

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**NGĀ KAIPARA MĀORI: NGĀ PŪMAHARA O TE TUAKIRI
MĀORI ME TE AO HĀKINAKINA**

**Māori Athletes: Perceptions of Māori Identity and Elite Sport
Participation**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Management,
Massey Business School,
Massey University, Palmerston North,
New Zealand.

Bevan Erueti

2015

TUHINGA WHAKARĀPOPOTO

This research explores how Māori athletes experience, interpret and negotiate their Māori identity while competing in elite sport. Since its arrival, organised sport has become an integral social phenomenon in Aotearoa New Zealand society for Māori and Pākehā. This increased appeal of sport has provided Māori an avenue in which to escape deep-rooted colonial ideologies that described Māori in deficit ways. As such, the number of Māori participating in elite sport is proportional to the Māori population as a whole. Although the field of sport is a vibrant area of scholarly inquiry in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori athlete participation in elite sport with respect to Māori identity remains relatively unexplored. This research responds to that void by discussing the experiences of 10 Māori athletes who illustrate that a variety of challenges and implications exist when Māori identity is examined within the context of elite sport.

A kaupapa Māori qualitative strategy in the form of oral histories and storytelling referred to as pūrākau was used. Participants were selected based on two criteria: a) they either currently, or had in the past, represented Aotearoa New Zealand in their chosen sport or similarly achieved professional status as an athlete; and b) self-identified as Māori, through personal communication with the researcher. Five male and five female Māori athletes aged between 19 and 48 years were interviewed. Four participants had retired, seven had participated in team sports, and seven had represented Aotearoa New Zealand at either the Olympic or Commonwealth games.

There were several key findings. The first is that all Māori athletes express a direct association of their Māori identity through tūrangawaewae and/or whakapapa, yet

some exemplified an acute self-awareness that they exhibit few specific Māori cultural behaviours associated with it. As a part of this, nearly all discuss that te reo Māori remains a critical Māori cultural element that influences how they perceive their Māori identity. Second, participants highlight the impact of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge and cultural practices), that when integrated during competition at world events, such as the Olympic/Commonwealth games provided a sense of solace and pride with respect to their Māori identity and invoked feelings of membership, belonging and national identity that in this research is referred to as kaupapa whānau. Third, participants revealed how participating in iwi and Māori sporting events, engaging with the public via television and the media, the role of their athlete-coach relationships and social responsibility influence their perceptions of Māori identity. Several participants also shared private traditional rituals and cultural practices they employ while competing in elite sport, and how these practices assist in creating meaning of their Māori identity.

A metaphorical depiction referred to as Te Whāriki Tuakiri-the identity mat, is presented to illustrate the convergence of these themes and to better understand the diversity of Māori identity that exists for Māori athletes.

TOKU MĀMĀ

Ki a koe toku māmā,

Ka uri to aro ki te maunga tītōhea ngā manu e rua.

Whakawaewae ana te tū o Taranaki.

Te tuku karanga nei ki ōna mōrehu.

Whakarongorongo ai te taringa te haruru.

O te rangatahi kimi kōrero,

O te rangatahi kimi kupu,

O te rangatahi kimi ora,

Mo ngā reo o Taranaki ee.

You performed miracles every day and I never really understood that till later in my life. I will never forget your hugs of comfort, your words of wisdom and most importantly what you taught me about what it means to be Māori. You will always be my inspiration.

[In memory of my Mum who passed away 14 September, 2015.]

HE MIHI

To my wife Eloise for her perseverance, patience and unconditional aroha and tautoko during the entirety of my PhD journey. You have been my rock. To my three sons Isaiah, Jarom and Noah who continue to teach me so much about what it might mean to be Māori in the 21st century and how much I look forward to walking with you on that path. I love you all so much.

My supervisors Professor Sarah Leberman and Dr. Farah Palmer – you prove that prayers can be answered. It has been a real privilege and an honour to have you as my mentors. I will never forget your sage advice, mentorship, professional and personal support, and the rich conversations we engaged in regarding the sensitive nature of my study. Your influence will go beyond the time of this study and I am better in so many different ways - other than just ‘the academic’, because of you both.

I am extremely grateful to the Doctoral Research Committee and the School of Management at Massey University, who thankfully, in the eleventh hour, agreed to my transfer to complete this study. Also to my whānau in the Institute of Education, for their encouragement, reassurance and the deep discussions to get me over the finish line during the final stages. My thanks are also extended to the various colleagues who have been a part of PhD journey from the School of Sport and Exercise, Massey University; Te Kura Māori, Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington; and, Te Tumu: School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago.

Finally, to the Māori athletes who allowed me to collate their taonga and voice their rich pūrākau. I am overcome with immense feelings of appreciation for your time in sharing your experiences of elite sport. I hope that my study will honour your narratives, leading to positive outcomes for all those who might be involved with Māori athletes in elite sport.

As an act of appreciation to my whānau, the academy and my participants I offer the beginning segment of a well-known whakatauki spoken by King Potatau Te Wherowhero at his coronation in 1858:

“Kotahi te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero.

“There is but one eye of a needle, through which white, black and red cotton are threaded.

(Brougham, 1975, p. 62, Mead 2004, p. 246)

His statement alludes to the view that individually the white, black and red threads are compromised and weak, yet when they are brought together through a process of interweaving they are resilient, durable and robust. His expression emphasised the bringing together of the various faiths, religious denominations, and the diverse ethnic groups present in Aotearoa at the time. Hence in a contemporary sense his words have been metaphorically understood as representing strength, security and unity. The notion I draw upon in respect to my study, is that my whānau is represented by the white thread; the academy is resembled by the black thread; and my participants

signified by the red thread, who, united through this work - “the eye of the needle”, has resulted in the completion of my doctoral study. I am indebted to you all.

Nāku me ngā mihi maioha ki a kōutou kātoa.

RĀRANGI UPOKO

TUHINGA WHAKARĀPOPOTO	i
TOKU MĀMĀ	iii
HE MIHI	iv
NGĀ TŪTOHI	xii
NGĀ WHAKAAHUA.....	xiii
HUINGA KUPU MĀORI	xiv
UPOKO KOTAHI: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 CONTRIBUTION AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	2
1.2 TAKU PŪRĀKAU: MY PERSONAL STORY	5
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	12
1.4 RESEARCH PROCESS.....	13
1.5 THESIS ORGANISATION	14
UPOKO TUARUA: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	17
2.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION	17
2.2 MĀORI IDENTITY	19
Māori migration and settlement.....	19
Te tiriti o Waitangi (the treaty of Waitangi), assimilation, urbanisation and Māori revitalisation.....	21
Race	28
Nationality	29
Ethnicity.....	31
Evaluating Māori identity: Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) and the Multi- Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE)	33
Tūrangaewae, whakapapa and mauri	41
Section summary	46
2.3 MĀORI SPORT: IDEOLOGIES, PARTICIPATION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI.....	48
Eurocentric perspectives of Māori activity.....	48
Racialised perspectives of Māori participation in elite sport	52
Māori sport competition environments.....	55
Mātauranga Māori in elite sport	58

Section summary	63
2.4 MĀORI SPORT PARTICIPATION	64
Section summary	74
2.5 INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE: INDIGENOUS ATHLETES AND ELITE SPORT PARTICIPATION	75
Taiwan	75
Canada	78
Australia.....	84
Section summary: Comparisons	89
2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY	93
UPOKO TUATORU: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH STRATEGY	95
3.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION	95
3.2 TE POUTAMA RANGAHAU: KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY AND PŪRĀKAU.....	97
Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT)	99
Pūrākau: Māori oral histories and storytelling	102
Section summary	107
3.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY	108
Ethical considerations and approval	108
Establishing researcher credibility.....	111
Participant recruitment	112
Participant description	113
Participant pūrākau process	116
Data analysis: Robustness	119
Data analysis: Transparency	122
Limitations of the study	123
Section summary	124
3.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY	125
UPOKO TUAWHA: MĀORI ATHLETE INTERPRETATIONS OF MĀORI IDENTITY - WHAKAPAPA, TŪRANGAWAEWAE, AND TE REO MĀORI.....	127
4.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION	127
4.2 NGĀ PŪRĀKAU: PARTICIPANT/MĀORI ATHLETE INTRODUCTIONS	128
Rimu	128

Miro	132
Nīkau	135
Pōhutukawa	138
Kahikatea	141
Karaka.....	144
Matai	147
Totara.....	150
Tawa	154
Kauri	158
Section discussion.....	161
Tūrangawaewae and whakapapa	161
Māori identity as hierarchical, incidental and/or integrated with athlete identity	162
Whānau	164
4.3 TE REO MĀORI.....	165
Feelings and perceptions of te reo Māori	166
Section discussion.....	172
4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY	173
UPOKO TUARIMA: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI IN ELITE LEVEL SPORT CONTEXTS.....	176
5.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION	176
5.2 TOTARA AND KAURI’S EXPERIENCES OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES 179	
5.3 MISAPPROPRIATION OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AT THE OLYMPIC AND COMMONWEALTH GAMES	181
Sydney 2000	181
Manchester 2002.....	183
Torino 2006	184
Section discussion.....	185
5.4 INTANGIBLE EXAMPLES OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI	188
Pōwhiri.....	188
Mihimihi	189
Haka.....	190
Haka misappropriation	193

Waiata.....	196
Te Reo.....	198
Māori athletes feelings of mātauranga Māori: Kaupapa whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga.....	200
5.5 TANGIBLE EXAMPLES OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI	208
Kākahu, mauri stone and pounamu	208
Pou.....	209
Section discussion.....	211
5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY	212
UPOKO TUAONO: MĀORI IDENTITY AND SPORT PARTICIPATION INTERSECTIONALITY	216
6.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION	216
6.2 MĀORI SPORT COMPETITION ENVIRONMENTS	217
Section discussion.....	220
6.3 MEDIA INTERACTION.....	221
Section discussion.....	227
6.4 ATHLETE - COACH RELATIONSHIPS.....	227
Positive athlete-coach experiences	228
Negative athlete-coach experiences.....	233
Section discussion.....	238
6.5 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, CONTRIBUTION AND LEADERSHIP	239
General community contribution.....	239
Giving back to Māori.....	244
Section discussion.....	248
6.6 PERSONAL EXPRESSIONS OF TRADITIONAL MĀORI KNOWLEDGE IN ELITE SPORT.....	250
Section discussion.....	254
6.7 CHAPTER DISCUSSION	255
UPOKO TUAWHITU: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	259
7.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION	259
7.2 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS	261
Distinctive challenges Māori athletes face with respect to their Māori identity when participating in elite sport	263
7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS	268

REFERENCES	274
APPENDICES.....	303
APPENDIX A	303
Pūrākau Prompts (Interview Plan).....	303
Section 1: Exploring the development of their Māori identity.....	303
Section 2: Exploring foundational sport experiences.....	303
Section 3: Examining the ways elite sport participation and Māori identity intersect	304
Section 4: Future participation in Māori world	305
Concluding comments	305
APPENDIX B.....	306
Information Sheet for Participants.....	306
APPENDIX C.....	309
Interview Consent Form	309
APPENDIX D.....	311
Research Outputs / Publications	311
Journal Articles (Peer Reviewed)	311
Book Chapters	311
Conference Presentations	311

NGĀ TŪTOHI

1. Ethnic identity of Athletes supported by New Zealand Academy of Sport –
Team Sports (Palmer, 2006).....71
2. Ethnic identity of athletes supported by New Zealand Academy of Sport –
Individual Sports (Palmer, 2006).....72
3. Research Participants.....114-115

NGĀ WHAKAAHUA

1. New Zealand Sport on the Cultural Competence Continuum (Hippolite & Bruce, 2013, p. 89).....	68
2. The Research Process: Te Poutama Rangahau.....	99
3. Te Whāriki Tuakiri: Tuakiri Māori.....	172
4. Te Whāriki Tuakiri: Mātauranga Māori.....	214
5. Te Whāriki Tuakiri: Te Ao Hākinakina.....	256
6. Te Whāriki Tuakiri: The Identity Mat.....	267

HUINGA KUPU MĀORI

Ahakoā he iti he pounamu	A well-known whakatauki (proverb) translated as, “Although it is small, it is greenstone”. It represents a humble way to deliver a small gift. As such the word pounamu (greenstone/jade) stands as a metaphor for something precious or a treasure from the heart.
amo	Upright supports of the lower ends of the maihi (angled posts) on the front gable of a house. In regards to the waharoa (gateway) these were represented as the side vertical posts.
Aotearoa	The Māori name for New Zealand, translated as ‘Land of the Long White Cloud’. For this thesis the unified term of Aotearoa New Zealand is used.
aroaha	Unconditional love.
awa	River.
haka	Ritualistic dance.
hākari	Celebratory feast.
hapū	Sub-tribe.
he kanohi kitea	A term used in Kaupapa Māori research translated as “the face that is seen” (see Te Awēkotuku, 1991), referring to the importance that researchers be ‘seen’ as part of the interview process and in the community.
hōhā	Be boring, tiresome, bored, wearisome, fed up with, annoyed, agitated.
Iho whenua	The spiritual nature and meaning of land.

iwi	Tribe.
kaiako	Teacher.
kaiāwhina	Helpers.
kaitiaki	Carers, creators.
kaitiakitanga	Caring.
karanga	Ceremonial call of welcome to visitors.
karakia	Blessing.
kaumātua	Elder.
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ‘perspectives’ - Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT).
kāwanatanga	Governorship.
koha	Donation/gift/contribution.
koriporipo	The waves caused by a waka (canoe) as it travels through the water.
koro	Elderly male/Grandfather.
kotahitanga	Community or unified vision.
kuia	Elderly female/Grandmother
Kupe	Explorer who discovered Aotearoa New Zealand.
maihi	Facing boards on the gable of a house. In regards to the waharoa (gateway) these were the angled posts that form the apex in the centre and connect to the amo (side posts).
mana	Integrity, charisma, prestige.
manaakitanga	Hospitality.
manawa	Heart.
manuhiri	Visitors.
manu tukutuku	Kite flying.

Māori	Indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand.
Māori pā	Villages.
marae	Ancestral home.
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge and cultural practices.
maunga	Mountain.
mauri (also mauri ora)	The essence, the vital ingredient of power that permits living things to exist within their own realm and sphere. For my study I employ it as a way to clarify Māori identity expressed as “I breathe, therefore I am” (Penetito, 2005, p. 104).
mihimihi	Greeting formalities.
mokopuna	Descendant/grandchild.
mōteatea	Chant.
Ngāti Ranana	Literally translated as London Tribe that describes a group of Māori expatriates who have created a Māori identity in London.
Ngāti Toa	The tribe whom have legal proprietorship of the haka ‘Ka mate Ka mate’.
ōritetanga	“Equality” (see Wyeth et al., 2010).
Pākehā	A person in Aotearoa New Zealand primarily of European descent.
patu	Club-like weapon.
pepeha	Tribal sayings.
poi	Ball on a string.
pounamu taonga	Treasured gift/prized possession. In this context it came in the form of a greenstone pendant gifted to Olympic athletes.
pouri	Sad.

pōwhiri	Welcoming ceremony.
pūrākau	Ancient legend, myth; any incredible story; legendary, mythical. For this study it represents the method of storytelling I employed to capture the experiences of Māori athletes.
pūtea	Money, financial support.
rangatiratanga	“Chieftainship” (see Wyeth et al., 2010).
tāngata whenua	Host, people of the land.
tau	A prefix indicating that something is strange or unusual.
tauiwi	Foreign people.
tautangata	Stranger.
tauwhenua	Strange land.
taonga	Prized possession, gift.
Te ao hākinakina	Translated as ‘The world of sport’. For this study it assists in clarifying participants perceptions of mātauranga Māori in elite sport.
te hiringa i te mahara	“The power of the mind” (see Royal, 2002).
Te Māhutonga	The name of the ceremonial cloak worn by the New Zealand flag bearer at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. It is named after the Māori designation of the ‘Southern Cross’ constellation.
Te Poutama	Is a traditional Māori art form representing the various levels of learning and intellectual achievement that were attained by Tāne-o-te-wānanga in his quest for superior knowledge.
Te Poutama Rangahau	For this study the design symbolises the amalgamation of the methods I have employed to collect the pūrākau of Māori

	athletes two major concepts of Māori human development.
te reo Māori	Māori language.
te reo Māori me ngā	Māori language and traditional cultural practices.
tikanga	
Te Rūnanga O Ngai Tahu	The iwi (tribe) organisation that gifted the precious greenstone to the New Zealand Olympic Committee.
tikanga	The correct Māori procedures and conventions as a general guide in Māori traditional customs.
Toi	Explorer who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand after Kupe.
tukutuku	Wall boards that adorn the inside of whareniui.
tupuna	Elder.
tūrangawaewae	Place, origin, land to ‘stand’.
waharoa	Gateway.
waiata	Song.
wairua	Spiritual significance.
waka	Canoe.
whaikōrero	Oratory.
whakapapa	Genealogy, ancestry.
Whakapūmautanga	Māori Advisory Board of the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU)
whakatauki	Proverb.
whānau	Family.
(whaka)whānaungatanga	Developing family ties, building relationships.
whangai	To nurture or to adopt. In the Māori world it involves placing a child within a family to be raised by another member of the

	family if the parents are unable to raise the child themselves.
Whātonga	Explorer who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand after Kupe and alongside Toi.
whareniui	Traditional Māori dwellings.
whāriki	Mat.
whenua	Placenta or umbilical cord / land.
whenua tipu	Sacred or ancestral land.

So my identity would have to be about sport¹ of course. Being an elite athlete is who I am, and I suppose I identify more to that because it has been ingrained in me. I have eaten, drunk and slept sport, but I can't say the same for being Māori and that is the difference for me. I know what it takes to be an elite athlete, but I do not have any idea on what it means, or to show to anyone else, to be Māori.

Tawa (Research participant)

The above extract is taken from the pūrākau (personal story) (Cherrington, 2002; Lee, 2009; Wirihana, 2012) of one of the Māori athletes in this research. Their words have been selected to begin this investigation to explicitly illustrate the internal tension that exists for them, and potentially other Māori athletes, where Māori identity and elite sport converge. Not much is known about how Māori athletes interpret this convergence and create meaning of their Māori identity within the context of elite sport. This research seeks to understand this convergence through gathering the pūrākau of Māori athletes, providing a unique insight into the subjective experiences, highlighting core social relationships and varying personal interpretations, and accentuating the distinctive challenges they may face in elite sporting contexts.

¹ In attempting to maintain anonymity of the participants I use the generic terms 'sport', 'team' and 'athlete' in place of the athletes' names and their sport.

1.1 CONTRIBUTION AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This research contributes both academically and pragmatically to the wider field of sport studies in Aotearoa New Zealand². Firstly, with respect to the academic contribution this research adds to the existing literature that has focused on Māori athlete experiences in sport. It has been some time since the experiences of Māori athletes in elite sport have been examined. Wrathall (1996), Hirini and Flett (1999), and Thompson, Rewi, and Wrathall (2000) provided early insights into how Māori athletes makes sense of their Māori identity while competing in elite sport. However the growing expansion of sport commercialisation, consumerism, professionalism and globalisation (Leberman, Collins, & Trenberth, 2012), accompanied with the increase of Māori athletes appearing on the world stage (Hermansson, 2012; Hokowhitu, 2005; Palmer, 2007), indicates that a more recent examination of how Māori athletes experience elite sport is required.

This justification of the study is aligned with the work of Professor Sir Mason Durie (1998) who declared that Māori identity is a vital element in the positive participation of Māori in the future of Aotearoa New Zealand. Sport, and specifically elite sport is an important agent in the formation of identity, arguably as Edwards (2007) puts it “more important than any other realm of society” (p. 174). As such, Māori athlete pūrākau may give an understanding of the careful and (un)conscious management of Māori identity negotiation, interpretations and tensions experienced in elite sport. In that sense this research contributes to Māori knowledge and development within the field of elite sport – a field that has been described as being a major feature that has

² The Māori name for New Zealand, translated as ‘Land of the Long White Cloud’. For this thesis the unified term of Aotearoa New Zealand is used.

and continues to be a major element in defining individual and national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand (Leberman et al., 2012). This impact filters down to the recreational level (Edwards, 2007; Palmer, 2007).

Secondly, if Māori athlete participation growth continues on its current trajectory (Hermansson, 2012; Palmer, 2007), particularly in rugby where Māori comprise at least 34% of professional rugby players (Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Te Puni Kokiri, 2005 June), Māori athletes will become increasingly prominent in elite sport. This anticipated expansion justifies research on this particular sporting population and also provides the pragmatic contribution of this study. Future Māori athletes and those involved with Māori athletes - coaches, managers and administrative staff in elite sport, stand to benefit from the analyses of participant pūrākau in two ways. From a Māori athlete standpoint, the pūrākau provide a unique perspective of how to navigate the challenges that exist where Māori identity and elite sport converge - that is, the participants' words may act as 'footprints' for future Māori athletes to either follow or diverge from.

For coaches, managers and administrators, the research suggests the need to reflect on their practices to consider Māori political resurgence and cultural revival that has resulted in a reaffirmation of the value of Māori culture and identity that are particular to Māori athletes (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013). Almost two decades ago MacClancy (1996) suggested that sport provides athletes with a sense of difference that not only marks their established identity as an athlete, but that "sport creates the means in which to create new identities" (pp. 2-3). Thus, this research may further our understanding and clarify how coaches, managers and administrators can respond to

ease the challenges that Māori athletes face in the formation of new hybridised identities.

