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MSc in ResourceManagement

RESM 665

Individual Project

Maori Issues in Organic Farming

in Aotearoa/New Zealand

By Tremane Barr

Executive Summary

In November 1999, the Soil & Health Association started promoting the idea of all agriculture in Aotearoa/New Zealand transforming itself from conventional farming to organic farming. This idea of Aotearoa/New Zealand becoming an Organic Nation has inspired this project to carry out research into finding out what issues Maori have in converting from conventional to organic agriculture. As such, the main objective of this research project has been in undertaking a qualitative research process with twelve Maori participants involved in organic farming to find out what Maori issues are in organic farming.

The first step was for a literature review to be undertaken to find general issues people have in organic farming. The second step was to conduct qualitative interviews with twelve Maori involved in organic farming using Kaupapa Maori research methods. This research found that there are a lot of issues in common between those identified in the literature review and those mentioned by the Maori research participants.

These issues in common were in the areas of education, philosophic vs. pragmatic issues, conversion issues, certification standards, lack of government and organisational support, bias against doing things differently, national minimum standards, research and development issues.

Through interdisciplinary analysis of the literature review and interviews with the Maori participants it was possible to identify Maori issues in organic farming that are specific to Maori. The main one was on the need for a national Maori organic farming network. Other specific issues were in the areas of education that focuses on Maori

needs in organic farming. Collective ownership issues were found in the form of a lack of finance from banks to start organic farming on collectively owned land, a trap of just leasing land out, small blocks of collectively owned land needing coordination for certification and market supply purposes, problems in gaining consensus on issues in managing collectively owned land, individuals taking land on to farm organically, failing, and leaving debts behind and fear of failing and losing mana and a need for a profit share system to avoid risk of losing all the profit to the collective. Certification issues were found in the areas of certification being too complicated, shorter transition phases being needed, and the need to establish Maori certification and label systems. In terms of research and development the issues raised were in the areas of needing to value Maori science as being equal to that of western science, creating organic farming districts or regions through the Resource Management Act 1991, the need to recover traditional Maori knowledge of organic farming and the need to rebuild rural economies through organics for sustainable jobs for Maori, for example, through Green Dollar schemes.

Recommendation

The central recommendation to deal with all the identified issues is that there needs to be formed a national Maori organic farming network or organisation where Maori involved in organic farming can get together and exercise rangatiratanga (self determination) to help solve their own problems. Trying to solve all Maori issues in organic farming by a national Maori network or organisation cannot be done alone and would need to involve working in partnership with private organisations, like Soil & Health, and local and central government agencies to address Maori issues in organic farming. Partnerships based on the Treaty of Waitangi would be the best option.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank very much the twelve research participants who have made this project possible. I would also like to thank my wife, Jytte, and children, Quoyah and Kiri, for helping me through the darkest hours of completing this project and the MSc. Finally, I would like to thank Papatuanuku for being there when I needed it most. I hope this project can go some way in returning my help to Papatuanuku when she needs it most.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Background

The chemical dependence of conventional agriculture on chemical fertilisers, pesticides and other synthetic chemicals poses health risks to both ecosystems and humans (Lampkin, 1990; Watts, 1994). The threat of genetically engineered crops and animals becoming another part of the conventional farmers production process poses new risks to ecosystems and human health and because of this has been opposed by organisations like the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) (Environment News Service, 2000). Environmentalists and consumers are also becoming increasingly concerned about the negative effects chemical fertilisers, pesticides and now genetic engineering of conventional farm products have on both environmental and human health (Ansley, 2000). This environmental and human health concern has made people increasingly turn to organically grown farm products as the solution and both domestically and worldwide there is increasing demand for organically grown farm products (Lincoln University, 2000).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand today there are now 700 certified organic farms, which is double that of two years ago (Lincoln University, 2000). In the domestic market, it is estimated that the sale of organic produce has had a 70% growth in value in the past two years reaching a turnover of around \$30 million today (Ansley, 2000). While at the same time the Organic Producers and Exporters Group (OPEG) has estimated that the value of organic exports has increased by 77% from \$34.08 million in 1998/99 to \$60 million in 1999/2000 (OPEG (A), 2000). At present, the global organic food market is estimated to be worth around NZ\$40 billion with market forecasts of it growing to around NZ\$200 billion in the next five years (Lincoln University, 2000).

The global organic market is growing so much that Patrick Holden the Director of the United Kingdom Soil and Health Association has said that, “it is currently the fastest growing market in the world, including the software market” (Davies, 2000, p. 37).

In November 1999, the Soil & Health Association started promoting the idea of all Aotearoa/New Zealand agriculture transforming itself from conventional farming to organic farming by 2020 (Soil & Health, 1999). This idea of creating an Organic Nation by converting all of New Zealand’s agriculture to organic farming methods stands to benefit both the environment and economy in trying to achieve this goal. Maori interests also need to be taken into account in promoting this conversion to organics and finding out what issues Maori need to have addressed in converting to organic farming practices will be the focus of this report.

The aim of the project

The main objective of the research project is to carry out qualitative research into Maori issues in organic farming. Thereby, promoting the possibility of Aotearoa/New Zealand moving towards becoming an Organic Nation as a solution to environmental and human health concerns resulting from conventional agriculture. In total there are six key objectives, which are:

- Identify the general issues in organic farming from a literature review.
- Identify Maori issues in organic farming from interviews with twelve Maori involved in organics.
- Analyse the literature review issues and interview issues to find Maori specific organic farming issues.

- Find out if the goal of Aotearoa/New Zealand becoming an organic farming Organic Nation is relevant to the Maori participants.
- Enquire as to what the Maori participants visions are of an organic farming future.
- Develop recommendations to try and solve identified issues.

Structure of Report

The second chapter discusses the Interpretivist and Kaupapa Maori framework used in carrying out this research project. The third chapter contains a literature review to find out what are the general issues in the transition and development of organic farming. The fourth chapter has the interview responses of the Maori participants. In the fifth chapter, Maori organic farming issues are outlined. In the sixth chapter, the questions relating to the Organic Nation 2020 vision and the Maori participants visions for an organic future will be discussed. In chapter seven, the recommendations as a result of the research will be outlined. In chapter eight, are the concluding remarks.

In the next section of this chapter, the meanings attached to 'conventional' and 'organic farming' will be defined.

Conventional and Organic Farming Definition

The whole history of human agriculture until the beginning of the 20th century, Maori and Pakeha¹, has been based on organic principles and processes. This began to

¹ For the purposes of this essay the term 'Pakeha' "is derived from 'Pakepakeha', a mythical human-like being with fair skin and hair. Originally the Pakeha were the early European settlers, however, today 'Pakeha' is used to describe any peoples of non-Maori or non-Polynesian heritage. Pakeha is not an ethnicity but rather a way to differentiate between the historical origins of our settlers, the Polynesians and the Europeans, the Maori and the other." (Ranford, 2000, p.5).

change at the end of the nineteenth century when agricultural science became increasingly obsessed with reductionist cause-and-effect chemical and biological linear solutions to increase agricultural production (Lampkin, 1990; Tane, 2000). As a result of this scientific perspective, agriculture became increasingly industrialised in trying to control ecological processes through the increasing use of artificial fertilisers and pesticides and now through genetic engineering in what has been described as a "war against Nature"(Tane, 2000, p.11; Lampkin, 1990).

As such, the term 'conventional' agriculture for the purposes of this project will be defined as agriculture that involves one or more uses of readily soluble chemical fertilisers, concentrate feeds, genetically engineered organisms and pesticides that are designed to increase short term productivity (Wagstaff, 1987; Tane, 2000).

There are many variations and opinions on what organic farming is around the world, such as within the Soil & Health Association, biodynamics and permaculture to name a few. However, for the purpose of this project such variations are not relevant as no distinction has been made in the research as to these various types. As such, for the purposes of this project the term 'organic' farming will refer to a farming system, which is a "production system which avoids or largely excludes the use of synthetically compounded fertilisers, pesticides, growth regulators and livestock feed additives. To the maximum extent feasible, organic farming systems rely on crop rotations, crop residues, animal manures, legumes, green manures, off-farm organic wastes, and aspects of biological pest control to maintain soil productivity and tilth, to supply plant nutrients and to control, insect, weeds and other pests. The concept of the

soil as a living system... that develops... the activities of beneficial organisms... is central to this definition” (Lampkin, 1990, p. 5). The term organic farming will also refer to farming systems that do not use genetically modified organisms (NZBPCC, 1998).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand at present there are three main organic farming certification and labelling organisations and they are Agriquality with its 'Certenz' label, the Aotearoa/New Zealand Biological Producers and Consumers Council (NZBPCC) with its 'Bio-Gro' label and the Biodynamic Farming and Gardening Association with its 'Demeter' label (OPEG (B), 2000). However, although each has differing standards for organic farming for the purposes of this essay the above definition of organic farming will apply. This is so as to keep the focus of the report on finding out what Maori issues are around organic farming and not to get dragged into a debate over which organic method or system is preferable. But first, the research framework for this project needs to be outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO – RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

In this chapter is an outline and explanation of the research process and methodology that has been used for this project. In approaching this research project on finding out what some of the Maori issues in organic farming are, the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying it need to be made explicit to help explain how the research has been carried out.

There have been two main influences on the underlying assumptions of this research project. The first one is the social science approach of Interpretivism, which comes from the need to meet the academic standards for this project as part of the Master of Science course. The second main influence is from the Kaupapa Maori research perspective, which comes from the need to incorporate Maori research perspectives to make this project relevant and empowering for the Maori participants. I have combined both of these social science research perspectives for the purposes of this research project.

Interpretivism

The Interpretivist school of social science basic approach can be summarised as being one where the social scientist works to understand the meanings inherent in the social world in order to analyse and describe the social reality of the individuals and communities being studied as an act of interpretation by the social scientist (Blaikie, 1993). The main ontological assumption of Interpretivism is one where social reality is the result of “processes by which social actors together negotiate the meaning for actions and situations; it is a complex of socially constructed meanings. Therefore, *social* reality is not some thing that may be interpreted in different ways; it is those

interpretations” (Blaikie, 1993, p.96). As such, the epistemological assumption of Interpretivism is based on knowledge, which is gained from research into “everyday concepts and meanings” (Blaikie, 1993, p.96). This is done by the social researcher entering into “the everyday social world in order to grasp the socially constructed meanings, and then reconstructs these meanings in social scientific language” (Blaikie, 1993, p. 96). However, in this report the interpretation of meaning will be in everyday language.

In carrying out research as a Maori myself with other Maori, I decided that a Maori perspective on social science research also needed to be incorporated. As a result of this, the Kaupapa Maori research process has also been utilised for this research project and is briefly described next.

Kaupapa Maori Research

The underlying purpose of this research project on identifying Maori issues in organic farming is to help Maori exercise rangatiratanga (self-determination) in participating as effectively as possible in the emerging organic farming industry and an Organic Nation. In order to do this I have incorporated elements of the Kaupapa Maori research process because I believe that research with Maori “should set out to make a positive difference for the researched” (Smith, 1999, p. 191). In the past this has not always been the case with social scientists being accused of carrying out research “through imperial eyes” where the underlying assumption is that Western concepts “about the most fundamental things are the only possible ideas to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life and of human beings” (Smith, 1999, p.56). Bishop outlines the basis for

the Kaupapa Maori research framework in his book "Whakawhanaungatanga – Collaborative Research Stories" (Bishop, 1996).

As such, Kaupapa Maori research rejects the "hegemonic belittling 'Maori can't cope' stances, simplification and commodification of Maori intellectual property and the development of a social pathology analysis of Maori under achievement, together with a commitment to the power of conscientisation and politicisation through struggle for wider community and social freedoms" (Bishop, 1996, p. 13). This changes the emphasis of the Interpretivist approach where the social researcher enters the researched's social world in order to take something away to be analysed and interpreted in academic terms. This traditional Interpretivist approach usually ends up disempowering indigenous people and the Kaupapa Maori approach addresses this by changing the role of the traditional researcher from being the 'tuakana' (the older, leader, wiser, knower) to that of being a 'teina' (learner) (Bishop, 1996, p.213). This point addresses the need for a change in "the relationship of the researcher/researched from one which focuses on researcher as self and on the researched as 'other', to one of collaborative research participants" (Bishop, 1996, p. 227). In practice, this has meant that research participants have been invited to be involved in the research process where possible. This can be seen in the way the research has been carried out in the next section.

Research Methodology

The research process for this project can be outlined as having occurred in this way:

- Invitation to Maori involved in organic agriculture and various agencies involved with organics to participate in project. This was done via telephone and email.
- Literature review of organic farming issues.
- Literature search information circulated to research participants to help develop qualitative questionnaire.
- Qualitative questionnaire developed in consultation with the research participants.
- Qualitative interviews were carried out between August and September 2000.
- September 11th draft circulated for discussion by Maori participants.
- Feedback from academic staff and participants taken into account.
- New draft report circulated for feedback.
- October 31st final report handed in.

Maori Participants

The participants (all of whom are of Maori descent) were contacted on the basis of information from Bio-Gro and Demeter and other informal sources such as personal contacts of my own. Most of the interviews were conducted by phone, but one was conducted face to face and one person preferred to write down his answers to the questions. The seven Maori organic farmers who participated were Renata McClutchie, Percy Tipene, Manu Paul, Neville Pomare, Paul Gordon, Charlie Savage

and Cathy Tait-Jamieson. In addition, David Oudes manages an organic farm in the Gisborne region and works for Cedenco.

Victor Goldsmith works in the Gisborne region with Maori landowners.

Also included was Edward Ellison a Maori conventional farmer and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu delegate for Te Runanga o Otakou, because of his experience both as a Maori conventional farmer looking at a distance on organic farming issues and from a multi-million dollar Maori corporate perspective.

All of the above participants have expressed their personal points of view, which should not be interpreted as views representing any organisation they may work for.

The interviews with the twelve participants took place in the months of August and September 2000. However, the people who chose to participate cannot be regarded as a representative sample of all Maori involved in organic farming. The information here should be treated with caution when trying to draw conclusions about Maori organic farming in general, and as such, the information presented here can only be regarded as representative of these twelve individuals

As part of the agreement to being interviewed participants were offered to have their comments remain anonymous in the research report if they wanted to, though, none have taken up on this offer. Participants were also informed that they were able to withdraw themselves and any information they may have given to the project at any time. So far, this has not occurred.

