

IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

**WAI 2700
WAI 1781**

IN THE MATTER of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND claims in the Mana Wāhine Inquiry (Wai 2700)

AND a claim by Tracy Hillier and Rita Wordsworth on behalf of themselves and for the benefit of the hapu of Ngai Tamahaua (Wai 1781)

**BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF KAYREEN RIANA TAPUKE
ON BEHALF OF NGAI TAMAHAUA HAPŪ**

DATED 31 MAY 2022

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Waitangi Tribunal

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MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL:

Introduction

1. My full name is Kayreen Riana Tapuke.
2. I was born on 26th November 1966, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
3. I live in Ōpōtiki.
4. I am the oldest daughter of Muriwai Maggie Jones and Toriana Komene Tapuke. My mother is from Ngāi Tamahaua hapū, Whakatōhea, Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Porou, and Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki.
5. My father is from Te Atiawa, Taranaki whānui. I have two siblings, Kelvin and Rochelle (or Rōhera). Our sister Rochelle is named after our Nanny Rahera, who I will refer to in more depth in this brief of evidence.
6. My grandparents on my mother's side are Tom and Sarah Richmond. My grandfather Tom was Nanny Rahera's son.
7. My great grandmother is Rahera Rihimona nee Rewita ("Nanny Rahera").
8. My Nanny Rahera's father, was my great, great grandfather, Aniwaniwa Rewita.
9. I have two children, Manawanui and Hinemairangi. Their father is Raymond Maxwell. My children's whakapapa on their father's side is Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tūhoe, and Ngāti Kahungunu. Both my children are fluent in te reo Māori.
10. I recently married Tracy Francis Hillier on the 13th July 2019 in front of our beloved Whare Tīpuna, Muriwai.

Education and Training

11. I trained as a teacher in the late 1980s, and then in 1989, I began teaching at Ōpōtiki Primary school. My stepfather Jim Jones was the principal at that time before he retired at the end of that year. He was succeeded in that

role by his wife, my mother, Muriwai Jones, who, in 1990, became the first Māori and first woman to become the Principal of Ōpōtiki Primary.

12. In 1992, I was part of a small group selected to learn te reo Māori under a new full-immersion training course through Teachers training college. We were based in Masterton for one year.
13. Following this, I lived and worked in Whakatane and Taneatua for a number of years, before moving closer to home to a teaching role a Te-Kura-o-Tōrere. I finished teaching four years ago due to a falling student roll. I have around 26 years of teaching experience.
14. More recently, I have returned to Ōpōtiki to live alongside my son, Manawanui.

Current role

15. I am a member of Te Mana Motuhake o Ngāi Tamahaua Hapū. I am a trustee of Ngāi Tamahaua Trust. In the last six years, I have made a strong commitment to Ngāi Tamahaua hapū, becoming the secretary for Ngāi Tamahaua hapū committee on or about 2014, for a duration of three years, as well as my work to support our hapū claim, Wai 1781, in a number of Tribunal inquiries.

Concepts of relationality and balance in Te Ao Māori

16. Traditionally, Ngai Tamahaua tikanga provided for the concept “*he mana tō te tane, he mana anō tō te wāhine*”. This promoted balance between men and women within all aspects of the Māori community to ensure all members of the hapū were allocated roles which complimented each other and enabled prosperity and survival of hapū, tikanga and whakapapa.
17. Our Ngai Tamahaua tikanga and kawa was centred around the concept of *te taha tane and te taha wāhine*. This once well understood and well-respected concept of balance between wāhine and tāne has been replaced with a patriarchal society we all experience today.
18. Being a second language learner of te reo, I have been taught to use the Rangatira lens in order to uplift, behave and consider important matters by my mother, Muriwai. The notion of poutiriao, or perfect balance, is

embedded within the rangatira lens and is evident in many of our traditional practices.

