

Te Pepe Ao Uri Whāriki. The development of pūrākau analysis framework

Stella Black, Jacquie Kidd and Katey Thom

Auckland University of Technology

Stella.black@aut.ac.nz

Abstract

Wairaka was the daughter of the rangatira Toroa, who captained the Mātaatua waka navigating across the Pacific Ocean to Aotearoa, New Zealand. When the Mātaatua waka arrived on the shores of Whakatāne, the men disembarked, but when Wairaka saw that the waka was in danger of drifting out to sea, ignoring the tapu forbidding women from handling the waka. She decisively acted to save the waka, calling out, “Kia Whakatāne au i ahau – I will act the part of a man” to draw on the strength of a man. In doing so, she heroically saved the Mātaatua waka and all those aboard.

Indigenous peoples have long preserved their historical accounts using a variety of oral traditions. For Māori, the sharing of pūrākau is one-way oral records have been retained, shared and used to teach or inspire.

“He kairangahau waahine, he whaangai ma matou kia kiia he uri nga Wairaka. We have adopted this group of female researchers in order that they emulate our ancestress Wairaka”.

These words were included in a letter of support from kaumātua to conduct our rangahau of the te kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua. While we were honoured to be embraced, we were equally mindful of our responsibility to emulate Wairaka. From the outset, our research has been influenced by powerful pūrākau like that of Wairaka. In this article, we outline how we have drawn on personal, iwi, hapū and whānau participant pūrākau together with our observations to analyse and re-present pūrākau as a self-reflection and reflexivity analysis tool in developing a framework.

Key words

Pūrākau, tikanga, kaumātua, rangatahi, youth court

Introduction

The pūrākau of Wairaka introduced in the abstract sets the scene for the pūrākau methodology used in this rangahau. First, but not most importantly, we learn of the role of wāhine Māori to act quickly and decisively to save her people. Second, as the daughter of a rangatira, Wairaka had mana by birthright, but her heroic actions enhanced her mana. Third, unlike other wāhine on the waka, Wairaka would have had a deeper understanding of mātauranga Māori, the consequences of breaching tapu, and the necessary steps to overcome such a discretion. Lastly, Wairaka is a revered tipuna and having the kaumātua endorse our rangahau and conduct ourselves in the same vein as Wairaka, placed a heavy burden of responsibility upon us to honour the voices, perspectives and pūrākau shared with us. These ideas permeate this paper and provide a solid basis for developing a pūrākau analysis tool.

This article does not conform to the conventions of academic journal writing. It may also be argued that in outlining the methodology of this rangahau, it also attempts to answer the research query, “What is tikanga?” we have deliberately stopped trying to compartmentalise and think linearly so as not to confuse the non-Māori reader with te ao Māori concepts that are often cyclical and overlapping. As I undertook this rangahau in observing, interviewing, and trying to make sense of the pūrākau, I was constantly in a state of noho wahangū and reflexivity throughout my doctoral journey, as such these reflections are also interwoven into this paper and throughout this process of engaging with each pūrākau I have slept on, dreamed about, mulled over, regurgitated, questioned, challenged, been lost, confused or ignored my inner voices. I now accept my inner voices as my tipuna guiding and prodding me in an endeavour to whakamānawa and whakamana those who shared their pūrākau. I feel privileged and burdened by my role in re-sharing these pūrākau and sharing myself in the process.

As I have grown in this awareness throughout my journey, my writing has changed, although I still feel the internal battle of conforming to a western academic requirement. I am still learning to resist this urge; my writing offers several digressions throughout. Sometimes, I honour the kaumātua who participated in this rangahau by sharing their pūrākau. At other times, I have chosen to articulate the little voices of my tipuna (noted by an *) that have gnawed at my inner being, guiding and pushing me to think more laterally, critically, and creatively while undertaking this rangahau. I thank them every day. To aid the reader, I have structured this article in two parts. In the first part, I introduce myself, explaining ‘ko wai au, nō hea au’, stating my positionality before providing a brief background to this rangahau kaupapa and methods used to engage with the rangahau participants. In the second part, I detail the development of an analysis framework called Te Pepe Ao Uri (Blue Butterfly) Framework to analyse two pūrākau: (1) Wairaka and (2) Manawa, the latter is a de-identified pūrākau about a rangatahi who appeared in kōti rangatahi o Mataatua. The framework examines the learnings while exploring “he aha te tikanga, what tikanga is?”

