

IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL
OF NEW ZEALAND

IN THE MATTER OF: The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

A N D

IN THE MATTER OF: The Wairarapa Ki Tararua Inquiry **Wai 863**

A N D

IN THE MATTER OF: The claims by **JAMES RIMENE** and **PIRINIHA TE TAU** for and on behalf of the Rangitaane iwi of Wairarapa and their constituent hapū. – **Wai 175**

STATEMENT OF EVIDENCE OF JOSEPH MICHAEL POTANGAROA

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Introduction

1. My full name is **JOSEPH MICHAEL POTANGAROA**. I am a whangai of Ngāti Hāmua and Te Hika o Papauma of Rangitāne and Te Aitanga a Kupe respectively. By birth, my hapū is Ngāti Rakaipāka which is a Kahungunu hapū who are based at Nuhaka, north of Wairoa. I am employed by Rangitāne o Wairarapa Incorporated Society. For the past four and a half years I have worked as a Project Manager and Researcher for Rangitāne. During this time I have been based at the offices of Rangitāne o Wairarapa Incorporated Society. I have been in this position for the last 4½ years.

2. My primary role as a Project Manager for Rangitāne o Wairarapa is to record the oral and traditional history of Ngāti Hāmua, the paramount hapū of Rangitāne o Wairarapa. Over the last 4½ years I have been involved in preparing the following projects on behalf of Rangitāne o Wairarapa:
 - (a) Ngāti Hāmua GIS Computer Mapping Project;
 - (b) Ngāti Hāmua traditional report – “Ngāti Hāmua: Paramount Hapū of Rangitāne o Wairarapa”;
 - (c) Ngāti Hāmua biodiversity report;
 - (d) Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Kaitiaki Notification Report;
 - (e) Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Report – “Keeping the Wolves from our doors”;
 - (f) A report on the traditional methods of marine protection in the Wairarapa rohe;
 - (g) Ngāti Hāmua Environmental Education Sheets; and
 - (h) A report on kaumātua customs and values.

3. My evidence will provide the Tribunal with a summary of the above projects including the methodology that I adopted in preparing the reports. I will also address two further issues they being:
 - (a) The traditional settlement and migration patterns of Rangitāne in Wairarapa with case studies on the Whakaoriori (Masterton) and Rangiwhakaoma areas;
 - (b) The Customary Fishing Regulations.

GIS Computer Mapping Project

4. The GIS computer mapping project has involved mapping various places of significance to Rangitāne o Wairarapa on to an arc view GIS programme. That project started in June 2002.
5. The GIS computer mapping project came about following discussions with the Wellington Regional Council (now known as the Greater Wellington Regional Council). We came up with a proposal to map various places of significance to Ngāti Hāmua in the Wairarapa area. It was the Greater Wellington Regional Council who suggested a GIS computer mapping project be instigated. We agreed and they funded the project.
6. The GIS computer mapping project has been used in part in putting together the Rangitāne map booklet. (*Rangitāne Map Booklet (#E39)*).
7. The information on the GIS programme has come from a variety of sources, including:
 - (a) Interviewing Rangitāne kaumātua and kuia;
 - (b) Discussions and site visits with Matakite;
 - (c) Local pakeha farmers and land owners;
 - (d) Local historians;

- (e) Reviewing Council documentation in particular resource consent applications and archival material;
 - (f) Native Land Court and Māori Land Court minute books;
 - (g) Rangitāne whakapapa books;
 - (h) Personal papers owned by Rangitāne whānau;
 - (i) Published works;
 - (j) Unpublished publications;
 - (k) Research papers for the Wai 175 claim;
 - (l) Historical newspaper articles;
 - (m) Library archives and Wairarapa o Rangitāne Incorporated Society archives; and
 - (n) The local council land owners database.
8. The definition of places of significance in respect of the GIS programme is very general and broad. Essentially we have identified places of significance in the Wairarapa area, initially to Ngāti Hāmua and more recently to all Rangitāne hapū of the Wairarapa and Southern Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua areas. For example, the places of significance referred to in the GIS programme and set out in the map booklet include:
- urupā and other burial areas
 - caves
 - maunga
 - rivers