19. The balance between wāhine and tāne is one example. Other examples would be tapū and noa, ora and mate. Many of our present day practices and traditions are done in order to maintain this natural order and balance in our society and our daily practices and activities.
20. The concept of inter-relationship and balance can be seen for example in the fact that Women can be both tapu and noa. For example, women are considered very tapu during menstruation, due to the degree of tapu associated with blood. However, the presence of women was also seen as a potent form of whakanoa. One example of this is when warriors returned from war they would crawl between the legs of a woman to whakanoa themselves from the killing and bloodshed, which had rendered these men tapu.
21. The importance of maintaining the correct balance in all things can be seen throughout our tikanga practices. An example that comes to mind is our extensive tikanga in relation to kai gathering in our rohe moana, including:
 - (a) Karakia first for guidance and safety.
 - (b) Mimi on your kete to give thanks to Tangaroa, or takoha, before taking kai moana.
 - (c) Never turn ones' back on the sea or take things for granted, so as not to underestimate the mana of Tangaroa.
 - (d) If going in the morning do not brush your hair, bathe, or shower. This is in relation to 'te tapu o te tangata'. This balance must be respected.
 - (e) Refrain from sexual intercourse with your partner. This is a tikanga concerning tapu and noa. It is practiced in order to protect a person before they collect kai moana.
 - (f) If a female has her menstrual cycle they cannot collect kai moana. This is an important tikanga so as not to desecrate Tangaroa.

- (g) No scaling or filleting of any fish on the beach. This tikanga is to show respect to Tangaroa and his children.
- (h) No eating seafood, lighting fire, or cooking seafood on the beach. Again, this tikanga is to show respect to Tangaroa and his children.
- (i) A karakia of thanks when your collection of kaimoana is finished.

22. We also maintain balance between papatuanuku and tangaroa by bringing elements of Tangaroa into our gardening practices. This nourishes the soil by providing essential nutrients found in the sea from kaimoana such as kina shells which help to maintain the kumara and riwai by adding iodine into the soil. This provides an example of how our people have maintained balance in te ao Māori generally, to the benefit of the land and sea.

23. When the necessary balance is not present in Te Ao Māori there is a risk of conflict among the people and both mental and physical un-wellness. For example, once we moved away from our traditional roles and roles as protectors of whakapapa, we broke apart. We went from having strong, numerous hapū to having only small whānau units. We became weak, dependent and vulnerable and our women were devalued.

Role as Kaikaranga

24. When a woman undertakes karanga and karakia, she is acting as a channel between the spiritual and human realms.

25. I am one of the kaikaranga of Ngāi Tamahaua, partly due to my background in te reo Māori, and the fact that I live close to Ōpape. I was instructed by my mother to support and uphold the mauri of our ancestor Muriwai, since she herself cannot be at two marae at the one time.

26. I have the support of the Ngāi Tamahaua Hapū committee to undertake the role of kaikaranga, and the support of my cousin, Dawn Te Hereripene Hill, who holds the mauri of the Whare Tīpuna, Muriwai. I am further supported by my uncle, the late Hetaraka Biddle.

27. Whoever holds the mauri of Muriwai is to be the kaikaranga. My mother has held that mauri herself at Torere because she is one of the oldest. Along with this mauri, a woman must be steeped in te reo and tikanga to have the role of kaikaranga.
28. My mother was chosen from a young age to the kaikaranga by the community because of her whakapapa and known skills. She had to go away from home do to training in order to activate these skills in Ngati Porou. Her training would be done through wananga and she would come out with different karanga. Each karanga would differ depending on the event or the status of those being welcomed.
29. I believe the karanga is one of the most potent expressions of mana wāhine. Through the karanga, the marae ātea is made tapu through the woman's voice and words.
30. The power of the Karanga is explained by Papa Nau Epiha, a Ngāpuhi elder from Matauri Bay. Karanga, as practiced from the Whare Tangata (the womb), has the power to bring Te Ao Marama (the world of light) out from Te Pō (the darkness). There are five sacred karanga that are pertinent to the Whare Tangata of Wāhine;
 - (a) The first karanga is when the woman has her first period. This begins the sacred journey of procreation with the stripping away of the uterus walls: the toto (blood) that would have sustained the potential life of the kakano (the seed).
 - (b) The second karanga or tangi of a wāhine is when she first has intercourse. This is the moment when the kuaha (door) or the Whare Rongo is broken and the Whare Tangata prepares itself for potential new life.
 - (c) The third karanga or tangi of a wāhine is when she has her first baby. New life has been created and nurtured within Whare Tangata. The karanga comes the moment the babies' head enters Te Ao Marama (the world of light)
 - (d) The fourth karanga or tangi of the wāhine is her first call onto the marae, her Turangawaewae. The beginning stages of the Powhiri is