In Appendix 2 interesting quotes that expand on the relevant issue topics are included as part of the Kaupapa Maori approach of letting the voice of the participants speak for themselves and also because they help fill out the broader picture of what came across in the interviews.

In summary, I have chosen the two research perspectives of Interpretivism and Kaupapa Maori as a basis for this research project to try and achieve the goal of enhancing Maori rangatiratanga (self-determination) in a way which can still meet the academic criteria of the Masters of Science in Resource Management course. This means that ultimately that the work presented here is my interpretation of the information that has been shared with me by the participants in the interview process. However, as much as this final work is my responsibility I still consider the work and myself to be accountable to the participants who have so generously given of their time and opinions even after the final academic deadline is met. The next chapter discusses the research results from the literature review.

CHAPTER THREE - LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter is a summary of the literature review and my interpretation of the main issues that hinder the conversion to and development of organic farming in Aotearoa/New Zealand. There were two main reasons in carrying out the literature review. The first one was to gain insight into the general issues confronting organic farming and to use this information as a basis for developing interview questions for research with the Maori participants (see Appendix 1). The second reason is to use a summary of the literature review issues to compare the Maori issues from the interviews for analysis to find the commonalities and Maori specific issues.

The main issues of concern that I found from the literature review can be grouped under the headings of:

- Education
- Philosophic vs. pragmatic issues,
- Costs of conversion
- Lack of government and organisational support
- Research and development
- National minimum standards
- Bias against doing things differently
- Issues particular to Maori.

However, all of these areas overlap to some degree and cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive to each other. Apart from Maori were most likely included as part of the available research and writings on organic farming, but just that in most cases it is not possible to differentiate between Maori and Pakeha issues.

EDUCATION

In my interpretation, education on issues surrounding organic farming is the most important area of concern mentioned in reviewed literature on what is holding back organic farming conversion and growth.

The main education issue is one where consumers need to be educated as to the environmental and human health advantages of organically grown products in order to promote organic farming (Hill M, 1999). This is because it is consumer demand for healthier and environmentally friendly food that is leading the domestic and export growth for organic food (Ansley, 2000). Consumers need to be educated about organics and how they can recognise an organically labelled product so that they can have confidence that they are getting a genuine organic product (MAF, 1991). The demand of consumers for organic food is the primary factor behind the growth of organic farming and education to help stimulate this demand would continue to see more conventional farms converted to organic production.

Integral to the education of consumers about the benefits of organic farming has been the need for education to go beyond adults and to reach children from the preschool age onwards (Smith, 1999). However, some have pointed out that the first group in society that needs to be educated about organics is politicians (Smith, 1999). Until the change in government in 1999, government policy towards organic farming has been to essentially leave it to market forces (Fairweather, 1999; MAF, 1996; Ansley, 2000). The change in government in 1999 from a National party lead coalition to a Labour/Alliance/Greens coalition has seen a more proactive stance adopted with the

Primary Production Select Committee (PPSC) beginning an inquiry into organic farming in Aotearoa/New Zealand in early 2000 (PPSC, 2000).

The education of farmers as to the advantages and method of how to convert to organics is also a big issue. If farmers are to become interested in converting their farms to organic production then they need high quality information on which to base their decisions. At the moment, there is a lack of access to practical advice. One grower indicated that he ran up a huge telephone bill in ringing Bio-Gro to find the necessary information to address his farms issues (Ewen-Street, 1999). However, some farmers have found that Bio-Gro is not always a reliable source of information as this is not their main function (Rafman, 2000).

In the literature I have identified two main ways in which the needs for the education of farmers needs to be addressed (Tait-Jamieson, 1999; Hill, S, 1999; Rafman, 2000). The first one is where it identified that the most important sources of information for organic farmers are other farmers (Rafman, 2000). This needs to be enhanced by developing an infrastructure for grower discussion groups to help increase communication among organic growers and those thinking of going organic. These grower discussion groups would need to include certification people and scientists. The other way of educating farmers is through industry farming leaders like the Kiwifruit Marketing Board and Heinz-Watties Ltd. providing educational services to farmers to help provide them with the skills and motivation, , to convert to organic farming methods (Campbell et. al., 1997; Coombes et. al., 1998).

The overall issue of education is connected to the ongoing debate as to the underlying paradigm, which should underpin the education in promoting organic farming. This argument can be characterised as having two competing paradigms. These two paradigms focus on organics from either a philosophical or pragmatic perspective. This will be explored further in the next section.

Philosophy vs. Pragmatic Issues

In the literature, there are two main competing belief systems to which people gravitate when explaining their motivations to go organic and stay organic. This comes down to those who are in organics because they are philosophically committed to its health and environmental benefits and those who are pragmatically involved for the premiums organic products can command in the marketplace (Saunders et. al., 1996; Smith, 1999; Ansley, 2000). In one study on the motivations of farmers to choose either conventional or organic farming methods, out of the 39 who had chosen to farm organically, 11 were committed for pragmatic financial reasons, 25 were philosophically committed and three could not be specific about their motivations (Fairweather, 1999). These paradigm differences have created friction within the organic movement as to what their goal should be, especially when the main certification organisation, Bio-Gro, requires all of its farmers to be philosophically committed to the health and environmental issues of going organic (Coombes, et al., 1998).

Another debate along this line is whether large-scale industrial organic farms, which specialise in one crop should be allowed (Clark, 2000). This is the most economically

efficient option for farmers. However, it violates basic principles of ecosystem integrity which organic farming is supposed to be based upon and is opposed by those philosophically committed to organics (Clark, 2000). Beyond the debate over which paradigm to act from, however, there are many practical issues that hinder conversion to organic farming, which need to be addressed.

Costs of Conversion

The farmer who decides to go into organic farming faces many problems and costs in the initial phase of conversion (Smith, 1999). The main problem in this area is that in the first-year of going into organic production this usually leads to a drop in productivity, which means fewer products to sell and less income for the farmers (Smith, 1999). There is also the problem of not being fully certified as organic for three years by Bio-Gro and not getting premiums before then (Bio-Gro, 1998). These two issues create a perception of risk and uncertainty amongst farmers contemplating going organic and thus hinder some from converting (Smith, 1999).

Another big problem is the cost of certification, especially for smaller domestic growers. The perception is that the current certification system is complicated and expensive, and seems designed to only benefit exporters (Smith, 1999; May, 2000).

Another cost in converting is that in many cases farmers need new farm equipment for weeding and spraying and on top of this is the cost of organic pesticides and fertilisers, all of which are more expensive than their conventional counterparts, because the economies of scale in producing them have not yet been maximised to the

same extent (Coombes, 1998; MAF, 1996). As such, the initial conversion process can be a costly one for farmers particularly given the lack of support by government and some key institutions, which I will discuss further in the next section.

Lack of Government and Organisational Support

There are two main areas in which there is a lack of support: the first is with the government, and the second is with market organisations.

Government

Unlike countries in the European Union, Aotearoa/New Zealand does not yet have a system of transitional subsidies for converting to organics, to cover the costs mentioned above (Ansley, 2000). Prior to the 1999 election the previous National governments policy was to leave organic farming issues to the market, for example, by not putting any effort into developing uniform organic standards (MAF, 1991; MAF, 1996). However, since the 1999 election the Labour/Alliance/Green coalition have started a Select Committee inquiry on organics. They have also made available some funding from the 2000 budget for a domestic small growers certification scheme, which indicates a greater interest by this government in supporting organic farming (Smith, 1999; Ewen-Street, 2000).

The other main issue with the government is the lack of legislation against spray drift from neighbouring conventional farmers (Watts, 1994). This poses health hazards for the organic farmers and their families as well as threatening their status as certified organic farmers. This threatens their economic survival if they cannot sell their

contaminated organic products at a premium. Unfortunately, there is going to be no protection from spray drift from this government as in August 2000 they stopped the Chemical Trespass Bill being passed and in doing so effectively legalised spray drift (Ewen-Street (B), 2000). The Greens have reintroduced the Chemical Trespass Bill into the private members ballot system to try and get it going as a private members bill, but without government support, it will not get anywhere. The best solution for all organic farmers would be for all of agriculture in Aotearoa/New Zealand to be organic by 2020. Government support for organics, or lack of it, is only one institutional factor. The other main institutional factor is with market organisations.

Market Organisations

The problem with market organisations like producer boards, such as the Dairy and Meat boards, and other processors and marketers of agricultural products is that they are either resistant to the idea of organics as a concept or find that there is not enough quantity of organic produce to justify them investing in organic facilities (MAF, 1996; Campbell, 1997; Coombes, 1998). This leaves many organic farmers having to do their own processing, marketing and distribution of their products, which are skills not generally held by most farmers (Tait-Jamieson, 1999). However, for those who have, or can get, the skills together “the value in providing jobs, having control of price and the positive margin (adding value) far and away compensates the cost” (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

Another identified problem is the need for organic farmers to rotate crops and thus have a market for all of their produce as they cannot just rely on one high-income earner, such as sweet corn, but need to earn income from other rotational crops (Hill,

1999). This is because rotating land uses is an important organic technique to avoid the build up of pests and diseases. There has, however, been some progress in recent years with the Aotearoa/New Zealand Kiwifruit Marketing Board and Heinz-Watties Ltd taking the initiative to provide educational encouragement and processing and marketing support for organic growers on contract to them (Campbell et. al., 1997). One important area in which support needs to be developed is in the research and development of practical solutions to organic farming problems.

Research and Development

Research and development potentially holds the solution to many practical problems in converting to and maximising organic production (Smith, 1999). In organic livestock farming there needs to be greater development of organic remedies for internal and external parasites. Part of the solution to this is in developing crops and livestock, which are not dependent upon conventional farming chemicals to survive. This is because many farmers find when converting to organics that their old crop and stock varieties cannot cope in an organic farming environment (Ewen-Street, 1999). Arable farming needs to have research and development into the organic management of pests and diseases, while for all farmers the maintenance of soil fertility and productivity is an issue (Coombes et. al., 1998; Smith, 1999; MAF, 1991). As such, there needs to be general research to improve both the quality and quantity of current organic production techniques. This also includes the need for the research and development of holistic system designs that can maximise organic farming ecosystems and avoid the need for (Hill, 1999; Clark, 2000). However, in order for this research and development to be useful it has to be accessible.

Having access to research and development is a problem some organic farmers commented on, in that even when existing research is being done that could help them, this information is not always easily accessible to them (Campbell, et al., 1997; MAF, 1996; Hill, 1999). This raises the question of who is paying for the research and who should have access to it. At present, there is a lack of tertiary education in organic farming and government investment in research and development at the postgraduate level (Hill, 1999). However, this is now starting to change with Unitec in Auckland, Lincoln University and some polytechnics providing organic farming courses. Heinz-Watties is also proactive in developing its own organic farm at Lincoln University for research and educational purposes to convince farmers to go organic. However, any information from this research project is the property of Heinz-Watties and is only accessible to farmers who will grow crops for them. This raises the question of funding and how much of it should be user pays and how much of it is in the public good and should be paid for by government. Overall, there is a lot more work to be done in developing the necessary infrastructure and funding to meet the needs of people wanting to go organic. Another main issue is the lack of national minimum standards.

National Minimum Standards

The issues around the need for national minimum standards relates to problems between domestic and export growers needs, who is going to enforce standards and the integrity of the word organic. The main issue identified was that there needs to be developed simplified national minimum standards for all market segments so that both

farmers and consumers know what to expect (Hoare, 2000). There is a problem of cost for growers who focus on supplying the domestic market in having to keep to organic standards developed for the export market (Smith, 1999). This issue is now being addressed as part of the 2000 budget with \$300,000 being available for the development of a domestic growers certification scheme (Ewen-Street, 2000). There are currently three organic certification organisations with their own labels (as mentioned previously), however, at this stage only Certenz meets the European Union ISO 65 standard enabling them to have access to that market (OPEG (B), 2000). This raises the issue of who is going to oversee the integrity of these different organic standards to give consumers (domestic and export) the confidence they are getting what they paid for (May, 2000).

The other main issue is confusion around the meaning of the word “organic” and how it is used or misused by some farmers and businesses (Coombes et. al., 1998; Hoare, 2000). The fear is that the word “organic” can be hijacked to mean something that is not in the terms of certification standards “organic” and thereby undermine confidence in organic farming products and reducing consumer demand (May, 2000). Problems with organic standards are an internal dynamic within the organic farming profession and government. There are also outside societal pressures against organic farming, which can manifest itself as bias and prejudice against organic farmers or those thinking of going organic.

Bias Against Doing Things Differently

Some farmers have reported that organic farming is not yet socially accepted and have experienced prejudice against themselves for converting to organics (Tait-Jamieson, 1999; Hill, 1999). This is fuelled by the general perception by some in the conventional farming circles that only woolly headed hippies would contemplate going organic and that it is unsustainable to run a farm without high chemical inputs. It is only through the actions of respectable organisations like the Kiwifruit Marketing Board and Heinz-Watties that substantial progress has been made in enhancing the acceptance of organics (Campbell, et al., 1997). Underlying this anti-organics mentality is the fear that in comparison to organics conventional farming practices and produce will be seen as not as healthy and that this will negatively impact on demand for the conventionally grown produce (MAF, 1996). It is necessary to address this negative bias through both education and research showing the conventional farming community that organics is a financially and environmentally viable option for all farmers. As such, there is no escaping the fact that conventional farmers will have to compete in the marketplace by producing cleaner and greener food to meet consumer demands in competition with organics. Maori are also used to experiencing bias against them and on top of this they have issues of their own with organics that was identified in two reports.

Maori Issues

I have come across two pieces of literature which have done some research into Maori issues in organic farming. The first one is by Coombes et. al. (1998) and the second one is a report done by Bourhill and Reid in assessing the Community Employment Organics Programme on the East Coast for the Community Employment Group

(CEGs). This is not to say that all of the above issues of concern can not also apply to Maori in general, but that they also found issues specific to Maori that need to be addressed.

The main concern specific to Maori was in the area of problems with collective ownership of Maori land. This is because collective ownership means that it is difficult to get agreement amongst owners to convert to organics (Coombes, et al., 1998). In one case, this resulted in some Maori promising land to be used in organic production when they had no right to do so. Those interviewed for the research were of the opinion that the Te Ture Whenua Act 1993 (Maori Land Act) limits their decision-making abilities and thus conversion to organics.

