

From the arrival of Māori in Aotearoa to the present day, kaimoana has always been integral to Māori identity – a vital source of sustenance and mana for hapū and iwi, shaping the Māori economy and culture.

Mana Moana chronicles Māori fisheries in Aotearoa, linking ancient pūrākau of Polynesian navigators to contemporary issues of sustainability and economic development. It introduces readers to pre-colonial fishing methods, inter-tribal trade routes, and accounts from early European explorers who marvelled at Māori fishing prowess, and then moves on to detail the enduring struggle for Māori fishing rights, the 1992 Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Settlement, and the creation of Aotearoa Fisheries Limited, now Moana New Zealand. Owned by fifty-eight iwi shareholders, Moana New Zealand is a unique business guided by te ao Māori values and committed to both commercial success and sustainability.

Weaving together history, mātauranga, business, and politics, *Mana Moana* offers readers deep insight into Māori fisheries and the realisation of mana Māori within a large-scale commercial enterprise.

MANA MOANA

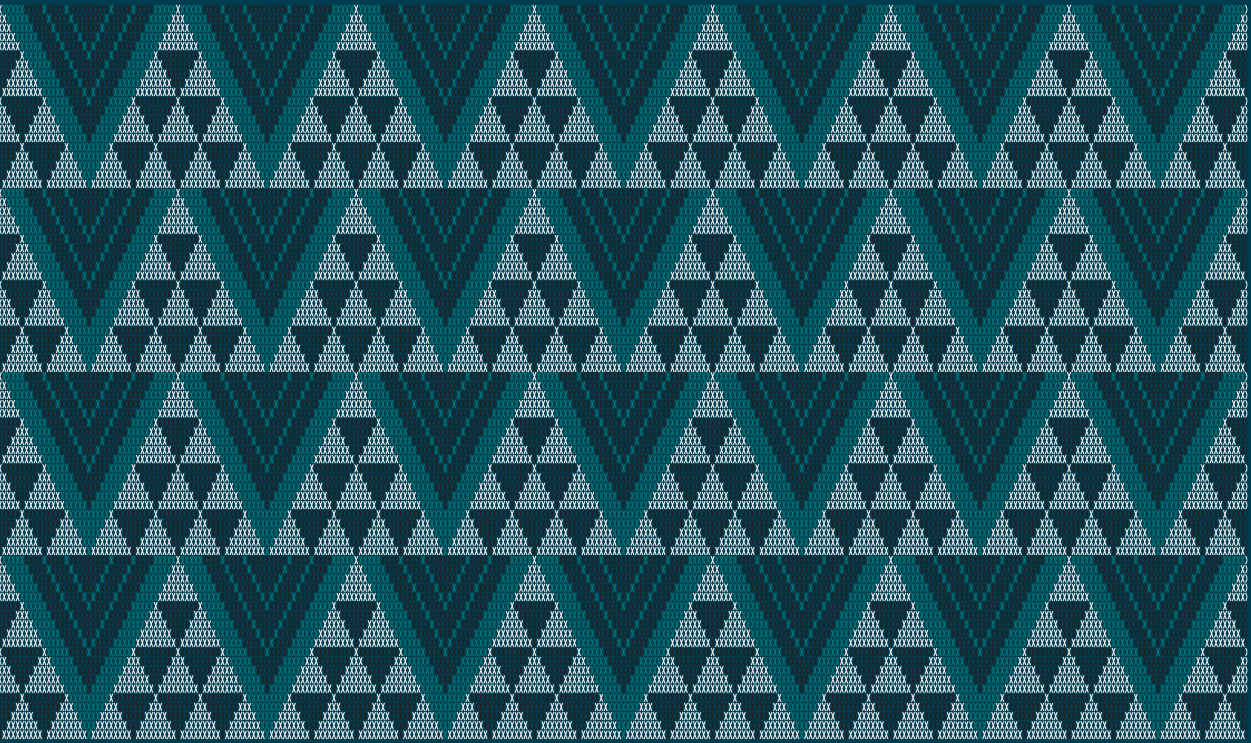


MANA MOANA

Ngā Urungi o Te Ohu Kaimoana Toitū mō Anamata
Navigators of Sustainable Fisheries for the Future



Carla Houkamau and Robert Pouhware



Carla Houkamau
Robert Pouhware



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Neil Pardington Design



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PRESS



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**He tohu whakamaumahara he murimuri aroha ki a Steven Douglas
Te Wharau Houkamau rāua ko Tamahou Terrance Houkamau,
rāua tahi he mātua whakaharahara i maimoa i te moana.**

**This is a dedication of deep affection and love for Steven Douglas
Te Wharau Houkamau and Tamahou Terrance Houkamau,
both wonderful fathers, who cherished the sea.**

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Preface

Kuku, kuku ika, kuku wehiwehi,
Takina ko koe nā, te iho o ika,
Te iho o Tangaroa –
Uara ki uta rā, uara ki tai rā.