Finally, this research argues that there are multiple ways of constructing or viewing the ‘Māori reality’, that is, a number of ‘truths’ exist and these ‘truths’ are influenced by a number of factors. While there is no one interpretation of how these factors function, this study aims to illuminate on a ‘number of truths’ of how Māori identity is shaped, understood and experienced by Māori athletes in the context of elite sport. The realm of elite sport has been selected because it is a fundamental social phenomenon within Aotearoa New Zealand that portrays dominant societal ideologies and hegemonic systems. In this sense, this research examines how Māori athletes in elite sport provide the potential to neutralise the politics of race, given elite sport has elevated status, a cultural capital that provides the opportunities for upward social mobility (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer & Adair, 2012). By acknowledging that elite sport encompasses and displays such powerful social factors accentuates once again the contribution this research makes to Māori development of and in elite sport in Aotearoa New Zealand (Durie, 1998).

To achieve this major objective a customary Māori form of storytelling referred to as pūrākau (Cherrington, 2002; Lee, 2009; Wirihana, 2012) is employed. The use of pūrākau sustains a kaupapa Māori research framework and contributes to the broader knowledge of Māori ways of seeking, understanding and knowing (Jackson, 1987). To highlight the way I have interacted with the research process and as an act of tikanga (traditional customs and ritualistic practices) I begin with my personal pūrākau, my

story, which combines te ao Māori (Māori worldview) and te ao hākinakina (the world of sport).

1.2 TAKU PŪRĀKAU: MY PERSONAL STORY

My social-welfare upbringing could not have been further from the ‘ivory towers’ of academia, and even though I had a wonderful childhood and upbringing, university education was never discussed in my home. Indeed, I have asked myself many times “how is it that a poor Māori boy from Taranaki³ ended up writing a doctorate on a topic that queries the juncture of Māori identity and elite sport?” Well, like many Māori, sport was a major part of my upbringing and an important component of my life. As the potiki (last born, baby) of nine children I was introduced to a variety of sporting activities by my four older brothers and four older sisters. When I reflect upon those experiences I am ashamed that I have never expressed my gratitude and appreciation for their time and support even though, more often than not, I felt I never lived up to their expectations. You see, every one of my siblings had represented the Taranaki province in at least one, if not two, sporting codes; hence maintaining the reputation of the family name was not a comfortable exercise.

In hindsight, I now know that all they wanted for me was to experience and enjoy the same feelings of success they had experienced and enjoyed. They were highly regarded in the community by both Māori and Pākehā⁴, evidenced by their popularity and the stories that would start in their respective sporting clubrooms, but eventually

³ Aotearoa New Zealand is geographically demarcated into provinces. Taranaki is one such province located on the west coast of the North Island. It is most notable for its iconic mountain after which the province takes its name.

⁴ A person in Aotearoa New Zealand primarily of European descent.

spill into their places of work and the many local and public bars that I was allowed to frequent by their side as their baby brother. Hence, I perceived sport as an avenue through which, they not only appeared and gained mana (integrity, prestige) in the Māori world, but one of the few locations where they were revered by Pākehā and, therefore, appeared successful in Pākehā society as well (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2007; Palmer & Adair, 2012).

Thanks to them I was able to experience and enjoy a variety of sporting opportunities that aided in creating a secure sense of identity and belonging within the ‘mana’ associated with sport. However, I never once queried them about their experiences. Throughout the process of completing my doctorate, I have quite often found myself wondering about the rich pūrākau they must have and how much I could have learned from their experiences about what it was like being Māori participating in elite sport (either as an athlete or coach). The plentiful pūrākau would span at least three decades starting in the early 1960’s right up until the 1990’s, providing insights into the historicity, perceptions, self-evaluations and interpretations of where their Māori identity and sport converged. There is so much I could learn from them still.

Our mother, a native speaker of te reo Māori (Māori language) was a victim of the atrocious educational assimilative processes, where Māori knowledge and especially the use of the Māori language were met with corporal punishment (Spolsky, 2005). Our father also Māori (who died just before my fifth birthday) suffered from similar colonial influences as he had succumbed to the message that Māori values, traditions and beliefs needed to be superseded if Māori were truly to be successful in modern New Zealand society. The 1980’s were rife with the stereotypical negative portrayal

of Māori, especially that of deficit theories in education that ultimately led me to believe being Māori was ‘not cool’. Consequently, given that Māori knowledge was considered obsolete very few opportunities were provided to exhibit Māori traditional behaviours (Walker, 2001). By the time I entered high school, I had reached the conclusion that due to the absence of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga (Māori language and traditional cultural practices) in my upbringing, all ‘things Māori’ were not important and subsequently negatively influenced my perception and interpretations of Māori identity. Consequently, I assumed an identity metaphorically encapsulated by the term ‘potato’ – brown on the outside, but white on the inside.

As previously mentioned, my siblings had set a powerful example that the conduit of sport was a positive mechanism in which to seek acceptance and to a large degree ‘fit in’ with the majority Pākehā social group⁵. To ‘fit in’ at high school basketball and volleyball provided a certain appeal. The appeal of Basketball was cultivated by the culture it encapsulated. I became hugely influenced by popularised televised images of the American National Basketball Association (NBA)©, selling phenomenal athleticism and the ‘black-is-cool’ brand, that commercialised the ‘flat-top’ haircut, baggy jeans, and the intense desire to have the up-to-date Starter© apparel and Nike© shoes, which I could never afford. The rap music that accompanied black culture was also intoxicating (Jackson, Scherer, & Silk, 2007). Certainly, if you had asked me throughout my time at high school, being a ‘wanna-be black’ was far more appealing than being Māori and participating in all that basketball had to offer, encouraged that view both internally and externally.

⁵ Māori made up approximately 10% of the population of New Plymouth during the 1970’s and 1980’s and this percentage has remained constant.

I signed up for volleyball as a ‘dare’ from my Māori mates, because we all perceived it as a very ‘white’ (read Pākehā) sport – that was the ‘dare’ component “could a Māori boy actually ‘fit in’?” Much to my surprise and to my Māori mates as well, I did, and hence they had inadvertently exposed that by participating in a sport that was dominated by Pākehā, aided in relieving the self-perceived notion of liability of being Māori. While I enjoyed basketball (along with many other sporting activities), after high school, both indoor and beach volleyball became the sports which I chose to pursue into adult/senior level sport. The appeal was the sport itself. After all, both codes of volleyball offered no monetary incentives in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the elite level was dependant on a user pays system. Despite such minimal extrinsic motivating factors, I could not get enough of its unique combination of grace, power and empowering sense of belonging and identity.

Although my time was brief in elite volleyball as an athlete, I rarely experienced either implicit or explicit prejudice from my Pākehā athlete peers, coaches, management and those at the decision making level (Hippolite, 2008). However, that was largely because I had already consigned my Māori heritage and all of the deficit and negative stereotypical cultural baggage that came with it. After all, at high school I had become quite adept at disassociating from my Māori identity – mostly by refraining from engaging in traditional Māori behaviours and cultural activities. Additionally, I remained silent when Māori issues were highlighted, even when I was head boy and should have known better; and, joked along with my majority Pākehā mates when they made fun of Māori, in order to seek social approval and acceptance. As such, it was not difficult to continue in that mentality when I participated in elite sport and to be honest I did not know any different or other way ‘of being’. It took a while for me to

acknowledge that forfeiting my Māori identity while participating in elite sport was linked to those ways of ‘being’. But at a deeper level I was merely acting-out the damage caused by aspects of colonisation and intergenerational assimilation. My pūrākau is an all too familiar description of the decimation of Māori traditional culture, values and beliefs that occurred throughout the political development of Aotearoa New Zealand for many Māori following the signing of te tiriti o Waitangi/the treaty of Waitangi in 1840⁶ (see section 2.2).

I owe those insights to my Māori lecturers at Te Kūpenga o te Mātauranga, Palmerston North Teachers College (now the Institute of Education, Massey University) and at Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa in Otaki⁷, when during the course of learning te reo Māori as a part of a post graduate qualification, spurred intense feelings and emotions to revise my opinions and beliefs. Reflectively, I acknowledge that I relegated my Māori identity as a strategy of self-preservation because I had been led to believe that it was an impediment. Through my self-reflections and research I have come to the realisation that I wished my Māori identity and participation in elite sport could have mutually coexisted.

My current opinions are that although wearing the silver fern - a symbol revered in Aotearoa New Zealand sport representation - had a profound impact on my identity as a volleyball athlete, the labels New Zealander and Kiwi do not describe me as

⁶ This is explained in chapter two, section 2.2. Briefly however, in 1840 representatives of the British crown and some (but not all) Māori chiefs signed a treaty of cession called te tiriti o Waitangi (Māori version) or the treaty of Waitangi (English version). There are three articles of the Māori version that are respectively manifested by the terms “kāwanatanga (governorship), the Crown has the right to govern; rangatiratanga (chieftainship), Māori kin groups have the right to own and manage collective assets; and ōritetanga (equality), Māori individuals have the same rights and responsibilities as non-Māori New Zealanders” (see Wyeth et al., 2010, p. 305).

⁷ Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa is a tikanga Māori tertiary education provider based in Ōtaki, Aotearoa, New Zealand. It was established by the Raukawa Marae Trustees in 1981 with only two enrolments.

intimately as the links I have to Māori demarcations of geography⁸. For me, the invisible strands of whakapapa and tūrangawaewae that connect me to my Māori identity are links that are an incredible treasure that I have come to cherish (Doherty, 2014; Poata-Smith, 2013). My Māori identity and the traditional markers of identity that aid to define ‘who I am’ are an inspiration that I no longer conceal from the scrutiny of Māori and non-Māori who had succumb to the discourse that Māori identity was unimportant or an impediment in elite sport.

The stance I now adopt is that Māori elements of culture hold the key to a secure national identity for all New Zealand athletes competing in elite sport. For example, when I accepted the position to be a national coach for Volleyball New Zealand, I introduced mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) to inspire a consciousness where all involved, athletes and support staff, can acquire strength and meaning from knowing who they are (whakapapa) and where they come from (tūrangawaewae). Crucial aspects that can heighten the elite athlete experience (Hodge & Hermansson, 2007). A more powerful motive, however, was that by presenting the value of Māori knowledge and cultural practices, I hoped that athletes who identified as Māori (and those who perhaps did not) might see the worth of preserving their Māori identity as well.

Becoming a father to three gorgeous boys has also heightened the importance of encouraging those links, along with the use of te reo Māori with my sons since birth. Even though they attend mainstream educational environments, I hope the daily use of te reo Māori in our home will give them the encouragement to see their Māori identity as a unique element. I also hope that with frequent trips back to Taranaki to see their

⁸ These geographical connections are to the iwi (tribe/s) of Taranaki, Te Ati Haunui a Pāpārangī and Tūwharetoa; the hapū (sub-tribe) Ngā Māhanga-ā-Tairi, and Puniho and Parihaka marae.

whānau and connect to their iwi, hapū and marae will help them define who they are at the core, rather than how it was relayed to me as a boy growing up. The importance of their Māori identity, however, does not suggest that their ancestral links to their Canadian heritage, which they inherit from their mother, has been relegated. Rather, my wife and I see that dualism complimenting the unique make-up of their overall identity and explicitly encourage the Canadian traditions that my wife experienced growing-up, to further exemplify to our sons that a hybridised ethnic identity can be sensitively and safely navigated. It will take years of tinkering to get it right (whatever 'right' is), but we want to ensure that they are confident and secure in knowing their whakapapa and tūrangawaewae from both their mother and father.

My pūrākau although difficult to articulate, clearly indicates that my experiences express a tension of sorts as I navigated the boundaries of my Māori identity and participation in elite sport. Through my research, role as a lecturer in sport, exercise and education, and informal conversations with Māori athletes, I know I am not alone in the pūrākau I have shared. Indeed there are Māori athletes who have experienced both the negative side-effects and detrimental influence of assimilation, as well as elite sport participation and competition. Conversely, I have been privy to speak to Māori athletes who have successfully navigated their way through elite sport pathways without disregarding their Māori identity. Yet, being reflexive and reflective has intensified my sensitivities and feelings of loss, guilt and shame; loss of Māori identity; guilt for not being able to express myself using Māori knowledge (in a general sense); and shame for not being strong enough to 'stand' for being Māori, when competing in elite sport. Could it be similar for other Māori athletes? If so how have they negotiated the potential tensions that may exist? And what can we learn

from those experiences? These queries drive the heart, motivation and justification for this study.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My research focusses on one major question:

“How do Māori athletes experience, interpret and negotiate their Māori identity while competing in elite sport?”

The research objectives assist in exploring the meaning that Māori athletes associate with participation in elite sport and how those meanings have influenced their construction of Māori identity. Hence the research questions are:

1. What are Māori athletes’ perceptions, experiences and understandings of Māori identity?
 - What factors have influenced their notions of Māori identity?
 - How have these factors impacted on the construction of their Māori identity?
 - What elements of Māori culture are important in connecting them to their Māori identity?
2. What distinctive challenges do Māori athletes face with respect to their Māori identity when participating in elite sport?

- Do elite sport environs provide opportunities to explore their Māori identity? If so, how?
- How have these experiences influenced their notions of Māori identity?
- How do Māori athletes express their connection to Māori identity while participating in elite sport?
- What implications do those experiences have on their perceptions of Māori identity now and in the future?

1.4 RESEARCH PROCESS

Two criteria were required for Māori athletes to participate in this research; firstly, they either currently, or had in the past, represented New Zealand in their chosen sport or similarly achieved professional status as an athlete; and secondly, self-identified as Māori through personal communication with me as the researcher.

The methodology utilised for this research employs a unique combination that integrates Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) (Smith, 1997) and qualitative strategies in the form of Māori oral histories and storytelling referred to as pūrākau (Cherrington, 2002; Lee, 2009; Wirihana, 2012) to capture the experiences of Māori athletes. Pūrākau is a relatively new concept that has been associated with academic writing or research methodology, given that the term is translated as “ancient legend, myth; any incredible story; legendary, mythical” (Williams, 2002, p. 312). Such a qualitative method fulfils the Māori perspective sustaining this research. Pūrākau is essentially story-telling and within this research enabled participants to share their experiences

and interpretations of the past and current realities of Māori identity. In doing so their ‘living-culture’ is given the opportunity to be voiced by grasping the abstract link between te ao Māori (Māori worldview) and the observed behaviours and representations of te ao hākinakina (the world of sport).

The pūrākau of ten athletes were collected allowing for a rich insight into the nuances of their Māori identity while involved in elite sport. The pūrākau process applied allowed for a fluid account to be created whilst also using general prompts during interviews (see Appendix A) that were organised into four major sections that linked their past, present and future perspectives of Māori identity formation. Additionally, the participants talked about their sport participation throughout their lives (temporality and spatiality), highlighting the space where Māori identity and elite sport intersect, thus emphasising the challenges that may exist in that space.

1.5 THESIS ORGANISATION

This thesis is made-up of seven chapters. This initial chapter has outlined the justification and intended contribution of the research and has stated the research question, objectives and aims. In particular, my pūrākau has revealed the subjective position I have adopted. Chapter two begins by detailing an analysis of Māori identity from a socio-historical perspective through to contemporary sociological and political descriptions and understandings. I also clarify how the Māori concepts of identity and in particular tūrangawaewae (Edwards, 1999) whakapapa (Doherty, 2014; Poata-Smith, 2013), and mauri (Penetito, 2005) are drawn together and synthesised to capture Māori identity. The blend of these concepts provides a useful framework to

explain how Māori athletes interpret, understand and create meaning of their Māori identity. Māori participation in sport is then critically analysed within the parameters of past and present social-cultural forces, with respect to institutional arrangements and clarifies how these have influenced Māori ideology and racialised perspectives of Māori in sport. It then discusses the pertinent literature highlighting a variety of key studies, movements that emphasise the convergence of how Māori identity and Māori participation in sport within Aotearoa New Zealand has developed. The literature review concludes with an appraisal of the international sport literature where Indigenous/Aboriginal participation in elite sport has been visible, particularly in Taiwan, Canada and Australia respectively.

Chapter three outlines the theoretical framework of Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) (Smith, 1997), and the methodological approach in the form of pūrākau (Cherrington, 2002; Lee, 2009; Wirihana, 2012) employed in this research. Additionally, the contributions of these research methods are reviewed. The chapter also describes the research strategy outlining the ethical concerns that informed the processes of participant selection and data analysis process. The limitations of the research are also presented. Chapter four introduces the individual participant pūrākau highlighting how they express their Māori identity and their experiences in elite sport. They also emphasise the importance of te reo Māori as a major element of Māori identity salience. Chapter five explores the use of mātauranga Māori as experienced by Māori athletes while representing Aotearoa New Zealand in specific sports teams and the Olympic/Commonwealth Games teams, and how the implementation of such practices is interpreted by Māori athletes. Chapter six provides a thematic analysis of how the participants experienced and adapted to the dynamic and ever changing context of their

Māori identity, during and after participating in elite sport. Chapter seven concludes with a summary of the major findings, conclusions, applications and recommendations of the study.

In the next chapter, the literature review provides the framework and foundation for the research. It provides a position from which the research journey was able to begin to “retrieve some space” (Smith, 1999, p. 183) for Māori athletes participating in elite sport.

UPOKO TUARUA: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Sport has come to occupy an increasingly central place in contemporary culture (Coakley, Hallinan, & McDonald, 2013). It is watched by billions of people all over the world, providing imagery and stories that entertain and inspire. Even people with little or no interest in sport are somewhat forced to interact and engage with it as it occupies all spheres of life - work, home, bars, on dates, at dinner tables, in school, with friends and even with strangers on trains, in airports and on the street. For all these reasons, sport has received the attention of sociologists concerned with social life today. Coakley, Hallinan and McDonald (2013) describe that sport also has a profound affect on those who participate within it. They express that:

People who play sports their experiences are often remembered as special and important in their lives. The emotional intensity, group camaraderie and sense of accomplishment that often occur in sports make sports participation more memorable than other activities. (Coakley et al., 2013, p. 15)

This research illuminates the emotional intensity and shared memories of Māori athletes who have experienced elite sport and assists in explaining the challenges that exist in relation to how they, understand, create meaning and interpret their Māori identity experienced in that realm.

Two concepts require defining before discussing the literature upon which this study is based. Firstly, the definition of sport that is utilized for this study comes from Coakley et al., (2013). They simplify sport as “well established, officially governed, competitive physical activities in which participants are motivated by internal and external rewards” (p.5). They warn however, that there is an inherent danger of utilising such a restrictive definition, given that sport is a very complex social construct influenced by time, location and of course who is being asked (see Coakley et al., 2013). Nonetheless, the definition provides an appropriate understanding that distinguishes sports from other activities.

Secondly, a definition of the term elite is required. The word elite (or *élite*) is a derivative of the Latin word, *eligere* meaning ‘to elect’ and refers to “a select group that is superior in terms of ability or qualities to the rest of a group or society” (dictionary.reference.com, 2015). In this sense, the term elite aptly describe the ten participants in this research, given that they have represented Aotearoa New Zealand in international sporting competition. Seven of the participants have competed at the Olympic and/or the Commonwealth Games.

This literature review has four major sections. Section one of the literature review explains Māori identity formation, beginning with a brief historicity and provides two examples of how Māori identity could be better understood in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Section two of the literature focusses on the impact of colonial racialised ideologies by encapsulating a historical discourse of Māori physical activity and Māori sport participation. Section three presents research and studies conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand that have illuminated an understanding of Māori participation

in contemporary sport. Section four provides an appraisal of the limited international literature that highlights the juncture of indigeneity and elite sport participation providing an insight into the complexities of indigeneity within the context of elite sport.

2.2 MĀORI IDENTITY

Māori migration and settlement

Māori oral traditions describe the discovery of Aotearoa New Zealand in 750 AD by the Polynesian explorer Kupe. Kupe was later followed by Toi and Whātonga who arrived in 1000 - 1100AD and the subsequent voyages and arrival of seven waka (canoes) in 1350AD (Howe, 2003; Simmons, 1976). When Kupe departed the warmer climates of Polynesia to “the only part of Polynesia lying outside the tropical-subtropical zone” (Kirch, 2000, p. 275), he must have been presented with many daunting challenges. Survival was difficult in a new land that contained foreign flora and fauna and where extreme weather patterns made it tough to grow the produce they transported with them (Kirch, 2000). These circumstances should have encouraged Māori to return to the tropics within a few short years of arriving, but this did not occur. Instead, over the following centuries, a new language and culture evolved that, “to a large degree, still held the history, genealogy, beliefs and values of its ancient Polynesian past” (Anaru, 2011, p. 15).

Although Māori oral traditions reported that “Māori society was not set in cement” (Van Meijl, 1995, p. 4), the basic foundation of Māori life was based on the familial societal structure of the whānau nuclei, with many whānau contributing amongst one

another to form hapū. The process of reciprocity between communal hapū formed iwi that became particularly functional especially during periods of warfare or expansion (Best, 1925; Buck, 1958; Firth, 1929). However, Māori social and political relations based on iwi, hapū and whānau entities were neither hermetically isolated nor maintained exclusive social, cultural and political bordered lands. From earliest histories Māori tribes have mixed, divided, migrated and formed fresh relationships indicating that “complex...lineages...woven together by intermarriage, political alliance, and by migration and resettlement” (Andres, 2011, p. 51) existed. As such, Māori have always been able to regard themselves as “belonging to a number of potential ancestral lines” (Mahuika, 1992, p. 54).

In Māori social practice, therefore, tribal concepts may have never been as delineated as they have been represented as being in twentieth century ethnography. Trade between tribes was common, as were bouts of conflict. The technology to create metallic or ceramic objects was non-existent rather Māori relied heavily on flax, bone, jade and other materials. Commonalities in language existed, but regional variations in dialect appeared and still subsist presently (Allen, 1994; Davidson, 1984; Liu & Allen, 1999; Vayda, 1960).

