

**In the Waitangi Tribunal  
Mana Wahine Kaupapa Inquiry**

**Wai 2700  
Wai 58**

**In the Matter** of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

**And**

**In the Matter** of the Mana Wahine Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2700)

**And**

**In the Matter** of a claim by Patricia Jane Tauroa and Robyn Elizabeth Moana Tauroa on behalf of Ngā Hapū o Whangaroa (Wai 58)

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**Brief of Evidence of Patricia Tauroa**

**Dated 30 June 2021**

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Waitangi Tribunal

**30 Jun 2021**

Ministry of Justice  
WELLINGTON

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**MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL**

1. My name is Patricia Jane Tauroa. I depose this Brief of Evidence (**BoE**) on behalf of Wai 58, a claim by myself and Robyn Elizabeth Moana Tauroa on behalf of Ngā Hapū o Whangaroa. In responding I will be relying on personal understandings and experiences to answer those key questions about which I have some knowledge and understanding.
  
2. For this Kaupapa, I feel that it could be an advantage to define a common meaning and understanding of the word “mana”. On Google there are a multitude of meanings and explanations for “mana”. Noted as a word deemed common throughout Polynesia and Melanesia, it is also noted that the concept of mana was introduced to Europe by Missionary R H Codrington in 1891 and popularised in 1950 by Mircea Eliade.<sup>1</sup> The number of academic studies on mana are also numerous, yet it took a lot of years for the European world to clarify the word mana.
  
3. There were and are, a myriad of meanings, some are common, and some almost contradicting what one might feel is a common meaning.
  
4. Meanings noted in several Wikipedia postings are that mana is a spiritual element, a life force, a healing power, a supernatural energy, a ritual. While I believe that mana has a wairua of its own, I am not convinced that it goes as far as being a ritual.
  
5. Further expressions of mana included statements of mana being a demonstration of one’s prestige, strength, courage and something that is handed down from one generation to another and being bestowed through one’s great deeds. While those deeds may be of great value to you personally, if others don’t see them as being of value, or they are unaware of those deeds, then your mana will not be increased in their eyes.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mana>

6. I am not saying that those meanings are wrong, however I personally don't use them as meaning mana. What was of interest to me is that in no statement I viewed was there specific mention of mana as being **respect** for a person or object. For myself, if I believe that someone has mana, then I will respect that person because of the mana I see in him or her. In the same way, if there is an object that is deemed by me, to have mana, then I would respect that object because I also see it as having mana.
7. In my view, things that are tapu do not necessarily have mana and things that have mana, need not be tapu. There are some things and places that are tapu because of the harm that could be caused by those objects or that place and yes there is an element of respect that is accorded to avoid harm from the tapu. However, tapu and mana for me, are not one and the same thing.
8. As an example, our maunga Taratara has mana due to its historical kōrero and to its inspiring formation and appearance. Taratara was also the burial place for human remains prior to the colonial requirement of bodies needing to be buried in graves. My parent's generation did not prevent us from climbing Taratara. However, we knew that the burial caves in Taratara – the ana koiwi – were tapu. And because of that tapu, most children in those early times, did not go into the ana if we held any fears of entering a place where there were human remains lying uncovered. As well, in accordance with tikanga of women respected the tapu of the ana and did not enter them.
9. If a person accords mana to you, that does not mean that others will automatically accord you as having mana. A Rangatira is generally accorded mana through his or her own deeds and standing. There is an expectation that descendants of a rangatira will take pride in his or her achievements and show the same qualities that were displayed by their tūpuna. I believe that uri of rangatira did and do endeavour to emulate their tūpuna if he or she had been accorded mana by the people. However, not all Rangatira of old or now, were or are accorded mana by ALL Māori people particularly if their exploits have been harmful to others.

10. As an example, my husband Hiwi had very good personal friends from Ngāti Porou. Each time we visited marae in the area, there was always reference made to Hiwi during mihi on his being Ngāpuhi, and his relationship to Hongi Hika. Fortunately, kaumatua in their mihimihi, have an ability to make reference to historical events without rancour or accusation but with a degree of humour when they were acknowledging painful events from the past.
11. If you know what a Rangatira has done, and you agree that it is of value, then you are likely to accord his or her children as having mana. Should the children behave in a manner that you do not approve of, would you still accord them mana because of who their Rangatiria is? I would think not no matter who that Rangatira is. This is an area where I disagree with the general statements that we inherit mana from our tūpuna. Yes, we are born with an element of mana simply because we are born as human beings and moreso if people respected our tūpuna. We who are Maori, were not born as “nonhumans” as the Doctrine of Discovery deemed that indigenous people were (and sadly some still do believe that Doctrine). I believe that we are all born with the capacity to be given or to gain and achieve mana; from my perspective, it depends entirely on how others view us, whether or not we do have mana.
12. Carvings in whare hui are respected because of what they represent – even if you are not aware of the kōrero relating to those poupou, you respect them because of what they are and where they are and therefore you acknowledge their mana. The poupou are tapu, therefore you do not desecrate them, however, generally they are not tapu in the sense that you cannot sit or sleep beside them or touch them. Because you respect them, you give them mana. Some people refuse to sleep in a marae overnight because they are afraid of the poupou and believe that they are tapu = the tapu sense that they are to be feared because they will cause you harm. Like mana, tapu can be how and what **you** believe.
13. My belief has always been that mana is not something that you have as of