Hold [the line] tight, hold the fish, hold tight with fearsome power,
You are led along, the essence of the fish,
The essence of Tangaroa –
Desired on the land, desired on the sea.

– *Karakia (prayer, incantation) to inspire and honour Tangaroa*
(*Mohi Ruatapu, Ngāti Porou, in Reedy, 1993, pp. 70, 174*)

Ki te tirohanga whānui a te Māori, ehara noa te moana i te tauwāhi; ko te whakatinana kē i te mauri ora tipua o te moana, kauanuanutia mō tōna tapu me tōna hau. Ko ngā mahinga ika inamata i hōrapa māwhera, he mahi mātanga i uru katoa ngā tikanga matua, tae atu hoki ki te mahi hokohoko. Kei ngā kōrero tuku iho mō ngā mahinga ika Māori, he pāhekoheko i te whakahauora, i te manawa rahi, i te whakahaumanu – he mahi hiamō,

According to the Māori world view, the ocean is not just a location; it embodies a potent living essence, revered for its sacredness and vitality. Traditional Māori fisheries were extensive, sophisticated, and involved important cultural practices, including trade. The history of Māori fisheries, which integrates survival, resilience, and resurgence, is impressive and unique. Inspired by the work of Moana New Zealand and its history,

ahurei hoki. Nā ngā mahi a Moana New Zealand me ōna kupu tuku iho, i whakaaweawe i a māua ki te tuhi i tēnei pukapuka ki te whakahira i pēhea te uru o te Māori hei kaihautū taikaha i te mahinga ika arumoni, me te whakatipu aroā ki te takaoraora mutunga kore kia mau tēnei mōtika. Ko tā Robert mahi, he ruku hōhonu ki te reo Māori me te mātauranga Māori, he mātanga hoki ki ngā pūrākau mō Māui. Ko Māui he tipua, he atua, kei ngā kōrero mātai tuarangi e whakaatu mai ana i ngā mātauranga whai tikanga, tae atu ki te kaitiakitanga, te mahi tahi, me te mana o te ao tūroa. He pūkenga a Carla ki ngā nekeneke tōrangapū-pāpori o mua, me ngā whakaaweawe o te tuakiri Māori, me ōna māramatanga mātanga ki ngā whakaaro a te Māori ki te mahi pakihi. I tipu ake ia i tētahi whānau rahi, he kaihi ika rātou, he ruku kaimoana hoki. E mārama pū ana ia ki te hirahira o te kaimoana ki tōna hapū, e mātua mōhio ana ia ki te mōrearea o te moana. Kei tēnei pukapuka te whakamiha ki te hunga i pakanga ki te pupuri i te mana o ngā mōtika mahinga ika, tae atu ki te hunga e pupuri tonu nei i ēnei mōtika ā mohoa noa nei.

Robert and Carla wrote this book to highlight how Māori have become major players in commercial fisheries and to elevate awareness of the enduring struggle to retain this right.

Robert brings his insights into the reo Māori and mātauranga Māori, as well as expertise in the Māui narratives. Māui, a central figure in Māori cosmology, reveals important knowledge about stewardship, cooperation, ingenuity, and the power of nature.

Carla has an understanding of socio-political and historical shifts that have shaped contemporary Māori identity, and Māori approaches to business. Raised in a large whānau (family) of fishers and divers, Carla understands first-hand the importance of kaimoana (seafood) to her own hapū (sub-tribe), as well as the dangers of engaging directly with the sea.

Through this work, Robert and Carla pay homage to those who have fought to preserve fisheries rights and to those who continue to uphold these rights today.

Introduction

This book focuses on Māori commercial fisheries, situating contemporary practices within a broad historical, political, economic, and cultural context. It is tailored for educational purposes, specifically designed for Aotearoa New Zealand university students new to studying Māori business, culture, and history.