The European discovery of New Zealand dates to the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1642, however, he was not able to make a successful landing. It was not until 1769 when British sailors led by Captain James Cook actually landed on New Zealand soil that initiated sporadic contact with Europeans from a British penal colony at Port Jackson, Sydney in 1788. Aotearoa New Zealand is therefore not only among the last habitable land masses to be settled by human beings, it is among the last to be

colonized by Europeans (Green, 2006). Early encounters between Europeans and Māori saw peaceful trade (e.g., flax and timber for guns and livestock), whaling, and missionary work and occurrences of inter-ethnic violence were uncommon. However, as European settlers began to make serious claims to Māori land in the late 1830's, conflict between those settlers and Māori became more prominent.

Te tiriti o Waitangi (the treaty of Waitangi), assimilation, urbanisation and Māori revitalisation

While Māori welcomed aspects of English culture, literacy and technology they firmly rejected any English notion of superiority. Indeed, the sparse English population residing in Aotearoa New Zealand were “no match for the military force of Māori who were estimated to have outnumbered settlers 70,000-90,000 to 2000” (Mutu, 2010, p. 16). The British Treasury acting on behalf of the British Crown sensibly favoured to establish a peaceful relationship under which settlers could reside in Aotearoa as “wars to enforce British authority over subject populations were extremely costly and to be avoided” (McCan, 2001, p. 11). This resulted in the signing of a treaty of cession called the treaty of Waitangi (English version) or te tiriti o Waitangi (Māori version) between representatives of the British crown in New Zealand and some (but not all) Māori chiefs in 1840. Anomalies exist between the English and Māori texts of the treaty and consequently both parties have different perceptions and expectations of the treaty (see further in this section). Nonetheless, in 1877 The treaty was declared a nullity by Judge Prendergast in the Bishop of Wellington v Wi Parata case and was subsequently virtually disregarded by the New Zealand government for over 100 years (Orange, 2004).

By the latter half of the 19th century the Māori population dwindled from an estimated 100,000<150,000 prior to European arrival to 40,000 due to widespread disease, warfare, and land alienation. Outnumbered by colonists, the acting government had decided that the assimilation of Māori into western society was preferred, quickly establishing schools genuinely believing that they were bestowing benefits on Māori by civilising them (Simon, 1998). By introducing a Westernised school system it was thought Māori were being presented with a superior culture that purposely set out to aspire to more civilised pursuits. In order for the conversion of Māori to Christianity, missionaries provided access to the Bible, and strongly advised Māori parents to allow their children to be taught the English language through religion. Certainly, missionaries were “determined to save the souls of the heathen - and to destroy their culture, considered merely indicative of the degradation of its creators” (Binney, 2005, p. 32). The religion and education conveyed were not only considered a superior way of life, but were also the best way to disconnect Māori from the entrenched traditional and cultural philosophies toward civilised enlightenment.

In 1867, the Native Schools Act was approved and stipulated that if the Māori community provided a suitable site, they would receive a school, teacher, and books. Even though schools based on marae maintained exposure to the Māori language and the preservation of traditional culture and values (Beaglehole & Ritchie, 1958; Metge, 1976, 1990, 1995a, 1995b; Walker, 1990), native education put more emphasis on the “assimilation of Māori children into European culture and society than humanitarian duty” (Hokowhitu, 2004, p.158). To advance the process of assimilation the government instigated an “assimilationist language policy” in 1880 referred to as the Natives Schools Code instructing that te reo Māori not be spoken in schools and

enforced it with physical punishment (Spolsky, 2005). Not only did this amplify the growing status of English to the extent that it became increasingly dominant within Māori pā (fortified village) but most importantly it had devastating consequences for a people reliant on the oral tradition for the transmission of culture (Binney, Chaplin, & Wallace, 1979; Walker, 1990). Sir Apirana Ngata (cited in Walker, 2001) described the negative effect of educational assimilation policy upon Māori:

It explains the case of thousands of Māori old and young, who entered the schools of this country and passed out with their minds closed to their culture, which is their inheritance and which lies wounded and slighted and neglected at their very door. (p. 9)

By the early 1900's Māori found themselves surrounded by a more numerous and economically powerful group who were in a position to exert considerable influence over their experience in most areas of social and economic life (Awatere, 1984).

Even though Pākehā and Māori co-existed in the same country for over a century, Māori and Pākehā remained at a distance geographically and had lived in separate realities and experienced very limited interaction socially (King, 1977, 1991, 2003). However, this situation was about to change. The emptying of rural tribal areas, and the flood of Māori to towns and cities that began in the 1930's, has been repeatedly described as extremely rapid (Durie, 1998b; King, 2003; Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990) and one of the fastest urbanisations by any Indigenous group in the world (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

By 1936 approximately 10,000 - 13% of the Māori population were living in the cities. Many moved of their own accord, attracted by higher wages and the availability of work, and the exposure to a lifestyle that varied from that in rural homelands - the diversity for some proving simply irresistible (Grace, Ramsden, & Dennis, 2001; Metge, 1964). This urban Māori group was imbalanced by a mass of adults between the years of sixteen and thirty, an age bracket associated with the 'good-time' attitude and the boldness of individual autonomy. In comparison, elders were few in the cities (Metge, 1964, p. 251). Māori typically lacked the qualifications to secure well paid work and were confined to semi-skilled labouring and service jobs. As such, unemployment, crime and delinquency became an increasing feature among Māori (Simon, 1998). Further challenges would come in the form of explicit racism (e.g., see Edwards, 1992; Siers, Henderson, & Rangihau, 1975) and deficit and negative stereotypes attached to Māori by Pākehā, that included the view of Māori as 'slackers', 'dirty', 'lazy' and 'dishonest' (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). Some Māori were "refused service in hotels, accommodation and employment on the grounds of their race" (Sheehan, 1989, p. 34).

As New Zealand's economy boomed, the Māori urban population continued to increase and by 1951 there were 27,000 Māori living in urban regions, making up 23% of the total Māori population and by the mid-1970s only one in four Māori remained in rural areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Most importantly, urbanisation identified that the economic and social gap between Pākehā and Māori had widened, and by the end of the 1970s Māori were firmly positioned at the lower end of the socio-economic scale (Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990). The increasing dependency of Māori upon Pākehā altered Māori social life profoundly, because it meant that aspects of Māori survival

rested upon their ability to 'fit in' with Pākehā people (Broughton, 1993). 'Fitting in' consequently led in the subversion of Māori culture by a monocultural, monolingual system of society resulting in "a person with Māori features unable to speak the Māori language" (Walker, 2001, p. 222).

Despite such negative stimuli on Māori identity generally, the last 40 years have seen major changes in the social reconstruction of Māori development that has influenced how Government and Aotearoa New Zealand society as a whole perceive Māori (Awatere, 1996). In the early 1970's the "enduring face of Indigenous resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand" through Māori protest, mostly due to unresolved treaty grievances, saw a "new wave" of "Neo-Māori activists" (Hokowhitu, 2010, p. 209; 217) who enacted emancipatory measures to counteract "racism, sexism, capitalism and government oppression" (Walker, 1990, p. 220). Groups such as Ngā Tamatoa, Waitangi Action Committee (WAC), He Taua, Māori Peoples Liberation Movement of Aotearoa and Black Women where members were "young, educated and urbanised...they were leaders and social commentators recently come-of-age, the new face of Māori activism one that understood racism and how it worked" (Harris, 2004, pp. 24-25). Such activism dispelled the myth of racial harmony and the 'one people' discourse commonly held by Pākehā.

The 1975 Land March orchestrated by the Kuia Dame Whina Cooper (ONZ, DBE) from the iwi Te Rarawa, who was almost 80 years old, to Parliament buildings stands as a major testament of Māori resistance that saw Māori "politicised in a unity of purpose unprecedented in modern times, in the endless struggle against colonisation" (Walker, 1990, p. 214). This hikoi (walk/journey) shattered "the narrative of an

abiding Indigenous citizenry” and is credited as a defining moment in Māori history in “mobilising and giving a united voice to Māori resistance” (Hokowhitu, 2010, p. 209). The formulation of the Waitangi Tribunal, also in 1975, further provided Māori with the legal process by which treaty claims could be investigated (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). Current estimates for the five-year period 2014 to 2018 of compensation amount to \$1,400 million, with an additional annual appropriation of \$70.709 million for 2014/2015 (New Zealand Government: Te Kāwangatanga o Aotearoa, 2015).

The creation of the Mana Motuhake political party in 1979 by Matiu Rata signalled the beginning chapters of substantial recognition of Māori autonomy within government and politics. But it would not be until almost two and a half decades later, following the largest ever hikoī in Aotearoa New Zealand history over the foreshore and seabed issue⁹ that Tariana Turia and Dr. Pita Sharples in a co-leadership partnership would form the Māori Party (Hokowhitu, 2010) who in the 2011 election won three seats in Parliament. Sharples resigned in 2013 and Turia retired in 2014. Marama Fox and Te Ururoa Flavell are the current co-leaders. Also, the Mana Party (formally called the Mana Movement) was formed in 2011 by Hone Harawira, and maintained a single seat in New Zealand’s Parliamentary system until losing the seat in the general election in 2014.

While New Zealanders differ in the extent to which they embrace Māori culture and accept biculturalism, a policy of biculturalism has been pursued since the 1980’s, with successive governments attempting to honour the spirit of the treaty of Waitangi (Liu, Stewart Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999; Orange, 1992; Williams, 1996). As a

⁹ The issue pertained to the Labour Party who was in government at the time, vesting ownership to the state of New Zealand's foreshore and seabed in 2003.

result, debate about the place of this covenant in modern Aotearoa New Zealand society continues to cause heated discussion. However the Constitutional Advisory Panel (2013) concluded that:

The treaty is already a fundamental element of our constitutional arrangements.

The Crown cannot turn back on the commitments made in the treaty and subsequently without the risk of social and political tensions. (p. 31)

The Māori political resurgence and cultural revival has meant a reaffirmation of the value of Māori culture and identity. As an example of this revival, just over one hundred years ago in 1913, 90% of Māori school children could speak te reo Māori (Parliamentary Library, 2010). By 1953 only 26% of Māori school children could speak te reo Māori and by the 1970's it was in danger of extinction. Assimilation policies had certainly exceeded expectations, and from these gloomy statistics it appeared te reo Māori would never recover (Parliamentary Library, 2010). However, the advent of te reo Māori immersion schooling environments along with the Māori Language Act that appointed te reo Māori as an official language in 1987 heralded the resurgence of the Māori language to where almost a quarter of the Māori population of 565,000 (15% of the total population) can hold conversations in te reo Māori. However most social indicators show Māori are still behind in other segments of Aotearoa New Zealand society in terms of socio economic status, educational achievement and health in comparison to non-Māori (Hohepa & Jenkins, 2004; Liu et al., 1999; Metge, 1990, 1995b).

Race

The term 'race' appeared from a Darwinism reductionist presumption historically located in Eurocentric discourse that used physical, biological and phenotypical descriptions to ascribe differences between populations. These differences have produced hierarchies that categorises white people as superior and darker populations as inferior. Charles Darwin (1859) in his book the *Origin of the Species* implied that "Indigenous peoples were inherently weak and therefore...would die out" (cited in Smith, 1999, p. 42). Therefore colonizers begin with the primary hypothesis that their ways are naturally advanced to those of the colonized and that such Eurocentric ideas were an historic process predicated on assumptions of racial, religious, cultural and technological superiority, "to maintain their dominance and hegemony" (Hippolite, 2008, p. 2).

Since colonization, the term 'race' has been a Eurocentric preoccupation and pessimistic necessity to 'classify, categorise, and stereotype' and to differentiate between the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand and the newcomers to the land (Jackson, 1987, p. 20; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Thus reinforcing colonial racialised ideologies that essentially foresaw Māori as distinguished mostly in terms of who they were not: that is, Pākehā. Race in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand therefore has been the subject of misguided interpretations, specifically the labelling of Māori and Pākehā.

The term Māori has been contested by Pākehā, by Māori and between Māori. Before the arrival of European settlers, the word Māori was not used to describe the original inhabitants of New Zealand, 'Māori' in fact meaning 'normal' or 'ordinary'

(Williams, 1975). The word Māori therefore did not recognise the distinguishing features of Māori identity that demarcated groups by means of tribal or sub-tribal affiliation in relation to ancestral land (Jackson, 1987; Meredith, 2007). Durie (1998a) clarified that the Indigenous group who were the original inhabitants did not refer to themselves as Māori, rather they were “Rangitane or Ngāti Apa or Tūhoe or any of forty or more tribes” (p. 53).

Likewise the term ‘Pākehā’ has evolved to commonly refer to “New Zealander of European descent” having first been used to denote “white settler” (Moorfield, 2005, p. 108). Just as ‘Māori’ was a collective term that comprised all tribal groups in Aotearoa affiliations, so to the term Pākehā included those with Scottish, Irish, English and French lineage (Watson, 2007). However, the word Pākehā has been misappropriated by the general European masses, who still commonly believe in negative translations such as evil spirit, pig and flea (Hokowhitu, 2007). Authentication using a Māori explanation demonstrates that the word Pākehā in fact stems from pre-colonial words such as “pakepakehā and pākehākehā” (Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 82), as is common to certain parts of the Pacific referring to “imaginary beings resembling men with fair skins” (Williams, 1975, p. 252). A more present-day pseudonym has appeared in the word ‘tauwiwi’, the prefix ‘tau’ indicating that something is strange or unusual, hence tauwiwi commonly translating to ‘foreign people’, tauwhenua (strange land), and tautangata (stranger) (Māori Dictionary, 2010).

Nationality

Nationality is simpler to define but just as misleading when used to categorise people (particularly Indigenous populations) as it simply refers to a person’s country of birth.

It is a largely taken for granted attribute of identity when unchallenged in one's home country, but it can become a central or defining feature. Robson and Reid (2001) summarise that a shared national identity incorporates "being generally immersed in the society broadly reflecting their own culture" (p. 22). However, within Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākehā maintained the power to establish norms or standards of nationality influencing the self-perception, beliefs, attitudes, feelings and behaviour of Māori. Subsequently, in order to conform to the positive expectation of a mainstream Pākehā national identity, Māori needed to gain social approval or to avoid social disapproval.

Examples of symbolic sources of national values and historical referents that generate a collective sense of nationhood and group identity do exist. For instance, in war where Sharples (personal commentary, 2012) explains that "traditions unite us and link us back to our people and our homeland...something our soldiers know all too well". Yet, another cultural form that has appealed to Māori through which to 'gain social approval' is sport. Sport therefore is an essential part of the national identity Māori adopt with the potential for acceptance and success. In this sense, research has explored the prevalence of national symbolism and identity, particularly in the sport of rugby union and the impact of this has been discussed with regards to the nation (Edwards, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2005; Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002) and non-Māori (Bruce, Falcous, & Thorpe, 2007; Edwards, 2007). However, the historical referent of war and national symbols, such as rugby, support a justification that many individuals born in Aotearoa New Zealand do not think about their ethnicity and some even assume they do not have an ethnicity that is not already captured by the identity of 'New Zealander' (Bell, 2000). Other broad classifications

and labels such as ‘Kiwi’ although universal, lose all sense of individual difference, and provide no more information than that a ‘Kiwi’ is an individual from New Zealand – a New Zealander. Such a term denies the diverse demographic significance to the construction of Māori identity. The nationhood argument appears to be defined by an egalitarian ethos in which Aotearoa New Zealand allocates shared and equal resources to contribute to what could be termed New Zealand culture and identity in all facets of society, including sport.

Ethnicity

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the approach to ethnicity classification in the census has changed several times. Spoonley (1993) defines ethnicity as a political and fluid phenomenon that refers to the cultural heritage of a particular group who share cultural traditions, beliefs and behaviours and whose members express a sense of consciousness and belonging. Much like the term race it is an emotionally charged term given that it is shaped by its relationship to the wider society (Spoonley, 1993). Before 1913 anyone who had 50% or more ‘Māori blood’ was deemed to be Māori provided they were ‘living as Māori’ (Edwards, 1999; Pere, 2006). In 1926 Māori would still be defined based on a biological definition that instructed Māori to note whether they contained a blood quantum measurement of 50% or more, however this had limited statistical credibility as many Māori “would retort that their blood was red or blue” (Jackson, 1987, p. 21). Nonetheless, blood quantum remained a marker of Māori identity until 1981. In 1986, identification of being Māori explicitly completed through the blood quantum model was considered ethically disreputable and was renounced.

In 1991, an additional modification to ethnicity inquiry occurred with the introduction of two separate ethnicity questions within the collation of census data. One question concerned ancestry, to identify the populations in order to satisfy the legal and constitutional needs and another defining ethnic group membership to identify populations for use in statistical analysis (Robson & Reid, 2001). Interestingly, the 2013 census findings identified that those whom claimed Māori descent living in New Zealand totaled 668,724 or 17.5% of the population (a 3.8 percent increase from 2006). However, those who actually identified themselves as Māori numbered 598,605 or 14.9%. The proportion of Māori who identified as European also increased. While the option provided a broader definition of what it means to identify as Māori, the census data highlights that a range of extraneous factors influence an individual's decision to identify as Māori. Kukutai (2001) suggested that the anomaly that exists between the previous statistics presented is because there is no agreement on how to define Māori, as it depends on purpose and changes as the circumstances change. Indeed, Andres (2011) concluded that statutory definitions and self-definitions of Māori based on descent have the potential to create a divergence of Māori identity.

The terms race, nationality and even ethnicity although helpful in describing place of origin in a general sense, are limited because there is or never was a notion of a homogenous notion of Māori society. Thus, a diversity of Māori identities and realities exist supporting that Māori are not “absorbed into an undifferentiated ethnic mass” (McIntosh, 2001, p. 142). However, Māori identity evolution has always considered what is known as ‘traditional ways of life’ reconstructed to provide the

symbolic construction and formation of both individual, as well as collective identity factors and group membership.

The term ‘traditional’ becomes increasingly pertinent with respect to commonly known Māori practices. Derived from the Latin form ‘traditum’ it describes the transmission of concepts “handed down from the past, including a set of assumptions, beliefs and patterns of behaviour” (Andres, 2011, p. 86). In the case of Māori, tradition refers to those practices that were characteristic to Māori society pre-colonial and prior to Westernised influence. Unfortunately, this definition implies that a Māori ‘traditional’ way of life can be prescribed through a template, or a prototype for Māori societal membership. While there is no stereotypical identity of the ‘current reality’ of Māori, Durie (2005) suggests that by employing a number of common cultural personal attitudes, knowledge and behaviours could assist researchers of identity to better understand what it means to ‘be’ Māori. Two methods that aid in that understanding are discussed in the next section.

Evaluating Māori identity: Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) and the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE)

The discussion and critique that follows benefits this current research by highlighting a range of Māori identity markers that have been utilised to describe contemporary ‘Māori reality’ and are therefore helpful in outlining how Māori athletes may interpret their perceptions of these identity markers with respect to their own Māori identity. Durie et al. (1995) along with a team of colleagues formulated the Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) project; an approach that suggested the identification of Māori could be quantitatively measured and understood. *The Best Outcomes for Māori: Te Hoe Nuku*

Roa project was a 25-year longitudinal study survey of over 700 Māori households and examines the measurement of Māori cultural identity or ethnic group attachment of 956 Māori from several regions of Aotearoa New Zealand. Within the study Durie (1998b) defines Māori identity as:

An amalgam of personal attitudes, cultural knowledge and participation in Māori society. Particular attention is focused on self-identification, knowledge of whakapapa, participation in marae activities, involvement with whānau, access to whenua tipu, contacts with other Māori people, and use of Māori language. (p. 58).

Evident in the above definition are specific categories that the study refers to as 'identity markers'. These markers provided the foundation to a questionnaire aimed to measure and define cultural identity (Stevenson, 2004). The questionnaire provided measures under seven markers of self-identification; whakapapa, marae participation, whānau associations, whenua tipu, contacts with Māori people, and Māori language. From these seven indicators, four profiles were constructed. A *secure identity* indicated a high score rating of four out of six of the seven identity markers; *positive identity*, a medium/moderate response to three out of six identity markers; *notional identity*, includes participants who scored low on four of the six identity markers described above, and lastly a *compromised identity* represented participants that chose not to self-identify as Māori irrespective of participation and access to Māori institutions and society. The assessment criteria employed by Te Hoe Nuku Roa are therefore based primarily on self-reported behaviours, skills, or knowledge around

which to organise or anchor Māori identity for “statistical and policy purposes” (Poata, 2013, p. 112).

The project sought to determine, rather than explain the positions occupied by Māori participants at various stages in their lives. As a starting point THNR identifies particular behavioural tendencies deemed to be of “critical interest, and then assess the extent to which the individual matches a given behaviour in terms of frequency or ability” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010, p. 11). It permits the assessment of correlations between Māori cultural identity and other critical factors, for example, it reported a link between higher Māori identity scores and positive health and educational outcomes (Durie et al., 1997).

Another model that has been employed to explore individual evaluations of Māori identity was formulated by academics Houkamau and Sibley (2010) called the *Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE)*. The MMM-ICE is a hierarchically organised self-report (likert-type) instrument that assesses six distinct dimensions of identity and cultural engagement in Māori populations. The six dimensions assessed by the MMM-ICE are: (1) Group Membership Evaluation, (2) Socio-Political Consciousness, (3) Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement, (4) Spirituality, (5) Interdependent Self-Concept, and (6) Authenticity Beliefs. These dimensions are subsumed under more general or abstract factors representing (at the third-tier level of analysis): (1) Self-Identification and Cultural Engagement in the Socio-Political Context, (2) Enculturated Experiences of Māori Identity Traditions, and (3) Constitutive Representations of ‘being’ Māori . They argue that the MMM-ICE provides a culturally sensitive, valid and reliable self-

report measure of subjective identification of Māori that may differentiate Māori from non-Māori in domains relevant to Māori well-being. Their initial findings provided an understanding of what it means to be Māori and the specific patterns of “cognition, attitudes, beliefs, values, descriptions and self-evaluations” that occur as part of this (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010, p. 22). Consequently, understanding these factors is important for clarifying the links between Māori identity and Māori behaviour and lifestyle choices. For instance, Houkamau and Sibley (2010) postulate several pertinent questions as a part of their initial inquiry:

Does enculturation trump feelings of connectedness...perhaps Māori who have closer relationships with their whānau and marae will also tend to have greater access to social support and economic resources, which should underpin higher levels of educational achievement. In addition, we do not understand how Māori, who are de-culturated, yet of a higher socioeconomic status, express and experience their identity as Māori. (p. 22)

Additionally, they concluded that fluency in te reo Māori correlated with the extent that the participants engaged in Māori organisations (e.g. marae), identifying that a competent level of te reo made Māori feel increasingly comfortable with interventions that incorporate Māori cultural elements. In this sense, the MMM-ICE instrument may act as a useful tool in “modelling change...and the effects of interventions...on identity development and related processes longitudinally” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010, p. 9).