right, but rather it is something you have bestowed on you by others. It is not for you, yourself to declare: “I have mana”. All things, human and innate, have a spiritual element- a wairua - and mana is accorded to that person or object by others. For me, to proclaim that I have mana that is prestige, knowledge or strength, is self-seeking and therefore, I would be considered a “mana muncher”.

14. I can agree with the statement that we are all born with mana *if* we take “mana” to mean “human beings” and Māori like all humans, are born as human beings and not the non-human species applied to our tūpuna in the Doctrine of Christian Discovery.
15. I can have mana only if others say that I have mana and bestow that accolade onto me because of what I have said or what I have done – my expectation then is that their respect for me as a person is because they believe that I have mana in that they respect what I have done or what I do. In the same way, I would accord mana to a person I respect because of how I feel that person is (or has been), and that what he or she has achieved has value. That does not mean that other people would accord the same person mana if they don’t see the value of their achievements the same way that I do. A similar situation applies for an object or a taonga that I value as having mana where others may not see it as having the same value.

### Hearing Themes

#### ***Tuapapa Theme 1: Atua whaea and tūpuna whaea and the blueprint for mana wahine – who are our atua whaea? What are the stories of our atua whaea?***

16. It is my view that all Māori would acknowledge the following atua whāea and tūpuna whāea although our korero for each may vary:
  - a. **Papatuanuku** – mother earth. She is the land on which we survive and, therefore, must be cared for by us to enable the continued existence of human life. It is our responsibility to care for and nurture Papatuanuku so that she in turn, will care for and nurture us. This is, and has been, the way since the beginning, and should be until the end of the existence of human life. To nurture and care for

Papatuanuku means that we need to understand the environment that is around us, not just the house we live in. To care for that environment, is to care for Papatuanuku. Within the caring for the land, we care for each other, and for future generations.

- b. **Hineahuone** – in Te Ao Māori, she is the first human female form created so that there could be new human life born into this world, thereby, establishing the existence of male and female, and the ability to create human life through their relationship with each other – the union which ensures the creation of human beings. My understanding of this is that for Māori, the sexual relationship between male and female has always been considered normal and essential to ensure the continuation of future generations.
  - c. **Hine tītama** – the atua whāea who was the firstborn child from the union of Tane and Hineahuone. When Hine tītama, became aware that her husband was also her father she removed herself to the underworld. By doing so she taught us that it is not right for a father to have sexual intercourse with his own daughter.
  - d. **Hine nui te pō** – the protector of wairua after the death of the human being. In her interaction with Maui, Hine nui te pō reminds us that life is not eternal, and that death cannot be avoided. Yet death need not be feared for although it is the end of life, it is the beginning of after life where wairua of those who have died may again be reunited.
17. These atua whaea played major roles in the creation and understandings that Māori held and practiced prior to the 1840s. Many of the explanations passed down through the generations are spiritual in form, and these were dispelled by the advent of missionary teachings, which were, in my view, detrimental to my tūpuna and to their teachings. I say detrimental because, today, the application of Christian principles does not meet the threshold of caring for each other – something which is supposed to be part and parcel of Christianity. And, to ignore those early understandings of life from our tūpuna, or to not understand their being, is to lose sight of the very essence of being Māori, and this loss is becoming more evident as the automatic transfer of earlier practices lessens; we have begun to lose our own DNA.