- lakes
- pā sites and associated resource areas such as trees, harakeke and running water
- battlegrounds
- taniwha lair
- mahinga kai
- bird snaring areas
- papakainga
- tracks
- monuments (which mark pito, peace making, the sale of land which Masterton is located on)
- kainga
- birthing places
- water bodies where ceremonial rights were carried out
- gardens
- refuge places
- Tauranga waka (both coastal and river)

9. For the benefit of the Tribunal process and to enable the mapping exercise to be completed successfully, we have categorised the places of significance into:

- inland pā, kāinga and bush clearings (*Map 6*)
- coastal pā sites and kāinga (*Map 7*)
- cultivation and mahinga kai sites (*Map 8*)
- wāhi tapu/urupā (*Map 9*)
- Current day marae of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua (*Map 11*)
- awa (*Map 10*)
- maunga/lookouts of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua (*Map 12*)

10. The GIS programme which depicts various places of significance in the Rangitāne o Wairarapa rohe is by no means a complete identification of all sites. To me, this project is an ongoing exercise which will be continued by the Rangitāne rangatahi in the future. It must be pointed out that this project was not primarily set up to assist in

the claims process but as an ongoing resource for the people of Rangitāne, in particular Ngāti Hāmua, and to assist the Wellington Regional Council.

11. One of the beneficial aspects of the programme is that we have done a lot of cross referencing to oral and written material about the places identified. For example not only have we identified and recorded written material from Native Land Court minute books and personal files we have also included the cross referencing to oral evidence given by kaumātua/kuia and matakite. It is interesting that the evidence from matakite corroborates written material. It was not the aim of this particular programme or my role to decide which is accurate. We have simply recorded the information on the system as a resource.
12. Not only have we recorded places of significance through reading documentation and speaking with Rangitāne people, our team have in fact visited a majority of these places that have been recorded on our GIS system. We have also taken photos of these various sites which are entered on the system.

Ngāti Hāmua Traditional Report

13. The genesis of the Ngāti Hāmua report commenced in 2002 when Dane Rimene and I began to compile the information for the GIS programme.
14. We had applied for funding to extend our sites of significance investigation into the Carterton and South Wairarapa districts as well in addition to adding more sites in the Masterton district. Steve Blakemore, who is the Policy and Planning Manager for the Wellington Regional Council, was also interested in the background of the people to whom the sites related.
15. From April 2003 the Māori Policy Advisor (Wellington Regional Council) Jason Kerehi and I progressed an initial proposal to the Wellington Regional Council to prepare a Ngāti Hāmua traditional report. The application for further funding was approved and I commenced writing the Ngāti Hāmua traditional report in June 2003.

16. The report, while dealing with aspects of the traditional history of the Ngāti Hāmua people, is not a historical report. It does not deal with a specific time period, nor does it serve to provide historical evidence as in the case of a Waitangi Tribunal claim. The first target audience are people with a connection to Ngāti Hāmua so that they may learn something about their own history. Secondly, it seems important to give non-Hāmua people resident in Wairarapa the opportunity to understand aspects of the Wairarapa region that they may not be aware of.
17. The report itself is a collection of oral histories and stories concerning Ngāti Hāmua with additional information drawn from other sources. The places discussed in the report have a historical connection to Ngāti Hāmua and are presented from the perspective of Ngāti Hāmua.
18. As the author I have had the opportunity to visit the majority of the places and sites that have been captured in the GIS programme and referred to in the Hāmua report. To see with one's eyes and to walk over the land has been a real advantage in understanding the ways of Ngāti Hāmua tupuna. Before any field trips were undertaken, the owners of privately owned land were identified so that access could be requested. A key principle of preparing this report was to ensure that the relationships between Ngāti Hāmua, non-Māori and other Māori groups were respected. This guiding principle was invoked by our kaumātua, Jim Rimene.
19. Although the Ngāti Hāmua report is complete for the purposes of the funding project with the Greater Wellington Regional Council, it still remains in the eyes of Rangitāne o Wairarapa a work in progress. It is therefore not intended to file the report with the Tribunal. It is proposed that the Ngāti Hāmua report will be formally published next year as an ongoing resource for Ngāti Hāmua people in the wider Wairarapa community.

