

TE REO "ON THE BRINK" SOUTHERN CULTURAL MATERIALS RESOURCE KIT

TE KARAKA

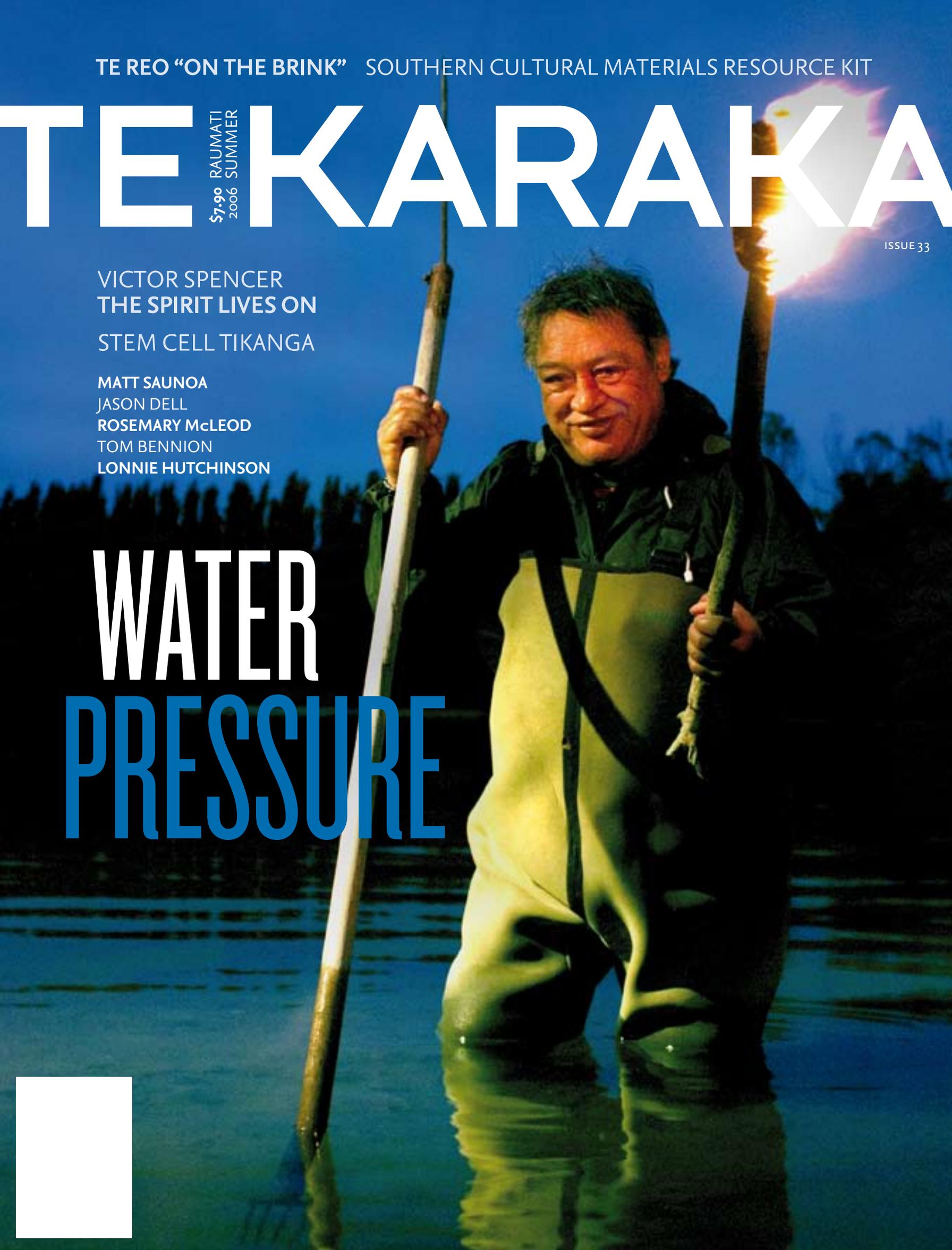
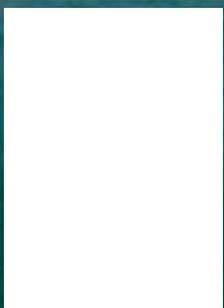
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2006 SUMMER

ISSUE 33

VICTOR SPENCER
THE SPIRIT LIVES ON
STEM CELL TIKANGA

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



**Ko ngā hau ki ngā whenua,
ko ngā kai ki Ōrāriki**

No matter from whence the wind blows,
there will be food at Ōrāriki

Climate change, environmental sustainability and rights to water have all become modern mantras featuring regularly as headlines in magazines, as conference themes or in institutional policies.

Just as we watch nightly images from Iraq, alongside the video game of the same name, with an unavoidable sense of detachment, so too do we let the clear message that the Earth's natural balance is distorted beyond repair slip past us as a point of interest recalled for discussion over dinner.

We now hear these words with such frequency that there is no sense of collective urgency, no acceptance that the issues are fundamental to the survival of our way of life. We are confronted by this evidence on a daily basis – be it typhoons in the Phillipines, or floods in the US and even closer to home – but it appears as entertainment rather than a warning. Sending out bands of gleeful tourists to watch the icebergs float past our southern cities or across the glacial lakes is somewhat like selling tickets to a concert starring Nero as lead fiddler.

The niggling sensation at the back of our brains as we watch this global spectacle is in fact a loud and sustained scream telling us the planet is dying and it's our fault. The screamer is right.

In this issue, we take a close look at one of the demanding environmental challenges facing our community – the pressure on our freshwater resources. Ngāi Tahu will need to commit to understanding, and addressing, the technical and legal issues currently surrounding access to and control of water. There are questions of customary rights and protection under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi that will no doubt be thrashed out. We also need to be prepared for a "national interest" response from the Government, just as we saw when it came to water management in the Waitaki catchment or, for that matter, in the foreshore and seabed legislation.

But the real commitment we must make is to the sustainable management of water and waterways. Before local or central government start creating water rights for key stakeholders, they must vow to clean up our existing taonga water bodies.

The unique geology, geography and ocean currents of Canterbury and North Otago have created a system of braided rivers that meet the sea and conflict with it, pushing up gravel banks and thus capturing water in lagoons and lakes known as hapua. These hapua are our ancient refrigerators, holding fresh supplies of food for travellers and permanent settlements. Currently they are bowls of poisonous effluent, dirtied by our own communities, just as if we had defecated in the fridge at home.

Before any debate on rights and control is entered into, we must restore and protect existing iconic waterways, no matter what it takes. We cannot be diverted by the political and media sideshow that will no doubt emerge, but instead we must commit to consistent and honest leadership.

As Tini Burns stated over a hundred years ago when encouraging the people to protect Lake Waihora:

"Tēnā rā e ngā tāngata Māori me ngā taitamariki Māori o ngā kāreti nunui, kia rawe ki a koutou, whakaputaina tō koutou kaha!" (To all the Māori people and the Māori children in all the large colleges, do well and show your strength!)



TE KARAKA

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Front cover photograph Raoul Butler



IT'S NOT JUST A YOUTH ISSUE.
60% OF HEAVY DRINKERS ARE OVER 30.

It's not the drinking
It's how we're drinking



WATER PRESSURE

Increasing demands for water for irrigation and hydroelectric power are placing pressure on our freshwater resources and degrading our environment. What are the issues, and what can we do about them?

9

VICTOR SPENCER – THE SPIRIT LIVES ON

Victor Spencer's life was steeped in tragedy, from losing his parents as a child, to prolonged involvement in trench warfare during World War I, and finally to being executed for desertion. His pardon in 2000 put some ghosts to rest.

17

TE REO "ON THE BRINK"

The survival of Kāi Tahu reo hangs in the balance. What will it take to save it?

24

STEM CELL TIKANGA

Public consultation is about to start on whether the stem cells of human embryos should be used for research and medical purposes. No doubt there will be some strong opinions held on both sides of the debate.

36

SOUTHERN CULTURAL MATERIALS RESOURCE KIT

Kōmiti Taoka Tuku Iho protecting cultural resources for the future.

40



9



17



24



32



36

AHAKOA HE ITI HE POUNAMU

A regular column about people and events.

6 & 56

DO AS DONNA DOES?

Rosemary Mcleod looks at the rise and fall of Donna Awatere Huata.

16

ON A CLEAR DAY

Kaumātua at Akaroa's Ōnuku Marae enjoy their traditional shellfish delicacy, pāua, tastily prepared by executive chef Jason Dell.

21

ripples FROM THE FORESHORE

Tom Bennion shows that, as he predicted, the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 is a clear and alarming signal of things to come.

31

TIME, MATERIALS & SPACE

Art by Lonnie Hutchinson.

32

RARE WEAPON A RAKIRAKI FAMILY HEIRLOOM

A rare wooden tewhatewha, which once belonged to Haimona Rakiraki from Otago, is one of the most prized artifacts in the Southern Māori Collection at Otago Museum.

44

TE AO O TE MĀORI

Tales, traditions and tikanga are at the heart of Maurice Manawatu's tourism business – Māori Tours Kaikōura.

47

HOROPITO – THE MĀORI PAINKILLER

Antiseptic, antifungal and antibacterial, horopito (the pepper tree) has it all.

50

NGĀ TAKE PŪTEA: GET A CASH CUSHION

In his regular column, finance expert Neville Bennett urges everyone to set aside some money for emergencies.

53

REVIEWS

Music, book and television reviews.

54

HE TANGATA

Matt Saunoa.

57

Letters

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.

FAIR SHARE FOR ALL

I am proud to be a member of the Kāi Tahu whānau, and feel strongly for the rights and prosperity of all Kāi Tahu descendants. It is this fact that compels me to voice the concerns that I have regarding these matters.

First of all, I commend the team of people we have working at the topmost levels in our tribe that have been integral to the increase of the overall wealth of Kāi Tahu, but my concerns are that there are people/whānau who see no tangible benefit from these gains.

The Whai Rawa scheme is a good initiative for those that can see that it will meet their needs/goals, and this is great, but what

about those who have their own goals? It could be a more immediate goal such as going towards the development of whānau lands, homes, paying off existing mortgages, etc. This scheme does not allow these whānau to meet their personal goals. There are a lot of whānau that do not live near a rūnanga and do not benefit directly from rūnanga-based funding.

It worries me that the distributions to be made in the Whai Rawa scheme will be based on the amount that you have invested in the scheme, and only for certain reasons.

I feel that being a descendant of Kāi Tahu should be the only criteria needed in order to share

in the tribal wealth, perhaps by way of an annual distribution to all registered whānau.

Ten-odd years have passed since Kāi Tahu received its Settlement and, from the shiny annual financial reports that are posted to me, I see that as a tribe we are doing very well. So isn't it about time that all of our people saw some tangible benefits, with no criteria to meet other than being the people they are, which is strong, capable, hardworking people full of wairua and pride?

I am very proud to acknowledge our raketira who spent their lives fighting for the rights and security of their whānau, again and again being knocked back by the existing governments and

red tape of their day. So come on Kāi Tahu, don't be the ones to put further restrictions on your own people in the name of business, give everyone a fair share for the fact that these are your own whānau. They should all be acknowledged, for without them and their lands there would be nothing.

Toa Tau Tini Rickus

MIXED MESSAGES

After reading your latest magazine, TE KARAKA, Spring, 2006, I came across your article on page 8, *Zero tolerance for family violence*. Upon coming across this article, I found the advertisement for Tahu FM on the opposing page. It struck me immediately the

Letters

contradiction in the way these pages were outlaid. Firstly you are highlighting family violence, a necessary and proactive article. Then, next to that, young Māori youth are portrayed in aggressive stances, with negative body language and image. This trio appears to be advertising a gang mentality. I ask you, what does this say to young Māori youth of today? That it's cool to imitate Americanised gang affiliations?

Tahu FM is a Māori station, for Māori and New Zealanders interested in our culture. The photo depicts to me, not Māori identity and culture, which I am trying to instill in my whānau, but one of hostility, aimed and directed at the youth of today. If we are to have a Māori station why are we not supporting and assimilating Māoridom through more positive whānau-orientated media. What is Tahu FM trying to portray with this picture? Do we not have pride in ourselves, in who we are as Māori, a caring, spiritual, whānau-orientated people?

Which now leads me back to the family violence article. I feel that to prevent family violence it is necessary to guide our youth with more positive role models and for us as a people to provide more support and encouragement for developing good personal values, morals and identity.

*C. Brown
Christchurch*

RACIST COVERAGE REFLECTS NZ

I am a new TE KARAKA reader and want to say how much I enjoyed finding it at my local bookstore. It is a thoroughly good read and high time Māori issues received the objective coverage they deserve.

I particularly enjoyed the piece from the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu CEO, Tahu Potiki. I couldn't agree more about the present state of affairs where racism is so much more insidious than it was in the past. Overt

racism is so much easier to battle and identify.

In my opinion we are too quick to blame the media. Society gets the media coverage that it wants/deserves and the only reason we get the horrendous racist coverage nowadays has to be because it reflects mainstream New Zealand views.

There are so many positive Māori stories happening every day and unfortunately the average person doesn't want to hear them so the media don't report them because they are in the business of selling people what they want.

*Francis Latham
Auckland*

KAUMĀTUA GRANT TIGHT-FISTED

I wish to support Mr C.C. McDowall's letter in the last issue of TE KARAKA.

My great-grandmother was Mary Tukuwaha whose brother was Heremaia Mautai, chief of Wairewa for many years. My grandmother Emma Simon, née Thomas, in spite of being a translator for the Māori Land Court, in her wisdom, did not pass on her language or much culture to her family, believing it to be in the best interests of her family.

While I commend the iwi leadership in their investment expertise, I agree that the only people who have profited are the administrators and those employed by them. \$532 million seems an excessive amount to be held without distributing a good proportion of it to those who are still living, especially the elderly, as they and their parents' families have received virtually nothing over the years.

I am grateful for the \$100 kaumātua grant, but realistically it is nothing but tight-fisted, especially at our age – our days of receiving it are likely to be short. Why not be more generous?

*Leonie Margaret Fraser
Dunedin*

BENEFITS NOT FORTHCOMING

Your correspondent C.C. McDowall (TE KARAKA, Winter Edition) highlights the widespread concern and dissatisfaction regarding the lack of attention to, and funding for, the needs of its beneficiaries, by our leaders.

For example, the pittance which is allocated for education is just a "token gesture" and shuns any recognition for this necessary and important funding, particularly for our young. The total which is allocated pales in significance in comparison to the large salaries and consultancy fees being accessed by some.

All very well to build up a large asset base, but the needs and aspirations of our people are of paramount importance and should be appropriately and proportionately addressed with necessary, unbiased and adequate funding. Applicants for the limited funding available for education who are domiciled in the North Island are discouraged from applying as they are told "they have a limited chance of success irrespective of their need or ability."

The focus should be directed on creating a realistic allocation of assistance in specific areas and so provide better opportunities for all whānau. These expected benefits were signalled at the time of the Settlement but have not been forthcoming. HELLO – we are still out here!

I wrote to chairman Mark Solomon in June in an endeavour to elicit his view on these points and I am still awaiting the courtesy of a reply. How can we get such issues addressed?

*Patrick Robinson, MNZM, JP
Paeroa*

MEDICAL SUBSIDY INSTEAD?

As a pensioner trying to exist on the pittance paid to my wife and myself by a government who have done their level best to keep us on the breadline, I would like to repeat a suggestion made

to Ngāi Tahu in a recent letter (unanswered). Is there even a remote possibility that some sort of subsidised medical scheme could be introduced instead of the annual payment to elders?

At the age of 46 my wife suffered a stroke, and resultant effects left her with epilepsy. While I was employed I was able to maintain payments for a medical scheme that subsidised the cost of treatment by 80 per cent. However early retirement due to a heart problem necessitated my having to relinquish the medical scheme because of greatly increased premiums. Any savings we had accumulated were quickly absorbed by specialist treatment for my wife and myself, such as scans, X-rays, GP and specialist consultations.

It may be that this suggestion is quite an impossible one and is not regarded as a feasible investment. However, I am sure there are many of our Ngāi Tahu families in similar situations such as ours. I read with some trepidation the criticism levelled at Ngāi Tahu in the Kōanga edition of TE KARAKA re the disbursement of payments to members. I for one would gladly forego all payments if any such plan could be adopted.

I would personally like to congratulate the contributors and editorial team of TE KARAKA for the production of a wonderfully informative and beautifully designed publication. It is always welcomed at our home. Keep it up.

*Walter Huriwai
Wakefield*

BOOK PRIZEWINNER

Congratulations to Patrick Robinson from Paeroa, the winner of a copy of *First Pass Under Heaven* by Tanemahuta Gray.

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RETAIL THERAPY

If you're looking for some cool koha for the summer holidays, there's plenty of creative items to choose from.

Ātaahua's Kākāriki range of duvet coverings will brighten any room this summer. To see their new 2007 range, which is now being sold in the US and Europe too, go to www.ataahua.co.nz for a list of stockists.

In the far north, Whāngarei's Tuatara Design Store and Gallery has limited edition Toi Toi Lamps, designed by local, Tina Lumsden, under the label "T Double L". And for that tie to please your favourite man, there is a selection of hand-printed Kia Kaha designs. If you can't make the trip up, then log on to www.tuataradesignstore.co.nz.



Clockwise from left: Toi Toi Lamps from T Double L; pretty putiputi; handprinted Kia Kaha ties; kete with colour; Kākāriki duvet set from Ātaahua.



SACHA SCOOPS NGATA AWARD

Part-time Canterbury University lecturer Sacha McMeeking (Ngāi Tahu) has been awarded the Ngata Centenary Doctoral Scholarship. "There have been some outstanding scholars before me who have received this scholarship ... so I feel immensely privileged to be the latest recipient," said Sacha, who lectures on the Treaty of Waitangi in the School of Law.

The PhD scholarship was set up in 1994 to mark the graduation centenary of the first New Zealand Māori graduate, Apirana Ngata. Sacha's research will focus on identifying and documenting Ngāi Tahu customary law in relation to Ngāi Tahu taonga.

MĀORI ACES CELEBRATE

The Aotearoa Māori Tennis Association is celebrating its 80th anniversary by launching a book on the history of Māori tennis. The book looks back as far as the 1890s and includes events such as Dr Maui Pomare winning the US Inter-Varsity Championship in 1897. It is co-authored by Richard Garrett, Harry Tawhai and Dr Tamati Reedy. Garrett says that during the 1950s there were many Māori tennis tournaments, and most marae had tennis courts.

About 250 members are expected to attend the annual championships at the Waikato Tennis Centre on 27-31 December.

PARIHAKA SET TO ROCK

After last year's success, the Parihaka International Peace Festival is on again at Parihaka Pā, south-west of New Plymouth, 5-7 January. It is described by the organisers as a celebration of diversity and dignity, cultural heritage and peace, through music, dance, theatre, poetry, film, craft, art, food, speaking forums, healing forums and workshops, at a family-oriented, outdoor rural setting.

This year's line-up includes Kora, Katchafire and Ladi6. More details are available on www.parihaka.com, which also tells the story of the Parihaka movement and its spiritual and political leaders, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi.



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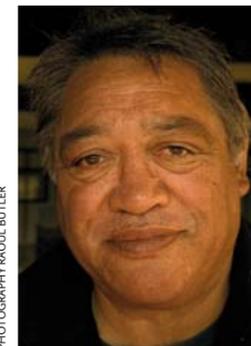
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nā HOWARD KEENE

WATER PRESSURE

Water ways: the Reihana brothers (from left) Te Arahau (4), Paora and Tutemakohu (both 6) play in a mōkihi made by their pōua Kelly Davis.



PHOTOGRAPHY: RAOUÏE BUTLER

In 1956, when Kelly Davis was a nine-year-old, his father insisted he go on the pre-Christmas shearing trip with the gang to farms up the Waitaki River.