18. Māori throughout Aotearoa have varying understandings of each of the atua whaea and their teachings. The understandings that they give are not new. Those understandings existed within Māori lives long before Christianity reached Aotearoa and were still practiced at the time of the signing of Te Tiriti at Waitangi. They were in the DNA of our Māori tūpuna when Tasman and Cook made their first landings on our shores. But, to our detriment, those old understandings and practices have been subsumed by dominating colonial practices and laws.
19. Perhaps the most important understandings from these whaea as I understand them, is that they show us a way to live; they teach understandings and respect and give comfort and solace, rather than portraying destruction and evil. We gain confidence because we know that our tūpuna lived by and through those ages with the same atua and their teachings. They believed that there was and is a spiritual element to life, a wairua, that protects us and is necessary for us to survive as human beings.
20. We also have the atua whaea who assisted Māui in his feats:
- a. **Muri ranga whenua** – the grandmother of Māui. Her jawbone gives an understanding of the upheavals that raised land above the seas. Without the jawbone of his grandmother, Māui would not have been able to perform the acts that he accomplished, including:
    - i. the fishing up of the lands to provide a place where human beings could live and survive; and
    - ii. the slowing down of the sun to enable regularity in people’s daily lives.
  - b. **Mahuika** – who shows how fire is essential for human survival, as well as its potential for being destructive.  
And, while these are mythical images and teachings, they also give a sense of understanding and normality to everyday lives when and if we need to ponder the universe and its enormity.
21. These whaea exemplify for me the natural recognition of the value and place

of women as part and parcel of the very livelihoods and life of our tūpuna in their generations. Those values have been passed on from one generation to the other, only being subsumed by assumed Christian doctrines, some of which have no bearing on what I understand as being the basic Christian ethos of showing love for our fellow human being.

22. There are other atua whaea whose names vary depending on who is giving the kōrero, and where the kaikōrero is from. Whaea or kuia are part of the narratives of acts by Māori atua, although their names are rarely stated in the general English documents. An example is the kōrero for Tāwhaki, and his receiving **ngā kete mātauranga** (“baskets of knowledge”) from a kuia. While the kōrero tells **what** was in the kete, it doesn’t tell us **how** the kōrero got into the kete. Was it placed there by the kuia, or by some other person? It is my opinion that, in the recording of these kinds of kōrero by early researchers, the factor of a female having or carrying mātauranga was deliberately ignored. This would have been on the basis that only males held knowledge and the capacity to educate others. This, for Māori, is far from the reality, but it is a position which I believe is deeply entrenched in the western culture.
23. The mana accorded master carver Paki Harrison is known throughout Māoridom and by many Pākeha of his generation. In 1983, Paki was engaged with Hiwi in the carving of pou for the New Zealand Embassy building in Beijing. During one of our conversations, I raised the question of women being present while carving was being done. Paki’s response was that, traditionally in many areas of Maori life, a woman was always chosen to learn and carry mātauranga forward, including in the art of carving. He said that, even though she was not taught the physical activity, she would learn the knowledge of “*how to carve*” – she would hold the knowledge of this and could convey the essential elements of carving to those who would eventually be designated to become carvers. This was done because of the reality, in those earlier generations, that women were less likely to be killed in battle than men, hence they were more likely to live longer and would pass on the knowledge. It was essential that the knowledge of activities, and the mātauranga of it, should be held by someone who would be able to



understand, hold, and give it to future generations.

24. There has been a general concept until recently that women cannot be carvers – particularly of waka - and more-so that women MUST not enter an area where carving is being done. The general perspective is that the carvings and the carvers are tapu while they are carving. However, much now depends on the tikanga of the area where carving is being done. As well, the age of the woman is a determining factor.
25. This is an element of Māori living and teaching that I believe has been left out of the recordings and written accounts of Māori life since early colonial settlement in our country. It is my opinion that it held no significance for those who recorded stories of Māori life because it would indicate that women had value and, this, in the colonial mind, was not acceptable. For me, in colonial eyes, women had no value other than to do man's bidding. Women were not allowed to vote; women were not allowed to own land; when a Māori woman married a Pākeha, her land became the land of the Pākeha male. This type of transfer of land did not occur in a Māori marriage. Whenua owned by Māori women only transferred into male ownership through whakapapa to a descendant. For many years, women were not allowed to become ministers within the Christian churches: karakia was always an essential part of Māori life, and women knew karakia that was necessary for different elements of life not just for Christian occasions.
26. Carving is not the only area where women were taught to understand the mātauranga due to the factor that they were less likely than men to be killed in battle. The practice is not unusual although it largely depended on the tikanga of the people themselves. In some areas, women were taught mau rakau – a skill essential for those going into battle. This practice is an indication that Māori pre-1840 believed and understood the need for ongoing teaching of their tikanga, their principles and practices, if their future generations were to survive. Therefore, women had an essential role in the ability to retain information, to hold mātauranga over several years before imparting it to those who were the right people to learn the skill.

