



Pou Tikanga National Iwi Chairs Forum

# Draft notes from Whāngai Wānanga – Wednesday 10 August 2022, 9.30am-3.00pm, Wharewaka Function Centre, Wellington

Key personnel	
Facilitator	Keriana Tawhiwhirangi
Co-hosts	Dee-ann Wolferstan – Kaitiaki, Ināia Tonu Nei
	Donna Gardiner – National Iwi Chairs Forum (NICF) Pou Tikanga; Chair of Ngāti Ranginui
Presenters	Sharlene Maoate-Davis, Pania Solomon, Hemaima Wiremu – A.R.T Confederation Rongoā Collective
	Dr Annabel Ahuriri-Driscoll – senior lecturer hauora Māori, University of Canterbury
	Dr Erica Newman – lecturer Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago
	Hon Kiri Allan – Minister of Justice
Kaimahi	Tu Chapman – Event Manager
	Anne Waapu, Choyce Maere, Felicity Curtis – Ināia Tonu Nei
Ministry of Justice	Marcus Akuhata-Brown – Pou Whakatere, Deputy Secretary Māori
	Rajesh Chhana – Deputy Secretary Policy
	Regan Nathan – Acting Manager, Strategy and Policies
	Megan Noyce – Chief Advisor
	Kerryn Frost – Senior Advisor
Oranga Tamariki	Paula Attrill – General Manager, International Casework and Adoption
	Suzayre Burke – Senior Policy Analyst

#### Mihi whakatau

The wananga began with a mihi whakatau led by Te Atiawa. This was followed by morning tea.

# Opening körero

Keriana opened the wananga and noted that, as facilitator, she is looking to achieve three outcomes from the day:

- gaining a greater insight into Māori views of whāngai, atawhai and adoption
- developing a statement of aspirations from attendees
- developing a high-level action plan to achieve the statement.

The process for the wananga would include tables and the online ropu undertaking group work and reporting back to the floor. The first group session would include time for whakawhanaungatanga.

Each group was asked to identify a note-taker and someone who will report back. Group work sessions would be followed by a plenary session. If attendees did not feel comfortable sharing their whakaaro they could send ideas in later. There are also general note-takers in the room. Draft notes will be developed and sent to attendees for review.

Keriana noted the wānanga is being undertaken within the context of the adoption law reform being led by the Ministry of Justice. The law reform is not currently proposed to include any changes for whāngai and we need to think about whether we want it included. The Crown is attending the wānanga to listen, receive the kōrero and think about next steps.

Dee-ann spoke about the whakapapa of Ināia Tonu Nei. She noted that whānau need to be thriving for there to be fewer Māori in the justice system and that traditional hapū and whānau practices were about restoring balance. There are different front doors into the justice system and one of them is the reason we are here today – there have been six decades of stolen generations, of whānau who are disconnected from whakapapa and tamariki adopted by non-kin. While there are some positive stories, there are also stories of those who have been mistreated like some who are involved in the Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry.

Dee-ann noted she is a third generation whāngai and this is a practice Māori have been undertaking for generations. Her view is this practice should not be included in law but change was needed in the system as it was not okay that children are being displaced from their natural whānau. She reiterated that today was to hear attendees' thoughts and feelings.

Donna noted she is representing Pou Tikanga, one of the five pou of the NICF, and she has a role to sum up the discussions. She provided a high-level overview of the Pou Tikanga work programme. She noted guardianship (or a home for life) which is practiced by Oranga Tamariki and has implications for whāngai. She noted the adoption review is taking a reformist approach whereas the work Pou Tikanga is undertaking on the constitution is about taking a new approach rather than reforming what is in existence. Ultimately we want to transform the Crown's practices rather than reform them. In Donna's whānau they only talk about whāngai and not adoption. Today is about identifying the pathway we want to create for the future and how we can restore pā harakeke to whānau and hapū.

#### Whāngaihia te Oranga

Keriana introduced Sharlene, Pania, and Hemaima of the Rongoā Collective of the A.R.T Confederation (Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Raukawa te Au ki te Tonga, Ngāti Toa Rangatira) who were going to have a 'cup of tea conversation' to share their stories about whāngai and the place of rongoā.

