

I MUA I TE AROARO O TE TARAIPUNARA O WAITANGI

WAI 2700

WAI 2872

I TE TAKE Ō

te Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975
(te ture)

Ā

I TE TAKE Ō

te Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry
(Wai 2700)

Ā

I TE TAKE O

tētahi tono a **Dr Leonie Pihama, Angeline Greensill, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, Mereana Pitman** rātou ko **Te Ringahuia Hata (Wai 2872)**

NGĀ KŌRERO A NGAROPI CAMERON

Ka tāpaea i te rā 26 o Hūrae 2022

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Waitangi Tribunal

26 Jul 22

Ministry of Justice
WELLINGTONANNETTE
SYKES & Co.
barristers & solicitors8 – Unit 1 Marguerita Street
Rotorua, 3010

Wāea o te tari: 07-460-0433

Ngā Rōia: Annette Sykes / Hinerau Rameka / Camille Houia
Imeera: asykes@annettesykes.com / hinerau@annettesykes.com / camille@annettesykes.com

E TE TARAIPUNARA

Introduction

1. Ko Ngaropi Diane Lillian Cameron Raumati tōku ingoa; ko Raumati me Matuku ōku whānau.
2. Ko Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Kahungunu ōku iwi.
3. I am offering this account as a person who has an interest in whakapapa and mātauranga Māori knowledge, but more so as a whānau member drawing on historical records, oral transmission, as a witness to whānau history and as a descendant, daughter, granddaughter, sister, niece, aunty, mother, grandmother, great grandmother and as a Taranaki whānau social justice worker for +35 years.

My Background

4. I am a foundation member of Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki Inc. *Ngāti Mutunga Tangata Whenua Development and Liberation Services* (TTW). I am currently the Director and Supervisor for the research arm of the organisation.
5. I am a registered general and obstetric nurse not currently practicing and a member of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors and have been since 1996. For over 10 years I was the only ACC approved Māori sexual abuse counsellor in Taranaki, and I have worked as a counsellor, whānau worker, advocate, family violence facilitator and educator for Māori women's, children's and men's programmes, family violence supervisor, CEO, Kaupapa Māori community researcher and a programme designer and writer.

Content of My Evidence

6. I wish to briefly address five areas in support of the Wai 2700 claim which cover different topics and issues related to:
 - a. Tapairu and pre-colonial examples of wahine Māori whakapapa and leadership
 - b. Mana Whenua

- c. Te Tiriti o Waitangi
- d. Resistance and Disruptions
- e. Reasserting and Remembering towards Recovery

7. To assist the tribunal, **attached herewith as exhibit “A”** is a list of my references that I have utilised and referred to throughout my brief of evidence.

Tapairu

8. Tapairu is one of the few gender specific terms in te reo Māori. It indicates and means a wahine Māori of immense mana.

Rauhoto Tapairu

9. Rauhoto Tapairu is the female entity who in our Taranaki narratives directed and escorted mounga Taranaki to where Taranaki stands today. Rauhoto Tapairu is our celebrated Kuia kohatu and is acclaimed throughout Taranaki. Rauhoto Tapairu is mentioned here to demonstrate that female mana and tapu was well established, ancient, and that her power continues to interconnect us to her and to each other; we continue to compose, sing, write and tell her story today.

Ngāti Hinetuhi

10. Hinetuhi was the 3 x's great granddaughter of Ruapūtahanga and Whatihua and she was a sister to Maniapoto. Hinetuhi and Tukaitao had a daughter named Te Rerehua and a son named Te Hihi o Tu; Te Rerehua was the matāmua.

11. Te Rerehua married Mutunga the youngest son of Kahukura and Hinemoe. Their descendants dropped the tribal name of Ngati Kahukura and took the tribal name of Ngāti Mutunga. The descendants however of Te Hihi o Tu took the tribal name of Ngāti Hinetuhi after their mother. Ngati Hinetuhi occupied prominent sites and possessed notable land holdings in the Ngāti Mutunga takiwā. (Pihanga, Pohokura, Urinui, Kumarakaiamo, Kaipikari to name just a few). Hinetuhi is cited here because it demonstrates the practice of recognizing matrilineal Ariki lines, regardless of Tukaitao and Te Hihi o Tu being male, the unifying ancestral line of significance chosen by the collective was Hinetuhi.