Ko wai au

Ko Tūhoe, Whakatōhea, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Whakaue ngā iwi. I whānau mai ai i Tauranga Moana, i tipu ake ai au i Arataki, Mauao. My tribes are Tūhoe, Whakatōhea, Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Whakaue. I was born in Tauranga and grew up in Arataki, Mount Maunganui. Both my parents were Ngāi Tūhoe; my father was born and raised in Rūātoki, and my mother was born and raised in Maungapōhatu. They married and moved to Mount

Maunganui as part of the urban trend that saw many Māori relocate to the towns and cities for work and other opportunities (Walker, 2004, pp. 197-199). They were both fluent te reo speakers and were raised with clear understandings of marae kawa and tikanga. As a child, visits to our hapū marae for tangihanga, ahurei, hui, and other events were normal. In 1983, my mother died of cancer when I was fourteen. She was our matriarch and the key link to maintaining our connectedness to whānau whānui, hapū and iwi. Although the strength of these connections lessened, I had a solid foundation and a strong sense of Tūhoetanga tuakiri. However, like many other Māori children of the urban wave, many of the other cultural markers of being Māori, such as fluency in te reo Māori, kawa, tikanga and te ao Māori, were not my day-to-day reality. I will no doubt continue striving to learn until the day I die. My story is not unique. Many like me are in wānanga trying to reclaim and re-establish ground. It is this very perspective, that I bring myself, my pūrākau, my understandings and my lived experiences to this rangahau. Throughout this rangahau, I have struggled to decolonise my thinking, which has meant continually and consistently doubting that I have the pūkenga or ability to bring justice to the kōrero pūrākau shared with me adequately. In this way, I have attempted to use a deliberate decolonising technique to throw out the western lens that constrains my attitude and thinking and replace it with my tīpuna glasses to feel, think, process, react and interact with the pūrākau being shared with me.

Pūrākau

Pūrākau are Māori stories or narratives also known as pakiwaitara, kōrero tuku iho or kōrero paki. For many indigenous peoples worldwide, their narratives comprise long-preserved accounts of our histories, told through oral traditions that pass down information from one generation to the next. For Māori, oral traditions include waiata, speeches, whaikōrero, mihimihi, and recited whakataukī, pepeha, tauparapara, and karakia. The Māori oratory skills of a kaikōrero shares pūrākau that are engaging, dynamic, creative, humorous or emotive in their skill to contextualise mātauranga for a specific occasion (Sullivan, 1984). Storytelling is a way of sharing a “narrative of history and an attitude about history” (Smith, p19 check). To illustrate, I share the following pūrākau by a kaumātua of his dedication and responsibility in being part of the kaumātua panel in te kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua. He shared:

“Last year, there was a tangi ... It was pissing down with rain, and my wife and I went to the whakaruruhau. They didn’t come out of the whare mate; they spoke from under the whare mate. [My wife] said to me, ‘What if it doesn’t stop raining? What are you going to do?’ So, when they finished, I took my shoes and socks off, coat, shirt, singlet, nothing on top, just my pants. And I did a big kanikani hard out, “Oh, ko Tūhoe tenei, ko hiahia kua mate koutou, matuku koutou ki te ua? (Oh Tūhoe, have you allowed your tikanga to die? Are you scared of the rain?). Blah, blah, blah au. I thoroughly enjoyed myself; I had a great time.” And I heard them from inside the whare mate, “ko mate mātou ki a koe.’ [you are killing us!] ... [My wife] had to come out in the rain and sing with me. They put a towel on her head so she wouldn’t get wet... I dried myself, and we went in, and some of my cousins said, “E hoa kua mate mātou e whakamā ki a koe” (we are suffering out of shame because of you). You know you’re the only bugger in this wide world who would have the bloody gumption to tell us off. I said, “You know you fellas have got a bloody reputation to protect; it’s just been shot down... I’ve actually walked

the talk. It's made me highly unpopular in some circumstances, but "hei aha". You know, ko te mana o ngā mahi o te tēpu, that's what drives me".

While the pūrākau is humorous, it speaks to the history and politics of the Ngāi Tūhoe people, who are well renowned for their fierce resistance and insistence on maintaining their tino rangatiratanga. Put simply, his pūrākau makes the point that tikanga values and principles must inform action and application, or as this kaumātua eloquently put it, "you must walk the talk".

Te Moana-a-Toi ki rāwhiti

I have written about the extensive and exhaustive process we went through to engage with ngā kōti rangatahi kaumātua using kaupapa Māori methodology to guide our observation and interviewing methods, behaviour and processes (Black et al., 2021). Our engagement with the kaumātua of te kōti o Mātaatua ki Wairaka marae differed in how they lived and demonstrated their tikanga principles every day. The following provides some context for this observation.

