily young.”

But life in the 21st century rarely allows for grandparents to lend the wisdom of their years and experience to the raising of the next generation.

And that leaves people like Arihia Bennett, Elizabeth McKnight and Carolyn Bull calling for whānau to take on the responsibility. Bennett is also calling for Ngāi Tahu leadership to stand up and be counted.

“The concept and value of whanaukataka is ideal at one level, but to actually walk the talk and live it at whānau level is demonstrating leadership. It’s a matter of credibility and being able to speak freely and with confidence to our own people in a way that is empowering. It’s about finding a way to uplift and bring our people through it. You have to start in your own home.”

Bull says zero tolerance for family violence has to be “personalised into every home and every individual.”

“People have to take responsibility for what is happening in their own whānau, and not condone it and not hide it – because it is largely a hidden problem.”

■ ■ ■

The Talla Burn waka huia

Tucked away in atmosphere and temperature-controlled vaults around the country are some extraordinary taonga dating back centuries. Many artefacts are too precious or fragile to be placed on public display. In this article, the first in a series, Dunedin journalist Rob Tipa traces the story behind an intriguing archaeological discovery from the Otago Museum's Southern Māori Collection.

The year was 1933. George Rae, a First World War veteran who was severely wounded in Belgium, was back home in the Central Otago high country, working as head shepherd on Beaumont Station.

Caught out in a snowstorm north of the Talla Burn junction with the Clutha River, between Beaumont and Millers Flat, he took shelter under a rock cleft in a schist outcrop. He noticed a nondescript bundle of rags tied with cord, in a small cave under the overhang. Nearby he also found the remains of a small flax kete with a piece of baleen (whalebone) inside.



The Talla Burn waka huia, a crude, uncarved, rectangular box, made with stone tools.

It was not the first time he had stumbled across traces of early Māori activities in the Otago high country. Before the Great War, while working as a shepherd on Galloway Station near Alexandra, he had found a lot of early artefacts, including a rare, obsidian chisel.

PHOTOGRAPHS: OTAGO MUSEUM; PHOTOGRAPH OF GEORGE RAE: DAN RAE; BANNOCKBURN

Today, his sons Dan, from Bannockburn, and John, of Millers Flat, recall their late father was “very observant”: he quickly realised the historical significance of his find. What he didn’t know at the time was that he was holding a package worth “a small fortune”.

Characteristically, he “did the right thing” and handed this rough bundle of rags, unopened, to Dr Henry Skinner, director of the Otago Museum. Later, he learned he had uncovered one of the most significant finds of early Māori artefacts in Otago’s archaeological history.

The outer wrapping of the bundle was the remains of a very finely-woven harakeke (flax) cloak, decorated with dogskin tags, and securely tied with two-ply string, also made of harakeke. Inside this was a covering of fine tapa, or bark cloth, possibly made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry, a tree brought to Aotearoa from the Pacific Islands by ancestors of the Māori.

Wrapped in the tapa was a waka huia, a crude, uncarved, rectangular box, made with stone tools. It had a rough knob at either end, and was decorated with notches along the lip. There was no lid.

Inside the waka huia were 70 distinctive black feathers with white tips, from the long-since-extinct huia, along with 20 bunches of red kākā feathers. Some of the huia feathers had been mounted in pairs and decorated with kākā feathers. Also in the box was a wooden awl, its head wrapped in layers of red-and-white tapa cloth. With it were a human-hair cord and a finely-plaited, black-and-white cord.

It was an unusual collection of items which, for a number of reasons, proved to be of exceptional historical value. But the find raised more questions than it provided answers to. Where had these taonga come from? Who left them in such a remote spot, and why did they not return to collect them?

Huia feathers were very sought-after for highly-ranked Māori chiefs to wear on ceremonial occasions. At the time of George Rae’s discovery, single feathers could fetch up to five pounds apiece. So the Talla Burn package was very valuable. It was exceptional to find so many fine specimens in one place.

The huia was regarded as almost-certainly extinct and, since the start of European contact, declining numbers were thought to be



George Cockburn Rae with his team of dogs at Galloway Station, near Alexandra, in 1913 or 1914. As head shepherd on Beaumont Station, two decades later, he found the Talla Burn waka huia, regarded as one of the most significant finds of early Māori artefacts in Otago. Below: The remains of a small flax kete and a piece of baleen (whalebone) were also found in the rock cleft near the Talla Burn.

restricted to remote pockets of forest in the North Island. However, in Ngāi Tahu traditions the huia was remembered in the northern forests of Te Waipounamu. According to *The Book of the Huia* by W.J. Phillipps, there was strong anecdotal evidence of the huia being seen in Marlborough and Nelson as recently as the early 1900s.

Various pieces of tapa cloth from the Talla Burn cache have continued to present a puzzle to scientists and researchers.

When the first Polynesian settlers landed on Aotearoa’s shores, they brought with them the art of beating and felting tapa cloth from the inner bark of the paper mulberry bush. But this tropical plant struggled in the colder climate of the South Pacific, so early Māori turned to an alternative source, the inner bark of the houhere/houhi (hoheria or lace-bark). It produced an inferior type of tapa and was difficult to make, so it was reserved for special occasions,

such as wrapping the bodies of high chiefs.

Some samples from inside the Talla Burn waka huia were identified as Otago tapa cloth made from hoheria bark. However, scientific tests by the University of Otago in 1966 suggested the finer-textured tapa covering of the waka huia was actually made from paper mulberry.

In an article in the Otago Daily Times in 1963, David Simmons, the curator of anthropology at the Otago Museum at that time, suggested the latter tapa may have come from paper mulberry trees grown in Northland, or from pieces of Polynesian tapa gifted to Māori in Queen Charlotte Sound by Captain James Cook.

When the Talla Burn package was first displayed at the Otago Museum, a label described it as “the most spectacular single find of Māori material ever made in Otago.”

“As the huia lived only in the North Island, the feathers must have come to Otago by barter or gift. It seems unlikely that the box was hidden later than about 1820.”