The seafood sector is crucial to New Zealand's economy. In 2022, it provided employment for over 12,000 people and generated \$1.45 billion in export revenue, with projections suggesting an increase to \$2.3 billion by 2025 (Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI), 2023b, 2023c, 2023d). Kaimoana, a staple in the New Zealand diet, is consistently in high demand (Gerrard, 2021; MPI, 2019).

Figures for Māori quota ownership vary depending on when and how quota 'volume' (the quantity of fish or seafood legally harvestable) or 'value' (the economic worth of these quotas) is calculated. However, Māori own around a third of New Zealand's fishing quotas (shares in fish stocks) (Reid et al., 2019). This ownership stems from historical settlements that addressed breaches of the 1840 Tiriti o Waitangi / Treaty of Waitangi – an agreement between Māori and the British Crown that guaranteed Māori authority over their lands, forests, fisheries, and taonga (treasures). There are two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi. Following the convention established by the Waitangi Tribunal (2014b, p. 2), 'te Tiriti o Waitangi' or 'te Tiriti' refers to the Māori text, while 'the Treaty of Waitangi' or 'the Treaty' denotes the English version. The 'treaty' in lowercase encompasses both texts or the overall event without specifying a particular version. In New Zealand, 'the Crown' refers to the enduring authority of the State, while 'the Government' denotes the current administration; both terms are used interchangeably in legal and historical contexts to emphasise continuity in state obligations or the specific governments being discussed.

The nineteenth century saw Māori fishing rights severely undermined through European expansion, including a boom in the commercial fishing industry, which historically limited Māori participation. The resolution of these issues gained momentum in the 1980s, beginning with an interim Fisheries Settlement in 1989 that established the Waitangi Fisheries Commission. This commission was tasked with managing 10 per cent of New Zealand's commercial fishing quota, shares in fishing companies, and a \$10 million fund on behalf of all Māori tribes. The second Fisheries Settlement, in 1992, known as the 'Sealord Deal', built on Māori assets and secured a 50 per cent stake in Sealord Products Ltd for Māori, 20 per cent of the quotas for new species, and additional shares and cash. The agreement settled Māori claims to commercial fisheries in perpetuity and accorded significant management responsibilities to Māori, including rights to aspects of customary fishing (Day, 2004). These agreements are unparalleled globally, with no other nation returning nearly 30 per cent of its commercial fishing industry to its Indigenous people (Hooper, 2007).

By 2003, over 90 per cent of iwi (tribes) had agreed to a distribution plan, with half of the assets divided among fifty-eight iwi and the remainder managed centrally by Te Ohu Kaimoana (TOKM), which oversees the long-term benefits of these settlements for iwi. Te Ohu Kaimoana is the successor to the Māori Fisheries Commission (1989–1992) and the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission (1992–2004).

Moana New Zealand, often called 'Moana' in subsequent chapters, was formed to protect and grow the commercial benefits from fisheries, and is now the country's largest pan-iwi fishing enterprise. Their purpose sets them apart from any fishing business in the world: as guardians of Māori fishing assets, they are dedicated to enhancing the well-being of future generations (Moana New Zealand, 2022).

Over three decades after the 1992 settlement, New Zealand commercial fisheries face multiple challenges, within a wider international industry, including climate change, fluctuating market conditions, increased public scrutiny, and an evolving regulatory landscape. As an island nation where over 60 per cent of the population lives within 5 kilometres of the sea (Ministry for the Environment & Stats NZ, 2019, p. 9), New Zealand places a strong emphasis on preserving marine environments, making commercial fisheries a contested space that reflects the complex interplay of political, environmental, economic, and cultural factors.

The importance of fisheries to Māori cannot be overstated, both culturally and economically. However, tension remains between market-oriented economic considerations, cultural perspectives, and ecological conservation. Within this context, Moana New Zealand represents a microcosm of the challenges facing the seafood industry. It is critical for the enterprise to strike a balance between honouring the taonga under their stewardship, sustaining a prosperous enterprise, and upholding their identity as a pan-tribal organisation.