Another area, which hinders conversion, is the unwillingness of banks to provide loans to collectively owned Maori land, because multiple ownership does not provide the necessary financial security for the bank (Coombes et. al., 1998). Bourhill and Reid (1999) also found that a lack of seasonal finance is a significant hindrance in starting and maintaining organic farming. In the case of the first Maori farm (Paripoupou) in the Gisborne region to convert to organics this was only possible because of a loan from Te Puni Kokiri. They also received a lot of help from Heinz-Watties in helping educate them on how to grow organic sweet corn. This was such a time-consuming and energy intensive process for Heinz-Watties that they no longer have any interest in helping to start up Maori organic farms any more.

The issue of whether just leasing Maori land and paying rent on it for organic farming purposes has been raised as a solution to the problem of multiple ownership

(Coombes et. al.,1998). Maori land can also be fragmented in small blocks across a region and this makes it difficult to coordinate supply to suit retailers (Bourhill & Reid, 1999). However, for both of these issues this has certification problems and has led to accusations from some Maori owners that Trustees and corporates like Heinz-Watties are not doing enough to promote Maori employment.

Research also found that not all Maori are interested in organics from a traditional Maori point of view of being nice to Papatuanuku (mother earth). Heinz-Watties has had the experience of being turned down by one group of Maori land owners for a more profitable conventional farming opportunity (Coombes et. al.,1998).

Summary

In summary, the key issues of concern identified in the literature review are in education, philosophic vs. pragmatic paradigms, costs of conversion, lack of government and organisational support, research and development, national minimum standards, bias against doing things differently, and some issues particular to Maori. Overall, there has been a significant amount of research into general organic farming issues, but so far there has been very little direct research in trying to find out what Maori issues might be. The issues identified in this chapter were used to help develop the questionnaire for the interviews with the twelve Maori participants (see Appendix 1). The summarised results are also used in chapter five for the purposes of comparing and contrasting the issues identified from the literature review and interviews to identify issues specific to Maori in organic farming.

CHAPTER FOUR – INTERVIEW RESPONSES

In this chapter is a summary and analysis of the general findings from the twelve interviews on the participant's issues as Maori in organic farming². The issues identified in the interviews are in many cases the same as those in the literature review. In order to find issues specific to Maori in the next chapter (5) the issues from the literature review will be analysed to identify Maori specific issues in organic farming.

There are five main areas that come out of these interviews that I have prioritised in order of importance, these are:

1. Education.
2. Maori collective ownership issues.
3. Research and Development issues.
4. Conversion issues.
5. Certification standards.
6. Choice of emphasis on philosophy and/or pragmatism

Under these headings are the more specific issues to the Maori participants on organic farming, which will be outlined and discussed in the following sections.

EDUCATION

In my interpretation the issue of education came out as the most important issue of concern for the participants in how to develop and promote organic farming with Maori. The main area of concern expressed were in the need for education about what

² Information on the general framework used for the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.

is organics, the loss of traditional knowledge, a need to focus on educating Trustees and farmers, a paradigm shift to new holistic approach to farming and an idea to promote education through a national Maori organic farming network.

What is organics?

The majority of participants identified education about organics in one form or another as needing to encompass all levels of Maori society. As Aranui put it "Just the word organic to some of them, they do not understand what it means and where it comes from and what it can do for them". (Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000). In order to help CEGS has funded a Community Employment Organics Programme on the East Coast to provide advice to growers and potential growers about organics (Bourhill & Reid, 1999).

This general lack of knowledge of organics means that it is essential for everyone throughout the generations to be educated about organics (Pers. comm., Gordon, 2000). One comment by Pomare was that the government also needs to be educated about it first and McClutchie mentioned that a good place to start would be with the new Maori Affairs Minister Parekura Horomia as he comes from his electorate on the East Coast (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000; Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

Loss of traditional knowledge

Most of the interviewees recognised that Maori have always traditionally farmed organically, but that it has been at least one or two generations since Maori have farmed that way and much knowledge has been lost. People like McClutchie, Pomare and Tipene have been able to learn from some kaumatua about the traditional ways of

farming (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, Pomare & Tipene, 2000). For example, McClutchie said, "I still use the Maori calendar, I mean organics is not a new thing to Maori. I'm 52 now and you've caught me as one of the lucky ones who has listened to the old people that have handed things down traditionally and I have been swept up in that era. In terms of you only fish for a reason, you only planted for a reason and there was signs that told you when it was right and when it was wrong and one foretold all these signs in order to prepare and understand exactly what is going on in nature and ourselves living on this earth." (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000). McClutchie also mentioned that he still uses old Maori farming remedies, for example, using the leaves from the Rangiora bush, which, dried and ground into dust can be used as an insect repellent (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

Focus on Trustees

In respect to the need for general education on organics the two groups worth specifically targeting are Maori land trustees and Maori farmers. The Maori land trustees or in Maori Incorporations managers are important because they are the ones who manage the collectively owned land. One of the traps Trustees fall into is just leasing out land to Pakeha farmers or organisations like Heinz-Watties (Pers. comm., Fowler, 2000). As Goldsmith put it those in control need to be trained and up skilled in organics, "As a Trustee we have to take a prudent approach so we have to know a little bit about organics ourselves, not the ins and outs and nuts and bolts sort of thing, but know enough about whether organics will be a goer or not." (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000). With this education Maori could then get out of the lease mentality and take on farming their own land organically for themselves. An example of how

this could be done is through teaching unemployed Maori how to grow their own vegetables on land they already own (Pers. Comm., Aranui & Pomare, 2000).

Focus on farmers

The other group is existing Maori farmers who are already farming conventionally on freehold land, but who lack the necessary information and skills to convert to organics. As Ellison pointed out, however, he has heard good stories of others experiences with organics, but does not have ready access to this research or experiences (Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000). The main ways mentioned for educating these people have been through holding health clinics on the benefits of organic food, workshops, hui on marae, field days and pilot projects showing how it is done (Pers. Comm., Gordon, Pomare, Tait-Jamieson, Oudes, 2000). To a certain degree this is already happening with the skills of Pomare being in demand, "I used to fire around setting up seminars, but now people are coming to me to ask for help with seminars and field days and education, that sought of thing. Most of it is hands on practical stuff we need educating, but we need to do it around the compost heap and things like that to teach the Maori fellas around here" (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000). An example of this is how Aranui and Fowler help educate Maori as part of their work for CEGs in helping initiate and maintain Maori model organic pilot projects (Pers. Comm., Aranui & Fowler, 2000). Tipene is helping encourage some farmers in Northland to act as model farms, while Gordon in Gisborne is involved with Turanga Araru in educating Maori through setting up a model farm with funding from WINZ (Pers. Comm., Tipene & Gordon, 2000). Another idea for educating farmer is to form small

farmer groups around specific land uses so farmers can help themselves (Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

This emphasis on practical education to actually show Maori how it is done at the grassroots level and the development of grower groups and cooperatives like the Te Tai Tokerau Organic Producers Inc Soc. and the recently formed East Coast Producers Trust are important moves in helping educate and support Maori into organics (Pers. Comm., Tipene & McClutchie, 2000). However, initiatives such as these need to be greatly expanded upon to reach more Maori.

Holistic paradigm shift

However, the emphasis on practical education needs to promote a new way of thinking than that based on the conventional farming mindset. As Tait-Jamieson pointed out: "you have to include what is termed alternative education as well. So that looks at the spiritual connectedness between all things. You're looking at alternative therapies, planetary influences, but at the same time a knowledge of soil science is pretty helpful too" (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). She also mentioned that this also involves a fundamental paradigm shift in conventional thinking terms to a new holistic concept "because we thought to be organic you just didn't have to use the drugs and the fertilisers and stuff like that. As it turned out we had to redesign our whole farm, we had to redesign the whole way we thought about our farm and why we were doing it and all the living organisms on the farm played a part of the big whole and we had no understanding of that for quite a long time. So for a lot of the time we were treating symptoms as you do in conventional, so we just transferred the conventional thinking to the organic thinking and it didn't work for a long time. Until

we realised, hey you've got to think differently about this" (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). This need to change one's mindset was also a point picked up on by Tipene (Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000). However, as McClutchie pointed that if you want to be a commercial certified organic farmer then it does take at least a secondary school education to get to grips with all the paperwork (an issue dealt with in the conversions section) so raising the general educational standards of Maori overall would also be beneficial (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

Overall, the need for education on organic farming needs to be the basis on which all Maori can begin to have the necessary understanding at the flax roots and institutional level to begin utilising their own land. There is a good foundation of people out there of growers and workers who have the necessary information to help Maori educate Maori as to the advantages of organics. However, this base would need to be expanded upon by training more Maori to be organic farming educators and a plan for approaching the education of Maori in organics would need to be developed (Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000). The findings from the literature review on education and from the interviews has been similar, in that everyone needs to be educated in organics. However, apart from expanding the capacity to do this, for Maori the key question is which are the main players in the Maori community to focus on first.

National Maori Network

Tipene pointed out to Ian Ewen-Street (Green Party MP) at a public meeting recently they do not need consultants sent from Wellington to achieve this for them. If Maori were given the necessary resources they could organise themselves to help themselves far better than any consultants from Wellington could do for them (Pers. Comm.,

Tipene, 2000). This emphasises the point that Maori should be able to exercise their own rangatiratanga in helping themselves and should not have to suffer government paternalism. Another idea to help Maori with the education about organics is that there needs to be a network of the Maori presently involved in organics becoming organised into a national Maori organics organisation to help share experiences and promote solutions (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

After education issues the next most important area of issues in my interpretation that came up in the interviews were in the area of collective ownership.

COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP

There were four main issues mentioned in the interviews on problems with collectively owned Maori land. These are in the areas of getting agreements on how to manage collectively owned land, lack of access to development capital, risks of failing and fragmented land holdings.

Collective agreement difficulties

The main problem identified by some of the participants is that it is hard to get agreement amongst the many owners that collectively own Maori land. However, for those who can overcome this problem then multiple ownership is not a problem, for example, McClutchie argues that problems can usually always be solved through communication (Pers. Comm., Gordon, Pomare & McClutchie, 2000). Goldsmith has stated that multiple ownership is not the problem, the problem is a lack of skills from those exercising governance (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000). One way of

overcoming the inability to come to an agreement is through providing those with the governance of the land the necessary education and skills they need to help work together more effectively (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000). One way of solving the problem of disagreement amongst collective owners that Oudes has found is that, "if you get them all and explain the direction and the vision that you have for the blocks and they feel part of that you generally get them on board" (Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000). The clear communication of the potential organic farming options available to Maori landowners would greatly help them in coming to some form of collective agreement to convert their farms to organics.

Raising finance capital difficulties.

The lack of available finance due to problems associated with collective ownership is a major blockage to conversion and development of Maori organic farming (Pers. Comm., Fowler, Pomare & Paul, 2000). A big problem has been the general unwillingness of the private sector to lend money on collectively owned Maori land. This lack of access to development finance is a big stumbling block for those Maori who want to get their land into organic production. There are many initial start up costs from drainage and fencing to the need for new cropping gear or tractors (Pers. Comm., Pomare & Oudes, 2000).

One idea put forward by Paul to solve the reluctance of finance institutions to lend money on collectively owned land is that the government, "should stand behind Maori development so that Maori can auction off the value that is inherent in the land for that sort of activity. The government doesn't put a cent up, but it guarantees the project development costs. And then Maori can tender out to banks for them to be

able to service that development cost and that should then lower the costs of development and the bank should be happy that they are entering into a development that will be there for centuries." (Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000). A big problem I can see with this idea is that it could lead to intergenerational indebtedness. That is if one generation's land based business fails, and leaves future generations to inherit debt before they are even born. With some further development of this idea though, perhaps this issue could be overcome. A past option exercised by the Maori owners of Paripoupou, the first Maori owned organic farm in the Gisborne region, was that they arranged a cheap loan from a Mana Development fund to help them start off in organics. However, this source of finance has since been cancelled (Coombes, et. al., 1998).

Risks when someone takes on the land

There have been cases in the past where individuals have taken on cropping organically at their own initiative, which have ended in failure. Some of these people have then bailed out and left the whanau having to deal with debts, which can cause internal acrimony to the whanau. This fear of failure is very real cultural barrier to Maori taking the initiative as they stand to lose mana (lose face) if it does fail (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). However, the reverse of this can be where the individual is successful in organic farming with other members of the whanau then coming in and wanting their share of the profits. This can result in no money being left over to start production the next year (Pers. Comm., Oudes & Fowler, 2000).

There were two ways put forward as possible solutions to these issues. The first one of them is to go into a joint venture system with a company that can help spread the

risks (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). The second potential model that Goldsmith and Gordon talked about is through developing a profit share system that allows for any profit or risk to be shared fairly (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith & Gordon, 2000). At this point in time, however, they are still carrying out research to find the most suitable profit share systems.

Fragmented land holdings

Part of the problem with collectively owned Maori land is that it can be in small fragmented pieces comprising from a couple of acres to a few hundred hectare blocks, which can be spread haphazardly throughout a region (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). As such, the government has recognised the need for developing information systems on available Maori land and has given the Maori Land Court \$6.21 million this year to develop a geographic information system on all Maori land to allow easier access and development (The Press, 2000, p. 6). For example, someone has already started the work of identifying collectively owned land on the Poverty Bay Flats for the purposes of promoting organic farming (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). The advantages that can be gained from this is that when the fragmented land holdings are identified they could be combined for certification purposes and coordinating supply to markets thus reducing costs (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). This new government initiative is also targeted at providing advisors on land management options for Maori, so it would be worthwhile putting some pressure on politicians to make sure that the advisory service will provide organic farming advice.

All of these above issue hinder Maori from even getting to the stage of actually trying to convert to organics and consequently some find it easier to lease their land to Pakeha farmers and collect the rent (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). But, even when these issues have been overcome or some agreement has been reached to allow the use of the collectively owned land, there are still further issues to contend with that affect not just Maori owners of collective land, but also those Maori who own their own land under a freehold title which will be dealt with in the following sections. One area in which these issues were mentioned was in the need for research and development.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

In terms of the need for research and development, the main issues raised were in the areas of valuing indigenous science, access to research & organic remedies, sustainable rural communities, planning for organic districts & regions and a Green Dollar system.