Otākoukaumātua Edward Ellison explains that there was a prolific trade in goods up and down the New Zealand coast, so it was not unusual for items from the North Island to be found in the south. He said it was also customary for travellers to carry their worldly possessions, including their valuables, with them. It would have been quite safe to leave a treas-



ured taonga like the Talla Burn package in safe-keeping in a secret cache, as such an item would have been protected by tapu.

The package was found close to a temporary camp on an important traditional route along the Clutha River into Central Otago, Edward Ellison says.

Researchers agree that the wrapping suggests the whole package was a prestigious gift. David Simmons concluded it was likely the carrier of the package was travelling overland via the Karitane-Sutton-Beaumont track. In the early 1960s, a conch shell (used like a trumpet as a signalling device) was found in another rock cleft not far away.

Moa hunters and their later descendants occupied the area near the Talla Burn over a long period, Mr Simmons wrote. Extensive ovens



Above: Huia feathers, very sought-after and worn by high-ranking Maori chiefs as a symbol of status. Below: Some huia feathers were mounted in pairs and decorated with kaka feathers.

and moa-bone middens were found upstream of the Talla Burn at Millers Flat, and tools made of moa bone and stone were found downstream of Beaumont. Mr Simmons estimated the earliest occupation of the area at 1200 and the latest at about 1800.

The Otago Museum has a number of adzes in its collections that came from the Beaumont area and are believed to date from the moa-hunting era.

Thanks to his keen eyes and a strong appreciation of the significance of early archaeological finds, George Rae's name will always

be remembered for his Talla Burn discovery and numerous other contributions of prized taonga to the Otago Museum's Southern Māori Collection. ■■



nā SALLY BLUNDELL

KAITIAKITANGA

SUSTAINING OUR FUTURE

“WITHIN OUR TAKIWĀ WE HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER HAPŪ LORE TO ENSURE THE MAINTENANCE AND SUSTENANCE OF PAPANUKU AND HER CHILDREN, THE TANGATA WHENUA. THESE RESPONSIBILITIES WE TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY AND AS SUCH WE ARE WILLING PARTICIPANTS IN MANY OTHER FORUMS TO ADVOCATE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES. WE DO NOT HAVE A CHOICE IN THIS MATTER; IT IS SOMETHING WE MUST DO IF WE ARE TO MEET OUR OBLIGATIONS.”

With these words, kaumātua Te Whe Weepu presented the views of the hapū of Ngāti Waewae and the Rūnanga o Ngāti Waewae o Te Tai Poutini at a hearing on the ongoing proposal by Solid Energy to open a new opencast mine. The proposed site is in Happy Valley, a remote West Coast valley of red-tussock wetlands and beech forest, home to the great spotted kiwi, or roa, and the giant land snail.

It was a heartfelt submission referring to a long-term cultural association with the lands and waters within the area, and the adverse effects on the mauri of the area and the mana of the rūnanga should the proposal go ahead. It alluded to the “piecemeal approach” to mining on the West Coast that has already resulted in extreme environmental degradation. It also alluded to the “integrated approach to resource management” ushered in with the Resource Management Act 1991, and the long-standing obligations inherent in kaitiakitanga.

Commonly translated as “guardianship” or “stewardship”, kaitiakitanga describes the mantle of responsibility worn by tangata whenua to promote the care and protection of natural taonga – the waters, coasts, oceans, flora and fauna, forests, mountains, the earth and the sky. Kaitiakitanga also extends to the protection of language, culture and wisdom. All of these share the same spiritual essence, or wairua, and have been entrusted to kaitiaki to ensure that they are passed down to future generations, as they have been passed down over centuries gone by.

This is part of a world view that is not based on ownership of land or natural resources but on the understanding that all life is created from Papatūānuku and temporarily supported by her in an interdependent way.



Obligations to past, present and future generations – and to natural taonga – are carried by all tangata whenua and are crucial to the identity and mana of the local iwi authority. In particular, however, they are carried by kaitiaki – those people appointed by their whānau and trained in tikanga Māori. Kaitiaki can also be spirits, like the taniwha who take care of the waterways, or the spirits of dead ancestors. They can also be living creatures, like trees or animals.

“In essence,” says David O’Connell, co-manager Toitū Te Whenua of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, “rangatiratanga is self-determination, and with that goes responsibility, and that responsibility is reflected in kaitiakitanga, the sustainable use of resources.”

As Te Whe Weepu said, “We do not have a choice in this matter; it is something we must do if we are to meet our obligations.”

Such obligations to past, present and future generations – and to natural taonga – are carried by all tangata whenua and are crucial to the identity and mana of the local iwi authority. In particular, however, they are carried by kaitiaki – those people appointed by their whānau and trained in tikanga Māori.

Kaitiaki can also be spirits, like the taniwha who take care of the waterways, or the spirits of dead ancestors. They can also be living creatures, like trees or animals. O’Connell points to the pou tuna (large eels) in Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). “They are equally kaitiaki; they are as significant as the people we appoint to be managers. They are natural controllers of customary use: when the pou tuna arrive during migration, this serves as a sign to stop fishing for eels.”

Recognition of this close relationship between Māori and the land, water, wāhi tapu and other taonga is enshrined in law. The Treaty of Waitangi promises Māori the “tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua o rātou kainga me ō rātou taonga katoa”, while the English version promises “the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties”. The passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and the setting up of the Waitangi Tribunal provided further opportunities for reasserting tino rangatiratanga over the environment.

The relationship of Māori to their natural environment and these provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi are now acknowledged in the Environment Act 1986 and the Conservation Act 1987. Under the Local Government Act 2002 (LGA), local authorities must take into account the relationship of Māori to their ancestral land, water, sites, wāhi tapu, valued flora and fauna, and other taonga, when considering significant decisions in relation to land or water. They must also provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making processes.

But it was the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA), which emerged out of the resource management law-reform process of the late 1980s, that officially put kaitiakitanga into legislation and allowed for greater involvement of local iwi and hapū in the management of natural resources. Until then, says David O’Connell, “you basically didn’t have anything in law or statute that required councils or anyone managing natural resources to pay any attention to Māori issues. As a consequence, lots of things happened because Māori just weren’t in the consultation loop.”