27. In essence, this practice is part and parcel of te mana o te wahine as distinct from Mana wahine which is te whare tangata. However, in some activities where food is involved, the impact of the activity could be seen as being detrimental to te whare tangata, then women of child-bearing age would not be chosen to do that work or to learn that matauranga until they were older. While they may learn the theory required, they would not practise the skill. I am not aware of any areas where this definitely did not apply, other than perhaps areas where there was an element of tapu that could harm te whare tangata, such as entry into ana kōiwi and the actual factor of placing of the kōiwi remains. In areas that were specifically relevant to women like child birthing, there would not be the need for it to specifically apply. It did apply to areas such as rongoa, whakapapa and maramataka. It needs to be noted that some areas that were deemed to be women's areas, such as child birthing, were sometimes practised by men.
28. This, then, for me is also an indication of the mana of women – that is, to hold mātauranga, and to have the responsibility to determine when that kōrero would be passed on, and to whom it would be given on to. Women became the experts: there was no glass ceiling in te ao Māori.

***Tuapapa Theme 2: Ira wahine, ira tangata – what was the relationship between wahine and tāne in traditional Maori society? Were there different roles played?***

29. My understanding is that the union of ira wahine and ira tāne creates te ira tangata. However, this is not an area that I am familiar with other than to say that te ira wahine is a recognition of the female menstruation period while te ira tane, relates to the sperm of the men. Each is relevant to the union that produces new life arā te ira tangata. I had no specific teachings as to how to deal with menstruation from a Māori perspective however, by the time I reached that age, I was no longer living close to my Māori aunts and uncle.
30. In terms of the relationship between wāhine and tāne in traditional Māori society, I believe that it is a myth that there was a clearly defined line between

the roles and responsibilities of each gender. This is because the place of each within their society was understood by each person whether they were male or female. Essential practices, such as food gathering, were carried out as a shared whānau activity. There were, however, some activities that a woman would not participate in. For example:

- a. When she was in her period of menstruation. This was due to the belief that it was considered unsafe for women to participate in certain activities during such times. For example, gardening – due, in part, to the possibility that the blood from her menstruation could come into contact with the plants, the tools in use, or the soil of the garden. The harm would be to the whole whānau not just to that woman. The element of safety here lies in the belief that the blood of one human should not come into contact with another person. My assumption here is that what is carried in the woman's blood could transfer, in an unacceptable and unhealthy way, to another person. And, here, it is worth considering the depth of understanding that Maori had from pre-European times, about the existence of pathogens (though not labelled as such) which could be carried in your blood, the makeup of such, and the likelihood and possible harm of these pathogens being transferred to another person. It is possible that this would only be an issue during the period when the woman was menstruating.
- b. Women were prevented from participating in many activities while in their period of menstruation for a number of reasons. These included karanga, attending tangi, preparing food for manuhiri. She was also not required to take part in activities such as hunting, which would place stress on her body that could harm her ability to bear children – that is to harm her as te whare tangata rather than as a woman.
- c. It was also considered unwise for women to carry out heavy labour as it is a woman's responsibility to ensure that no harm would come

to her that would prevent her ability to bear children. The prohibition of such was because it could bring harm to the woman and her whanau – the restriction was, therefore, a safeguard for all, not just for an individual.

31. In my own life, I recall that all members of the whānau participated in most work, whether it was fishing, gardening or general gathering of supplies such as wood for the fires, stones for the pathways or rongoa from the bush. The only area that men did not participate in was the gathering of flax. Boys were, however, required to accompany us with our grandmother or our aunt if a large amount of flax was required. This was largely due to the fact that it was not heavy work. As well, the activity of weaving was generally considered to be what women would do, although some men have become highly respected weavers. That my grandmother always recited karakia as we went about gathering kōrari (flax) and other rongoa from along the riversides, is confirmation that women learned, and practised karakia. It wasn't only men who did karakia Māori. During my youth, only men led prayers in a Christian church service.
32. With all participating in the activity, the young people were able to learn and understand those skills necessary for the survival of the whānau as a collective. When it came to hui, where a large amount of food needed to be prepared, again, there was a joint effort. Preparation of the food for the hāngi was shared work.; the making of pārō – the flax plates to eat food from: as children we helped weave the pārō. The only activity that was deemed to be “men’s work”, was the preparation of the hāngi pit, putting the hāngi down, the actual care of the hāngi, and the uncovering when food was cooked. This was for safety more than anything else.
33. Another area where males and females had designated “roles” is in the matter of pōwhiri. Women will perform the karanga, while men carried out the mihi. I note here that for those women who are experienced at karanga, their call is as much a “speech” as is the mihi of the men. While some rohe will expect the women to lead a waiata following the mihi, in other rohe, the

male kai kōrero prefers to begin his own waiata. Here, again, it is worth noting that the waiata is in essence an extension of the kōrero delivered in the mihi by the kaikōrero, irrespective of whether they are male or female.