On that trip a mōkihi (a raft built from dry flax stalks) was used to travel down the Waitaki River.

“That was the last time my father and the shearers used [a mōkihi] to come down the Waitaki. There was only one dam

then, so the mōkihi was still the main form of transport when returning from the upper Waitaki basin. My father was a shearing contractor, and they used to get on the mōkihi and go from shed to shed, carrying their gear with them.”

“I remember that trip well, but then it stopped after they started the construction of Benmore.”

“Any commercial entity in this country relies on natural resources. Whether it’s tourism or farming, there’s a cost to the environment, and if you don’t pay the environment back, you don’t have an economic base for long.” KELLY DAVIS

The access routes provided by waterways to mahinga kai sites and for other purposes are just one of many traditional water uses lost to Māori through the huge changes to the landscape and waterways that have occurred over the last hundred years or more. That process has accelerated rapidly in the last ten years as commercial interests, particularly those seeking water for power generation and irrigation for agriculture, have rushed to gain access to remaining water allocation.

This has been particularly evident in the Ngāi Tahu rohe. The Canterbury Plains is the most productive area in the country for irrigated agriculture, and the push to increase agricultural production and improve reliability of supply will only increase intensification under irrigation. Already Canterbury uses 70 per cent of the country’s fresh water through irrigating its paddocks.

Canterbury and Otago dams also place huge demands on water resources, generating the bulk of the hydroelectric power produced in New Zealand, and the potential is there for much more.

It is becoming a bit clichéd now, but water is often referred to as the new oil or the new gold – a resource that wars will be fought over in some parts of the world, if in fact they are not already.

The seemingly insatiable demand for water has caught regulators on the hop. For the last five to ten years they have been scrambling to catch up, as demand has moved well ahead of policy, plans and regulation. In a number of areas of Canterbury, river and underground water is fully allocated, and probably over-allocated.

Without clear guidelines through regional plans, many of which have still not seen the light of day 15 years after the Resource Management Act 1991 provided for them, competing commercial interests are increasingly fighting for water through the courts.

Ngāi Tahu Property has found itself in this position in its first big foray into the field of irrigated agriculture. It applied to secure the last four cumecs of water available out of the Waimakariri River, to irrigate 6,000 hectares of pasture converted from forest land on the north side of the river.

The Environment Court granted the right to Ngāi Tahu Property, but a competing interest, Central Plains Water, which plans to irrigate up to 60,000 hectares of the plains south of the river, including building a storage dam in the Malvern Hills, is appealing the court’s decision to the High Court.

In the commercial race to gain water allocation, little has so far been mentioned of Māori customary rights to fresh water. But, with increasing talk of pricing water so that it goes to the most efficient use, and talk of tradeable water rights, which already operate in parts of Australia, it might become increasingly difficult to assert traditional Māori rights.



How then do these notions of ownership fit in with customary Māori use of water? Are customary rights to fresh water even on the radar of commercial interests? Will the Government try to simplify this difficult and controversial situation by moving to legislate freshwater ownership rights to itself, as it did with the foreshore and seabed? The situation is incredibly complex.

Kelly Davis is one person who is prepared to go to court to assert customary rights. He is one of a dwindling number of kaumātua who have spent a lifetime involved with mahinga kai, using hunting and gathering methods handed down by their old people. His life has

been steeped in the water resources of South Canterbury and he knows them intimately.

Around his Waihao Marae, ploughed paddocks and pastureland now stretch from the hills to the sea. Irrigation canals have cut creeks off from their headwaters, preventing eel migration, and many wetland areas have disappeared since he was a boy.

At first glance, it’s hard to imagine there being many natural values left that might support mahinga kai. However Kelly’s extensive knowledge of the way things used to be done, and of resources that remain, means that the traditional ways of using resources have been retained and, under his guidance, are being strengthened.

He still builds mōkihi and hīnaki (eeltraps), and regularly passes his knowledge of mahinga kai on to groups of rangatahi.

Parallel to this has been his tireless work over many years in bringing water issues to the attention of the local community and to commercial water interests, so that the Māori interest in fresh water can never be dismissed lightly. He is involved with Meridian Energy and irrigation companies, and is adamant that if water is used commercially this must be done as efficiently as possible.

The latest big commercial irrigation project planned for this area is the Hunter Downs irrigation scheme, which would take water out of the lower Waitaki and deliver it to the farms of South Canterbury. The normal way to do this is by canal, but Kelly Davis would like to see it done differently.

“Canals have a high loss of water through evaporation. So my current thinking, and the thinking of many that I know, is that the water should be in a pipe. I don’t have an issue with what the water is used for, as long as its quality is retained and the use is of benefit to the community as a whole.”

Living away from the marae between 1963 and 1973 brought home to Kelly the big changes that were going on that had the effect of degrading streams and lakes. “When I came back, things were absolutely different. In the short span of ten years, things had changed, and I’ve got to say they’ve changed even more in the years since I’ve been home.”

Drainage and irrigation meant that former wetlands disappeared, and fish life became severely depleted. Providing kai for a family reunion in 1975 really showed him how much things had declined. “As a child I could fill a sugar sack with eels in one hour. Well now it took me three hours to find one eel.”

“And so my campaign on freshwater fisheries and water started then. Basically I’ve been saying

to the authorities that it’s not good enough that we’ve lost this stuff. What are you going to do about maintaining even what we’ve got? All the inputs into the system haven’t come through yet, and they still want to intensify [land use] further.”

Kelly says that water quality and quantity go hand in hand. “If you lessen the quantity, you lose the quality.”

He says he has no issue with economic development and the use of water, but points out that water is the economic base for traditional Māori practices; it always has been, simply because of the resources within it. To allow the resource to degrade, not only destroys traditional use,

Edward Ellison: SUSTAINABLE WATER PROGRAMME OF ACTION

A national approach to managing the country’s freshwater resources may be in place by this time next year.

Up to now regional councils have managed fresh water under the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) through regional policy statements, regional plans and the resource consent process.

But when the Government’s Sustainable Water Programme of Action (established in 2003) has completed its slow progress through Cabinet and further public consultation, the result should be an overarching national policy statement on water, which regional councils will have to take careful account of when making decisions in future.

This should bring some national consistency to water management, which has been variable across the country because some regional councils are better resourced than others, and because water issues have reached a more critical stage in some areas.

Agriculture Minister Jim Anderton said earlier this year that the programme would, for the first time, develop a strategic and nationally consistent approach to managing freshwater resources. “The days of taking the unlimited use of water for granted are over. We need to ensure our fresh water is used efficiently and that it is protected from contamination ...”

The programme aims to improve the quality and efficient use of water, improve the management of undesirable effects of land use on water quality, provide for the increasing demand on water resources, and encourage efficient water management.

The Government has said the proposals are not about the ownership of water, and the programme is based on the premise that water will remain a public resource.

Martyn Pinckard, a senior manager at the Ministry for the Environment, says a draft national policy statement is likely to go to Cabinet early in the new year.

Cabinet will then make the decision on whether or not to go with the draft. If they go with it, it will be put out for another round of public consultation about the middle of next year.

“These things, by their nature, aren’t quick, but we would probably like to have a policy statement in place by this time next year,” he says.

Once the national policy statement on water is in place, regional councils will immediately have to take it into account when making decisions. However, it will only be incorporated into their regional plans and policy statements as they come up for review.

Regional councils will continue to be the primary managers of water under the RMA.

Ngāi Tahu kaumātua Edward Ellison is on the ministerial advisory group for the Sustainable Water Programme of Action. He is not there as a Ngāi Tahu representative. “I don’t carry any representative role; nor does anyone else on the board. We’re there because of our experience and involvement over the years, and to provide a steering role.”

Edward, who is a farmer, was also on the Waitaki Catchment Water Allocation Board, which carried out the remarkable job of developing a regional water plan for that catchment in just 12 months. The plan was released in 2005.

He says a major problem in the water debate is that half the regional councils still have not got water plans in place more than 15 years after the RMA became law. “That’s a real issue. It leads to a shambles. They haven’t got plans and policies in place, so what do they rely on? More and more scientific work to try to understand what’s going on, and that’s an endless exercise.”

People are putting big investment into land, and there’s no way they would do that if they did not have water reliability, he says. “You are talking about \$2,000 a hectare plus. That puts water into a category like gold, because it’s a vital element in those economic discussions.”

How will Māori customary rights fare under that sort of economic pressure?

“Those questions have not hit the table yet. I am concerned the debate and process is running ahead of that question,” says Edward. “It’s important it is properly discussed and negotiated so that tangata

whenua are clearly in the picture and are seen as a significant factor within the water industry; whereas at the moment there is every risk they will be sidelined observers.”

Edward points out that water is a key element in Māori relationship with the environment. “We identify with rivers, lakes, streams, glacial waters, and our beliefs and our values are very much part of our holistic relationship with our environment.”

He believes the degradation of waters is particularly concerning to whānau exercising customary practices. “They get into quite tense discussions when these issues are raised. They’re aware of their environments, and they know what their fathers and mothers and grandparents used to do and they cannot.”

“When you see that rate of change within two or three generations, it’s a real concern, and we haven’t yet seen the full effect of the latest boom in the agricultural sector.”

Edward considers the way forward is to first establish the amount of water that is safely available for use, and then share it around. The amount to stay in the river should be untouchable.

“That’s what we did on the Waitaki. We talked about the volumetric amounts that could be used that didn’t harm the river, the ecology, the interests of recreationists, customary use, etc. We were confined to a degree by previous rights like hydro, but it seems to me the objective should be to say that’s the range you’ve got to operate in, and you don’t get out of that.”

He says Ngāi Tahu also want to see cultural health identifiers, as well as science, used to define the range of use and non-use.

“That involves people who live by the river and know it, and just by observation they can measure its health. I think the water users are aware that it’s no longer a domain where just they and the council play. They are aware they now have a wider social responsibility. It’s a matter of developing that and helping them understand that.”

but in the long term is likely to seriously affect commercial use too.

“Any commercial entity in this country relies on natural resources. Whether it’s tourism or farming, there’s a cost to the environment, and if you don’t pay the environment back, you don’t have an economic base for long.”

“Our old people had the saying:

*Toitū te marae a Tāne
Toitū te marae o Tangaroa
Toitū te whenua
Toitū te iwi*

If the marae of Tāne stands, and the marae of Tangaroa and the whenua stand, then so will

we. The reminder of what happens if you do not heed that philosophy is:

*Ka patu uri o Tāne
Ka patu uri o Tangaroa
Ko mate te tangata*

Which means: if you kill the children of tane and tangaroa, then you’ll kill yourself. It’s a very very simple, smart philosophy.”

The chief executive of the Federation of Māori Authorities, Paul Morgan, is a businessman. He acknowledges that the commercial use of water is essential to the health of the New Zealand economy. However Māori view water as the veins of Papatūānuku, and practices such

as sewage and effluent discharge into waterways have degraded the mauri of catchments, he says.

“Water is integral to the wellbeing of tangata whenua culture, and a vital source of mahinga kai.”

He says waterway degradation has led to the loss of cultural wellbeing because the mauri has not been maintained and resources are depleted by pollutants and agricultural run-off.

“Only tangata whenua can ascertain what the mauri is in the waterway, and this should be maintained by those who have manawhenua over the resource.”

With the water resources in many catchments over-allocated, especially in the South

“Māori organisations are still under-resourced and lack the capital finance required to be actively involved in purchasing water rights.” PAUL MORGAN



Pōua Kelly Davis (foreground) and step-father Norm Carter launch the mokīhi and its precious cargo (from left) Tutemakohu, Paora and Te Arahau.

Island, the way water is allocated needs to be revisited, he asserts.

“Much of the allocation was based on a first-in first-served approach. There is a need to review and improve this system and incorporate not just the need for economic benefit, but also environmental, social and cultural benefits and needs. Tangata whenua would like to see the mauri of waterways restored through improved management systems which would consider allocation, flows and quality of water.”

Paul Morgan says tangata whenua do not support exclusive property rights to water, especially if the rights are perpetual, because the mechanism will shut out those who are not in a situation to purchase property rights when they first go on the market. He believes a change from the current allocation system is needed, but it needs to be done carefully to prevent a windfall to current users.

“Māori organisations are still under-resourced and lack the capital finance required to be active-



ly involved in purchasing water rights.”

The Government has not said it will privatise water, but said it will allocate usage rights. However there is plenty of suspicion amongst Māoridom that privatisation is on the agenda, especially after the Government created a new legal concept of “the Crown stratum” in the recent Te Arawa settlement. Under that settlement the Crown vested 13 lakebeds with Te Arawa, but asserted ownership itself of the Crown stratum – the water and air columns above the lake.

Māori Party MP Hone Harawira asked Treaty Settlement Minister Mark Burton in Parliament if it would be reasonable for Te Arawa to be paid a storage fee for holding the Crown’s water on its lakebed.

Mark Burton replied that he did not think it would be reasonable, because the water itself would not be owned either by the Crown or Te Arawa. “The water will continue to be regulated in accordance with the Resource Management Act 1991.”

Paul Morgan says that, although the Crown has steered away from the word ownership and made it clear it does not wish to privatise water, trading rights may be established to achieve perceived best economic use. But he says trading rights to water are seen by tangata whenua as tantamount to ownership.

“Privatisation creates Treaty issues, and if it is not dealt with prior to legislation then there will be an increase in claims through the Waitangi Tribunal, and there have been signals that this will become another seabed and foreshore issue.”

Lawyer Moana Jackson said in an interview on National Radio’s *Te Ahi Kaa* programme that the starting point should not be who owns the water, but is water ownable? “The next question should be: what are the rights of those people who have always looked after the water since time immemorial?”

He draws direct links to what happened to the foreshore and seabed. He notes that the Government legislated to vest the foreshore and seabed in itself, saying it was for the benefit of all New Zealanders, but at the same time it began granting mining licences to multinational companies in the foreshore and seabed zone.

“One is deeply suspicious that the end point in the game is the same, that they will vest the water in the Crown to more effectively control its use by commercial interests and ultimately its privatisation.”

On the reasons for the Crown creating the Crown stratum, he says, “I think the only answer is that which underpinned the foreshore and seabed issue, that once the Crown claims its ownership, then it is free to allow other interests to access and use it.”

Kelly Davis says he opposes water trading. “From a traditional point of view I don’t think anyone owns the right to water. People have got the right to use it, but not to own it on a commercial basis. If that’s what people are heading for, we will claim our prior rights.”

He says that when a number of Fenton Reserves were granted in 1868 they included designated water rights (see page 15).

“I’m absolutely sure what the customary right is. If needs be I’ll go back to the Māori Land Court to have that order redesignated, and then, if needs be, go to higher courts. That’s how important it is to us.”

“What I’m really trying to do is get the big users of water to sit down and talk about the use right, and who should permit their use under the RMA.”

He talks of the possibility of Māori holding the right to water and then issuing 35-year use rights – not for financial gain, but to take the trading right out of the system. “We would then have a monitoring process to ensure quality.”



“One is deeply suspicious that the end point in the game is the same [as with the foreshore and seabed], that they will vest the water in the Crown to more effectively control its use by commercial interests and ultimately its privatisation.”

MOANA JACKSON

Kelly Davis:

TANGIBLE RETURNS TO COMMUNITY

South Canterbury kaumātua Kelly Davis would like to see tangible returns to small communities from commercial users of water.

“If you’re going to take water out of the river, then what are you going to do in return? What are you going to do for the people who are deprived of the advantage of the water you are going to take?” An energy company wanting to take water might, for example, fund a community solar power project, or build a small wind farm on Māori land, or put micro hydro turbines in irrigation channels.

“I’m not saying they’d pay for the lot, but a project like this could reduce the cost of power to the community.”

He says there should be a price for using the community’s resource.

“They’ve depleted our ability to do many things. We’ve lost lots of mahinga kai sites with power development on the upper Waitaki. We’ve lost a whole lot of historical things, like we’ve got islands [in hydro lakes] where mountains used to be. It’s reduced access to our food resources. We are affected, but people away from the area get the benefit.”

In the Waihao area 500 acres were granted as a reserve in 1868 by the chief judge of the Māori Land Court, Judge Fenton. Kelly says five Fenton reserves were created in the Waitaki area that were given court-ordered access to water. “The order was simply that the water should always be there.” All the water has been lost on the 500-acre Waihao Māori Reserve, he says, and most of the land was sold after the economic base was lost and people moved away from the pa. All that remains is 43 acres. “The only reason we’ve got this 43 acres is because I’ve been here all my life. We’re the only ones that have retained manawhenua.”

The mahinga kai in the area has started to improve in recent years, after Kelly helped get the local community on board. For the past 11 years, Waihao Marae has hosted regular meetings of water users, all seeking a way forward in the management and use of the resource.

“Water for us here is a very important factor from a traditional point of view. I teach kids to hunt for mahinga kai. I’m protecting the right for those kids. I’m probably the only one that’s doing that, but I’m building up a group of people that believe in it,” says Kelly

The eel fishery is thriving following the closure of the commercial fishery and because of Kelly’s work in shifting small eels upstream and bringing bigger ones down into streams where the connection between upper and lower catchments has been broken. There have also been marked changes to the whitebait fishery, thanks to community action like keeping stock out of waterways. Kelly says farmers are now working together, including dairy farmers, in the management of effluent.

“So the community for me is more of a support than my own people, because my own people don’t live here anymore. There were 15 families on the pā when I was a kid.”

Now that water users are talking, it’s easier to solve problems as they arise. Kelly says the meetings have been “really constructive, but to get there I personally said no to nine consent applications to take water. They weren’t declined, but what happened was it started a dialogue.”

Kelly Davis says his dream is to economically develop the remaining 43 acres of the reserve, which will require water. His thoughts include a housing complex for whānau, intensive horticulture and tourism.



Geoff Hipkins:

WATER BALANCE URGENTLY NEEDED

Freshwater management in New Zealand is lagging way behind Australia, says the General Manager of Ngāi Tahu Seafoods, Geoff Hipkins.

He knows the Australian system well because, before he came back to New Zealand a year ago, he was the CEO of Murrumbidgee Irrigation in New South Wales, one of the major catchments of the enormous Murray-Darling river system.

He says the concept of water balance has yet to make its mark in New Zealand water management. An accurate water balance should show what is available for use after all the inputs into the hydrologic system such as rain and snow melt are balanced against outputs like run-off and evapotranspiration. On top of that, long-term weather patterns and climate change should be factored in.

"We're miles away from that. In fact it's scary because, when you ask some of the water allocators in New Zealand what their views are on water balance, you get a very flaky answer which doesn't really take into account the interaction between surface water and subsurface water, and it wouldn't take in a key point, which is climatic adjustment."

He says water allocation must vary according to the water balance. "How does the water balance vary for wet years; how does it vary for dry years? Here we just have the view that it's

always the same. A typical licence to take water is just based on a crude assessment of river flow."

"So I would say, in Canterbury, someone will realise in a few years that we have wildly over-allocated. I'll put dollars on it."

"And it will be similar in other parts of New Zealand, because people haven't used the climatic adjustment factor. They've just taken this nirvana view that what has happened in the past will happen in the future."

The prolonged drought in Australia has forced water users to be increasingly savvy about how they use water. Geoff Hipkins says key fundamental issues that allocators and users had to grapple with in Australia included flow rate share, measurement, water quality and security of supply.

"We're not really dealing with the fundamentals when we talk about water allocation or the water issue in New Zealand. I think there's a lot to be learned from the Australian experience and applying that to New Zealand. For example, we haven't really grappled with the issue of water trading."

He says that in Australia they have successfully defined the property right and initiated a trading regime that sees water moving, not just from one property to another, but from one State to another.

"There's some complex issues involved in that, but they've certainly got their heads round the key issues."

In New Zealand, however, it is unlikely that artificial mixing of waters from different catchments would be acceptable to Māori.