Under the RMA, one of the five “matters of national importance” is the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions to their ances-

tral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu and other taonga. Anyone exercising functions under the Act must take Treaty principles into account, and “particular regard” must be given to kaitiakitanga. Local bodies have to put into place processes that ensure Māori are notified of any local or regional activities and consent applications. They also have the right to transfer any of their functions or duties to another public authority, including an iwi authority.

The Act does succeed in putting the special relationship between Māori and their natural environment into laws on sustainable management but, nearly fifteen years after its passing, many iwi and hapū are struggling to meet the constant demands for input into new policies, position papers, long-term management plans and consent applications.

“The intention is good, trying to interact with local and regional government to give meaning to the concept of kaitiakitanga over a specific resource, but it’s created an overwhelming burden on the part of Māori iwi and hapū up and down the country, as people struggle to meet the demands on resources,” says Hirini Matunga, associate professor in Māori and indigenous studies at Lincoln University and director of the Centre for Māori and Indigenous Planning and Development.

“The responsibilities are mammoth in having to respond constantly to different policies and plans and resource consents within a limited time. And local and regional councils are still not fully equipped to cope with the meaning of kaitiakitanga. The RMA has linked it back to tangata whenua, fitting it back into a Māori cultural concept and philosophy, but still it depends on the degree of understanding of the environmental planner or local politician to put it into a local framework. Only then can you contextualise the meaning of kaitiakitanga; otherwise it’s a waffly idea swimming around in the ether.”

Because of the responsibilities implicit in the role of kaitiaki, the rūnanga is obligated to reply every time a local or regional council has to tick off notification requirements in its planning or consent processes. Even if time constraints are considerable, the work required is done on a completely voluntary basis; and careful deliberation is construed as dragging the chain.

“When the legislation was passed, there was nothing to help indigenous people keep up with what the Crown was putting in place,” says O’Connell. “When an applicant seeks consent to build or subdivide, they will first contract engineers, landscapers, urban designers, stormwater people, groundwater scientists – people with a whole raft of skills. Only then does the council receive the application, and the RMA sections pertinent to Māori come into play. Once an application is with the council, the statutory clock starts ticking. Instead of saying to the applicant, you’ve provided no information on potential effects on Māori values, they’ll send the application to local Māori with a letter saying, this is what they’re proposing to do – are you an affected party and, if so, what values are being affected? Please respond in ten working days.”

A better and fairer system, says O’Connell, would be for applicants to contact the rūnanga direct 6-12 months before a formal application is presented to the council, and contract someone knowledgeable and creditable to provide advice on the potential impact of a planned activity. Such a process, he says, would generate more meaningful dialogue, better environmental outcomes, and councils would receive full applications that meet all the legal requirements for consultation.

The intrinsic responsibility for Māori to fulfil their kaitiaki role is a double-edged sword. While the recognition implicit in the RMA and the LGA is welcomed by iwi authorities like Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, it carries with it hefty financial consequences.

O’Connell says, conservatively, each of the 18 papatipu rūnanga from Kaikōura to Bluff would expend at least \$50,000 a year in resources and volunteer time meeting their kaitiaki responsibilities.

“About 18 months ago we did the exercise of calculating the costs of our stewardship role. The \$50,000 is a conservative estimate and does not include the work and resources of Toitū Te Whenua, which would amount to approximately \$700,000 per annum. We’re talking about a substantial commitment.”

Since the Ngāi Tahu Settlement in 1997 the majority of these costs have been non-recoverable, being invested in relationship and process building.



Certainly some reports on the performance of the RMA show the process is not working as well as it should. The role of Māori in environmental decision-making processes remains “fatally flawed”, with many local authorities paying lip-service to their obligations to Māori, said the Waitangi Tribunal in 1993. And a 1998 report by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment found that tangata whenua had limited resources with which to carry out their responsibilities under the RMA.

Others also point out that the system does not support real partnership between tangata whenua and local government. Under the RMA, Treaty principles are required only to be “taken into account” and, while councils are required to consult tangata whenua when preparing a new policy or plan, resource-consent applicants only have to include any consultation they did undertake in their application.

There is also concern that, as duties are devolved to the level of regional and local councils, Crown responsibilities to give effect to the Treaty are side-stepped. In this regard, some say not enough weight is given to Māori tino rangatiratanga over conservation or protection issues. For instance, in order to maintain the sustainability of the natural environment, Māori traditionally have used mechanisms such as rāhui – a temporary moratorium prohibiting access by hunters, fishers, farmers and other users to a particular area. The rāhui is an attempt to prevent over-exploitation or the degradation of a particular resource, and can be lifted when the resource is replenished.

Tensions do arise, says O’Connell, when this approach comes into conflict with the more “preservationist” approach of the Department of Conservation. Take, for example, the kākāpō. While Ngāi Tahu agrees with the Department of Conservation’s decision to put the endangered species under preservation, that doesn’t mean, says O’Connell, “that, if the population ever came back like sparrows, we wouldn’t shift.”

“The RMA is good, but you’re dealing with two different value systems here,” says Hirini Matunga, “and the ability to translate meaning into policy development and planning is hard. When councils make a policy, plan or resource decision, they need to ask themselves, is this a good decision for Māori under the Resource Management Act? And, if so, what makes it so? There’s a tendency to farm that decision out by default, and that’s creating a massive burden on iwi and hapū.”

The Resource Management Act does succeed in putting the special relationship between Māori and their natural environment into laws on sustainable management but, nearly fifteen years after its passing, many iwi and hapū are struggling to meet the constant demands for input into new policies, position papers, long-term management plans and consent applications.

In Southland, a “first step, one-stop shop” for consultation with Māori has proved to be a successful model for bringing together tangata whenua, local and regional councils and resource-consent applicants, and integrating kaitiakitanga into the consent process.



Finding solutions: Te Whe Weepu, Mark Pizey (National Environmental Manager, Solid Energy) and Ngāti Waewae chairman Ned Tauwhare.