34. In the old traditional practice of hāhunga (preparation of a tūpapaku before interment of the remains), women would wash the remnants of flesh from the kōiwi and prepare the whāriki (flax mats) in which the kōiwi were wrapped. Men would carry and lay the kōiwi into the ana (burial caves). This basic division of roles continued into recent generations where women would wash the tūpapaku prior to it being transferred to the undertaker. Once placed into a coffin, the tūpapaku was then carried by men onto the marae, and then to the graveside. Graves were also dug by men. Today, changes have been occurring where young women sometimes carry the coffin of a loved parent or person onto and off the marae. The element of te whare tangata appears to be given little or no consideration in the practice of women carrying a coffin although if the tūpapaku is of a loved father or whānau member, there is an expectation that the wairua of the tūpapaku will not harm the woman. It is general practice that women will go to the undertakers to wait for the body while it is being prepared for burial. Today, it would only be in exceptional circumstances – such as if men were not available to do this work - that a grave would be dug by women and the coffin lowered into the grave by women.
35. This division of roles is for the protection of the whānau – of women and men. A tūpapaku is tapu, in the sense that the wairua of the tūpapaku is still very much a part of that person who has died. Wairua are not controlled by humans; the wairua protects the essence of the one who has died; it is this wairua that continues to “be” in the realm of Hine nui te pō.
36. There appears to be an assumption that only men became tōhunga, and only men carried mātauranga to pass on to their future generations. This also is a myth. As noted earlier, in the kōrero for Tāwhaki, the kuia who held ngā kete mātauranga, is most often given little relevance, and the focus is, instead, on the tōhunga qualities of Tāwhaki.

37. There always have been female tōhunga in Māori society. Those who are seers, those who know rongoa, those who are experts at rāranga, those who are skilled at waiata, and those who hold whakapapa. Many women were seen as tōhunga in the skills and art of mahi-ā-ringā, and in the composing of waiata. It appears to me, again, that the skills held by Māori women have been minimised simply because of the colonial attitude against Māori as an indigenous people – the subservience of women beneath the Pākehā male, accordingly, meant that, like Māori people in general, the skills held by Māori women were deemed to be of no value or lesser value than the skills held by a male. As an example, the craft of making tukutuku panels is as difficult as that of carving a pou, yet attention is regularly paid to the carvings, but not so much to the tukutuku or kōwhaiwhai panels.
38. Recognition of Māori women in New Zealand society has been a long time coming. It is only in recent years that Māori women have been accorded Queen's honours and being acknowledged as a Dame in her own right. While Dame Kiri Te Kanawa was acknowledged in 1982, and Dame Georgina Kirby in 1984, the list of Māori women acknowledged since then is relatively small compared with the list of non-Māori women. And halleluiah we now have a Māori woman named as the next Governor General of Aotearoa New Zealand!
39. From my understandings of the kōrero I was told as a young person, those who would carry the different elements of mātauranga were chosen by the people. I was told by my uncle that, within my whānau, there would be one person who would know our whakapapa. And, if that person was not me, then I might as well forget about whakapapa, because I would never know it – a factor that has been proven to be so. Just one of my children amongst all his cousins of my and my husband's families knows our whānau whakapapa (whakapapa from both our families). Although he wasn't chosen in any physical sense by a whanau, or by kaumatua, he was never turned away by any kaumatua or kuia who he went to for advice or assistance. They accepted that he would know and hold our whakapapa, so they assisted him. My son

was not taught it, nor was he chosen. Those kaumatua who knew him recognised the wairua that was in him that wanted to know, so he was encouraged and set about seeking out writings of whakapapa, finding kaumatua and kuia, talking with them, asking those who knew whakapapa and learning and remembering for himself. Others of our family are interested in whakapapa, but they have not been able to memorise it to the same extent. Kaumatua who he approached accepted him as being one who would carry whakapapa and not abuse that mātauranga. My uncle advising that **IF** it wasn't me, rather than saying it **wouldn't** be me, tells me that it **could** have been me – a girl, therefore those chosen were not necessarily gender specific.