Ngāti Hāmua Biodiversity Report

20. This report describes the findings of a six month project. The subject of the study was biodiversity. The focal point of the project was the Ngāti Hāmua.

21. The purpose of the project was the retention of traditional Māori knowledge and practices as they relate to the interrelationships between all living beings animate and inanimate.
22. The objectives of the project were to:
 - (a) Record how our tupuna utilised natural resources within their environment;
 - (b) Record the practices, principles and values applied by tupuna to ensure that an equilibrium was maintained between all things;
 - (c) Ensure traditional knowledge was preserved and not irretrievably lost through the passing away of kaumātua;
 - (d) Create a learning resource that included the information that was recorded.
23. The report discusses the origins of Ngāti Hāmua from the atua down to Hāmua the eponymous ancestor of the hapū. Reference is made to the Māori gods throughout the report because this was the basis of all learning for the people of Ngāti Hāmua. The connections to atua were important linkages to all other life and therefore required repeated attention.
24. Some of the key points covered were:
 - (a) Ngāti Hāmua definition of biodiversity;
 - (b) Environmental management;
 - (c) How Ngāti Hāmua utilised natural resources; and
 - (d) The effect that early settlers had on the land.
25. The six months spent gathering information was enlightening due to many of the korero being given being quite different to the usual definitions of some terms,

practices and concepts. One example of this relates to the use and definition of the word “kawa”. Many people simply relate kawa to a marae situation, however my research confirmed that all animate and inanimate things have a kawa, for example rivers and maunga.

26. The Ngāti Hāmua biodiversity project was made possible through the support given by the Ngā Whenua Rahui Committee through the Matauranga Kura Taiao fund.

Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Kaitiaki Notification Report

27. The Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Kaitiaki Notification Report was produced as an attachment to the Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Kaitiaki Notification (2004).
28. The Ngāti Hāmua customary fishing notification and adjoining report applied for Kaitiaki status along the entire Wairarapa coastline under the Customary Fishing Regulations 1998. The notification extended from the Owahanga river in the north and went south right around the coast and finished at Turakirae Point in the south. This was not an assertion of Ngāti Hāmua superiority over other hapū but rather illustrated the difficulties that a hapū with many isolated fishing places has under regulations that call for definite boundaries.
29. The report provided an explanation and references to the wider area and the specific places that Ngāti Hāmua had kainga, pā and fishing places on the Wairarapa coast.
30. The report was sent to the main hapū of the Wairarapa for their perusal prior to the notification being advertised. Known fishing representatives, kaumātua leaders/chairpersons of those same hapū were met with individually where the purpose of the notification was explained. Offers to travel and meet with the hapū were extended through conversation and letter. We have found that the system of democratic process adopted by our people through a “committee system” makes it very difficult to get a consistent message across. After calling large hui people invariably don’t or can’t attend. Others that attend the meeting need to be brought up to speed so that the agenda business often gets put behind an extended introduction.

Our intention was to communicate directly with recognised leaders so that they might then advise their people of the notification.

Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Report – “Keeping the Wolves from our Doors”

31. The Ngāti Hāmua Customary Wairarapa Fishing Report – “Keeping the Wolves from our doors” recorded the knowledge of Wairarapa kaumātua on the subject of customary fishing. The title “Keeping the Wolves from our doors” came about because this saying was used by a number of kaumātua and essentially summed up the reasons why their families fished. During the decades 1920-1940 when our kaumātua were growing up families were large, some times up to 20 children with a range of adult relatives. While the adults were able to buy goods from local shops and grow their own gardens it was the food found wild on the land and in water that made the difference to being full or going hungry. Our kaumātua did not go without good food as the sea was a pantry that helped to keep the wolves from their doors.