Geoff says that in Australia the commercial value of water has greatly increased. "So we said: we have this product – how do we actually manage it so we don't damage our productive opportunity, we don't damage the environment, and we don't damage the various cultural issues associated with water? That's probably the conundrum New Zealand is really facing."

He says water hasn't been considered as a finite resource in New Zealand before. "It needs to be given the finite, scarce, valuable tag."

In Australia, the pressure of the drought has focused minds. "There's probably not the same pressure on the parties in New Zealand, particularly the productive sector. The view by many is still, probably, let's grab as much of the available allocation as we can now, because we realise it's going to be a valuable resource in the future."

"There's no real handbrake on the allocation process. It's building pressure to continue to allocate an already over-allocated resource."

Who is going to lead the debate in New Zealand? At the moment the situation is adversarial, because commercial interests push their own barrow hard, as do environmental and recreational interests. Regional councils, who are the allocators, try to remain neutral and base their decisions on science, but the knowledge of the resource and its variability is often not that good.

Central Government has initiated its Sustainable Water Programme of Action in an attempt to provide a national strategy to improve management and determine how to fairly use, protect and preserve water. But it is a ponderous process and could be too little too late.

Could a body like Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu lead the debate?

"Why not," says Geoff Hipkins, "because it definitely needs quadruple bottom line account thinking – commercial, environmental, social, and cultural. We need to put all those factors together so we can find a way forward."



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Do as Donna does?



It's a mockery when prominent people like Donna are convicted by the courts, but supported by their own people.

It is Donna Awatere Huata's fate to represent something bigger than herself in her lifetime. I regard her husband Wi as more of a sideline act, although if she hadn't been so devoted to him I doubt whether she would have got into so much trouble.

I liked Donna when I met her years ago. She was in her Libya phase, all dull-brown army-coloured dungarees and eternal dark glasses. Donna shocked everyone then by taking up a public activist stance, echoing the American Black Panthers, who seemed both glamorous and sexily scary to bewildered white colonials. She may have looked daunting, but she had a great sense of humour, she was clever, and considerable charm lurked behind her deliberately off-putting appearance.

Donna's seminal article on Māori sovereignty, published in the feminist magazine *Broadsheet* at about that time, brought her message home to a sympathetic small audience, but most New Zealanders didn't get what she and other Māori radicals had to say. We were complacent about race relations. We'd been brought up to be that way – and what on earth would Māori have to complain about?

Among the Māori iconic figures of my childhood was Donna's father, the Second World

War head of the 28th Māori Battalion. Most New Zealanders in those days would have known the words to the battalion's anthem, and there was nothing patronising in our pride. It was the most decorated of all our military units, and all our families had suffered in the war.

Donna was the heiress, then, to a share of her father's mana. She was destined for bigger things than most. But first she had to give away her considerable operatic talent. And then her father was jailed for murder – I met him, too, in prison, where he died. Anyone would have been deeply scarred by these great blows of fortune.

It has been sad to see Donna's fall from grace over the Pipi Foundation, which started out as a plan to help deprived Māori kids, and seems to have ended up partly as a slush fund for her family's private use. Her husband has returned to jail as I write this, saying how deeply he'll miss her as he finishes his sentence.

Donna's hair, which seems to have a life of its own, is a new colour. Indeed the changes in her appearance over the years have been dramatic, from the hefty paramilitary woman I remember, to the tiny, Tina Turner-like woman of today.

Too many people, Pākehā in particular, think she and her husband are scoundrels, but there's a message in her downfall that makes her fate

more than ordinary. It's the support of so many Māori, including even some members of the Pipi Foundation, which recently contemplated paying her out more money. That support – though it may not be universal – highlights a difference between the values of our two major cultures.

Donna has not been crushed by what, in theory, ought to be disgrace. As far as she and her husband are concerned, they've done nothing wrong. I'm not going to express a view on that; what is important is that so many Māori support them.

We get furious at the idea of a separate justice system for Māori, but in a sense we already have it if mainstream justice makes no impact on them. The court system we have plainly doesn't terrify Māori: they continue to offend, and face the consequences as if they're somehow irrelevant. Just as the education system doesn't deliver success to Māori, neither does the justice system deliver the outcome it expects. It does not seem to reach Māori core values.

It's a mockery when prominent people like Donna are convicted by the courts, but supported by their own people. There is a message in that familiar story that we ought to decipher. For years, reporting on trials, I saw even very young children brought along to watch family members on trial for appalling crimes, as if it's some kind of entertainment, or just a mysterious rite of passage. That can't be right.

When something doesn't work, it needs to change. Donna herself is evidence of that ... once again.

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.



VICTOR SPENCER

THE SPIRIT LIVES ON

The Bluff cenotaph stands on the town waterfront overlooking the harbour entrance and the Tiwai Point aluminium smelter. A striking black monument hewn from local granite, it records the names of 58 Bluff soldiers killed in the First World War, including that of Private Victor Manson Spencer.

This young man, of Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu descent, was so eager to fight for his country he falsified his birth date and enlisted at the age of 18. But within three years of leaving on the adventure of a lifetime, his body lay in a cemetery in Belgium, far from his turangawaewae.

Unlike the other Bluff men who perished, Spencer did not die in battle or succumb to wounds in a military hospital. He was killed by a firing squad of fellow New Zealand soldiers on 24 February 1918, the last of five Kiwi servicemen executed in the First World War for desertion or mutiny.

The five men were posthumously pardoned in 2000 when Parliament passed the Pardon for Soldiers of the Great War Act. This started out as a Private Member's Bill introduced to the House by then Invercargill MP Mark Peck.

Members of Victor Spencer's whānau who petitioned for his pardon now want to close the final chapter of a story which started more than 80 years ago. Next year a contingent from Bluff, including Spencer's second cousins Fred Ryan and Spencer Morrison, both ex-soldiers and in their 70s, are planning to visit his grave.



Spencer Morrison and Fred Ryan at the Bluff cenotaph on Armistice Day.

They will bring Spencer's war medals, presented to them last year by Prime Minister Helen Clark in a special ceremony at Parliament, and a carved waka huia carrying a copy of the official pardon. The latter will be placed in a military museum near the cemetery, but the medals will return home, where Ryan and Morrison will proudly wear them at Armistice and ANZAC Day services.

When Spencer was executed, his whānau received the news in a brief four-line letter saying he'd been shot for desertion. The disgrace was such that his death was rarely spoken of, and indeed this piece of New Zealand history remained largely hidden until the 1980s, when pressure from researchers led to the release of military courts-martial files that were supposed to remain sealed for a century.

The files showed that Spencer, like many of the 346 British Empire troops executed during the First World War for offences such as desertion or mutiny, was very likely suffering from shell-shock. Back then the psychological impact of the condition was not recognised, and men whose nerves were so badly affected that they couldn't face returning to battle were often regarded as cowards.

Spencer Morrison says that visiting the cemetery near Ypres will allow them to finally put the circumstances of Victor Spencer's death to rest. "It should never have happened; it was stupid. He was that far gone he didn't know what he was doing."

Morrison served nearly ten years in the New Zealand army, enlisting at 18 after doing his compulsory military training. It was only then that he was told the truth about Spencer's death. "I came home and said, 'I've joined the regular force,' and my father said, 'I think there's something you should know.' The family didn't speak about it because of the shame it brought."

Fred Ryan, who spent three and a half years in the army fighting in Malaya, only became aware of the pardon campaign through his position as president of the Bluff RSA. He was hosting Mark Peck at the annual ANZAC Day function in 1996 when the MP mentioned his efforts to obtain a pardon for local First World War soldier Victor Spencer.

Ryan first learnt of the execution in the 1980s when a brother living in Christchurch sent him clippings from *The Star* newspaper about Spencer's case. The newspaper had begun investigating the story, following an approach from an English researcher looking into executions of British soldiers. After a long battle, journalist Bob Cotton eventually won access



When Spencer was executed, his whānau received the news in a brief four-line letter saying he'd been shot for desertion. The disgrace was such that his death was rarely spoken of ...

to the courts-martial files held in the National Archives.

Those records, together with research carried out by family members and historians reveal details of Spencer's background and war service.

He was born in Ōtautau on 1 November 1896 and his early years were marked by loss, beginning with the death of a baby brother from enteritis. His mother, Mary, died of tuberculosis when he was only a toddler, and he went to live with an aunt, Sarah Goomes, in Bluff. His father, James, later also died of tuberculosis, leaving Spencer orphaned by the age of ten.

On leaving school he became an apprentice engineer with Bluff firm Metzger and Matson. In his spare time he was cox for a local rowing four – his slight build made him perfect for that role. He stood only five feet four inches (1.6 metres) tall and weighed 131 pounds (59 kilos), according to the enlistment form he filled out to join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in April 1915.

In an old sepia photograph taken in army uniform, Spencer looks more schoolboy than soldier, but recruiters accepted his claim that he was 20. He did his military training at Trentham, and a postcard written to his Aunt Sarah tells of his hopes for promotion, and the grateful receipt of a food parcel of muttonbirds. However the promotion did not come through, and Spencer held the rank of private when he served in Gallipoli with the 1st Otago Battalion.

The downward spiral that led to his desertions is outlined in a book by



military historian Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1991). It tells how, on moving to France, Spencer took part in a disastrous raid on the German lines in July 1916. The high number of casualties reduced the battalion strength to three companies, and they remained in the lines for a month without relief. Many men were broken by this prolonged stint of trench duty and never fully recovered.

Spencer was admitted to the 2 New Zealand Field Ambulance with shell-shock, but within a month he returned to duty and almost immediately went missing. A fortnight later he was arrested by the military police, put on trial for desertion, found guilty and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour.

After serving nine months in prison he was released and again rejoined his unit, only to disappear again in August 1917. A little over four months later he was found living in Morbecque with a French woman and two children.

At the court martial, the prosecution claimed Spencer's absence was a case of "plain and deliberate desertion" because he had avoided dangerous duty and had no intention of rejoining his unit. Spencer pleaded not guilty. His lawyer argued he had not intended to evade the three offensives that took place during his absence, and he had no knowledge they were planned when he left his post.

The court nevertheless returned a guilty verdict. Before sentence was passed, the captain of his platoon gave a character reference, vouching that Spencer had served in Gallipoli, was a good soldier, and he could find no fault with him.

In a written statement to the court, Spencer described how he had been "blown up" in the trenches at Armentières. "[I] was in hospital for about a month suffering from shell-shock. Up to this time I had no crimes against me. Since then my health has not been good and my nerve has been completely destroyed. I attribute my present position to this fact and to drink."

Christopher Pugsley says the court could have adjourned and called

THE PARDON BATTLE

In total, 28 soldiers in the First New Zealand Expeditionary Force received the death sentence, but only five actually faced firing squads.

Private Jack Braithwaite was executed for mutiny, while Privates Frank Hughes, John King, John Joseph Sweeney and Victor Spencer were shot for desertion.

Amid the appalling conditions of the First World War, military commanders were worried about the risk of widespread desertion if offenders were not dealt with severely, and New Zealand was by no means the only country to execute its own troops: Britain, South Africa, Canada, France, Germany and Italy all did so.

Invercargill artist and film-maker Mark Winter became interested in the Spencer case after reading Christopher Pugsley's book, and spent the better part of a decade working on a yet-to-be-completed documentary and feature-film script about Spencer's life and death.

In the mid-1990s he brought the Spencer case to the attention of MP Mark Peck, who sought redress for five executed soldiers through a Private Member's Bill.

The RSA supported the bill but also wanted pardons for the other 23 New Zealand soldiers who had been condemned to death but had their sentences commuted to terms of imprisonment. RSA national president, John Campbell, says those who made it home carried the stigma of the death sentence for the rest of their lives, and some ended up committing suicide.

The RSA failed to extend the focus of the bill, and a parliamentary select committee appointed former Court of Appeal Judge Sir Edward Somers to conduct an independent review of the five executed soldiers.

Sir Edward concluded they should not be pardoned because there was insufficient evidence of a miscarriage of justice. While it was likely the soldiers were suffering from shell-shock or other stress-related disorders, those who decided their fate did not have an understanding of such conditions.

Nevertheless, Parliament passed the Pardon for Soldiers of the Great War Act. In November the British Government followed suit, pardoning more than 300 British and Commonwealth soldiers executed during the 1914-18 conflict, including Victor Spencer.

The Shot At Dawn Campaign spent years lobbying on behalf of British troops, some as young as 14, killed by firing squads for disciplinary offences, and British Defence Secretary, Des Browne, said the pardons acknowledged that injustices were clearly done in some cases, and that all the executed men were victims of war.

News of the British pardon came through just before the annual Armistice Day parade at Bluff, and Fred Ryan was delighted. "After all, the New Zealand soldiers went over there and helped the British, who used them as gun fodder."

medical evidence about Spencer's shell-shock, but this was not done, and he was sentenced to death. "There was no recommendation for mercy, as one might have expected given the soldier's youth and long service."

Because New Zealand troops were covered by British military law, any death sentence required confirmation from the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig. The onus was on the New Zealand Division to present Haig with mitigating evidence, but it failed to do so, and he confirmed the death penalty.

A firing squad carried out the execution at 6.45am on 24 February 1918. Army chaplain Reverend Hoani Parata performed the last rites for Spencer before he was tied to a post and blindfolded. The padre later wrote to the Spencer family telling them that Victor "met his death bravely and never flinched at the last." He also wrote that Victor wished to apologise for causing his family anxiety with regard to his career as a soldier "and asked me to convey to you his love."

London-based New Zealand journalist Andrew Macdonald is the author of a book about the Battle of the Somme and is now writing a book about the Spencer case. It is based on information gleaned from official docu-

ments, war diaries and interviews with Spencer's fellow soldiers, including George Skerrett, who also grew up in Bluff.

Macdonald says a lot of "folklore" has grown up around Spencer. He is sceptical about suggestions the young part-Māori was uncomfortable in the Pākehā-dominated 1st Otago Battalion, and has found no evidence of claims that Spencer unsuccessfully sought to join the Māori Contingent.

"I think he was a quiet guy who had a problem with alcohol. He certainly suffered from shell-shock and, once that switch snapped, [he felt] it was permissible to cut loose. I don't want to use the word 'run' because that implies cowardice. He deserted; I think he knew what he was doing, but he just couldn't stop himself."

Reaction to the execution from other soldiers varied. "I've seen diary entries that said Spencer should have been sent into action and he would have met his fate there, rather than in front of a firing squad. I've read other diaries that damned the army for doing this. It depends on who you talk to, but generally I think soldiers felt sympathy [for him]."

However the decision to pardon the executed soldiers had its detractors, and Fred Ryan received a few "crank calls" from people. Several military historians also opposed the pardons as a politically correct attempt to re-write history.

In an article published in the *RSA Review*, military historian Ian McGibbon said Parliament was "arrogant in the extreme" in judging First World War conditions by 21st century values and knowledge. Although the military discipline imposed was very harsh by modern-day standards, at the time, under civil law, the death penalty was still the accepted punishment for the crime of murder.

He warned against romanticising the five soldiers, and pointed out Spencer's desertions and period of imprisonment meant he missed devastating battles at the Somme, Passchendaele and Polderhoek and the major attack at Messines. "The attempt to make heroes of the executed soldiers flies in the face of the facts."

Glyn Harper, First World War historian and director of the Centre for Defence Studies at Massey University, believes an expression of regret would have been more appropriate. "Once you have pardoned them, the issue is conveniently dropped, as if the sore had healed."

Spencer Morrison is adamant that the pardon does not mean that the circumstances of Victor Spencer's death will be forgotten. He hopes a photographer will be part of the group traveling to Belgium so there will be a photographic record of Spencer's story for use in schools. "It gives us a chance to add something concrete to our history so the young can see what happened and why it happened."

Fred Ryan has also carefully preserved details of Spencer's story. In the Ryans' Bluff home, a framed copy of the pardon hangs in the hall, and



Before sentence was passed, the captain of his platoon gave a character reference, vouching that Spencer had served in Gallipoli, was a good soldier, and he could find no fault with him.

Spencer's medals are on display in the lounge. A scrapbook of newspaper clippings, gathered by Fred's wife Judith, chronicles the pardon battle, and will ensure the couple's children and grandchildren know of this special, albeit painful, aspect of their family history.

Meantime, the focus is on raising enough money to make the pilgrimage to Spencer's grave at The Huts Cemetery, where he lies along with more than 1,000 other Commonwealth soldiers. The graveyard, in farmland near the village of Dickebusch, takes its name from a line of huts used by field ambulances during the 1917 Allied offensive.

In the third row of white headstones, a fern leaf curls over the word New Zealand and, underneath, the inscription reads: 8/2733 Private V.M Spencer, N.Z Otago Regt, 24th February 1918.



nā ADRIENNE REWI

NGĀ HUA O ŌNUKU

"If a certain seaweed that pāua favoured was plentiful at a certain time of the year, [the old people] knew that was the best time to gather." GEORGE TIKAO

ON A CLEAR DAY

Enjoying kai at the marae (from left): George Tikao, Lena Tikao, Bernice Tainui and Milly Robinson. Obscured is Mahia Tainui-Whatarau and Polly Rhodes.

When George Tikao bites into the pale delicacy of a pāua tortellini – a fat, succulent little "dumpling" filled with his favourite seafood – his face creases into a satisfied smile. He looks almost relieved, as if the swish culinary presentation prepared by Blanket Bay executive chef Jason Dell has momentarily caught him off guard.

George (73) and his sister Lena Tikao (71) have a long association with Ōnuku Marae. Their mother was born there and their great-grandmother, Amiria Puhirere, has a prominent place in the rūnanga's history. She was the daughter of Mere Whariu and Karaweko, who Ōnuku's wharekai – Karaweko – is named after. George and Aunty Lena were brought up at Rāpaki but they both have vivid memories of visiting Ōnuku to stay with whānau.

"We gathered everything from the sea then – fish, mussels, seaweed, pāua; it was an important food source for the families at Ōnuku. We'd often eat the pāua raw, fresh from the sea; or we'd beat it to soften the flesh, and fry it," says Aunty Lena.

George remembers visiting Ōnuku when he was six or seven, to help the whānau gather cocksfoot seed. "Grass seed was one of the major sources of income for us then, so every harvest season we'd come over and help gather the seed. And, of course, when whānau

meat has always been a traditional delicacy for Māori – an important food source that plays a significant role in manaakitanga and koha. Its richly flavoured flesh is sought-after for marae celebrations and gatherings, and at Ōnuku, close to the rocks of Banks Peninsula harbour, it has been a mainstay of their kaimoana.

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came to visit the marae, pāua was an important food source," he says.

He recalls waiting for low tides and then wading into the sea to gather pāua off the rocks.

"We came over here a lot as children in the late 1930s, and we often gathered pāua. We never dived for it back then – we didn't have the apparatus for it. But we were taught what to look for. Pāua is a bit like pounamu – you have to know what you're looking for, you have to be able to recognise the distinctive colours that set it apart from other rocks and shells. Pāua here in the harbour have a similar colour to the red-pink weed that grows here," he says.



PHOTOGRAPHY PHIL TUMATAROA

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“We always carried a knife so we could prise the shells off the rocks if we weren’t quick enough to get them off before they clamped down.”

He says the old people always knew the right time for gathering the fattest pāua. “If a certain seaweed that pāua favoured was plentiful at a certain time of the year, they knew that was the best time to gather. We never wasted anything. The only part of the pāua we cut out was what we called the organs.” (This, in fact, is the radula, or dental apparatus, which is studded with hundreds of hard, sharp, tiny “teeth”.) “And we never took the young pāua, so we always had a plentiful stock.”

There are traditional preserving methods for pāua – drying or pāua tahu (preserving in fat) – but George and Auntie Lena say that was seldom necessary at Ōnuku.

“The old people did have their methods, but there was such a ready source of pāua back then that preserving wasn’t necessary. We did have a whata though, and if we had a big gathering coming up, we’d gather pāua several days before and store them there in the water and take them out as we needed them.”