In general, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) project and the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) identity instrument highlight significant factors of an individual's cultural background, proficiency in the Māori language, the influence of popular ideas around 'race' (and perhaps the legacy of ideas about 'racial purity'), the strength of an individual's ties to iwi and hapū, and the intensity of ethnic attachments. It is also evident that both make important contributions to understandings of the relationship between Māori identity and wellbeing and offer valuable strategies to understand Māori identity for policy makers.

However, there are some potential dangers in the categorisation and 'boxing' of Māori individuals highlighting that the utilisation of such methods is of the "utmost concern" (Stevenson, 2004, p. 43). For instance, they do not assess the different dimensions that emerge from the subjective experience of 'being' Māori, or the personal level by which Māori process their Māori identity. That is, perhaps explorations into Māori identity need to consider the complex circumstances that may influence how Māori interpret the cultural markers typified in either the THNR project or the MMM-ICE. Several Aotearoa New Zealand studies illustrate the uneasiness and the challenges that exist regarding the evaluation of Māori identity by traditional markers emphasising that how Māori make sense of their identity is by no means uniform or predictable.

Collins' (1999) auto-ethnographic work reveals the tensions she experienced of ascribing traditional markers to make sense of her Māori identity describing the process as "not very comfortable" (p. 83). She articulated her reasons why:

I couldn't speak the reo, didn't know anything about tikanga, didn't know anything about what anybody was talking about and I often emerged embarrassed. Straddling both worlds is not always a comfortable position, especially if neither foot is firmly-placed. I felt ignorant and inadequate as Māori and yet strongly drawn in that direction. (p. 83)

Reflecting on her Māori identity and choosing to label herself as 'one-sixteenth' Māori, she questioned whether she had the right to identify personally and publicly as Māori, or to what extent she could expect others to accept her as Māori. Her auto-ethnographic enquiry spurred the justification for her study that explored the perceptions of six Māori men and seven Māori women. Collins (1999) indicates the 'risk' in choosing to identify as Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand given that Māori who have an increased involvement and investment in the 'Pākehā world' often endure adversity when endeavouring to acknowledge their Māori ancestry. Participant's in Collins' study spoke of their pain when labels such as 'pākehāfied' and 'snob' were used by their Māori peers leading to feelings of exclusion from their Māori peer groups. Additionally, her participants expressed emotions of 'desperation' emphasising that how Māori interpret and make sense of their Māori identity can be "experienced very differently" (Collins, 1999, pp. 83-87). Collins study provides justification to refrain from giving an 'oversimplified' depiction of Māori identity as proposed by either Te Hoe Nuku Roa or the MMM-ICE model.

In a similar study of rangatahi¹⁰ Māori in South Auckland, Borell (2005) found that her participants embraced and self-identified as 'Māori', but described degrees of their

¹⁰ Youth, adolescent, young person.

Māori identity. They identified four main areas in which they found their ‘Māoriness’: on the marae; in households where whānau regularly gathered; when they spoke and heard te reo Māori; and in kapahaka¹¹ performances. The more they immersed themselves in such activities, the more Māori they saw themselves. This finding indicates that Māori cultural practices, traditions and knowledge can lead to a positive affiliation and reaffirmation of Māori identity. That is Borells’ participants’ Māori identity was altered towards feelings of “a source of collective strength and pride and individual self-confidence and belonging” (p. 204). However, almost all said “that to be Māori largely depends on where you are or what you’re in to” exemplifying the diversity in which Māori identity can be experienced (Borell, 2005, p. 204).

Houkamau’s (2006) doctoral work examined three socio-historical processes on identity by comparing the life-stories of 35 Māori women from different age groups. Specifically she focussed on the migration of Māori to urban environments from familial rural life after the 1950s, the impact of Government assimilative policies of the late 1960s, and the significance of Māori renaissance movements in the 1970s. Her analyses reported the differing perspectives of Māori identity for each generation and how each negotiated Māori identity behaviours to aid in personal Māori identity affiliation. She reported that those Māori born prior to urbanisation and Pākehā contact evaluated their identity positively. The following generation (aged 35 and 49) expressed dissonance and apprehension regarding their Māori identities, fuelled mostly by prejudicial and Pākehā deficit theories. Finally ‘post-renaissance’ Māori (aged between 18 and 35), celebrated their cultural uniqueness from a young age as a result of exposure to positive experiences of Māori revolutionary political, educational and

¹¹ Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.

social change. Houkamau (2006) reveals a diversity of Māori identity that requires an expansion of current paradigms that considers how time influences the individuality of Māori as a social and politically mobile demographic.

The tendency to fall back on reified and one-dimensional notions of rituals and cultural practices and language as constituting a fixed 'authentic' essence of Māori identity highlights the more problematic aspects for those Māori who do not share all of these elements. Indeed many Māori are unable to readily access links to these facets of cultural assets, but may still describe themselves as Māori and reject any notion that they are 'less Māori' than their peers (Pere, 2006). Smith, Smith, and McNaughton (1999) assert that these differences are a natural part of a dynamic living culture with the variation being explained more as a continuum of Māori '-ness', and refraining from labels such as 'being Māori' or 'not being Māori'. Consequently, some Māori suffer a degree of deprivation or are labelled by self and by others as inauthentic. To define Māori authenticity through identity markers is therefore highly contested in this thesis.

The main point to take from the studies completed by Collins, Borell and Houkamau respectively is that Māori identity is a subjective experience significantly influenced by the immediate socio-cultural environment. The implication of their work for this research suggests that a more inclusive definition of Māori identity as a cumulative process of personal experience and understanding is required. The following segment argues that the meaningful association Māori athletes' have concerning feelings of connectedness to whenua (land) through the articulation of tūrangawaewae, whakapapa and mauri, would aid in that endeavor.

Tūrangawaewae, whakapapa and mauri

In a Māori worldview, tūrangawaewae is a key feature of the deep relationship and spiritual connection that Māori have with the natural environment. Pere (1991) described it as “the courtyard or home area of one's ancestors, where one feels she or he has the right to stand up and be counted...it is the footstool, the place where she or he belongs, where the roots are deep” (p. 50). This ‘deepness’ is based on cosmology and culture that roots Māori to tribal kinship bonds between people (marae, hapū and iwi), the physical realities of nature (whenua/land, maunga/mountains and awa/rivers) both “spiritually and emotionally” (Hay, 1998a, p. 245).

The ritual of ‘iho whenua’ for instance echoes the spiritual nature and meaning of whenua. It describes the burial of the placenta or umbilical cord (the Māori translation of which is whenua) and represents the source of nourishment for the individuals’ growth and development of their identity and future (Barlow, 2001). This ritual also describes the relationship Māori have with the supernatural world as descendants’ of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and place of origin of Hawaiki (Mead, 2003). Thus, the link between Māori and whenua plays a pivotal role as a marker for the construction of identity encapsulated by the Māori phrase tangata whenua “people of the land” (Jackson, 1993, p. 73). Consequently, illegal legislation and confiscation of land is blamed for the near-elimination of Māori as a distinct Indigenous social group due to significant land loss and consequently a loss of spirit, group support and mana (Durie, 1998a). That is, to be without tūrangawaewae is one of the most traumatic experiences that one could expect to endure (Pere, 1982).

Tūrangawaewae can also be described through the theory of Place Identity, which is well known in the discipline of geography (Andres, 2011; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hay, 1998) referring to “identities based on a sense of being at home” (Howard, 2000, p. 382). It is also common to the discipline of environmental psychology (Bonnes & Secchiarioli, 1995; Lalli, 1992) and has been described as exploring differential geographies (Castree, 2004). This area of identity research tends to be concerned with place affiliation, place stratification, and mobility established through a deep-rooted emotional belonging to particular environments. Descriptions and definitions of place identity have been expressed as “rootedness”, “insideness”, “feeling at home” or “being in place” or a “rooted sense of place” as a set of physical settings through which individuals are able to regulate their individual perceptions of identity self-expression (cited in Andres, 2011, pp. 90-91). Niezen (2000) in his studies of indigeneity and place concluded that one of the most significant characteristics common to Indigenous peoples is their “spiritual” relationship and connection to land (p. 140).

Examples of tūrangawaewae as expressed through salient connections to hapū and iwi and geographic symbols appears in the doctoral work of Nikora (2007). She found that Māori living in Aotearoa New Zealand described that geographical proximity to marae¹² positively contributed to personal iwi and hapū affiliation and the social events and relationships negotiated in that environment. Her participants expressed cultural value and fulfilment from continued links with the social identities of iwi, hapū and whānau. Hence more value was placed on returning to hapū and iwi homelands, regardless of how intermittent these revisits were. In addition, Sawicka, Barr, Grace,

¹² Describes the open area in front of the whareniui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. However, it is also used to describe the general geographical location of the whareniui in its entirety.

Grenside, Thomson and William's (1998) investigation involving Māori, Indian and Greek families identified that visiting marae was considered a 'place' where all of these ethnically diverse families 'felt' most Māori. They conclude in the end that there is an inherent value in embracing a Māori environment in order to 'feel' Māori, highlighting the importance of place as a pertinent component of the socialisation process of Māori identity.

Also, McLean (1996/1997) discovered that going home broadened her knowledge of her own tribe, whānau, marae and hapū, and the people she associated with. She summarises that initially her participants would report a sense of complacency regarding the links to 'home', but through her interview process it became an empowering exercise not only for her, but, more importantly, for those who were interviewed and for their future generations (McLean, 1996/1997). Hence she concluded that if Māori "were offered the opportunity to find out about their ancestral links, that at some point in their life they would want to know" (Waipareira Publication, cited in Edwards, 1999, p. 5).

Nikora (2007), Sawicka et al., (1998) and McLean (1996/1997) illustrate that the concept of 'whenua' can signify a social, as well as a psychological sense of identity that can be propagated as a cognitive and spiritual journey. This journey of reconnection to place of origin and return to tūrangawaewae has become known as "going home" (Andres, 2011, p.98). Professor Wiremu Doherty (2014) helps to clarify this journey in his *Ranga Framework* by explaining the association between tūrangawaewae and whakapapa and why they should be considered as integral elements of Māori identity. He argues that:

Through tracing your genealogical whakapapa links, connection is made to your rohe that forms the basis of your tūrangawaewae. The term tūrangawaewae has a physical and cognitive element to it. It defines the physical connection to a space and place illustrated as a place of standing. In this sense, tūrangawaewae establishes the base to enable the whakapapa connections to occur. These elements must work together to build the understanding required for identity (p. 31).

Ranginui Walker (Walker, 1987, 1989, 1990) described whakapapa as a concept of Māori identity based on genealogical descent, whereby ancestors and living people were intrinsically connected. Earlier, Sir Apirana Ngata (1972) explained that whakapapa is “the process of laying one thing upon another” (see also Williams, 2002, p. 259), that metaphorically represents the layering of “ancestors” binding Māori to each other (Poata-Smith, 2013). These genealogical relationships link to tūrangawaewae through self-ascriptions to a sense of place and belonging (Makereti, 1986)¹³.

The significance of the relationship between tūrangawaewae and whakapapa differs between individuals who may be in the process of renewing, modifying and remaking their Māori identity. Sir Tipene O'Regan¹⁴ (cited in Melbourne, 1995) advises that “no

¹³ Margaret Pattison Thom, who was later widely known as Makereti is one of the first Māori scholars to paint a powerful picture of Māori identity. Her work *Old Time Māori* written in 1938 but published in 1986, provides a description of Māori during her lifetime and the importance of whakapapa.

¹⁴ Sir Tipene O'Regan is the retired Assistant Vice-Chancellor Māori of the University of Canterbury and former long-serving Chairman of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. He remains as Adjunct Professor in the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury and as a Fellow of the University of Auckland where he chairs Ngā Pae o Te Maramatanga, the Centre for Māori Research Excellence.

amount of analytical theory from outside can define [identity] for you...the source of power is in the people themselves” (p. 156). To assist in capturing the fluctuating nature of Māori identity that considers ‘the source of power’ the Māori concept of mauri is helpful. As noted earlier, everything has a mauri. It is the essence, the vital ingredient of power that permits living things to exist within their own realm and sphere. An analysis of the meaning and understanding of the term mauri reveals that it is derived from two words “mā (by); uri (relation)” (Doherty, 2014, p. 40). Hence, the conjoint definitions of these words are commensurate with a holistic notion of Māori identity development; that is “mauri and whakapapa map this development” (Doherty, 2014, p. 40).

Penetito’s (2005) doctoral research suggested that as a perspective of Māori identity mauri translates to “I breathe, therefore I am” (p. 104). Penetito’s definition is helpful for this research in two parts. Firstly, “I breathe” substantiates that so long as a person was born from Māori ancestry and ‘breathed’ (mauri ora) it, they could identify as Māori aligning with the socio-cultural construction of the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. As such, this research is not concerned with how Māori identity should be authenticated other than by virtue of descent that is through tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. Secondly, “therefore I am” assists in responding to how Māori athletes make sense of their Māori identity within the domain of sport. Hence this philosophy and definition of mauri respects tūrangawaewae and whakapapa social-constructs and relationships, while positioning Māori athlete experiences at the centre of phenomena.

Section summary

This section has highlighted the evolution of Māori identity acknowledging that it is subject to change, redefinition and contestation due to the integral web of social relationships. The fluctuating nature of Māori identity means that Māori throughout the course of their lives can and do represent themselves differently depending on time, space and are activated or oppressed in a wide variety of contexts (Fenton, 1999). Māori identity in this current research is therefore considered a social process where Māori have the agency in the construction and maintenance of their Māori identity, as experienced in the social boundaries and relationships of elite sport. This section has clarified the ‘construction and maintenance’ of Māori identity by providing a critique of the terms race, nationality and ethnicity. While these terms are helpful in discussing the formation of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand they do not acknowledge the increasingly diverse circumstances of explaining how Māori identity may be represented by Māori elite athletes.

Additionally, this section has discussed that Māori have expanded their own cultural heritage systems to retain what would be considered as conventional markers of Māori identity and a degree of control over what is generally accepted as authentically Māori. Many of the underlying meanings of certain practices have been influenced by colonial constructions; hence the divergent rhetoric about what constitutes an authentic Māori identity has conflicting political implications for different groups of Māori in the contemporary context. For instance, what conflicting political implications exist in determining what would be considered the traditional and cultural behaviours for Māori and who constructs and defines them? Secondly, how do Māori cope when the

differences between those who display prototypical behaviour and those who do not are highlighted? These questions are correspondingly complex.

Māori prototypical behaviours were also outlined utilising two examples of Māori identity evaluation; firstly, Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR); and secondly, the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE). These are pertinent to this current research as they highlight the behaviours by which Māori athletes may determine and interpret their perceptions of Māori identity. However, this current research contends that the diversity of Māori lived experiences cannot be defined through static parameters of tradition and cultural behaviours or other markers of prototypicality when seeking to understand the complexity and fluidity of Māori identity. Instead it is proposed that how Māori athletes could make sense of their Māori identity is through the appropriation of Māori concepts that support and identify the relationship and connection that Māori athletes may have to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. Mauri was defined as an additional concept that may assist in describing how Māori athletes interpret their Māori identity.

Just as important is an examination that explores the behaviours and values of Māori athletes which aid in giving them their sense of Māori affiliation, connectedness and belongingness within sporting environs. Such an inquiry will aid in clarifying how Māori athletes interpret, create meaning and understand their Māori identity within elite sport. Consequently the next section explains the evolution and adaptation of Māori identity sport. These adaptations are exposed by iterating the complex nature and convergence of Māori participation in sport and Māori identity; accentuating that

issues regarding Māori identity exist in sport, just as they exist in other spheres of social life and that any study of sport cannot be investigated within a vacuum.

2.3 MĀORI SPORT: IDEOLOGIES, PARTICIPATION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

In this section, the complexities of Māori identity dynamics are discussed through a discourse that encapsulates the notions of pre-colonial Māori perspectives of physical activity and how contemporary Māori participation in sport has been perceived and valued in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although this research is not concerned with the overt agenda of ‘race’ and racism, the literature uncovers racist attitudes and the way Māori have challenged and contributed to hegemonic power relations in sport. The focus of this research is furthering our understanding of the impact of these developments in elite sport and how Māori athletes make meaning of their Māori identity within that realm.

Eurocentric perspectives of Māori activity

Early colonial perspectives described Māori social organisation and praxis as primitive, superstitious, mysterious, lacking in conceptual and practical knowledge and dependent on a limited language (Thomas & Dyall, 1999). This was certainly exemplified in the 1840s where the attitude of colonizers reflected that:

The native race is physically, organically, intellectually and morally, far inferior to the European. No cultivation, no education will create in the mind of the present native race that refinement of feeling, that delicate sensibility and

sympathy, which characterize the educated European...the Māori is an inferior branch of the human family. (Southern Cross newspaper editorial, 1844, cited in Ballara, 1986, p. 86)

McCreanor et al. (2010) also highlight these notions providing several examples that described Māori as descending from “stone-age barbaric savage cannibals” and were “clearly inferior, inefficient, sexist, ossified, of no intrinsic value, and unable to compete in the modern world” (see also The NZ Herald, September 7, 2000 cited in McCreanor et al., 2010, p. 241). Indeed, colonial beliefs considered modern European civilisation as the saving grace of Māori development. Such ideologies however, were also similarly ascribed to traditional physical activities of Māori.

The ethnographic work of Elsdon Best (1925) has been credited as the most complete written account of *Games and Pastimes of the Māori* collated during his 15 year residence in the Urewera district with elders of the Tūhoe tribe. His early writings utilised a colonial paradigm categorising Māori physical activity into themes of ‘Military Exercises’, ‘Aquatic Games’, ‘Games requiring Agility or Manual Dexterity’, ‘Games and Pastimes requiring Calculation, Mental Alertness or Memorising Powers’, and ‘Games and Pastimes of Children’ (cited in Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 82). Best’s writings are clarified further through the work of Sir Peter (Te Rangihiroa) Buck (1958; first published, 1929) in his book the *Coming of the Māori*, which provided a Māori ideology of traditional Māori activity. Although the categories aforementioned by Best were helpful in explaining Māori forms of training that displayed strength and physical prowess, the classifications de-emphasised that they served a higher purpose of holistic well-being (Buck, 1958). For instance pre-

colonial Māori physical activity fortified the cognitive traits of the mind, mental awareness, calculation, and memorisation. Additionally, traditional Māori activity reinforced language, history, customs, values, heritage, and whakapapa (genealogy) via the oral expressions of waiata (songs), haka (dance), poi (ball on a string) and mōteatea (chant) (Buck, 1958). Hence, Māori physical activity was inseparable from the necessities of daily life (Thomas & Dyal, 1999).

In another example, Best (1925) described that manu tukutuku (kite/kite flying) were assigned names of tupuna (ancestors), yet, he omitted to explain a Māori perspective for this cultural practice. Hokowhitu (2007) affirms that Māori take substantial consideration and thoughtfulness in assigning names of their tupuna (ancestors) to objects, asserting that “kite flying may have been a child's pastime in early 20th-century England, that was certainly not the case for Māori prior to colonisation” (p. 82). Therefore colonial perspectives simply lacked the epistemological nous to understand that Māori pre-colonial ‘sport’ emphasised a relationship with both the physical and spiritual environment. A critique of these processes is pertinent within the context of Māori identity to demonstrate that deficit perspectives began with early Eurocentric perspectives of Māori society.

The discourse of deficit views was also “integrated through the capitalist-driven schooling system of colonial New Zealand” (Palmer, 2000, p. 312). Certainly this is illustrated in the remarks given by Rev. Butterfield who was a headmaster of a Māori boarding school in Gisborne and commented to the Young Māori Party in 1910 that Māori would not be able to learn skills for various professions. He continued to declare that:

About 999 out of 1000 could not bear the strain of higher education. In commerce Māori could not hope to compete with the Pākehā. In the trades the Māori's were splendid copyists, but not originators. As carpenters they would cope under a capable supervisor, but not otherwise. Agriculture was the one calling suitable for Māori's...it was therefore necessary to teach them the 'nobility of labour. (cited in Barrington, 1988, p. 49)

Consequently, educational policy throughout the early twentieth century consigned Māori as "able labourers on the farms of their colonial proprietors...rural based peasantry" where "the Māori lad [was] to be a good farmer and the Māori girl to be a good farmer's wife" (Harker & McConnochie, 1985, p. 95 cited in Hokowhitu, 2009, p. 10). As such physical abilities of Māori and the 'physicality' of Māori (men in particular) were therefore highlighted to obscure or deny any higher cognitive capacities (Hokowhitu, 2003c; McCreanor et al., 2010). Such racialised perspectives had major implications that essentially foresaw Māori as who they were not - that is, Pākehā. The deficit discourse that relegated Māori as the 'other', different and inferior resulted in many Māori resisting identifying as such (Edwards, 1999; Pere, 2006). The unfortunate outcome has been that many Māori have limited knowledge of their Māori identity (Edwards, 2000, p. 2 cited in Pere, 2006, p. 75). To some degree the gradual internalisation of the negative construct of Māori identity also became evident in the institution of sport.