Sharlene noted each table had been provided a bottle of whakawātea spray which includes extract of kānuka. She outlined the tikanga involved in making rongoā which involves considering the kaupapa, being in a well space, having the purest of intentions, feeling the mauri and coming from the ngākau throughout the process. The wāhine are the Pou Rongoā for A.R.T Confederation. They are going to share whakaaro through a kapu tī rongoā kōrero as that is how the mahi gets done.

Sharlene spoke about her 11-year-old tamaiti whāngai who is the birth child of her niece. Her mother and father were not in a position to offer her the best opportunities in life. There were many whānau conversations to work through what was best for her, to ensure her future, and to get to a place of tau. She is a special child because of her whakapapa and has a natural whakapapa ability.

Pania spoke about her eldest mokopuna who is her whāngai and that this is part of traditional practice. Pania's daughter (the mother) had also been living with her and had been on a pathway of studying law and is now working for the iwi. Pania's mokopuna is now 20, still living with her and

works for Action Station. She knows she is able to live wherever she wants and she views this as normal. Nothing has been a secret and she has always known who her parents are and who she is. Pania noted that our systems are balanced and we need to revert back to the old ways to move forward.

Hemaima noted there has always been whāngai in her whakapapa. Her mother was born in 1918 and given to her cousin to raise. This cousin was the rongoā person for their hapū and iwi. Her mother had four sisters and a brother who all went to other whānau when their mother died. It was clear that the tūpuna were fostering connections throughout the whānau and hapū. All the children understood the process and stayed connected to each other. Hemaima has a grandniece as a whāngai who she has had since she was four and noted that the situation was different to the old ways. There had been a lot of trauma in her immediate family and she had been in the care and protection system. She is now 23 and works as a physical education teacher at a kura kaupapa and wants to work with children like her. Hemaima encourages her to remain connected to her mother and she has a relationship with her father. She noted that whāngai never stops in whānau and it is a key rongoā which is ongoing.

Donna acknowledged the presenters and noted the profound whakaaro shared that 'you are powerful beyond measure'. She talked about reclaiming our rongoā, whakapapa and whānau and encouraged people to think about the kōrero that comes from our kuia and mothers such as on birthing rituals. Donna noted that we are addressing intergenerational trauma which needs an intergenerational response.

## Address by Hon Kiri Allan, Minister of Justice

Keriana welcomed the Minister, noting she was pleased the Minister had taken the role, that it was a privilege to have her attend, and asked her to extend her rongoā over the wānanga.

Kiri said it was a privilege to attend and that it was important mahi. She has a personal investment in seeing that this work is done well and acknowledged it hadn't been done well in the past. Kiri was raised by an adoptive mother (her biological mother's sister) and adoptive father (who is Pākehā). The law severed her connection and rightful claim to one side of her whakapapa. There have been legal ramifications including not being able to register with iwi which requires a legal whakapapa to an ancestor. She noted that the legal process to get recognition shouldn't be this hard. She is keen to hear what good looks like in this space moving forward, whether there is an appetite to bring adoption and whāngai together and whether the current process is the right vehicle to address the idiosyncrasies in each. She is interested in hearing what the appetite in the room is regarding the pathway forward and the attendees' guidance.

Dee-ann thanked the Minister for coming and congratulated her on her new role. She provided the Minister with a gift on behalf of the wānanga organisers (Ināia Tonu Nei, Pou Tikanga, Ministry of Justice). She noted the hope that whāngai and atawhai are recognised in their own right.

#### Acknowledging Māori adoptees and their descendants

Keriana introduced Dr Annabel Ahuriri-Driscoll and Dr Erica Newman and noted their korero is about acknowledging Māori adoptees. She noted that in the past Erica had identified herself as 'iwi unknown'.

Annabel outlined that for many Māori adoptees the two main questions that are top of mind are: 'why was I adopted?' and 'why was I not whāngai?'. She noted there is anecdotal evidence that many Māori adoptees were born to Māori fathers and Pākehā mothers which made it very unlikely they would have been whāngai even if the practice hadn't been unlawful. However, if whāngai had been supported and the rangatiratanga of Māori over the care of tamariki was maintained, adoption may have at least been practiced very differently, enabling birth and whakapapa connections. She noted that closed adoption severs those connections in law, which has lifelong impacts for Māori adoptees and their descendents. In conclusion, Annabel noted that Māori adoptees were produced out of the same colonising processes that oppressed the practice of whāngai, forging an interrelationship and a shared investment in seeing change.