Everyone laughs as early favourites are remembered.

“It’s lovely raw but my favourite has always been minced pāua mixed with onion, flour and egg and made into patties,” says Auntie Lena.



PĀUA

Pāua are right up there as a delicacy; they could be regarded as the blind man’s caviar. Since their export price scales rather giddy heights, it would be pretty rare to see them at your local fish shop. So if someone gifts you a feed of pāua, make the most of it.

As a chef, I don’t often get the opportunity to handle this special food, so I was looking forward to the chance to sharpen my skills at Ōnuku Marae. When we arrived, the first thing I asked was, “Has anyone got a mincer?” Minced-pāua patties are a must, but you need the right tools. And when you get started, do remember to rinse the pāua well and remove the foot before mincing them.

I kept to the simple approach. The pāua patties went down an absolute treat, as did the whole pāua grilled in garlic butter carved over soft polenta. And just to show a little sparkle and creativity in the kitchen, I whipped up some delicate little pāua and purple potato tortellini (like little pasta dumplings) moistened with a creamy mustard sauce.

Jason Dell

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



MINCED-PĀUA PATTIES IN BREAD BUTTIES WITH GREEN-HERB AIOLI

Of course you could serve these on their own, minus the bread, perhaps with your favourite homemade chutney or chilli tomato jam, but they are great slapped between slabs of bread, and then you can eat them with your hands. This is really basic kai, the sort of stuff for which you don’t need knives and forks – great for the beach barbecue. Depending on your rations, you can more-or-less add whatever takes your fancy to the recipe. This version is a great base to work from – and economical. The addition of a few vegetables makes it better for your diet too.

INGREDIENTS

- PATTIES**
- 3-4 carrots, grated
 - 1 onion, finely chopped
 - 3 cups pāua, minced
 - 1 1/2 cups par-boiled kumara, three quarters cooked, then grated
 - 1/2 cup fresh sweet basil, chopped
 - 1/2 cup Italian parsley, chopped
 - 1 cup white flour
 - 1/2 bottle beer (stubby size)
 - 2 eggs
 - seasoning

GREEN-HERB AIOLI

- 2 small garlic cloves, finely minced
- 1 cup basic mayonnaise
- 1/2 cup assorted fresh, soft, green herbs, chopped (basil, Italian parsley, coriander, tarragon)
- 2 tsp lemon juice to taste
- salt and pepper
- 8 bread buns

METHOD

Mix all the patty ingredients together. Cook one small sample just to check the seasoning. I’m a fan of sweet basil, but it can be left out, or substituted with another favourite herb. Don’t use hard herbs like rosemary, thyme or sage, because they are too pungent and overpowering and detract from the taste of the pāua.

Melt a little butter and oil in a frying pan, making sure it doesn’t get too hot. Place large spoonfuls of the patty mixture in the pan and cook until golden, then turn and cook the other side. Keep cooked patties warm in the oven while the remainder are frying.

For the herb aioli, simply place all ingredients in a food processor and blend until smooth. But chop the garlic finely first, to avoid ending up with chunky bits in the aioli. For those without a food processor, simply chop herbs and garlic by hand and stir through the remaining ingredients. Allow the flavours to develop for at least an hour before serving.

Serve between warm bread buns or your favourite sliced bread. *Serves 8.*

GARLIC-BUTTERED PĀUA CARVED OVER SOFT POLENTA

Polenta is a Mediterranean starch made from cormeal (ground corn). The best way to describe it is that it’s like porridge, only savoury. It is eaten on its own or as an accompaniment to a larger meal. Made with milk and stock, or simply water, any kind of flavourings can be added once it is cooked. Instant polenta is readily available at good supermarkets and delicatessens. Cook the polenta as per instructions on the packet (it is very easy – trust me). All I did was add a little butter, crumbled feta cheese and some grated parmesan cheese at the end, to make the polenta rich and extra creamy.

INGREDIENTS

- 8 medium-size pāua
- 3 cups cooked instant polenta
- 2 tbsp soft butter
- 1/2 cup feta cheese
- 1/2 cup grated parmesan cheese

GARLIC BUTTER

- 2 garlic cloves, minced
- 200g unsalted butter
- 1 tbsp seeded mustard
- 1 tbsp lemon juice
- 2 tbsp fresh parsley
- 2 tbsp fresh coriander
- 2 tbsp fresh rosemary
- 2 tbsp fresh chives

METHOD

To make the garlic butter, mix all the ingredients in a food processor. For the best flavour, use fresh herbs, but dried herbs can be used instead. Alternatively, buy a ready-made, good quality garlic/herb butter.

Clean the whole pāua and dry with paper towels. Melt some garlic butter in a frying pan and cook the pāua for approximately 4 minutes each side. But be sure not to cook them on too high a heat, or they will spit and burn. Rest the pāua for a couple of minutes before carving them crossways into thin slices.

Place spoonfuls of hot polenta mixed with 2 tablespoons of butter, feta and parmesan cheeses in the centre of the dinner plates. Arrange sliced pāua on top and drizzle a little extra melted garlic butter over the pāua.

Serve with a crisp side salad. *Serves 8.*



PĀUA, BASIL AND PURPLE POTATO TORTELLINI

For this recipe, you can buy GYOZA, wonton or dumpling wrappers from the freezer department of any good Asian warehouse. Or if you are skilled enough, you could make your own pasta, but you will need a pasta machine to roll it out thin enough to use.

INGREDIENTS

- 6 purple Urenika potatoes, boiled in their skins, then peeled and mashed
- 1 cup pāua, minced
- 1/2 cup fresh basil, chopped
- 1 egg, whisked with a fork
- seasoning
- 40 GYOZA wrappers (they are sold frozen in packs of 50)
- 385g tin diced beetroot (or equivalent cooked fresh beetroot)
- 4 tbsp micro basil tips (or fresh basil leaves, roughly chopped)
- 4 tbsp red-wine syrup (see Method for recipe)

MUSTARD SAUCE

- 2 tbsp seed mustard
- 1 tbsp lemon juice
- 2 tbsp white wine
- 50ml vegetable oil
- 2 egg yolks
- 50ml cream, lightly whipped

METHOD

The red-wine syrup required for this dish is made by reducing 2 cups of merlot or pinot noir by three-quarters with 2 tablespoons sugar. Do be careful as it can reduce too far and burn very easily.

For the tortellini, combine the minced pāua, chopped basil, mashed purple potato and seasoning. Place a tablespoon of this filling in the centre of each GYOZA wrapper. Brush a little egg wash around the edges of the pastry with a pastry brush. Fold the wrapper over in half and pinch the edges to seal. Gather the two ends of the half-moon shape and pull together, joining the two outer edges with egg wash to create a tortellini.

Cook the tortellini in salted boiling water for 5-6 minutes. Remove with a slotted spoon and place in dinner bowls. Arrange over the top some diced beetroot, fresh chopped basil leaves and then the mustard sauce. Lastly drizzle over the red-wine syrup.

For the mustard sauce, place all ingredients into a stainless-steel bowl, place over a water bath on the stove, and cook until thick and smooth. Be sure to whisk continuously or it will scramble. Take off the heat and adjust seasoning. Fold through the whipped cream and serve immediately, as this sauce cannot be reheated. *Serves 8.*



Thank you to Ngāi Tahu Seafood for its generosity and support.

NGĀI TAHU SEAFOOD

TE REO “ON THE BRINK”



Rihari Taratoa-Bannister and Kelly Tikao at home in the kitchen with their children (left to right) Toi, Wairāmia, Hinekaea and Karamū.

PHOTOGRAPHY RAOUL BUTLER AND ROB TIPĀ

DESPITE A CONCERTED EFFORT SPANNING AT LEAST A DECADE TO RESCUE KĀI TAHU REO FROM THE BRINK OF EXTINCTION, ITS SURVIVAL STILL HANGS PRECARIOUSLY IN THE BALANCE. THAT WAS THE STARK MESSAGE DELIVERED AT A KĀI TAHU LANGUAGE SUMMIT AT THE KĀTI HUIRAPA MARAE AT PUKETERAKI IN OCTOBER, ONE THAT IS REINFORCED BY NUMEROUS NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND BY TE REO MĀORI REVIVAL EXPERTS FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY.

Hana O'Regan, a member of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), has been a staunch advocate on the front lines of Kāi Tahu reo revival for nine years, and is a driving force behind the innovative Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata policy to introduce te reo into 1,000 homes in Te Waipounamu by 2025. She gave participants in the language summit a frank personal assessment of the dilemma.

“Despite the positive turn the Māori language has made in the north, my reflection on our own situation is that we are nowhere near achieving a critical mass of speakers in the south to give ourselves even a remote chance of sustaining te reo Māori, let alone te reo Kāi Tahu, as a living language in our homes and our communities.”

Like many Kāi Tahu, she has witnessed the pain of language loss on the marae, and believes that revival of te reo is a top priority for the cultural identity of the iwi. As barriers have been removed and access to te reo made available through a dramatic increase in the number of language providers in the south, planners assumed people would jump at the chance to learn their native language. But the uptake has not been as great as was expected.

Although more than 1,000 homes (over 3,500 individuals) have registered for the Kotahi Mano Kāika programme, less than 200 homes are actively involved on a regular basis. It is this level of apathy that makes O'Regan anxious about the future of te reo in the south. Ironically, many believe the language is safe. Even with a small, committed group of 10 to 20 families regularly using te reo as the language of communication in the home, there is no room for complacency, she says.

It is frustrating and hard to stay positive when people who are fluent in the language have decided not to raise their children speaking te reo. When planners start looking at those actively involved on the marae, there is a growing fear that those speaking te reo will become a diminishing minority within the wider Kāi Tahu whānui, she says. For many, te reo has become the language of mihimihi, karaka or commands in the home, but the body of language that people understand is actually very small.

“It has only dawned on me in the last few years that as a people we really didn't know how much we didn't know.”

When the language revival began in earnest in the south in 1997, planners recognised the key was “to do a few crucial things well and early,” O'Regan says.

“We knew then that one of a few crucial things was to get people to buy into the vision [of Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata]. I think we did that right, but we didn't sell the whole vision. What we failed to do was to sell the urgency – that if the language was not revived now it might not be around in future.”



“The more generations we have between ourselves and language loss, the more generations it will take to get it back.”

Hana O'Regan, a member of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), and advocate for the revival of Kāi Tahu reo.



“I think [Kotahi Mano Kāiika] is a fantastic achievement that should be congratulated. I’m not sure if you appreciate the level of admiration that exists elsewhere for this model.”

Tipene Chrisp, of the Māori language policy unit of Te Puni Kōkiri.

future, identified a target population, yet did not prescribe the journey too tightly, he said.

“Each household will have its own dynamic, its own starting point and its own aspirations, and that’s all perfectly legitimate. We should not expect the goals of every whānau to be the same,” he said. “We should not expect every parent to be speaking Māori exclusively to their children. Each whānau will have their own goals based on their own circumstances. I think that is really important to remember.”

“I strongly believe that inter-generational transmission is the critical factor in language revitalisation. It’s simply not possible to create a self-sustaining, self-priming language revitalisation movement without it.”

Language is often called “the mother tongue”, for good reason, Chrisp says. Mothers have a crucial role in the primary stages of their children’s learning. The good thing about parents speaking to their children in te reo is that they have an opportunity to learn at the same pace.

It was a statement by Toni Waho, principal of Mana Tamariki, a total immersion kōhaka reo and kura kaupapa in Palmerston North, that had a profound effect on her thinking a few years ago.

“It takes one generation to lose the language and three generations to get it back,” he said. Some research now suggests it may take five generations to revive a language.

Hana O’Regan says if the iwi had grasped that concept when Kotahi Mano Kāiika was launched, “it would have woken us up a bit,” and the programme could have been so much further ahead.

“In retrospect, hindsight isn’t a glorious thing,” she says. “I don’t by any means want to paint a picture of failure. There have been failings; there have been things we didn’t get right. I don’t necessarily think it was time wasted, but I think, now more than ever, we have a critical need to understand the urgency.”

“Unless we succeed in getting critical mass, we might not find ourselves any further down the track in the next 20 years.”

National and international research into the status and health of indigenous languages suggest Kāi Tahu has a real fight on its hands to beat the statistics of world trends. As Hana O’Regan puts it, “Unless we own that fight, I think it’s a fight we’re going to lose.”

“The more generations we have between ourselves and language loss, the more generations it will take to get it back.”

One of the key speakers for the three-day language summit, Tipene Chrisp, from the Māori language policy unit at Te Puni Kōkiri, congratulated the leadership of Kāi Tahu for a brilliant original concept captured in the whakatauākī, Kotahi Mano Kāiika, Kotahi Mano Wawata.

“I think it’s a fantastic achievement that should be congratulated,” he told language planners. “I’m not sure if you appreciate the level of admiration that exists elsewhere for this model.”

His address to the hui was based on the mechanics of language planning and a critique of the evolution of Kotahi Mano Kāiika during its first ten years, and was a way of posing some questions for people to think about.

Kotahi Mano Kāiika set clear goals for the

Another key issue for language planners is where to focus their effort. Should they try and do a little for the whole iwi, or concentrate their resources on a target group to achieve a “bigger bang for your bucks”?

Chrisp believes there are real merits in focusing on young people leaving high school who have learnt the language and are at a critical stage of forming relationships. They are likely to be a powerful tool for transferring language to the next generation.

“I guess this is going to produce the best results. There are risks and benefits. You run the risk of creating an elite who are privileged, if you concentrate on that target population of young people.”

There are examples overseas where language revival led to the social exclusion of older people who could not speak their native language, and that is not desirable. The future of the Māori language in the next 25 years will be in establishing domains where Māori set the rules, Chrisp says.

“Māori will speak Māori in Māori domains where they are able to set language norms. Realistically, they are marae, homes and communities, religious institutions and maybe some workplaces.”

Why bother trying to rescue a language from the brink of extinction?

A recent analysis* of the status of Kāi Tahu reo in Te Waipounamu spells out the importance of language to cultural identity.

“The ability to speak te reo Māori is an essential element of full participation in Māori society and Māori identity. An established cultural identity makes a positive and important contribution to wellbeing, linked also with positive outcomes in health and education. It engenders feelings of belonging and security and provides access to social and support networks.”

The more people there are with the ability to speak the language, the stronger will be the preservation and retention of culture and traditions. The analysis* concludes that speaking in the Kāi Tahu dialect is integral to a healthy tribal identity and is a key aspect of Kāi Tahu language revitalisation.

Toitū Te Iwi culture and identity project leader for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Eruera Tarena, regards te reo as the “intellectual heart of the culture”. If the language dies, the culture becomes static and loses the ability to change, to

* *The State of Ngāi Tahu Reo: A Comparative Analysis*, by Annabel Ahuriri-Driscoll for the Toitū Te Iwi team in September 2006.



“Once pupils from the school move out of immersion education into the mainstream, they are performing at or above the national average. This is fantastic for us as, nationally, most mainstream Māori children, with years of English as a language, are not.”

Arihia Stirling, director of Te Kura Māori o Nga Tapuwae in Mangere, South Auckland.

adapt and evolve with the times, he says.

Retaining the language is also about upholding tribal mana. Kāi Tahu may hold the respect of other iwi for its commercial prowess and leadership, but it also needs to maintain its mana in the strength of its culture and traditions, which includes keeping the language alive.

Nationally, Kāi Tahu reo is “buried at the bottom of the pile,” Tarena says. Several critical factors put it at greater risk than te reo in other regions. The tribe has the greatest geographic

spread of any iwi in the country. Its 18 rūnaka are widely scattered, with only small clusters of families where Māori language is spoken within the home.

The impact of colonisation and land loss were greater in the south, so today there are few natural speakers of Kāi Tahu reo left. By contrast, the North Island has a larger critical mass of fluent reo speakers and teachers, which is reflected in the statistics. According to the 2001 Census, 25% of Māori nationally are able to converse in te reo Māori, while just 11% of people with Kāi Tahu heritage claim fluency in the language.

However, experts warn these statistics may be misleading, as self-assessment surveys tend to be generous. Early indications from a current Keen 2 Kōrero survey of registered Kāi Tahu members suggest less than 2% claim the ability to converse freely in te reo Māori and less than 1% say they are proficient in the Kāi Tahu dialect.

Tarena says it is hard to imagine a future without the language to connect with the traditions and culture of our ancestors. He is confident te reo Māori is the language of the future, but its survival now rests on whether it remains



“To reignite the fires of language revival, you need to light one fire, not many fires, and keep it going. The next step for the Tuahiwi School may be to stoke it up.”

Lynne Harata-Te Aika, parent and member of the board of trustees of Tuahiwi School in North Canterbury.

THE PAIN AND THE SHAME

Today we are proud to call ourselves Kāi Tahu. We take pride in our whakapapa, the strongest link with our heritage, for many of us. We trace our history back many generations spanning centuries, however fragile the connections may be.

In the early years of contact, European sealers, whalers and settlers had to speak te reo Māori for their survival, because they were totally dependent on trade with Māori. As the numbers of settlers increased, the balance of power changed and te reo Māori went into a sure but steady decline.

Some of our grandparents’ generation were fluent in their native language, yet in the space of a single generation between them and us, the Kāi Tahu dialect very nearly disappeared altogether. Our parents’ generation speak of being punished for speaking Māori at school in the 1920s and 30s. By the time my generation landed on the doorstep of a state school in the 1960s, language loss was almost complete. What little reo we attempted, we butchered along with the rest of Ngāti Pākehā, with such unspeakable abominations as “Wackawhite” and “Whymack”.

At high school, we were encouraged to broaden our language skills. English, of course, was compulsory. Brighter students learnt Latin, while the rest of us had a choice between French or German. The relevance of teaching a bunch of carefree kids living on a remote South Pacific island the language of a bunch of ancient or burnt out superpowers is an irony that escaped us at the time. Somehow, in the wisdom of our education system, te reo Māori slipped under the radar.

Nationally, the revival of the Māori language started in earnest in the 1970s, yet it was only recognised as an official language in 1987. By 1995 national Māori language surveys showed the number of fluent speakers had dropped to 10,000.

By then the damage was done in the south. Kāi Tahu reo was almost extinct. There were only three native speakers still alive, none actively communicating in the language at that time. Worse still, te reo Māori had not been the language of communication for 50 years within the iwi, and intergenerational transmission between children, their parents and grandparents had not occurred for 80 to 130 years in some areas.

Despite our best intentions, most of us still struggle with a few strategic words and phrases in te reo – too old for kōhaka reo, too entrenched for kura kaupapa, too busy for university and too lazy for night classes. There is no end to the excuses. On the marae, we suffer the real indignity of language loss. Without te reo we will never make a full contribution to the culture of which we are so proud. For many it is easier to stay away – safe and silent in the shadows. The pain and the shame.

Thankfully, a national revival of te reo Māori has turned the tide on language loss, with a wave of bright, confident young faces emerging from kōhaka reo, bilingual and full immersion schools and universities around the country. Their parents’ hearts swell with pride.

On its own, international research warns, this is not enough. The next few years are critical. Although there has been a resurgence, the future of Kāi Tahu reo is still uncertain. Its survival now rests squarely on the shoulders of the few, a handful of committed families who have chosen to speak te reo to their children in the home, to “capture the ears” of babes in arms who have yet to speak their first words.

in the hearts and minds of Kāi Tahu young people.

“A language does not die. People drift away and choose not to learn it,” Tarena says. “We’ve been through the worst and things are getting better, but there is no room for complacency.”



In the last 500 years, half of the world’s indigenous languages have become extinct. Half of the remaining languages are likely to disappear by 2100. “We need to make sure our reo is not on that list.”

Ruakere Hond, Taranaki teacher, researcher, lecturer and member of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission).

LEADERS IN LANGUAGE REVIVAL

“Speak only Māori to your children. This means deciding never to speak English or any other language to them.”