Te Moana-a-Toi ki rāwhiti/Eastern Bay of Plenty rohe offers geographically diverse landscapes from the white sandy coastlines, but its mountain ranges provide challenges of isolation and access. Many iwi Te Tiriti o Waitangi settlements since 2004 have changed the economic background for the iwi and hapū within this rohe, so that Māori are significant stakeholders across several industries, predominantly agriculture and forestry, holding an asset base worth over \$8.6 billion (Bay of Connections Maori Economic Strategy and Te Puni Kokiri, 2014). There are 18 iwi, 160 hapū and 224 marae within the rohe (Bay of Plenty Regional Council Toi Moana, 2023). It is not surprising then that the region has the second highest proportion of proficient te reo speakers, who describe their whānau as doing well and are well connected to their culture and spirituality and regularly attend their marae (Ministry of Social Development, 2016; Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, 2015). Despite the region's cultural richness and economic prosperity, the area suffers from high deprivation, low median income levels, high unemployment amongst the region's school leavers, rising addiction and mental health issues and high crime rates. The ongoing impact of colonisation through land confiscation has fragmented social structures and limited home ownership options for whānau, hapū and iwi. The brevity of this description in no way captures all the complexities and diversity amongst and within each iwi and hapū; it merely offers some context to understanding pūrākau across time.

Kāhui kaumātua

My doctorate focuses on the voices of seven kaumātua on the te kōti rangatahi o Mataatua panel. Several other rangatira and marae kaumātua were present during the pōwhiri supporting the paepae as whaikōrero and kaiwaiata and were at times also kaimahi or ringawera in the kitchen preparing the kai. While many other kaumātua supporting rangatahi and whānau as manuhiri were also observed during this rangahau. One kaumātua involved in this rangahau described the participants as Kāhui Kaumātua. To provide context about the kaumātua involved in this rangahau, all had whakapapa links to Te Moana-a-Toi/the Bay of Plenty and beyond. The kaumātua ranged in age from their 50s to 90s and had varied employment backgrounds, including teaching, academics, factory workers, nurses, managers, health, and prison educators. Some declared they were retired but were busy studying or were active cultural

advisors or members of different boards, trusts and committees. All shared interesting accounts about where they were raised and how they raised their own families.

The diversity amongst the kāhui kaumātua was apparent as they shared their whakapapa stories of connectedness. During their kōrero, the significance of pūrākau-a-iwi became apparent as kaumātua, and Māori kōti rangatahi participants shared their pūrākau, pepeha and detailed their many connections in sharing their whakapapa to tīpuna, whenua. Some also shared details of significant events such as battles, migration and romantic pūrākau about their tīpuna. Pūrākau-a-iwi, on the other hand, had the power to memorialise specific events or people, such as the incredible feat that Wairaka undertook to save the waka Mātaatua and her people. She is venerated as the heroine by her descendant, but this pūrākau also provides other mātauranga Māori lessons. While pūrākau-a-iwi work to strengthen collective identities for Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe descendants, those of Whakatōhea credit their tīpuna Muriwai, who was the sister of Toroa as being the heroine (Hayes, 2003). During the kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua pōwhiri interactions between visiting kaumātua from Whakatōhea, the mana of their tīpuna was asserted with diminishing the mana of Ngāti Awa. The variations in each pūrākau-a-iwi can be shared on the marae ātea, each giving testament to the differing perspective of the other kaumātua, iwi, hapū and whānau within each locality. I agree with Hayes (2003); what I observed in these interactions was a deep respect and acknowledgement of each ancestress, and, as Edwards maintains, the credibility of each pūrākau were an example of ‘rearranging experience’ that enables each iwi to maintain their mana while retaining social harmony (Edwards, 2009, p. 32).

Developing an analysis tool

Fundamental to creating a tikanga analysis tool, came listening and observing the kāhui kaumātua use the pūrākau of Wairaka. In this way, they demonstrated how to walk your tikanga talk. At this point, I would like to introduce you to my nanny. The following pūrākau is drawn from numerous kōrero with my aunties and uncle over the years about my grandparents. It is their pūrākau, as I have come to understand it, and illustrates my role as researcher and whānau participant, listener and storyteller, analyst and interpreter, insider and outsider. My Nanny Aniteweweni, also known as Matekoraha, was married to my koro Heemi Tawa. Together, they had many children; my mother, Teiria, was one of their daughters. I never had the opportunity to meet them; they both passed away before I was born. Nanny Aniteweweni was a self-taught whāriki weaver, though my aunties are reticent to explain why, there were suggestions that there may have been some jealousy. It is unclear if the wāhine were specially chosen and taught the art of weaving within a Whare Pora (Best, 1898). Whatever the case, I have heard many stories of nanny possessing her own talents and special spiritual gifts, though again, my aunties have always downplayed these accounts, preferring to highlight her role as a humble, respectful, and loving wife, mother and kaitiaki alongside koro of the whenua and people of Maungapōhatu. Although there are many more stories to be shared about my grandparents, in particular, how they remained behind in Maungapōhatu after Rua Kenana and most people left after the 1916 police invasion, this paper focuses on my nanny’s skills and determination as a self-taught whāriki weaver.