Equal value of Indigenous science

Paul raised the issue of the value of indigenous science in comparison to western science where he stated that, "I think the first thing is that there is research and there is research and that term needs to be completely debunked in terms of the fact that only Western research is acceptable research. Now it has always been that the Western system of research is deemed to be superior over any indigenous system of research. Now that again is the racist view, so for me it is a matter of marketing indigenous research as being not superior, but of equal value to western research." (Pers. Comm.,

Paul, 2000). Any future research needs to accommodate both the western scientific perspective and an indigenous Maori perspective as being valid processes for investigating Maori organic farming issues.

Access to research & organic remedies

On general research and development issues, it was pointed out that a lot of these are the same for Maori as for Pakeha and that a big problem is simply having access to the available research (Pers. Comm., McClutchie & Ellison, 2000). Tipene touched on the need for better organic remedies to pest and disease problems in crops and animals as a degree of immunity to even natural sprays like pyrethrum has developed (Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000). However, Tait-Jamieson strongly opposes research which just focuses on treating symptoms as “What is needed is an understanding of how and why animals suffer these ailments” because “the practice of replacing a conventional drench with an organic drench is not a sustainable health management system” according to her (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). This requires research into the farm as a holistic living organism to help deal with these issues.

Sustainable rural communities

One area that needs greater research was put by Tait-Jamieson who would, "like to see research into how you effectively, which means socially, environmentally and economically, get sustainable industry, which includes the employment of people back on to the land. Because, at the moment everyone is moving to the cities and the rural communities are closing down and its said because all the subsidies have come off farming. So what sort of agricultural model is required to bring people back to the land?" (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). This theme of needing to rebuild local

Maori rural economies was also echoed by others (Pers. Comm., Pomare, Gordon, Aranui, Fowler, Goldsmith & Tipene).

Organic districts & regions

One idea Pomare had for creating local employment through organics and ecotourism in Wairoa was in trying to persuade the District Council to adopt a plan to have the district be declared an organic farming only zone (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000). Initially, the District Council supported this, but eventually nothing came of his efforts to put this into effect due to a lack of council support. As a resource management planning question, the idea of using the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) as the basis for converting a District or Regional councils area into an organic farming zone is an interesting idea, but would require a lot of research and development. The question of whether section 9 of the RMA on land use at the district and regional level could be used to make rules in a plan banning conventional farming practices would be a highly contentious political issue. Especially, as existing use rights under section 10 and 20 of the RMA could be said to allow for continued conventional practices. Another relevant RMA section might be section 15 on discharges of contaminants into the environment. This could be used as the basis to allow rules against the use of synthetic fertilisers and pesticides, as they are known contaminants of the environment. Getting the political mandate to achieve this, however, would be no easy task. Just like getting a political mandate at central government to support the Organic Nation concept will not be easy.

Green Dollars

This is not to say that export opportunities are not unwelcome or unwanted by all participants, just that, "because our own people are looking at working their own land to look out for what they call the green dollar and spending it within your own and not going to multinational companies overseas, because then it will just stay overseas and never come back to make sure that cycle of money flow is being retained" (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000). Research would have to be carried out in order to make the green dollar idea a long-term sustainable option. This is not dissimilar to concerns expressed by people from the "philosophical" perspective of wanting to build sustainable rural communities through organic farming. As opposed to those of a more "pragmatic" perspective whose emphasis is more on exporting, although this does not mean that this would not help sustain rural communities.

My analysis is that there will have to be scope for both an emphasis on building rural communities and providing export opportunities for those who wish to do so. One way of maintaining the value of the exports in the local community could be through Maori Co-operatives processing and marketing their own produce to maintain as much value from the product as possible in the local communities. The next most important set of issues after research and development is one of general conversion issues.

CONVERSION ISSUES

The conversion issues raised by the participants brought up four main topics of concern in the areas of the initial transition phase, spray drift, step up in skills and cultural embarrassment.

The initial three-year transition phase

In terms of conversion issues, main issue that came up was the hardship Maori farmers have to endure in the three-year transition phase in converting to organics before receiving full certification as an organic grower (Pers. Comm., Aranui, Fowler, & Tipene, 2000). The problems encountered with this initial phase have to do with the initial drop in production most farmers experience in removing conventional chemical inputs and the inability to earn premiums before full certification (Pers. Comm., Aranui, Ellison, Gordon, Goldsmith & McClutchie, 2000). This three-year period where there is a drop in production without the benefit of getting the full premiums available from being certified organic is a big problem for some. This means that there is an immediate short-term loss of income, which is not compensated for by the organic premiums until full certification comes into effect after three years. For some Maori this can be a real struggle and it could be equally said for Pakeha as well (Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000).

Considering that a lot of Maori land has remained undeveloped or under utilised for long periods of time the question can be raised as to whether the three-year stand down period is necessary to assume an organic status for a lot of Maori land. Tipene has advocated the idea of reducing the transition phase down to a twelve-month period or less. This would only happen after using scientific analysis of the land to assess whether the farm is free of chemical residues so as to receive full certification and thus access to premiums earlier than normal (Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

The issue of the need for transition subsidies such as in the Europe Union, for all new organic farmers has been raised to help ease conversion difficulties (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000). This is a general issue that applies as equally to Pakeha farmers as it does to Maori farmers. At present, the government is looking at this issue in the Primary Production Select committee inquiry into organics. Though, it is doubtful that any Aotearoa/New Zealand government would ever go down the path of subsidising farming again. Even the Green Party policy to help in the transition phase is only one of interest-free suspensory loans (Green Party, 1999). However, in the current political environment this may be an ideologically acceptable concept to promote to the present Labour/Alliance government.

The governments "closing the gaps" programme to help Maori could probably be a window of opportunity for the promotion of a deal, like Paul mentioned in the previous section for some form of subsidies or loans specifically to help Maori conversion into organic agriculture. However, Pomare was concerned that any funding should not be just given away, but that it should be worked for (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000). Considering that it would only be a short-term incentive to develop the land as an economic resource for future long-term self-sufficiency this should not be a problem.

Spray drift

Another issue was one of pesticide spray drift from neighbouring farms potentially contaminating crops and the organic status of the farm (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

But, as mentioned previously, spray drift has been effectively legalised by the Labour/Alliance government dropping the Chemical Trespass Bill from the legislative agenda.

Step up in farming skills from conventional to organics

The last issue is the need to recognise that in converting to organics that this is a step up in necessary farming skills and not a step down (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith & Oudes, 2000). This must apply to both Maori and Pakeha, but was only mentioned in the interviews. This emphasises again the need for education in organics before taking on the task of going into organic farming. This is because there is no possibility of resorting to agrichemicals to fix problems in the conversion process. An issue raised in this regard by Ellison and Savage was that they are not thinking of converting to organics as they cannot see how they could farm without chemical drenches and dips to control the internal parasites and diseases in their livestock (Pers. Comm., Ellison & Savage, 2000). Organic farmers are already farming livestock such as sheep and cattle on organic farms so it must be possible to do so, but information on how they are doing so does not seem to be accessible to ordinary farmers and thus limits conversions (Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000).

All of these issues are similar to those raised in the previous chapter and indicate the consistency of these issues to both Pakeha and Maori.

Embarrassment as Tangata Whenua

Gordon raised an interesting social issue that can hinder conversion to organics, which is when Maori have been brought up as Tangata Whenua (People of the Land), but

still use conventional chemicals to farm with (Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000). This can cause Maori embarrassment about the contradiction of having to look after Papatuanuku yet still using synthetic fertilisers and pesticides. Gordon recommends a little bit of gentle persuasion over a long period of time to make it easier for these Maori conventional farmers to change to organics.

The process of certification and dealing with the paperwork that arises from it was also raised as an issue in relation to the conversion process, but these will be dealt with in the next section on certification standards.

CERTIFICATION ISSUES

There were two main issues on certification mentioned in the interviews and they are to do with the cost and complexity of certification and the idea of Maori certification system and labels.

Cost and complexity

Although some of the participants were relatively happy with the existing certification system, others found that it is too cumbersome, complicated and time-consuming in terms of the necessary paperwork and overly expensive (Pers. Comm., Paul, McClutchie, Tait-Jamieson & Pomare, 2000). One solution suggested was to simplify the system and make it less costly so that the average Maori can understand it and can afford it (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000). Another solution mentioned is to have regional certification workers to help Maori farmers keep up with the paperwork (Pers. Comm., Aranui, Fowler & Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

It was also mentioned that Bio-Gro and Demeter can be culturally insensitive and inflexible by not allowing traditional Maori farming practices or by not taking into account indigenous peoples issues (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, Fowler & Paul, 2000). One possible solution to this is to allow for Maori certification organisations run by and for Maori

Maori certification system and labels

On the idea of a Maori certification system and label, however, there were mixed ideas about whether or not to support the concept of a Maori certification system and label based on tikanga and matauranga Maori. Five people were basically in favour of the general idea, though Fowler thought it needs to be worked in with an existing label, while Gordon could see some merit in the idea, but not from an export perspective (Pers. Comm., Fowler & Gordon, 2000). On the other hand, Tipene and Paul have been putting quite a bit of effort in to their own certification systems and are relatively advanced in their plans for their own Maori organic certification systems and labels.

Tipene is pursuing the idea of a label called "Hua Parakore" which refers to a term in the Maori Bible as olive oil in its purest form (Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000). This label would conform to all the standards of Bio-Gro, Demeter and the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM), but would add on the Maori spiritual dimension, for example, through the use of karakia (prayer) and the old Maori calendar. Tipene has already done some market exploration of the concept and has found some sympathy for the idea amongst both domestic and export buyers and

is even thinking of trying to involve growers from Pacific islands for an indigenous Pacific label.

Paul is trying through the Aotearoa/New Zealand Maori Council to establish a statutory Maori certification authority for the sale of kiwifruit under the brand name of “Te Hua Maori”, which means natural product (Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000). However, he has met some stiff resistance to this idea in the kiwifruit industry and he has not yet been able to be put into effect. Paul believes there is room for hundreds of organic labels just like there is in the wine industry, but that there needs to be organic standards that can stand up to consumer demands for organic products. This is so that the buyer can be confident that they are getting a genuine organic product.

A similar issue was also raised by Tait-Jamieson on their farm is where they sell under the name “Bio-Farm”. They use Bio-Gro as independent verification of their organic status and they do not use the Bio-Gro label on their product. They use Bio-Gro as a back up verification system so that the buyer can be certain that they are getting an organic product (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). An important point she made was that the government does not need to set organic standards as our overseas markets have already set the standards, for example, through IFOAM and the European Union and the government just needs to recognise these standards for domestic and export organic production.

Oudes raised the concern over market acceptance. This was because whether the idea of one or many types of certification systems or labels would be acceptable, whether Maori or Pakeha, is in the hands of the consumers. As such, for any certification

organisation, "whatever their standards are it has got to be whatever they are doing in the fields otherwise the moment that the product is found not to be within the standards set down then basically your label is shot" (Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000). However, Oudes was also sceptical about whether there is room in Aotearoa/New Zealand for more labels.

Ellison questions whether a Maori certification system and label would have an advantage in the market if the consumers do not understand the values or tikanga that have gone into producing it (Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000). While others are happy with the system as it is and think that it should stay the way it is (Pers. Comm., Savage, 2000).

Overall, there is some concern that the present system is too complex, costly and time consuming and that this needs to be made simpler or to have consultants available to help farmers with the system. There are mixed thoughts on the applicability of separate Maori label/s with no clear agreement on it. The main focus in the literature review was on cost and the need for national minimum standards needing to be set by the government. Whereas, some Maori would prefer for the government not to set standards and want to leave it to the market to decide what certification systems and labels are appropriate. In the next section, the question on how to promote organics to Maori will be discussed.

Philosophy, Pragmatism and Health

The interview answers on what is the most practical issue on which to promote the benefits of converting to organics to Maori recognised that although one dimension might have primacy, that the other dimension to it is also important for most. In other words, the environmental and financial benefits of organic farming are both important factors. It is only the degree to which the focus is on one or the other that differs for most of the participants. The health benefits of eating organic food were also mentioned as an important factor to keep in mind when promoting organics to Maori.

Roughly speaking there were two people basically in favour primarily from the philosophy of environmental awareness (tikanga and matauranga Maori) approach, for example, Goldsmith said, "Basically its the philosophy, with the environmental awareness. I don't think you need to tell our people that its something that you go back a couple of generations our people were doing anyway." (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

Five of the participants were primarily interested from the pragmatic perspective of economic premiums as an incentive, for example, Ellison said that for himself and from a corporate Ngai Tahu perspective the premium is the key factor that could attract them into organic farming (Pers. Comm., Ellison). He also expressed concern about the possibility of organic farmers being out competed eventually from genetically engineered crops that were a lot cheaper and therefore a threat to organics.

There were also four who primarily focused on the need to promote both the environmental and economic benefits equally to Maori as a way of converting them to

organics, for example, Tait-Jamieson said there has to be a holistic approach where, "For the grass roots tikanga is what converts them and for the corporates its economics that converts them, but if the grassroots don't have the economics and the corporates don't have the tikanga then neither of them will be sustainable." (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). However, for McClutchie health was the key issue on which to promote organics, as this is a big concern for Maori, while recognising that money is probably the overruling factor to take into account. (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

However, the level of the premium depends on the product and the market as Oudes said that overall there is not a lot in the margins for farmers once all costs have been taken into account in the vegetable sector, while with Paul's kiwifruit crop it is quite lucrative right now with its premiums (Pers. Comm., Oudes & Paul, 2000).

Overall, I think that looking at the feedback the best position to take in promoting organics to Maori would be from the perspective of promoting all three advantages. From the Maori environmental tikanga perspective, the economic advantages of the premiums and the health benefits Maori would stand to gain from organic agriculture. The decision on which one to emphasise to in any particular situation would have to depend upon the audience, though there is no reason why a Maori audience would not be receptive to all three advantages of health, premiums and environmental tikanga.

Summary

This research found that there are six main topic areas under which specific Maori issues in organic farming can be outlined. These issues are in:

Education

- Maori need educating about organics, in particular, politicians, Trustees and farmers.
- Loss of traditional organic farming knowledge.
- Training to take on farming own land and not just lease it.
- Holistic paradigm shift to farm organically.
- National Maori Network.