That was just one of the uncompromising messages delivered to the reo summit by one of four inspirational teachers, all leaders in the field of Māori language revival, from successful model schools around the country.

Such a hard line may sound scary, arrogant, even threatening, said Toni Waho, founder of the Mana Tamariki total immersion kōhaka reo and kura kaupapa schools in Palmerston North. People are not able to make that kind of commitment instantly, but he believes it is essential for the survival of the language within a family.



Kaumātua Kukupa Tirikatene (centre) engages in the debate to revive Kāi Tahu reo at the 2006 language summit at Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki Marae in October.

“Raise them to love the Māori language as a taonga, and teach them to pass the language on to the next generation,” he said. “Educate them in the Māori language, and be a part of their education.”

“These three things will engage you and your family on a lifelong journey that will ensure the Māori language is likely to live on forever within your family. That is IT (intergenerational transmission) in action.”

“Parents are encouraged to imagine the day that their own grandchildren will engage with them in Māori. They will have achieved a major feat. They will have saved the Māori language as a taonga for them and their family.”

Arihia Stirling is the director of Te Kura Māori o Ngā Tapuwae at Mangere in South Auckland. The school was founded by her parents and has been operating for 30 years. It is part of the Southern Cross campus, which has 1,700 pupils

in four schools, making it the largest area school in the country and the only one in an urban setting.

“Once pupils from the school move out of immersion education into the mainstream, they are performing at or above the national average,” Stirling says. “This is fantastic for us as, nationally, most mainstream Māori children, with years of English as a language, are not.”

Since 2003, the school has had a waiting list for new entrants. Stirling attributes this success to the fact that “we are definitely community-orientated.”

“All strategic goals, all principles are set by the whānau, teachers and board members, and everyone buys into it,” she says. “Let te reo or

an affirmation. Basically, we need to be telling our kids they are intelligent, because it may not be happening in the home.”

“Learning will only come if kids feel good about themselves. You can be the best teacher in the world, but if you don’t know how to impart your knowledge to them, they don’t want your knowledge. They want you to touch their wairua first. If you can’t do that, keep your knowledge to yourself.”

Tuahiwi School, 30 kilometres from Christchurch, has tripled its roll in three years since it added two new bilingual language classes in 2003. These days it has a roll of about 120 and has become a beacon of language revitalisation in the rohe.

Pupils travel from as far away as Christchurch, Rangiora, Kaiapoi and Waikuku to attend a semi-rural school that has been a focal point of the Tuahiwi community since it opened in 1863. Over half of the population is Māori, although the majority of residents are over 65 or under 12 years of age.

It has taken three years to change community attitudes, overcome fears and break down the barriers, says Lynne Harata-Te Aika, a parent who moved from Christchurch to Tuahiwi to live back in her rūnaka community and to allow her two sons to attend Tuahiwi School. She specialises in bilingual and immersion education and Māori language revitalisation at the Christchurch College of Education, where she is the Kaiwhakahaere Māori.

Harata-Te Aika and Fern Jenkins established evening classes for parents and others interested in involving the whānau in language learning and in promoting positive attitudes towards te reo.

To succeed, the school needed the key support of the rūnaka and wider community, and is now largely driven by parents rather than the rūnaka. It works closely with the hapū and rūnaka, but does not get involved in rūnaka politics.

Reversing language shift is happening, but Harata-Te Aika warns it is a slow process. The strategy needs to focus on the parents, who need more input than the children, as the children acquire te reo more naturally.

“You need to have a strategic plan,” she says. “You can always change your plan and adapt, but if you’ve got a plan it keeps everyone focused, and everyone feels safe if they know what it is.”

“To reignite the fires of language revival, you need to light one fire, not many fires, and keep it going,” she says. “The next step for the Tuahiwi School may be to stoke it up.”

In the last 500 years, half of the world’s indigenous languages have become extinct, said Ruakere Hond, an experienced Taranaki teacher, researcher and lecturer in te reo Māori, at the language summit. Estimates based on current trends suggest that by the year 2100 another half of the world’s remaining 5,000-6,700 languages will disappear.

“We need to make sure our reo is not on that list,” said Hond, who is also a member of



Enjoying an activity break during the Au Ai Tu, Au Ai Ora (Strengthening the Home Fires) 2006 Te Reo Summit at Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki marae are (front row, from left): Toni Waho, Lynne Harata-Te Aika and Hana O'Regan and Kiringaua Cassidy.

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission). It’s not that languages become extinct. Language shift means that people drift away from one language and start using another.

He outlined the work done by Te Reo o Taranaki Society in 1986 to revitalise the language, which had declined after the confiscation of land by the Crown and the fragmentation of Māori communities during the Taranaki musket wars of the mid-1800s. The group’s focus was not just on revitalising Taranaki reo, it was also about revitalising the Taranaki identity,

tikanga and history.

“When we’re talking about revitalising the language, we know on the ground there are very few of our kaumātua left who are actually able to stand and speak and offer reo to rangitahi,” he said.

Most of the Taranaki community now recognises the fact that in the periods when Māori took control and were driving language revival there was a lot happening, but the moment institutions took over responsibility for driving it, “people just sat on their hands” and there was a noticeable drop in momentum.

TE REO RESEARCH IN SUMMARY

There is no shortage of detailed research in the last five or six years on the health and status of the Māori language in Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu. The information has come from Census statistics, several Māori language surveys by Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development) and Kāi Tahu itself.

Analysing the figures from these studies is a bit like comparing apples and pears, so conflicting or confusing statistics have been avoided in this summary.

Many researchers warn that any self-assessment surveys of the levels of language proficiency are likely to be optimistic, because participants tend to over-estimate their capabilities.

However, basic trends and patterns identified by most surveys on the health of te reo are consistent. Here is a summary of some of the key points:

- According to Census statistics, nationally about 25% of all Māori can converse in te reo. The overwhelming majority (about 75%) admit they speak no more than a few words or phrases.
- Overall, the number of te reo speakers in Te Waipounamu is lower than the

intergenerational transmission of language is essential for the long-term survival of the language.

- Just 7% of Māori households have adults and children who can converse in Māori.
 - Te reo is not a dominant language in any context. It is rarely used in everyday activities, such as work, socialising, sport or shopping.
- On the face of it, the picture looks bleak. But there are some positive signs too:
- National research shows the language is viewed positively by the majority of Māori, regardless of their own abilities. Such attitudes could be built on to encourage further use.
 - 74% of adult Māori in Te Waipounamu are dissatisfied with their level of proficiency in te reo but are keen to improve their skills, and 11% are actively doing so.

- Language planners need to understand what opportunities these people need, such as learning basic mihimihi, conversation or paepae skills.
- About 7% of preschool children, 7% of school children and 11% of adults are acquiring some language skills through educational outlets. However, learning te reo through formal education is unlikely to substitute for intergenerational transmission.
- Kāi Tahu initiatives to revitalise the language by focusing on families and intergenerational transmission are regarded by language experts as inspired leadership.
- Māori speakers are not evenly spread throughout the population, but tend to live together in clusters.
- Identifying these clusters where te reo is spoken by adults, caregivers and children may foster greater intergenerational transmission of the language.

“In conclusion, the overall health of te reo remains at serious risk in the region,” Te Puni Kōkiri concludes in its Health of the Māori Language in Te Waipounamu survey. “Key indicators suggest that without the success of language interventions, the number of te reo speakers and proficiency levels are likely to decline.”

“A key factor here is that language revitalisation requires planning and strategy – it does not occur spontaneously and the education sector is not a sufficient substitute to fully replace intergenerational transmission of te reo.”

“The encouraging finding for Te Waipounamu is that a small group of language planners are aware of these issues and have already developed strategies to address concerns. In many ways the task now is to rigorously pursue the implementation of these strategies to ensure their success.”

- International research suggests that

KELLY TIKAO

For award-winning Kāi Tahu broadcaster Kelly Tikao, a visit to the Te Māori exhibition as a 16-year-old was a turning point in her life and the beginning of a spiritual journey she now shares with her young family.

The dream she has for her four children is to give them the one thing she doesn't yet have herself – fluency in the Kāi Tahu dialect of te reo Māori and the confidence that will give them in the future.

"I would love for them to be able to write and speak well in English and Māori," she says. "I would like them to be able to converse in both languages and have the confidence that gives them to take on any challenges, to represent me, our whānau, our hapū and our iwi at a national and international level. I'd love them to be able to do that. Equally, I'd like them to appreciate the beauty of the language, to tell our stories, to be humble and to share and pass on the Kāi Tahu culture."

Kelly is well aware of the difficulty and frustration of trying to learn te reo as an adult. That is why she is a core supporter of the Kotahi Mano Kāika programme in Dunedin and an advocate of "capturing the ears" of her young family in the home.

She originally trained as a nurse but went on to complete an arts degree, majoring in Māori, at Auckland University. While it was a good place to get a basic grounding in the language and culture, it was not the place to develop fluency. In retrospect, she is a strong supporter of adults learning te reo through immersion-style wānaka.

"A lot of the people I went through university with are beautiful speakers of the language," she says. "I can see what [wānaka reo] has done for others, and I can see where I could possibly have been a lot more fluent if I'd committed to attending those too."

At the time, she was running between nursing in the morning to pay for part-time study, lectures in the afternoons and learning the craft of broadcasting on Aotearoa Radio in the evenings and weekends. It was a wonderful life, with sports thrown in for variety, Kelly recalls, but work commitments ruled out

week-long wānaka reo on the marae.

She finished her degree in 1996 and has since worked in a range of fields in health, Māori and mainstream radio and as an arts co-ordinator for the Waitakere City Council in Auckland. With every move she has made in a busy lifestyle – whether it was in health, education, broadcasting or the arts – Kelly always found she gravitated towards the Māori community and looked for solutions to meet its needs.

"For me the language is not only the spoken word," she says. "It's the tikanga, the kawa, the whakawhanaukataka, the learning and the waiata. The journey started when I was 16 and is still going on – my own, personal learning."

When she returned to Te Waipounamu with her partner Rihari Taratoa-Bannister, young son Karamū Te Maiharoa and daughter Wairāmia Poipoi, moving to Dunedin three years ago, it was a second chance to revitalise her passion for Kāi Tahu reo.

"What I'm trying to give my children is what I didn't have," she says. "My inspiration for my children is a two-way thing – that I keep going with my language, and they keep going with theirs."

Since the move to Dunedin, on August 8 this year the couple doubled their family with twins, Hinekaea Pohiritia and,

12 minutes later, Toi Hipirini.

"I'm really staunch about keeping the language alive through their names. All our children have strong Māori names, and we honour those names by not allowing people to shorten their first names. We are so proud of our whakapapa we are keen to raise our children with that pride, but we get so frustrated with our lack of reo as well," she says.

The will and the commitment are strong, but they need contact with intermediate-to-fluent speakers around them all the time to keep their own standards up and to keep them striving for the level of reo they want.

It is at times like this that Kelly and Rihari try to motivate each other to keep te reo alive in the home. They find mornings are the best time of day for them and their children to learn, so they introduce a new word over breakfast every morning. By evening, "everyone's tired and scratchy" so the focus is more about feeding kids and getting them off to bed, she says.

Kelly sees it as an amazing privilege to be a part of initiatives run by Dunedin Kotahi Mano Kāika co-ordinator Paulette Tamati-Elliffe, which include getting together with others for playgroups, te reo, wānaka and waiata.

"When you've got less happening in a place like Dunedin, you make it to everything," she says. "It's really important for our kids to be a part of all this, to grow up with some other Māori faces, so we make a point of making it to pōwhiri, poroporoaki and to Hui-ā-Tau, because it may be the only tikanga they get for a long time."

Te reo keeps the whānau unified and keeps them together, she says. Kelly is confident there are enough people who share her passion and struggle for Kotahi Mano Kāika to keep the dream alive of 1,000 Māori families speaking the language by 2025.

"I am confident because we have to be," she says. "If the core group aren't confident, then the rest surrounding us will lose it altogether. But I'd say my confidence is on the surface. It'll reach my core when I gain my fluency."



Kelly Tikao "captures the ears" of her 11-week-old twins, Hinekaea Pohiritia (right) and Toi Hipirini, by talking to them in Kāi Tahu reo.

OPINION nā TOM BENNION

Ripples from the foreshore

In November this year, the United Nations General Assembly will consider whether to adopt a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The New Zealand Government is opposed to its adoption. This has created some controversy, so it is worth looking at the background to try to understand why.

The draft declaration was drawn up by the recently dis-established United Nations Commission on Human Rights. That commission is the body that brought us the much-maligned report of the UN Special Rapporteur, Professor Rodolfo Stavenhagen, earlier this year. The report criticised New Zealand's approach to some Māori issues, and included a recommendation that the Foreshore and Seabed Act be repealed or amended.

The Government dismissed the report as being of little worth, and the point was made that the very Commission which had criticised New Zealand was made up of States whose members are known to practise torture. The National Party put it this way:

"It is ironic that the UN, which is so important in affirming the role of international law to avoid both anarchy and hegemony, gives paragons of human rights such as Libya and Iran the scope to launch uninformed attacks on countries with considerably better human rights records."

"Many of the votes in the United Nations General Assembly amount to little more than generalised assaults upon western nations. All too often the most longstanding democracies are under attack by countries that have little knowledge of democratic ideals and the rule of law."

The new rules of the Human Rights Council are meant to remedy this. Now when the General Assembly elects the Council's 47 Member States, it must take into account their contribution and commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights, and it can suspend any State which commits "gross and systematic violations of human rights."

How doubly ironic, then, that one of the first acts of this improved Human Rights Council has been to recommend that the General Assembly adopt a declaration of indigenous rights, which the New Zealand Government strongly opposes,

but which is supported by many "longstanding democracies" in Europe, including the United Kingdom.

The New Zealand Government may be justifiably concerned (along with a number of other countries) about the possible misinterpretation of some parts of the text of the declaration, but its more recent reservations are harder to understand.

Before 2006, New Zealand did not appear to have any problem with agreeing that, whatever had happened in the past, future governments must never be involved in the forcible taking of land from indigenous peoples without their consent and full compensation.

Accordingly, the text of Article 10 of the draft declaration was not opposed. It reads: "Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned and after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return."

But the Government appears to have had second thoughts. The New Zealand position, alongside Australia and the United States is now that "there can be no absolute right of free, prior informed consent that is applicable uniquely to indigenous peoples and that would apply regardless of circumstance. In fact to extend such an overriding right to a specific subset of the national populace would be potentially discriminatory."*

While these three countries "support efforts to increase indigenous peoples' participation in decisions that affect them ... neither indigenous nor non-indigenous peoples enjoy an overarching or exclusive right of free, prior informed consent, regardless of circumstance." Rather, "different approaches may be necessary in different circumstances, and must balance the rights and interests of all those affected, including the responsibility of governments to act in the interests of the common good."

One wonders whether this apparent change in New Zealand's position has come about since the passing of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004. One might also be concerned about the

new company we are keeping (after all, the US has just passed legislation which allows for what has been termed "torture lite" of terrorist suspects).

The final irony, is that New Zealand has actually taken a far stronger line on Article 10 than either Australia or the US. While all three oppose Article 10 on the ground that it discriminates unfairly in favour of indigenous people, the New Zealand Government also believes it ought to be able to pass legislation which forcibly deprives only indigenous people of their property rights, and without any guarantee of just and fair compensation.

No matter how you dress it up, that is exactly what the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 does.

The Government, as Dr Cullen pointed out in a speech in June 2004, is prepared to make "offers" of what it deems to be "appropriate and sufficient" compensation, but refuses to be required to offer monetary compensation, or to be subject to any judicial oversight of what it does offer.

Such a thing would be impossible in Australia and the US, which have constitutions forbidding such behaviour. You have to wonder if the Australian and US governments realise who they have got into bed with on this one. ■■

**Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Extracts from statement by Peter Vaughn, Representative of Australia, on behalf of Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, on Free Prior Informed Consent, 22 May 2006.*

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.



nā LONNIE HUTCHINSON

(NGĀI TAHU)

time, materials & space

During my artist-in-residency at the MacMillan Brown Centre in 2000, I made a decision not to return to teaching but to focus on making art, and hopefully make enough money to survive. I didn't have an art dealer and my profile was practically non-existent. Steadily over the next couple of years that changed and I made installations and drawings, and took on part-time cooking jobs to help pay the rent. It was and still is a struggle at times to make ends meet, but it is important to me that I do not compromise my art practice.

My practice consists of different disciplines, ranging from producing drawings and sculpture, to moving-image works. I have had many wonderful opportunities to participate in art residencies and exhibitions in the UK, Canada, China, Australia and most recently Santiago, Chile. I have had amazing experiences working on projects with other indigenous artists and their respective communities. Time, materials and space to work in are the priorities in my life as an artist. ■■



Top to bottom:
Lolelele, 2003
Whakaraupo, 2002
Sista Girl, 2004
Carbon, 2004



Sista Girl (detail), 2004
Lomie Hutchinson



Stem Cell Tikanga

When debate cranks up early next year over whether New Zealand should allow research on fertilised human embryos, Dr Marewa Glover will again remember her “little leftover embryo” with sadness.

Glover, a director of Social and Community Health at Auckland University's School of Population Health, regrets not getting a photograph of the four most potentially healthy embryos she and her partner created under an assisted reproductive procedure two years ago. And it makes her sad to recall that, in the excitement of successfully carrying one of three embryos eventually implanted in her to the birth of their daughter, the couple did not make an informed decision about what to do with the fourth “little leftover”.

Glover (Ngāpuhi) says that fertility clinics have a policy of implanting only one embryo in a woman, but “at my age (43 at the time) the odds weren't very good, so they were happy to put three in.” She says, “I don't know what happened to the [fourth] embryo. I feel I just didn't give it any thought. I wasn't informed; I didn't think about it enough.”

The 45-year-old can only assume that the fate of the embryo, one of several harvested by the fertility clinic she used, was decided when the couple signed the consent forms at the start of the process.

But she can't recall the small print, and is almost certain the couple weren't asked about surplus embryos at implantation time.

Baby-making technology to assist infertile couples has been available in New Zealand for around 25 years now. So it's not rocket science to conclude that, after more than two decades, thousands of “leftover” embryos are in freezers at fertility clinics around the country.

What are we going to do with them and the thousands of unused embryos that will continue to be stored? Should they be destroyed? Or should they be available for research to assist in the treatment of cancers, spinal cord injuries, heart disease and potentially many other diseases?

Next year these and other big ethical questions around the use of embryos will get a public airing when a government agency officially starts tapping Kiwi thinking.

Research on viable human embryos is not currently permitted in New Zealand. Only adult stem cells – tissues of the adult human, such as blood, skin and gut – are able to be used for research.

Stem cell research is at the cutting edge of scientific research, says the Royal Society of New Zealand. It is anticipated that stem cells will be able to differentiate in the lab into blood, skin and brain cells, which may be able to treat the diseases that kill thousands of New Zealanders.

“It is this unique ability of tissue replacement that has stimulated an intense interest in stem cells as a means of curing degenerative diseases or replacing damaged organs, writes professor Stewart Gilmour, formerly of Auckland University, for the Royal Society.

But it is the stem cells of embryos that scientists believe will provide the biggest breakthroughs in combating disease.

The way was paved for next year's public consultation process by the passing of the Human Assisted Reproductive Technology Act in 2004. The HART Act provides for the regulation of procedures that assist with human reproduction, such as in vitro fertilisation (IVF), and research that uses or creates gametes or embryos. It sets up a three-level framework for ethical decisions around the use of embryos, imposing prohibitions on “fundamentally unacceptable practices” such as reproductive cloning; establishing an advisory committee called ACART to advise the Government and develop policy and guidelines for reproductive procedures and research; and requiring mandatory ethical approval by an ethics committee called ECART for non-established reproductive procedures and all research within ACART's guidelines.