No doubt, her obvious gifts were factors in her being able to join the other wāhine in gathering and making kiekie whāriki (grass mats). In the Mihaia book, Judith Binney (1979) recounts a memory by the kuia Akukura of nanny and the other women collecting the only kiekie called

Maungapōhatu hair to make a whāriki. The harsh conditions in Te Urewera, particularly in Maungapōhatu, make growing kiekie and harakeke difficult. Nanny wove at least three whāriki, and appears in the Mihaia book (Binney, 1979, p. 206). One of these whāriki is woven with the words of one of her favourite song by Patti Page, called “Butterflies” (Merrill, 1953). Today, kairaranga whāriki weavers have been astounded by her expertise in weaving English words into whāriki. It is clear she was gifted in making this whāriki, no less because nanny was not a proficient speaker or literate in the English. The fact that there are no spaces between each word attests to this. Weaving words into a whāriki is done backwards and from the bottom side up, as if weaving in the words that are reflected in a mirror. In this way, when the whāriki appears right side up and laid out on the floor, the butterfly and words appear on the top side. The difficulty and skill of weaving whāriki is not lost on me. For this reason, I have taken inspiration from my nanny in developing an analysis framework that applies the intersecting strands of a whāriki. In doing so, I highlight the challenges of working on the underside to weave with my self-reflections and inter-weaving foreign worldviews into what is ultimately learnings from a Māori space as a te ao Māori taonga. While doing this research, I have felt guided by my tīpuna, including Nanny Aniteweweni, others are unknown to me by name, but have appeared to me in different ways and offered sparks of inspiration. Where this has occurred to influence my critical thinking and analysis, I have also tried to represent these voices throughout my writing.

Te Pepe Ao Uri

In honour of my Nanny Aniteweweni and inspired by her whāriki, I have named this analysis framework that weaves together the pūrākau. I use the term whāriki and framework interchangeably. As previously introduced, the aho are the warp strands that represent the varying storytellers, including the rangahau participants, particularly the kahui kaumātua, my tīpuna and my own perspectives, learnings and understandings. I have called this framework Te Pepe Ao Uri, which is the Māori name for the *Zizina Otis labradus*, more commonly known as the Blue Butterfly found in many Aotearoa gardens (Arter-Williamson, 2008). This butterfly, however, is unlikely to be found in Te Urewera. Te Pepe Ao Uri, like most butterflies’ metamorphoses from larvae to pepe (butterfly). This butterfly is described as unremarkable, it is small and largely unseen travelling long distances and flying close to the ground. I should clarify that the Te Pepe Ao Uri butterfly is unlikely to have been the butterfly nanny used as her inspiration. Rather, I have chosen this name to recognise the song she loved. But I feel comforted that she approves and imagine her encouraging me, “Āe, moko ka pai” *.



Image: Common Blue Butterfly (*Zizina Otis labradus*) (Vause, 2021)

The whenu strands of the seven te ao Māori guiding principles have long informed my rangahau practice and became fundamental to developing a flexible yet robust analysis framework. The te ao Māori principles for kaupapa Māori, Māori centred or diverse projects can be found in many writings, teachings and adapted in varying models and frameworks (Kara et al., 2011; Strauss-Hughes, Ward, & Neha, 2022; Wilkinson, Hikuroa, Macfarlane, & Hughes, 2020; Wilson, Moloney, Parr, Aspinall, & Slark, 2021). Each tenant is briefly described here and illustrated in the next section.

Whakapapa Is more than genealogy and heritage; it is based on mātauranga Māori and establishes our connection through our creation pūrakau to Io or our waka voyaging pūrakau. These accounts strengthen our tuakiri and ways to connect to each other through whanaungatanga across time, space, and realms.

Tikanga Are a collection of values, customs, rituals, and practices that are tika and draw on many other tikanga principles such as aroha and manaakitanga, kotahitanga, being pono and māhaki. Tikanga is a system of laws that is mindful of holistic wellbeing, as seen in the whare tapa whā model with the four cornerstones: whānau, hinengaro, tinana and wairua (Durie, 1994).

Mana All people have mana, some have prescribed mana by virtue of their whakapapa (lineage), while others attain mana by virtue of their deeds. Mana acts as an important collective and individual regulator in avoiding whakamā (shame) impacting on an individual, whānau, hapū or iwi.

Tapu The concept of tapu (sacred, restrictions) is another ancient form of behaviour regulation that are put in place to protect and keep people and places safe through the observation of noa practices to manage living (Mitchell & Olsen-Reeder, 2021).

Wairua For Māori, a core belief in wairua as the unseen spiritual dimension or hau (breath of the divine spirit) is the “source of existent being and life” (Marsden & Royal, 2003, p. 47). Wairua can be a feeling, perception, conscious thoughts and out of body spiritual journeying while asleep (Barnes et al., 2017; Smith, 2019; Valentine et al., 2017). Pere (1982, p. 12) translates wairua as meaning wai for water and rua two, or two waters in that two energy forces act to influence the other, physical and spiritual. Te ihi, te wehi, and te wana are felt

as vibrations of energy where the physical, spiritual realm influences the physical domains.

