

BEFORE THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

WAI 2700

WAI 2872

IN THE MATTER OF

the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND

IN THE MATTER OF

the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry

AND

IN THE MATTER OF

a claim by **Dr Leonie Pihama, Angeline Greensill, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, Mereana Pitman and Te Ringahuia Hata (Wai 2872)**

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF TE RINGAHUIA HATADated this 10th day of February 2021



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Waitangi Tribunal

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MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

Te Miina o Papatuanuku – Te Mana o te Wahine

I ahu te ara uwaha o Tahu ki Papatuanuku ka puta ko Hineahuone, arā ko tōna tamahine a Hine Titama, te wahine atua o te pō, nā te tangi a Tirairaka i raru ai te ira tāne, a Maui potiki tinihanga.

I ahu te mana o te wahine i te kunenga mai o te tangata, i te whakauru i te kukune i roto i te koopu o te wahine, ka tipu hāere tōna tinana, ko tōna wairua ka rongō. Ka whānau mai te tamaiti ka tihei mauriora mai ki te whei Ao, ki te Ao mārama, ka whakamana mai tōna ira tangata ki te Ao hou.

1. My name is Te Ringahuiā Hata and I am a direct descendant of the ancestress Muriwai, rangatira wahine of the Mataatua waka, but also a direct descendant of Tautūrangi, rangatira of the Nukutere waka which landed in Ōpōtiki nine generations before Mataatua. I briefly outlined at the last hearings in Kerikeri my whakapapa from Muriwai which is 20+ generations from Muriwai to Rangi and Papa. From Muriwai to my three sisters and I there are 42 generations, and that's just our matrilineal whakapapa from Muriwai.
2. I am a landowner in blocks of marae at Ōmarumutu, Ōpape and Waioweka and land blocks across Whakatōhea. I own land at Omaio, Te Kaha, Whitianga, Wharawhara in the Whānau Apanui rohe, and Ruatoki, Te Pae-o-Tuhoe in Tūhoe. I am a land owner in Hautu, Lake Rotoaira, Mangahouhou, Opawa, Okahukura, Rangipo, Te Makomako, Tokaanu, Waipapa, Waiunu, Waimarino in Tūwharetoa. All my whenua inherited from my tīpuna, which will one day go to my mokopuna so that our umbilical cord to our whenua will never be lost.
3. I now wish to turn the Tribunal's minds to the tūāpapa foundation and origins of the concept of mana wahine, where it comes from, how it is passed on, and how it is maintained and asserted. I focus on seven kaupapa in this brief:
 - a) **Whaka-papa** – feminist and matrilineal genealogy from the Māori ancestresses and the female divine

- b) **Ngā Atua Wahine Māori** – the creation of womankind and the transferral of esoteric knowledge down through the lens of a feminist genealogical framework
- c) **Te Tiriti o Waitangi** – a pretext to the assertion of mana wahine
- d) **Mana vs Power** – a clash of codes
- e) **Pākehā Feminism** – staying in your lane
- f) **Identity & Cultural Disruptions of Mana Wahine** – how colonisation impacts on te mana o te wahine
- g) **(Re)defining our own terms** – juxtaposing Māori concepts and definitions that have been normalised over generations

Ko Wai Ahau

4. My father was born at the foothills of Makeo maunga in Whakatōhea, hailing from Ngāti Ruatakenga and Ngāti Patumoana hapū. He was raised with his half-brother Ranginui Walker in the Rahui valley, with Te Moana a Toi in their front yard and the forests of the Raukumara ranges on their backyard. Ranginui was raised Catholic by his whāngai mother and sent to boarding school in Auckland to gain a Pākehā education, and my father was left at home and raised in the Haahi Ringatū, helped his whāngai mother raise their family of 21 children so he left school at 10, never had a ‘Pākehā education’ past the age of 12, couldn’t read or write English, and depended heavily on my mother to take care of his needs later in life when they married in their early 20s and left Ōpōtiki to find employment. He worked in the bush for over 40 years, providing for his three daughters to receive the best Pākehā education they could.
5. My mother was born at Waioweka Pā, Ngāti Ira. My sister Robyn focuses her brief around our mother’s life’s work and attributes. However, both parents were born and raised at each of their respective marae in Whakatōhea, steeped in tikanga and values, te reo was their first language and the ocean, harbours and forests were their supermarket. They were both spectacular providers.