Maori collective ownership issues

- Getting a consensus of the owners
- Difficulties in raising finance.
- Risks when someone takes on the land.
- Fragmented land holdings.

Research & Development on:

- Value of indigenous research.
- Need access to research and holistic organic crop and livestock solutions.
- Sustainable rural communities.
- Organic districts & regions.
- Green dollar system.

Conversion issues:

- The initial three-year transition phase
- Spray drift

- Step up in farming skills to convert to organics.
- Cultural embarrassment.

Certification Issues:

- The cost and complexity of the certification paper work.
- Maori certification systems and labels.

Philosophy and/or pragmatism.

- Need to combine pragmatic economic perspective; and
- The environmental/tikanga perspective; and
- The health benefits to be sustainable.

In the following chapter, I have summarised the main specific issues from the literature review and those identified by the Maori participants and will compare and contrast them to identify Maori specific issues in organic farming.

CHAPTER FIVE - MAORI ORGANIC FARMING ISSUES

In this chapter the organic farming issues identified in chapters three and four will be analysed in order to identify those issues which the Maori have in common with the general public with and those which are particular to Maori. In order to do this I have highlighted the issues through using an interdisciplinary framework. This interdisciplinary framework focuses on the policy, ecology, economics and sociocultural dimensions of the issues brought up in this research and is illustrated in four separate text boxes. By grouping, the literature review and Maori interview issues under these disciplinary headings it highlights the commonalities and differences in order to identify specific Maori issues in organic farming. However, it is important to keep in mind that this is qualitative information from twelve individuals and not a presentation of a representative quantitative survey into Maori involved in organic farming.

Policy Issues	
Literature Review	Maori Issues
⇒ Maori needs for education on organics.	⇒ Maori education on organics e.g. Trustees, farmers, health clinics, Hui and model farms.
⇒ The need for farmer education on organics e.g. grower groups.	⇒ Education beyond conventional thinking to a holistic model of the farm as a living organism.
⇒ The need for politicians to be educated on organics.	⇒ Support for establishing grower groups.
⇒ The need for consumers to be educated on organics.	⇒ Politicians and government needs to be educated on organics.
⇒ No commitment to transition subsidies as yet.	⇒ Need for transition subsidies.
⇒ Lack of accessibility to information on how to farm organically.	⇒ Need national Maori organics network.
⇒ Need for national minimum standards for domestic and export markets.	⇒ Lack of access to information on how to do organics.
⇒ Integrity of established organic certification standards.	⇒ Possibilities of creating organic farming district or regions through using the RMA.
⇒ Previous National governments policy to leave organics to market forces.	⇒ Need to shorten certification transition phase.
⇒ As yet, no comprehensive Labour/Alliance government policy on how to support organic farming.	⇒ Certification paperwork time consuming.
⇒ Producer boards lack of support.	⇒ Market should decide certification standards – government should recognise this.
⇒ Spray drift.	⇒ Need deregulation of producer boards.
	⇒ Spray drift.

The choice of policy as a discipline to focus on is so that those issues, which are primarily policy related can be focussed on in the appropriate context. The assumption here is that policy development issues are not just about central government.

However, probably all issues in this report are related to policy at one level or another, but for the purpose of focussed analysis the distinctions between policy, ecological, economic and sociocultural issues will be used.

In policy terms, the need for education policy features highly in both the literature review and Maori issues as an area for priority action to promote organics.

Similarities are in the general areas of the need for a policy to promote the education of general public/Maori, consumers, farmers and politicians about organics. In taking the goal of achieving an Organic Nation into account, education policy as to the rationale for trying to achieve such a goal would need to be comprehensive through out all of society. Lack of information about, or access to, organics was also mentioned in both studies. Also in both studies was the idea of using grower groups to help educate farmers about organics. The need for a policy on some form of transition subsidies to be implemented was also in both studies and spray drift is equally concerning in both studies.

In contrast, the issue of needing a policy from government on national minimum standards in the literature review was not reflected in the Maori issues where the emphasis was on leaving certification issues to the market to decide. Indeed, deregulation and recognition of international standards as a policy was put forward as a way of dealing with certification and labelling problems.

The key differences in the policy area that are specific to identified Maori issues are in needing education that focuses on Maori needs, the need for a Maori organic farming network, shorter transition phases, certification being too complicated and the idea of creating organic farming districts or regions through the RMA.

In policy terms, there are a lot of similarities from both studies. The key area of agreement from both studies is in the necessity of promoting organics through

education. In developing policy on education to reach the Maori community, however, this needs to be targeted to meet the needs of specific groups such as Trustees, farmers and the unemployed. Practical hands on education would also be the most useful form of education, for example, growers groups, and not classroom theorising. The actual practice of doing organic farming is covered in the ecology issues section.

Ecology Issues	
Literature Review	Maori Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Initial drop in productivity after conversion. ⇒ Need development on organic livestock remedies. ⇒ Organic management of pests and diseases. ⇒ New crops and livestock that can cope on organic farms. ⇒ Diverse ecosystem approach vs. Industrial organics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Initial drop in production. ⇒ Need better organic crop and livestock remedies. ⇒ Development of crops and livestock for organic farm conditions. ⇒ Sustainability of land use. ⇒ Need paradigm shift to farm as a living organism e.g. holistic crop and livestock health solutions. ⇒ Organics is a step up in farming skills from conventional.

Ecological issues are identified here to help focus on the basis of what organic farming is all about – actually farming. If you do not get the ecology of farming organically right then all the policy in the world will be of no use. The ecological fundamental to organics has brought up almost identical issues from both studies with shared concerns about conversion drop in productivity, need for organic remedies and sustainability issues. This is probably not surprising as the basics of organic farming are the same for everyone. The conflict between the ecological or economic approach to farming organically in the literature review is mentioned in the Maori issue side as focussing on the need for a paradigm shift to deal with ones farm as a living organism.

The economic side would tend to focus on organic remedies and the philosophical side on the farm as a living organism for crop and animal health solutions.

The only real difference between the two was the comment that farming organically is a step up in terms of the skills needed to farm. However, this step up would apply to all who are new to organics and not just Maori it is just that it was mentioned here.

When it comes down to the actual ecology of farming organically the issues are basically the same for both Pakeha and Maori. However, there are some clear differences in economic issues.

Economic Issues	
Literature Review	Maori Issues
⇒ Banks unwilling to provide loans on collectively owned Maori land.	⇒ Raising finance capital on collective land e.g., for new .
⇒ No premiums for first three years.	⇒ Premiums not available to third year.
⇒ Cost of certification.	⇒ Certification costly .
⇒ Current supply too small to justify investment by companies.	⇒ Need to rebuild sustainable Maori rural communities.
⇒ Lack of transition subsidies.	⇒ Need transition subsidies.
⇒ Need for new farm equipment to grow organically.	⇒ Green dollar systems to keep money in rural communities.
⇒ Cost for domestic growers of meeting organic export standards.	⇒ Small blocks of land scattered throughout a region.
⇒ Need for crop rotation means need for diverse markets for organic products.	⇒ Domestic vs. export priorities.
⇒ Funding of research.	⇒ Funding for research.
⇒ Leasing of Maori land for organics problematic.	⇒ Market acceptance of any certification system or label (Maori or Pakeha) is the key issue.
	⇒ Trap of just leasing land.

In economic terms the global and domestic markets demand for organic produce is increasing all the time and this is what will be the primary driver of organic expansion in the near future. From both the literature review and Maori interviews the economic

issues are somewhat similar with concerns about premiums taking three years, need for transition subsidies (also a policy issue), the cost of certification and the need for more funds to go into research.

With the Maori specific issues, the focus was on how to rebuild rural economies and generate sustainable jobs for Maori to come back from the cities, for example, through Green Dollar schemes. Whereas, the literature review issues were more pragmatic focused on particular problems in the market place. Solutions to these though would be of benefit to all organic growers. In both the literature review and interviews, the inability to raise finance from banks to start organic farming on collectively owned land is a major problem for Maori. The government is the only one in the position to either loan money or guarantee loans on collectively owned land and policy needs to be developed on this. This would make it easier to get out of the trap of just leasing land out, though education would also be necessary to gain the necessary farming skills. Small blocks of collectively owned land needing to be coordinated for certification and supply purposes is another Maori specific issue. Socio-cultural issues are dealt with next.

Socio-cultural Issues	
Literature Review	Maori Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Conflict between philosophies of environmental benefits vs. pragmatic motives. ⇒ Not all Maori are interested in organics to protect Papatuanuku. ⇒ Collective ownership of Maori land. ⇒ Bias and prejudice against organic farmers by some in farming community. ⇒ Some companies resistant to idea of organics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Environmental, economic and health advantages to Maori from organics. ⇒ Traditional Maori knowledge of organic farming largely lost. ⇒ Maori certification and label. ⇒ Difficulty in gaining consensus on collective land. ⇒ Individuals failing and leave with the collective having to pick up the debt. ⇒ Fear of failure and losing mana. ⇒ Succeeding at organics and losing profit to collective – need profit share system. ⇒ Embarrassment at being Tangata Whenua yet farming conventionally. ⇒ The role of indigenous research being of equal value to western research.

Sociocultural issues are those which are most related to issues involving social factors brought up in the research. The prime issue from both studies is that of which sociocultural paradigm to pursue in organics. From an analysis of the Maori participants comments the most sustainable approach would be to place emphasis on the three factors of the environment, pragmatic economics and health in order to be sustainable. Whereas, in the literature review the opposing sides are more apparent and in conflict with each other between the emphasis on environment or economics.

The problem of experiencing bias and prejudice felt by many in going organic is likely to be less of an issue for Maori as traditionally Maori have farmed organically and for some going organic is returning to ancestral ways. However, for some Tangata Whenua there can be some embarrassment about conventionally farming and looking after the land.

In the areas of difference on Maori specific issues, there are problems with collective ownership in gaining consensus on issues. The problem of individuals taking land on themselves to farm organically, and failing, and leaving debts behind. This only discourages others from trying for fear of losing mana. However, if successful in organically farming collectively owned land the risk is of losing the profit to the collective with no money being left over for the next season. A profit share system needs to be developed so that those who farm the land can retain enough profit to maintain farming and the collective can benefit from their ownership of the land. The need for Maori certification and label systems through which Maori can take cultural ownership of their own standards is also a key issue. The role of indigenous research being of equal value to western research also needs to be recognised. All of the above issues have now be identified as to those issues that are specific ones for Maori in organic farming.

Maori specific organic farming issues

From this interdisciplinary analysis the Maori specific issues on organic farming mentioned in the interviews with the Maori participants have been identified as being in the areas of:

National Organisation

- Need for a national Maori organic farming network.

Education

- Education that focuses on Maori needs.

Collective Ownership Issues

- Lack of finance from banks to start organic farming on collectively owned land.
- Trap of just leasing land out.
- Small blocks of collectively owned land needing coordination for certification and market supply purposes.
- Problem in gaining consensus on issues in managing collectively owned land.
- Individuals taking land on to farm organically, failing, and leaving debts behind.
- Fear of failing and losing mana.
- Need profit share system to avoid risk of losing all the profit to the collective.

Certification issues

- Certification too complicated.
- Shorter transition phases.
- Maori certification and label systems.

Research and Development

- The role of indigenous research being of equal value to western research.
- Idea of organic farming districts or regions through the RMA.
- Traditional Maori knowledge of organic farming largely lost.
- Rebuild rural economies through organics for sustainable jobs for Maori, for example, Green Dollar schemes.

The issues that are in common between those identified in the literature review and the Maori participants are also equally important in being addressed as Maori issues. As such, Maori and Pakeha involved in promoting organics are going to have to work together to address those issues of common interest. How this could be done will be dealt with in chapter seven on recommendations. The participant's answers to the questions on Soil & Health's Organic Nation idea and their visions for an organic farming future for Maori are in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX -

ORGANIC NATION 2020 & MAORI VISIONS FOR AN ORGANIC FUTURE

In this chapter the validity for the Maori participants of the Soil & Health association goal of converting all of NZ agriculture to organics by 2020 will be discussed.

2020 Validity

In order to find out if it is worth promoting Soil & Health's vision of an Organic Nation it was necessary to find out to what extent this concept has validity for the Maori participants. Seven people were primarily in favour of the Organic Nation concept of all of Aotearoa/New Zealand agriculture going organic (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, McClutchie, Pomare, Goldsmith, Gordon, Aranui & Fowler, 2000). However, Savage thinks that it is applicable for crops only and not to animals and Ellison believes the goal is consistent with tikanga, but believes that there are difficulties in many areas, especially with maintaining the health and productivity of livestock in an organic system (Pers. Comm., Ellison & Savage, 2000). Oudes questions how realistic the 2020 goal is given the financial implications of achieving such a large vision (Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

Fowler questions whether the 2020 goal is achievable and McClutchie thinks that Maori are going to have to stand-up and be counted otherwise they could be left out of the Organic Nation picture (Pers. Comm., McClutchie & Fowler, 2000). Whereas, Tipene and Paul question the Pakeha attitudes behind it. This is because some Pakehas have an attitude of superiority towards organics without acknowledging that Maori have traditionally done everything organically anyway (Pers. Comm., Tipene &

Paul, 2000). Hopefully, this project will be part of that standing up to make sure Maori issues are taken seriously.

In summary, there is a general majority in favour of the 2020 idea, but there are some who do raise points about how the 2020 goal can realistically be achieved. The need to respect Maori values and how Maori can have an effective role to play in trying to achieve the 2020 goal was also raised. All of these are important points and hopefully this project itself will help in making people aware of needing to address these issues. In the next section, is a summary of the different visions the participants expressed on the organic farming future for Maori.

Maori Visions

Throughout this research project, it has been hard to find areas of commonality from interviewee's responses and none more so in analysing the twelve different visions for Maori participation in an organic farming future for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

There are those with a more conventional pragmatic perspective like Savage who wants to primarily look after his whanau and his land and so long as organic farming helps achieve that then that is fine (Pers. Comm., Savage, 2000). Ellison thinks that it would be good if corporate Ngai Tahu could be a major player in the organic market, but there would have to be a great increase in demand for organics first, and as a farmer he thinks it is too risky at present as there is a lack of research showing how it can be done (Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000).