Erica noted she was 'iwi unknown' up until this year. She is the descendant of a Māori adoptee. Her perspective on whāngai is that they are children who know who they are and are raised with their whakapapa. This practice provides opportunities to grow up being secure which is vital to health and wellbeing. The 1955 Adoption Act severs this and damages mana, mauri and tapu. It means adoptees are unconnected and raised under a legal fiction that can be detrimental to their identity. It is traumatic and emotional for them to search for their whānau. Negotiating whakapapa is not mana enhancing and it leads to intergenerational trauma when the search is passed down to the next generation. Erica's mother was born in 1948 to a Pākehā mother and they think her father was not aware of her existence. If she had been a whāngai this would have meant she would be confident in her identity as a Māori and Pākeha. Erica considers whāngai should not be included in legislation. It is an important kinship practice and all Māori children should have the opportunity to grow up in this way with secure mana and mauri and their tapu intact.

Donna acknowledged Annabel and Erica's research and noted she had not previously been aware of the practice of closed adoption. She noted it is important to hear the stories of our people who have been disadvantaged by adoption laws and we need to support that kaupapa alongside thinking about whāngai. She noted to Minister Allan that, having heard this and given her own experience, this was a kaupapa that needs our full attention.

## Kaupapa Korero 1 – where are we now and where have we come from?

Keriana outlined that there would be three kaupapa kōrero and asked for attendees to organise themselves into groups of between six and eight people. She reminded people to identify someone to be the note-taker and someone to provide the feedback. The first session is longer to enable people to introduce themselves in their groups. In thinking about the Kaupapa, people could think about how whāngai is practised now and in the past and whether or not having legal recognition has been good and why.

# Zoom rōpū

- experiences were shared of a Māori woman adopted into a Pākehā family which seemed disrespectful, and the mother feeling threatened and pressured while the adoptee was trying to find the whānau name
- there is support from places like Jigsaw but there is no support before, during, or after reunion and this exacerbates wellbeing issues
- being creative when searching for connections such as using the electoral roll
- issues with whangai being prevented from accessing land
- the difficulty of reconnecting as an adult because of the law, if you don't already have connections with your siblings or come from a fractured family
- issues for children who have been placed with Oranga Tamariki
- difficulties with connecting with a Pākehā birth mother when your father is Māori and the impact on present day relationships.

- we don't need legislation to recognise whangai but other legislation should enable it to flourish
- we heard about different practices of whangai within hapu and about feeding the relationships as there are difficulties when the links are not maintained, particularly around succession
- you forget that you're a whangai as the situation is so natural
- there can be trauma created through whāngai as well as through adoption (e.g. feeling unloved by the birth mother)

- we need to increase and enhance the connection to other hapū and iwi
- let's not get mixed up in a system that is not ours. The system needs to enable and recognise whāngai so whānau, hapū and iwi can determine it for themselves.

# Table 5

- they had more lived experience given their ages and are from a time when whāngai was normalised
- the challenge is getting your head around what whangai means from a iwi, hapū and whanau perspective according to whakaaro Māori
- the more prescriptive we become the harder it will be
- some whangai have experienced state institutions
- it is a complex situation to resolve and we need to go back to first principles
- if it is going to be in law, questioning how it can be fitted in and whether it is going to be too hard to fit into the current legislative framework.

# Table 4

- the role of the child and the differences between this in te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā
- the process of whangai and how it is the view of the collective and used to strengthen whanau relationships
- that iwi can be recognised in a whangai arrangement. They provided an example of a birth certificate that names iwi as the god parents
- that whangai can also be a nurturing role provided to children who stay within their birth parents' house.

# Table 3

- for closed adoptees who are trying to connect it is a lonely experience
- the system is paternalistic and assimilates
- there are challenges with reconnecting with whanau and with accessing information
- siblings can see a person as a risk to their inheritance
- we don't want to repeat the mistakes of the past
- whanau need to be empowered, the solutions are with them
- tikanga Māori is more important than Pākehā law.