Scope

Our account draws on interviews with staff from Moana New Zealand and insights from those involved in the Fisheries Settlement, as well as recorded comments from videos filmed during and after the settlement discussions, and both historical and contemporary analyses and commentaries on Māori fisheries and the Sealord Deal. In presenting this book, we emphasise that it is written at a particular time – about an extremely dynamic subject – and has a focused scope. It examines issues pertinent to Māori commercial marine fisheries, particularly in the context of the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 and the Māori Fisheries Act 2004. We concentrate on the operations of Moana New Zealand (legally known as Aotearoa Fisheries Limited), a commercial entity established by these Acts. Moana New Zealand owns 50 per cent of the shares in Sealord Group Limited; however, it operates independently from Sealord.

We acknowledge that Māori are not a homogenous group; rather, hapū, iwi, and Māori communities are unique, as are their particular histories relevant to fishing. Consequently, this book does not encompass the operations of individual whānau businesses, nor does it detail the specific practices of each iwi. Moreover, significant entities such as Te Ohu Kaimoana, Tapuwae Roa (formerly Te Pūtea Whakatapu Trust), and Te Wai Māori, though crucial in harnessing the benefits of the 1992 settlement, are not discussed in detail.

Traditional Māori practices did not separate customary, commercial, and subsistence fishing, unlike contemporary legal frameworks in New Zealand, which do. Customary fisheries are a significant topic and are not covered as extensively as they deserve. Hundreds of kaitiaki (guardians) are actively seeking ways to restore the health of traditional iwi food-gathering sites (mahinga kai / mahika kai) to rejuvenate both nature and culture. This effort aligns with broader ecological goals and emphasises practices that respect and integrate Māori knowledge and cultural values. Aquaculture (the cultivation of freshwater and marine species) is not extensively covered in this book, except as it relates to Moana New Zealand's activities. However, iwi have significant interests in the aquaculture sector through the assets that have been returned to Māori under the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Claims Settlement Act 2004. The realisation of these settlements is still underway. Although recreational fishing is a popular national pastime in New Zealand with significant cultural and economic implications, this book does not address recreational fishing. Finally, while we include references to many specific iwi and hapū, the text does not offer a comprehensive account of all Māori perspectives; instead, it presents a glimpse into aspects of Māori fisheries, emphasising core themes of adaptability, stewardship, and the quest for self-determination.

Overview and chapters

Each chapter of this book focuses on different aspects of Māori commercial fisheries, as well as the cultural, political, and historical factors that shape them, with each section building on the previous one. It begins by introducing foundational cultural practices and the expression of traditional fishing rights, including inter-tribal trade (Chapter 1). It then describes how these practices were eroded for Māori during the nineteenth century as Māori lost control over lands and associated resources, including fisheries (Chapter 2). The discussion progresses to how Māori regained control of commercial fisheries resources (Chapters 3 and 4), leading up to the operations of Moana New Zealand (Chapters 5 and 6). The text then examines current challenges facing the sector, culminating in a discussion of key themes and future prospects (Chapter 7).

Upoko 1 — Mana Moana

Ki tā te Māori titiro, ehara noa te moana i tētahi tauwāhi; ko te whakatinanatanga kē o tētahi mauri rīrā, kauanuanutia ai mō tōna tapu, mō tōna hau. He mātuatua, he marutuna te mahinga ika inamata, ko te iho ko ngā tikanga matua tae atu ki ngā mahi hokohoko. Kei tēnei upoko e whakaatu ana i te tirohanga whānui o ngā ariā matua o te ahurea Māori, he whakaatu hoki i te horopaki kia mārama ai ki te pānga o ngā whanonga pono me ngā tikanga Māori ki te whakaaweawe i te mahinga ika me ōna mōtika hī ika ā mohoa noa nei.

Upoko 2 — Te Kete Kōrero Pūputu: Ngā Hononga a te Māori rāua ko te Pākehā

Nō te tūtaki tuatahi a te Māori ki te Pākehā i te rautau tekau mā waru, he pātuki akaaka i panoni i te ao Māori, ka tuwhera ngā mahi hokohoko, whakawhanaungatanga hou tae atu ki te hangarau, ka kauawhi hoki i te Hāhi Karaitiana, ngā pāpātanga anea

Chapter 1 — Mana Moana

To Māori, the ocean embodies a potent living essence, revered for its sacredness and vitality. Traditional Māori fisheries were extensive, sophisticated, and involved important cultural practices, including inter-tribal trade. This chapter provides an overview of key concepts in Māori culture, offering a background for understanding how Māori values and customs shape their relationship with fisheries and fishery rights today.