Racialised perspectives of Māori participation in elite sport

Māori were perceived as naturally talented in sport and subsequently, less equipped intellectually. An early example appeared in an article written in *The Star Sports* May 6, 1950, that described a typical Māori rugby player as:

...instinctive, and the discipline of coaching sits heavily upon him. This is why his game is so brilliant, and why it has few weaknesses. Few Māori players are complete footballers in that their defence is as strong as their attack. (cited in Thompson, 1954)

Indeed sport, and in particular, rugby had become another racially contested arena where a critical consciousness of deficit stereotypes regarding Māori and Polynesian¹⁵ participation in sport was prevalent. Early studies regarding this taken-for-granted relationship emphasise however the challenges and tensions that exist for Māori athletes in sport, that expose deficit attitudes. The writings of Hokowhitu in particular explain the origin of these attitudes and the connection between sport and Māori. He argues that the early colonial observation of Māori physical prowess instigated the emergence of a physicality/unintelligent dichotomy that is pervasive in contemporary sport in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Hokowhitu, 2003a; Hokowhitu, 2003b; 2003c; 2004; 2007). The increased presence of Māori participation in elite sport has reinforced European perceptions that Māori are natural athletes, rather than intelligent and hard working. In this sense, being Māori is perceived as an impediment that historically has marginalized Māori in sport (and in society) rather than Māori being construed as a unique element of identity.

¹⁵ A heterogeneous label that refers to those peoples who have ancestral and geological links to the various ethnic groups that speak Polynesian languages, a branch of the Oceanic languages, and inhabit Polynesia.

Representations of Māori and Polynesian athletes as “naturally” athletic are still prevalent in recent media commentary. Examples that have featured within the last 15 years include remarks from Murray Deaker (cited in Matheson, 2001), a respected sports commentator at the time who suggested that although Māori and Pasifika¹⁶ rugby athletes have contributed significantly to the athletic spectacle of rugby that it is “the hard, tough white farmer” (p. 32) who works for the entire duration of a match. Dale Aitken, coach of an Auckland rugby club of Māori descent similarly expressed high regard of the athleticism of Polynesian rugby players, yet denoted work ethic as being a “white guy” characteristic (cited in Matheson, 2001, p. 32). Lastly, Martin Crowe (2003 cited in Coakley et al., 2013) ex-New Zealand Cricket captain now commentator suggested that Māori are not suited for cricket because they lack the “patience or the temperament to play through a whole day let alone over a Test match” (p. 286). Such examples debunk the perception that sport is “an even playing field”; instead, it could be argued that sport reinforces racial stereotypes and social barriers (Taonui, 23 April 2012). Journalist Richard Boock in his column *‘She’ll be white bro’* (Sunday Star Times, 11 October 2008), openly confronted these views by stating that:

The worst part of the debate, not merely the offence and hurt it must cause to many fellow Kiwis, but also the very real likelihood that it encourages some people to judge athletic endeavour on, not skills and ability, but skin colour and ethnicity. The ‘he’s an Islander so he must be an outside back’ mantra only gains more traction, as does the concept of white superiority in sport. Non-Caucasian sportspeople in New Zealand are being continually and unfairly pigeon-holed on account of lazy thinking and unsophisticated reasoning.

¹⁶ An ethnic label that refers to people who have an ancestral link to the ethnic groups categorised under Pacific Islander, or Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands and geographical location of the Pacific Islands, including Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

The struggle therefore over ‘whose’ ideas about sports will count as ‘the’ ideas in Aotearoa New Zealand remains a paramount debate that is even avoided at the governance level. For instance, this attitude became apparent more recently in 2012 when Pat Lam coach of the Auckland Blues Rugby franchise and of Samoan descent, received racist communication from the public through social media sites. The messages were an overreaction to the Blues poor performance in the early stages of the 2012 Super 14¹⁷ Rugby competition, blaming the high number of Māori and Pasifika athletes for their one win-five loss results in their first six competition games. The public scrutiny also hinted at Lam’s nepotism towards Polynesian players in his selection process. Although Steve Tew Chief Executive of the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU) responded to the Lam debacle by saying that “racism is unacceptable” (Taonui, 23 April 2012), no action was taken, the ‘silence’ indicating by default that racism within Rugby remains a ‘dirty secret’ (Boock, 2008; Malcouronne & Gasteiger, 2011; Taonui, 23 April 2012).

To further the point of racism in rugby, Sir John Kirwan, a Pākehā, who assumed the role as head coach of the Auckland Blues franchise following Lam’s resignation, finished 10th in 2013, 10th in 2014 and 14th in 2015 - the worst performances in the Auckland Blues Super rugby history. Yet Kirwan received no public backlash that would have indicated ethnicity as a possible reason for their poor performances over those three seasons. Kirwan resigned at the conclusion of the 2015 regular season. How this literature pertains to my study is to simply highlight that racism exists in the sport of rugby where media and academic attention tends to focus, because of rugby

¹⁷ The Super 14 (now the Super XV) Rugby competition for sponsorship reasons is known as Aseron Life Super Rugby in Australia, Investec Super Rugby in New Zealand and Vodacom Super Rugby in South Africa. Including its past incarnations (as Super 12 and Super 14), 2015 heralded its 20th season and comprised of 15 teams; five teams from each of the three countries involved (SANZAR Rugby, 2014).

unions status in New Zealand as the national sport. This discourse also challenges the dominant national ethos that unity exists and is upheld under the auspices of equal opportunity. In this respect Māori participation in sport seems to reinforce stereotypes and dominant ideologies about Māori as deficit and inferior. In continuing the ‘debate’ where race and sport intersect, the next section reveals examples where Māori have adapted sport to provide opportunities to encourage and engage with Māori traditions and cultural practices.

Māori sport competition environments

There are examples of Māori collectively and/or individually attempting to ‘adapt’ sport to suit their needs through sport specific tournaments and events. In particular it describes how Māori identity reaffirmation has occurred not only for individuals, but also at the whānau, hapū and iwi levels.

Paul Moon (2012) in his analysis of *Links between Māori Cultural Well-Being and Participation in Sports: A Literature Review* states that the increase in Māori sport tournaments is largely influenced by the consequence of Māori urbanisation. He concludes that sporting activities (especially team sports), are an effective means of reviving some of the whānau spirit that was perhaps lost through urbanisation. Contemporary formats of these contests are akin to the ‘Pā Wars’ phenomenon, where athletes from different marae within the same iwi compete in a range of sports, cultural and social activities. Indeed, Thomas and Dyall (1999) describe that “sport is the draw card, but it provides a setting where links are strengthened [where] whānau, hapū and iwi bonds [can] be maintained and developed” (p. 120). In his master’s thesis titled *‘Inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori’* Mato (2011)

identifies that while the origin of the modern form of inter-marae sports is unclear, the events have been a successful means of celebrating iwitanga (tribal culture), providing further opportunities for intergenerational transfer of Māori values and beliefs to occur; the sharing of history, genealogy and the revival of cultural practices, such as waiata and haka (Mato, 2011; Thomas & Dyll, 1999).

The NZ Herald (2007) reported that over 40 years ago Tūhoe, initiated a festival to combat the loss of identity as a result of urbanisation. The Tūhoe festival is a biennial, four-day event where Tūhoe descendants return to their tribal area to celebrate Tūhoe culture, language and ancestry. Similarly, Ngāti Porou hosts a one-day sporting festival held on the third day of every January referred to as the Pā Wars, which are not just about sport. In the last few years over 25,000 people have participated in activities such as iwi trivial pursuit, euchre, darts, line dancing, karaoke, healthy cooking competitions and many other not so well known activities (Barry Soutar, personal communication, March 31, 2010 cited in Mato, 2011, p. 2). Api Mahuika, Chairman of the Ngāti Porou committee, commented that the festival is about:

...inter-generational participation, a chance for whānau members to return to their roots to reunite with each other...who have been away and a chance to take stock of who we are, where we are, and to enjoy our Ngāti Poroutanga. (NZ Herald, 2006 cited in Mato, 2011, p. 29)

Ngāti Whātua Ngā Rima o Kaipara Hākinakina (Five Marae of the South Kaipara sports day) brings rangatahi (youth), mātua (parents), kuia (female elders) and koroua (male elders) together to enjoy the spirit of tribal and whānau unity through sporting

activities (Harbour Sport, 2006). The Te Arawa Games, held in Rotorua, was rekindled in April 2011 after a ten-year break in an effort to strengthen Te Arawa iwitanga through sport (Te Arawa Games, 2011). Many other whānau, hapū and iwi hold their own versions of sports events and festivals to celebrate their particular iwi uniqueness and identity, exemplifying an expression of rangatiratanga (sovereignty/self-determination). Recent iterations include the Iron Māori (a half Ironman event for those of Māori descent) and the introduction of international sports competitions and fixtures, for example the World Indigenous Touch tournament. McCreanor et al. (2010) conclude that:

Sport has much to offer in terms of personal health and development, but even more importantly, as a social and community activity that encourages participation and builds social cohesion on a number of fronts. Māori clearly know these things, and value sport through their own codes and streams that have, for many decades, served these ends and contributed to self-determination. (p. 234)

Māori are also using sport as a way of enhancing Māori identity and well-being in other parts of the world. Bergin (2002) researching Māori sport participation in Australia reported that unique sporting events have afforded an opportunity for Māori living in Australia, the chance to re-engage with traditional behaviours and strengthen their cultural identity. These sport events allow for the implementation of Māori cultural practices such as “pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony), karanga (ceremonial call of welcome to visitors), whaikōrero (oratory), hākari (celebratory feast) and the celebration of whānaungatanga (relationships)” (p. 266-267). Bergin (2002) also

reported that Māori born in Australia, who visit New Zealand on sporting excursions often return to Australia wanting to learn more about their ancestral heritage, even though they previously had no desire to learn about their Māori origins (Bergin, 2002, pp. 266-267; see also Mato, 2011, p. 27). Although Bergin's research refers to Māori diaspora in Australia, it is clear that regardless of where Māori may reside, these examples of culturally-specific or 'themed' sporting events both in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand have the potential to play an important role in "nurturing the social and cultural identity of individuals and groups" (Thomas & Dyllal, 1999, p. 121). Hence, Māori identity encouragement through sport is important to inspire and enrich Māori wellbeing and aspirations.

It is clear that sport environments provide an expression of Māori traditional practices that perhaps some Māori and non-Māori may not have been exposed to outside of sport. Such practices are referred to as mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and include components of Māori culture such as te reo Māori and tikanga (Mead, 2003). Mātauranga Māori and how it has been used in elite sport is the focus of the next section.

Mātauranga Māori in elite sport

In recent times mātauranga Māori has become common place in producing a unified identity of uniqueness that sets Aotearoa New Zealand apart from the rest of the world (Erueti, 2014; Erueti & Palmer, 2013). An example of this has been the New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) strategy referred to as the '*One Team-One Spirit*' campaign that described the implementation of Māori cultural aspects during the 2004 Olympic Games held in Athens. However, very briefly, the *One Team-One Spirit*

video-recording described the formation of a New Zealand identity through adding cultural value to inspire athletes and enhance the team environment. This was done by incorporating both tangible and intangible concepts of Māori taonga (prized possessions/treasures). Athlete narratives captured by the *One Team-One Spirit* (New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC), 2004) video presentation reflect the impact of Māori taonga on their sporting experiences during the Athens Olympics:

Because of that sense of culture we all of a sudden were identifiable, people from all over the world were coming in to say ‘hey...what’s New Zealand all about, why are they all so together’ and then they would come down...and see this is who we are and see this is where we’re from and all of a sudden they admired us for it. (Beatrice Faumauina, Discus, Flag Bearer/Team Captain)

It just gives you a sense of home a sense of pride...just that little inner feeling that this is what it means to be an elite athlete representing your country representing everyone that’s gone before you...you know...your history and culture. (Dean Kent, Swimmer)

I honestly believe that the haka that the New Zealand team did for me from the stands...I get bloody goose bumps now from it just thinking about it...to me that was way cooler than shaking a stranger’s hand and having a medal put around my neck...to me that was just everything...that was winning at the Olympics. (Sarah Ulmer, Cycling, Women’s Individual Pursuit, Gold medallist)

Winning the gold medal was great and it was the most fantastic feeling, but the things like the haka and the spirit in the team made it even sweeter because...there were your peers and fellow athletes who had worked just as hard as you had and had put just as much into the build-up as you had and they were bestowing this honour upon you I guess, it was just so moving and so fantastic. I'll never forget it. (Hamish Carter, Triathlete, Gold medallist)

We had been in Europe for three months and to have all that Kiwi-ness was cool. (Caroline and Georgina Evers-Swindell, Women's Double Sculls, Gold medallists)

The brief accounts of these non-Māori Olympic athletes who participated at the Athens Olympic Games demonstrate that the use of mātauranga Māori such as the haka (ritualistic dance) were perceived as a legitimate and appropriate method to mark 'Kiwi-ness' and a unified national identity (Edwards, 2007; McCreanor et al., 2010, p. 241). Additionally, they identify that the implementation of mātauranga Māori arouses deep emotional attachments influencing how non-Māori athletes perceived and created meaning regarding their national and personal identities. Hodge and Hermansson (2007) as sport psychologists to the Athens and the Torino Winter Olympic Games 2006 respectively, highlighted that the application of mātauranga Māori in those games resulted in:

...a clear and solid sense of team unity and togetherness...positive social interaction and communication, obvious team stability and acceptance of role responsibilities and a commitment to shared group norms. (p. 4)

Whether intentional or not, the implementation of mātauranga Māori created a heightened sense of trust and security that resulted in a commitment to and enjoyment from being part of a unified team (Hodge & Hermansson, 2007). The examples provided above suggest that the use of mātauranga Māori at the Athens and Torino Olympic Games can create a unifying and unproblematic identity for those involved, but very little research has asked Māori athletes how mātauranga Māori influences the sporting experience or their Māori identity.

These conclusions regarding unification are akin to the concept of whānau. In Māori episteme the whānau rather than the individual, is the core social unit and generally refers to membership based on whakapapa (Barlow, 1991). Within the whānau, the principles of reciprocity and mutual obligation are important. All members have a responsibility to, and are accountable to the whānau. The word whānau is also at the core of the concepts whānaungatanga, a system of creating relationships through shared common understandings and meanings; and whakawhānaungatanga a process of establishing whānau relationships by “engagement, connectedness, and implies an unspoken but implicit commitment to other people” (see Bishop, 1996, p. 147). However, the ‘whānau’ concept in this research and as it applies to elite sport requires a contemporary definition that considers going beyond genealogical boundaries.

To delineate between the traditional and contemporary explanations of whānau, Te Rito’s (2006) definition of kaupapa whānau proves useful, defining it as “a number of people with complementary skills who are committed to a common purpose and share sets of performance goals” (p. 14). The definition of kaupapa whānau provided by Te Rito (2006) is helpful in describing the collectivist attitude described by Hodge and

Hermansson (2007) that appears in elite sport. Kaupapa whānau is therefore applied and guides this research because it describes the creation of mutual personal connections and inter-relationships between athletes, coaching and management staff though the implementation of mātauranga Māori in sport. That is kaupapa whānau as encouraged by the integration of cultural practices, provides a thought-provoking aspect where Māori athletes have been able to create meaning of their Māori identity in elite sport.

A recent example that occurs outside of the Olympic/Commonwealth games events, is in the recent work conducted by Hapeta and Palmer (2014) who explored the incorporation of mātauranga Māori within the Super XV Rugby franchise The Waikato Chiefs¹⁸. Examples includes the Chiefs logo design that features a male figure clasping a patu (club-like weapon) (Hokowhitu, Sullivan, & Williams, 2008) and a haka that has been specifically composed for the team (Elliott, 2012). Head coach Dave Rennie whose ethnic origin is Cook Island¹⁹, acknowledges that he was inspired by Māori heritage and set about incorporating specific Māori knowledge that was unique to the region where the franchise is based. When describing the integration of mātauranga Māori he expresses that:

The integration of things Māori has been really good. A lot of those elements have gone a long way to creating the sort of culture we want here. The boys have bought into it and enjoyed it and it's helped us to grow Chiefs' mana. (Rennie, 2012)

¹⁸ The Waikato Chiefs while located in the city of Hamilton represents the combined provincial Rugby Unions of the Bay of Plenty, Counties Manukau, King Country, Thames Valley, Waikato and Taranaki.

¹⁹ The Cook Islands, the South Pacific archipelago nation, lies southwest of Tahiti.

Until more recently the implementation of mātauranga Māori to encourage a sense of kauapapa whānau has been void of an assessment from a Māori athlete perspective. To shed light on this void Erueti and Palmer (2013) explored the experiences of Māori athletes participating in elite sport to understand how they interpret and make sense of such cultural traditions and practices and the circumstances in which they are employed. Additionally, sharing the experiences of non-Māori athletes implies that Māori have participated and acted as partners in the process of implementing mātauranga Māori. Erueti (2014) suggested that an inquiry that embraces the query ‘how did mātauranga Māori in sport start?’ is in need. Both of these themes are further critiqued in Chapter Five of this research.

Section summary

Pre-colonial physical activity was an integral and inseparable component of everyday life, ritual, and survival for Māori and early colonial ideologies became inherent in initial Māori participation in sport which reinforced racial stereotypes and ideologies associating Māori with physicality and thus intellectually inferior (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Thomas & Dyllal, 1999). Māori sporting environments have since adapted sport and sport events to promote physical activity for health and wellbeing as well as to encourage Māori cultural behaviours and Māori, iwi, hapū and whānau connections. Lastly the integration of mātauranga Māori in sporting environments particularly at the elite level have allowed athletes both Māori and non-Māori to experience a unique national semblance while competing in global events. Exemplifying that in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand sport was and remains hugely significant in both traditional and contemporary Māori society and plays a key role in the development of Māori identity. The next section emphasises the wider scope of Māori participation in sport.

2.4 MĀORI SPORT PARTICIPATION

Since the advent of organised sport in Aotearoa New Zealand sport has become an integral social phenomenon with elevated status, and acts as a powerful motivator for participation by all New Zealanders and, indeed, a particularly strong motivator for Māori (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). Palmer (2007b) suggests that this is due to a variety of reasons that include:

- Sport skills are encouraged, developed and rewarded from an early age;
- Sport is an excellent way of bonding with whānau, hapū, iwi and friends;
- Many cultural heroes and role models are sportspeople;
- Māori sporting success is one of the few media representations of Māori people and Māori culture that is celebrated and admired by New Zealand society in general;
- Māori win sport events, make money in sport, and have mana and prestige because of sport achievements. (p. 312)

Being good at sport, either by achieving elite status through selection and national representative honours or attaining a professional contract therefore becomes an essential component of Māori identity with the potential for acceptance and success in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

Palmer's (see 2006a; 2006b; 2007a, 2007b, 2009) contributions in areas of Māori, and particularly females in sport, have assisted in clarifying the relationship between sport and ethnicity in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. In her doctoral thesis (see Palmer,

2000) she examined the experiences of more than 40 Māori secondary school girls and young women in physical education and sport arguing that participation in sport supplied a diverse range of experiences for her participants where Māori identity and sport converge or diverge (Palmer, 2007a). She explains that:

Sport allowed Māori girls and young women to: discover their Māoriness; blend in and forget about their ‘otherness’; celebrate their collective Māori identity and culture; or be excluded from team activities due to a disjuncture between their cultural beliefs and practices and the teams/sports cultural beliefs and practices. (Palmer, 2007a, p. 15)

Research by Hirini and Flett (1999) attempted to quantitatively determine what it means to be ‘Māori’ specifically examining how Māori athletes representing the men’s New Zealand Māori Rugby team made sense of their Māori identity. They employed measures that integrated self-identification, whakapapa, marae participation, whānau associations, whenua tipu (sacred or ancestral land), contact with Māori people, knowledge and use of Māori language. They reported that 95% of the players identified as Māori, but only 42% described themselves as Māori, highlighting the importance of traditional behaviours and the influence such behaviors have on Māori athlete self-perceptions of Māori identity reaffirmation within the elite sport context. How Māori Rugby athletes internalise their Māori identity was highlighted again when Hirini and Flett (1999) reported that 26% experienced some stress in formal Māori contexts.

Palmer (2007b) reports that Hirini and Fletts' (1999) findings were forwarded to the Māori Advisory Board of the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU) Whakapūmāutanga, and as a consequence, strategies were implemented to increase players' knowledge of their own whakapapa, Māori culture, kawa and te reo Māori. By doing so, the Māori board anticipated a reduction in the stress athletes experienced in Māori contexts, with the intention to "improve performance, pride, health, and their ability to inspire other Māori" (Palmer, 2007b, p. 313). Te Rito (2006) in his exploration of Māori leadership in sport similarly identified that sport can be a forum where effective Māori leadership and Māori identity restoration can potentially intersect. He states that Māori athletes have or accorded mana and therefore are in an influential position as role models to provide leadership in encouraging Māori identity for Māori who may "have simply become disconnected from whānau , hapū, iwi, tūrangawaewae, or more importantly Māori culture" (p. 10).

Research that has explored Māori athlete experience and their interpretations of elite sport has also investigated the differences in cultural (mis)understandings between Māori athletes and pre-dominantly non-Māori/Pākehā managers, administrators and coaches that continue to be apparent in contemporary sport discourses. Deslea Wrathalls' (1996) research, provided a descriptive analysis of the experiences of 13 Māori women involved in elite sport in softball, netball, touch (rugby), basketball, golf, athletics, hockey and rugby. Although her participants conveyed confident affiliations to their respective iwi, her study reported that Māori athletes felt a disconnection between Māori cultural values and those of mainstream sport. As such, her participants raised a number of issues that challenged and accentuated commonly held beliefs of non-Māori coaches, managers and administrators. In particular, the

importance of whānau support in elite sport; lack of knowledge among predominantly Pākehā administrators about how to interact with Māori athletes; issues regarding communication and use of language; and examples of cultural insensitivity, intolerance, manipulation, isolation and exploitation (cited in Palmer, 2007a) were mentioned by these Māori women. Indeed, Wrathall (1996) stated that non-Māori coaches and administrators “had little understanding of Māori ways and values and often were not interested in them as people, other than what they could produce on the playing field” (cited in Thompson, Rewi, & Wrathall, 2000, p. 246).