Councils ought to shoulder more responsibility, he says, by employing their own professionals who are well-versed in tikanga Māori and Māori ethics to answer these questions. Now that an increasing number of Māori graduates are leaving universities with science or resource-management qualifications it is up to local and regional councils to reach out to this expertise, he says.

Recent changes adopted by Environment Bay of Plenty show the potential for better partnership between local authorities and tangata whenua. In 2004 it amended its structure to incorporate the newly-constituted Māori Regional Representation Committee, with a brief to give better access by tangata whenua to council decision-making.

That year, too, the regional council became the first in the country to establish Māori seats for three of its constituencies, using the same proportional-representation system as Parliament, to more accurately reflect the region’s population.

Like other local, regional or national government bodies, Environment Bay of Plenty also provides some funding to hapū and iwi wishing to develop management plans – fully-documented assessments of a particular area that bring together iwi knowledge on economic, social, political, cultural and environmental issues. Such plans are seen as a more proactive approach to expressing rangatiratanga and identifying important issues relating to the use of natural and physical resources. The plans provide greater hapū or iwi input into council decision-making, and pave the way for more consistency in council planning, so reducing the likelihood of legal challenges. Although local government is not bound by these plans, under the RMA a local or regional council that is preparing or changing a policy or plan must take into account any relevant document recognised by an iwi authority.

On 24 February this year, the 336-page Kaikōura iwi management plan, Te Pōhā o Tohu Raumatī, was released, a culmination of over ten-years’ planning and at least two-years’ concentrated work.

“Because of the RMA, we kept getting all these plans and applications coming through needing input,” says Raewyn Solomon, project manager for the management plan, “so it seemed better to have our own plan, rather than reacting all the time. It was a chance to be more proactive.”

With its detailed cultural and environmental overview of the area, the plan is the result of much discussion, debate and consultation.

“It was first and foremost for our people, our rūnanga. It was a chance to discuss philosophies, to get all different viewpoints,” says Raewyn Solomon. “You often have different bits of legislation for different parts of the land and the sea. This plan integrated them. It kept the Ngāi Tahu philosophy ‘from the mountain to the sea.’”

“It was good – it made for good decisions. It’s like anything else – the plan is the icing on the cake; the process was the cake.”

While iwi management plans are a positive step in asserting values and new strategies for the cultural and environmental resources of a particular area, there is concern that some councils are giving management plans only perfunctory recognition.

The ideal, asserts David O’Connell, is for a community to look to the rūnanga as leaders in terms of sustainability and kaitiakitanga, “but then tangata whenua extends that cloak to include the community.”

In Kaikōura, the completion of Te Pōhā o Tohu Raumatī is considered only the first step in a much longer process. A series of workshops will show council staff how the plan can be integrated into district plans. For the plan to work properly, says Raewyn Solomon, a tangata whenua commissioner needs to sit in on council hearings, consent panels and planning committees. “That way we can promote and encourage and ensure that tangata whenua values and policies are encompassed in these decisions.”

In Southland, a “first step, one-stop shop” for consultation with Māori has proved to be a successful model for bringing together tangata whenua, local and regional councils and resource-consent applicants, and integrating kaitiakitanga into the consent process.

Funded jointly by Environment Southland, Invercargill City Council, Southland District Council and Gore District Council, with the balance of funding coming in from resource-consent applicants on a user-pays basis, Te Ao Marama Incorporated serves as the first port of call for anyone – council staff or resource-consent applicants – wanting to consult with local hapu or iwi.

Representing Te Rūnaka o Awarua, Hokonui Rūnanga, Ōraka/Aparima Rūnaka and Waihōpai Rūnaka, Te Ao Mārama gives local government a clear and straightforward process for meeting its requirements under the RMA and recognising iwi values as part of its decision-making.

“Ten years ago, the regional council was looking to employ a Māori advisor or liaison person,” says kaupapa taiao manager for Te Ao Mārama, Michael Skerrett. “But I could see from other places that no one was really happy in that role, in councils or in hapū. That person belonged to the council, and you had to have loyalty to your employer, no matter how torn you were in your heart. So I thought, why not fund four rūnanga to set up their own structure and employ who they wanted – someone who belonged to them, not the councils.”

A contract was put together, budget hiccups were ironed out, an iwi-council representative group, Te Rōpū Taiao, was established, and Te Ao Mārama Incorporated opened its doors to business.

A Charter of Understanding between Southland local government and Murihiku iwi defines the common goal of Te Ao Mārama and the signatory parties – that is, the sustainable management of the region’s environment and the social, cultural, economic, and environmental wellbeing of the community. It also defines consultation, not simply as informing tangata whenua of impending actions, but rather as a sincere invitation for advice and a genuine consideration of that advice.

As part of their planning, policy review and consent processes, the four councils consult directly with tangata whenua through Te Ao Mārama, and encourage resource-consent applicants to do likewise. They ensure that all relevant information is passed on, and that any environmental management plans prepared by the iwi authority have been taken into account. Te Ao Mārama then identifies the appropriate contact persons within iwi, and ensures that all the right people have been consulted and that the relevant information is returned within the required timeframe.

nā Dr NEVILLE BENNETT

In this issue, we start a regular column about financial matters, written by Dr Neville Bennett, a senior lecturer in the School of History, University of Canterbury. Neville has a PhD in economics, writes financial columns and is a director of a number of companies and a trustee of the New Zealand Universities’ Superannuation Scheme. He is married with two teenagers at home.

CLIMBING OUT OF DEBT

“What should I do with my life?” Do you ever ask that question? Or do you just get on with your life, go through the daily grind and daydream about having fun on Saturday night? Is shopping now more important than deciding where you want to be in 10, 30 or 50 years?

What are your goals? What will you pursue in life? What do you really enjoy doing? What makes you satisfied? Maybe you do not need millions to enjoy your wish list, but you will need some security. You can come unstuck if you think Lotto will rescue you, or if you give in to unscrupulous businesses that offer loans and low-deposit delights like a car or holiday (it says pay for the rest of your life in the small print).