Chapter 2 — Intertwined Histories: Māori–European Relations

European contact from the eighteenth century dramatically altered the Māori world, leading to trade, new relationships and technologies, the adoption of Christianity, and devastating impacts from European diseases and firearms. The nineteenth

o ngā mate urutā Pākehā me te uru mai hoki o ngā pū hoata. I te rautau tekau mā iwa ka kitea te kōiriiri ki ngā anga pāpori, te waitohu i te Tiriti o Waitangi, ngā pakanga, te whakawhitinga o te rangatiratanga o te whenua Māori ki te Pākehā. I te mutunga o te rautau tekau mā iwa, he wā pāhekeheke tēnei mō te Māori ina ko te nuinga o tōna oranga ohaoha i ngaro, i ngaro hoki te whenua me te rangatiratanga o te Māori i runga i te whenua, waihoki i mimiti paheke te mahinga ika Māori.

Upoko 3 — Te Rerenga ki te Whakataunga Mahinga Ika o te Tiriti o Waitangi 1992

I ngā tekau tau 1970, i puea ake he hau hou i te ao tōrangapū Māori, ā, i whakatūria Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi ki te anganui i ngā wāwāhinga ture o te Tiriti. I ngā tekau tau 1980, i Aotearoa, he whakamātau whakatika whānui te mahi i te anga ohaoha, tae atu ki ngā ture mahinga ika. I waihangatia hoki Te Pūnaha Whakahaere Roherohenga (PWR) me Te Roherohenga Tauhoko Motuhake (RTM) he āhuatanga mōtika i ngā mahinga ika, ka ki te Kāwanatanga o Aotearoa kei a ia te mana rangatiratanga o te mahinga hī ika. Ka ara ake ngā tono whakatumatuma ki Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti a ngā iwi o Muriwhenua i Te Hiku o Te Ika, rātou ko Ngāi Tahu o Te Waipounamu kia mātua urupare te Kāwanatanga. I whakaritea he whakataunga wā popoto, ko te mahi he rapu i tētahi whakataunga tūturu.

century witnessed transformations in Māori social structures, the signing of the Treaty, warfare, and the shift of Māori land ownership to Europeans. Having largely lost their economic base, Māori faced an uncertain future by the end of the nineteenth century. Māori fisheries rights were greatly diminished as Māori either lost their land outright or lost autonomy over lands they still held.

Chapter 3 — Journey to the 1992 Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Settlement

The 1970s were marked by an upsurge in Māori activism and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal to address breaches of the Treaty. In the 1980s, the New Zealand Government enacted sweeping economic reforms. In 1983, new fisheries legislation was introduced, creating Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs) – a new property right – and through it, the Government claimed ownership of Aotearoa New Zealand’s fisheries. This move directly contravened the Treaty, existing fishing legislation, and aspects of common law. Major legal challenges and Tribunal claims followed, including significant claims by the Muriwhenua peoples of the North Island and Ngāi Tahu of the South Island, necessitating a government response. An interim settlement was negotiated, and a more permanent solution was sought.

Upoko 4 — Te Whakaaetanga Sealord: Ngā Tuari me te Whakahaere o ngā Mahinga Ika Māori

Ko ngā whakarite whakamutunga mō te Whakataunga Mahinga Ika Māori / te Whakaaetanga, Sealord, i ahu mai i tētahi ao pōngerengere mai i ngā pēhinga tōrangapū, ohaoha hoki. Ahakoa ngā kūrurururu, ki ētahi he huarahi whakamana tēnei ki te ao ohaoha. Nā te whakatūnga o Sealord i tohatohaina ngā roherohenga hī ika tāpua; heoi, ko te whakataunga, i tau me ōna here aukati. Ka tipu te riri i waenga i ngā iwi, neke atu i te tekau tau te roa ki te toha i ngā rawa ki ngā iwi mai i te tau 2004, ā, ka tū hoki a Aotearoa Fisheries / Moana New Zealand.