- they are adoptees and adopters including of non-kin and whangai
- there are challenges with medical needs and access for whangai
- adoption law should be separate and subordinate to whangai
- when whānau choose adoption it should be safe
- everyone should have the same rights
- the adoption laws are colonised and need a rethink
- we also need a new Privacy Act
- they acknowledged the importance of tikanga and the purpose and origin of whāngai in Māori lore
- children have autonomous human rights and rights for care and protection. These need to be separated out
- the only place whangai is tested is in the Maori Land Court
- we need a system that is mana enhancing for everyone. They questioned what this would look like and noted each hapū and iwi will have their own tikanga and this needs to be recognised
- the approaches used by Waikato Tainui where your connection is not severed if you have been adopted. They will use the tribal register to look at who someone is adopted. Waikato Tainui has written a long submission and been in conversations with the Ministry of Justice. Other iwi were encouraged to do the same.

• Does guardianship necessarily equate with the essence of whāngai? Is it sufficient to reflect the child as taonga, and the sharing of that child between birth and whāngai parents/whānau? Or is it constructed as an obligation only?

## Kaupapa Kōrero 2 – where do we want to be?

Keriana noted the next session was about where you want to be, imagining you had all the time and resources, what would the world look like for whāngai.

# Table 4

- it would be beneficial to have a wānanga about what whāngai is in its fullest expression. The tikanga, kawa, practices (e.g. tohi rite, tono, tuku) and the expectations regarding caring for the child could be explored. This is different to linear thinking of putting a Māori baby with a Māori whānau
- whāngai would not be defined as compared to adoption. Adoption would be dominant if that approach was taken

## Table 1

- tautoko for the idea of a wānanga
- under the current laws the voice of the tamaiti is heard separately and has a specific person attached to it. However under tikanga Māori/ te ao Māori the child has no voice as the kaumatua can see what the child will be and nurtures them on that pathway
- we have lost some of our practices which is why we need a wananga about it, so the outcomes can influence the law. We are trying to do things backwards without having the wananga first.

- the issue is not straightforward and has complexities
- they have a desire to have an open and challenging conversation around the determinations and relationships regarding whangai in the past and how it has adjusted in contemporary society
- relationships need to flourish and be empowered in a way where the benefits are upheld so we can progress into the next 100 years
- we can't run away from the law
- there are intersects such as with care and protection and the autonomous rights of the child and we need to protect both of these
- there are questions about who defines whangai and who leads the conversation. At the moment the Maori Land Court says it is hapu tikanga which dictates, but what about the whanau and the other hapu that might be involved
- there should be a separate piece of law for whāngai. This should be enabling legislation and include knowing who the iwi are, who will claim someone
- adoption law is disempowering and needs to be removed
- there should be a focus on healing where the harms for whangai are addressed
- privacy issues should be resolved. The current Act doesn't work and disempowers whanau
- uncertainty about whether Oranga Tamariki and the Māori Land Court are the right agencies to be dealing with these matters. The Māori Land Court is traumatic
- there is information in the Māori Land Court records which could be accessed. These could go into a central hub to enable this
- we need to be reminded of what whangai looked like pre-colonisation
- whāngai is tikanga which sits with whānau and hapū
- questions about whether a new system should include care and protection
- a new system needs to work for everyone involved in a child's life.

## Zoom rōpū

- there needed to be a healing and restoration process which needs to connect to, reclaim and restore cultural connections. There needs to be an ability to access culturally safe knowledge to connect people to their identity
- the concept of an unwanted pregnancy is wrong and inconsistent with whangai
- there are legal barriers. Adoption orders are discriminatory. Full rights need to be restored with access to information
- a royal commission could look into the impact of adoption practices
- whānau are recognised in the care and protection space
- there is clarity around what whangai is, which isn't adoption
- there should be protection for the whakapapa of Māori children if they have adoptive parents who are tauiwi.

## Table 4

- the answers are in the past and include tikanga Māori
- supported holding a wananga about what whanau and whangai look like now and what they looked like pre-colonisation
- they were unhappy with the adoption law reform process. There was little consultation with Māori back when the law was made and there are few adoptees in the room today
- the answers are within our people but there needs to be a time, space and place to do the mahi properly and dream big. This should be funded by the Government as they have caused the situation.

## Reflections

Keriana noted the key themes were about having a fully funded wānanga and not trying to fit that into the current process; that the answers are within us and we need to make them a reality and be unencumbered. She noted there was a lot of kōrero about healing and a strong connection to cultural enablers. Every child needs to feel wanted and links to whakapapa need to be maintained and strengthened. The magic from the past needs to be validated in today's world. Keriana asked each group to provide their notes and noted that one of the next tasks would be coming up with a statement.