The official public debate over the policy and guidelines will kick off in December, when ACART, the Advisory Committee on Assisted Reproductive Technology, publishes a hefty discussion paper.

There are three Māori among ACART's 12 members – Philippa McDonald, Mihi Namana and David Tamatea. The Act requires ACART to have one or more Māori members with expertise in Māori customary values and practice and the ability to articulate issues from a Māori perspective. The Act also carries special provisions to acknowledge needs, values and beliefs of Māori.

The independent lay chairperson of ACART, Sylvia Rumball, says the release of the paper will be followed in February by a series of public discussion meetings and hui. At the time of writing, the Ministry of Health had yet to set dates and locations but said between two and four hui were likely. ACART will also write to dozens of community groups, as well as churches, women's and ethnic organisations, offering information and briefings on the issues.

Rumball, a professor at Massey University, where she is Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Equity & Ethics) managing all research ethics at the university, emphasises that the public debate



DR MAREWA GLOVER

will be around human reproductive research – not fertility treatment. “It's taking people quite a bit of time to get their heads around the topic we are talking about, which is research, not treatment.”

ACART is tasked by statute with exploring whether New Zealanders believe that embryos should be allowed to be used for research. If they do, then ACART must also find out what sources of embryos and what kinds of research are acceptable. The rights of an embryo's parents in decision-making must also be addressed.

Embryos for research could come from three sources: embryos that have not been implanted and are frozen after in vitro fertilisation procedures (New Zealand law says embryos not

Māori would want to know the point, the purpose ... “What role will they play, and is this something that will contribute to our demise or something that will help sustain us as a people? That's what's important – not whether a particular procedure or technology is culturally appropriate.” MAREWA GLOVER

implanted must be destroyed after ten years in storage if not used in research or donated to another woman); sperm and eggs specially donated for research; and cloning.

There are two types of cloning: reproductive cloning, illegal in New Zealand, which would result in a new human being with identical DNA to the original person; and therapeutic or research cloning, where an embryo is allowed to grow for around seven days, at which time its stem cells would be removed and encouraged to grow into human tissue to be used for transplantation and medical treatment. The end result

of therapeutic or research cloning would not be a human being – it would be a piece of nerve tissue, quantity of skin or a replacement organ.

Whatever the source, the embryo would be destroyed in the research process.

Buying and selling embryos is, and will remain, illegal under the HART Act. Embryos would have to be donated.

Of course, money could become involved if successful outcomes of research on embryos create commercial biotechnology opportunities. This, in turn, could raise ethical and legal questions about the ownership of the intellectual property. But Rumball urged TE KARAKA not to pursue the commercial aspect at this early stage. The commercial possibilities are a long way off, she said, and people trying to absorb an already complex area will get confused.

ACART's public discussion document will be substantive at up to 50 pages, and will require concentration, Rumball says. She makes no apology for that.

“The information is multi-faceted. The angles are: the science, the legal framework, and the ethical, cultural and spiritual issues. It's important that people consider all the angles. We would be selling the public short if we didn't offer them all the angles.”

Consultation with Māori was already under way at the time of writing. ACART's Māori members have established a network which will give them Māori feedback as the debate continues. This feedback will be worked into ACART's analysis and report to the Government after the public consultation process. But it is unlikely ACART will be able to neatly package “the Māori perspective”. Māori are expected to have the same diversity of views on embryo research as non-Māori.

As a forerunner to ACART's formal consultation process, informal public debate, through the issue of a brochure and website discussion, has already been initiated by the Bioethics Council – a non-statutory agency which advises the Minister for the Environment.

The Bioethics Council says some people believe embryos are entitled to special respect; some believe embryos are persons and so should not be destroyed; some think it acceptable to use embryos if it could lead to improved health or human understanding; and some believe embryos are no more than a collection of cells that deserve no special respect.

While Māori views will no doubt find an echo in all these observations, Marewa Glover is confident, after doing research on the quite separate matter of infertility in Māori, that asking Māori what they think of a single procedure or technology is not the right way to get them thinking and debating about the issues.

“You need to look at how these things fit, and how it would serve Māori,” she says. “What role will they play, and is this something that will contribute to our demise or something that will help sustain us as a people? That's what's impor-

tant – not whether a particular procedure or technology is culturally appropriate. That's not the right question, not the right focus."

Glover says government agencies and committees like ACART tend to think consultation with Māori means asking, "is it going to clash with tikanga, or what is the tikanga around this?"

"Well, there is no tikanga around these things. They are new things and Māori need to discuss them. They need the opportunity to think about the implications, to think about what they are, what purpose it serves, how it sits with the broader kaupapapa, whether it sustains or contributes to our demise."

Glover says her own research suggests Māori will view embryo research individually. "But iwi should be the ones that decide whether or not it is something they would use – that would help sustain the iwi."



SYLVIA RUMBALL

Rumball predicts Māori, like other New Zealanders, will spend a lot of time coming to grips with what has happened in the world of assisted reproductive technology. "They probably are not going to be able to move on to the actual questions until have their heads around what is the actual state of affairs."

ACART doesn't have the money or resources for a public education programme, Rumball says. She suggested to a parliamentary select committee that the HART legislation at Bill stage should have some requirement for education written into it, but this was not taken up.

ACART has just three policy personnel, seconded from the Ministry of Health, and seven projects to work through in the next year on top of the embryo research consultation. Its budget

for 2006-07 is \$374,387, excluding personnel costs. The consultation costs, including hui, have to be met out of this budget.

Rumball notes that the Bioethics Council, with which ACART has formed a partnership for the embryonic research consultation, has a far wider mandate – and a bigger purse – than her committee. The council, set up in 2002 on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification, can set its own work programme and priorities, and has been proactive on the public-engagement side of embryonic stem cell research. In contrast, ACART's work is strictly prescribed under statute.

Rumball doesn't know the views of her Māori committee members. "It's not our job to insert our views. It's almost irrelevant what individual committee members think – I have never asked. We have to set our own views aside. We are going out there to learn what the different perspectives are, not to tell them what we think they think. We are being very careful to say we don't know how you are thinking and we don't know if there is a Māori perspective or any other group perspective."

"Overseas experience is that there is a huge diversity of opinion even within what appear to be relatively homogenous groups. The most important thing for Māori is that they feel free [to contribute]; any and every view is acceptable, and we want to hear the widest possible range of views," says Rumball.

Piri Sciascia (Ngāi Tahu), a member of the Bioethics Council, knows well how hard it is to be asked to stamp a Māori perspective on biotechnology advances. Pro-Vice-Chancellor

"... there is no tikanga around these things. They are new things and Māori need to discuss them. They need the opportunity to think about the implications, to think about what they are, what purpose it serves, how it sits with the broader kaupapapa, whether it sustains or contributes to our demise." MAREWA GLOVER

(Māori) at Victoria University, Sciascia was one of four Māori on the Bioethics Council involved in the Council's Māori working party report on xenotransplantation last year. Xenotransplantation is the biotechnology covering animal-to-human transplants – for example, transplanting pig cells into people to produce insulin.

The Council's brief is to look at new biotechnology and advise the Environment Minister on the cultural, spiritual and ethical issues around it.

Sciascia was interested to hear Marewa Glover's comment that there is no tikanga around the new reproductive biotechnology.

"We [the Council's Māori working party] had a similar view. We were identifying [xenotransplantation] as being deficient from a Māori point of view because there is little understanding of what we are dealing with. Like Marewa, we were saying there is no tikanga specific to xenotransplantation – but that doesn't say there couldn't be."



PIRI SCIASCIA

Sciascia says it comes down to a question of how close or not the various biotechnologies are to Māori culture.

"Talking about the application of biotechnology, if for example it is towards a healing purpose, you suddenly find yourself in the middle of a whole lot of tikanga."

Sciascia says the Māori councillors try to find a way that the Māori perspective "may be taken forward – rather than saying this is what it is. We need wānanga to develop our own understanding."

Marewa Glover says that two years on she thinks of her little underdeveloped "leftover" embryo quite differently. She told a recent Bioethics Council seminar "Talking Embryos" in Wellington that, following her soon-to-be published research study on Māori attitudes to assisted human reproduction, she is conscious of the embryo's whakapapa.

"It had a mauri, maybe even a wairua. It wasn't going to become a child, it wasn't good enough to keep, to freeze, to use later, to donate to anyone else. It probably even wouldn't have been any good for research purposes – though that would have been a better fate for it I feel."

"At least then it would have done something more with its life." ■■

THE AUSTRALIAN SITUATION

Australians said yes to embryonic research four years ago. The research, relating to in vitro fertilisation (IVF) and embryonic stem cells, is controlled under highly functional legislation enacted by the Australian Government in 2002.

The legislation provides for national coordination of research. But it is currently under review because the science has advanced to the point where it is pushing against the legislation. An independent inquiry has made 53 recommendations for law change – the most controversial would allow the introduction of somatic cell nuclear transfer or "therapeutic cloning". This technology is a means of deriving disease-specific stem cells for research under an ethical licence regime.

All research is controlled by the Australian Stem Cell Centre, a collaboration of academic researchers and the biotechnology industry. The centre's mission is to develop innovative therapeutic products to treat a range of serious injuries and debilitating diseases. It also aims to make a commercial return from discoveries.

The centre started three years ago in partnership with nine organisations, including the Queensland, Monash and Adelaide universities. Its latest annual report shows the partnership has grown to 12 members. Research institute and funding partners include the Victor Chang Cardiac Research Institute, the Peter MacCallum Cancer Centre, the Centre for Green Chemistry and Stem Cell Sciences Limited.

The annual report says highlights of the 2005 year included: consistent and stable production achieved of primitive blood and muscle cells from human embryonic stem cells; conditions developed to produce large numbers of blood-forming cells from human embryonic stem cells; discovery and development of valuable new research tools for stem cell research; and 13 patent applications filed

for nine projects, with a further nine patent applications under way.

In other words, it's still very early days, even though considerable information and knowledge has been gathered and published since 2003. In a vote of confidence for the centre and its work, the Australian Government last year awarded it a further A\$55 million funding (NZ\$63.4 million) for research from 2006 to 2011. The centre says this second round of funding – it received A\$43.5 million in 2003 – recognises the need for long-term financial support of medical research with lengthy lead times to commercialisation. The Victorian State Government also gave the centre \$11.3 million last year.

The centre, in a recent submission to the Australian equivalent of a New Zealand parliamentary select committee, said the existing legislation was restricting its work, and needed to be modified. But it supported a continued ban on human reproductive cloning and continued national coordination of research, including legislation and licensing.

Meanwhile, British scientists have applied to create hybrid embryos using human cells and animal eggs for stem cell research to develop new treatments for diseases such as Parkinson's, stroke and Alzheimer's. They say being able to use this biotechnology would help them understand more about how cells behave after the nuclear transfer process (the process Australian scientists are seeking legislative change to allow).

If the application is approved by the British authority that oversees embryo research, the hybrid embryo would be 99.9 per cent human and 0.1 per cent animal. Use of animal eggs would alleviate a shortage of human eggs left over from IVF treatments, which have been used for stem cell research.



Southern Cultural Materials RESOURCE KIT

Ngāi Tahu taonga – iconic treasures, cultural materials and resources – reflect hundreds of years of southern Māori life and history. They join the past with the present helping position ancient values in a modern world and forming an intrinsic link between the people and the land.

Increasingly, it has become necessary to put processes in place around obtaining cultural resources to ensure their availability now and into the future. The Department of Conservation (DOC) in partnership with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu have developed policies over a number of years to manage cultural resources they are responsible for, and the practices associated with them that are at risk of being lost.

In the Otago area, traditional arts practitioners, such as weavers and carvers can obtain cultural materials, e.g. plants or feathers and bones of birds, by applying to Kōmiti Taoka Tuku Iho. While this process is likely to be alien to some people, others recognise it as essential for the preservation of scarce resources.

Since the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 as many as eight Acts now set the rules governing Māori cultural resource taonga. So in Otago, to help people navigate the information and access cultural resources, *The Southern Cultural Materials Resource Kit* has been commissioned by Kōmiti Taoka Tuku Iho, DOC, the Dunedin City Council, Otago Museum and Araiteuru Rūnanga (Moeraki, Puketeraki, Ōtākou and Hokonui).

Researched by Rua McCallum of Moeraki, and due for publication in 2007, the resource kit will present a brief overview of many streams of information, including southern Māori cosmology, the relationship of Ngāi Tahu to the environment, the eight Acts that govern the resources, the institutions and their various policies that guide the sustainable management of resources, and the development of processes of access.

Rua says the resource kit came about as a result of a request from whānau to the Kōmiti Taoka Tuku Iho to supply toroa (albatross) feathers for a taiaha. “While we saw this as an opposing kaupapa, it occurred to us that whānau wanting to make and adorn taonga might want information to help them understand what they’re doing.”

The kit will identify specific taonga species including toroa, harakeke,

pīngao and kiekie, kokowai, (a red pigment), pirita (supplejack vine), houī (lacebark), tī kouka or cabbage tree (*Cordyline australis*), and titoi or mountain cabbage tree (*Cordyline indivisa* and *Cordyline banksii*).

It will document local knowledge of the taonga, their traditional and contemporary uses, and the tikanga and kawa (protocols) pertaining to harvest and collection. It will also identify sites where cultivation is taking place. For example, the Pīngao Recovery Group, through The Yellow-eyed Penguin Trust, DOC and the Dunedin City Council, is planting pīngao for cultural harvest in Otago coastal areas. A series of easily read tables will display some of this information along with details about the managing institutions, contact information, permits and other criteria of access.

The resource kit will update established Māori arts practitioners and inform environmental organisations of cultural materials and practices that are at risk. It is expected that it will also generate better understanding of traditional and contemporary Māori arts practices amongst art and craft communities.

Senior Ngāi Tahu weaver, Reihana (Doe) Parata sees the kit as an essential guide for new weavers and carvers, not only to find out where they can access materials, but to understand the need for preservation of those materials. Recently, when she was looking to access kiekie, kuta and neinei for paki (rain capes), which are weaving materials found on the West Coast, she was impressed by the support of whānau at DOC.

“They were able to arrange the paperwork for us and allow us access to the sites. The process was very good. When we got onto the land, there were tikanga to follow and stay with to protect the taonga and ourselves as well.”

Doe is a woman whose actions speak louder than words when it comes to weaving. To her generation, tikanga is intrinsic – it’s just what is done. For new practitioners, however, these are critical things that need to be observed, developed and passed on to others.

“ [Whānau at DOC] were able to arrange the paperwork for us and allow us access to the sites. The process was very good. When we got onto the land, there were tikanga to follow and stay with to protect the taonga and ourselves as well.”

*Reihana (Doe) Parata,
senior Ngāi Tahu weaver*



The Southern Cultural Materials Resource Kit is likely to raise a number of questions: what are the tikanga and why are they so important, why are they interpreted differently from whānau to whānau, why do they need to be known and upheld, and what difference do they make?

The question could also be asked, do these tikanga spill over into other parts of this work – into relationships and agreements, and into the communities where these resources are cultivated and harvested? Is it part of the goodwill that allows partnerships to dovetail to fulfil the objectives of the legislation – in particular the primary relationship between DOC and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

Of this relationship, David Mules, DOC's community relations manager for the coastal Otago area, believes "there is a substantial measure of goodwill and a relationship of vast potential. There is such a huge demand on papatipu rūnanga – but I'm heartened by it."

"In Otago we have a forum called Te Roopū Kaitiaki, which is made up of two representatives from each of the four papatipu rūnanga in the Otago region. It is a forum set up to give some reality to the work," he says. "The personalities involved, and the mana they bring to the DOC relationship, is key. If nothing is made of it, nothing will come of it, so it requires an expansiveness of thinking to keep it from becoming pedestrian."

Mark Ross, parks officer for the Dunedin City Council, speaks highly of the work being done on the resource kit. "We will work with the harvest groups, weavers and local rūnanga and find out what plant species are most suitable for them to use for weaving or for other cultural purposes. It's especially good to have the resources available for the older generation

of weavers to pass on to the younger ones."

Many of these relationships have grown through the challenges they have met, such as different cultural values; different responses to, and treatment of, taonga; different ways of communicating those differences; and often the number of organisations involved in managing a single resource.

At a policy level, the same challenges move up another gear. Rachel Puentener, in her role as advisor for Toitū Te Whenua (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu) liaises with DOC to help create cohesion and consistency in the management of policy across the rohe. Part of her role is to ensure DOC's policies and plans do not erode the current legal customary rights of Ngāi Tahu whānui and, where possible, to advocate for the enhancement of those rights.

For example Ngāi Tahu opposed the recent DOC 20-year, high-level General Policy that contained a policy referring to 'non-commercial' customary use applications, and Toitū Te Whenua spent considerable effort to have this 'non-commercial' restriction removed.

"The 'non-commercial' term would not allow for consideration of barter or trade, and even koha would be questionable – clearly undermining current customary rights held," says Puentener.

The ground-breaking work of translating traditional knowledge and values into the types of management processes required by legislation highlights where the work of managing the vast cultural resource of Ngāi Tahu finally falls. And the resource kit, the first of its kind for Ngāi Tahu, gives those processes an appropriate voice. ■■

SOUTHERN CULTURAL MATERIALS RESOURCE KIT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The Southern Cultural Materials Resource Kit is due for publication and distribution in September 2007. Fifty copies have been set aside for 18 Ngāi Tahu papatipu rūnanga; Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu; Department of Conservation – 10 Otago conservancy offices; Otago Regional Council; Dunedin City Council; Central Otago, Balclutha, Waitaki, Queenstown Lakes and Southland district councils; Alexandra, Queenstown, Wānakā, Oamaru and Dunedin public libraries; Otago, Southland, North Otago and Canterbury museums; The Early Settlers Museum; Hocken Library and archive; Archives New Zealand; Alexander Turnbull Library; University of Otago (Te Tumu, Botany, Zoology, Anthropology, Geography, Clothing and Textiles departments).