40. There is an expectation by those who gave the learner assistance, that he or she would give the whakapapa to members of the whanau who wanted to know it, and the whakapapa knowledge would be passed on to the person who would carry it into the future. In holding whakapapa, it is understood by the holder, that whakapapa is not something that you talk about as being your right to know or give to all and sundry. Kaumatua have refused to give whakapapa when people have phoned them for it. They have insisted that the person should come home and then the kaumatua will give them their whakapapa kanohi ki te kanohi. A teaching from my uncle is that you should never publicly, recite the whakapapa of someone; nor should you give your full whakapapa in a mihimihi – something that is practiced often today.
41. I do understand that there were wānanga for different skills and there still are wānanga being held. However, as it was with me, it is the one who is chosen by the kāumatua and kuia of the whānau that will walk and sit beside them to hear, understand and learn. Often, the learner is not aware that he or she is being taught or has been chosen. For myself, I was there at that time and I was not aware that I was being taught by my uncle and my aunts.
42. As some wāhine Māori have said during our Tribunal hearings presentations, *“I tupu ake ahau i raro i ngā panekoti o taku kuia (I was brought up under the skirts of my grandmother)”*. This means that they were kept close to their

grandmother or mother, in order that they learn those things that the grandmother wanted them to learn. It also indicated that she was kept away from the things that the grandmother may not have wanted her to learn. This was a method of teaching by hearing and seeing from which would come understanding. Now, seventy years later, the things that my uncle said to me are still in my mind for me to recall, understand and practice when I need to.

43. All kaumatua, male and female, are the keepers of knowledge. Some kaumatua and kuia even today, choose to take a young person beside them to teach them mātauranga in areas of life that they are familiar with. Often, it depends on who the wairua talks to. And if you are not able to understand or appreciate that there is a wairua and that it does talk to you, then I can only explain that you were chosen by the wairua of your tūpuna. When I look back on my own childhood, I assume that I was chosen to know and understand the things that I know now. Perhaps this was so because in fact, I was the only young person who lived in Mangawhero at the time that I did. Maybe a Hobson's choice that I don't regret. I have learned things that I did not know that I knew until recent years, on finding that I am now expected to be the kuia and being called on for advice, I can reflect on past experiences to give myself understanding of the issues that I am being asked to advise on. This is becoming more apparent to me today as we battle our way through a process of reinterring repatriated koiwi into the ana in our maunga Taratara.

***Theme 3: Te mana o te wahine in Maori society and wahine Rangatira – what does “mana wahine” mean?***

44. Te mana o te wahine means that as a human being I have responsibilities that are possible because I am a woman. It is for me to choose how I carry those responsibilities. These responsibilities have an understanding and purpose, that is dependent on how I believe them to be as a Maori woman.
45. For me, **te mana o te wahine** in Maori society means that:
- a. I am a human being - I am a woman.
  - b. There is value in me because I am a woman.



- c. As a Māori woman I can appreciate and apply mātauranga Māori where and when it is appropriate to do so. As well I acknowledge that I will always have a responsibility to protect the mana wahine of all women by respecting the fact that the womb – te whare tangata – is essential for the continuation of our human race.
  - d. I can achieve those things that I want to achieve, and I can give assistance to those who seek my help.
  - e. I am a woman and I have cared for te whare tangata that was given to me through my being born a woman and I must continue to care for the essence and understanding of te whare tangata for the sake of all women.
  - f. I have been a wife, I became a mother and I have raised children, and now I have grand children who can spend time with me and perhaps learn enough from me to assist them in their future.
  - g. I can respect others, male and female, because of who they are and what they may stand for.
  - h. I don't try to do those things which are generally seen as being the role of men unless I have no option but to do that mahi because there are no men present at that time. I have given a mihi whakatau for a group of women, on an occasion when no men were available to lead our women's group onto a marae.
  - i. I see little difference in te mana o te wahine and te mana o te tane. How men conduct their lives in accordance with their responsibilities as a male, is only different because they are male and I am female.
46. These things don't **give** me mana. In my mind they mean that I can **stand with** mana as a Māori woman and as a human being. I will only **have mana** if others accord me that mana.

**Mana wahine differs from te mana o te wahine:**

47. I have often heard that certain tikanga are applied for the protection of te whare tangata. I have, however, not heard of such tikanga being applied for the protection of te mana o te wahine. For the protection of mana wahine, te whare tangata yes, but for te mana o te wahine, I can't say that I have.

48. Does this mean that there is a difference between mana wahine and te whare tangata? That the womb has more value than the woman? If so, this then must mean that the woman has a far greater burden and responsibility to protect her womb, te whare tangata, than any other person.
49. The fact that I am a woman and that I have te whare tangata, means that I have a responsibility to care for my body because of the requirement and the expectation that I will bring new life into this world. There is a dependence on me to ensure that te whare tangata that is within me, creates and ensures ongoing human life in this world.
50. However, given that I am now well past the age when te whare tangata is active for me personally, I am still responsible to maintain and uphold mātauranga relevant to te whare tangata so that it retains its mana for other women – not only my own children and grandchildren - and that they will continue to bring new life for future generations.