Rahiri Mihia

12. Rahiri Mihia, was from Taranaki iwi, the daughter of Haupoto and she was a traditional female leader who influenced and possessed immense mana. Rahiri Mihia lead the people, she named different places/sites, performed karakia, conducted tapu ceremonies, organized and created pā on the mounnga specifically for women to wānanga in and as a place for women and children to retreat to as sites of sanctuary during times of conflict e.g. Pakihere (1700's). Rahiri Mihia is included here because she is representative of the continuation of the acknowledgement and recognition of mana wahine in Taranaki female whakapapa and leadership.

13. *Pepehatanga korero, source is Te Miringa Hohaia – 'Me piki whakarunga ki Pakihere kia maru ai, kia pai ai te wānanga'. Climb up the mountain to Pakihere, there we will be safe to learn, discuss and contemplate.*

Te Ao Marama

14. Te Ao Marama was a respected tohunga with great mana who was recognised and consulted for her wise advice and appreciated throughout Taranaki as such. For centuries Rauhoto Tapairu had resided at Otaunui, and due to many deaths occurring from repeated attempts to move her, kaumātua requested of Te Ao Marama that she lift the tapu off Rauhoto Tapairu so that she could be safely moved to Puniho marae and cared for there as a tūpuna kuia. Te Ao Marama successfully lifted the tapu and Rauhoto Tapairu has resided at Puniho since December 1948.

Mana Whenua

15. Te Hautonga and Te Matoha are my x4 Grandparents. Both tūpuna, as per their instructions to their whānaunga, were cremated and their ashes were interned on Matiu Island. Aunty Marj (Matarena Raumati Rau-Kupa), Uncle Sam (Hamiora Raumati) and Uncle Tiki (Tikituterangi Raumati) all confirmed that by having their ashes interned on Matiu that this recognised, validated and preserved Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Tama and Te Atiawa kinship relationship, mana whenua, with

the land in Te Whanganui-ā-Tara. The internment of the ashes of both Te Hautonga and Te Matoha is being referenced here to simply emphasise that the maintenance of mana whenua was not solely a male prerogative, the ashes of Te Hautonga were interned on Matiu as well thus ensuring balance.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

16. Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi is the daughter of Te Hautonga and Te Matoha and she is well known for swimming from Kapiti to the mainland to warn of an impending attack on her people by Waikato. The Pākehā story about this reports that she had one child on her back at that time; our whānau narrative is that she had twins on her back during that swim.
17. In 1840, Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi, was sent by her iwi, Ngāti Toa Rangatira to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Port Nicholson 29 April 1840. My elders stated that because she had the whakapapa and mana, she was sent in place of Te Matoha who had recently passed away. Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi as did her kinswoman Rangi Topeora. Her uncles Nohorua and Te Rauparaha; cousins Te Hiko, Te Rangihaeata, Katu and nephew Matene Te Whiwhi also signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi on different days.
18. Toa Rangatira is the mokopuna of Mutunga and the mark/signature of Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi can be seen on the Te Tiriti o Waitangi document. **Attached herewith as exhibit “B.”**

Resistance and Disruptions

“The one thing that enables the authorities to deceive the public is to keep the public in a state of amnesia, to keep the public from thinking back to the history of war, the history of violence, the history of government deception, and the history of media complicity and deception.” Howard Zinn: Terrorism and War

19. And this is exactly what transpired, unacknowledged and denied history; and Taranaki was left with a deafening silence. Professor Karina Walters refers to the *“dangerousness of silence... the more profound the silence the more pervasive*

the trauma". And there is a silence that continues to permeate through Taranaki communities in relation to historical abuse, neglect and trauma this unholy silence about the original sin in Taranaki, the theft of our lands and the vicious manner in which it was achieved.