the re-enactment of the spiritual wananga of IO and the Whare Tupuna.

- (e) The fifth karanga or tangi of the wāhine is during the last struggle to breathe. As life departs the body and Papatuanuku beckons you back to the whenua from where you first came.¹

31. All these karanga belong to wāhine. They come from papatuanuku and the creation of Te Nihī Paraharaha (the full name of the womb in te reo).²
32. The karanga is just as important, and is complimentary to, the role of men with whaikōrero. The karanga is an exchange between tangata whenua and manuhiri to ascertain the nature of the visit and the visitors, thus providing the basis for the whaikōrero. In some cases, women can express their opinions or refer to topical matters through the karanga.
33. Our tikanga indicates that a woman must prepare to kaikaranga, at least a few days beforehand, by following certain “cleansing” rituals including:
 - (a) Starting to do a lot of karakia
 - (b) Removing all thoughts of intimacy
 - (c) Not partaking in alcohol
 - (d) Focusing all energy on kaikaranga
34. A further example of reciprocity between tāne and wahine is the necessity to have tāne present during whaikaranga. Without this balance, wāhine are forced to go out on their own without the support of the tāne which creates an imbalance. It is imperative that tikanga such as this be protected, which is the role of the tane.

¹ Mildon, Charlotte, *He Atua Wāhine at the source of Ancient Maori Healing Wisdom in Wisdom in Aotearoa, New Zealand*, Tamariki Ora Books Ltd Hastings New Zealand (2018), at p 76.

² Above n 1, at p 77.

Role as a Kaikarakia

35. My partner Tracy and I support Ngāi Tamahaua Hāhi Ringatū Parish, Ōpape Marae, by giving koha of kai and mahi. As part of this, I attend karakia as much as I can.
36. Hāhi Ringatū was influenced by the missionaries but continues to maintain our spirituality from pre-missionary contact. After the Tohunga Suppression Act, our spiritual practices became veiled under a guise of Christianity in order to continue practicing our spirituality. That is why it seems as though our hidden rituals appear to be based on Christianity.
37. Karakia for Ngāi Tamahaua are frequently performed at Ōpape marae looking upon Te-Moana-a-Toi. A common format I use will have karakia for peace, and love and healing upon these places in the names of our different tīpuna.
38. Karakia is an important part of our Hāhi Ringatū rituals, and each karakia has a different purpose. For example, some karakia are only used for tangihanga, and other karakia are used for weddings, unveilings, or blessing a new whare. There can also be specific tikanga associated with each karakia. Karakia are accompanied by different types of waiata, such as; hīmene, pānui, and Ringatū waiata. Every year on a specific date, different karakia are performed to commemorate certain events important to Ngāi Tamahaua history.
39. Within Ngāi Tamahaua, Ringatū karakia are commonly performed by tohunga of the Ringatū faith. If there are no tohunga available, I have been authorised by the hapū to perform karakia in their absence, but, only after I have first consulted with Dawn Hill or Hetaraka Biddle.
40. In Hāhi Ringatū, all tohunga were traditionally male because of the Christian influence which suppressed the role of women in spiritual leadership roles. Now that there is a lack of members, women have taken over leadership roles. The Muriwai parish has three female leaders: Nanny Remana and Nanny Maggie and Nanny Rita Marx.