#### Kaupapa Kōrero 3 – how do we get there?

Keriana noted the next session was about how we make things happen, how we get there now that you've envisaged the future, what are the aspirational or practical steps. This might mean the law needs to change, there might be actions for government (such as funding) and things we can do in our everyday lives.

- a briefing paper should go from Ināia Tonu Nei and Pou Tikanga to the next NICF hui informing them of the determinations from this wānanga
- adoption law reform should include a responsibility to ensure every adoptee is allowed to seek out their whakapapa and that their whakapapa goes with them. This would be like section 7aa of the Oranga Tamariki Act
- there should be a support service and national support group for people who want to know and want reconciliation
- there needs to be time for more wananga over the next year that allows the time for deeper indepth discussions to determine what whangai is today. A range of people need to be involved including those who have had negative experiences. It would be for all Maori
- the legislative reform needs to go into a holding pattern to enable the wananga space
- we could undertake wananga every five years to review the system
- we also need to help our whānau who are stuck in the system right now.

# Table 2

- there could be an environmental scan of the current barriers and good and bad experiences of whānau so the implications of being in the western system can be understood
- we need to create our own system
- we could look at what other first nations peoples have done. Not to take from them but to understand and learn
- there are other conversations to be had around constitutional reform and legislative change and a space for these is needed
- there should be proactive education and awareness so the system knows whangai already hold a place
- we don't need to wait for western change for us to realise our own solutions and for the validation of our own mātauranga.

# Zoom rōpū

- wānanga in hapū, whānau and marae from here, go out to the community. Those discussions would start with the view of hapū on tikanga, process, protocol and the context of whāngai moving to the Pākehā system and whether it would be protected
- a database funded by government and held by Pou Tangata to enable restoration. This could be a blend of information held by government agencies
- establishing whanau researchers who can korero with whanau and access information
- discussions with displaced and disconnected whānau so they know where to go if they want to find out information
- addressing the birth certificate anomaly so both sets of parents are included rather than having to have two birth certificates.

# Table 3

- the need to acknowledge intergenerational trauma and lived experience and use lessons learned to inform the future direction
- Māori capability to lead by-Māori-for-Māori approaches
- establishing support services and access to information (e.g. birth certificates) needs funding
- providing a safe space to wananga where people's views are not clashing with others with different opinions (such as the organisations that abducted them).

- Oranga Tamariki has failed and is not the right place to oversee whāngai. Whāngai is not about care and protection. It is not a deficit, it is a rongoā
- we need an organisation that already has a structure. Two suggestions could be the Māori Land Court or Te Puni Kōkiri
- some were questioning whether iwi should be involved and are the right mechanism when we know that some pae have people who are unsafe. Some don't trust iwi or marae. Have iwi done what they need to be safe?
- examples of structures/ropū who are mandated by hapū and iwi around placements. Lived experience needs to be part of the process as they can see the pitfalls
- not all iwi speak for hapū. Looking to the future these things need to be worked through
- support for a royal commission of inquiry into the impacts of adoption
- there are many who are not in the room such as gang whanau and those who are 'hard to reach'
- we need a wananga over a longer time period, such as three years. This one wananga is not sufficient. More voices need to be collected from across the country
- we need a database/digital system with agreements about who can have access to it. This could be provided by an organisation with an existing infrastructure.

## Reflections

Keriana noted that points were raised about iwi and hapū politics and safety, that there were some actions identified and questions raised. She questioned whether moving to the plenary and developing a statement was worthwhile given the discussion. She noted the call for another wānanga that involved all voices and outlined the other engagement that was occurring as part of the process. Attendees were asked to provide the notes from their tables. Keriana called for a short break so the team could consider next steps for the wānanga.

#### **Closing and next steps**

Keriana noted that after a catch up with the co-hosts it had been decided not to have the plenary session as Kaupapa Kōrero 3 had had that function. She said that the notes will be collated and distributed. The strong message taken from the wānanga is that this is only the start of a process. There has been a call for more kanohi ki te kanohi wānanga which need to be set up quickly. We need to touch pause and take more time to engage. We will be communicating with the Ministry of Justice about the need for more quality engagement with whāngai, adoptees and atawhai.