Mauri Life force or essence, described as the glue that “holds the fabric of the universe together” in that it binds and unites people together despite diversity (Marsden, 2003, p. 44).

Te reo Māori Ko te reo mauri o te mana Māori (The language is the life force and mana of Māori) this whakatauaiki by Sir James Henare (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The language is a living force, which acts to strengthen distinctive dialects and identity as Māori. Without the language, the mana and mauri of the tāngata whenua are diminished.

Using ngā Pepe Ao Uri Whāriki to analyse the pūrākau of Wairaka

In this section, I invite you to return to the opening pūrākau of the Ngāti Awa ancestress Wairaka to demonstrate how Te Pepe Ao Uri Whāriki has been utilised in this rangahau, particularly in shaping and guiding the pūrākau analysis methodology and kaupapa Māori theory.

Whakapapa Simpson (2006, p1) describes Wairaka as a beautiful and courageous puhi likely her status as the first-born daughter of the rangatira, Toroa. Her knowledge of karakia, given her status as a puhi enabled her to lift and diffuse any breach of tapu.

Tikanga The heroism of the ancestress within this pūrākau in saving the waka and all those aboard the Mātaatua waka despite being a wāhine, demonstrates that there are circumstances where the tikanga values and practices of doing what is tika with aroha and being pono prevail despite the tapu safety restrictions imposed to protect.

Mana The heroism and the mana of Wairaka are memorialised in this pūrākau and adapted for modern learning. This pūrākau has provided learnings of leadership and the agentic power of a wāhine for modern educational settings (Barrett, 2018; Berryman & Tait, 2016). Other indigenous women have used this pūrākau to illustrate how “Indigenous women need to respond, change and adapt to the places in which they live” as a process of decolonisation to empower women (Fredericks et al., 2012, p. 76).

Tapu Traditionally, there are examples of wāhine mediating the restrictions between tapu and noa during the pōwhiri, birth, death and battle (Mitchell & Olsen-Reeder, 2021, p. 87). The tapu put in place by the tohunga of the Mātaatua waka forbidding women from paddling and controlling the waka would have been put in place to protect those aboard and ensure their safe journey. Mead (2003) offers a tikanga Māori model to assess the Māori stance on an issue, the first of the five tests asks, if a breach of tapu will have a positive or negative outcome, Wairaka would have understood this and how such a breach could be rectified.

Wairua In these circumstances, the anxiety and fears of the wāhine and children aboard would have been heightened. Wairaka would have used that te ihi to pray and act, te wehi pushing through her fears or doubts to achieve te wana a lifesaving outcome. Wairaka, recited a karakia pleading for the assistance of the atua to save the waka and those aboard.

Mauri The memorialisation of the heroic deeds of Wairaka continues to symbolise her presence and mauri as a living force that continues to inspire those who hear of her feats and her people who take pride in being her descendants.

Te reo The everyday use of te reo would have differed from what is spoken today, and no doubt the underlying meanings, colloquialisms and mana would have conveyed several messages with multiple meanings and learnings. The now famous words declared by the ancestress, “kia Whakatāne au i ahau”, are forever memorialised as accounts of her heroism are shared.

Manawa’s pūrākau

We now turn our attention to an observation of a rangatahi appearing in te kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua. As a closed court, this research did not include the direct narratives from rangatahi and their whānau; instead, I draw on the observations data to illustrate these experiences. Rangatahi and whānau have been de-identified to protect their privacy and confidentiality, and short pūrākau created to outline the nature of their engagement within te kōti rangatahi.

Manawa, who found himself in the youth court on a charge of burglary and theft of a car, is invited to deliver his pepeha before introducing his whānau and other supporters. He acknowledges his sister and aunt, who have taken the time to travel three hours to support him in Kōti Rangatahi.

The judge asks, “If he deserves that kind of care, that his sister would travel that far just to support him?”

Maia, Manawa’s sister, reports positively, “He’s been going well - he even made me brekkie that morning.” There are nods of approval in the wharenuui.

The lawyer points out that Maia has paid the reparation, and the judge asks if Manawa should also be cooking her dinner?

The wharenuui erupts with laughter.

After the lay advocate and lawyer provide their updates, the kaumātua then speaks to Manawa.

The kuia begins, “Manawa, you caught my eye when I saw you out there. I wondered why you are here? What I see outside is not the same as inside.

Your [sister] makes sure that you are properly dressed. Everyone is helping you to learn your pepeha to know ko wai koe, nō hea koe.

You need to turn and lead! Like a page, turn a clean page. Forget what you were. Make a better life. Kia kaha koe (be strong).”

Then the kaumātua turns to Manawa and says,

“When I welcomed you, there burned in you an ambition to make a mark on life. I believe you are in the right place, Te Kōti Rangatahi.