6. My maternal grandmother Rawinia is from Ruatoki and therefore a descendant of our Tūhoe ancestress, Hinepukohurangi. My sister outlines her life in her evidence.
7. My maternal grandftather Wereta Rangitakatu, is from Ngāti Rongomai, Tuwharetoa and therefore a direct descendant of Hine-i-kapu te rangi, Te Kuraimonoa, Puhaorangi in relation to Toi-te-huatahi whakapapa, and Te Arawa through their matrilineal lines of descent.
8. My whakapapa can also be viewed in a lateral or holistic perspective if I was to demonstrate how I am linked to Ngā Atua Wāhine. and how the very tapestry of my own herstory provides the backdrop and tūāpapa to this Inquiry. But I also want to briefly touch on Whakaari.

Whakaari – He Maunga Tipua

9. Whakaari is our weathervane and beacon. She tells us the weather patterns, whether good or bad, when the best time is to go on the sea, and when to stay right away. All our whānau raised in Ōpōtiki at the marae, know how to read all her signs as ‘tohu’ and take them seriously as it is a matter of death for us. She is our daily TV One Weather report.
10. But more importantly, Whakaari is our ahi tipua, we are spiritually connected to her through whakapapa, and the sea scape that surrounds her protect her, and calm her. The ocean bed cloaks Papamoana and moves in perfect motion with Hinemoana and they all communicate to each other.
11. She was here long before man and womankind so we acknowledge her with the greatest respect and look to her for guidance. She warms the ocean bed below, and cultivates mineral resources created by volcanic activity. She provides us with the warning signs that saves our lives, and shows us signs when it is good to navigate our 14 fishing grounds in front of her. She isn’t a tīpuna whāea in the human sense, but she is our tipua whāea whom we draw strengths from as we do a wahine rangatira.

MANA WAHINE

12. The concept of Mana Wāhine is rooted in the beginning of womankind and is therefore holistic and all-encompassing. Ani Mikaere describes it in this way:

“the blueprint for the creation of human life...It establishes a cycle that is repeated with each and every human birth at which the female role remains forever central”¹

13. Mana Wāhine is grounded upon the belief and value systems of each hapū and whānau and how they teach, practice and pass down that cultural, traditional and institutional knowledge to successive generations.
14. I support Ani Mikaere’s evidence in Kerikeri that the very term Mana Wahine is a product of the ‘patri-fying’ of Māori thought and practice because colonists regarded “mana” as an exclusively male characteristic and therefore necessary for them to identify “mana wahine” as a phenomenon.
15. In mine (and my sister’s) evidence, we highlight how these belief and value systems were passed down from the significant female role models in my whakapapa to me, both subconsciously and unconsciously.
16. I started in Kerikeri with Papatūānuku, whose son moulded the first mortal woman Hine Ahu One, from her own body parts and breathed life into her through her nose – te ira wahine.
17. I outline in this evidence how from that creation of life itself, genealogy is developed through the myriad of interwoven relationships in all directions, to all beings, and to all spiritual deities, kaitiaki and tipua.

WHAKA-PAPATŪĀNUKU

18. I outlined my whakapapa from Ranginui and Papatūānuku in my opening presentation at the Kerikeri hearings, to demonstrate all wahine Māori and their

¹ Mikaere, Ani, *The Balance Destroyed: Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori*, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 1995 at 27.

enduring and interwoven connections to each other, and to the land, sea, sky and every animate and inanimate object in between.