***What is the significance of te whare tangata for the mana of wahine?***

51. In my view, Mana wahine is a different concept from te mana o te wahine: I recently asked some kaumatua: “What do you see as mana wahine?” Each replied without hesitation that mana wahine is te whare tangata – it is the womb, the place where new life is formed.
52. Mana wahine means that as a human being I have responsibilities that are only possible because I am a woman. These responsibilities have an understanding and purpose, that is dependent on the individual who is female. Mana wahine is te whare tangata: te whare tangata is the womb. If the womb is not active, then the future of the human race is at risk. An inactive or barren womb means that there will be no new lives created and there will then be no whakapapa beyond that woman. For Māori of old, there was a need to ensure that their whakapapa would be carried forward into future generations. The possibility that their whakapapa line would cease was

not something that Maori people in general wished to happen.

53. Te whare tangata is the womb – a human organ that exists only in women. It is the link between humans and Papatuanuku – it is the place where new human life is created. Te whare tangata ensures the continuation of your whakapapa and the continuation of Māori people. However, te whare tangata can only fulfil its potential when te ure tāne – the male sexual organ – is placed into it, thereby, uniting te ira wahine me te ira tāne to create te ira tangata - a new human being.
54. Women who were barren, were willing to whāngai the children of other whānau members. In some cases, women became so depressed they begged their relatives to give them a child so that they could experience being a mother and raising a child to adulthood. This does mean that a barren woman was given less mana than a woman who bears children, especially when others realise that she is unable to conceive. I am not aware of the same depression being felt by men, if they ever were aware that they could not father a child.
55. The dominance of mana given to men is *NOT* in my view or understanding a Māori concept. Any view which suggests that women held a lower status to men in Māori society is, for me, a total acknowledgement and acceptance of the Pākeha colonial view that women are subservient to men. It is a concept which has become entrenched in our society due to colonialism and the continuing dominance of the colonial power that has invaded, demeaned, and altered our culture. There have been and are Māori women who were and are acknowledged as Rangatira in their own right because of their achievements, their skills and their work for the good of all people.
56. In some ways, mana wahine means the same as mana tāne. Each has a similarity of understanding and purpose that is dependent on the individual, rather than on whether they are male or female.
57. Women in Māori society are accorded value for who they are because of their

own characteristics, their achievements and or their whakapapa. This was evident in early Māori society when male Rangatira chose more than one wife to carry their whakapapa into future generations. They often chose women who were considered by their people to have been given more respect than others – sometimes, this was because of the whakapapa of that woman, and the Rangatira wanted his uri, his future whakapapa and descendants to be part of a more prominent genealogical line.

58. The significance of te whare tangata for the mana of wāhine is that men must acknowledge their dependence on women if they are to ensure that their whakapapa is to continue. This is, in essence, why the Rangatira were polygamous because, while a male can fertilise a different female every day (if he chose), a female can become pregnant just once a month and, once pregnant, she is unable to become pregnant again until her child is born.
59. Without the whare tangata (the womb), a woman is of lesser value to the male in terms of his ability to continue his blood line – his whakapapa. Hence, those women who were barren and unable to become pregnant were sometimes ostracised by their whānau.
60. I don't think that the blame for a woman not being able to have a child was ever placed on her male partner if she had one. Normal human behaviour could never point to a male and say "You are not able to have children", and I have never heard of a male who has acknowledged that he is incapable of getting a woman pregnant. I am aware however of women who, not conceiving after a long period of time, would copulate with a male other than her spouse so that she would bear children.
61. In Māori society there has always been an acknowledgement of te whare tangata. There was also the acknowledgement that te ure tāne / te whare tāne / te tapu o te tāne (call it what you will) was essential to bring and give full acknowledgement to te whare tangata. Te whare tangata remains barren without the essential interaction of te ure tāne. The union between and the interdependence of male and female was known, accepted, and practised. It

was not spoken of in secret. It was real and acknowledged as a fact of life.