Every person has gifts and abilities that can be developed. Some people will not realise their potential because they were not clear about what they really wanted, or because they did not plan. The knack is to dream, but then plan to make your dreams come true. Make yourself the manager of your own life.

Putting yourself in charge means working out what your goals are and planning how to achieve them. Let’s assume your goals are to get a good tertiary education, get a house and have a long comfortable retirement. Whai Rawa, the new savings programme available to Ngāi Tahu whānui, can help with all of those, but you

will have to get out of debt and develop saving habits. No matter what your personal circumstances are, or how much money there is in your pocket, sticking to good financial habits can make all the difference in achieving your goals.

Today I am writing about climbing out of debt, and encouraging you to consider budgeting and saving. But goal achievement needs more: in other articles I will look at protecting your money, saving and investing, superannuation, and getting good advice.

This is an important topic because we know that home ownership is falling. We also know that almost half of the population are so poor they almost lack a stake in the country. If we think of a pie to represent the country’s wealth, the bottom 50% have only 3% of it and the top 50% has 97% of the pie. The bottom 16% of the population has negative wealth: they are in debt. According to the New Zealand Institute, 800,000 kiwis have net assets of less than \$20,000. These figures are a bit dated (2004) but the picture is valid.

Other research shows that secondary students have a low level of financial knowledge. Yet young people need to be good money managers in order to survive. It is easy to buy stuff on hire purchase, or to get a loan or a credit card. Sharks target the poor. Youth leave tertiary study with a hefty loan, they face frequent job changes, and they need to know how to get a good deal in finance.

When is the best time to start controlling your life? Today! Start now, even if it is a small thing like not having another latte.



HERE ARE SOME WAYS TO GET OUT OF DEBT

- Put all your earnings into a savings account, and earn some interest.
- Make an honest budget. Stick to it. If a bit more money comes your way unexpectedly, save it.
- Stop borrowing. Ask if you really need a new pair of shoes. If you do, pay cash – do not use a card.
- Keep your credit card, just do not use it. Better still, get rid of your credit card as soon as you have paid off all you owe on it.
- Attack your debt. Start with the high-interest, short-term stuff on credit cards.
- Look at your budget again. Are you paying off debt? Speed up the process. Why not sell one of your recent purchases on Trade Me.

The whole process is based on a philosophy of no surprises, no last-minute expectations, and an open system of communication that helps avoid costly appeals to the Environment Court.

“The onus is on the councils to make sure they have all the information and that they have consulted,” says Michael Skerrett, “so what we do is make a huge safety net for them so they can’t be criticised for not talking to the right people. Our job is to get all the information to the proper rūnanga; then it is their responsibility to get it to the proper person.”

In fulfilling his role, Skerrett also spends much of his time liaising with other groups, such as Fish and Game, Forest and Bird and the Department of Conservation, as well as visiting local schools – initiatives that give real meaning to the word “consultation” and ensure that a level of understanding and respect amongst the various interest groups is maintained.

It is a grassroots initiative, with local government and developers working alongside local iwi and hapū. Time and again in discussions on kaitiakitanga the emphasis returns to the importance of local knowledge, local authorities, local relationships and open communication between local government and appropriate hapū or rūnanga.

An example of the types of outcomes that are possible can be seen in the case of Solid Energy’s application to the Environment Court for consent to

mine at Happy Valley, which was referred to at the beginning of this article. The rūnanga and the mining company have successfully negotiated a memorandum of partnership that addresses issues that are both specific to the proposed mine but also relate to the wider interaction of the business and rūnanga’s interests. The memorandum ensures that the rūnanga is kept informed of Solid Energy’s plans, and a formal process for consultation is enshrined at a more personal level than that required by legislation. Both parties see this as a positive development in the relationship and a way to gain a better understanding of one another’s interests.

Looking ahead, however, there are a growing number of issues on a national and even global level that will impact on kaitiakitanga. Increasing development, changing environmental patterns, pollution, water degradation, species extinction and intensified land use are all putting pressure on land, water and other natural taonga. Pressures on the environment such as climate change, biotechnology, biodiversity and the patenting of natural life forms are all prompting the need for indigenous peoples to take steps to protect their immediate environment, cultural heritage and traditional ecological knowledge, and for publicly-appointed authorities to support these steps through adequate systems and resources.

BOOK REVIEWS

STATE OF THE MĀORI NATION

By MALCOLM MULHOLLAND & CONTRIBUTORS
Published by Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd
RRP \$39.99

Review nā DONALD COUCH

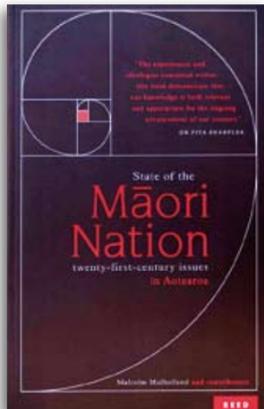
A challenging title and a wide range of 22 brief essays on contemporary Māori issues should provide for a good read.

Unfortunately, an otherwise useful collection misses the mark. Why? Because the wero “Māori Nation” in the title isn’t really picked up.

With forewords by two of our more thoughtful Māori parliamentarians, Pita Sharples and Metiria Turei, and then an introduction which does proceed to introduce the challenge, the reader is then led off to consider Māori health, then kapa haka, then Māori Art and so on. These are all important topics but virtually all face the major hurdle of establishing who has prime responsibility for their development – iwi nations, a Māori nation, the Crown, a bicultural nation-state, the New Zealand nation-state?

There is growing evidence of a seemingly inexorable move by the mainstream culture and its political structure to reduce the role of the Treaty of Waitangi – upon which Māori have placed such dependence. Although, interestingly, after a century’s experience New Zealanders have accepted two monarchies within their state.

What Māori need right now is a rigorous review of our options for rangatiratanga. Is it really productive to continue to argue for Māori sovereignty within this state? There is growing international evidence of workable recognition of more than one nation within one state – is that a better option? First Nations are plural in North America. Should we be considering one Māori nation, or several iwi nations? Some years ago at Ōnuku, this reviewer participated in a debate on “Is Ngāi Tahu a nation?” The affirmative won!



