

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 Ringahuaia Hata (Wai 2872)**

NGĀ KŌRERO A AROARO TAMATI

Ka tāpaea i te rā 27 o Hūrae 2022

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E TE TARAIPUNARA

Introduction

1. He uri tēnei o Taranaki Iwi (Ngā Māhanga-ā-Tairi; Ngāti Moeahu), o Ngāti Ruanui, o Te Atiawa, o te Whānau-ā-Apanui hoki. He hononga hoki ki Parihaka, ki a Tohu Kākahi rāua ko Te Whiti-ō-Rongomai. Titia iho ko te raukura. He tohu o te maunga-ā-rongo ki runga ki te whenua, ki runga ki te tangata. E te Taraipiunara, tēnā koutou katoa.
2. My name is Aroaro Tamati, and I am Tumukāuru (Director) and a founding whānau member of Te Kōpae Piripono, a puna reo (kaupapa Māori immersion ECE), established in New Plymouth, in 1994. A key aim of Te Kōpae Piripono is to address the loss of and devastation to Taranaki reo, Taranaki tikanga and Taranaki tangata brought about by muru and raupatu including the stripping of more than 1.2 million acres of land from Taranaki whānau, hapū and iwi.
3. I am involved in Taranaki Māori community including being Deputy Chair of Te Kāhui o Taranaki (the post-settlement governance entity for Taranaki Iwi), Deputy Chair of Parihaka Papakāinga Trust (the legal entity for Parihaka), Secretary of Ngāti Moeahu Hapū and Secretary of Te Paepae o Te Raukura (Takitūtū marae) one of the remaining three active marae at Parihaka.

Pre-colonial Mana Wahine

4. While the main focus of my evidence pertains to Parihaka, I want to briefly touch on pre-colonial mana wahine. Unlike the colonised treatment of history where patriarchy has (and continues to have) paramountcy, in pre-colonial Taranaki Māori society gender was not a determinative feature of mana or status. Rather, the distinctive roles of tāne and wāhine each contributed to the wellbeing of their whānau, hapū and iwi. There is little evidence that mana was solely centred around a hierarchical concept of leadership, that is, via a single autocratic leader model. Mana was way more varied and complex than that and was also determined by what Taranaki Māori communities prioritised and valued.

Ueroa

5. For example, as mentioned in the evidence of my whanaunga, Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu, the tūpuna kuia, Ueroa, was renowned and acknowledged for her pātaka kai and her manaakitanga. Here, the provision of kai and hospitality are seen as of societal importance and, therefore are of high value.

Rākeitākiha

6. Another example, which is included in Taranaki Iwi's Deed of Settlement (2015), is the acknowledgement of Rākeitākiha who was renowned for her propagation of harakeke which was famed for its exceptional quality and quantity. In Taranaki Iwi's historical account, iwi kōrero specifically mentions Rākeitākiha, indicating the high regard in which she was held:

E kore hoki e taea he mate nō te iwi kotahi
nō tēnei iwi nō Taranaki
Tukua atu te harakeke ā Rākeitākiha
Te harakeke tōngai nui o roto o Waiwiri

*Nothing can be overcome if we are united
Release forthwith, the abundance of Rākeitākiha's flax
that binds us together, from within Waiwiri
(Taranaki Iwi, 2015, p.8)*

7. Here, again, Taranaki Iwi Māori societal priorities can be seen - the production of harakeke, which is likened to the unity of the people. Here, too, mana wahine is at the centre.

Rauhoto Tapairu

8. Then there is the special example of our tūpuna wahine, Rauhoto Tapairu, the guidestone and kaitiaki who steered Rua Taranaki to where he stands today, on the Taranaki coast. The acknowledged mana of Rauhoto Tapairu, leading Rua Taranaki to his resting place is a critical narrative about the highly valued status

and position she had. It speaks of mana wahine and of the principal nature of the female role in pre-colonial times. This example shows the fundamental importance of mana wahine to the facilitation of concepts of manaaki, tiaki and haumarutanga – of leadership, equilibrium, safety and wellbeing. The narrative also provides a reference point as to the interplay of male and female roles and relationships. Here we can see that mana wahine was clearly acknowledged and valued.

9. Te Toka a Rauhoto Tapairu rests at Pūniho Pā, 27 kilometres south of Ngāmotu, New Plymouth. She is a constant source of identity, of connection, of ihi, wehi, wana and mana – wahine. Such was the importance of Rauhoto Tapairu to me, that I named one of my daughters, Te Kōhinetanga o Rauhoto Tapairu – the female essence of Rauhoto Tapairu.