19. Although Māori preface our self-introductions with a *Pepehā*, this is more of a contemporary notion to provide people with a brief cultural snapshot of which waka, maunga, awa, hapū and iwi you affiliate to. This is quite insufficient on its own, as it miseducates Māori to believe that their whakapapa begins from the migration of waka landing in Aotearoa, when actually our genealogy begins eons before that. This part of genealogical transmission has been lost as a result.
20. **Whaka** – means to create, to cause, to bring about or to actions. **Papa** – comes directly from Papatūānuku. Therefore, **whakapapa** is about establishing that solid foundation from whence we came as womankind originating from our earth mother. Whakapapa is the anchor and rock upon which we tether ourselves to in the storms of confusions and chaos that may come and momentarily disrupt us from our cultural identity.
21. Our inheritance is beyond the physical realms of the naked eye and is a spiritual journey that connects us back to our source form within. Whakapapa has the healing power to our own recovery from historical trauma. When you understand your whakapapa, you gain insight into your past, present and future and you are born already belonging, your validity simply exists as it was never lost :-

‘E kore au e ngaro, he kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea’

‘I shall never be lost, I am a seed from Rangiatea’

22. To fully grasp the concepts and implications of a Māori worldview of *Papa* is to reconfigure the Western mind such that notions of metrics become absent. Physical delineations become unnecessary ‘mean high water spring marks’, ‘certificates of title’ and other such terms that I had to endure whilst giving evidence in the MACA Inquiry in High Court last year, are rendered fanciful and irrelevant.
23. Not drawing lines on maps and (re)defining cultural territories is very difficult for Pākehā to grapple with because their founding fathers of modern science (the seventeenth century onwards) described the universe as a well-organised machine,

their paradigm precisioned the world in mathematical terms. To Galileo, Nature spoke in quantifiables; Newton could explain all in fundamental measurables; Descartes' philosophy was mathematical in its essential nature. The laws of the physical sciences were extended to developing the laws of society and only that which could be quantified, measured and empirically determined was of any value and consequence. In Te Ao Māori, we simply know our land, sky, and sea territories through whakapapa – that is the only measure.

24. Therefore, by adopting this Cartesian framework, the social sciences reduced complex phenomena of whakapapa into collectable, manageable and, more important, controllable data, developing a whole vocabulary of power, purposes, values and identity, which could be rammed into measurable form and regurgitated in simple english wording when it lacks the important philosophical context of our Te Ao Māori worldview of whakapapa.
25. What occurs is the transformation of the whenua into the construct of a commodity which can be brought, sold and exploited for monetary gain and capitalist agendas. This neo-liberal capitalist agenda is racist in its attitude, to think that the theft of an indigenous peoples lands to onsell to settlers is legal and moral.
26. It reduces the history of indigenous peoples and the sensory perception of their identities into frames of progress, into modes of poverty, and into models of development. In doing so, it precludes itself from ever plummeting into the depths of the different spheres of civilisation, never to understand the different cosmologies of Papatūānuku and Ranginui.
27. Colonial gender rationalities actively oppressed the identity, authority and voice of women (Midgley 1998). Feminist genealogy once traced our origins of wahine Māori from Nga Atua Wahine Māori, a method of whakapapa you will hardly hear these days.
28. Here is the chart that starts from *Io Matua Kore* and comes down to me, some 70 generations later. This whakapapa gives me the inherent right to my whenua and intergenerational knowledge and history passed down for me to pass down to my mokopuna through institutional memory and data sharing.

29. The whakapapa I use here is to demonstrate how I whakapapa back to Hine Pukohurangi on my Tūhoe side, Hinemoana on my Whānau a Apanui and Whakatōhea side and ultimately back to Papatūānuku, then to Io Matua Kore. It isn't just a myth or supernatural beings to me, it is the core of my existence in this world woven over thousands of years and 68 generations to me from Io.
30. It is my responsibility to protect and nurture her and in turn she protects and provide life and sustenance to us.