#### Comments from the floor and responses

An attendee noted that they agreed with a royal commission of inquiry into the adoption system and thought this needs to be done. Keriana responded that she was not opposed to this. She suggested getting the next wānanga set up quickly to allow those views to come forward. The whakaaro today had been about who wasn't in this room and is not having a say. The key points from today will need to be prioritised.

A zoom attendee asked whether there had been future dates set and if communications could be sent to the contact list. Keriana noted no future dates had been set and this was something to organise. Dee-ann noted we would come back to attendees and need to organise more wānanga. The call from today has validated to Ināia Tonu Nei, Pou Tikanga and the Ministry of Justice that more wānanga is the key priority of importance when talking about adoption and whāngai. This is the beginning of consultation. When the draft notes are sent back to attendees for review we will give you the opportunity to tell us your preferences for more wānanga. These do not have to be in Pōneke. We don't want to prescribe when and how but we do want to have them quickly to keep the voice live.

Tu noted that next week's State Institutional Response hearing<sup>1</sup> provides an opportunity to question the Crown. It is about acknowledging the trauma of survivors and will be the first time to hear full responses from the Crown. Some of the survivors are adoptees, whāngai and atawhai. There may be an opportunity to leverage off what comes out of that hearing.

An attendee noted that the hearing is about Crown accountability where Crown officials need to front up and give their whakaaro in relation to the testimonies. We've been told that we can use that mechanism as adoptees however what about those who aren't seeing the link to the system which is abusive, rather than people who are abusive. The 70 year-old piece of legislation is an abuse. The royal commission is not looking at that. Dee-ann noted this is a reason we want to host more wānanga, so there can be reconciliation. We aren't saying there won't be an inquiry, but we need more wānanga to flesh out a validation process. She agreed the adoption legislation is abusive and there have been 80,000 people adopted over the last six decades.

An attendee asked about the process going forward and noted the accountability sits with the Government to sit and listen to those who are not part of the state care inquiry process, not with Ināia Tonu Nei. There needs to be a separate inquiry to provide the space we want to present on the legislation. Dee-ann noted Ināia Tonu Nei and Pou Tikanga have asked for a wānanga as the Crown's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <u>https://www.abuseincare.org.nz/our-inquiries/royal-commission-hearing-into-institutional-responses-of-state-agencies-to-abuse-in-care/</u>

current consultation process is not fit for purpose. They aren't going to own the accountability but are going to voice the need for it.

An attendee asked whether the royal commission of inquiry is covering psychological and systemic abuse. Tu responded that it was.

An attendee noted a lot of adoptees were abused in state care. The royal commission has been a drawn-out process and may not be what others are thinking it is. Tu noted her support for a more intimate space to have that korero and it should be kanohi ki te kanohi where fundamental issues about whangai, adoption and atawhai are discussed because such a process works. People should lower their expectations of what an inquiry can deliver.

An attendee asked where all the men were, noting only four men were in the room. He questioned what another wānanga would look like and how we get those men and their voices there. Dee-ann noted this was a valid question, that there is a lack of men here and queried how we involve those with lived experience. She noted that another attendee had suggested this should be through community providers rather than hapū and iwi. She noted this wānanga had been set up in a reasonably short amount of time and we would ask attendees how best to and to reach out to others.

An attendee noted there hasn't been a collective voice and that is what adoption does by separating and isolating people and making it unsafe to talk about their experiences. The law reform has provided an opportunity to speak. She noted we can do something amongst ourselves because we are hard to reach. She noted the difficulties of men speaking up due to the impacts of adoption. She expressed being happy to have been meeting in person at this wānanga.

An attendee asked whether there should be a Waitangi Tribunal claim because it is a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. She also noted the language needs to be inclusive as she does not think of herself as a whāngai.

#### Closing

Keriana thanked the attendees for coming, Tu for being a great events manager and Ināia Tonu Nei for working with Pou Tikanga on this kaupapa. She noted she had learnt a lot and saw this as a blossoming of something better to come. She agreed we need to connect with a diverse range of people and noted the answers are within us.

An attendee noted that we should not let the processes get in the way of being tangata whenua and that we need to have our understanding of whāngai right first before any inquiry happens. He noted we can't have our mokopuna coming back to have the same conversations. It is up to us to have kōrero with whānau, hapū and iwi. We can't let the process determine who should be involved, that is up to us. He noted that males don't want to talk as they don't feel the need nor safety to speak, and acknowledged the important role of wāhine in whānau.

The wananga was closed with a karakia.