62. Te whare tāne is as essential to the creation of life as te whare tangata is. And te tapu o te tāne is not different from te tapu o te wahine in that if tāne and wāhine wish to bring into this world a child, then each needs to be mindful of the care of their own bodies, minds, and their own capability and capacities for the creation of new life and its care as that life grows, develops and is born.
63. I recall vividly, as a six year old, when the lady who I was named after arrived back in Mangawhero with her male partner and announced that they had married that day at the Registry Office in Kaeo. The whānau gathered in my uncle's house to celebrate. The newly-weds were eventually told that they had to prove that they were married. People who are familiar with the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai would understand what proving your marriage was. In this case, a mattress was placed on the floor, a blanket placed with it and the pair were effectively ordered to prove their marriage then and there.
64. For Māori still at that time, the act of registration of a marriage was not definite in terms of two people and their commitment to each other. In pre-colonial/pre1840 Māori society, marriage was not "legal" unless copulation was known to have taken place. Hence, the Hinemoa and Tutanekai kōrero often records that, *"In the morning, two sets of feet protruded from their sleeping place."* This was sufficient proof of "marriage".

***Theme 4: Wahine rangatiratanga over whenua whakapapa/whanau, whai rawa and matauranga.***

***What is the relationship of wahine to the whenua?***

**Whakatauki: Ko koe te whenua: Ko te whenua ko koe:**

**You do not own the land; when you die the land will own you.**

65. It is my understanding that Māori did not OWN land, they held a right to areas of land to occupy for their use, and for their well-being. They held it during

their lifetime, but they did not own it, for Māori did not “own” Papatuanuku. However, if we are to speak in Pākeha terms, the “ownership” of whenua by wāhine was a normal part of Māori tradition – wāhine who were given land by their tūpuna held that land in the same way that men did. Just like the land held by men, it would be handed on to members of their whānau through whakapapa – generally their children following the death of the parent.

66. The relationship between wōmen and whenua is generally seen as a relationship between female and Papatuanuku. The afterbirth from a pregnancy – the placenta – is called whenua. This is the reason that the placenta (the whenua), is returned to Papatuanuku, generally by being buried beneath a significant plant on whānau land (also whenua).
67. In some iwi areas, the afterbirth is called “te pito”. The term pito generally means the centre. Pito is also the Māori word for belly button (the navel), and it is also the name for the umbilical cord that connects the unborn child to its mother, and through which nutrition is provided to the unborn. Pito is also the word for the “centre” or the “core.” In biological terms, the human systems necessary to maintain the life of the developing foetus converge at the navel - the pito - and forms the umbilical cord when the mother becomes pregnant. Massaging of the area around a woman’s pito and over her belly while she is pregnant, is an activity that was always encouraged by Māori of old. This was seen as sending vibes from the mother to the child, through the pito, to strengthen and hold the connection of both to each other.
68. If we see Papatuanuku as mother earth, the place on which we can stand and are nurtured so that we can grow, then the woman who becomes a mother is also the place where her children can find nurturing, sustenance, and the ability to grow. When a woman becomes a mother, she in essence becomes the living embodiment of Papatuanuku.

***Status and role of wāhine within whānau, hapū and communities?***

69. The caring and raising of tamariki was a whānau activity, like many other roles

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in traditional society. Many activities were whānau activities, not the role or province of male or female – once again reinforcing the fact that there was no unequal status between tāne and wāhine. Children were cared for, not only by their parents, but by the wider whānau.

70. My own family situation was an example of this – there was no need for force or social welfare interference to get my aunts, uncles and cousins to step in, and to ensure that the children of their wider whānau would be cared for. This was particularly the case for those who lived in a common settlement or kāinga, as was normal in pre-1840 Aotearoa New Zealand.
71. I take some pride in relating the following kōrero that has been handed down through my tūpuna generations:
- a. There was an occasion when all the menfolk of our pā had gone off to fight in a battle. This left only women home in the kāinga. A group of male taua appeared at the pā, ready to destroy their kāinga. The women immediately took a stance of retaliation, and were successful in fighting and warding off that taua. Word got around the region that these women had successfully stood and fought for their kainga and their whānau – they were then given the accolade that they stood and fought: *I tuu kā riri*. The name Tūkāriri became their family name from then onwards. My great grandfather gave his first name Horomona to most of his sons as their surname, however my grandfather carried the name Tūkariri. My grandfather gave his sons the surname Horomona (the first name of his father), but he gave his surname Tūkariri to his daughters, in recognition of the fact that Tūkariri originated from the female line of his whakapapa as they stood and fought for their whanau when the menfolk were absent. My mother carried the name Tūkāriri. Some older women who were active in the Maori Women's Welfare League and other fields prior to the 1990s may be familiar with my cousin Muriwai Tūkāriri who I understand could be quite formidable at times.

**Dated** at Kaeo this 30<sup>th</sup> day of June 2021

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "P.J. Tauroa".

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**Patricia Jane Tauroa**  
**Claimant for Wai 58**