First, you have a duty to yourself, challenge yourself, and use your gifts and talents first for you, then for others.

You are a role model to your teina, but you also have a role in supporting your tuahine. Restore the faith by ensuring your debt is paid, and you have a duty to do everything in your power to stay on the right path.”

Before closing, the judge asks if anyone has anything more to add,

Maia stands and is brought to tears as she declares, “He’s a good boy, really, I love him.”

- Whakapapa** Manawa like all rangatahi appearing in kōti rangatahi, are required to learn and share their whakapapa by learning their pepeha.
- Tikanga** Manawa must be willing to appear at kōti rangatahi and participate in the pōwhiri and marae kawa that model the core tikanga values and beliefs outlined in these principles. Entering te ao Māori spaces opens the potentiality for rangatahi to truly embrace who they are meant to be as Māori youth.
- Mana** By learning his pepeha, it is hoped rangatahi like Manawa are exposed to an environment and given an opportunity to learn and deliver more confidently “ko wai au, nō hea au” and be exposed to other positive aspects of their culture. On the marae, they hear kōrero from the kaumātua, being connected or learning more about their whānau and other life lessons. By connecting with his cultural identity, he has the potential to embrace his Māoritanga.
- Tapu** Appearing on the marae and taking part in the tapu or sacred protocols of the pōwhiri, that are made noa or ordinary again during the sharing of kai. Manawa experiences first-hand what steps are required during the ceremony and how to connect with those present throughout his time in kōti rangatahi.
- Wairua** Manawa’s pūrākau is touching, and the deep love shared between him and his sister is moving. This pūrākau exemplifies the spiritual aspects that are felt and move not only those involved but for others too. The love and concern for her brother and the words of encouragement by the kaumātua are powerful and heartening. During the sharing of his pepeha, Manawa’s te ihi moment was evident as he confidently shared his pepeha. Maia’s te wehi reaction came when she pointed out to the judge that he had cooked her breakfast. She no doubt was apprehensive about the court proceedings and wanted to make sure the judge knew he was making an effort at home. The te wana moment, of which there are many in this vignette, came when the judge lightened the mood by using humour.
- Mauri** Uplifting the mana, wairua and mauri of Manawa and his whānau within the sanctuary of the marae, where the law of tikanga prevails and is guided by the wisdom of the kaumātua is the ideal setting to offer rangatahi like Manawa an alternative pathway that will keep him out of the hīnaki that is the criminal justice system.
- Te Reo** Manawa had not been raised in the rohe, where a high proportion of Māori, including rangatahi, speak te reo Māori fluently. He had been raised elsewhere and was staying with Maia in another town. In this setting, Manawa can truly experience the marae kawa in action, using te reo Māori during the pōwhiri and learning his pepeha during te kōti o Mātaatua.

Kia raranga/Weaving process

At the beginning of the development of Te Pepe Ao Uri Whāriki as a pūrākau analysis framework for this research, I aimed to find an approach that would honour the varying voices of those sharing their pūrākau. The diversity amongst the iwi, hapū, and whānau that reside within the rohe of Mataatua was evident during the observations and interviewing processes. It was imperative to find a way that would whakamana and honour the differing perspectives. Outlining my positionality and introducing a pūrākau about my nanny as a way of weaving together the different voices alongside my own is an honour and privilege that keeps me grounded and humble during this rangahau. I attempted to write about this methodology methodically, detailing the linear progression at each stage. However, doing so in reality became a real struggle that I am sure my supervisors will attest to. I had to lean into and trust the voices of the kaumātua who took part in this study. We had already been issued a wero to emulate their ancestress, Wairaka, so the expectation and burden were high. Then, I had to learn to tap into and trust those inner voices of nanny and other tīpuna, my whānau, supervisors and other supporters, including trusting in my intuition. That meant discarding my expectation of good article writing to outline how this framework developed. Ngā Pepe Ao Uri has been useful in weaving the ethnographic observations, kaumātua kōrero and my reflections. The pūrākau shared by the different kaikōrero adds to the colour and richness of Te Pepe Ao Uri and will be further explored in a future article. Weaving these pūrākau with the seven te Ao Māori principles, Te Pepe Ao Uri provides a useful analysis framework, as illustrated below.