*Te Kaipono o te ohaoha
Te muru i te tino rangatiratanga o Papatūānuku
Ko Papatūānuku hoki, te rangatira ohu
Kia ora ai tatou
Mo ake tonu*

*Greed is the essence of Western Capitalism
That usurps the dignity of Papatuanuku
Yet Papatuanuku is our ultimate sustenance
For us all to survive
Forevermore*

NGA ATUA MĀORI

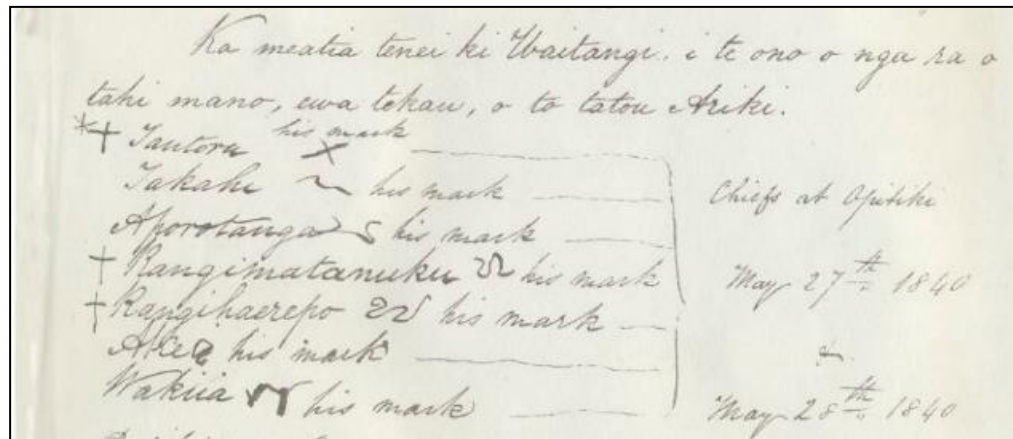
31. It is said that there are at least 70 Atua Māori from Rangi and Papa and at least 80 Atua Wahine (that I know of anyway).
32. It is through these herstories that Māori trace their descent from all these spiritual deities which connect all Māori to one another, to the past and the future generations, and to the world around them. It is through the weavings of these connections, that the balance of Te Ao Māori is maintained, binding all to one another and their environment in an intricate tapestry of benefit and obligation.
33. These connections that Māori have to each other and their environment, essentially bond them to who they are as a people, to their identity. Any effort to constrict or sever this umbilical connection is therefore seen as an effort to separate Māori from their identity and ways of life that could deny them the fundamental ability to draw the sustenance that they will require to develop further and flourish as a people.
34. As with the umbilical cord, complete severance is not necessarily required to jeopardize its ability to exist and transmit sustenance. Constricted slightly and the

baby starves and is malnourished as it strives for that which it depends on to exist, increase the constriction and the cord withers while the baby grows cold in the womb. Remove them from the ongoing sustenance of the womb and they become lifeless, soulless beings disconnected from the tap root of their survival as distinct entities.

35. Dr Aroha Yates-Smith wrote her PhD, while I was at Waikato University in the 1990s which focused on the role of Atua wahine in Māori cosmology and the marginalisation of the Māori feminine in ethnographic writings and the modern colonised Māori community. I understand whaea Aroha is giving evidence at these hearings in relation to this and I recommend this Tribunal take the time to read her PhD as it rocked my academic world 23 years ago and still reawaken me today.
36. Ani Mikaere's work reveals how our truths, and specifically our narratives related to the feminine, have been distorted by colonisation. She critiques some of the grand narratives of our pūrākau/cultural narratives demonstrating how the status and roles of women have been reworked to privilege male actors and male actions. She retells our herstories stressing the centrality of female sexual and reproductive powers to the Māori world and the importance of enacting atua wāhine and wāhine knowledge to disrupt the impact of colonisation on whenua/land, Māori culture and Māori communities.
37. Robyn Kahukiwa is a close friend and phenomenal artist who has created a number of pieces depicting atua wāhine and Māori women. Her work seeks to make visible the feminine within Māori culture.
38. All these writings and art forms only further validate my view that my mana did not begin in 1840 at the signing of Te Tiriti between the Crown. My mana was imbued within me at conception – *te kunenga mai o te ira tangata*. This would take an entire separate piece of evidence to outline *te whare tangata*, *te wai āhuru* and our relationship to *te wai Māori*, anyway that is for another time and place.
39. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, was meant to protect and guarantee me and my hapū, undisturbed possession of my lands, tāonga.... That did not happen.

TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

40. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed at Ōpōtiki on the 27-28 May 1840. There were seven Whakatōhea signatories representing all six traditional hapū of that era. Te Aporotanga, Rangimātānuku, Rangihaerepo, Tauatoro, Te Takahiao, Wi Ake Ake and Wakiia (Whakiia).



41. In understanding the context of how Rangatira of that time operated, it is clear in our oral histories passed on that they signed the Māori version as they would have understood it in a Te Ao Māori historical and political context. Also, the Roman Catholic faith had already arrived at the shores of Ōpōtiki in the 1830s and converted a few of our Rangatira by 1840. The trader James Ferdarb who collected the signatures, wrote a cross beside the names of three rangatira who were affiliated with the Roman Catholic church at the time. It shows that even when our rangatira signed their name, this Pākehā just adds to their signature without their knowledge! (Even Hobson's signature was forged by the missionary James Stack when he made copies at Tauranga – Hobson always signed as W Hobson with no title.)
42. I agree with other Treaty jurists on this matter like Moana Jackson that it would seem unfathomable that any Rangatira would have ceded sovereignty to the Crown by virtue of placing their signature on that document.
43. My ancestors simply **could not** consent to something that was not only contrary to Tikanga Māori and Māori law but also the very base upon which hapu society was organised.
44. Therefore, I must assert here that Whakatōhea iwi, and Ngāti Ira hapu did not cede our sovereignty to the Crown at the flick of a pen but engaged with the Crown to develop a relationship that ensured our mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga

would remain as it always had been - undisturbed and intact, over our tāonga, which include our interests in our Takutai Moana and our right to actively protect it.

45. As Moana Jackson aptly states:

*"The fact that there is no word in Te Reo Māori for 'cede' is not a linguistic shortcoming but an indication that to even contemplate giving away mana would have been legally impossible, politically untenable, and culturally incomprehensible."*²

46. My maternal grandfather, Wereta Rangitakatu is a direct descendant of the Te Heuheu dynasty, and Te Heuheu Tukino III, Iwikau who reigned 1846 – 1862. I find the proclamation he made in 1840 powerful.

47. During a visit to Waitangi in 1840, Iwikau, younger brother of Mananui Te Heuheu Tūkino II, and Te Korohiko added their marks to the Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The two rangatira acted without the authority of Mananui Te Heuheu, who chastised them upon their return home. Angered, Mananui took a large war party and travelled to meet representatives of the Crown who had brought Te Tiriti to Ohinemutu for signing. At a public meeting attended by Crown officials, Mananui renounced Te Tiriti on behalf of the iwi, and publicly rejected the mana and authority of the Queen, exclaiming:

"I kore rawa au e whakaae ki te mana o tena wahine iwi ke kia eke mai ki runga ki enei motu; ko au ano hei rangatira mo enei motu. ko tenei, tu atu, haere!"

"I will never ever agree to the authority of that woman and her people intruding on our islands; I am a chief of these islands, this is my response, stand up! and leave! go!"

48. It would have seemed a preposterous idea to the Te Heuheu rangatira to sign his mana away to a Pākehā lady sitting in England and therefore made his statement publically known, to which many other rangatira supported his position and also did not sign.