Unfortunately, this book does not address the options for this central issue.

What it does do is provide a useful update and review on a variety of areas of Māori involvement and concern. Five of the 26 contributors are identified as Ngāi Tahu: Graham Harris, Jessica Hutchings, Hana O’Regan, Mark Solomon and Reina Whaitiri. As kaiwhaka-haere since 1998, Mark Solomon is well-placed to record here his personal comments regarding the Ngāi Tahu experience post-settlement.

Technically, an easy-to-read book, though some early typos and missed words are irritating. The references for a couple of the chapters also seem to have gone missing in the preparation for printing.

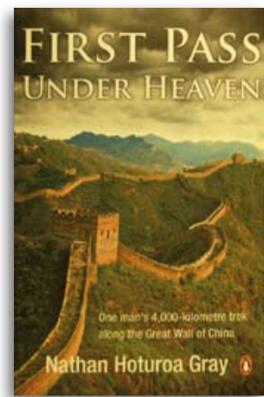
FIRST PASS UNDER HEAVEN

By NATHAN HOTUROA GRAY
Published by Penguin Books

RRP \$29.95

Review nā ELIZABETH O’CONNOR

From 2000 to 2002, Nathan Hoturoa Gray (Ngāi Tahu, Rangitāne – Waikato whāngai) walked the length of the Great Wall of China, in several stages, with various companions, and sometimes on his own. Though the idea for the documented trip was not his to begin with, it became a personal obsession, and the book is as much about his relationship with the Wall, and his attempt to make sense of that within the rest of his life, as it is about the landscapes, villages, cities, people, dangers, hardships and delights he experiences.



He structures the book around his encounters with both the Wall and himself, beginning with a brief account of childhood and the competitive anxiety bred in him by twinship.

The tale of the journeys themselves is intimate and vivid. Though scattered with

ALBUM REVIEW

SOUL SESSIONS

By WHIRIMAKO BLACK
P&C Mai Music Limited 2006

RRP \$27.95

Review nā LISA REEDY

Finally, something for soul, jazz and blues lovers! Whirimako Black is back with her latest album, aptly titled *Soul Sessions*.

While Black has always had the charismatic sound and gravel chords to deliver moving renditions of soul classics, this album, infused by her passions for jazz and te reo Māori, still drives the artist’s talent up a notch.

Black’s own style is present throughout the album. Even in covering some of the great timeless songs such as *Georgia* (Horia), *Summertime* (He Raumati) and *Stormy Weather* (Marangai), Black manages to add her own original quality. Her translations are not word for word; rather she feels her way through the song. Joel Haines has provided an outstanding musical arrangement, and every track appears to effortlessly blend into the next.



Although I’m not a huge fan of jazz (apart from a liking for Nina Simone and Norah Jones), I would definitely add *Soul Sessions* to my CD collection.

Soul Sessions stands as a testament to the beauty and sultry grace of singer Whirimako Black, and is as smooth as a creamy latte.

poetic extracts of dubious merit and some overblown writing, it is compelling, especially in its description of Chinese people.

History and statistics are integrated seamlessly. Photographs can only hint at the vistas that confronted Gray every day, but they are a vital asset to the book. I was interested in the Great Wall before I started reading; by the end, I was fascinated.

TE KARAKA has copy of *First Pass Under Heaven* to give away. The winner will be chosen from contributors to our next letters page.



Donald Couch is a senior lecturer in Māori resource management at Lincoln University and the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology. He is the deputy kaiwhakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.



Elizabeth O’Connor has worked in theatre for over 20 years and combines this with writing, editing, reviewing and voice coaching.



Lisa Reedy (Ngāti Porou) has spent the past 13 years working in the music industry and has a wide spectrum of musical preferences. Lisa is an MC and works as a radio announcer on Tahu FM.

TELEVISION REVIEW

WAKA REO MĀORI TELEVISION

Produced by Tahu Communications
Review nā PIRIMIA BURGER

Depending on your standpoint, my last review of *Waka Reo* was either honest or harsh. But this time I have only good things to say. A new series, new music and a new location make for a triumphant return of the series to the screen.

Last time I grumbled about a muddled identity, but this time it’s clear-cut: *Waka Reo* is a game of elimination set in the context of learning Māori. Once again, 14 contestants compete for \$10,000.

Presenter Sista Waitoa is refreshingly natural. She avoids the pitfalls of many presenters who grin and gesture with two thumbs up far too often. She neatly bookends sections of the show, and devices like this contribute to a more organised feel.

Scenic shots allow time to rest and consider points made by the contestants. And while more could have been made of a shock-elimination twist, romances and tensions supply plenty of tantalising plot lines. The red lighting and change of music for the “elimination challenge” also adds to the drama. Touches like these make it a much more considered series.

Second time around, *Waka Reo*’s graphics are sharp, the urban-versus-rural backdrops are powerful, and attention has been given to details like quality props. It’s well worth watching.



Waka Reo, Saturdays, 7pm, Māori Television.

KETE ARONU MĀORI TELEVISION

Produced by Kiwa Productions
Review nā PIRIMIA BURGER

Kete Aronui is an elegant walk through a gallery of New Zealand art. But don’t pass it off as a snooty art show for the toffee-nosed; this programme covers everything from paintings to movie special effects. All of it is art, and every artist is Māori.

Each week one artist and their body of work is profiled. Profiles are always uncluttered, elegantly lit, discreetly narrated, and enhanced by evocative, moody music. The overall look can be of



PHOTOGRAPH: DIDERIK VAN HEYNINGEN/LIGHTWORKX PHOTOGRAPHY

dimly-lit settings, but this allows the artworks to stand out. Work is frequently re-visited, so viewers have time to form their own opinions.

Many of the artists prefer to let their work speak for them, and the show is designed to reflect this: the art has its own mana, separate from the artist. Much of the show films the artist at work, a refreshing break away from interviews, which are not an effective technique if interviewees are not great talkers.