If we look at the concept of whakapapa in both pūrākau, each provides useful insights and learnings grounded in a collective and holistic understanding that we are linked to deities, people and landscapes across oceans, time, space and realms. These understandings strengthen our identity as Māori, as rangatahi, as tama and hine. Wairaka was the first-born daughter of a chief. She was puhi, being of high rank and knowledgeable in mātauranga Māori. As such, she would have observed and acted in accordance with this knowledge and tikanga expectations, observing traditional customs and values. She would have weighed the consequences of her breaching tapu to handle the waka as necessary to save her people. She no doubt had the skills and abilities to diffuse the breach. Her actions were not taken lightly, and she called on the atua to aid her not in becoming a man but in having the strength of a man. In contrast, Manawa's pūrākau is like many other rangatahi appearing in kōti rangatahi. Some are reluctant marae-based court participants because they are unfamiliar with marae kawa and have little to no knowledge of their whakapapa. It was, therefore, up to their whānau to support the rangatahi, who, during my observations, were generally the mothers, nannies, aunties, sisters, cousins and sometimes girlfriends that would encourage and support them throughout kōti rangatahi. Tāne supporting rangatahi were their koroua and sometimes their fathers. The role of wāhine in supporting their whānau today, is not unlike Wairaka, in that they, too, are often courageous and brave in making a stand and walking alongside their rangatahi, even when they may not want the help. Some wāhine are also not confident in marae spaces because they are disconnected, and some are unfamiliar with the legal system. However, they support their rangatahi in the kōti rangatahi, hoping for a better outcome. Both kaumatua encourage Manawa to keep learning about his whakapapa and, in so doing, are building his cultural capital. They impart these words to encourage him to take responsibility and accountability in having a duty to himself and to his sister.

Tikanga acts as a system of laws about doing the right thing that are fluid and context specific. Tapu restrictions are put in place to protect and safeguard people in certain situations, but the concepts of aroha and manaakitanga allowed Wairaka to act to save her people. Her concern was holistically focused; she acted to save her whānau, and she was mindful that a karakia was necessary given her mātauranga Māori learnings in asking for protection in the breaching of tapu. On the other hand, the pūrākau of Manawa and his sister show the potential for rangatahi to walk their tikanga on the marae in participating in the pōwhiri ceremony. In this setting, they experience being part of a collective that have pūrākau about their ancestors voyaging to these shores like Wairaka. Here, they learn about the feats or skills of their tīpuna or the kōti rangatahi kaumātua make a whakapapa connection, even if they are not from the area, by drawing on ancient pūrākau in a modern context. Both kaumātua, in Manawa's case, imparted great words of wisdom, imploring him to be a leader using his skills and talents to have a better life by staying on the right path and forgetting his old behaviours.

If mana is a regulator of behaviour in that doing anything that enhances or diminishes the mana of an individual or collective, then the pūrākau of Wairaka and Manawa provide interesting learnings. Wairaka used her mana or agentic power and leadership to act decisively. Today, Wāhine can learn from her example of being brave in doing what is tika. For Manawa, his journey of discovery and cultural identity is in its infancy and in no way can a few short months in kōti rangatahi be the end goal. However, exposure to the marae, its kawa processes and the words of wisdom relayed from the kōti rangatahi kaumātua may spark some interest in his journey forward. The kaumātua used the word "duty" when talking to Manawa. That implies he has a responsibility to uphold not only his mana but the mana of his sister and that he has a duty as a teina to support his tuahine. The mana of the wāhine supporting rangatahi in this court setting was evident; Maia chose to drive three and half hours to support her brother through kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua when it would have been possible to seek a transfer of his case closer to where they live. During my observations, it was evident during the interactions with the judge and kaumātua panel that sacrifices had been made, particularly by the mothers, grandmothers and other significant whanaunga wāhine. Often because dad was not in their lives or could not take time off work, although several koroua did attend when possible. The depth of their love and hope for their rangatahi was often inspiring as they provided honest feedback on the lack of support services or their frustrations about the lack of progress being made their rangatahi to comply with their conditions. The latter proclamations were not made lightly. Sometimes, they had reached the end of their tether and needed more support or an alternative option. I provide these latter insights in this research to highlight some of the ways in which these wāhine were mana empowering in that they were pono speaking out of aroha to effect a change in the system or the rangatahi.

This point has already been made but is worth making again; the pūrākau of Wairaka teaches us that being tika in doing the right thing. There may be consequences, but the goal is to use these restrictions to restore balance and harmony. Within a whānau, hapū or iwi collective, all members have a responsibility to observe tapu restrictions and noa practices unless, like Wairaka, doing so is more harmful. Wairaka used her leadership status and puhī status to do the right thing. For Manawa, appearing on the marae was a new experience and unfamiliar experience. He and many other rangatahi and their whānau feel some trepidation and anxiety about being Māori and not knowing how to be Māori in a pōwhiri situation. The above vignette was after three months in kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua. So, by this stage, Manawa was an old hand

at what to do and how to act. He had mastered his mihi and pepeha and was comfortable speaking with the judge and kaumātua. This was Manawa's last appearance before getting a discharge without conviction.