32. From July 2001 to January 2002 a series of 5 focus groups and 65 individual interviews were undertaken from Pongaroa in the north to Te Kopi in south Wairarapa. More than 120 people contributed to the project that was eventually to become the Ngāti Hāmua Customary Fishing Report. We did give an undertaking that the report would not be used for claims purposes and so it is not submitted. The major components of the report were:
 - (a) An overview of life in the Wairarapa 1920’s – 1940’s;
 - (b) How spiritual matters affected fishing;
 - (c) What rules were applied to the sea and how;
 - (d) A general discussion on fishing areas in the Wairarapa;
 - (e) How hapū, settlements and families manage the fishing resource;
 - (f) Methods used to gather various species;

- (g) Preparation, cooking and preservation of kaimoana;
- (h) A section devoted to crayfish;
- (i) Views on contemporary fishing issues;
- (j) Customary fishing in 2002;
- (k) A collation of anecdotal stories from the various kaumātua and kuia interviewed.

A Report on the Traditional Methods of Marine Protection in the Wairarapa rohe

- 33. This report was commissioned by the Department of Conservation during 2002. The report was to be included as part of a report following a marine survey of the Wairarapa coast. The Department of Conservation report was never completed.
- 34. The report was commissioned to determine what marine protection options were available and to gauge whether there was a need to exercise any of those options. Part of the report was for divers to analyse the presence and frequency of fish species at a selection of sites along the Wairarapa coast.
- 35. My task was to write a report on traditional methods of marine protection that would appear alongside the other work completed in the final report. Some of the points to come from the report were:
 - (a) Food gathered from waterways was essential to survival. To not care for the marine environment was to put the survival of whanau at risk;
 - (b) Today kaumātua are likely to be prosecuted for applying practices that not only sustained families but protected the marine environment;

- (c) Urbanisation has meant that love and respect for kaumātua has lessened with a flow on effect that tikanga Māori has not been passed on nor an understanding of the importance of the natural world;
- (d) Our earliest ancestors to these shores had learnt from their mistakes and adapted their practices to become more environmentally aware;
- (e) Improved roading and transport has given far greater access to the coast, a situation that has benefited those fishing but that has put added pressure upon kaimoana. In the past trips could take months and therefore the process of gathering, preparing and preserving had to be carefully managed. Correct numbers needed to be calculated, preservation methods needed to be exacting. If not a second trip would mean time lost on other activities and additional pressure on kaimoana;
- (f) Calculations of sufficient numbers caught and maintaining the land and coast supporting the coastal environment were important fishing considerations. Today fast food shops allow us to buy kaimoana without a thought for what is happening in the sea;
- (g) Signs in nature told tohunga tangaroa what time of year certain fish should be caught. Today regulations allow us to fish all year round;
- (h) Intra whanau and hapū trade supported marine protection because those living at the coast would exchange fish for vegetables grown inland. This meant that only one group needed to fish or cultivate. This interaction also kept both groups informed as to the state of the land or sea. In this way if a trip was planned to the coast at a different time the correct bays could be fished. Today the trading of kaimoana is an outlawed activity.
- (i) A potential kaiawhina was selected and then trained as a young person to eventually take a management role for his family (hapū level) or his/her (whanau). This meant that all matters pertaining to fishing were taught to this person over the duration of their training, which could be from an infant until they succeeded the previous kaiawhina. The kaiawhina controlled fishing for

his/her whanau group. Today fishing is often looked upon as the right of an individual thereby making the management much more difficult. The other point with kaiawhina was that if they made mistakes they were responsible to the people, now they answer to legislation;

- (j) Concepts such as tapu, rahui and taniwha were important tools for marine protection. Each placed a restriction or sounded a warning that a place was to be left alone for a period of time. These concepts are now replaced essentially by legislation which fails to take these matters fully into account.

36. In summary the marine protection paper found that it was a strong social order and respect for selected leaders that underpinned Rangitāne marine protection. Various laws and government policies have impacted adversely upon the ability of our people to apply marine protection practices.

Ngāti Hāmua Environmental Education Sheets

37. The Ngāti Hāmua environmental education sheets were created from an idea to produce eight information sheets that could be used by councils, schools and the community as an educational tool about the environment from a Ngāti Hāmua perspective.
38. The sheets were the second phase of the Ngāti Hāmua wāhi tapu (GIS) project. The eight sheets concern the following:

Nga Atua	The Gods
Nga Tupuna	The Ancestors
Te Whenua	The Land
Nga Maunga	The Mountains
Te Moana	The Ocean
Nga Mokokopuna o Taanemahuta	Flora
Nga Mokokopuna o Taanemahuta	Fauna

Wai Tapu

Waterways

Kawa

Individual protocols of all life on earth

39. With the help of local schools and the Rural Education and Activities Programme we are currently developing the sheets further so that they can be customised to target different learning levels.