Invisibility of mana wahine in historical documentation

10. As is the early colonial experience for Māori across Aotearoa, the influence and impact of patriarchal, colonial settler society in Taranaki, meant that mana tāne was mainly prioritised and documented. So, in Taranaki, male leadership and statements or exhortations by male leaders appear predominantly in Taranaki waiata and kōrero. In contrast, reference to female leadership, actions and/or statements is minimal, if not almost non-existent in kōrero and waiata. For example, kōrero and waiata relating to Parihaka makes mention of rangatira tāne – of Te Ua Haumēne, of Titokowaru, of Te Whetu Moeahu, and of Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti-ō-Rongomai. However, there is no substantial reference to rangatira wahine of that time. It is not that these rangatira tāne do not deserve mention. Rather, it is that rangatira wahine deserved equal mention, yet were not. Therefore, it could be said that there is a general invisibility of mana wahine in historical documentation.

Parihaka

He puawai au nō runga i te tikanga
He raurengarenga au nō roto i te raukura
Ko taku raukura, he manawanui ki te ao

I am the fruition of principled endeavour

A healing herb from within the sacred emblem of the raukura (a white albatross feather)

My raukura is an assurance to the world

(Statement by Te Whiti-ō- Rongomai, in Hohaia et al., 2006, p. 61)

11. There is possibly no greater example of the devastating, intergenerational impacts of colonisation, punitive legislation, confiscation and war in Taranaki that stripped whānau of their land, language, rangatiratanga and oranga than that of Parihaka.
12. Parihaka was formed in 1864, with numerous whānau fleeing war and continual attack by colonial troops. Parihaka was a place of refuge for many iwi from across the country who fled the violence and devastation visited upon them by the soldiers. More than 2000 people lived there at any one time.
13. Parihaka took on the raukura, the flight feather of the toroa (albatross), as a symbol of peace and resistance and as a representation of the vision for well-being and prosperity of the Parihaka community. The raukura is a symbolic reminder to hold strongly to the principles of Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti-ō-Rongomai, which are to act with dignity, to treat others with kindness and respect no matter who they are and that all people are valued, whatever their role or contribution.
14. When the Pāhuratanga occurred, on 5 November 1881, colonial soldiers and armed constabulary descended upon Parihaka - marking both the literal and figurative plunder of the papakāinga and its residents.

Suffering of Tangata Mauhere

15. It is keenly acknowledged that the men of Parihaka suffered significantly. As tangata mauhere, they were arrested and imprisoned for years without trial. During this time, they were disparaged, mistreated, beaten and injured. Much is documented of the tangata mauhere and the inhumane conditions they had to endure including being shackled and shipped to jails in the South Island - and then

being used as free labour to help build much of the infrastructure of cities such as Dunedin. The hardship they suffered must have been immense.

Suffering of Parihaka

16. But little is documented or recognised of the dire suffering of those who remained at Parihaka – the tamariki, the tauheke kaumātua and, in particular, the wāhine. Martial law was decreed for at least two years following the Pāhua. Special legislation was passed to restrict gatherings. It is documented that, in 1882, when Parihaka residents tried to congregate, the armed constabulary destroyed more homes as a punishment (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). The whole papakāinga was effectively under house arrest, not able to travel freely. Entry to Parihaka was regulated by a pass system. Everyday utensils (such as large sharp knives, machetes and axes) were prohibited, in case the residents might in turn use them as weapons against their captors.

17. Additionally, during the occupation, the community was looted by the armed troops, and local armed constabulary. Buildings were razed, gardens trampled, and livestock taken or slaughtered. It was an unfettered free-for-all for the soldiers and local constabulary, resulting in the community having to cope constant starvation. This is evidenced by waiata that have been retained to this day and which commemorate the Pāhua.

Morehu kore kai Hi !!

Morehu kore kai Hi !!

Morehu kore kai

Mō te tina

Mō te tī

Mō te parakuikui ... Hi !!

Survivors, without food to eat!

Survivors, without food to eat!

Survivors, without food to eat

for lunch

for dinner

and for breakfast!

18. Morehu Kore Kai is a waiata harihari kai which is used to lighten the mood as people enter a wharekai, making light of the fact that the people left behind at Parihaka after the Pāhua were on the brink of starvation, and yet they survived. The message is that if lightness can be made of the darkest of times, then current issues or worries can also be handled. Despite this, reference to the devastation and starvation experienced by the community at that time, is palpable.