Wairaka lived when the te ao Māori principles were accepted norms, including the existence of wairua as an unseen spiritual dimension that influences the physical dimension. In this way, her pūrākau is insightful for examining the aspects of spiritual vibrations or energy as we look at te ihi, te wehi and te wana as the positive energy that triggered her action, her emotional reaction pushing the fear aside to achieve te wana saving those aboard. Manawa and most other rangatahi likely felt this same way when going to the marae pōwhiri for the first time and delivering their pepeha. Some rangatahi were observed being very anxious about speaking publicly and doing so in te reo Māori. At the start of the kōti rangatahi journey, some rangatahi read their pepeha but were usually able to confidently share their learnings after a few appearances. From a te ao Māori worldview, recognition of wairua and the spiritual realm takes for granted that much of the marae kawa that takes place during marae pōwhiri is acknowledged in the karanga, whaikōrero, karakia and practices that move the ceremony between the sacred to safe spaces. Each space is influenced by a different atua. For example, the god of war, Tūmataunga, oversees the marae ātea open courtyard space because this is the area where much of the divisive kōrero can take place. As discussed earlier, during the whaikōrero, visiting kaumātua would honour their tipuna Muriwai respectfully, where the offence is not intended or taken. The mana of all those gathered honouring their respective tipuna is upheld in this space on the marae. By the time the kōti rangatahi begins in the wharenuī after karakia, this is the space influenced by Rongomaraeroa, the Atua of peace. By now manuhiri would have come together with the tangata whenua during the harirū and hongī and had a kai together in a show of kotahitanga or the kōti rangatahi kaupapa. The kōrero that takes place in the whare is respectful as a space that operates under the ture of tikanga and is influenced by a Pākehā legal system. In Manawa's case, wairua feelings were observed during his interactions with his sister. There was pause for laughter, reflections, encouragement, and aroha. During his appearance, there was an uplifting of wairua and mauri as he delivered his pepeha, introduced his sister and engaged with the judge and kaumātua.

The whakataukī, “Mauri ora, Mauri mate”, means living life force and crossing that life force through te ārai to the spiritual realm. Like many tīpuna who have passed through te arai, they are remembered in their pūrākau. In this way, Wairaka continues to have a presence and mauri as her pūrākau inspires her descendants and many others. Uplifting the mana and mauri of Manawa and his whānau within the sanctuary of the marae, where the law of tikanga prevails and guided by the wisdom of the kaumātua is as the kaumātua stated you are in the right place te kōti rangatahi”. All those privileged to see Manawa's growth, discovery, and maturity during his short time in kōti rangatahi could see sparks in his mauri ora journey.

The use of te reo is a key te ao Māori principle. Of course, this was not an issue in the time of Wairaka, but her enduring words “kia Whakatāne au i ahau” are an excellent example of the language having mauri and mana. For Manawa, his learnings may only be for a short time in kōti rangatahi, and perhaps this will be lost soon after discharge. However, it is the wairua feelings he experienced, the interactions with the kaumātua, the memory of their words of encouragement, and perhaps the funny judge that made the regular appearance less daunting that will stay with him and his sister. Appearing in kōti rangatahi is an opportunity for them to connect or re-connect to their Māori culture and identity.

Conclusion

The development of Te Pepe Ao Uri has been challenging, and I have had to find a way to analyse, re-share and re-tell their pūrākau, voices and perceptions. I did this by constantly reflecting on my learnings and experiences through the process of noho wahangū that enabled me to access the voices and guidance of my tīpuna, my Nanny Anitewiwini. I thank my aunts for giving their permission for me to acknowledge her creative brilliance as inspiration that I see as my guide in undertaking this research. The Te Pepe Ao Uri Whāriki is a framework that captures the aho strands representing the varying storytellers, including the rangahau participants focusing on the kāhui kaumātua, my tīpuna as analysed through my perspectives and understandings. The whenu strands represent the seven te ao Māori principles widely modelled as guiding principles. As my doctoral questions seek to explore what tikanga is in te kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua, I quickly came to realise that in answering this question, I would be using tikanga principles to conduct this research, including during the analysis of the pūrākau. As an analysis framework, Te Pepe Ao Uri became a way of speaking to each of the te ao Māori principles in the context of each pūrākau while trying to get to the essence of what is going on. The process has not been easy when writing as an academic exercise, but once I gave up on these limitations restricting my voice and cyclical thinking, it was somewhat easier to document the development of Te Pepe Ao Uri. In a future article, I will speak to the findings in this rangahau, but for now, I wanted to privilege the pūrākau of Wairaka and Manawa in closing with my analysis learnings. Both pūrākau highlight the mana, power, and authority of wāhine to draw on te ao Māori principles to effect change because it is tika, the right thing to do. Moving forward, both pūrākau demonstrate that fearless leadership is needed to keep rangatahi on the right path and that kōti rangatahi o Mātaatua is a cultural resource that utilises the best of our cultural processes to support whānau, but particularly these wāhine toa to care for their rangatahi.

Ethical Approval

This work has been approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (Ref#019588).

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Conflict of interest

Katey Thom is the co-editor of *Ethnographic Edge*; she has not had involvement in the blind peer review and editorial process.

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