A Report on Kaumātua Customs and Values

40. The Ngāti Hāmua Customs, Values and Practices Project involved holding a series of focus groups with Ngāti Hāmua koroua and kuia. Each focus group recorded the collective knowledge and memories of kaumātua/kuia on a subject. This project was completed between March and July 2001.
41. The project came about through a desire to capture the knowledge and memories of our kaumātua while they were still with us. It was recognised that our kaumātua that were aged in their seventies were the last of our people to have lived on marae in a traditional communal way.
42. The subjects of these focus groups were as follows:
- (a) Communication – ‘How Kaumātua/Kuia communicated’;
 - (b) The Sea – ‘The relationship with the sea’;
 - (c) The Forest – ‘The relationship with the forest ‘Te Tāperenui o Whātonga’;
 - (d) The Land – ‘The relationship with Papatuanuku’;
 - (e) Wahine – ‘The significance of wahine in Wairarapa’;
 - (f) Food – ‘Traditional kai’.

43. Later we held a Ngāti Hāmua wananga during which Jim Rimene was video recorded talking about the origins, history, relationships and wāhi tapu of Ngāti Hāmua.
44. Six of the focus groups were held at the offices of Rangitāne o Wairarapa. We travelled to Pukaha (Mount Bruce) for the Forest and to Whakataki for the Sea sections. Both of these places were chosen because of the intimate relationships that Ngāti Hāmua hold with these places.
45. The project gave our kaumātua the chance to reflect upon the past. By sitting together each one jogged the memory of others so that we were able to eventually write a broad account of the early lives and times of the kaumātua.
46. One of the highlights of the project was to hear how close our families once were and in particular how there was a spirit of unity amongst the various Māori settlements throughout the Wairarapa during this period (1900–1950). The Tapitapi's (Gladstone), The Homewoods (Okautete) and Tiki Village (around Te Oreore) were used to describe the people of these areas and were known to all because of the regular contact between each. Examples lie in the movement of whole settlements to attend tangi, the sharing of kai when travelling, organised sports days, Kapa Haka competitions and the importance placed upon family representation at social events. The significance of sending a representative to a wedding or birthday was to ensure that whakapapa links were acknowledged and maintained.
47. The closeness of the communities was eroded as families moved away from their rural settlements to find work in the towns as financial pressure grew. The relocation of families into designated suburbs in towns is believed to have been the beginning of a raft of social problems that our people faced. One of the main problems to emerge was isolation including a loss of whanau support and guidance.

Traditional Settlement and Migration Patterns of Rangitāne o Wairarapa

Whakaoriori/Masterton

48. One of the more interesting findings that arose out of the GIS Mapping project and the Ngāti Hāmua Report was the significant cluster of sites of significance in the Whakaoriori/Masterton area. I was aware prior to undertaking these projects that there were a number of sites in the area but weren't appreciative of the number until they were actually located and mapped. As I understand the traditional history of the Wairarapa, the Whakaoriori/Masterton area has always been under the mana of Ngāti Hāmua.
49. Maps 6, 8 and 9 of the Rāngitane Map Booklet – (#E39) depict inland pā/kāinga, cultivations/mahinga kai sites, and wāhi tapu/urupā. They give an appreciation of the cluster of sites of significance in the Whakaoriori/Masterton area.
50. This, I would imagine, relate to the fact that it is a relatively flat area with three major waterways, the Ruamahunga, Waipoua and Waingawa (*refer Map 10 Rangitāne Map Booklet*). Previously the land was near heavily forested areas interspersed with swampland, which provided major sources of food and material.