Pertinent to this theme is the theoretical position and discussion provided by Thomas and Dyll (1999) who emphasised the need for sensitivity to cultural differences, and the policies and practices of sport managers in multicultural settings. In particular they found that:

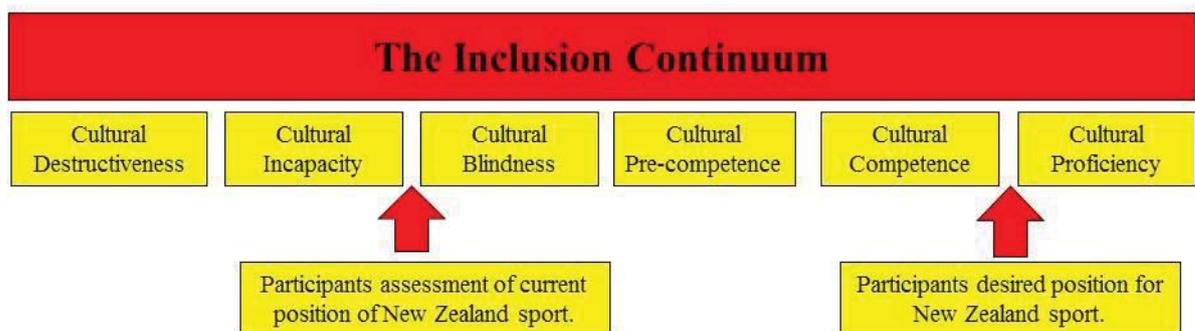
In many sport settings it is likely that managers, administrators and coaches do not share the culture of some [athletes]. In this situation, misunderstandings based on cultural differences in interpersonal communication are likely to affect interactions between managers (and other staff) and athletes and their supporters. (p. 116)

More recently, Raima Hippolite’s (2008) master’s thesis explored the experiences of ten Māori athletes participating in mainstream sport. In a co-authored publication she concluded that “simple matters of protocol were often overlooked and disregarded” and that “Pākehā did not understand important differences between the two cultures, nor had they bothered to learn about Māori ‘ways’ in order to understand Māori

athletes” (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010, p. 37). One of Hippolite’s participants frustratingly expressed that “they don’t even try to understand it” (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010, p. 37). Hippolite and Bruce (2010) add that such misunderstandings often resulted in Māori athletes withdrawing from specific sport events and competitions.

In their most recent work, a chapter titled ‘*Towards cultural competence: How incorporating Māori values could benefit New Zealand sport*’, Hippolite and Bruce (2013) provide a model adapted from the work of Cross, Bazron, Dennis and Isaacs (1989) that clarifies how cultural competency can be better understood in sport. The model is a continuum that ranges from “cultural destructiveness at the negative end and moves through four stages towards cultural proficiency” (Hippolite & Bruce, 2013, p. 89). Utilising data collated from the interviews of Hippolite’s research, they critically assessed the narratives against the continuum and concluded that while cultural competence is the desirable outcome, participants’ experiences indicate that New Zealand sport currently “oscillates between cultural incapacity and cultural blindness” (p. 89) as illustrated in the following figure:

Figure 1: New Zealand Sport on the Cultural Competence Continuum (Hippolite & Bruce, 2013, p. 89)



These studies emphasise the value of investigating how cultural insensitivity and intolerance displayed by coaching and management personnel are experienced and interpreted by Māori athletes and how their relationships with coaching and management staff have influenced their Māori identity within sport.

Advances in Māori sport studies that further highlight the convergence of Māori identity and sport, have examined the inequalities that exist in positions of coaching, management and governance (Hokowhitu, 2005; Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). Hokowhitu observed the low representation of Māori participation in terms of the decision-making level despite Māori athletes being well-represented and integrated at the higher echelons of elite or professional sport especially within Rugby Union. For instance, Te Puni Kōkiri²⁰ (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005) state that of the 160 registered professional players under contract to the New Zealand Rugby Union in 2004, 54 of these players were of Māori descent (34%) representing the highest conversion rate from amateur to professional rugby of any demographic group within New Zealand rugby.

Hippolite (2008) reinforced that there are not enough Māori making decisions regardless of the high level of participation by Māori as athletes. She goes on to say that “Māori seem to be missing in substantial numbers that would affect representation in key functionary positions such as coaches at national level, selectors, officials, administrators at board level” (pp. 7-8). Palmer and Masters (2010) suggest that examining Māori and gendered identities as experienced by Māori women sport leaders identified barriers and the strategies they used to negotiate them. Their

²⁰ A government entity that acts as the New Zealand governments principal adviser on the Crown’s relationship with iwi, hapū and Māori, and on key government policies as they affect Māori.

narratives reveal that a hybrid style of leadership was required in order to “cater to the quadruple bottom line (economic, environmental, social and cultural measures of business success). Their organisation and cultural worlds adhere to culturally preferred ways of communicating and consulting” further stressing that this did “place additional strain on these women” (Palmer & Masters, 2010, p. 331). Palmer and Masters (2010) conclude that the intersecting strands of indigeneity and gender require further investigating in order to progress the ‘managing diversity’ discussion in sport that was first highlighted in a scholarly report authored by Thomas and Dyll (1999).

Holland (2012) indicated that understanding the inequalities that exist in positions of coaching, management and governance is not straightforward. He explored the current status of Pasifika and Māori within New Zealand sport governance roles in National Sports Organisations (NSO’s) highlighting that Māori and Pasifika face multiple challenges to accepting governance roles. He concludes that barriers such as Māori identity expectations concerning age, status and respect; not being fully integrated within the board; stereotyping and expectations; tokenistic appointments and a lack of Pasifika and Māori role models in sport governance roles acted as deterrents to the participation of Pasifika and Māori within New Zealand sport at the governance level. His research revealed that the solutions will no doubt be as complex as the very subject he investigated.

A disparity in particular that concerns Māori athlete development and highlights the convergence of elite level sport and Māori identity has been the low number of Māori athletes competing (and Māori personnel attending) the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) have drawn attention to the high number of

Māori participating in Rugby Union, yet Palmer (2006b) provided a closer statistical analysis of Māori athlete participation in elite sport. She noted the number of Māori athletes supported by the New Zealand Academy of Sport, now referred to as High Performance Sport New Zealand (HPSNZ). Several examples follow, with Table 1 revealing a selection of team sports supported by HPSNZ²¹ that highlight Māori athlete participation:

Table 1: Ethnic identity of Athletes supported by New Zealand Academy of Sport – Team Sports (Palmer, 2006b)

Sport	European (%)	Māori (%)	Polynesian (%)	Other (%)
Basketball	60	19	9	12
Hockey	80	15	0	5
Netball	52	21	19	8
Rugby	39	43	18	0
Rugby league	14	28	58	0
Softball	24	50	26	0

Also several individual sports contained encouraging levels of Māori elite level participation, which slightly contradicts stereotypical claims of Māori preference for team sports (Palmer, 2006b). Table 2 illustrates several examples of individual sports supported by the then New Zealand Academy of Sport (now HPSNZ):

²¹ The method employed by HPSNZ to support its elite athletes is referred to as the ‘carded’ system. HPSNZ and national sport organisations jointly consider and agree on the athletes who will receive carding status. Each athlete has different combinations of services available, based on the needs of the athlete and their sport. Support can include injury and illness prevention and rehabilitation, strength and conditioning, nutrition, athlete life, performance and technique analysis, physiology, psychology, and performance planning. <http://hpsnz.org.nz/funding/who-we-invest/athlete-investment/carding-support>).

Table 2: *Ethnic identity of athletes supported by New Zealand Academy of Sport – Individual Sports (Palmer, 2006b)*

Sport	European (%)	Māori (%)	Polynesian (%)	Other (%)
Bowls	82	16	0	2
Golf (men)	61	22	0	17
Powerlifting	0	100	0	0
Squash	58	38	0	4

Overall, Palmer (2006b; 2007b) concluded that 14% of elite athletes who were ‘carded athletes’ (see footnote previous page) and supported by HPSNZ identified themselves as Māori; Pākehā amounted to 73%. While this is proportional to the Māori population as a whole in Aotearoa New Zealand (Māori make-up 15% of the population), it challenges popular assumptions that have suggested Māori are over-represented in elite sport.

Other than the statistical data collated directly from Sport New Zealand (Palmer, 2006b; Palmer, 2007b) there appears to be a dearth of freely accessible statistical evidence given that Sport New Zealand does not report or record on the ethnic identity of athletes supported within High Performance Sport New Zealand. However, approximately 15 New Zealand athletes, the majority of whom were involved in Basketball and Hockey identified themselves as Māori at the Athens Olympics in 2004 (Palmer, 2007b, p. 320). Furthermore, New Zealand Women’s Hockey continues to be a sport that features a high number of Māori participants, indeed, eight Hockey players

identified themselves as Māori at the London Olympics in 2012 (Hermansson, 2012). Such positive levels of participation as athletes in various sports, referred to as the ‘browning’ of elite sport (see Palmer, 2007b, p. 323), has to some degree served to justify attitudes that a “level cultural playing field exists” (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002, p. 127).

While this research is primarily constructed on understanding the experiences of Māori, the increasing predominance of Pasifika athletes in high-profile and elite sports is an area of sport inquiry that has become progressively apparent (see Palmer, 2007b; Grainger, 2008; Holland, 2012). Indeed Pasifika athletes are “an increasingly large part of the New Zealand elite sport identity” (Laidlaw, cited in Hubbard, 2006, p. C2), particularly male Pasifika athletes in rugby and rugby league where “tattooed, dreadlocked, surnames festooned with apostrophes” (MacDonald, 2005, p. C11) are predominant. This section serves not only to highlight that distinguished history (Coakley et al., 2013), but to also signal that like Māori, Pasifika participation in elite sport will increase, given that census data predicts that the Pasifika population will grow by some 59 percent by 2021 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Grainger (2008) who completed his doctorate on the subject of the browning of the All Blacks, particularly by Pasifika athletes, indicates that the challenges Pasifika athletes experience in elite rugby are comparable with Māori. For instance, the television documentary *Polyunsaturated* (TV3 Network, 2003) stigmatised Pasifika superiority in sport, specifically rugby, on physical strictures stating that Pasifika players “are faster and stronger than Pākehā”. A year later, a programme called *The Brown Factor* (TVNZ, 2004) repeated dominant race ideologies that attribute the success of Pasifika

athletes to their inherent physicality. In this respect, Pasifika participation in sport seems to reinforce stereotypes and dominant ideologies akin to the deficit perception of Māori. Another similarity between Māori and Pasifika athletes is that high-profile success in sport can result in economic success and upward social mobility. A commentary highlighted that “sport, particularly professional sport, has broken down more barriers [for Pasifika athletes] than anything else put together” (The Brown Factor, TVNZ, 2004), a rhetoric that has served to promote cultural pluralism and tolerance. Yet, like Māori, Pasifika fair poorer in the key socio-demographic indicators of education, occupation and income in comparison to Pākehā. Pasifika athlete success therefore, maintains the illusion of an egalitarian multicultural society of equal opportunity. As such, the ‘browning of sport’ by our Pasifika brothers and sisters requires further inquiry in order to illuminate the (dis)connect between athlete success and Pasifika notions of societal development in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Section summary

Despite perceived and actual barriers to sport opportunities, Māori have adapted, with sport being one domain where Māori have featured positively and seemingly found a place of acceptance, recognition and opportunity. The increased appeal of sport for Māori as an avenue through which to escape deficit perceptions may lead to an internal tension between Māori identity and participation in elite sport. However Hokowhitu (2004) has argued that sport also has the potential in the “narrowcasting of Māori” (Coakley et al., 2013, p. 307) by both non-Māori and Māori, who may perpetuate constricted boundaries and mainstream narratives of Māori masculine physicality. In that sense, the context of Aotearoa New Zealand research that examines the challenges that Māori athletes experience in elite sport requires thoughtful deliberation and

distinctive methods. This is due to the unique historical, social influences and established ideologies of ethnicity and cultural identity that have influenced the bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā as the collective groups that signify the ‘Indigenous’ people of Aotearoa and the colonial settlers of New Zealand. A brief account of Pasifika athlete participation in elite sport was provided. In furthering our understanding regarding the convergence of sport and indigeneity, the next section focusses on literature that addresses issues and processes such as colonialism, nationalism and indigeneity by exploring research that focusses on the experiences of Indigenous athletes participating in elite sport in Taiwan, Canada and Australia.

2.5 INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE: INDIGENOUS ATHLETES AND ELITE SPORT PARTICIPATION

This section reveals Indigenous athletes’ subjectivity and mobility within the social world of elite sport particular to Taiwan, Canada and Australia. In many ways, the Indigenous and Aboriginal athletes who participate in elite level sport in these countries share similar experiences to Māori athletes where identity and sport intersect. The similarities and differences are discussed in the section conclusion the gap in knowledge is clarified and the contribution this current research makes to the field of indigeneity and sport is outlined.

Taiwan

In the context of Taiwan, scholars have more recently begun to write on Aboriginal people and sport (Chuang, 2014; Wang, 2009; Yu & Bairner, 2010, 2011). In particular, Yu and Bairners’ examination on the role of Aboriginal athletes

participating in professional baseball in Taiwan is most pertinent to this study. In 1990, the Chinese Professional Baseball League (CPBL) was established where it maintains a position as an indispensable form of entertainment for both the mass media and the general public alike. Indeed, the impact of baseball in Taiwan has been described as the most “significant sport in Taiwan and a popular source of symbolic national pride” (Chuang, 2014, p. 64).

Baseball in Taiwan exemplifies the challenges that face postcolonial Taiwan in the “incorporation of Aboriginal people as a means of encouraging a collective national” semblance (Yu & Bairner, 2010, p. 63). The school system has been the site in which Aboriginal people have been strongly encouraged to play and then subsequently developed for professional baseball. This was exemplified in 1989 where the Ministry of Education provided as much as US\$13,419,500 to introduce baseball specific policies if schools had good sporting results in baseball (Ministry of Education, 2008 cited in Chuang, 2014). Such tremendous government financial support has increased its appeal.

Chuang (2014) in his study illustrated that Aboriginal athletes receive strong messages from coaches that epitomised the “monetary value and future benefit of baseball at an early age” (p. 70). Baseball as a vehicle in which Aboriginal people could ‘better’ their lives is represented in the statistical evidence available. For instance, 32% of professional baseball athletes who compete in the CPBL identified as Aboriginal. Additionally, when Chinese Taipei (Taiwan) participates on the global stage 30% of Indigenous athletes competed in the Baseball World Cup in 2001 and 40% (10 out of 24) of the baseball squad who competed at the 2004 Athens Olympics were Indigenous

athletes. These statistics are staggering given that the approximate number of Aborigines accounts for only 2.1% of the entire population of Taiwan (Yu & Bairner, 2010).

The high ratio of Aboriginal athletes in Taiwanese baseball presents a view that baseball provides the opportunity to progress to professional careers and, in some cases, to national acclaim, consequently offering pride, prestige and social mobility to Aborigines. However athletes remain more controlled, than in control, given that societal attitudes continue to convey Aboriginal people in deficit ways (Yu & Bairner, 2010). As a consequence, other careers are denied to those who do not make it in sport, suggesting that gaps in both the education system and in government policy persist despite the high participation levels of Aboriginal athletes in professional baseball.

A prominent theme from the Taiwanese experience of elite Aboriginal baseball athletes emphasises the simple fact that there is no effort to support Aboriginal athletes “winning the game of life” (Chuang, 2014, p. 75). Certainly the cultural value of baseball and the incentives offered by the Taiwanese government give Aboriginal athletes great opportunities to improve their social status through baseball, but unfortunately lead many Aboriginal elite athletes to ignore other possibilities at school and in society more generally. Consequently, there is an imbalance in favour of sporting achievement which means that Aboriginal peoples remain in a narrow social position (Yu & Bairner, 2011). In addition, Aboriginal athletes are not optimistic about post professional baseball careers, and many face uncertain futures (Chuang, 2014). These studies suggest that while the general Taiwanese population are

entertained by the efforts of Aboriginal athletes in baseball every evening, and in international events intermittently, their performance and reputation are insufficient to be exchanged for social and cultural capital and value outside the sport field.

Canada

The way Indigenous peoples conceptualise sport has also been explored in Canada. One of the major contributors to understanding how First Nations peoples experience mainstream sport is Victoria Paraschak. She has examined the sporting context of Canadian native people since the mid-1990's and identified the marginalisation of Aboriginal physical activity, and the wider notions of sport that involve Aboriginal athletes (Paraschak, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2004, 2007, 2013). She attests that dominant hegemonic practices have substantiated and legitimised the federal government's rights to "shape Aboriginal sport in Canada, rather than to have federal sport be changed so that it more effectively meets the needs of Aboriginal people" (Paraschak, 2004, p. 4).

This issue was highlighted when the federal government reviewed the Native Sport and Recreation programme in 1995 following the inaugural North American Indigenous Games (NAIG)²² held in Edmonton in 1990 and the subsequent games in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan in 1993. The review criticised Aboriginal organisers for the inclusion of what the government deemed as inappropriate 'cultural' activities that largely "did not fit within the whitestream"²³, Eurocentric understandings of sport"

²² The North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) are restricted to those of Aboriginal ancestry and include participation of (and have been hosted by) First Nations/Indigenous peoples of America. They "stress fun and participation while encouraging our youth to strive for excellence" (Aboriginal Sports/recreation Association of BC, 1995, cited in Paraschak & Tirone, p. 108).

²³ A term Paraschak and Tirone (2014) use to describe sport that "has been primarily structured on the basis of European white experiences" (p. 92). They argue that it as a useful concept for "analysing race

(Paraschak & Tirone, 2014, p. 102). The government suggested an alteration that resulted in the integration of mainstream Euro-Canadian sporting activities or “whitestream” sport competitions rather than meeting the ‘cultural’ needs of Indigenous peoples. In spite of the alterations and limited financial support the games continued.

It was not until 2002 that Sport Canada’s Policy on Aboriginal people’s participation in sport acknowledged the NAIG and Indigenous sport system through both federal policy and funding. The NAIG became respected by national sporting organisations as a positive channel in which Aboriginal athletes could access national and international level sport competitions. However, most importantly has been the growth in the cultural program showcasing various traditional Indigenous games and activities. Parashak and Tirone (2014) observed that participants “experience more power in sport than is found in the whitestream system – they are in charge of its structure, its practices and meanings, and the traditions they will continue into the future” (p. 108). The next games will be hosted by the Aboriginal Sport and Wellness Council of Ontario and the Mississaugas of New Credit First Nation, Toronto, Ontario in the summer of 2017.

Despite this progress, Paraschak and Tirone (2014) argue that there is a need to counteract unequal power relations within the Canadian sports system by encouraging a shift away from a deficit perspective of Aboriginal physical activity practices to a ‘strengths-based’ perspective. More recently and in accordance with this theme, Paraschak and Thompson (2013; cited in Paraschak & Tirone, 2014) suggest four

and ethnic relationships in Canadian sport because it emphasises that the hegemonic sport system is primarily structured by and most effective for individuals who align with white European values” (p. 94).

major points of what they term as a “strengths based examination of Aboriginal people’s physical activity” (p. 109):

1. A holistic orientation of physical activity that stresses an integration of the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual examination (referred to as the ‘traditional medicine wheel’. Additionally, they argue that physical activity is an overarching concept that is inclusive of sport, recreation, active living and physical education;
2. An emphasis on family and community;
3. “Two-eyed seeing” (a term first used by Albert Marshall, a Canadian Mi’kmaq Elder), that encourages the integration of both traditional and western knowledge to provide the best solutions;
4. A commitment by the federal government for Indigenous self-determination in their approach to physical activity that would encourage traditional cultural practices. Consequently, coach education that engaged with holistic and Indigenous ways of being was recommended.

(p. 109)

The researchers advocate that these points would encourage another space where effective opportunities for Aboriginal sport event managers can promote and celebrate holistic traditional physical activity and cultural practices. Ultimately, “perhaps non-Aboriginal peoples can look at these strengths and incorporate them into the mainstream sport system” (Paraschak & Tirone, 2014, p. 109).

In connection to the previous point, and in regards to Indigenous elite athlete consciousness in the Canadian context of elite sport, the North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) Conference held in Winnipeg, 2002 (Brant et al., 2002) highlighted the experiences of Aboriginal Olympian athlete Waneek Horn-Miller. Reflecting on her experiences as a member of the national Water Polo team, Horn-Miller described that “sports psychology and a sports psychologist [who] will understand you, coming from that community, coming from your reality...that would be my dream” (p. 67). Her narrative clearly articulating the challenges she encountered participating in mainstream elite sport settings. Her commentary also illustrates the prevailing mainstream cultural discourse that highlights the misrepresentations that coaching and management staff may have of Indigenous athletes.

Most recently Paraschak and Tirone (2014) have commented on the absence of research examining the experiences of Aboriginal elite athletes participating at the Olympic level who like Waneek Horn-Miller could similarly aid in examining the tensions that may exist regarding the juncture of Indigenous identity and elite sport in particular to Canada. They begin by discussing examples of racism experienced by Ted Nolan during his time as a professional athlete competing in the National Hockey League (NHL). Ted Nolan is a highly celebrated Aboriginal athlete who has been one of the very few to continue in elite level sport post-elite athlete participation. He has held positions as the head coach of the Latvian hockey team for the Sochi Winter Olympics in 2014 and has returned to be the head coach of the Buffalo Sabres in the American NHL. In referring to his experiences and ‘others’, Paraschak and Tirone (2014) found that other Aboriginal players shared Nolan’s experiences of racist remarks while competing. Additionally, Aboriginal athletes commented that the

structure of Hockey in Canada made it “more difficult for them to feel part of and succeed in light of their own cultural practices” (p. 104).