Wāhine Atua and Mātauranga-ā-Wāhine

41. Aroha Yates Smith calls into question the ethnographer's obsession with male figures as the primary figures in Māori society. Evidence from karakia, waiata, korero, moteatea and other oral accounts from Tribal authorities highlight the presence of Atua Wahine as critical to understanding Māori world-views.
42. Pākehā men interpreted Māori society (from their Pākehā and predominantly Christian worldview) and rendered invisible the role of the women and mātauranga-ā-wāhine.³ The whakapapa of the Atua wāhine (or divine feminine) and mātauranga-ā-wāhine has therefore remained hidden in the academic writings of contemporary mātautanga Māori.⁴
43. Mildon explains that the concept of the Atua and Tohunga as specific to men has been inappropriately adopted as a Māori tikanga. This patriarchal view aligns more closely with the Western world view that commonly reserves the spiritual leadership as gender specific for men.⁵
44. Charlotte Mildon refers to the "colonising obstructions"⁶ that have been instrumental in the loss of mātauranga-a-wāhine, particularly in the context of female spirituality and leadership roles.⁷ One example of this is the role of the Tohunga being deemed gender specific to men as with the roles of the Atua Māori.⁸ This has led to a deficit of mātauranga-a-wāhine within the body of mātauranga Māori today.⁹
45. I have been taught that all mana is sourced from the atua and follows the whakapapa line through to the present day. There are as many female atua

³ Pihama, L., (2001), "Tihei Mauri Ora Honouring Our Voices – Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework", The University of Auckland, at page 267, as cited in Mildon, Charlotte, He Atua Wahine at the source of Ancient Māori Healing Wisdom in Aotearoa, New Zealand, Tamariki Ora Books Limited, 2018, www.aiohealing.com

⁴ Mildon, p 8

⁵ Mildon, p 33

⁶ Mildon, p 25

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Mildon, p 26

⁹ Mildon, p 30

as there are male. The characteristics of our wāhine atua provide us with tools and understandings for how to live our lives today.

46. The concept of balance between wāhine and tāne lies in the whakapapa of the atua. I attended a course in 2019, run by Hinewirangi Kohu. During this course, Hinewirangi lectured about wairua and taught us that we are all divine beings from the Atua. In particular, the female Atua.
47. Hinewirangi taught that wairua embodies two types of waters - wai e rua. One being spiritual and one physical.
48. Hinewirangi claims that firstly, Wainui Atea and Ranginui consummated their love and produced 72 Atua Wahine. After that, Papatuanuku and Ranginui consummated their relationship and produced 72 Atua Tane. The whakapapa of these Atua is as follows: ¹⁰

Tane = Kurawaka
Hineahuone
(Hine) Ahua Rangi
Hine Titama
Muri ranga Whenua
Taranga
Maui I Mua

49. Doctor Leonie Pihama makes reference to the existence of Atua Wahine as matriarchal role models who are part of us rather than separate from us. Matauranga Wāhine, therefore, lives on to tell the story in the body of Matauranga Māori where both Wāhine and Tāne work in perfect synchronicity with one another. ¹¹

¹⁰ Wiri, R.K.J., (2001) "The Prophecies of the Great Canyon of Toi – A History of Te Whāiti-Nui-A-Toi in the Western Urewera Mountains of New Zealand" The University of Auckland, Auckland New Zealand, at page 105.

¹¹ Wai 2700 #A19 at page 33.

Relationships and Sexuality

50. My understanding of marriage in pre-colonial Māori society was that if people wanted to be together then they would choose to be with each other and if they wanted to separate, they would agree to separate. Upon separation, the community would wananga and decide whether it was what was best for the couple and the community for them to separate.
51. Marriages were fluid, there was no restriction on how many partners one person could have. For example, Ruamoko had four wives and Mokomoko had three wives at the same time.
52. Regarding gender and sexual fluidity, there are stories of tohunga and renowned leaders who had same-sex relationships.
53. These are all examples of how gender, sexuality, and marriage were regarded in pre-colonial Māori society. Relationships were fluid, open, and had community at the centre.