Mataikona/Rangiwhakaoma

51. The other significant cluster of sites of significance that was highlighted in my research was the cluster of sites in the area between Mātaikona and Rangiwhakaoma/Castlepoint. This is depicted in maps 7, 8 and 9 of the Rangitāne Map Booklet (#E39). The reason for the cluster of sites in this area was due to the following factors:
- (a) Significant resources such as kaimoana, good cultivation sites, medicinal resources and the like in this area;

- (b) The fact that there are a number of easy migration routes from the Whakaoriori/Masterton area to the coast and between Mataikona and Rangiwakaoma/Castlepoint;
 - (c) The fact that there are lowland hills from the edge of the main valley to the coast. From the Masterton area out to the coast there are a number of food gathering areas, for things such as rats, birds and berries;
 - (d) Traditional history also indicates that area between Mātaikona and Rangiwakaoma/Castlepoint was where Whātonga resided on his travels into the Wairarapa area. The descendants of Whātonga continued to reside in this area throughout the centuries.
 - (e) Located between Mātaikona and Rangiwakaoma/Castlepoint were important fishing areas for those who resided on the coast traditionally and also those who lived inland. The Ngāti Hāmua people living in the Masterton area would travel to the coast seasonally to fish and gather other coastal resources and to meet with their Te Hika a Papauma relations who resided there. This ongoing exercise cemented the strong relationship between the Ngāti Hāmua people of Rangitāne and Te Hika a Papauma, which still continues today.
52. Many Ngāti Hāmua families continue to visit the Mātaikona and Rangiwakaoma/Castlepoint area today to continue their customary fishing. For example, the following whānau continue to fish and gather kaimoana: Rimene, Potangaroa, Kawana, Himona, Mikaera, Raniera, Nini, Ihaka, Karaitiana, Te Korou, Maaka and Wii Waaka.

Migration Patterns to gather resources

53. An example of an annual migration pattern is as follows:
- (a) Our families would wait for the berries to start falling from the trees in autumn because this would determine the time when the kereru and kiore were fattest

and therefore easiest to catch. The Okurupau maunga were famous for their berry bearing trees.

(Refer Map 6, Rangitāne Map Book #E39)

- (b) Once adequate kereru and kiore were procured the families would walk out through Te Kai o Te Atua and along the Whangaehu river valley north to Ihuraua. They would live on tuna, kourara, kakahi, ti kouka and other plants during their journey. Once at Ihuraua they would utilise vegetables that had been grown the previous season.

(Refer Map 6, Rangitāne Map Book #E39)

- (c) Continuing their journey north again they would pass through Eketahuna and on to Hawera/Hāmua where another set of vegetable gardens would be ready for harvesting.
- (d) Once the signs of spring began to appear they would start to walk south towards Masterton. The old track follows a similar though not exact path as State Highway 2. They could move down through the main roadway or back through Makirikiri and on to Kopuaranga. There were clearings along the way as they travelled through Te Tāperenui a Whātonga or alternative means of shelter were in the hollow trunks of massive rata. There were also caves within the belt of limestone hills throughout the area that were utilised.
- (e) Once they had arrived back in the Masterton area the rivers, swamps, tree covered hills, and clearings burnt down the previous year to promote the growth of fern were available to them.
- (f) They would next move out to the coast in summer by walking east across the Te Oreore plains, through Maungahina, Taueru, Kahumingi, Mangapakeha, Tinui and onwards to the summer fishing villages at Mātaikona.
- (g) At summers end they would walk back to Masterton and then prepare for another year.