Another pragmatic vision is that of Paul's where he wants the marketing of produce totally deregulated and the certification of organic products arrived at on the same basis as the wine industry where there is room for many different labels (Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000). In effect, the government should stay out of the way and leave it to the market place to decide, as ultimately Paul believes that the market demand for organics will convince people to convert to organics that way. Oudes pragmatic vision is to help encourage Maori to stop leasing their land and take on responsibility for farming organically themselves (Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

In contrast, McClutchie looks to promoting the hereditary tikanga of the old Maori way of doing things which was always organic and in so doing be a role model in organics for other Maori (Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000). Tait-Jamieson looks to Maori being indigenous role models as world leaders in sustainable land use (Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000). While Pomare talked about the need for organic farming examples and that this is a necessity for Maori, because, "If we want to call ourselves Maoris, Papatuanuku must be looked after, that's what a Maori really is, because that's our mother. Maoris have got to be in the middle of it all, because we are all part of it all now", and as such Maori need to get organised on the land in community based projects (Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000). However, he is also aware of the need for Maori to learn to get on with one another to help come to a common vision on Maoris future in organic farming.

Tipene's vision is to help educate Maori about the health advantages of organics, because for him it is not just about producing organic food, but also helping address the poor health of Maori (Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000). This was also a general idea

also mentioned in the visions by McClutchie and Fowler (Pers. Comm., McClutchie & Fowler, 2000).

The theme of rural community development based on organic farming with Maori moving back to the land for a profitable and healthier future is central to Fowlers vision (Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000). Goldsmiths vision also touches upon the need to build up rural communities through organics. The key to that for him is to stop leasing land to the likes of Cedenco and for Maori to take on responsibility for the organic production themselves, but also to do it in a way that focuses on strengthening rural communities. One way of achieving this is through courses run by Gordon through Turanga Araru, which helps give Maori the practical skills to take on farming organically. Another idea was through developing Green dollar systems where the money stays in a region and cannot be lost overseas to multinationals (Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

The community economic development theme is also picked up by Aranui, which is not surprising as this is her job with CEGs to help rural Maori build up local economies through organic farming and the key to this she sees is through education (Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000). Which brings us back nicely to where we started with education as the number one key issue, because as Gordon points out in his vision he does not know if it is possible to have all of Aotearoa/New Zealand agriculture organic by 2020, but what is possible is to change the education system so that at least by 2020 everyone coming out of it is educated in organics (Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

Conclusion

In conclusion, in relation to the Organic Nation concept a slight majority were overtly in favour of accepting the Soil & Health's 2020 Organic Nation goal as being valid for Maori, while others were somewhat sceptical of the association and whether Maori culture and values are respected by it. Others question its achievability for economic reasons and in whether farming organic livestock is realistic. Considering that many organic farmers do have livestock on their properties this suggests that there is a lack of information, or ready access to it, about how to organically farm livestock.

Overall, there were four main themes to the visions that were expressed by the participants. The four themes from the visions the participants can be summarised as:

1. The need to be pragmatic from an economic perspective and let market forces decide the future of organics.
2. Re-establish the connection to the old hereditary Maori way of doing things and to promote the health benefits of organics to Maori
3. A vision to rebuild rural communities through organics with a focus on production for local needs first.
4. The need to focus on education in organics so that by 2020 at least everyone will understand organics.

In order to achieve the goal of Aotearoa/New Zealand becoming an Organic Nation the issues Maori need to have taken into account and solved will be part of the focus in the next chapter on recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN - RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the focus is on recommendations, which in my interpretation can enhance the rangatiratanga (self determination) of Maori in addressing the issues in organic farming identified in this project. The central recommendation to try and achieve the goal of enhancing Maori rangatiratanga is focused on the need for the creation of a national Maori organic farming organisation or network. This organisation/network could then focus Maori attention to help solve the other outstanding general issues in common with Pakeha and Maori specific issues of education in organics, resolution of collective ownership issues, Maori certification issues, and research and development for the benefit of Maori. There is also a recommendation for Soil & Health in regards to its Organic Nation goal.

- **A National Maori Organic Farming Network**

Along with Tait-Jamieson, I have also come to believe that Maori working in organic farming need to form their own national Maori organic farming organisation or network. The reason why I recommend the creation of a stand-alone Maori organisation is because rangatiratanga (self-determination) is most effectively exercised when Maori have complete ownership of their own destiny. This organisation/network could take the form of a Soil & Health type association or be a network of independent local Maori organisations that meet occasionally at the national level. The four themes expressed in the previous chapter could all be incorporated into a vision statement for this Maori national organisation/network. The question of whether the Organic Nation goal of Soil & Health is part of the vision statement would have to be discussed. This national Maori

organisation/network could work with Soil & Health and other organic farming groups to address the issues they all have in common, which have been highlighted in this report in chapter five.

In terms of the more Maori specific issues identified in this report the resolution of them could be considerably helped by this new network/organisation. Resolution of the identified general and Maori specific issues would still require working with other organisations and institutions like the government, because solutions to them should benefit everyone. A partnership based on the Treaty of Waitangi would be the best option. Key Maori specific issues identified in this research that it would have to begin dealing with are in the areas of education, collective ownership, certification issues and research and development. These are expanded upon briefly next.

Education

Education that focuses on Maori needs is the key area which needs to be addressed for Maori to get into organics. The starting point of which should be educating today's educators about organics and coming up with a plan or programme to systematically spread this knowledge through Maori communities.

Collective Ownership

A lot of the problems with collective ownership comes back to the skills of those who are doing the governing. One way of enhancing these could be through the national Maori organisation/network promoting discussion and Hui for those in

these governance positions to get together and share problems and solutions that are common to them all. The other big issue of not being able to get finance on collectively owned land needs to be resolved with central government to provide either loan money or guarantees to banks for any loans they give out.

Certification Issues

Certification needs to be made easier for all concerned in terms of both less complicated paperwork and a shorter transition period to full certification. The idea of regional key workers to help Maori with certification paperwork is one option. While Maori land that is less likely to have had chemicals on it should have tests carried out to speed up certification. These issues also need to be addressed in any Maori label.

The whole issue of national standards and the place of Maori owned certification systems and labels needs to be promoted. In this instance a free market approach of letting the market decide which certifying bodies and labels can meet consumer demand for organic products is one possible policy option to promote. This may entail some producer board deregulation to allow this to happen.

Research & Development Areas

Key research and development areas identified in the research are in the areas of:

- The role of indigenous research being of equal value to western research.
- The idea of promoting organic farming districts and regions through the RMA.
- The need for profit share systems in farming collective land.

- How to bring new life to Maori rural communities with sustainable jobs through organic farming.
- Green dollar systems are one option, but needs further researching.

The research area, which deserves most attention, though is on traditional Maori organic farming.

This research project has brought to light the existence of some who still utilise some traditional Maori organic farming techniques. This provides a potential field for further research to help preserve and help educate other Maori to put in into practice this knowledge. However, whether those who have this knowledge would be willing to share it is another question and their right not to do so if they wish must be respected. This raises issues where researchers go in and take the information for their benefit and not that of the indigenous people. For example, one farmer uses native plants for pest control. This could become a commercially viable product, but viable for whom? Who would have the intellectual rights and property rights? Should this product be commercialised at all? In other words, who would stand to benefit from this research and who decides? Ethical questions would have to be addressed and permission of the Maori concerned would have to be sought. The Kaupapa Maori research process should be used in research like this.

Soil & Health 2020 Organic Nation

As a recommendation to Soil & Health, their Organic Nation vision needs to include recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori as a Treaty partner as part of its process of promoting all agriculture going organic. Soil & Health

needs to establish Treaty partnership arrangements with its Maori members and any Maori organic farming organisations that exist or might be established. This would help Soil & Health in pursuing their Organic Nation goal and help have Maori issues taken seriously in trying to achieve that.

In concluding this recommendation chapter, if the Maori issues discussed here in creating a national Maori organisation/network, education in organics, resolution of collective ownership issues, Maori certification issues, and research and development for the benefit of Maori were taken seriously then this could help improve the health of Maori and Papatuanuku (Mother Earth) in an economically sustainable manner that can revitalise rural Maori communities.

CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

In conclusion, in this project I have been trying to find out what issues Maori have in organic farming as part of promoting the goal of achieving an Organic Nation.

However, in total, there were six objectives that were addressed in this research project, which were dealt with in chapters three to seven

In chapter three, the general issues in organic farming from a literature review were outlined and discussed. The main issues of concern from the literature review can be grouped under the headings of education, philosophic vs. pragmatic issues, costs of conversion, lack of government and organisational support, research and development, national minimum standards, bias against doing things differently and issues particular to Maori.

In chapter four, Maori issues in organic farming from interviews with twelve Maori involved in organics were outlined and discussed. The main areas of issues were in education, Maori collective ownership, research and development, conversion, certification and philosophy and/or pragmatism issues.

In chapter five, an interdisciplinary analysis was used to identify Maori specific organic farming issues from the literature review and interviews. This identified Maori issues in the areas of education, collective ownership, certification, research and development, which are of specific relevance to Maori.

In chapter six, two main issues were dealt with. The first one was on whether the Soil & Health associations goal of Aotearoa/New Zealand becoming an organic farming

Organic Nation is relevant to the Maori participants. The research found that a slight majority of the Maori participants were overtly in favour of the Organic Nation idea. The second issue dealt with the Maori participants visions of an organic farming future for Maori. This had four main themes. Firstly, the need to be pragmatic from an economic perspective and let market forces decide the future of organics. Secondly, re-establish the connection to the old hereditary Maori way of doing things and to promote the health benefits of organics to Maori. Thirdly, a vision to rebuild rural communities through organics with a focus on production for local needs first. Fourthly, the need to focus on education in organics so that by 2020 at least everyone will understand organics.

In chapter seven on recommendations, the central recommendation to help deal with the Maori issues identified in this report is through the formation of a national Maori organic farming network or organisation where Maori involved in organic farming can get together and exercise rangatiratanga (self determination) to help solve their own problems. This cannot be done alone and would need to involve working in partnership with private organisations, like Soil & Health, and local and central government to address Maori issues in organic farming. A partnership based on the Treaty of Waitangi would be the best option.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Questions

This is a list of the interview questions developed from the literature review section for the purposes of the interviews. Questions were changed, left out or adapted on request by the participants to suit their particular situation.

1. How did you come to be involved with organic farming?
2. What were the key issues or problems you had to deal with in converting to organics?
3. What are any ongoing difficulties you have in farming organically?
4. What do you think are the main issues/problems Maori have in converting to organics?
5. How can these problems be addressed?
6. Do you farm on collectively owned Maori land?
7. How do you think the problems of collective ownership could be made easier?
8. What sort of education is necessary to help Maori become involved in organics, both as producers and consumers?
9. What organic certification/label issues do you think need to be addressed?
10. Does there need to be a Maori organic label based on tikanga and matauranga Maori?
11. What is necessary in the form of Government support for Maori organic farming?
12. What is necessary in the form of market place support for Maori organic farming?
13. What areas of research and development need to be focussed on to address Maori organic farming needs?

14. What do you consider is the most practical issue to promote to Maori in converting to organics:

- From the philosophy of environmental awareness (tikanga and matauranga Maori)?
- From the pragmatic perspective of economic premiums as an incentive?
- Why? Why not?

15. Is the Soil & Health association goal of converting all of NZ agriculture to organics a valid one for Maori?

16. What would be your vision as a Maori for Maori participation in an organic farming future for NZ?

APPENDIX 2

Contained here are some quotes from the research participants to allow for their opinions to be understood more clearly and to provide greater depth of insight into the issues they raised.

EDUCATION

- “Education is number one, I think I would have to be looking at education right through, a lot of people were organic farming some generations ago, but bearing in mind that farming as such has come a long way since then the gear we put on the back of the tractor now, the tractors themselves, the technology at post harvest. We have come such a long way now that there needs to be quite a lot of information put in front of Maori organic farming before it can really come to the fore.”

(Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

- “but the actual properties I looked at converting I found that very difficult, mainly because of the actual mind sets of the actual managers that were managing the properties and the people that were around them. Indicating that its quite ok because the only way you can get your results is through the use of organophosphates and chemical drenches and stuff like that. It was a matter of promoting the concepts of not using different chemicals to that of the actual commercial sort of influences within the actual communities I was working in. At the time I was working for MAF.”

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000)

- “As sprays to ward off different insects the Rangiora which is quite abundant and if it is left and the broken up it can form a fine power form which you can use exactly like Derris Dust. Rangiora is also called the bush toilet paper, a shrub that it has a felt texture very soft. All those hereditary things, all those sorts of things.”

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- "In terms of a Maori perspective it is go back and listen to your waiata, go back and read the stories that have been told, go back and have your carvings interpreted, go back and look where the pa sites were, and what ground and what area, the topography, the fertility, the water supply, it is all there."

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- “Western research and organics is less than 100 years old, Maori research which is based on the same system of science, because all that science is is empirical study over time and we have had centuries of time. Whereas these bloody Bio-Gro and Demeter are less than a hundred years old.”

(Pers.Comm., Paul, 2000).

- “We were thirsty for knowledge, we couldn’t find things, things were really slow at the beginning. So, we drew on a lot of old people’s knowledge [including kaumatua], went around the place buying seedlings off them and chatting with them and learnt all these tricks on how to make compost.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “I’m involved in a pilot programme up here of 10 farms which I am monitoring the actual soil types and I am putting plans together for them. Once we’ve

actually establish these I think we should have some models. Create some model farms within our communities so we can say to people go and ask him. This is a system I am trying to develop up here at the moment saying to then we will provide you for all the resources for free, but we need you to be a model farms for others to help educate others who are interested. The ten properties we have got is with people growing flowers, bees, mixed farming, beef farming and worm farming, native trees woodlot agroforestry.”

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- “The kaupapa is to sell to the locals, you want to improve the health of the locals and the local environment, you sell to them first and the other surplus once we have sold to locals then we sell it outside. We never encourage exporting first, the priority is where you are standing first, your family that’s around you, your neighbours and radiate out from there and that’s the way we have to work.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “In our discussion with the Ian Ewen-Street he was talking about the level of assistance he could provided by bringing people up from Bio-Gro to help us, I got up and said to him it's not about sending people up here to help us, I said what you have in this room is the cost of communicating converters. I said one of the biggest issues is for us is communicating with one another, I said I would far sooner the money you are looking at putting up for consultants to come up here to talk to us, to give the money to the people of Northland and we will look at how we can utilise that money by empowering the expertise we have up here.”