KŌMITI TAOKA TUKU IHO CONTACT INFORMATION

Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki,
Phyllis Smith, Tel: 03 465 7300

Te Rūnanga o Moeraki, Rua McCallum, Tel: 03 439 4816

Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, Natalie Karaitiana, Tel: 03 478 0352

ACTS AND POLICIES GOVERNING NGĀI TAHU CULTURAL RESOURCES

LEGISLATION

Wildlife Act 1953

Marine Mammal Protection Act 1978

Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

Environment Act 1986

Conservation Act 1987

Resource Management Act 1991

Local Government Act 1992

Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998

NGĀI TAHU CULTURAL AND HERITAGE POLICIES

Ngāi Tahu Kōiwi Tangata (Human Remains) Policy 1993

Ngāi Tahu Archaeological and Rock Art Site Policy 1995

Kāi Tahu Policy on the Management of Cultural Materials, Kōmiti Tuku Iho 1994

Ngāi Tahu Material Culture (Antiquities Policy)

Ngāi Tahu Kawa Hua Taiao Policy 1994

Ngāi Tahu Intellectual Property Policy (Incomplete)



nā ROB TIPA

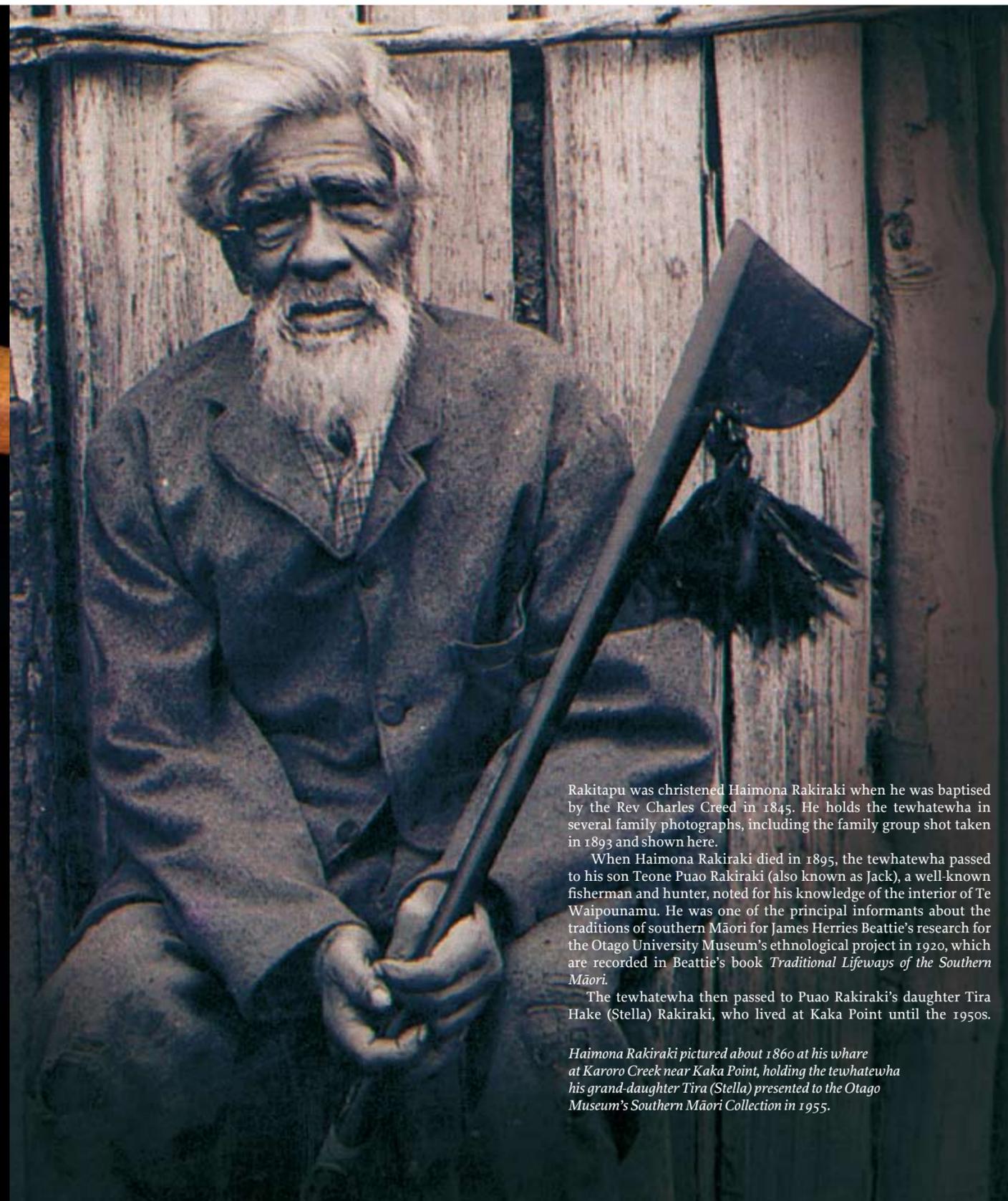
TAONGA SERIES

Rare weapon a Rakiraki family heirloom

A rare weapon belonging to the Rakiraki family of South Otago holds the distinction of being the only wooden weapon of pre-European times belonging to an Otago Māori family in any museum collection.

This tewhatewha once belonged to Rakiraki (1800-1895), also known as Rakitapu, a prominent figure during the early European settlement of Otago. He had been a frequent visitor to many old Māori pā sites of inland Otago before Europeans ventured into the interior.

This family heirloom was presented to the Otago Museum in 1955 by the old Waitaha chief's granddaughter, Miss Stella Rakiraki, of Kaka Point, and is among the museum's most prized artefacts in its Southern Māori Collection.



Rakitapu was christened Haimona Rakiraki when he was baptised by the Rev Charles Creed in 1845. He holds the tewhatewha in several family photographs, including the family group shot taken in 1893 and shown here.

When Haimona Rakiraki died in 1895, the tewhatewha passed to his son Teone Puao Rakiraki (also known as Jack), a well-known fisherman and hunter, noted for his knowledge of the interior of Te Waipounamu. He was one of the principal informants about the traditions of southern Māori for James Herries Beattie's research for the Otago University Museum's ethnological project in 1920, which are recorded in Beattie's book *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*.

The tewhatewha then passed to Puao Rakiraki's daughter Tira Hake (Stella) Rakiraki, who lived at Kaka Point until the 1950s.

Haimona Rakiraki pictured about 1860 at his whare at Karoro Creek near Kaka Point, holding the tewhatewha his grand-daughter Tira (Stella) presented to the Otago Museum's Southern Māori Collection in 1955.

She presented the tewhatewha and a basalt patu to the Otago Museum in 1955. She died in 1963 and is buried in the Andersons Bay Cemetery in Dunedin.

Today the descendants of the Rakiraki family still remember the tewhatewha being prominently displayed in the family home at Kaka Point. It is believed to be made of mānuka and has a bunch of kāhu feathers hanging from the flange.

The tewhatewha is a weapon normally associated with northern Māori culture, so this weapon's appearance in Otago may have been related to the arrival of groups from the north during the latter period of Māori occupation of Te Waipounamu.

However, it has some distinctive features that set it apart from other examples. Along the striking edge it has a ridge not present in North Island artefacts exhibited at the museum or in any authenticated Taranaki tewhatewha known to Dr Henry Skinner, a former director of the Otago Museum and an authority on the subject of Māori weaponry.

"Wooden weapons known to be of an Otago pattern are extremely rare," Dr Skinner said when the gift was made to the Otago Museum. "It is likely enough that wooden weapons were collected in the early days, but their localisation has been lost so that it is now impossible to recognise them as being of Otago vintage."

Dr Skinner found three specimens in the museum's stored collections with the same carved ridge feature (two of them likely to have been made in Otago), and concluded that this ridge was probably distinctive of tewhatewha made in Otago. The raponga style of carving is also regarded as the only example of carving from the



Te iwi o Waitaha no Whawhāpo i te tau (1893). Haimona Rakiraki (centre) flanked by his sons Puaa Rakiraki (left) and Kaitai (right) and surrounded by his whānau. Front row, from left, they are: Tira and Maiharoa Rakiraki, Mere Putakaraki, Pii, Witaka and Simon Rakiraki. Back row, from left: Kurupohatu and Koronuku Ruru, Peneamine Rakiraki, Piri Ruru, Hore, Tuku and Maku Rakiraki.

Mata Au (Clutha) district in the museum's Southern Māori Collection.

In an article *Two-handed Clubs of the Māori*, from his papers held in the Hocken Library in Dunedin, Dr Skinner said tewhatewha, hani and pouwhenua were three closely-related weapons, generally about 45 inches (115cms) long, with only superficial differences between them.

All were light, elongated clubs with a sharp striking edge or edges and a sharp-pointed end used like a bayonet in close combat. They were grasped close to the pointed end and the blow was delivered with the sharp, straight edge of the weapon, a little like using the back of an axe. The axe-like extension acted as a counter-balance to the shaft and added weight to the striking edge.

The extension was usually adorned with a bunch of feathers, which, when shaken in battle, may have distracted the attention of the opponent. Sometimes this extension was decorated with carved spirals.

In most tewhatewha, the lower extremity of the grip was always marked by a ridge, almost invariably decorated with two human faces facing outwards, Dr Skinner noted. The spear tip, representing an elongated tongue, was always decorated in the case of taiaha, but always left plain on tewhatewha and the more primitive pouwhenua, he said.

Some specimens were made of whalebone, and Dr Skinner knew of one made of pounamu, but he believed these were probably used only for ceremonial occasions.

From his research at the time, Dr Skinner felt justified in claiming a Melanesian ancestry for the two-edged clubs of Rarotonga and Aotearoa, which he considered may have evolved from paddles. ■■



PHOTOGRAPHS AND WORDS nā PHIL TUMATAROA

Te Ao o te Māori

A WINDOW INTO THE RICH LIFESTYLES OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI.



PICTURE CREDIT: OTAGO SETTLERS MUSEUM, DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND.



At a cursory glance, Māori Tours Kaikōura is a business highlighting the local culture, but step inside the fold and you soon become one of the family, entering Maurice Manawatu's world of tales, traditions and tikanga.

For the thousands of tourists that flock to the picturesque peninsula town of Kaikōura, Maurice (Ngāti Kuri), his wife Heather and niece Jasmine Williams bring the region's Māori history to life in an entertaining and



informative tour that visits key pā sites and some of the last remaining areas of native bush.

For five years now, under the gaze of his mountain Te Tapuae o Uenuku, Maurice has been entertaining tourists and locals alike with stories of his tīpuna and their ways of life and war.

The day I caught up with Maurice he had the whole local Woodbank School – 10 students and one teacher – in tow.

Formerly a boat driver for Whale Watch, it was on a water taxi in the Able Tasman that he and Heather decided it was time they did their own thing, and only six weeks later Māori Tours Kaikōura was born. They have never looked back, and open their home to every tour, welcoming them in to share food and conversation.

“It’s a real family affair. We often have aunties, cousins and our children at the house to greet tours, and we share our lives and experiences with each other,” says Maurice.

“Māori Tours is about interacting with our culture. And the beauty with this tour is living it! Living it in business, living with it within the hapū and living with it within the whānau, and if I do that, the right things will happen.”

You can contact Māori Tours Kaikōura on 0800 866 267 or visit www.maoritours.co.nz



Horopito

the Māori painkiller

Horopito, also known to most Kiwis as the pepper tree, has a well-deserved reputation as one of the best natural painkillers found in the New Zealand bush.

The leaves and bark of this ancient plant were used by Māori for a wide range of traditional internal and external remedies long before modern science confirmed the plant indeed possessed significant antiseptic, antifungal and antibacterial properties.

In recent years, scientists have identified 29 different compounds in horopito, including at least four active antifungal compounds and powerful antioxidants.

In 1982 a group of researchers in Canterbury isolated a polygodial compound from the leaves of the horopito *Pseudowintera colorata*, which they discovered was more effective in suppressing the growth of candida albicans, a yeast-like stomach infection, than conventional antifungal treatments. When combined with anethol – the active ingredient of anise seed, a traditional medicinal herb used in South America – it was 32 times more effective. Several companies have now developed products derived from horopito and other plants to treat candida.

In *Māori Healing and Herbal*, Murdoch Riley explains that horopito was one of the plants used by tohunga to drive evil spirits away. Its leaves were worn by the souls of the dead on their journey into the underworld.

For the living, the leaves and tender branches were bruised and steeped in water and the lotion was applied to skin diseases, such as ringworm, or used to treat venereal diseases. Leaves were sometimes chewed and applied as a poultice to chafing skin or to hasten the healing of wounds, bruises or cuts, leaving a blue mark similar to a tattoo.

An infusion made by boiling the inner bark of horopito was mixed with oil, and was said

to cure burns, leaving no scar. The bark also produced a bush substitute for quinine, which early Europeans used in the treatment of chronic stomach illness. There are also accounts of the leaves being rubbed on the skin as a scent, or the sap being used to treat gonorrhoea.

To wean a child, mothers sometimes rubbed the bitter sap or crushed leaves of horopito on their breasts to discourage the child from suckling.

Fresh, peppery leaves were chewed to treat toothache and headaches. The leaves tasted hot and pungent but the mouth became cool after swallowing. Likewise, an amber-coloured infusion of the leaves could be taken for chest ailments, colds and asthma and certain internal ills, leaving a burning sensation in the throat and chest.

When a bushman suffered a painful, swollen knee in 1885, he was very grateful when his Māori guide scalded the leaves of horopito with boiling water, wrapped the poultice in a handkerchief and applied it to his knee as hot as he could stand, Murdoch Riley records. According to the bushman, the pain was “something awful” and “the perspiration was pouring off me.” He pulled the poultice off and soaked it in cold water. “My knee was not so painful and we got a good night’s rest,” he said.

Horopito belongs to a primitive, southern hemisphere family of shrubs and trees known as *Winteraceae*, which is found in South-East Asia, South America and New Zealand. There are three species endemic to New Zealand, two of which are known to Māori as horopito.

Pseudowintera colorata is found throughout New Zealand up to 1,200 metres in altitude. It commonly grows as a shrub between 1 metre and 2.5 metres high in second-growth scrub after the destruction of native forest by milling or fire. Occasionally it grows into a tree up to 10 metres.

Browsing animals such as deer find the foliage unpalatable, so the shrub is now common in broadleaf forest.

In cultivation, it is compact, slow-growing and heavily branched. Leaf colour varies from yellow-brown to green, but the leaves go a blotchy red, especially on an open, sunny site. New shoots in spring are sometimes bright red, but the colours are not as vivid when the plant grows in the shadows of the bush.

Pseudowintera axillaris is also known as horopito/pepper tree, but it is not as common and its foliage is quite different to its namesake. It occurs naturally between Northland and Westport in the west, to Banks Peninsula in the east. It commonly grows as a small tree up to eight metres, but its green leaves are shiny on both surfaces, not blotchy, and have pin-like, aromatic glands.

Despite the different habits and foliage, the leaves of both species are aromatic when crushed, and pungent to taste. Botanists once thought these two species hybridised, but now believe the colour variation is a result of its situation. To add further to the confusion, horopito may have been known as ramarama in the south, but that name also applies to a different species altogether in Māori medicinal references.

The hard, dark-red wood of horopito was tough and used for ornamental work, while James Herries Beattie says the best wood for making pōtaka (spinning tops) in the far south was “ramarama”.

Whatever you call this shrub, it may be a handy substitute if you forget to pack painkillers in your first-aid kit on your next trip into the bush.



A young specimen of *Pseudowintera colorata*, commonly known as horopito or pepper tree, growing in the shadows of second-growth bush. The blotchy red spots are more pronounced on shrubs growing in full sun.



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nā Dr NEVILLE BENNETT

NGĀ TAKE PŪTEA

GET A CASH CUSHION

Your grandparents will say that you cannot have a comfortable lifestyle if you lack a cushion of money to cover emergencies.

We often brush aside the advice of our elders, regarding it as dull and overly cautious. But they have learnt from experience that problems can arise quickly and unexpectedly.

Some people think they can rely on borrowing when they really need money. Well, we all know there are loan sharks out there, especially in the lower socio-economic areas. But you are not going to get ahead if you use them.

It's true that credit is sometimes useful – such as a bank loan to buy a home – so this article will combine a discussion of why you should build up a cash cushion for emergencies with some remarks on establishing a good credit rating for when the time is right to borrow.

Sometimes people think that if they consolidate their hire purchase, credit-card and car loans into one personal loan they will be better off. That is what the advertisers say. Consumer magazine gives examples to the contrary (August 2006). It refers to one well-known company that lent \$8,500, but the customer ended up paying back \$22,400, including insurance of \$2,200! Similarly, Provincial Finance made a loan of \$7,999. It charged a \$675 documentation fee, \$300 for security registration and \$799 for brokerage fees. The client repaid \$14,000 at a finance rate of 37% per annum.

The message is clear: avoid credit brokers and finance companies. If you do need to borrow, credit unions and banks are best. Consumer has free articles on topics such as the best way to borrow, your rights, and loans sharks (refer to www.consumer.org.nz).

Many Kiwis default on their debts, ie, do not repay them on time or at all. This has very serious consequences. They lose their credit rating and find it hard to get it back. The next time they want to do something as simple as take out a mobile phone contract, enter into a hire purchase agreement or rent a flat, they risk being turned down. They might also receive an unwelcome visit from a debt collector.

The crazy thing is that 61% of all consumer debts that are referred to debt collection agencies are for less than \$400. Most businesses do credit checks before they extend credit. If you have defaulted on a debt, they want nothing to do with you.

So, if you have lost your credit rating, you will want to work to get it back. Each time you apply for credit you give permission for the lender to check your record. A record of searches is kept. The more times you get turned down, the bigger the file gets. Do not apply unless you are confident of success. The best start is to register on the electoral roll, because lenders use it to check your name and address. Try to think who will give you credit. Your bank is a good place to start. If the bank gives a credit card, use it very minimally, and pay up each month, because lenders like a record of timely payments.

Why have a lot of people blighted their position because they could not repay a bill of less than \$400? Perhaps they did not understand the consequences. Perhaps they were living beyond their means and did not have a budget. Perhaps they were wiped out by an unforeseen calamity, like the need to visit a sick relative, pay a big medical bill, or fix a broken car belt.

Many advisors believe you need savings amounting to three months' outgoings. Start by saying you will save a month's outgoings. It is never easy. But it beats the prospect of being wiped out by a bill that you are unable to repay, and then losing your credit rating.

No need to do a midnight flit when the rent is overdue. Spend less than you earn. Save. Put your money in a high-interest bank account.

The really important thing to do is resist dipping into your savings. Keep your savings for an emergency only. Then you will not get overwhelmed by debt. It is the best way to start living comfortably.



Dr Neville Bennett is 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.

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Review nā **DONALD COUCH**

If it is IP, is it in our ID?

As the world moves on from the Age of Aquarius to the Age of Acronyms, so too must we. Welcome to IP – intellectual property – sometimes known as IPR – intellectual property rights – to fit the parallel Age of the TLA (three-letter acronym).

We are in the magical world of copyright, trademarks, patents and other similar devices. No contemporary organisation or corporate can be without them. By recent count, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and its subsidiaries had 142 registered trademarks.

All this to protect ownership rights to creative expression, which is fine for corporates, but what about indigenous people whose creative expressions are traditionally collective and multi-generational.

Barry Barclay has taken on this challenging topic with the sub-title of “Māori treasures and intellectual property rights”.

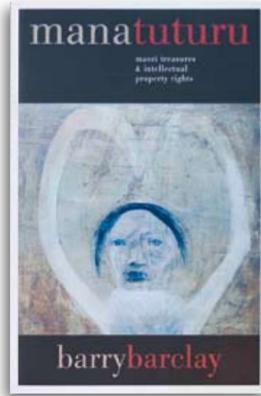
Barclay is a documentary film-maker, and it shows. He is somewhat astonished to find there may be somewhere between 300 and 600 million indigenous people in the world. He claims to know a little about the Saami and Inuit “because they have made their own feature films”.

Do not be put off by the heavy-going first chapter, in which Barclay creates a storyboard/script for filming Cook’s arrival in Aotearoa in 1769. Along the way, he gets into the myriad creative-ownership questions that would arise.

Try this: “no image is born innocent ... each comes [marked] for the market place ... [from the] first moment the image is tradable ...”

But what if the intent is not commercial? After explaining the need for protection of commercial creative work, Barclay spends much of the rest of the book developing his belief that “existing IPR regimes have very little to offer indigenous peoples.”

And Barclay has been around – he is familiar with more than just the Saami and Inuit. Personal experiences and examples of indigenous peoples from Ethiopia, Hawaii, Sri Lanka, the USA, Tonga, India and Australia all illustrate



a common concern and need. From the Rio 1992 Biodiversity Conference, the Mataatua Declaration in 1993, the New Zealand Law Commission in 1996 on Māori Customary Law, to the ongoing Wai 262 inquiry, Barclay comes back to tikanga and his mana tuturu principle of Māori spiritual guardianship.

One day we will have an appropriate system for protecting our taonga. Barry Barclay has done an excellent job of pointing the way, not least by identifying what not to do.

IN SEARCH OF THE SOUTHERN SERPENT

BY **HAMISH MILLAR & BARRY BRAILSFORD**

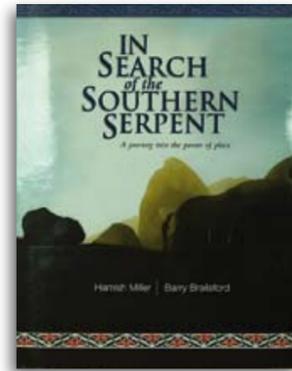
Penwith Press & Stone Print Press

RRP \$60.00

Review nā **ERUERA TARENA**

In Search of the Southern Serpent is the latest publication from controversial author Barry Brailsford, who this time has paired himself with a Pākehā dowsner, Hamish Millar. The book combines reflections of a tour of wāhi tapu, new-age spiritualism and supposed Waitaha histories. It reads like a *Lonely Planet* guide, and the heavily romanticised writing style makes it hard to follow and confusing.