Analysis of the Customary Fishing Regulations

Background

54. Following the establishment of overseas markets the commercial fishing industry began to expand. From a kaumātua point of view (one which has proven to be true) once a price was put on those Māori staples such as paua and crayfish far too many started to be caught and large numbers of people suddenly wanted to eat paua, crayfish and, to a lesser degree, kina.
55. A depletion in stocks due to over zealous and inadequate monitoring of commercial fisherman was eventually reigned in by the Government. The foundations of the current fisheries compliance laws and quota management systems were initiated.
56. The problem from a Māori point of view is that the Government let one fishing sector get out of hand but as a reaction put severe limitations on all sectors including Māori. So that while our people were not a part of making the problem we were defined as such and thereafter included in the solution. Over time any indiscretions by Māori in the fishing industry are highlighted by the media, yet far worse legal offences committed within other sectors don't seem to attract the same attention.
57. One way of restricting the Māori fisheries take was to introduce a permit system whereby Māori wanting to take more than the legal amateur limits set on individual fish species had to get written authorisation. The purpose of these permits was restricted to hui and tangi and a 'kaumātua' could sign the permit.
58. The problem since 1992 when this particular system came into being as an interim measure was that kaumātua not necessarily tied to the land, sea or people of the area, could issue the permits.
59. In 1998 the Customary Fisheries Regulations came into force. These allowed for kaitiaki to be nominated by tangata whenua groups who claimed kaitiaki status over a defined area of the coastline. Following a notification to the Ministry of Fisheries, advertising in local papers and resolution of any disputes, the Minister of Fisheries

appoints the nominated kaitiaki. The kaitiaki has wide ranging management powers over their area in addition to issuing collection of kaimoana authorisations. They are also required to take some responsibility for the wellbeing of the kaimoana in their area.

60. In the late 1990's I was involved with the first Customary Fishing Notification, that of Te Hika o Papauma between the Whareama and Akitio rivers. My involvement came about through being a whangai member of that hapū. The four kaitiaki that were eventually appointed were my uncles William Wright, Matai Broughton and the late Henry (Dubbie) Power all of Te Hika o Papauma. My aunty Pikihuia (Pixie) Wilton also of Ngāti Hāmua was the fourth kaitiaki.
61. Whilst Ngāti Hāmua fully supported the Te Hika o Papauma notification under the regulations the Ngāti Hāmua side of our family could no longer exercise any of our traditional fishing practices until one of the appointed kaitiaki had sanctioned the activity. Given that none of the kaitiaki live in Masterton anyone wanting to fish had to go to out of their way to gain permission. Another factor I am aware of is that Aunty Pixie was sometimes inundated with people wanting authorisations. There was no funding in place for kaitiaki to perform this important task.
62. The second Wairarapa notification was that of Ngāti Hinewaka in the Palliser Bay and southern coastal area. Again Ngāti Hāmua supported this notification and recognised Ngāti Hinewaka's mana whenua and mana moana status in its notified area. However our history quite clearly shows that Ngāti Hāmua had retained rights to fish in pockets of Ngāti Hinewaka area, for example; Te Kopi, Whatarangi and around Lake Onoke. Because of the way that the Customary Fishing Regulations are worded, hapū with isolated rights within wider areas stand to lose these under the law. Even though the regulations are far from ideal for our people it seems that the only way to retain some recognition under the law is to submit a notification and then work with the other hapū to have input into the management of the areas. This makes for a rather protracted process.

63. After consulting with known Ngāti Hāmua fisherman a Ngāti Hāmua notification was submitted to the Ministry of Fisheries in April 2004. As yet there has been no appointment although we are aware of one confirmed objection.
64. Rangitāne o Wairarapa and by extension Ngāti Hāmua has been involved in the issuing of Customary Fishing Permits since the early 1990's. When approached by the Ministry of Fisheries to hold a permit book there was reluctance because kaumātua did not think that our people should have to have a permit to exercise their fishing rights. We eventually relented because at least our people would not be prosecuted if they had a permit.
65. From that time until now the Rangitāne o Wairarapa Incorporated Society as a legal entity, has intermittently been involved in customary fishing. While the infrastructure of Rangitāne could be used to administer Customary fishing matters it was the kaumātua of Ngāti Hāmua that held the mana over fishing matters. The interplay between legal entities and whakapapa became evident.
66. Rangitāne/Ngāti Hāmua have co-ordinated a number of meetings throughout the 1990's and early 2000's for all those interested in customary fishing. The impetus for a hapū collective called "Hapū Honohono" came from the guiding words of Jim Rimene. This collective worked on Wairarapa submissions on the then draft Customary Fishing Regulations and was successful, especially in terms of developing a unified Wairarapa mana whenua. Sadly the Hapū honohono lost its drive and did not continue to meet.