Suffering of Wahine Mauhere

19. Of all the suffering experienced during and after the Pāhua, it was the suffering of the women that was possibly the worst. I refer to them here as the 'wahine mauhere' because while they were not taken away to jail, as had happened to their men, they too were held captive, some would say in much more dire circumstances.
20. With only the old people and children remaining, it was the women who were forced to take up the mantle of leadership and carry all of the roles and responsibilities required for the community to endure what was described as the 'days of darkness' (Te Whiti-ō-Rongomai, referenced in Taranaki Iwi's Deed of Settlement) (Taranaki Iwi, 2015, p.40).
21. Taranaki Iwi (2015) notes that the removal of men and boys from Parihaka created considerable hardship for those who remained.

... these imprisonments and the consequent loss of labour reduced the once-prosperous Parihaka community to a state of subsistence living and had extreme impacts on whānau and kinship structures within the papakāinga (village). Furthermore, Taranaki Iwi recall that the survival of Parihaka papakainga at this time relied on the resilience, courage and leadership of the community's women. This is symbolised in an aphorism encouraging Parihaka women to take on the roles of men in their absence: "E tū tamawahine i te wā o te kore" (women will arise out of a time of extreme adversity). (Taranaki Iwi, 2015, p.36).

22. *E tū tamawahine i te wā o te kore* is a statement that continues to be referenced today, as an exhortation and acknowledgement of the leadership, determination, belief and integrity of the mauhere wahine who ensured the survival of Parihaka.

Desecration of Mana Wahine

23. But starvation was not the worst of the abuse suffered by the wahine mauhere. Taranaki Iwi notes that the colonial invasion of Parihaka caused much more than the destruction of physical property. There was considerable emotional and physical personal harm also (Taranaki Iwi website, n.d.-a). The women endured rape and sexual violation by the soldiers and local armed constabulary who implemented the two years of martial law.
24. Obviously, very little is written about such rapes. It is not as if the perpetrators would readily want to document such violation. But as was outlined in Hill (1989, p.329), Te Rangi Matotoru Watene is noted as giving the following evidence to the Sim Commission in 1927:

The soldiers went on the cultivations and went there to get food. The women folk were gathering food for the people in the pa, for us, and the soldiers were assaulting the women folk. Some of the women got children through the soldiers. Some of the soldiers gave children to the women and then went away (Hill, 1989, p.329).

25. The Te Kaupapa Tuatahi report (Wai 143) (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p.237) also documented those witnesses to the Tribunal hearings gave evidence of children born of soldiers who along with their descendants had suffered prejudice from other Māori. And also practices such as clinging to a certain rock in fast-flowing stream that women used to cleanse and purify their bodies (p.237).
26. With such a scarcity of documented examples, it is unsurprising that for almost 140 years the Crown denied its liability in the violation of the women. Early in the Parihaka-Crown reconciliation negotiations during 2016 and 2017, Crown officials

initially claimed that there did not appear to be enough evidence to state categorically that rapes occurred.

27. But actually, there is evidence. For a start, it is in Parihaka waiata. This waiata harihari kai, Hei Aha Te Heihei, uses black humour to make dual reference to both the chicken (a main source of meat at the time because the larger livestock had either been slaughtered or removed by the troops, thus referring to the starvation the community suffered), lustfulness and sexual intercourse.

Heihei! Hei aha te heihei!
Heihei! Hei aha te heihei!!
Te kaiwhakaohorere i te atapō
Tē ngata te puku ki te awhiawhi
Aue, aue te hiahia
Nekenekehia! Hi!
Nekenekehia! Hi!

The chicken, what is its purpose?
The chicken, what is its purpose?
The herald of dawn (the rooster).
Alas, the unsated desire!
Move closer!
Move closer!

28. But there is also a poi that directly documents the rape of the women. Muri Ahiahi speaks of trauma and despair, and of carrying the shame of violation and desecration. Muri Ahiahi is a very rarely performed and for generations has remained mainly in written form and old recordings. It was allowed to be resurrected in 2017, when the Crown formally acknowledged and apologised for the rape of the women of Parihaka.

Muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga
Mā te huki anō ka tae mai ka whāki

Katahi au ka mahara ko au pea e
Te pakia e te ngutu, te hawenga kaipeke
Tū mai e Riki whakaponohia mai
E tika kei a taka kihei te huruhuru
i whakapiki ki runga, ki to kainga kanohi
Kei raro i o te hope, kei te herepū e
E pae kawau ana ka rato mai ki te tini
Nā mua rā e te tau, te karawhiunga mai
Ka kino te tara nei, ka kitea tinitia
Nā Tiki whakapūare, nā Tiki whakakōtata
Ngā mahi a te tipua e mau nei e
Ka kai mai ō mata ka tomo mai ki roto
E rongō matua ake, nā te hika i tū e
Te uinga i raro nei, te komenga mai ō ngutu ii

As evening falls I lay on my bed, unable to act.
Another generation arrives and is informed of the ordeal.
My thoughts are overwhelmed knowing
that it is I who is the subject of gossip and derision carried afar.^[SEP]
Rise up Riki (Te Ariki, Archangel Michael).
Believe my statements to be the truth.
It is true that this happened just prior to puberty.
I was the object of their desire.
Gazed upon, below my hips, virginity intact.
They were like cormorants on their perch,
ready to lunge at any chance.
I was exploited.^[SEP]
Please my dear one,
this impact from the past still tortures me.
My women-hood bears this abhorrent affliction.
It was witnessed by all.
It was Tiki (personification of the phallus) who forced open.
It was Tiki who tore apart.

It was that monster who left its mark.
Look upon me now.
Put yourself in my place.
Comprehend.
My motherhood is now questioned,
bringing resentment to your lips

(Taranaki Iwi, 2015)

29. There is more evidence. It was not just waiata that provided documentation of rape and sexual violation of the wahine mauhere. There was also medical evidence - an outbreak of syphilis in the community during the time the men were imprisoned. Syphilis is a bacterial disease that is contracted mainly through sexual intercourse.
30. And finally, the other very obvious evidence of rape was in the number of children born to the wahine mauhere, also while their men were imprisoned. Taranaki Iwi refers to the statement Te Whiti-ō-Rongomai made to his people, in 1883, on his return from incarceration, when he saw the number of light-skinned children playing on the papakāinga, “Nā wai ēnei kōpurapura? Nā tātou!” (*Who do all these speckled potatoes belong to? They belong to us!*) (refer: Taranaki Iwi website, n.d.-b).

Intergenerational impacts

31. The intergenerational impacts of Crown actions at Parihaka, particularly toward the wahine mauhere, the desecration of their mana and the subsequent ripple effects on successive generations are many and devastating.
32. The violation of the whare tangata, of interruption te ira tangata (DNA) is unspeakable. The perpetual sense of shame, devastation and wretchedness has rippled through individual whānau, extended whānau and the community over generations.

33. The stripping of land and resources has left whānau and hapū predominantly landless and devoid of an economic base that has prevented inter-generational wealth transmission that settler families and communities have been privileged to continue experience.
34. The intergenerational loss of an economic base for whānau and hapū has severely impacted the whānau unit and left many living in survival mode. The greater the loss of the land (and the sweeping land confiscations in Taranaki were some of the worst in the country) the greater the serious negative impact on the whānau structure and whānau being able to live, as Māori.
35. The effect of this has been the critical interruption to the inter-generational transmission of Māori language and culture. Transmission of language and tikanga begins with the ūkaipō (before a child is born). While the mātua and tūpuna (parents and grandparents) are important in supporting Māori language transmission in the whānau – including providing a Māori-immersion home environment - a central vehicle of language transmission from birth has been that of the female role. The disruption to mana wahine has severely impacted this elemental role.
36. As I mentioned earlier, this is one of the reasons why I am involved in kaupapa Māori immersion early childhood education – working with children and their whānau to regenerate te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in Taranaki, and in doing so help in some way to re-build Taranaki Māori community. Over the past 28 years I have observed that if the mother role, the ūkaipō, commits to speaking only in te reo Māori with her child, from birth (meaning a parallel commitment and journey of building their own reo) natural language transmission of te reo Māori is regenerated.
37. As I contemplate the magnitude of what my tūpuna wahine had to endure at Parihaka and the successive generations who followed, I think of their strength, persistence, fortitude, resilience and utter belief and commitment to the legacy of Tohu and Te Whiti.

38. I hope that in some small way, my submission has given voice to the women (and the community) of Parihaka.
39. *Nō reira rā, e ōkū tūpuna wahine rangatira, ko koutou rā te tauira o te manawanui, o te manawaroa, o te maunga-ā-rongo, o te whakaaro nui ki te tangata ahakoa ko wai. Tēnei ka mihi atu, tēnei ka tangi atu ki a koutou. Moe mai rā koutou i te arohanui o ngā whakatipuranga, o ō uri whakaheke.*



**Nāku nei, nā
Aroaro Tamati**