20. Elkins & Pedersen (2012) identify Settler Colonialism as an ongoing settler project of replacing the Indigenous people and their nativity and, over time, developing settler identity and sovereignty ... and Wolfe (2006) also points out that Settler Colonialism is a structure built upon the logic of elimination, not a one-time event. That is, the settler colonial power both requires and is generated by the destruction of Indigenous peoples and polities beyond simply physical, cultural, and spiritual exploitation.
21. Epistemicide is another invisible, yet detrimental, settler project. Epistemicide refers to the killing of knowledge systems (Hall & Tandon, 2017). The settler colonial project of transracial adoptions for rapid assimilation of generations of Indigenous children ... is a primary example of the attempt to eradicate cultural lifeways (e.g. language, cultural traditions; i.e., ethnocide) and thought ways (e.g., ways of knowing, relational worldviews; i.e., epistemicide) (Walters et al., 2011; Walters et al., 2020).
22. The resistance movement of Taranaki was a continuation of the peaceful movement initiated by Te Ua Haumene. The surveying of the Pekapeka was the first act of plunder in North Taranaki, Te Pāhua o Waitara. Our Tūpuna Whaea of Te Atiawa deliberately and strategically removed survey pegs that had been placed in our whenua by colonial forces. Those survey pegs represented the colonisers attempt to sever our relationship and responsibility to our whenua and Papatūānuku. Predictably the galvanising feature of this story is often denied or simply ignored. The neglected inspirational element is about the contribution our tūpuna kuia made and how they carried out significant actions of resistance, which was within their legal right and responsibility to do so. It is an empowering historical narrative that should be remembered and honoured as an assertion of mana wahine in exercising mana whenua.

23. Our tūpuna Pitiroi (my great great grandfather) was a supporter and follower of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi, he was apprehended while fishing for his whānau on Onaeroa River in late 1879. He was transported to Otākou and imprisoned there in January 1880 where he died on 23 January 1881, he was 45 years old. When prisoners returned to Parihaka they advised whānau that he had died after being lashed and they had no knowledge about where his tūpāpaku was laid to rest. Because of the manner of his death and lack of information about his burial site three names were given and held by three branches of our whānau. Ngarukeruke, because elders believed he had been lashed to death; Te Kirihaehae, signifying the splitting apart of his skin; Te Matengaro, indicating that he was lost to them because his burial site was unknown. The names Ngarukeruke and Te Kirihaehae are held by female lines in the whānau.
24. Ngaropi Damon was the daughter of Mere and Tuhata and she was a granddaughter of Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi and Nicol. She was also nurtured by and was a taurima to Te Maunu (Urenui). When requested by her elders Ngaropi and her brother Te Matoha complied and were taken to Parihaka where they were married to Nohomairangi and Ngaruake, the son and daughter of Te Whiti o Rongomai. She was a composer, alongside her whanaunga Te Rangitutahi, recording historical events into waiata which were accompanied with poi. The waiata are oral literature, historical documents containing statements, happenings, utterances, whakapapa and mātauranga, some of which are still recited today as poi manu and waiata tawhito across Taranaki. They are post colonisation pools of knowledge that can give direction and guidance to current and future generations.
25. To acknowledge and honour her capabilities, Te Maunu brought her a military band drum which he named Te Puapua after her. Te Puapua continues to be used today on significant occasions and is housed in Te Ikaroa ā Maui at Owae Marae, Waitara, and that whare tūpuna was built and named in commemoration of her brother Maui Pōmare.

26. Ngaropi was a wahine puku mahi, wahine tiaki tangata and she was a respectful daughter who had agency over her life and where she resided. She made choices and one choice was to help enact her elder's vision to benefit her people and community. In today's language she would be called an 'active citizen'.
27. By 1886 Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi a woman of mana and signatory to Te Tiriti o Waitangi was being referenced in land court papers as Peti Nicol and in others simply as Betty and her children being referred to as half caste. Thus, marginalizing her and her children's connections and ability to access economic, social and cultural sectors of community.
28. Matarena Marjorie Rau Kupa was my aunty (Aunty Marj) and our whānau Pou Kuia. She was the mātāmua of 18 tamariki born to Parehaereone Matuku and Hamiora Raumati. Hamiora, a tohunga, was the Ngāti Mutunga representative on the Taranaki Māori Trust Board. He passed away in 1954, and even though the iwi voted for Matarena to replace him as the Ngāti Mutunga member on the Taranaki Māori Trust Board, pressure was exerted on her not to accept the role because she was a woman. Eventually she succumbed to pressure and did not comply with the iwi request. I have no doubt that the past fifty-year trajectory for Taranaki could have been totally different had Matarena become the first female member on that Trust Board.
29. What happens when repositories of knowledge are killed, die young, or are forcibly relocated, imprisoned or separated from their communities? The bottomless pit of intense pain and grief, terror, despair, rage, confusion, the broken hearts, shattered wairua and unmourn soul grief, where does it go, because it is real, and it occupies space in present time.
30. TTW began facilitating whānau violence education programmes for wahine Māori in 1989, and tāne Māori in 1992. There are two features I will briefly touch on in relation to the programmes which show how disrespectful imported foreign attitudes and behaviour about and towards women and children have influenced

and disrupted whānau Māori wellbeing because basic knowledge and application of tikanga practices are missing from a tangata Māori world view.