Paraschak and Tirone (2014) then accentuate work completed by Pitter (2006) to address the current misrepresentation of knowledge about hockey in Canada from an Aboriginal perspective. Pitter’s (2006) claim that “the accomplishments of non-whites...as well as the obstacles they have had to struggle against” (p. 135) gives motivation to explore the experiences and interpretations of recent Aboriginal competitors other than hockey. Aboriginal athletes who have represented Canada at the Winter Olympic Games, for example, Caroline Calve, Jesse Cockney, Carolyn Darbyshire-McRorie, Spencer O’ Brien); Summer Olympian, Mary Spencer and Paralympian Richard Peter.

In light of this and specific to this study is a conjoint project that was conducted by non-Indigenous researchers in sport psychology from the University of British Columbia and Laurentian University. Schinke, Ryba, Danielson, Michel, Pickard, Peltier, Enosse, Pheasant and Peltier (2007; see also Schinke et al., 2010; Schinke et al., 2008) were among the first to formally consider Aboriginal athlete adaptation in elite sport investigating the juncture of indigeneity and elite sport in Canada. Collaborating with Aboriginal co-researchers from the Wikwemikong Unceded First Nations Reserve, they aimed to highlight athletes’ experiences in elite sport by investigating the “cultural clash and power relations that mould and control the identities and behaviours of Aboriginal athlete’s” (Schinke et al., 2007, p. 124). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 athletes - seven females and 16 males, with an age range of 17- 42 years, from seven different sports and representing three of

Canada's ten provinces. Although the researchers stress their limitations during the interview process, they revealed that Aboriginal experiences of elite level sport were:

...messy and sometimes conflicting negotiations and making sense of social relations, their place in them, and their (dis)connectedness with the social world. This all produced a profound impact on these athletes' lives in general and sporting careers in particular. (p. 138)

The major themes identified from the interviews with Aboriginal athletes were:

1. Making the commitment to persist in mainstream sport;
2. Learning about the structure of mainstream sport;
3. Self-managing their athletic development;
4. Gaining acceptance among peers; and,
5. Resisting the environment.

While further themes were extrapolated from the collected narratives that focussed mainly on ineffective and effective strategies utilised by coaches for developing relationships with Aboriginal athletes, the intricate relationship between cultural and spiritual elements was also accentuated by some participants. For example, a boxer felt that having a sweat lodge before the fight would be beneficial for him. As a part of traditional cultural practices within First Nations cultural system, a sweat lodge provides the space for a sacred ceremony to be incorporated as a part of the competition preparation process. However, because the tradition is so deeply ingrained into the Indigenous way of 'being', the athlete felt uncomfortable about

proposing this practice with his coach. However, if the athlete's coaches did query if there was 'something' he would like to do in preparation for his bout he would ask the coaches whether he could go to a sweat lodge. This example accentuates that some Aboriginal athletes maintain and, therefore may need to include components that are both culturally and spiritually meaningful (Hanrahan, 2004; Paraschak, 1997; Schinke et al., 2008). It also highlights what Paraschak (1997) cautioned a decade earlier that coaches (and sport psychologists, see Schinke et al., 2010; Schinke et al., 2008) working with Aboriginal athletes may need to realign their cultural prejudice and/or insensitivity, to become better equipped with Indigenous knowledge.

Australia

In Australia, the significance of sport to Aboriginal people has played an important role and in return Aboriginal athletes have been influential in the social, cultural and political sport landscape (Gorman, 2005; Hayward, 2006; Tatz, 1995). Hallinan and Judd (2009) contended that Aboriginal athletes take part in sport at "rates far above those of Australians in general" (p. 1222), particularly in the team sports of Australian Rules football (Australia Football League, AFL) and Rugby League (National Rugby League, NRL) competitions (Bearup, 2007; Gardiner, 2003a; Sinclair, 2008). For instance during the 2008 season, there were 704 registered professional AFL players, of which 72 (or 10%) were Aboriginal even though only 2.5% of Australia's general population are Indigenous (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008, cited in Nicholson, Hoye, & Gallant, 2011, p. 132).

Tatz (1995) has reasoned that Australian football and Rugby League are far more accessible than sports where requirements are determined by financial constraints and

social class. Additionally, he argued that AFL in particular has an increasing number of Aboriginal role models, which when complimented with the allure of financial stability and prosperity creates strong motivators for many aspiring Aboriginal athletes (Tatz, 1995). For instance, the AFL is Australia's most popular and successful professional sporting league with an annual revenue of in excess of AUD\$200 million with a viewership of more than seven million people - greater than the National Rugby League (NRL), the southern hemisphere trans-national Super 15 Rugby Union competition and the A-League soccer competition combined (Hess, Nicholson, Stewart, & De Moore, 2008). Sport is also one of the few domains where Indigenous people consider themselves to be perceived as successful in mainstream Australian society (Gardiner, 2003a).

Although Indigenous athletes have experienced success within a variety of elite sport in Australia, the wider sociological perspectives (see Adair & Stronach, 2011; Bruce & Hallinan, 2001; Coram, 2007; Elder, Pratt, & Ellis, 2006; Gardiner, 2003a, 2003b; Hallinan, Bruce, & Coram, 1999; Hallinan & Judd, 2007; Rigney, 2003; Stronach, 2012; Watts, 2002) and historicity (see Gardiner, 1997; Gorman, 2005; Harris, 1989; Hartley, 2002; Mulvaney & Harcourt, 1988; Nadel, 1993; Tatz, 1987, 1995; Tatz et al., 1998; Warren & Tsaousis, 1997) of Indigenous athlete participation displays the proliferation of racism both on and off the playing field in Australia. Approximately 60 years ago, government legislation disallowed Aboriginal peoples to compete in organised sport. The few who cracked the ranks of elite sport between the decades of the 1950s and 1980s were subjected to racial taunts from opposition supporters and players as legitimate features of the game demonstrating the juncture of Aboriginal identity and elite athlete sport participation.

Studies exploring indigeneity and elite sport have encompassed the construction of Australian Aboriginal athletes as physically superior and unique (Coram, 2007; Hallinan, Bruce, & Burke, 2005; Tatz, 2009). In describing this phenomenon Tatz et al. (1998) articulated that:

Perhaps one of the reasons that Aborigines thrill the crowds is because they defy what is immediately apparent, [they] do the unexpected and create a new sense of the possible.

(p. 26)

Consequently, recruitment has focussed on the style of instinctive play and ability to create the unexpected (Coram, 2004) rather than cognitive ability, resulting in Aboriginal athletes being withheld from pivotal decision making positions on the field supporting racial stacking hypotheses (Hallinan et al., 1999).

Investigations that give attention to the positive representations of Indigenous athletes have identified the insistence of maintaining a nationalistic identity. Tatz (1987) identified that while Aborigines in Australian sport have been present, he described that Aboriginal athletes “are apologized out of existence... [and that] sporting fame gains them acceptance, not as Aborigines or even as people, but merely as sports stars - everyone’s heroes” (p. 8). This is highlighted again almost 14 years later in the work of Bruce and Hallinan (2001) who highlighted that Aboriginal athlete Catherine (Cathy) Freeman, who competed in the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, provides an avenue for mainstream Australia to neutralize the politics of race. They continue that

Freeman provides “an ‘easy way out’ for non-Indigenous Australians to ‘love Cathy’, who ‘transcends race’ and to then claim, ‘we are not racist’, since embracing Cathy is merely symbolic requiring no action” (Bruce & Hallinan, 2001 cited in Coram, 2007, p. 392).

In emphasising ‘symbolic actions’ of nationalism, Australia echoes what took place in Canada during the global events Australia hosted with the incorporation of Aboriginal iconography into the Olympics. The program for the Sydney games certainly followed what Paraschak (2004) has outlined for mega sporting events in Canada, in that the organizers deliberately meshed together Aboriginal, as well as collective Australian symbols with the games. Essentially, the organizers of the Sydney games were attempting to demonstrate national traditions in order to “provide a sense of continuity by linking the present and future with aspects of the nation's past deemed positive and appropriate” (Magdalinski, 2000, p. 310). Yet, a discourse remains absent with respect to who determined which symbols of Australian Indigenous knowledge were an appropriate representation of the nation.

More recently Nicholson, Hoye and Galant (2011) explored the challenges Indigenous athletes face in elite sport by exploring how athletes understand the types of social support they receive and which organisations provide such support. Their aim was to identify ways in which social support could be improved. Of particular pertinence for this research were four issues categorised under the theme of cultural connection; the players’ sense of “tribal identity, the strength of familial bonds, their commitment to community development, and their connection with their Indigenous teammates” (Nicholson et al., 2011, p. 140). They conclude that “Indigenous athletes within the

AFL appear to require more culturally relevant and specialized support structures if their employers seek to maximize their performance” (p. 140). Additionally they recommend that:

First, it would be worth examining the provision of existing social support to Indigenous athletes in other sporting codes and genders. Second, specific social support systems and resources could be developed, implemented and evaluated as to their efficacy in a range of sports. Finally, the impact of social support on issues such as athletic performance, career longevity and transition into retirement in the context of Indigenous athletes would offer valuable insights into the longer term impacts. (p. 141)

Megan Stronach’s (2012) PhD research also resonates with this research. Stronach interviewed more than 40 players and administrators and examined the career transition process for Indigenous athletes in elite sport, specifically those who had participated in the AFL, NRL and boxing. Two major findings are apparent from her work; firstly, that many Aboriginal sportsmen are unprepared for life beyond professional sport; and, secondly although there are transition programs in some sports (i.e. the AFL and NRL), others (like boxing) have no support mechanism in place (Adair & Stronach, 2011). Similar to Nicholson et al. (2011), Stronach also identifies that the connection Indigenous athletes have to wider kinship networks is not easily understood by coaches, management and support staff. Hence she recommends that non-Indigenous sports administrators be educated about the nuances of Australian Aboriginal culture, needs and aspirations in workplace settings and stressed a necessity for Aboriginal mentors.

Section summary: Comparisons

There are several themes from the international literature that resonate with the research from Aotearoa New Zealand focussing on Māori athlete experiences in elite sport. It is obvious that elite sport is an integral social phenomenon with elevated status in terms of social mobility and collective nationalistic pride. For Indigenous athletes in Taiwan, baseball is considered to be a highly valued social construction and cultural form (Chuang, 2014; Yu & Bairner, 2010). In Canada, it is primarily in Ice Hockey (Paraschak & Tirone, 2014) and sports that occur at the Winter Olympic Games, although several examples exist where Indigenous athletes have competed at the Summer Olympics. In Australia, AFL is the vehicle that has enabled Indigenous athletes to feel a sense of acceptance in mainstream Australian society (Gardiner, 2003a). In accordance with the three countries discussed, Māori are similarly motivated to participate in sport given that it provides an avenue in which Māori can seemingly acquire greater acceptance and be perceived positively, both by others and themselves (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2006a). The resounding discourse is that elite sport provides hope for a better future for Indigenous athletes in Taiwan, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

While Indigenous athletes have experienced great personal success in mainstream sports in their respective countries, it has not however been without discrimination, prejudice and racism. More specifically and pertinent to this study is the way Indigenous athletes participating in elite sport have been portrayed in deficit terms. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Hokowhitu (2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004, 2007) has critically examined the emergence of a physicality/unintelligent dichotomy where Māori were perceived to be 'good' at physical endeavours because of their inherent and instinctive

abilities as athletes, rather than due to any cognitive or mental attributes such as intelligence and a hard working ethic.

Similarly, Australian researchers reported that the media portrayal of Indigenous athletes as instinctive rather than thoughtful athletes (Coram, 2007; Hallinan et al., 2005; Hallinan et al., 1999; Tatz, 2009; Tatz et al., 1998). The notion of racialisation becomes clearer in that Australian Indigenous athletes have been defined as lacking in “personality” and “character development” (Coram, 2007, p. 404) condescending them to the realm of ‘child’ rather than mature ‘men’. However this rhetoric is not prevalent in either of the Taiwanese or Canadian contexts, perhaps because the researchers were not intentionally exploring this singularity.

Another theme that is apparent is the racial inequality that exists at the coaching, management and governance levels in sport, despite Indigenous athletes being well-represented at the higher echelons of some elite or professional sport in all the countries featured. While there are some examples in Aotearoa New Zealand particularly within Rugby Union, Rugby League, Basketball and Netball (see Hippolite, 2008; Hokowhitu, 2005; Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Holland, 2012; Palmer & Masters, 2010) there are even fewer in Canada (Paraschak & Tirone, 2014), highlighting that there is still some way to go in achieving equity and equality in sport leadership, management and governance in both countries. In contrast, Taiwan and Australia depict bleak prospects for Indigenous athletes’ post-elite athletic career. Indeed, Chuang (2014) emphasised the simple fact that there is no effort to support Aboriginal athletes once their professional career in baseball has ceased. With respect to Australian Aboriginal athletes, Stronach (2012) and, Adair and Stronach (2011)

reported that life beyond professional sport received very little consideration and transition programs were few, if non-existent. Studies examining the notion of transition in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand sport are comparatively rare.

Issues regarding Indigenous knowledge and cultural ‘ways of being’ within global sporting events are also evident in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand, but not Taiwan. Indeed the work completed by Canadian researchers highlighted that non-Indigenous coaches and management staff working with Aboriginal athletes may need to realign their cultural prejudice and/or insensitivity, to become better equipped with Indigenous knowledge (see Paraschak, 1997; Schinke et al., 2010; Schinke et al., 2008; Schinke et al., 2007).

Nicholson et al. (2011) in their investigation with Australian Indigenous athletes concur that Aboriginal athletes within the AFL appear to require more culturally relevant and specialised support structures if their employers seek to maximize their performance (p. 140). This theme has been stressed in this thesis within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand where it was reported that a lack of knowledge among predominantly Pākehā administrators about how to interact with Māori athletes existed (Wrathall, 1996). Palmer (2007b) also asserted that issues regarding communication and use of language and examples of cultural insensitivity and intolerance were common. Hippolite and Bruce (2010) concur that “simple matters of protocol were often overlooked and disregarded” and that “Pākehā did not understand important differences between the two cultures, nor had they bothered to learn about Māori ‘ways’ in order to understand Māori athletes.” (p. 37).

The research discussed in this section from Taiwan, Canada and Australia whilst demonstrating that Indigenous athletes face some unique and significant challenges in elite sport has highlighted how Indigenous athlete's experiences in sport remain relatively unexplored. Paraschak and Tirone (2014) for instance advocated for the need to ascertain knowledge about hockey in Canada from an Aboriginal perspective and to also gather the voices of those in other mainstream sports. Similarly, while there appears to be a variety of research conducted with Australian Indigenous athletes in the AFL, very little has been done to explore the experiences of Indigenous athletes in sports where they appear to be few in number.

This current research aims to give voice to Māori athletes where their participation seems outwardly at least to be very successful (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2006b). Such circumstances require closer inspection given that Māori athletes may “play differently behave differently and live differently” (Coram, 2007, p. 401) within elite sport. This research looks beyond rugby union where most of the research on Māori has been conducted, giving a unique perspective of Māori athletes from a range of sports. This gives a privileged insight into to how they make sense of their experiences within the institution of elite sport with respect to their Māori identity. Consequently, they may clarify how they create meaning of their Māori identity in light of various expectations from coaching and management staff and Māori groups (iwi, hapū and whānau), that exist outside of Māori-centred sports and activities (for example Waka Ama and Ki-o-Rahi). Their pūrākau from within ‘mainstream’ elite sport emphasises how Māori athletes perceive themselves and how they are perceived, bringing about an awareness of the unique challenges they experience.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter highlighted that colonisation and assimilation were integrated to rid Māori of our beliefs, values and desires - our 'cultural baggage' (Durie, 2001; Pere, 2006), all in an attempt to Europeanise Māori (Edwards, 1999). This experienced inferiority and the construction of Māori identity as negative was a major factor in the decrease of Māori to identify as such (Edwards, 1999; Pere, 2006). It is clear that educational processes restricted the use of "Māori ideology, theology, pedagogies and spirituality" and "as a result many of today's generation of Māori have limited knowledge of their culture and identity" (Edwards, 2000, p. 2, cited in Pere, 2006, p. 75). However, while colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation were disruptive they did not obliterate culture. Instead they acted as catalysts for new cultural patterns and 'traditions' to emerge.

I have considered the implication of applying Māori prototypical behaviours to clarify contemporary Māori realities. Two methods in particular are described that have been devoted to explaining Māori identity. They are Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) (M. H. Durie et al., 1995) and the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) project (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Although both projects have allowed for a quantitative assessment of Māori identity wellbeing, this research argues that specific and individualised criteria that may 'pin down' Māoriness as prescribed by both models is considered problematic. Succinctly, a static depiction of identity is unable to account for the dynamism and the diverse composition of Māori identity for the Māori athlete demographic in this investigation. Indeed Pere (1988) attested:

An oversimplification of the diversity of Māori institutions not only produces the errors inherent in averages, but disregards the vivacity of the Māori people themselves. The lives and institutions were far from static and consistent before the arrival of the Pākehā, and have certainly not been so since (p. 10).

Therefore what it means to be a Māori athlete is multi-faceted, dynamic, with wide-ranging implications in both the past and the future and therefore Māori identity is constantly being reconstructed.

Furthermore, the current state of Māori sport participation in Aotearoa New Zealand has been discussed. In both traditional and contemporary facets of Māori society, sport was and remains significant. However, given that colonial belief systems have influenced the early paternalistic relationship between Māori and Pākehā, where Pākehā assumed in theory and practice that they were deserving of the senior partner role, a racialised ideology was initiated that would be cemented firstly in education and subsequently emerge in sport. Hence, the literature has revealed “the recognition of multiple (dis)advantages” (Howard, 2000, p. 328) in the development of Indigenous, Aboriginal and Māori identity through both a sporting and historical analysis.

In the next chapter the methodological framework and the research strategy in this research is described.

UPOKO TUATORU: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH STRATEGY

3.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

A paradigm encompasses; axiology, questions of ethics within the social world; epistemology, how do I know the world and what is the relationship between me and the known; ontology, what can be known about the form and nature of reality; and methodology what tools provide the best ways for gaining knowledge about the world. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 245)

To examine how Māori athletes have constructed their understandings of Māori identity requires a methodology that is concerned with their lived experiences and seeks understanding of how they interpret their events and make sense of their personal experiences (Denscombe, 2003). This research employs an approach that integrates Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) (Smith, 1997), and a Māori qualitative method of in-depth interview and storytelling referred to as pūrākau (Cherrington, 2002; Lee, 2009; Wirihana, 2012). Pūrākau is a method innate within KMT, exemplifying Denzin and Lincoln's description above, given that for Māori researchers KMT is the best culturally appropriate research tool that considers the axiological, epistemological, ontological and methodological processes responsive to expressed needs of Māori (Bishop, 1994; Smith, 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991). Furthermore, pūrākau as framed within KMT highlights the many possible meanings that Māori athletes have regarding their Māori identity. Meanings that have influenced their

beliefs, values and behaviour all of which must be considered as possible influences on how they interpret, perceive and understand their Māori identity in elite sport.

The first section of this chapter explains and justifies the epistemology and methodology chosen. I argue that because different social groups, races, cultures, societies, or civilizations evolve different epistemologies, “no epistemology is context-free” (Scheurich & Young, 1997, p. 8). For research examining the Māori world in Aotearoa New Zealand this has meant that the epistemologies particularly seen as legitimate have “arisen exclusively out of the social history of the dominant White race” (Scheurich & Young, 1997, p.8). Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) challenges that dominant epistemology in academic research by concentrating on participants’ perceptions, attitudes and values as Māori. Additionally, the use of pūrākau as a research method allows participants to interpret, think reflectively, historically, and biographically substantiating their lived experiences from a Māori perspective. To illustrate this process a metaphorical representation entitled Te Poutama Rangahau is provided, that aims to clarify the relationship between the research objectives, KMT and the pūrākau method. Te Poutama Rangahau is presented as a possible framework to assist in understanding Māori identity, and highlights the fundamental features of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa that continue to remain pertinent in clarifying Māori identity today.

The second section of this chapter describes the process of data collection outlining the ethical concerns from a Māori worldview perspective, participant selection and the process of data analysis. Throughout the chapter the position adopted by the researcher is revealed to aid in justifying the process chosen. Additionally I illustrate

and justify how the key themes were deductively and inductively formulated from the Māori athlete pūrākau collected and knowledge obtained from the existing literature. Lastly, I acknowledge the limitations of my study.

3.2 TE POUTAMA RANGAHAU: KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY AND PŪRĀKAU

The main research question “*How do Māori athletes experience, interpret and negotiate their Māori identity while competing in elite sport?*” considers the influence of elite sport complemented by a critical interpretation of Māori athlete experience. As previously argued, sport is perceived by Māori as a highly valued social construction and cultural form (Palmer, 2006b; Palmer, 2007b), consequently, sport is a domain within which Māori can challenge historical colonial assimilative strategies, and reinforce Māori identity. Participating in elite sport is an essential part of and therefore is influential in, how Māori athletes interpret and make sense of their Māori identity. Pūrākau accommodates the diverse ways in which Māori athletes construct and experience their Māori identity contained within the social, political and cultural context of elite sport clarifying the extent to which Māori athletes regard sport as a highly valued socio-cultural construction.