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- “At this stage the project is funded by WINZ what we're hoping to do is that as we progress towards the model that can be closer and closer to self-sufficiency MODEL KEY GOAL NOT JUST SUFFICIENCY and we are quite conscious of trying to take advantage of as the boom towards transition starts as the bubble is expanding we would like to be poised to take advantage of that within the transition market for organics.”

(Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000). Missing education factor for the models for other Maori in the area

- “So personally I think it is about diversity of land use. So that you just haven't got cows, but the farm will have a brand and will grow what it can grow best for its closest market and it will be a whole range of things, it might be sheep, beef, vegetables, fruit, fruit into jam. It is the same old story of adding value but nobody has really looked at how in NZ, they are doing it overseas, especially in the Eastern Bloc countries where people are re-establishing rural communities based on added value industry and it is based around organic agriculture.”

Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

MAORI COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP ISSUES

- “Maori are capital rich they do have land, but they need that initial finance to start it up, they need support. We are trying to give it to them on the East Cape with the Community Employment Group and it seems to be pretty successful and is generating a helluva lot of interest and action and some good crops. Support

through CEGs, Dept. of Labour, Poutama Trust is doing good work, so more support for those agencies.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “there is a lot of reservations if I start working on this someone else is going to come in and take ownership of it, they haven't got a real clear ownership and control of basically their destination towards survival on their own land. That's been taken away from them. That 's seen to be quite an issue with us up here, people are concerned about developing it because of the actual multiple ownership issues centred around them.”

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- “I guess that one would be through communications and working together closely and I guess that on a whanau level sometimes it can be seen as being done quite easily, but at other times it can be quite a large problem, it can be a problem.”

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- “Multiple ownership of Maori land is not the problem its governance that's always been the problem so the Trustees or committee or management members need to be very skilled in their roles and they need to know as much as possible about their function as a trustee, because their decisions affect anyone who wants to work the whenua.

How do you think these problems can be addressed?

Only by way of training. I know that various organisations in the next couple of months anyway will be looking at undertaking training for trustees of Maori land. It's basically training and upskilling of trustees. The people themselves need to change, they can't just be doing the things that have worked in the past. Obviously with these skills and educating people as to their roles it is going to be of benefit, but you still need commitment by those people to change themselves I suppose.”

(Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

- “We set a vision to develop the land, what person doesn't want their land developed. It is to see their land reach its full potential and all were trying to do is give them tools to try and help them to make sure their land does reach full potential whatever area they choose to reach it in.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “but we have experienced cases where one family member has tried to make the family block work, but if it works everyone else wants their piece or if it doesn't work and the family member bails out and leaves debt and stuff like that it is on the blocks. A lot of owners are nervous that will happen again, because it has happened.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “I think it has been that European farmers have come in with the chemicals and said that we will farm it for you and give you this money and you don't have to do anything. Part of the fault is with the government support system it's easy to get some money each week from the dole or from social services and you don't have to rely on it and the farm can be leased out to the Pakeha owner who uses chemicals.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “I think that in taking control of their own land one of the main problems is the whanau system, the joint ownership system, the problem being that with organic food crops as with any food crops it is often at the end of their production cycle that everybody comes in and wants their share and it all gets split up with the profits and there is trouble finding enough finance for the start of the next cycle. We have seen that happen quite a bit with our work around the coast.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “I think a joint venture system of some description makes a lot of sense. I think someone has to stand up and be accountable for the land, but if they say we have a joint ownership and now we are going to have a company within that joint ownership that takes control of the land. So its not actually an individual person who is actually going to, if it doesn't work the first year and the crop fails its not a big loss in face.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “My number one theory on that is a profit share basis. Collective ownership is a term we use a lot at the moment, as far as that can be addressed at the moment and people can be involved within the collective ownership thing through profit share, but I'm still very much on the wanted list of getting good solid information on profit share systems. We have heard that some of the Bahai faith have got some very good profit share systems and other than that there is some stuff available on the Internet, but at this stage we have not really honed or formulated any thing that is really good in a profit share basis.” “It basically ends up running almost like a trust, but it is profit share so right from the people who may be working on that land who had been educated in organics some of the profit at the end can go back into the education system and can go back into machinery and can go back into the infrastructure of it. If you can imagine the bigger term of it, it goes right through to educating your kids, or housing your kids. Basically, it's a whole collective area with the wider whanau and iwi.”

(Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

- “A database on small Maori landholdings on the Poverty Bay flats is being put on a map, for example, for soil type. So we have a bigger push in the market place, rather than having two and a half acres here and there and five acres there. You actually combine it all together and you have got ten acres or 50 acres. Then lets look at some certification on the land and lets look at it as a community its much cheaper to certify a major land block even if it is fragmented than to certify a whole lot of small ones.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “Ongoing development is one, it is getting enough finances to do that, there's the land resource there, but its getting the finance to actually develop that more, digging field tiles and doing open drains, which haven't really been done on the blocks, getting the basics right. That's a big capital investment and sometimes they just don't have the resources to do that.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “The only problem with collective ownership is that the banking and financial institutions don't know how to value collective ownership. The capitalist system is based on the ability for you to develop something out of your property and sell

it off at a profit. Well Maori are not into the business of selling off at a profit they have a cultural attachment to land which says they shouldn't sell. The bankers cannot consider that that has a huge value over their desire to have a title that they can utilise to sell off the property and they say to multiple own property you cannot get a title to which you can sell the land off. Well we're saying you do not need to do that you invest in the longevity of the people who own the land who never never are going to sell it and therefore the productivity is going to carry on for centuries. Now this is what the whole philosophy of organics is for Maori its long-term centuries-old history and the need to afford modern institutions to value that appropriately for long-term centuries future growth. Now one of the propositions that I have been working with the government is that there should be development of these blocks, the only thing that is stopping them is that there is the land, there's the Labour, skill as aquirable, but no bank will lend money on that property. I am saying the government should stand behind Maori development so that Maori can auction off the value that is in that land inherent in this land for that sort of activity. The government doesn't put a cent up but it guarantees the project development costs. And then Maori can tender out to banks for them to be able to service that development cost and that should then lower the costs of development and the bank should be happy that they are entering into a development that will be there for centuries. And then that's where the value is and not in the fact the thing will fall over and therefore how are we going to get our money out of it."

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

CONVERSION ISSUES

- "I think most of it is understanding where it can take them and its the time the three years for the certification and a lot of them get impatient and they want it now. And it's riding out the low return on their properties until after three years. Some of them are struggling with hanging in their for that three-year period."

(Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000).

- "The main issue is the economic gaps you have in the transition phase from the initial drop in production and the lack of premiums from the lack of a fully certified label until the third year. Until production starts to pick up and the premiums start to take effect on the products produced."

(Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000).

- "in general I am specifically talking about those people who farm their own Maori land blocks and convert them to organics, probably the government needs to look at subsidising them, because some blocks if they go through a certification process there's a three year transition period in order to become fully certified with Bio-Gro or Demeter or whatever the label is and so possibly the government needs to look at subsidising during that transition which other governments apparently do overseas."

(Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

- "For me this about how quickly we can look at putting a status to the land and I'm very sort of confident that if we were to put a science component to identify the actual status of our land and then we look at ehat sort of status shall we give them, show we give them transitional status because of the actual degrees of heavy metals or contaminants on a farm and things like that, because rather than waiting

five years we should short circuit the system to 12 months by by having that science component. And I think that science component has to be done on a yearly basis until such time as we have confidence in the ability of that particular property to operate without any outside inputs.”

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- “Its really a mind set change moving from the conventional ways of cropping land to organics because you have to be a good conventional cropper to make the shift to organics. If you weren't a good conventional cropper, you wouldn't succeed in organics. That's how people we have been involved with have told us specifically that.”

(Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

- “I don't know what the perception is out there, but unless you are a good conventional farmer it's very very difficult to go organic, organics is a step up not a step down. An important point is that because you don't have the luxury with coming back with an agrichemical later on or a fertiliser to top it up, you have got to really do it in a different way and it does take more management and it does take more time and I think that you will find that that unless whatever you are doing at the moment be it sheep or cattle, fruit, cropping or whatever organics is not a step down it is actually a step up. It comes down to timing and management and all those sorts of things. The same issues apply to everyone really, the issues are across the board.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “To me Organic Cropping is the way of the future, but I would never farm sheep and cattle organically.”
“Simply because of the control of parasites and sickness in animals cannot be cured unless you use drenches and chemicals. Also to farm top-quality stock you need grass, and fertiliser put on at regular intervals to produce top-quality grass.”

(Pers. Comm., Savage, 2000).

CERTIFICATION STANDARDS

- “The cost of the mainstream certifying bodies, Bio-Gro and even Demeter, they are too bloody dear mate. It would scare off the average Maori if they saw what the prices are. We need our own label. It has to be more simplistic so that the average Maori can understand it, everything's got to be really simplified. That is the main thing with this certification stuff. They need someone else to put everything down in writing, someone to do it for them. So you need a key worker to do all that in each area they would have to deal with the day to day issues on certification.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “The major key issue was with the Bio-Gro & Demeter they were totally inflexible at looking at other cultural ways of doing things. The second one is the huge cost they demanded for people to become organic.”
“The difficulties arising from the vicious nature of these two certifying organisations are still there, the inflexibility is still there. The practice is based on them blindly following their particular culture with no move for growth in terms of new ways of doing things or new to them but centuries-old to us [Maori]”

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

- “I guess the key issue is coming to grips with a system that is laid out by rules that sometimes contradicts the old and traditional way of farming, like farming organically, like Maori in their own way farmed organically by using the signs in terms of the moon, rotation, the slope of the ground, the type of the ground and everything else”

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- “Probably what the government could do would be assisting with the cost of compliance and consultancy. If you think of how the agriculture industry was subsidised in that way with agriculture NZ in the 60’s the consultancy was free, but the big cost now in any food production is compliance and that is you have to document procedures to ensure traceability of product. Now that actually means if you are a farmer that means that you have to develop pretty sophisticated administration skills and that I think is the biggest challenge for food producers all over the world, because it has become a paper trail. And I think the government could put in consultants to do that work to put the programmes in place for the farmers and come round every three months and make sure all the documentation has been completed and kept up to date.”

(Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

- “As a company we chose to deal through Bio-Gro, because our products go throughout the world and it has to be a label that can go anywhere in the world. We also have to be involved in a organic certification label that can actually cross-credit products from other countries also, say if we need ingredients from another part of the world that we have to bring it in and that has to be comfortable with Bio-Gro, so whatever label you have got needs to be able to do all those things.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “The question is would it have in edge in the market. Taiuiwi would have to understand the values and the tikanga behind in order to pay more for it as an organic product. Other indigenous people like the Japanese would understand the label and the values behind it and so could be a useful market tool.”

(Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000).

- “The issues of looking after indigenous people on labels is a big issue with certifying agencies anyway that is a point which is currently being worked on quite strongly. It needs to endorse and encompass people and communities rather than exploitation. I think that is in there now, but it should be endorsed. Organics is very big business now you’re talking about people potentially coming in and using organic land, perhaps Maori land that hasn’t been farmed, to their own ends. That shouldn’t be allowed, you should have, you must have full cooperation, must use local labour and things like that, the local people have to be looked after at all costs, not just the land and the soil and what grows on it, it is also the people. That’s an issue that has been talked about quite a lot recently and is being written in to the standards.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “I think it [Maori label] would be very excellent. It would be quite easy to work that in with an existing label I think rather than having to rewrite all the standards

and potentially getting one of those standards wrong and getting shot down by the world organics association.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “No, not really I don’t think so at all. The sort of stuff we are involved in now is pretty much European based, we had kumara and a few other plants, but we had nothing like this. We still have the same earth and have to treat it the same way, but I don’t think we need a separate label. We need a general label, an easy one for the commoners.” “A Maori label is not really the thing for us we don’t need it, we just want to make sure all land is looked after.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “I think so, yes, but I don't think it has any major bearing on export potential. If it came up to international standards then it would be a good idea. Otherwise we are not going to get out of the country. Local I think so, you are going to enough effort to create this labelling thing for what, it's almost like it gets down to an eco-tourism situation for the people of the district, because there is no extra advantage to my way of thinking. But I think there is definitely scope for it.”

(Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

- “I think it would be really really great if we could, what I have been talking about earlier, that this system has been something we have acquired hereditary, this is part of our hereditary, this is part of being, Maori have just followed through what has been in place for years and years. So do we really need to put a label on that and do we need to show difference, I guess we can in terms of promoting a organic Maori label”.

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- “I think Maori should have their own certification process and it doesn't belittle the existing groups now, Bio-Gro and biodynamics, and I don't think that they should in any anyway be threatened by Maori looking at developing their own standards and specifications, because what Maori has looked upon is Maori looking at a product, producing a product where the actual product can actually tell a story in terms of how it has been produced”, A niece of Tipenes, “found it in the actual Maori Bible where they talked about the olive oil that they used in those days and they talked about Parakore which was the olive oil in its purest form. Now when we talk about Parakore now, we talk about a product in its purest form.”
- “Now who defines the status of that particular product -- Maori does. If we talk about organics who defines the status and parameters for the production of organic produce, it's already been done by Bio-Gro and Demeter. So what we're saying is ‘Hua Parakore’ is all about the standards of Bio-Gro, it is all about the standards of Demeter, but it adds on the actual spiritual aspects of the actual resources that are being used and acknowledging the importance of them being part of the process.”
- “But we still do not belittle the standards of others, what we are saying is not that we are saying ours is far more superiors than yours or anything like that, what we're saying is that we would like some standards and specs that we can have a passion for and take a degree of ownership of it.”
- “we are looking at bringing the actual divine forces together and then start developing the process from there. We have got the actual old Maori calendar in

place and looking at harvesting and all those sorts of things like planting and bringing those things back into place.”

- “I have done a bit of scoping on how acceptable our products are with the new organic name using Parakore and I have spoken to Korean importers, Chinese importers, American, Canadian importers and I have spoken to quite a few of them to see how comfortable they would be if Maori was to come on board and develop a new product and specifications for organics. The Chinese was really impressed with it, you'll give us two things, you'll give us a clean pure product and you'll tell a story and he said we love the story.”