Inland and Coastal Interests

67. My kaumātua universally agreed that the biggest problem to emerge out of the recent fishing regime is summed up in one word "GREED". A koro once commented that with respect to those of European descent, "If there is one thing that our people have learnt well from the pakeha it is the concept of greed"

68. What they mean is that traditional relationships have been abandoned because regulations such as the Customary Fishing Regulations 1998 support non-Māori concepts being applied to Māori terms.
69. For example “Rohe” has been put forward as an area with solid boundaries where exclusive rights are controlled by a single group. Ngāti Hāmua can point to specific places right along the coast where they maintain rights to fish even though it is accepted that these places are within the overall rohe of another hapū, for example the Ngāti Hinewaka situation. Ngāti Hāmua are aware of the rights of other hapū within those areas.
70. Arguments concerning coastal versus inland hapū and their respective fishing rights have become commonplace in recent times. Coastal hapū nowadays refute inland hapū rights to the coast. Given that the “inland hapū” walked to the coast and the “coastal” hapū walked inland annually to collect kai etc, this kind of assertion is futile. The commercial and customary fishing debates have fuelled this current thinking. This is a key example that illustrates the kaumātua notion of greed supplanting longstanding relationships. The enhancing of mana through sharing and recognising whakapapa have seemingly been replaced by potential for securing quota and cash.
71. Individuals argue their personal rights instead of collective responsibility, hapū claim exclusive fishing zones where tradition and intermarriage shows shared rights and kaumātua risk prosecution whilst undertaking traditional procurement due to a fish being introduced into the Quota Management System. The introduction of tuna being the most recent example.
72. When a group files a notification under the Customary Fishing Regulations anyone can oppose the notification. The Ministry of Fisheries has a disputes resolution process that essentially leaves groups to sort things out for themselves. Even if the opposing party is found to have no grounds to their opposition they can only withdraw of their own accord. There are many examples around the country where groups have opposed applications, with no intention of resolving the dispute. The Customary Fishing Regulations are therefore redundant once opposition is lodged, whether the opposition is legitimate or not.

73. Despite the regulations containing the term “mana whenua and mana moana” as a basis for submitting a notification any other group or individual can object. Of most concern are Māori groups such as Māori Committees, taura here or other legal entities who deliver services to Māori that object to hapū notifications.
74. In summary the Customary Fishing Regulations have divided our people. Inland hapū like Ngāti Hāmua who had significant fishing grounds on the coast are considered by so-called coastal hapū as “outsiders” and as having no interest in the coast. This is a clear example of this divide.

Summary

75. In summary the project work that I have been involved in during the last 4 ½ years has highlighted a number of traits exhibited by Rangitāne o Wairarapa people. The first is the humility that they have constantly shown even when on occasions it has been to their own detriment. This is shown by the quiet manner with which they have faced the many changes that have occurred in the last 150 years. Rangitāne o Wairarapa have been the recipients of governmental, academic and intertribal colonisation and yet today somehow retain a sense of their identity and dignity. This has not been due Government support but more the work of a few here in Wairarapa.
76. Every spectrum of life has been affected by legislation and government policy. Each time change has come our people have faced a period of turmoil during which their way of life has been turned upside down. Of great credit to each generation has been the way that they successfully adapt to the situation at hand. There are many sad episodes in our history which we will never be proud of and which individuals may never have taken or will take full responsibility for their personal actions. Alcoholism, domestic violence, sexual abuse, dishonesty and so on are sad testaments to our peoples loss of a once robust value system and highly organised social order. However our tupuna had been convinced by government persuasion or law that changes had to occur. The flow on affects of forced change has been initial confusion, latter frustration and then anger. In the meantime all of these nasty issues have raised their head. However it is inevitable that our people strive to make matters better by facing

the problems, guided by a small group of kaumātua that refuse to give up. The kaumātua have a simple philosophy that is summed up by their actions. They have a love of their people passed down by wise leaders from the past and no matter how many times laws change to disadvantage our people they show continued humility and strength to inspire.

77. My experience has been that those that have stayed true to their Rangitāne ancestry are small in number but yet stand strong in unity and purpose. This situation applies as much in 2004 as it did in the late 1800's and early 1900's, the main periods of my research projects.