One series highlight was the profile of Christine Harvey, who is one of only a small number of female tā moko artists. It addressed the obvious gender politics that she encounters, and demonstrated the programme’s commitment to examining issues and not just relying on the stunning pictures that it would be so easy to fall back on.

Art aficionados, and anyone who likes something with a bit of depth, should tune in to *Kete Aronui*, now in its fourth series. It is an indulgence for the senses.



Kete Aronui, Tuesdays, 10pm, Māori Television.



Pirimia Burger (Ngāi Tahu me Rangitāne) works as a freelance writer, presenter, researcher and co-producer for both mainstream and Māori television productions.

PERFORMANCE REVIEW

MĀUI: ONE MAN AGAINST THE GODS

Directed by TANEMAHUTA GRAY
Music by GARETH FARR

At Isaac Theatre Royal, Christchurch, June 2006

Review nā ELIZABETH O’CONNOR
rāua ko LISA REEDY

Operatic in scale, with a score ranging from pounding to lyrical, layered with visual spectacle and wreathed in stunning aerialist displays, *Maui* has thrust itself upon the national stage. The producers (Te Ao Mārama Tāpui) clearly wish to take the production overseas, and are still bravely experimenting with elements such as the balance of te reo with English.

The ancient story is well told. Ko tātou ngā kanohi me ngā kōrero o rātou, kua haere ki te pō.

The performance is an exhilarating blend of traditional kapa haka and contemporary techniques, among which the aerialist displays are better integrated than the contemporary choreography. Powerful individual performances stand out, especially Toni Huata as Hine-Nui-Te-Pō, knocking any queens of the night we have seen into a cocked hat, Jason Te Patu as an effervescent Māui, and Mere Boynton, a compassionate Taranga.

The unrelieved aggression of sound may intimidate those not used to kapa haka; some quieter periods to focus on the extraordinary visuals would be appreciated. Opera-style subtitles might better support the scale and style of the work, than Tama-Nui-Te-Rā coming forward to give banal snippets in English to the audience.

Tanemahuta Gray and his colleagues have created a feast of performance talent and an encouraging high point in the development of Māori theatre.

Ahakoā He Iti He Pounamu

MĀORI WOMAN IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SEAT

Lorraine Kerr has been appointed the first Māori woman president of the School Trustees Association.

Of Ngāti Awa and Tūwharetoa descent, Lorraine has been involved with trustee boards since 1989, and at one time served on three school boards simultaneously. During this time she was also working full

time at Tūwharetoa Education Initiative. Lorraine said she was humbled to be elected. "I recently did some training with our kura board and just seeing their eyes light every time I gave them the tools to empower our whānau was extremely satisfying."



POET DIDN'T KNOW IT

Koa Mantell (Ngāi Tahu) has been a poet for about four months, and in that time she has already won international recognition.

"Because of all the oratory on the marae that I have listened to for years and years, the poems just seemed to fall out."

After spotting an internet call for poetry for the International Society of Poets' convention in Las Vegas, Koa sent in a sample of her work and then forgot about it, until she received an invitation to attend. She went – along with almost 3,000 other poets – and after reading her work she received a Medal of Merit and Outstanding Achievement in Poetry award. Koa is now back in Moeraki working on new poems. Below is one of her poems.

TE ROIMATA WHENUA

The huge mountains covered in snow,
Surrounded by the storm clouds from above;
Their tears mingle with the thoughts of the iwi today.

These tupuna spill their being to pound the earth
and sculpture their life force to form deep caverns
in the soils below.

The lake laps against the shores as it weaves together
the many treasures, bountiful in its wake.

This whenua sustains the desire of all to fulfil their dreams,
as it is realised that we are all the generations belonging to
this land.

The threads of time pulling them even closer as our histories
move us to another place.

What becomes of this whenua that for a long period lay dormant?
Somehow being forgotten and not remembering the past;
Not wanted by many, but used by people unknown.

Then with a quiet stirring of memories connecting us back,
we listened to the returning whispers of the wind through the
trees and the valleys.

Listen to the call of the mountains,
as they call from a distance;
Sense the smell of the rich-scented earth.

Hear the water lapping strongly around the shore,
As the waiata brings back joy from the distant past.
The laughter of their mokopuna comes through the music
of the day and brings back life to this rich landscape.

GETTING ON THE KURA BUS

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rotoiti has won a battle to have "kura" displayed on its bus instead of the word "school".

The victory came with the proviso that the word "kura" be accompanied by an internationally recognised symbol; so the kura bus will also display the silhouettes of two children walking. The kura was originally told by Land Transport New Zealand it was against regulations for a school bus not to have a sign saying "school".



MŌ TĀTOU SUCCESS

Ngāi Tahu voted with their feet at the opening of the Mō Tātou: Ngāi Tahu Whānui exhibition at Te Papa in July. More than 2,000 iwi members witnessed and supported the exhibition, which covers four themes: toitū te iwi (culture), toitū te rangatiratanga (tenacity); toitū te ao tūroa (sustainability) and toitū te pae tawhiti (innovation).

It's too early to gauge the progress of the exhibition, as visitor research is still being done. But Mō Tātou curator Megan Tamati-Quennell described it as an overwhelming success, considering the numbers of Ngāi Tahu who came along to celebrate themselves. Non-Ngāi Tahu were also gaining a more specific understanding of the iwi, she said.



Iwi Steering Committee chairman Rakiikihia Tau stands at the opening, supported by Kukupa Tirikatene and Maruhaeremuri Stirling (the Kaiwhakahaere Pae). Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon is seated in the foreground.

Let us know about your "pounamu" milestones. Write to Ahakoā He Iti He Pounamu with your suggestions, short items and pictures: tekaraka@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

JORIS DE BRES RACE RELATIONS COMMISSIONER NGĀTI TATIMANA

HE TANGATA

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?

When I actually achieve something, rather than just add to the noise in public debate or get swamped by my email.

WHAT NEW ZEALANDER DO YOU MOST ADMIRE? WHY?