31. Firstly, the lack of knowledge about the colonial-imposed history of Taranaki and basic cultural concepts such as tikanga, te whare tangata, hoa rangatira, mana wahine, mana tāne, tikanga mō ngā tamariki, pepeha etc. continues to be astonishing. The maltreatment and use of physical force to obtain compliance from women and children continues to be disturbing and disproportionate to the original tikanga actions of our Tūpuna.

32. Interestingly we found that referencing early reports from missionaries and other early colonial observers quite useful to support reinstating tikanga for non-violence in the home and safe nurturing practices in respect to tamariki mokopuna. For example:

“I saw no quarrelling while I was there. They are kind to their women and children. I never observed either with a mark of violence upon them, nor did I ever see a child struck” (Rev. Samuel Marsden 1814)

“Both parents are almost idolatrously fond of their children; and the father frequently spends a considerable portion of his time in nursing his infant, who nestles in his blanket and is lulled to rest by some native song” (George French Angus 1847)

“The New Zealand father is devotedly fond of his pride, his boast, and peculiar delight; he generally bears the burden of carrying them continually within his mat. The children are seldom or never punished; ... The father performs the duty of a nurse; and any foul action the embryo warrior may be guilty of, causes a smile rather than a tear from the devoted parent” (Joel Polack 1838)

33. Reports such as these by early colonial observers provided clear evidence that wellbeing and respectful ways of behaving within whānau was central to our people. It is also evident that they clearly identified the sacredness of relationships within whānau and in particular, women and children were treated with utmost care and aroha and that whānau violence within such a context was virtually unheard of.
34. Secondly, the causal use of imported derogatory language, by male participants, to describe women in general, their mothers, partners, the mother of their children, and girlfriends is staggering. In one exercise over 60 derogatory and insulting names/terms were written up by men in that particular group, which they used to describe women, with many of the words being used on a daily basis.
35. The majority of the words are examples of the total reversal of the terms te whare tangata and hoa rangatira. Te whare tangata and hoa rangatira are not only mana enhancing concepts that acknowledge mana wahine, but they also enrich protection of whakapapa and heighten safety for women and children. That repertoire of words alone demonstrated how unbalanced and dislocated some tāne Māori are in respect to comprehending mana wahine let alone nurturing and protecting their own whakapapa and mana.
36. In 2010 a three-year research project titled ‘A Kaupapa Maori Qualitative Investigatory Study into the Origin of Whānau Violence within Taranaki’ was undertaken by TTW. The design of this research was to provide information which would assist in the planning and implementation of strategies to meet both collective and individual resolution of incidents of whānau violence. It was also to help direct thinking and expectations towards developing tikanga based solutions to create relevance to a values base upon which to realise a Māori reality for daily living. The research was driven by a direct Iwi desire to establish and understand the foundations of Māori whānau violence in Taranaki and it is the view of TTW that these foundations are influenced by the unique history of the Taranaki region and therefore the importance of understanding the broader context in which whānau Māori violence exists today is relevant.

37. Evidence from the interviews demonstrated that whānau trauma is not solely about the physical violence perpetuated but does include, as defined by the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence, acts of racism, discrimination, oppression, and corporal punishment that is defined, designed and undertaken by agencies of the Crown/State.
38. It also indicated that the racist policing behaviour and child welfare policies and systems specifically directed at whānau Māori have caused disastrous consequences leading to over representation in child protection services, out of whānau placement and youth justice system and adult prison populations, at a rate disproportionate to the Māori male population in the region.
39. The research indicated that the recent colonial history of Taranaki was a leading factor in whānau violence overlaid by violence perpetrated by the Crown/State against Māori and this recognition brought to the discussion the wider issues of colonisation, oppression, injustice, racism, institutional racism, and the many acts of violence by colonial states upon indigenous peoples throughout the world. And in order to fully understand the origins of the violence within our whānau there is a need to engage directly with the ways in which colonisation has altered and disrupted fundamental relationships amongst our people.
40. The consistent practice of applying tribal markings, moko kauae, on wahine Māori had been absent from Taranaki hapū and iwi for over a century. The dearth of tā moko practice is directly attributed to colonial confiscations, behaviour and practices and the negative effects experienced by wahine Māori in Taranaki. Mahinekura Reinfeld (Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Parihaka) reinstated the practice in 1997 by getting her moko kauae applied on the marae in her whare Tūpuna Te Aroha a Maui Pōmare.
41. Although the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 had been repealed in 1962, the use of rongoā Māori and other healing practices had remained partially hidden and functioning ‘underground’ in Taranaki with much of the knowledge and practice