Brailsford gained notoriety with his book *Songs of Waitaha*, which drew much criticism from Ngāi Tahu elders, including the writer’s poua. Despite his assertions to the contrary, Waitaha tohunga did record their traditions, including substantial narratives regarding Uruao and the eponymous ancestor Rākaihautū (for examples see *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu*, Te Maire Tau, 2003, pages 267-273). The authenticity of Brailsford’s accounts and sources have been challenged before by tribal elders and historians. However, such criticism has not deterred Brailsford from continuing to put forward his unique brand of tribal tradition.



Brailsford asserts that Waitaha were of separate racial origin to Māori, and he undermines Māori indigeneity by stating Waitaha were also of African, Asian and European origin, creating a scenario where the coloniser becomes indigenous. He states:

“They [Waitaha] descend from three broad streams – the Maori: a distinctly Polynesian grouping in colour and appearance with links back to Africa and the Americas – the Kiritea: an Asian line with dark, almond shaped eyes ... – the Urukehu of pale skin, red or fair hair, blue or hazel eyes and a story that went back to Europe.” (page 44)

Such portrayals have their origins in early European philosophies of racial superiority and are nothing more than the latest incarnation of the pre-Māori Mori Mori myth.

Brailsford evidently does have a talent for telling stories. The danger here is that these accounts are passed off as accepted tribal history. If you enjoy this kind of literature then read it, but do not confuse it with Waitaha traditions, lest the legacy we leave our mokopuna is one that has been interpreted by a Pākehā.

TE MAURI PAKEAKA: A JOURNEY INTO THE THIRD SPACE

By **JANINKA GREENWOOD AND ARNOLD MANAAKI WILSON**

Published by Auckland University Press

RRP \$39.99

Review nā **ELIZABETH O’CONNOR**

“Pakeaka”, say the authors, is that little area of possibility when two war parties have come together before they decide whether to fight or to find another way forward. The “third space” is one where Māori and Pākehā may meet, engage with each other’s values, and choose future action.

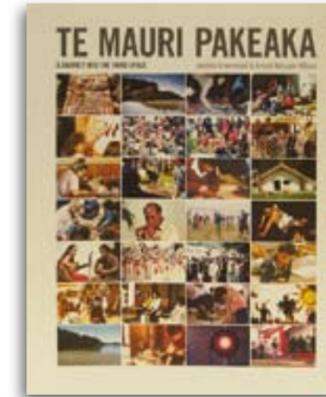
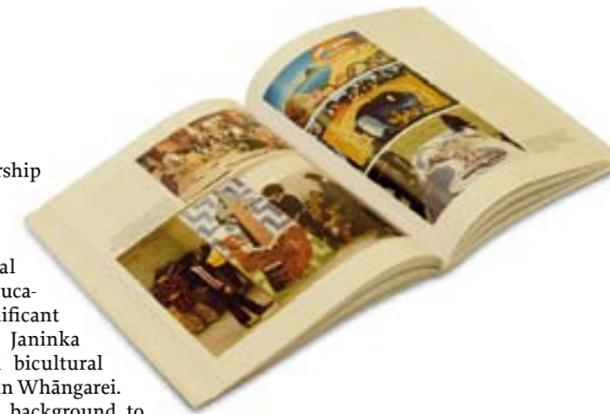
This book describes the Pakeaka encounters of the late 1970s and the 1980s, when schools and

marae joined under the leadership of Arnold Manaaki Wilson and local Māori communities to create artworks in intensive cross-cultural contexts. Many artists and educators joined Pakeaka in significant roles, including Czech-born Janinka Greenwood, who pioneered bicultural youth drama at Forum North in Whāngarei.

The book gives generous background to each project, respecting and illuminating the communities involved, and illustrating in words and photographs the tangible artistic and social achievements of the projects.

It sketches the huge political and social changes taking place in New Zealand, from the days when education statistics for Māori students were terrifyingly dire, to the present day when, for example, Ngāi Tahu have developed a memorandum of understanding with the Ministry of Education in relation to reporting education outcomes for Ngāi Tahu students.

This is a dense but readable book, celebrating a long process that may be vital to the future of Aotearoa.



ALBUM REVIEW

TE WHAIAO (TE KU TE WHE remixed)

By **VARIOUS ARTISTS**

Rattle

RRP \$33.95

Review nā **LISA REEDY**

Enchanting and often haunting, *Te Whaiao (Daylight)* is the latest album release from record label Rattle. The classic *Te Ku Te Whe (The Woven Mat of Sound)* by Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns is brought back to life in remix form on this stunning double CD. It includes the original album, which was released in 1993, so one can make comparisons between the two versions.

Blending taonga puoro (traditional Māori instruments) with contemporary electronica, *Te*



Whaiao features remixes by artists such as Salmonella Dub, Sola Rosa and Pitch Black. Stand-out tracks are Epsilon Blues’ rendition of *Porotiti*, Warren Maxwell’s *Io Wai* and Victoria Kelly’s interpretation of *Homai o Ringa*.

The work of Hirini Melbourne, a composer, singer and academic, who was tragically taken by cancer in 2003, has an enduring quality that transcends genres. It is a shame that electronica forms are so pervasive in *Te Whaiao*. All the tracks have a definite dub sound, which homogenises them. Despite this single gripe, *Te Whaiao* is a beautiful tribute to a wonderful man.

Ka ora tonu ngā waiata a te tohunga a Hirini Melbourne.

TE KARAKA has a copy of the CD *Te Whaiao (Te Ku Te Whe Remixed)* to give away. The winner will be chosen from contributors to our next letters page.

Opinions expressed in REVIEWS are those of the writers and are not necessarily endorsed by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

TELEVISION REVIEW



PHOTOGRAPH: STYLE FOR PHOTOGRAPHY

TE HĪKOI MAHANGA
MĀORI TELEVISION

Toa Television Productions Ltd

Review nā **PRIMIA BURGER**

Te Hiko Mahanga is aimed at two groups – surfers and bros. So if you’re neither of these, it may not be your cup of tea.

Two middle-aged twins hit the road for a surfing trip from Raglan to Te Waipounamu, including Invercargill, Greymouth, Christchurch and the Catlins.

There’s plenty of male bravado and brotherly banter, which is funny, but it occasionally overtakes the content. The second episode finds the twins in Wellington and, in an interview with kaumātua Sam Jackson, TK spends so much time mocking his absent twin, he never actually gets around to interviewing the kaumātua.

Relevant content is limited. Wellington has reputable surfing spots, yet the coverage of them is surprisingly meagre. Time instead is given to slightly laboured gags aimed at Te Papa and Parliament. But this aspect of the programme may improve as the series progresses.

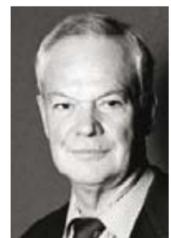
The show comes across like a couple of cheeky fellas jumped in their truck to hit the surf and took along a camera. Production elements reflect this: it’s visually basic, aurally patchy and light on research.

There are some nice touches, like opening titles, use of music and, of course, reflections of Te Waipounamu. And the twins are certainly fun ambassadors for summer. After watching them surf, recline on deckchairs, stroll on beaches and laugh with friends, you’re sure to be ready for your turn.

Te Hiko Mahanga, Mondays, 9pm, 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.



Donald Couch is Pro-Chancellor of Lincoln University and deputy kaiwakahaere of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.



Eruera Tarena (Ngāi Tahu, Whānau-a-Apanui) is Culture and Identity Project Leader for Toitū te Iwi, 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 interests. Lisa is an MC and works as a radio announcer on Tahu FM.

AHAKOA HE ITI HE POUNAMU

WAKA REO \$10,000 PRIZE WON

Zoe Rehu won \$10,000 on the Māori Television show *Waka Reo*, which challenged 14 strangers with little or no reo Māori to live together on Tutehuarewa Marae at Koukourarata on Horomaka (Banks Peninsula).

“For 13 weeks, contestants were immersed in te reo Māori and given various physical tasks to complete, while living on the marae,” says *Waka Reo* producer Whetu Fala, of Tahu Communications Ltd.

It came down to two of the youngest contestants – Zoe (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāpuhi), a 19-year-old waitress from Taupo, and Jason Pehi (Ngāi Tūhoe) of Temuka, but it was Zoe who impressed the judges with her speech in reo Māori and who took home the prize money.

The two got together after the show ended and moved to Christchurch, where they are both studying Māori.



ROWING STORM

Storm Uru (Ngāi Tahu) was named Senior Māori Sportsman. The under-23 world single skulls champion won over league hard man Ruben Wiki, and All Black prop Carl Hayman. Hailing from Invercargill, Uru was the inaugural winner in 2002 of the Southland Māori Sports Awards, Junior Sportsman award.

Former Māori and Canterbury No. 8 Dale Atkins (Ngāi Tahu) featured as a finalist in the Coach category.

REACHING FOR THE TOP

Eight-year-old Carinza Filia has her sights set on the Commonwealth Games after only a year competing in gymnastics. Recently she won the overall trophy for levels 1, 2 and 3 in the Northland championship, as well as a gold medal for level 2.

Carinza and her parents, John and Tanya, moved to Opononi last year. She is used to travelling 60 kilometres daily to attend Ohaeawai School, and also journeys 90 kilometres three times a week to train with the Keri Keri competition team. Mum Tanya says Carinza is so dedicated to gymnastics she never wants to miss training.



VAKA MOANA OPENS

Waka, waka, va'a – relive the incredible story of the exploration of the Pacific. The *Vaka Moana* exhibition opens in Auckland War Memorial Museum's dome on 9 December. Then, in March, it journeys on a four-year international tour.

Featuring 150-200 objects from both the Auckland Museum's extensive Pacific and Māori collections and other New Zealand and international collections, the show boasts full-sized sailing canoes, large-scale replicas, incredible navigation tools and instruments, diaries, paintings, engravings and charts.



Doubtless Bay waka prow.



Modern moves.

CHANCE TO DANCE

Dance to the beat and shuffle them feet. It's been show time for young Māori and Pacific Island males, with the opportunity to win fees scholarships worth \$5,850 at Wellington Performing Arts Centre.

“The scholarships have meant that our students can get work in the industry as performers who can dance and sing,” says centre director Jenny Stevenson.

The Performing Arts Foundation of New Zealand generously funds the awards. The auditions were held earlier this month, so congratulations to the winning dancers. For more information, log on to www.wpac.org.nz or call (04) 385 8033.

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

MATT SAUNOA

SINGER – AND ASPIRING SONGWRITER

HE TANGATA

Before he became NZ Idol, Matt Saunoa was building garages in Levin where he lives with his fiancé, Lisa Jane McKenzie, and their son, Harlyn James. Taking out the title of NZ Idol in October gave Matt the opportunity he'd always dreamt of by launching him into the New Zealand music industry. His single *Hold Out*, written by James Reid from New Zealand band The Feelers, debuted at number 1 in the New Zealand charts.

Matt attributes the birth of Harlyn as a defining moment in his life. He's a one hundred and ten per cent dedicated family man now, saying that everything he does is to make life better for his son and partner. With the \$50,000 prize money he won on *Idol*, Matt plans to put a deposit on a house, and pay for their wedding.



PHOTOGRAPH: NZ IDOL © 2006 SOUTH PACIFIC PICTURES; PHOTOGRAPHER: JAE FREW

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?

A good day is when the sun is shining, and when I'm enjoying what I'm doing and spending quality time with my family.

WHAT NEW ZEALANDER DO YOU MOST ADMIRE? WHY?

My Dad. He's from Samoa, and New Zealand is a whole second country to him. By watching him learn English and adapt to a whole different way of life, I learnt about determination and motivation and success.

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

My son, Harlyn. Since he was born, my goals and aspirations and what I really wanted in life have changed – and I never thought that would happen. I used to think that I was destined to be a famous singer because I had a talent and people told me so, which I think held me back in the first year of *Idol*. My son has given me a different attitude and made me more driven. Because of him it wasn't just about reaching the top, every step was just a blessing. There wasn't one moment when I thought I might not be going home. I just think differently.

IF YOU COULD LIVE ANYWHERE, WHERE WOULD IT BE?

Probably Levin, but I'm leaving there, so I'm really sad. I have to move to Auckland for my work, but the people of Levin, and the place, make it a home for me.

FAVOURITE SONG?

Let's Stay Together by Al Green. That's the song I share with my fiancé, Lisa Jane.

ON WHAT OCCASION DO YOU TELL A LIE?

My mother always told me it's not appropriate to lie, but I suppose sometimes you stretch the truth one way or another. When I don't want to hurt someone's feelings I may not tell them the truth, but I wouldn't directly lie.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A BAD DAY?

Not necessarily a day when I'm away from my family, but when I know that they are miles and miles away it's harder. Like when my family were in Auckland and I was at the *Idol* house I felt better than when they were hours away in Levin.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST FEAR?

Big spiders! I'd also add death, but I don't want to talk about it in case I jinx myself!

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

Not that I can think of... I suppose there are always celebrity stories I read and have an opinion on, when really it's none of my business.

WHAT IS YOUR WORST CHARACTER FLAW?

I get a bit grumpy at times when I don't get enough sleep.

WHICH TALENT WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO HAVE?

To be able to write successful music, but I'm going to give that a crack anyway – it's my latest goal.

WHAT'S YOUR FAVOURITE CHILDHOOD MEMORY?

Kindergarten was cool. I loved nap time and painting.

WHAT COUNTRY WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO VISIT?

Brazil. I've seen some cool postcards from there!

DO YOU BUY LOTTO?

Probably only about five a year.

SHORTLAND STREET OR THE NEWS?

The News.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN REINCARNATION?

Yes.

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

I hope I come back as a well-loved house cat. They have nine lives.

WHAT IS THE BEST PRESENT YOU'VE EVER RECEIVED?

My son. He wasn't planned but he was the best gift ever.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?

Ice cream and strawberries. It's not expensive, but it's a real treat.

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT?

At the beach.

LOVE OR MONEY?

Love definitely. You can be a multi-millionaire but we're all heading to the same place in the end. So you've got to be as happy as you can with the time you have.

WHAT IS YOUR MOST ADMIRABLE QUALITY?

I'd like to think I was generous, giving and caring.

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?

If it's the right song, I'm definitely dancing.

WHAT IS THE LAST BOOK YOU READ?

That's a hard one. Probably *Lord of the Rings*, but that was a while back because I'm so busy.

WHO IS YOUR FAVOURITE AUTHOR?

Roald Dahl.

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

Rugby league. You have to support the Warriors.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?

Other than my son, winning NZ *Idol* this year has topped the list.

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT?

Eggs. I love them scrambled and poached.

HOW MANY PAIRS OF SHOES DO YOU OWN?

Maybe seven. I'm not really into shoes.

IF YOU HAD TO REGRET SOMETHING WHAT WOULD IT BE?

I don't let myself have regrets, because it holds you back – and then I wouldn't be where I am now.

HAVE YOU SEEN A KIWI IN THE WILD?

No, never.

WHAT IS YOUR FAVOURITE PLACE IN NEW ZEALAND?

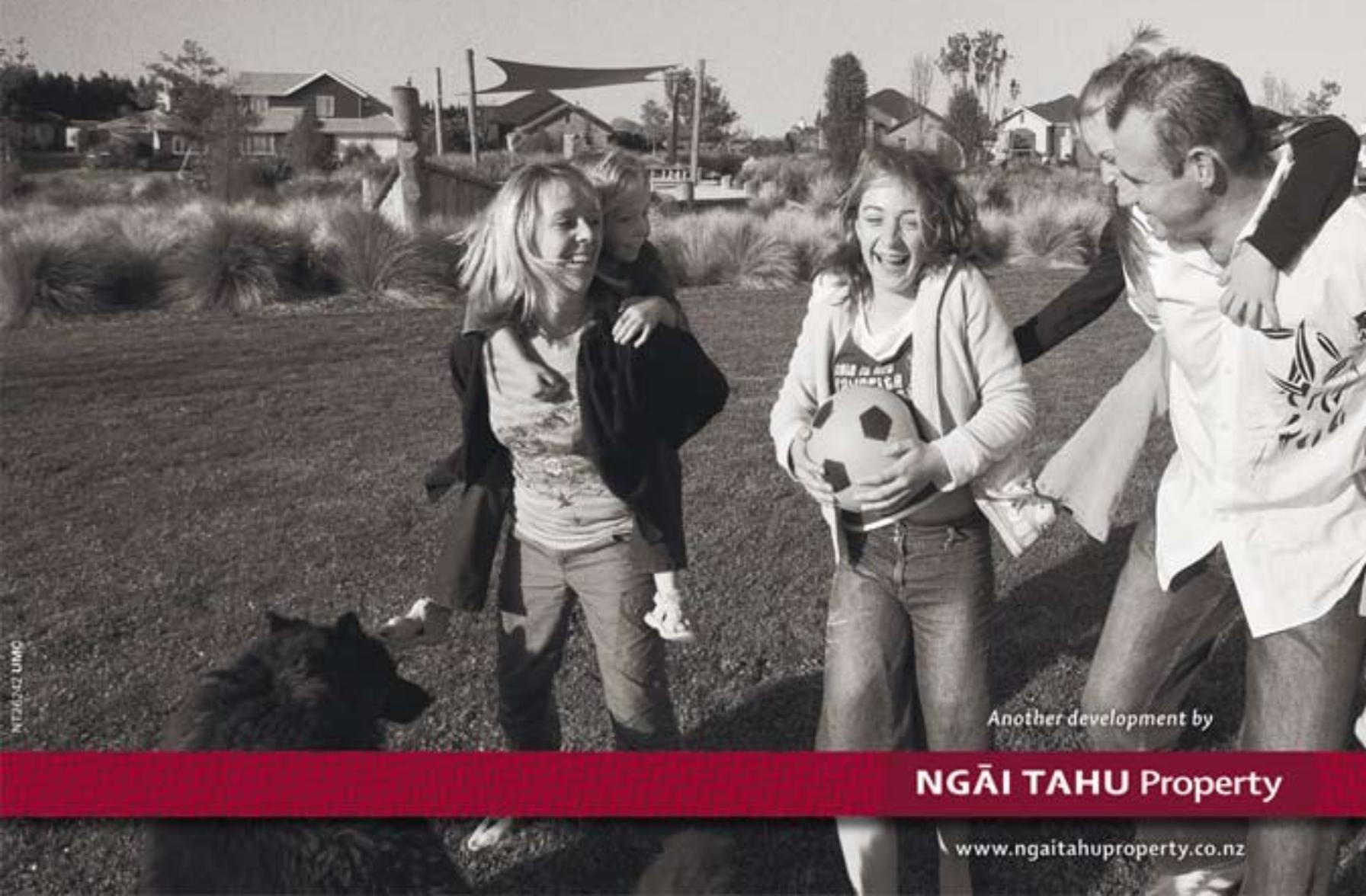
Waipu coast – about an hour and a half below Whāngarei. It's a beach I've grown up on, so it's pretty special to me. ■■■

**"WE WANTED SOMEWHERE WITH WIDE OPEN SPACES,
THAT WOULD INCREASE IN VALUE. WE'D DEFINITELY BUY
IN ANOTHER NGĀI TAHU DEVELOPMENT AGAIN."**

KAREN AUSTIN, TUMARA PARK RESIDENT

Ngāi Tahu Property's vision is to create both communities and relationships; so that our customers are our partners, growing with the help of our investment and infrastructure. By committing to the values of sustainable growth and connection with the land, we are able to look after the people that live here now - and those who will in the future.

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