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- “I think Maori ought to have their own and we're making moves through the New Zealand Maori Council to produce the only statutory certification authority called Te Hua Maori, Maori natural product. One of its meaning is to mean natural, so natural water is Wai Maori, natural foods is Kai Maori. So we're saying that Te Hua Maori is 'natural product'. So that's the one we're trying to get the [kiwifruit?] industry to accept, but again we're up against a the brick wall because they won't sell under that brand label. They are saying such usual nonsensical things when you try to introduce a new product to the market, the volumes are not there, people don't know about them, it's hard to shift, all this bloody nonsense. How did they think that Hayward kiwifruit got off the ground?”
- “Firstly, you have this agency check out the practice, the cultural practice and then you have them standing in line at the packhouse like they do stand in line at the end of the bottles that are ready to sell or MAF standing in line stamping carcasses of beef or pigs or sheep.”
- “I think there should be all sorts of numbers and labels, because how do we sell our butter, theres about five different labels for this for the same product. I think there's room for the labels to depict the way the food is grown and the quality of it and like wine labels there's hundreds of different wine labels and they all sell. It's nonsense to say that the industry won't grow unless you all sell under the one label. Bullshit! They won't look at the fact that there is a worldwide internationally acclaimed industry that has hundreds of labels.”

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

CHOICE OF EMPHASIS ON PHILOSOPHY AND/OR PRAGMATISM

- “Well it has to be both for it to be effective for it to be sustainable it has to be both. For the grass roots tikanga is what converts them for the corporates its economics that converts them, but if the grassroots don't have the economics and the corporates don't have the tikanga then neither of them will be sustainable. So it has to about holistic approaches so there is a real understanding of what it is they are doing.”

(Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

- “What attracts them at the end of the day is that we offer them a pretty good deal, not just financially. We set a vision to develop the land what person doesn't want their land developed. It is to see their land reach its full potential and all were trying to do is give them tools to try and help them to make sure their land does reach full potential whatever area they choose to reach it in.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “The pragmatic economic aspect is the absolute crux of it.” “The key problem for TRONT would be the economic implications in terms of its forests if it disallowed the use of chemical fertiliser and herbicides it could lose good tenants and have trouble attracting tenants, because it would cost more to run the forests and produce less overall.” “If you could combine the tikanga Maori and the market demand for it then it would be revolutionary. However, in the future farmers will have to compete with genetically engineered animals, such as she which will be genetically engineered to be tick and parasite free. This will be a competitive edge that farmers will need to consider before going into organics to see if the extra premiums are there to pay for the lost edge in production in converting to organics.”

(Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000).

- “It is a bit of both really. I think they will always look at the premiums, but embracing the whole Papatuanuku, health of the land, sea and environment is equally if not more important. Maori people recognise those values and appreciate them, whereas the old conventional Pakeha farmer is more interested in the dollar.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “There’s a few types of Maori out there, both. We have to be very very versatile here. We want people to actually look after this earth so we have got to be nice to everybody. We’ve got to be real about this thing as we are still in a money orientated world so we’ve got to have some to survive we’ve got to pay bills. But we have still got to involve the philosophy and the environmental awareness. You’ve got to balance everything, because there is a whole lot of issues to look at.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “The return on investment that they can get from riding out those three years and getting involved in the organic scene now, because all trends indicate that offshore it is growing and in another three years it is just going to go through the roof. The way the whole environment is going and people are becoming health self-conscious and are prepared to pay the dollar for the organic product just to show them the whole economic value of being involved in organics.”

(Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000).

- “The Price.” “The market doesn't give a stuff about any thing except quality, sight, taste, smell. If you appeal to those senses you've got a winning market.”

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

- “So at the end of the day I put it down to that you have got to appeal to core values, core beliefs and the other big one is health. Health is huge, we quite often talk about it that if you are going to feed the people good food then you are going to get good performance. It's almost like starting from that whanau situation of feeding people good food.” The people actually want the change for the betterment of the land, but people don’t have skills. Hence why we are building up this model farm.

(Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

- “I think the actual philosophical, why I say that is to me if you are looking at it philosophically, you are looking at it in the actual context of relationships. How

they interrelate with the actual resources and bringing back the Taha Maori because if we were to look at the actual economic aspects of it it would be for the wrong purpose. I've got a couple of big blocks from trusts and they challenge me when I talk about the actual inter-relationships and I always use the economic advantages of getting a premium on your products, but I think it depends on who your target audience is. I think that if I was talking to an Incorporation or group that's fairly advanced in the commercial world I would look at the economic side of it, but I will also bring in the importance of tikanga so they know the inter-relationships and the importance of that."

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- "I think health, I think health would probably be the most important one." "I think both, environmental health is broadly placed probably on my list as second, but it falls into the whole, the complete circle. One needs to look at improving one's health and one cant do that without improving the environment as well. I guess they would walk hand-in-hand." However,
"I think the dollar at the end of the day is the over ruling factor, part of the formula that you cannot really leave out.

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- "Basically its the philosophy, with the environmental awareness. I dont think you need to tell our people that its something that you go back a couple of generations our people were doing anyway. This is before chemicals was ever on the scene, it justs mean that people have to work a lot harder. I mean there is a lot of physical labour involved in organics as opposed to conventional, but its the basic principal that its something our people used to do and something that we should be returning back to."

(Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

2020 Validity

- "I think it is valid for everybody in the long run and I think that once Maori know more about it the more validity it will have for them. Yes I think it is."

(Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000).

- "I think it is valid I don't know if it is achievable. Its ideal. I think if it was just for the good of the nation it would be excellent. The less sprays that could be used the more land that is organic the better."

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- "I think some people in that organisation appreciate the Maori way of doing things, but there is an overwhelming tendency for that superior attitude to prevail there. They are very suspicious of anything different to their experience. Difference you see seems to be a bogey word to them."

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

- "I think it is valid first to New Zealand, Maori would be totally left out of the picture, unless they stood up and put their hand up. I think it is a valid one for Maori as well, yes I think it is but you know it is something that depends on whether Maori makes it a status for themselves or something that is recognised by them under their way of doing things and the way the Soil & Health are doing it,

because by the year 2020 it could be possible, but then again it remains to be seen. It is a matter of education again. They (Maori) need to stand up and put their hand up and say hey we are here, it is a hereditary thing with us, those of us who can follow the concept and can follow a whakapapa and follow nga mahi tuku iho from their parents and before them and that its nothing we need to re-invent, that it has been there, though we have not given it a name as organics, to Maori it is part of their, what you call, life ethos and its part of their kaupapa and how they did things.”

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- “The president of the NZ Fruit Growers Federation (August 99) was here at a hui we had and he said he has been in all the overseas markets and said that within 5 or 6 years NZ will have to convert its whole fruit industry over to organics because the market wont want our stuff otherwise. They just wont accept it. But he couldn’t see how they could do it. I said how you do it is that you will all go broke and someone else will buy the land and do it for you. If you have a look at Hawkes Bay they are selling up in droves, thousands of orchardists, there’s no money in it mate. The chemicals they are using are not even working, diseases are getting stronger, its all backwards stuff for money.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “It might be a nice theory, but in practice it’s a big goal. What are the reasons, is it sustainable, is it good because it looks after the soil and makes us all feel good, but at the end of the day people have to survive and make a living out of it and put food on the table. A good idea wont pay your bills or your mortgage or your rates. It’s a good idea but how far it is from reality I don’t know. The reality is that there is not that many people converting in to organics. The conventional would have to crash out of sight for them to look for alternatives at the moment.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “I think some people in that organisation appreciate the Maori way of doing things, but there is an overwhelming tendency for that superior attitude to prevail there. They are very suspicious of anything different to their experience.”

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

MAORI VISION

- “Being a Maori farmer, a conventional stock farmer and also an organic cropper (2 separate blocks) my aim is to get the best result for our farming operations so as to benefit our whanau. I am sure it is the aim of all Maori landowners to hold onto our land, to look after our whanau and if cropping our land organically is going to give us those benefits it is the logical way to go.”

(Pers. Comm., Savage, 2000).

- “If TRONT was to go down that road it would be great to be a significant player, but people need to clamour for it. It would be great if the world demand for organics was there, but farmers won’t change habits unless they are very confident and will need convincing and well grounded research for farmers to take it on board. They are just not going to take the risk otherwise.”

(Pers. Comm., Ellison, 2000).

- “That the marketing of produce in New Zealand be totally deregulated, firstly and secondly that the certification of organic products be arrived at in the same way as the wine industry. Every wine grower has the right to produce their own thing and say what it says, there should be no restriction on that and that the market should be the prevailing standard with the continuation and perpetuation of the produce you have. We need to take away the legislative restrictions and the market restrictions and quite clearly to free the mind from the mindset that conventional producers are trying to protect the way they do things and it happens in dairying and happens in making cheese.”

Do you think the government should set a level playing field for the labels?

“No, the government shouldn't set any thing they should get right out of the bloody industry.” “The sooner people understand that it is a money maker they will all change over, but at the end of the day I am quite confident that the greed of the people will force them to change.”

(Pers. Comm., Paul, 2000).

- “Our vision is not to lease, that they supply us so that all the leases we have got eventually they would take them back and become growers and suppliers of organic products to us. Our goal is not to be involved in the farming operation, we're food processors, but were not afraid to get involved in that part if it is to promote and grow the potential of the blocks and the market. I would hope that a lot of these leases and Maori landowners we have on the books they will take their blocks back themselves and start to operate them themselves.”

(Pers. Comm., Oudes, 2000).

- “I think it is very important in terms of being a role model in that area that is able to look into what we have been talking about, tikanga that has been ours and concepts of healthy living that has been handed down, so that those who are coming onstream would understand it is part of their hereditary, their heritage. That Maori need to be role models in the field to show that and for the future of New Zealand and for the future of Maori and for the future of all people. I think that is very very important.”

(Pers. Comm., McClutchie, 2000).

- “Maori are the world leaders in sustainable land use. They have turned the NZ economy around, even the Americans are bidding to buy NZ dollars. The food bowl of the south pacific, clean and green and its being led by the indigenous people of Aotearoa.”

(Pers. Comm., Tait-Jamieson, 2000).

- “I think organics is more than just producing the production of that product.” “I think it's about educating people to eat, it's all very well growing the stuff, but I think educating them to eat healthy food and organics goes hand in glove. So in fact maybe the process should be looking at educating people to eat healthy food. I think that's where Maori is we're looking at healthy eating, because we've actually got the statistics to say hey this is whats actually happening to our race.” “Its educating the eating of healthy foods which is of course organic. I think once we have attained that we can look at a vision.

(Pers. Comm., Tipene, 2000).

- “Got to start with example areas. Its better to get the whanau based industries, smaller things, for example, dairy farmers need to process the milk into specialty cheeses etc., because there’s no money anywhere else in the conventional system.” “My vision for Maori participation is that we will be at the center of it all, the understanding of it. Our understanding of the spiritual world is a bit clearer than a lot of other teachings you know, even though there is rugged people amongst us, I still believe that the other world touches us to, the other world. It’s important for us to understand the other nine tenths of us, not just the physical.” “The future for NZ is that the Maoris are in there, we haven’t got a choice. If we want to call ourselves Maoris, Papatuanuku must be looked after, that’s what a Maori really is, because that’s our mother. Maoris have got to be in the middle of it all, because we are all part of it all now, because straight over the fence that Pakeha guy is looking or whatever else.” “The vision part is quite big and you can break it down into little bits and pieces. I can see us getting our land organised as part of the main vision on community based land projects.” “Part of our vision is that we must have mutual agreement amongst ourselves first so that we can get on with this organic farming future, we must first get on with ourselves first. Feed ourselves and then work out further from there. The vision has to come from our center, from amongst ourselves first. All these parts of the vision need to be looked at.”

(Pers. Comm., Pomare, 2000).

- “The health aspect is obviously huge and the spiritual aspect as well.”
 “I would like to see it humming with a thrive of industry as people move out of the cities back to the country, little community developments there doing well, healthy people making money enjoying life in a very healthy safe environment to bring up children.”
 “There are many big Maori land blocks at the moment looking at organics having the accountants look at the figures. So it is exciting times.”

(Pers. Comm., Fowler, 2000).

- “Our vision is to basically go into partnership with these types of organisations like Turangaararu that are running courses for our rangatahi, getting our youth working the land themselves and the owners at the end of the day for those respective blocks receiving better income as a result. But, in that situation their may be losers, because you’re cutting out the likes of Cedenco and Heinz-Watties, because our own people are looking at working their own land to look out for what they call the green dollar and spending it within your own and not going to multinational companies overseas, because then it will just stay overseas and never come back to make sure that cycle of money flow is being retained within the Gisborne area.”

(Pers. Comm., Goldsmith, 2000).

- “If Maori landowners got involved and saw what the potential is and realise what they can come back with I think the goal would be to have any Maori landowners that have land available put it into organics. If they have got that development happening for them and the employment it can create then the money can come back in, invest in other ventures, and diversify it can just explode basically. But you have got to get them educated and have got to get them on board.”

(Pers. Comm., Aranui, 2000).

“The vision as I see it and I am thinking long-term as 2020, because I am based in the education system that people by 2020 are coming out of the education system are organically orientated by that stage. The 2020 vision, which is all good, I love it, but if at the least future generations are coming out by that point are all orientated towards organics I would love to see that. That would be a good vision for me. I would also like to see co-ops or profit share systems run by maori up and running by then as well.”

(Pers. Comm., Gordon, 2000).

APPENDIX 3

Interviews were mostly carried out over the phone with recordings being taken for later transcribing by myself, except for a face to face interview with Edward Ellison and Charlie Savage preferring to write his answers to the questions on paper.

Interview details:

- Helen Aranui was interviewed on the 23/8/2000.
- Edward Ellison was interviewed on the 18/8/2000
- Andrew Fowler was interviewed on the 2/9/2000
- Victor Goldsmith was interviewed on the 16/8/2000
- Paul Gordon was interviewed on the 22/8/2000
- Renata McClutchie was interviewed on the 5/8/2000
- David Oudes was interviewed on the 15/8/2000
- Manu Paul was interviewed on the 21/8/2000
- Neville Pomare was interviewed on the 23/8/2000
- Cathy Tait-Jamieson was interviewed on the 2/9/2000
- Percy Tipene was interviewed on the 7/8/2000
- Charlie Savages written response was received on the 26/8/2000