I admire heaps of people, but I don't admire any of them the most. I meet lots of ordinary people who do really extraordinary things in their community on a voluntary basis.

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

It used to be cigarettes, but I finally kicked them in the butt last year.

IF YOU COULD LIVE ANYWHERE, WHERE WOULD IT BE?

I'm pretty happy where I am in Island Bay in Wellington, but I wouldn't mind living right by the sea.

WHO IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PERSON IN YOUR LIFE?

Three people come first equal: my wife and our twin daughters.

FAVOURITE SONG?

I don't have a favourite, but I like lots of kiwi music.

ON WHAT OCCASION DO YOU TELL A LIE?

I'm very bad at telling lies, and that's the truth. It's my Presbyterian upbringing!

WHAT CONSTITUTES A BAD DAY?

When I'm down with a bad case of the flu, when I don't seem to be able to make any progress in discussions with people, or when meetings take twice as long as they need to.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST FEAR?

Heights. When we went to Paris a few years ago, I had to stay on the ground while my family all went right to the top of the Eiffel Tower. I didn't relax till they were all down safely again. Bungy jumping freaks me out.

DO YOU HAVE A DISLIKE FOR SOMETHING YOU SHOULDN'T CARE LESS ABOUT?

Going out to the gate to get the paper in the morning and not

finding it, especially on Sundays. Mostly it's a disappointment when I get it anyway, but it's part of the routine.

DO YOU HAVE A FAVOURITE SUPERHERO AND WHY?

No, not really. Superman, Batman and Robin and Wonder Woman, when I was still reading comics. Nice and straightforward, good versus evil, no complexity.

WHAT IS YOUR WORST CHARACTER FLAW?

Not being able to resist my sweet tooth.

WHICH TALENT WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO HAVE?

I'd love to be able to play the guitar, but I never got past the ukulele in my youth.

WHAT'S YOUR FAVOURITE CHILDHOOD MEMORY?

I really enjoyed being in the school plays at Fraser Crescent Primary School in Upper Hutt: playing Friar Tuck in *Robin Hood*, and the princess in *Rumpelstiltskin*. Positive reviews in the Upper Hutt Leader. We were directed by Jane Campion's uncle, William Campion.

WHAT COUNTRY WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO VISIT?

Going back to Holland for three weeks this December is next on my list.

DO YOU BUY LOTTO?

Yes, but I don't know why because I've never won a cent.

SHORTLAND STREET OR THE NEWS?

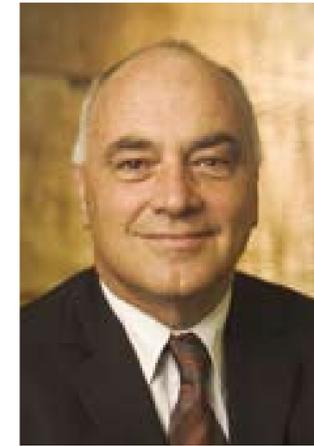
I'm a news junkie.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN REINCARNATION?

I can't remember when I was here last.

EVEN IF YOU DON'T, WHAT WOULD YOU COME BACK AS IF YOU COULD?

A kākāpō, just to add to the numbers and boom in my bowl. Would that qualify me as a member of Ngāi Tahu?



Race Relations Commissioner Joris de Bres came to New Zealand by sea in 1954, along with his Dutch parents and six brothers and sisters.

Having worked as a journalist, teacher and community worker, he rose to senior positions in the New Zealand trade union movement and the Department of Conservation, where he was

involved in the Ngāi Tahu settlement negotiations, before taking up his present position in 2002. As Race Relations Commissioner he has enjoyed working with very diverse communities in New Zealand and seeing them interact positively.

Joris lives in Island Bay, Wellington, with his wife Angela, but travels all over the country. In his spare time he reads, writes, swims, hangs out at the beach and tries to keep his garden wilderness under control.

WHAT IS THE BEST PRESENT YOU'VE EVER RECEIVED?

My younger sister was born on my third birthday – I was pretty impressed with that.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?

Food and travel.

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT?

By the sea down the road on Wellington's South Coast, or at any other beach within reach – beachcombing any time, swimming in the surf in the summer.

LOVE OR MONEY?

Money can't buy me love, so I'll go for the love.

WHAT IS YOUR MOST ADMIRABLE QUALITY?

I like having a laugh, and I have a generally optimistic outlook.

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?

Dance.

WHAT IS THE LAST BOOK YOU READ?

Polynesian Panthers by Melanie Anae. It brought back some memories of the 1970s when I used to have a bit to do with those guys.

WHO IS YOUR FAVOURITE AUTHOR?

P.D. James is hard to beat for a quality mystery; Maurice Gee for New Zealand stories.

IF YOU HAD TO WATCH SPORT ON TELEVISION WHAT WOULD IT BE?

What do you mean had to? I watch the rugby and the netball.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?

Helping to bring up our two lovely daughters.

MĀORI OR GENERAL ROLL?

I don't have a choice, but I do have a vote.

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

No self-respecting Dutchman could live for long without cheese or coffee.

HOW MANY PAIRS OF SHOES DO YOU OWN?

Not very many, and tragically I still like my jandals best.

IF YOU HAD TO REGRET SOMETHING WHAT WOULD IT BE?

I don't really have any regrets, although I've made plenty of mistakes in my time. I guess I try and learn from them rather than rue them.

HAVE YOU SEEN A KIWI IN THE WILD?

Yes, on Kapiti Island, but only with the help of a transmitter and a professional kiwi dog, when I used to work for DOC. And I've heard them at night up the Whanganui River. Apparently you can hear them in Karori now because of the sanctuary.

WHAT IS YOUR FAVOURITE PLACE IN NEW ZEALAND?

Dusky Sound, on the DOC boat – absolutely magical, and great seafood. I don't think it's changed much since Captain Cook stopped off there and described it in his ship's log.

WAKA REO

WHO WILL TALK THEIR WAY INTO \$10,000?

MĀORI
TELEVISION
SATURDAY 7pm



PRODUCED BY

tahu

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Te Rūnanga o NGĀI TAHU