Rape

54. There are stories of young girls being raped which had severe and immediate consequences. This offers an example of the way our society reacted to the hara of rape – an act which strips the mana of its victim. This societal reaction exemplifies the sacredness of the mana of wāhine, which for the whole hapū had to be actively protected.
55. An example of the consequences of rape is when Maiwera the wāhine rangatira of Ngai Tai was raped by the Pane Nehu twin sons of Tunamu. Tunamu is the grandfather of Tutamure. Ngai Tai responded by killing the twin sons Tauawhekura and Tuawhekura and drove Pane Nehu from the whenua. At this time it is said Pane Nehu lost their mana because of the act against a wāhine rangatira.

The status of childlessness, abortion and unwanted children in pre-colonial Māori Society

56. Certain rongoa was used to invoke miscarriage in instances where the parents no longer wanted the child to be born, or where the mother's life depended on the child miscarrying.

57. This rongoa would be administered by a tohunga with appropriate karakia being recited.
58. In particular, the Maru iwi people who were on these lands before our people came had very small women. Our people had children with them and the women remained small.
59. The size of these women meant that in some instances, the mother's life would be lost giving birth to the pēpi or abortions were required to save the life of the mother.
60. The Waiata ite Me me Penei Ana Ōpape is the sacred water way below the marae in which the still born pēpi were washed and spiritually blessed. We still use this puna for uplifting wellbeing and healing with our karakia.
61. Another issue was the size of the babies being too big for the women meaning the women would need caesareans, or they could die. In those cases, the babies would need to be whāngai-ed to an aunty.
62. In this area of Oroi there are many sites of wahi tapu that acknowledge the spiritual connection and events in the life of our wahine tipuna. Their presence is still felt and acknowledged by us that can still engage in this space to reach our Tipuna.
63. Our Tipuna had mana and exercised rangatiratanga and this has been handed down to us I am Ngai Tamahaua and I follow in the footsteps of our Tipuna. I celebrate their contribution through karakia and carrying the cultural responsibilities including teaching te reo, karakia and upholding our tikanga. My Nannies wanted these taonga to be carried through to the future to strengthen our mokopuna, as Ngai Tamahaua.

Women of Influence in my Life

64. I would like to conclude by discussing some of the influential women in my life and how they have influenced me.

Tapairu Muriwai

65. As the Tribunal already holds evidence of Muriwai, I will only discuss what I believe the role of ariki is.
66. According to Katene: “An ariki is a person of both genders who is born into aristocracy...Women were born into senior positions of tohunga Ariki, Arikiand Rangatira (elected leader) both pre and post European contact. These classes worked side by side in the political, spiritual and professional dimensions.”¹²
67. Māori women assumed political, spiritual and military positions of leadership in traditional Māori society. Muriwai was one example of this.

Nanny Rahera

68. My Nanny Rahera was born in Opouriaō near Taneatua/Ruātoki, the youngest child of Aniwaniwa and Hariata Rewita. She is described as a well-respected kuia amongst Ngāi Tamahaua.
69. After her husband Eru died, nanny Rahera returned from Tōrere to live at Tataia-o-te-Rangi pā, which is located diagonally opposite the Opotiki Hotel.
70. Nanny Rahera was a holder of our whakapapa, just like her father, Aniwaniwa, was before her. This ancestral knowledge was passed on to my mother and her older sister. My mother has also passed this knowledge on to me.
71. My nanny Rahera passed away in 1968. She lies in Waiorata urupā with all of her beloved siblings.
72. My great grandmother, Rahera was a diver of seafood at Ōpape as well as Torere. My sister, Rochelle, one of her name sakes, was also a professional diver when she was alive. Diving for seafood was a special skill passed down through the women of each generation.

Muriwai Maggie Jones

¹² Katene, S., “Modelling Māori Leadership: What Makes for Good Leadership?” MAI Review, Issue 2, pages 1-16, (2010), at page 4.