² Brief of Evidence of Moana Jackson dated 13 September 2010, Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry

MANA vs POWER

49. One of our greatest Māori jurists, Dr Moana Jackson writes that the concept of power is the idea of political and constitutional power³. It is the philosophical base that a people develop about what government should be, as well as the values upon which the will of the people should manifest. A site of power of the governing institution through which the concept of power of given effect.
50. He goes on further to say that like law, the concept and site of power within a particular society are also cultural creations. Indeed the universal desire to be free and independent has led to numerous culturally distinctive ideas about constitutionalism and government but they are really simple ideals. Government is the process that people choose to regulate their affairs (the practical nexus between a concept and site of power) and a constitution may be understood as the code upon which government will proceed. An analogy may be drawn by likening a constitution to the kawa of the marae which outlines the way the marae will be governed and the codes upon which it and the conduct of the people (both hosts and manuhiri) will be determined.
51. Indigenous nations have defined their own concepts and sites of power with the same acuity and confidence as they defined their own notions of law and Tikanga. For Māori, whakapapa ultimately links all whānau and hapū and iwi together and provides the tūāpapa upon which mana is based because any mana which humans might exercise as a political power could only be legitimised in concert with mana whenua, mana moana and mana atua.
52. The concept of mana as a political and constitutional power thus denotes an absolute authority because it was absolutely the prerogative of hapū, but it was also the absolute sense that it was commensurate with independence and an exercise of authority that could not be tampered with by that of another polity.
53. It included a number of different components that be called the specifics of power such as :

³ Wai 1040, #D2 Brief of Evidence of Moana Jackson 13 September 2010

- a) **Power to define** – that is the power to define rights, interests and place of individuals and the collective;
 - b) **Power to protect** – that is the power to protect, manaaki and be the kaitiaki for everything and eviryone within that polity
 - c) **Power to decide** – that s the power to make decisions about everything affecting the wellbeing of the people; and
 - d) **Power to develop** – that is the power to change in ways that are consistent with tikanga and conducive to the advancement of the people.
54. The sites of power resided in the instituions of ariki and rangatira wahine as well as rangatira tāne. Wahine rangatira were the respositories of whakapapa, and knowledge systems of the environement in which they existed and they guided and consulted with tāne on all matters, politically and socailly, to sustain the wellbeing of their people.
55. Each polity exercised its mana according to its own tikanga, but most inportantly, everything was centred around protection and preservations of relationships at all costs. And wahine Māori determined whether it was a matter of life or death of an individual, a tribe or a polity.

PĀKEHĀ FEMINISM

56. Pākehā feminism, and liberation movements have often been documented since the 1891, the Women’s Suffrage movement in Aotearoa which was lead predominately by Pākehā women like Kate Sheppard and the Pākehā suffragists.
57. Although Maōri sufferegettes such as Meri Mangakahia were pivotal in 1893, Meri did not receive any formal recognition until much later. I hope her desendants give evidence in this Inquiry later on and the critical role wahine Māori played in the suffrage movemnet because all we learned about in school was Kate Sheppard. This is acknowledged by NZ on the \$10 note.
58. White feminist movements in NZ need to learn to stay in their own lane at times. Wahine Māori struggles are not the same as Pākehā women. White feminism is a

direct challenge and reaction to patriarchy and sexism, whereas wahine Māori challenge white supremacist ideologies, which includes white women as much as white men. The spirit of sisterhood is a hallmark of the Pākehā women's liberation of the 60s and 70s, not Māori women.

59. I agree with Dr Leonie Pihama when she quite simply stated that all Pākehā need to learn how to “be a good manuhiri”. Wahine Māori are quite capable of (re)defining our own destinies as our whakapapa to this whenua provide us the undeniable connection, that Pākehā women do not have mana, even if they marry us.