Upoko 5 — Moana New Zealand

Kei te ao pīroiroi o te ahumahi mahinga ika o Aotearoa, a Moana New Zealand e whakaterere ana i ngā wero a ngā kaitiaki taiao e aro ana ki ngā tikanga Māori, me te whai whakataurite i te monihua kia pūmau hoki ki ngā tikanga ahurea ina ko ngā iwi ngā rangatira o tēnei kamupene. Ko tāna rautaki he whai i te hono i waenga i ngā pou matua e toru; ko te tangata, ko te huataonga, ko te wāhi, ki te whakatipu i tētahi pakihī ahurei e tīaroaro ana ki tā te Māori titiro torowhānui. Ko ngā kaimahi te angitū o Moana, koinei ngā kaimahi raurau

Chapter 4 — The Sealord Deal: Allocation and Management of Māori Fisheries

Negotiations for the final Māori Fisheries Settlement / Sealord Deal occurred in a climate of intense political and economic pressure. Despite its controversies, it was seen by some as a means to economic empowerment. The deal saw iwi allocated significant fishing quotas; however, the settlement came with restrictive provisions. Tribal rivalries came to the fore, and it took over ten years to allocate the assets to iwi, a process completed in 2004. In the same year, Aotearoa Fisheries / Moana New Zealand was established.

Chapter 5 — Moana New Zealand

In the complex sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand's fishing industry, Moana New Zealand has a responsibility to balance profitability with cultural accountability. Moana New Zealand's strategy is anchored in Māori values and adopts a holistic perspective – connecting people, product, and place. Their success relies on their workforce, including hundreds of kaimahi (employees) working across New Zealand and Rēkohu (the Chatham Islands). The whakataukī (ancestral proverb) 'He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata,

e hōrapa ana i Aotearoa tae atu ki Rēkohu. Ki te whakahaeretia tētahi tira kanorau, mātua me whakaarotau ko te tangata te tuatahi. E ai ki te whakataukī, 'He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata,' mā ēnei kupu hei arataki i ngā rautaki a Moana New Zealand ki te whakamānawa i tōna tuakiri kia kīia ai he pakihī Māori.

Upoko 6 — Ko te Kaitiakitanga

Ko te wairua o te kaitiakitanga te tikanga ahurea matua o Moana New Zealand, he whakataurite i ngā mahi kaitiaki taiao ki ngā whakahau pakihī, ki te tiaki i ngā rawa i waihotia iho mā rātou e whakahaere. Ko te hauora tuku iho i ngā reanga, koia nei te whakahau tukanga whakatau arumoni, ā, kei tua atu i ā rātou mahi i te hī ika toitū, ki te whakahaumanu ahumoana, ki te whakahaumako i ngā taiao kei reira rātou e mahi ana, ko te whakapūmau i ngā tikanga kaitiakitanga ki ngā āhuetanga katoa o tō rātou pakihī.

Upoko 7 — Ko te Māori i Roto i te Rāngai Mahinga Ika Arumoni o Aotearoa

E tipu ana ngā wero ki ngā Mahinga Ika Arumoni ki te whakataurite i ngā whāinga ohaoha ki ngā haepapa pāpori me ngā āwangawanga mō te taiao. E ai ki te ahurea Māori, ko te whakapapa, ko ngā hononga, ko te whakataurite

he tangata' ('What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people') guides Moana New Zealand's approach to people and culture.

Chapter 6 — Kaitiakitanga

The ethos of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) is a cultural imperative for Moana New Zealand and is embedded into every facet of their business to balance environmental stewardship with business demands to honour the resources they are entrusted to manage. Intergenerational well-being drives commercial decision-making. Their operations extend beyond fishing sustainably to include regenerative aquaculture, understanding the environments they connect with, and enhancing the areas in which they operate.

Chapter 7 — Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand's Commercial Fisheries Sector

Commercial fisheries are increasingly tasked with balancing economic objectives against social responsibilities and environmental imperatives. Māori culture, which emphasises whakapapa, connection, and balance, shapes the

hoki ngā ariā e waihanga ana i ngā wawata Māori mō anamata. Heoi anō, ko tēnei ahumahi tainekeneke me kaha tonu te whaiwhakaaro me te urutau kia noho taurite ai ngā matea tangata ki ngā matea o te ao tūroa.

future of Māori aspirations. However, this dynamic industry must constantly consider and adapt in order to balance the needs of people and the needs of the environment.

This delicate balance resonates with the aspirations of Māori ancestors, who were concerned with maintaining a continual connection to te taiao (the Earth, natural world, environment, nature) while always keeping future generations in mind. As Moana New Zealand navigates the challenges of modern fisheries, it draws on ancestral Māori values to preserve its cultural heritage and the vital resources under its care.

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