73. My mother, Muriwai, was brought up by my nanny Rahera. She was chosen at a young age to develop skills in kaikaranga. She was sent to Ngati Porou in order to activate her skills.
74. My mother, though the youngest of her 13 siblings was singled out for her role in her young years by those of the older generation. They knew she would be a leader of her people.
75. Whakapapa is something that is drilled into you through wananga and karakia from a young age. My mother was constantly in karakia and wananga with her parents and grandparents in order to learn her whakapapa.
76. Charlotte Mildon refers to the aspirations of kuia being paramount to the kaupapa of uplifting the mana of female mokopuna by validating and supporting future matriarchal leadership.¹³ This is what occurred for my mother. From a child she was identified by her kuia (and kaumatua) and developed to be a leader, which she became. She had the name Muriwai bestowed upon her, which is evidence that she was identified and chosen from birth.
77. One example of the leadership roles that my mother played is that she was chosen as a hapū representative to be part of a team of negotiators for the settlement in the 1990s, which became known as the Whakatōhea Raupatu Negotiating Committee.¹⁴ She was the only woman of the 12 representatives (two from each of the six Whakatōhea hapū). This is just one obvious example, but her informal role as a cultural and spiritual leader among our whānau and hapū should not be underestimated.
78. I grew up in Wellington and had no idea that my mother was a fluent te reo speaker until I was about 15 years of age. Despite being chosen at a young age and being sent away to learn cultural knowledge, my mother went on to live a very westernised way of life in Wellington.

¹³ Mildon, at p 9.

¹⁴ Crocker, Dr Therese, *An Overview of Māori Political Engagement in the North-Eastern Bay of Plenty 1871-2017*, pp 102-103.

79. Now that she is older and living back at Tōrere I am very aware of her knowledge and connections. She lives by the māramataka. She is a very spiritual woman, and a wisdom keeper, a tohunga for our people.

Hineihaea Murphy

80. Hineihaea Murphy was one of my te reo teachers. When she was young she was a te reo teacher and was considered radical in her approach to learning new strategies of teaching.

81. I am very grateful to have learned from her.

Ripeka Delamere Kirk and Te Arani Wharepapa Takao

82. Both Ripeka and Te Arani have passed. Both these wāhine were native speakers of te reo and passionately celebrated te reo and teaching to our tamariki to support their holistic development.

83. Ripeka was dynamic, an excellent national sportswoman and so deeply steeped in the Hahi Ringatu. She was very charismatic and extremely intelligent.

84. The pathway of Te Reo is always through the pathway of Wairua. Karakia and the angels will always protect those who believe and practice. Ripeka was a fighter of Indigenous rights. To hold on and fight for Te Reo Māori. These were her last words to myself. So it is and so it will be.

85. Te Arani loved waiata and kapa haka and teaching these skills to tamariki. Steeped also in her beloved Catholic faith and Te Hahi Ringatu.

86. Te Arani was extremely influential in terms of using her positive musical talents to capture the hearts of the audience and instill the whakapapa and narratives of the ancestors. The joy and aroha exuded out of Te Arani and it is readily seen in the way that her past students now take their roles in many of the hapu in this region.

87. Both of these wāhine inspired my teaching and life practice. I learned that this is the best way to influence and draw people to myself, by using musical skills to attract and celebrate being wāhine Maori.

Muriwai Te Wini Kahaki

88. Muriwai is not a relative of mine, but my mother would call her a twin because they had the same name. She is of Whakatōhea and Tuhoē.
89. She has been very influential in the Ringatu faith and has the same gift as my mother where she can sense when something is about to happen. I learned a lot from her, particularly about how to do things properly. I have learned about karanga from her.
90. I have been privileged to learn from Muriwai as she has the added depth of Tuhoē. So I in turn have a depth of understanding that many learners do not have. E.g. Matemateaone.

DATED this 31st day of May 2022



Kayreen Riana Tapuke