IDENTITY & CULTURAL DISRUPTIONS TO WAHINE MĀORI

60. The single largest identity and cultural disruption of wahine Māori is colonisation. Colonisation in Aotearoa created a disruption of identity passed down through the generations, or what is also known as historical trauma.
61. Historical trauma is often defined through research as a collective trauma manifesting through the lifespan and amidst generations as a result of oppressive events aimed at specific communities by governments or government-sponsored organisations. Settler colonialism transforming itself into historical trauma, passes itself down through the generations solidifying itself through education and socio-political structures. If successful, settler colonialism disrupts and erases Indigenous identity.
62. Another term used for historical trauma often used in the Native American Indian history of colonial oppression is called Post Apocalypse Stress Syndrome (PASS). PASS is described as a culture that undergoes great stress (Gross, 2002). The stress impacts the whole society and reveals that while attempts at cultural genocide have affected more communities than others, not one Māori whānau, hapu or iwi is living in a pre-colonisation environment. Specific events impact those affected both personally and collectively and may be passed from generation to generation.
63. As a result, generations not directly impacted by life-altering events can still produce signs of the psycho-historical trauma, including denial, personalisation, isolation, memory loss, nightmares, psychic numbing, hypervigilance, substance

abuse, fixation on trauma, identification with death, survivor guilt, and unresolved grief.

64. Individual, whānau and hapū psycho-historical trauma is passed down generationally, so it makes recovery and healing very difficult to address as it takes many multi-faceted methods of healing our past, in order to move our people toward a future of cultural wellbeing. All our Māori people, and especially our wahine Māori, all developed an inferiority complex and always elevated Pākehā in our country to a pedestal that quite frankly did not always deserve.
65. Uri, or descendants, then share in the ancestral pain quickly developing emotions of anger, confusion, grief, and deep traumatic depression of all forms.
66. Spiritual and religious prophetic movements of the 1800s provided our people with a means of coping with the psychological, physical, spiritual and cultural brutality that occurred as part of the colonisation process. Some of these faiths were Ihairaira, Hauahu, Pai Marire, Rātana and my faith, Te Haahi Ringatū.
67. My sister Mereaira for example is a Pou in the Ringatū faith along with other wahine, and my cousin Te Kahautu Maxwell is a Pou Tikanga in our Haahi, which is a great assertion of mana wahine in our world. She can conduct almost any Kaupapa Māori ritual from Tohi tamariki, tangihanga, karakia tuku, karakia whakamoemiti, except maybe marriage (but then again marriage originated from a Roman Catholic indoctrination and its' purpose was that through ceremonial vows blessed by a Priest under God's grace a woman became a man's property but let's not go there!)
68. In understanding these generational sources of trauma and stress, one can begin to view colonial brutality in its proper light. Attacks on cultural identity and the erasure of our ways of life must be incorporated in any analysis of these stressors and psycho-historical trauma rather than a direct deficit of oneself. This is obvious when we just look at the statistics where wahine Māori are disproportionately represented across every social aspect of justice, health, housing, all forms of violence, the list goes on.

69. Strategies of recovery from psycho-historical trauma are many-fold and as many witnesses have echoed already in this Inquiry – the first step must begin with the sharing of power by the Crown and changing the political arrangements in this country by implementing constitutional transformation in this country.
70. The **political disruptions** that impacted greatly on me as a Whakatōhea & Tūhoe woman was raupatu and muru whenua. These vile processes of the Crown described by the late Rose Pere as Kaupapa Kai Koka, processes designed to eat and gnaw at the very essence of our mother, dispossessed and displaced my great grandparents generations from their whenua tipu and tūrangawaewae. It did not allow my grandparents to culturally and spiritually thrive as our ancestors once had, with all their whenua and tāonga undisturbed and intact. The impacts of depopulation and urbanisation still haunt our peoples of Te Whakatōhea and Tūhoe as a consequence with strategies of isolation being actively promoted by us simply to survive the onslaught of colonisation.
71. The **cultural disruptions** that accompanied this agenda of forced displacement are linguicide, and cultural genocide with devastating impacts to the identity and spiritual wellbeing of our whānau and hapū still being wrought even in the communities that most expect have the strongest resilience to the processes of dispossession that have been imposed.
72. In the contemporary context, these must be seen as one of the root causes of the discriminatory practices and policies of the state which operate daily to deny fundamental freedoms to us as Māori and which place our whānau and the very social institutions at risk.