of karakia, ceremonial rites, identification and processing of medicinal plants, healing sites and general traditional healing practices remained hidden or protected within whānau.

42. At the behest of several Ngāti Mutunga Kuia, Mahinekura also reclaimed the practice and everyday use of rongoā Māori. She developed Karanga Ora into a local, national, and international entity which was recognised as an indigenous wellbeing and healing centre of research and practice excellence.

Reasserting and Remembering towards Recovery

Following are examples of Taranaki wahine Māori reasserting their mana and initiating projects in various ways. There are however many more but....

43. In early 1967 Matarena instigated the restoration of Te Niho o Te Atiawa into a wharenuī; when the building was reopened the keys were gifted to “the students and teachers of the world” thus realigning Parihaka on the national and international stage as a frontrunner in peaceful resistance to invasion and injustice while fostering a safe environment for people to be educated about Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi the Parihaka prophets, and the destructive colonisation of Taranaki. She was able to initiate this project on the papakainga because she had the mana to do so and she was supported by her Kuia who made it abundantly clear that her whakapapa required them to stand with her.
44. In 1995, she also initiated the annual celebration of Te Rangihiroa to celebrate his life and deeds as a reminder to Ngāti Mutunga (NM) about the great things he had achieved during his lifetime. It was also a reminder that NM produced the three first western trained Māori Doctors in Aotearoa.
45. During the Land March 1975 Kui Matarena signed the Land March Memorial of Right at Takapūwāhia marae and in the section marked occupation she wrote Kahe Te Rau o Te Rangi signifying that she was adding the mana of her tūpuna as a Te Tiriti signatory to the document and her status as mana whenua.

46. 1980, in preparation for the centenary remembrance in 1981 of te pahua o Parihaka, Matarena and Vivian Hutchinson scripted and narrated a slide-show documentary, 'Parihaka A Photographic Survey 1981' which they showed during the centenary commemoration events; the slideshow was also presented at secondary schools throughout Taranaki. In 2013 a digital restoration of the slideshow was carried out to commemorate her 100th anniversary birthday, Matarena Marjorie Raumati Rau-Kupa, 1913 -2010. It was put on to YouTube and again schools throughout Taranaki were advised of its availability and the access link is: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQGbE1aj0V0>
47. I recall witnessing numerous everyday assertions of mana wahine by tūpuna kuia over the years and I will briefly share two incidents involving senior female relatives. At a whanau hui at Te Ruapekapeka marae Urenui, during one debate, (which I rather enjoyed) the rebuttal asserted by the pou kuia to a male whanaunga who was not being mindful about her status, was to remind him that it took her mana to open the passageway, because her numerous tūngane could not find their way out. She achieved the desired impact!
48. The second, is joining our kuia when she made a public display of walking out of a large hui at Ōwae marae, Waitara, when a male manuhiri was proselyting about the inferiority of women, because in one narrative women were made out of "dirt" and in the other narrative women are a byproduct of Adam who had a surplus rib so we got "thrown a bone." She stood bolt upright, made a noisy show of gathering her things together and walked out of the hui followed by several kuia, my tuakana, tamariki and me. He got the message!
49. In 1990 I presented a paper to the Waitangi Tribunal at the hearing conducted at Ōwae Marae in Waitara. My humble representations in that paper are relevant to Wai 2700. **Attached as herewith as exhibit "C."**
50. Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki was established in 1987. TTW is a Kaupapa Māori organisation. The values that underpin Tikanga Māori are central to the work of TTW, values that endorse identity encourage active participation and assist the

crafting of relationships and connections that promote reciprocal benefits to whānau. Empowering and inspiring whānau, hapū and iwi is at the core of our work and initiatives are designed to facilitate opportunities for whānau to gain a healthier understanding about whānau and hapū development and liberation in the context of our lives today.