(RE)DEFINING OUR OWN TERMS

73. **Tino Rangatiratanga** in simple terms to me is Māori control of Māori matters of significance in accordance with Māori values.
74. At its core, all the definitions above provide the affirmation of the special relationship Māori have as tangata whenua in Aotearoa and the ongoing quest for cultural survival with the primary responsibility of stewardship of this part of the planet for present and future generations.

75. The latin derivation of the word Power is '*pōtere*' which means "to be able". Therefore, mana cannot and should not be translated as simply power, because mana holds much more meaning and significance than just being able, or have and hold authority or dominion over, or exerting influence and the like.
76. Firstly, to have mana – you must have whakapapa Māori. If you do not whakapapa to this whenua, you *do not* and *can not* have mana. What non-Māori and Pākehā do have, is power and prestige in their own constructs that dictate who they are and where they come from. Pākehā need to stop asserting themselves in this country as if they are tangata whenua, when 'they only arrived yesterday' as my Uncle Ranginui Walker splty described in his leter to the Crown that was published in The Listener.
77. **Mana** – therefore should be seen in context form a Te Ao Māori worldview of an inherited birthright seen alongside **Tapu** they go hand in hand. **Mana** is often viewed through a Pākeha lens as authority, power, prestige, influence, presence and it is all those things, but much more that even Pākeha words cannot express. It is also sacred and private, bu tmost importantly – it comes from *Te Kore* – the realm beyond the naked eye but seen through a third eye, the ulimate essence of our reality.
78. **Wahine** – in plain and simple terms **Hine** means woman or girl and **Wā** – means time, season, duration or period. The time of a woman can have several meanings when put into certain contexts and when used with other kupu it enhances the meaning even further of a woman's state she is in.
79. Dr Leonie Pihama writes that Mana Wāhine theory takes into consideration the struggles that Māori women have endured over time and also validates the position of Māori women in society and "affirms Māori women's mana and uplifts the status of Māori women" (Pihama, 2001). Despite this comparison to Western feminism, Dr Pihama encourages Māori women to take control of their own theories within Māori epistemologies and develop theoretical frameworks that are specific to Māori women. I completely agree and that is what I endeavour to do.

CONCLUSION

80. I want to close my presentation by leaving in your hearts and minds a series of art pieces of Ngā Atua Wāhine by my friend and māreikura, Robyn Kahukiwa which capture the essence of those matters at the heart of this process and which I have tried to bring focus to.
81. No kōrero would be complete without recognising the wisdom of the late Dame Mira Szaszy in the struggle against patriarchy and the denial of the feminine divine which has been so instrumental in bringing us here today.
82. Her philosophies were articulated in this way before the Waitangi Tribunal in the Muriwhenua Lands Hearings with the lament that commenced her evidence capturing the sense of mamae that Crown disruption of our relationships with our Whaea Papatūānuku:⁴

“We are the children of Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother, one of our divine Primal Parents. We contend that all of Nature derives from her - our lands, forests, rivers, lakes and seas and all life contained therein. As such our spirituality is deep-rooted in the earth, the lands upon which our forebears lived and died, the seas across which they travelled and the stars which guided them to Aotearoa. They were also physically sustained by the produce of Tane and Tangaroa. The sanctity of the Mauri of all things was respected.”

⁴ The late Mira Szaszy, ‘Evidence Presented to the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Mihi Marae, Te Hapua on the Runanga-o-Muriwhenua Claims’, December 1987 (doc A6), p2. Tane is the progenitor of forests, Tangaroa of fishes. Mauri is an intangible quality relating to the essence or life-force of a place, person, or thing; it is central to Maori thinking.

Takoto e te whaea tuatahi

Tēnei o tamariki Māori

E tangi nei, i tēnei ra

I te nuku o te whenua

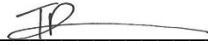
Taku oneone kua riro e

Aku moana

Aku maunga

Aku tūrangawaewae,

Aue!



Te Ringahuia Hata