51. TTW has 33 years' experience providing social justice services successfully across the Taranaki region. However, the origin of the organisation dates back to 1881 and te pahua o Parihaka. The message that our Prophet Te Whiti o Rongomai left with the women who remained in Parihaka after the forced removal of the men from the papakāinga was “e tū tama wāhine i te wā o te kore”. This message was an instructional vision of insight and foresight, action and hope. He summoned the women to hold the frontline, to embrace the work of their tūpuna by taking on and managing the roles and responsibility involved in upholding tikanga whilst maintaining the care and wellbeing of whānau amongst the violence that their community had already endured. His message of hope has been transmitted across the generations encouraging and inspiring wāhine Māori of Taranaki to be resolute in times of difficulty.

52. The name Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki was gifted to the organisation by our late pou kuia Matarena Marjorie Rau-Kupa (OBE) and Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru. It was gifted by those elders because they recognised that the work being undertaken and achieved was a continuation of the kaupapa our kuia had been instructed to action and carry out over a century ago. They both understood that the context of the self-destructive aspects that Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki were addressing within whānau Māori were connected to and a direct consequence of what had occurred at Parihaka in 1881 and what had transpired in Waitara in 1860.

53. When explaining the term Tamawahine Keri Opai wrote:

Mātanga and kaumātua of Taranaki talked of the term 'Tamawahine' (sometimes written 'Tama Wahine') as being a

word in use in pre-colonisation times. It was used in the famous quote from Parihaka “E tū tamawahine i te wā o te kore” and it was used at Ōwae in the name of a whare to simultaneously acknowledge the connection with Parihaka and to acknowledge the working together of women and men at Ōwae to create the tremendous artwork in the whare tūpuna Te Ika-Roa-a-Māui.

My understanding of the term Tamawahine is that it is derived from the descendants of ngā tamariki a Rangi rāua ko Papa. Before Rongo, Tāne, Tangaroa etc were referred to as atua they were the first tamariki. Only after Rangi and Papa were split apart and Tāne asked his mother Papatūānuku how to bring people into the world of light was there tamatāne and tamawahine, people – male and female. From atua to tipua to tūpuna to ngā tāngata o ēnei rā.

Rangi = Papa

□

Ngā Tamariki a Rangi rāua ko Papa

□

Tamatāne rāua ko Tamawahine

□

Tama i te Ao Mārama

□

Tamaiti, Tamāhine, Tamariki

54. Keri Opai also noted that Huirangi always talked about the term ‘Tamawahine’ being a direct reference to male and female balance that brings equilibrium in nature. The natural world won’t flourish without one or the other.
55. Taranaki Māori Women’s Network (TmwN) collective vision is the re-establishment and retention of Mana Wahine through being creators of our own destiny utilising the vast innovative talents, knowledge and gifts present within Ngā Uri o Hineahuone. And by promoting wellbeing and success through

respectful behaviour and honouring of relationships the intention is to expand leadership by bringing together wahine Māori who are interested in collective action to intervene where activities seek to remove or reduce our inherent rights as Mana Wahine and or Tangata Whenua.

56. The TmwN has initiated, supported and participated in numerous activities to address the ongoing racist abuse and disrespectful attitude to wahine Māori and historical and political amnesia in creative ways and to remind all of Taranaki that wahine Māori, namely our Tūpuna Kuia maintained the front line of the resistance movement by their refusal to succumb to colonial hegemony. They had their own mana. The Parihaka Peace and Reconciliation Hikoi, Peace for Pekapeka Hikoi, Māori Ward 101 seminars, the exhibition ‘Hina’ and “Ko Taku Poi Te Manu!” to name a few activities.
57. In 2019 TTW commissioned a Pūkauae photographic exhibition titled ‘Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki: 30 years of Liberation Work’. The intention behind the exhibition was to whakamana our tūpuna Kuia who held the vanguard by capturing the attention of the general public in Taranaki with images of Taranaki wahine Māori who have in some manner held the frontline and who continue to honour their tūpuna kuia by upholding tikanga Māori, mana wahine, and by contributing to the current generation’s implementation of the instructional vision left to us all by Te Whiti o Rongomai.



**Nāku nei, nā
Ngaropi Cameron**