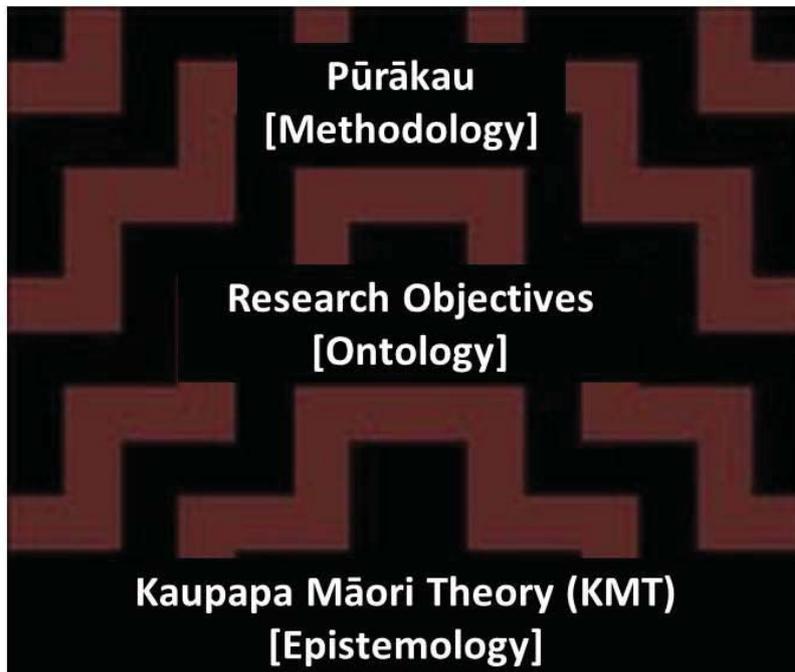
To illustrate the methodological approach of this research, the poutama motif provides an apt metaphor. The poutama is a traditional Māori art form used to adorn tukutuku panels (wall boards) or whāriki (floor mats) for whare (traditional Māori dwellings). The poutama design has come to symbolise two major concepts of Māori human development. According to the Māori oral histories or pūrākau, the poutama design

represents the various levels of learning and intellectual achievement that were attained by Tāne-te-wānanga²⁴ in his quest for superior knowledge (Māori Dictionary Online, 2010). The steps also reflect the social construction of whakapapa symbolising that for Māori the individual has a spiritual link to those tūpuna (elders) who have passed and those new mokopuna (descendants) to follow. The chosen methodology exemplifies the integrity of the two Māori concepts mokopuna and tupuna with the aim that it will contribute to the next generation of Māori athletes - mokopuna - aspiring to participate in elite sport.

Each methodology concept proposed here is situated on ‘the stairway’ reflecting the manner in which each contributes to the gaining of knowledge and achieving the stated research objectives. Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) is used to interweave a qualitative approach to the specific research objectives of the study. In this way each of the theoretical components are KMT informed so that in terms of the methodology the mana of the pūrākau Māori athletes shared remain at the centre of the research process. I also display how these Māori concepts parallel western modes of seeking knowledge, although the necessity to “dichotomise Kaupapa Māori research or explain its implementation further reminds Māori researchers of the dominating influence of colonisation” (see Moewaka Barnes, 2000, p. 4). Nonetheless, the metaphor demonstrates the transparency in which new knowledge may be attained. However, this research assumes Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) as its own authentic paradigm.

²⁴ Tane-te-wānanga from a Māori perspective is the progenitor of mankind, and also the guardian of the forests and all the creatures of the forest. He ascended through many realms of knowledge to seek an audience with Io-Matua-Kore, God-the-Parentless, and there obtained from Io the three baskets of knowledge. Tane returned to Earth with the knowledge, and created humankind from the Earth.

Figure 2: *Te Poutama Rangahau: The Research Process*



Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT)

In any search for truth research has two distinct divisions, the positivist paradigm and the opposed, interpretivist paradigm. The positivist paradigm is based on the premise that the social world is something to be measured using valid and reliable procedures (Smith, 1999). Conversely the interpretivist paradigm presents multiple hypotheses about reality that can be unified to create ideographic statements of a given population. The positivist perspective of research for this study was not deemed appropriate as there is rarely a single, absolute truth or rule for knowing all about the nature of being Māori (for instance Te Hoe Nuku Roa project and the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement tool - see chapter two). Hence the scientific mode of gathering truth; that is, there is 'one' truth, needs to be rejected in favour of a methodology that at its heart has a social and moral Māori epistemological framework

(Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) is a framework that responds to the needs of Māori and has been succinctly expressed as a research tool that is by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. (Smith, 1997), where “the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted” (Smith, 1997, p. 100).

Bishop (1996) states that KMT as a research method emerged following the rapid urbanisation of Māori post World War Two. The intellectual exertion and the dearth of academic contribution to the Māori world by rangatira (leaders) since that time and the increase in political consciousness of Māori during the 1970s and 1980s, are described as “outstanding scholars within the Māori community, gifted, awesome intellectual and creative giants...who remain without peer” (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 11). Indisputably these rangatira have provided the space for Māori modes of knowing in the western world, openly challenging western tools of inquiry that have been described as “logically linear” (Nikora, 2007, p. 146) and “eurocentric” (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 11).

Eurocentric methods have been compared to a set of books which an outsider “strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong” (Geertz, 1973, p. 452). As such, initial Pākehā research of the Māori world often resulted in the regurgitation of unflattering perceptions of Māori history, culture, traditions and customary practices (see Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 11). Te Awekotuku (1991) referred to research conducted by non-Māori as “research in the fourth world” (p.12). The fourth world is a term coined by Indigenous activists and academics to explain Indigenous inequalities and their struggle for emancipation against colonisation in first world capitalist, industrialised countries (see also Pere, 2006).

Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) research principles were utilised to address Māori needs and to legitimate Māori knowledge and values as a way to resist hegemonic and dominant discourses in education (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Additionally, KMT pro-actively responds to the survival and revival of Māori language and autonomy. In the attainment of these Māori aspirations much is owed to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal that led to an increase of critical and reflexive research approaches in social science investigations (Smith, 1999). Due to these evolutionary “cultural sensitivities” (Palmer, 2000, p. 92) non-Māori researchers would; a) avoid investigations involving Māori issues and Māori environments; b) learn te reo Māori and tikanga Māori prior to initiating research; c) make efforts to seek support and Māori consent for Māori research projects; d) employ Māori researchers within their organization or group (Smith, 1999). These strategies have resulted in both positive and negative outcomes. Most importantly it provided the time and space for Māori inside academic institutions to formalise culturally appropriate research methodologies allowing for greater autonomy and control within research (Palmer, 2000).

Although KMT has been described, defined, examined, and implemented in a number of ways it simply positions Māori at the centre of phenomena perceived from a Māori perspective. In that vein, it is responsive to expressed needs of Māori and identifies knowledge of the Māori world, Māori perspectives and perceptions, opinions and attitudes. It has been designed to build on the knowledge that already exists, uphold and defend the experiences and actions of Māori in order for the creative potential of Māori perspectives to be realised and where the “Māori worldview is taken as the norm” (Bevan-Brown, 2002, p. 128) rather than viewed as ‘the other’. The

employment of KMT in this research is a strategy that maintains the power and control of the research process and the knowledge generated by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. In other words, a KMT approach to research closely questions the intentions of the researcher, their commitment to those communities they are working with, and makes salient issues of accessibility, participation and control by those who are researched. Pūrākau is one way of ensuring Māori perspectives and needs are acknowledged.

Pūrākau: Māori oral histories and storytelling

In the previous section I argued that KMT as a paradigm is a very important framework in that it provides the space in which Māori ideals, values and legitimacy can exist and be discussed in terms of the position of the Māori world view. However, Smith (2012) more recently challenged that:

Kaupapa Māori as an idea and a practice needs to grow and it needs to expand. It is time for renewal. [KMT] had a vibrant beginning in the early 1980's, but we need to think differently about it now, thirty years later in the new contexts that face [Māori]. We need to confront those who purport to give voice to Kaupapa Māori but who are domesticating it rather than helping to grow the radical potential within it (Smith, 2012, p. 10).

Royal (1998), eloquently states that KMT involves “the employment of methodologies derived from a worldview to explain the Māori experience of the world” (p. 6). This research attempts to accept the challenge Smith describes and employ a method ‘to explain the Māori experience of the world’ through pūrākau.

The use of pūrākau is best described inherently as a Māori story-telling process. Although pūrākau is a relatively new concept associated with academic writing or research methodology, theorizing through storytelling to understand phenomena has been and is a common Māori practice (Lee, 2009; Royal, 2003; Walker, 1990). Māori storytelling in a pre-colonial sense aided in formulating an understanding of the world and the passing on of histories. Such stories were offered as a mode of constructing, sharing and interpreting Māori knowledge traditionally taught within *ngā whare wānanga* (Māori educational institutions) (Lee, 2009; Marsden & Royal, 2003). Consequently, distinct iwi and hapū wānanga maintained their specific history and informed future generations through the pretexts of waiata (song), haka (dance), pepeha (tribal sayings), and whakatauki (proverbs). In this sense pūrākau as a traditional form of Māori narrative, comprises “philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori” (Lee, 2009, p. 79), and gives insight into “what it is to be who we are - Māori” (Edwards, 1999, p. 20).

Pūrākau have been implemented in a variety of ways. Te Awekotuku (2003) provides a thought provoking analysis of pūrākau containing Māori women reaffirming their power, strength, and position in traditional Māori society. Pūrākau has been employed within the field of visual media exploring and clarifying contemporary Māori identity (Mita, 2000). Cherrington (2002) employed pūrākau in the therapeutic process for those with mental illness to “retell, recreate and creatively represent the pūrākau (which may include waiata, haka, poetry, drama, sculpting, painting, drawing, storytelling, and/or writing) in ways that connect to their own understandings and experiences” (Lee, 2009, p. 82). Finally, Lee (2009) concurs that pūrākau provided the

best way in which to respond to the wider historical, social and political research contexts within education.

Most recently Rebecca Wirihana (2012) employed pūrākau in her doctoral thesis that explored the life experiences of 13 Māori women leaders and the influence of those experiences in their roles as leaders in Māori communities. While her research makes a valuable contribution to understanding and clarifying pertinent traits to enhance Māori leadership, it is her use of pūrākau that added vital insights to my study. She describes pūrākau as “traditional Māori narratives” (Wirihana, 2012, see Abstract, p. ii) and illuminates that the word pūrākau can be better understood when looking at the four words upon which is comprised – pū-rā-ka-u as described to her by one of her kaumātua.

In the context of her study, pū (source) was used to interpret the women’s narrative life stories. Second, rā (light) was used to identify periods in which the women had moments of higher learning or enhanced insight and understanding based on their life experiences. Ka represented the past, present and future, providing a foundation for exploring how her participants past experiences have influenced their current or future aspirations in the roles they hold in Māori communities. Lastly, the meaning of ū (while varied) identified the individual strengths that each generated intrinsically and brought to their roles as leaders (Wirihana, 2012, pp. 213-215).

In this way pūrākau as an innate instrument adopted from a KMT philosophy is considered the most appropriate means in which to reveal the intimate details to illuminate how Māori athletes experience the juncture between Māori identity and elite

sport. The acknowledgment of important milestones in their lives, decisions, pathways and the life changing opportunities they have been exposed to is subject to social, political and cultural influences. Indeed, my study suggests that the Māori athlete experience has been so ignored that hearing these voices becomes a powerful approach in itself, changing “opinions, attitudes and ideologies” and “to force new ideas” (Dunbar, 2008, p. 55).

Western perspectives have tended to perceive the literate culture as superior and oral traditions such as Māori knowledge, memory and experience as inferior (Royal, 2002). The notion that the oral culture is inferior is based upon the racialised ideology and presumption that storytelling was traditional and perhaps ancient, whereas the literate ‘written’ culture is superior because it is an evolved form of communication, modern and ‘the way of the future’. Royal (2002) asserts that a Māori perspective of knowledge is seen as an internal energy in the Māori world and referred to as *te hirainga i te mahara* (the power of the mind) and that “knowledge and memory change and transform over time” (pp. 46-48). Consequently the oral culture continues to be organic and alive because it is experienced through the reality of the individual.

Crotty (1998) has emphasised that the world has no meaning until the human mind gives it meaning. A decade later Māori academic Anaru Eketone (2008) concurred that “what we ‘know’ comes from our construction of reality through language and practice” (p. 4). Both indicate that language; provides the opportunity for Māori athletes to construct reality and afford the space to ascertain ‘meaning of the world’ of sport in which they participate. Scholars whom have captured the phenomena of human experience and meaning contend that modern lives are made meaningful based

on the expression of culturally meaningful life-stories (Bruner, 1990; Cohler, 1982; Josselson, 1996; McAdams, 1990, 1993, 2008, 2009; McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1988). Schutze (1981, 1983, 1987 cited in Riemann & Schütze, 1991) also argued that the most apt approach to gather personal experiences is to simply ask individuals what they think about certain features of themselves using their story as a response (Josselson & Lieblich, 1993; Spradley, 1979). These descriptions emphasise that oral accounts carry explanations for the origins of identity for the person in their own personal history. Indeed an individuals' story is continually a work in progress, changing over time reflecting changes in the person's self-understandings, social environment, social roles and relationships (Cohler, 1982; McAdams, 1990, 1993, 2001). Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) say it best noting that:

Human Beings have lived out and told stories about that living for as long as we could talk. And then we have talked about the stories we tell for almost as long. These lived and told stories and the talk about the stories are one of the ways that we fill our world with meaning and enlist one another's assistance in building lives and communities. (p. 35)

Delgado and Stefancic (2001) added that oral in-depth interviews are a proactive method of engaging with anti-subordination projects that “marginalise others or conceal their humanity” (p. 43). In light of this, KMT scholars are becoming increasingly united regarding the authentication of collecting accounts that consider the whole person to capture the social milieu of Indigenous/Māori populations. As such an economy of shared vocabularies is created resulting in discursive subversions;

identity formation; healing and transformation (Montoya, 2002), that Indigenous populations face in ‘fourth world’ nations.

In the end, pūrākau emphasise the qualities of those experiences rather than the quantities and involves “listening and seeing the Māori world and the past events of another person” (Royal, 2002, p. 47). Such an examination into the experiences of Māori elite athletes, when organised is useful in eliciting an “inner story” (Denzin, 1997, p. 283) assisting in understanding and clarifying the diversity of Māori identity that exists for Māori athletes and gaining insights into how they authenticate, refine, or reconstruct their realities over-time.

Section summary

Throughout this section I have argued that because Māori identity is broad, diverse and complex having been influenced by a number of historical socio-cultural processes, a unique approach to capture the experiences of Māori athletes was required. By utilising a Kaupapa Māori Theory paradigm and pūrākau methodology gives “voice” (Mara, 2006, p. 124) and the opportunity to “see the [sport] world [and their Māori identity] through [their] eyes” (Duncan, 2006, p. 201) illuminating how Māori athletes make sense of their Māori identity in elite sport. A model labelled Te Poutama Rangahau was presented to metaphorically depict this research process paradigm and process. The method of pūrākau was defined and described arguing that because this research considers the varying degree of self-expressions, self-evaluations and self-descriptions of Māori identity a pūrākau approach is necessary, and its value in the contemporary era of qualitative research highlighted.

In the next section I describe the research strategy conducted for this investigation outlining how the study respected Māori perspectives of ethicality, participant selection, the process of analysis and limitations.

3.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

This section clarifies the position assumed by myself as the researcher, to aid in understanding and justifying the process employed. It will also illustrate how the key themes were formulated from the pūrākau and the justification for the analytical processes selected.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) concluded that a challenge faced by Māori researchers in mainstream academia has been to “retrieve some space” (Smith, 1999, p. 183). Retrieving space she describes requires convincing the various and fragmented communities of the need for greater Māori involvement and to develop effective and appropriate approaches to research. By examining the pūrākau of Māori athletes the complexities of Māori identity experienced in elite sport are illuminated in a way that meets the challenge Smith (1999) laid down.

Ethical considerations and approval

KMT encompasses specific values of Māori research ethicality (Bishop, 1996; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999; Eketone, 2008; Kiro, 2000). Indeed, sensitivity of what is most important to Māori was infused from the formulation of the research question and accompanied objectives, through to the methodological delivery, analyses

and presentation of discussion. More specifically Smith (1991) recommended that the Māori researcher should constantly ask:

1. who has helped define the research problem?
2. for whom is this study worthy and relevant? Who says so?
3. which cultural group will be the one to gain new knowledge from this study?
4. to whom is the researcher accountable?
5. who will gain most from this study? (p.51)

Te Awekotuku (1991) provides an ethical basis that outlines culturally specific ideas and practices to aid in collecting the life story of Māori research participants that identify that empowerment needs to be an integrated principle throughout the entire research process:

1. aroha ki te tangata (show respect for people);
2. he kanohi kitea (the face that is seen);
3. titiro, whakarongo...korero (look listen, then talk);
4. manaaki ki te tangata (be generous);
5. kia tūpato (be cautious);
6. kua e takahia te mana o te tangata (don't trample over the mana of people);
7. kua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge). (p.12)

As Smith (1999) mentioned Māori researchers must not only adhere to cultural protocols aligned with a Māori worldview, they must also work within the confines of mainstream academia and abide by the guidelines in that sphere. As a result ethics

approval was received from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee²⁵ and was maintained upon the transference of this current research to Massey University.

Further guidelines provided a general foundation in which to shepherd the broad agenda of the research. Namely the “principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, including active protection of tikanga Māori, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, and tino rangatiratanga or Māori self-determination”. Additionally, “it is the duty of [educational] researchers to consult meaningfully with tangata whenua on all research that concerns Māori...and to ensure that research maintains the integrity of Māori” (New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE) Ethical Guidelines, 2010, p. 3, Policy 1.2). Section two, policy 2.3 (NZARE Ethical Guidelines, 2010) also provided clarification for the approach implemented, entailing that researchers must “have a specific commitment to encouraging and facilitating research by Māori, research in te reo Māori, and research that promotes the aspirations of Māori” (p.5). As someone who identifies as Māori and who has a basic grasp of te reo Māori and awareness of the aspirations of Māori in sport and education these guidelines were applied.

More specifically informed consent was gained from Māori athletes and their right to withdraw at any point during the process of the research was given (Appendices B and C). Interviews were recorded using Apple iTouch© technology. Transcripts of the interviews (transcribed by the researcher) were sent to participants for inspection, clarification, omissions and any alterations they considered necessary as a way to co-

²⁵ The University of Otago’s Policy for Research Consultation with Māori was assumed given that I was conducting my study from within Te Tumu: School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. Additionally informed consent was employed within my participant recruitment process (see Appendix B). Both processes assured that the project was conducted in accordance with the *Memorandum of Understanding* between Ngāi Tahu and the University.

construct their pūrākau. All recordings and transcripts were considered the intellectual property and taonga (treasure, prized possession) of the participants throughout the research and its use in the future was considered as part of the participant consent when agreeing to participate in the research. Attempts were made to maintain confidentiality of the Māori athletes. However, the participants in this study came from a very specific demographic of the population, with many having a high public profile. Thus maintaining their anonymity was problematic but paramount, given that they were sharing very personal experiences and that their pūrākau associated prominent people from the Aotearoa New Zealand elite sport community. Most importantly participant confidentiality allowed for a more honest and authentic pūrākau to be collected and as the researcher I wanted to respect their willingness to share these intimate pūrākau by doing what I could to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality.

Establishing researcher credibility

This research as a knowledge gathering exercise made a number of dilemmas salient. Primarily, researcher credibility needed to be established and this was achieved on two standards. Firstly, identifying as Māori and secondly involvement in elite sport (although, not at the Olympic or Commonwealth Games levels). Although whakapapa gave a genetic inheritance to the feelings of knowing, it is the fact that I have “experienced oppression” (Eketone, 2008, p. 4) having been influenced by similar parameters of colonial assimilation strategies that validates my claim to be an insider. Researcher ethnicity adds a critical element throughout the data gathering process in delving into the perceptions, perspectives, experiences and interpretations when collecting and analysing the pūrākau of Māori athletes. Adhering to Pere’s (2006)

recommendation that being a Māori researcher resulted in a “depth of information [that] would not have been accessible had it not been for the fact that a Māori researcher undertook the research” (p.40). Additionally Collins (1999) articulated that a ‘cultural fit’ between researcher and participants was pertinent to collecting the narratives in her study, conveying that the pūrākau communicated were extremely sensitive and had not been published previously. In terms of my study, the engagement of self and relationship with the participants and hence the heightened emotional connection developed, meant that my research journey was considered a privilege. Consequently every attempt has been made to protect the participants.

To protect the participants’ interests meant remaining sensitive to any inherent expectations and assumptions they may have had of me as a Māori researcher given that the research operated within a Māori cultural framework. Tuteao, Heperi, Simon, and Morris-Matthews (2005, cited in Selby & Laurie, 2005) defined it best when they concluded that to be a transmitter of knowledge requires the responsibility to “do the best we can, for example, it may require altering our personal arrangements to suit the participants” (pp. 96-97). Indeed, the process maintained the sentiment aired by Soutar (1994) to cautiously “balance the demands of [my participants] while still remaining faithful to a western historical tradition” (p. 29).

Participant recruitment

Smith (1999) commented that Kaupapa Māori research relies on “relationships [that] are initiated on a face to face basis” (p.156) and I remained mindful of this when recruiting participants so as to maintain the mana of Māori athletes. In that sense, every attempt was made to hand deliver an invitation to the participants when seeking

their involvement in the research. Te Awekotuku (1991) refers to this as he kanohi kitea - the face that is seen, and while incredibly difficult given the erratic nature of elite athlete schedules (training, competing and travelling) 'he kanohi kitea' implied a personal level of engagement and involvement to establish rapport. Seven of the ten participants were contacted in this manner. Three participants were unable to be met using a 'he kanohi kitea' method, so these participants were sent invitations via email. Once trust had been established through this mode of communication, further correspondence occurred until they felt comfortable with providing more personal contact details.

The process explained while challenging, advocates a method that is facilitative and permissive encouraging a paradigm of choices that made the research happen. This exemplifies how at times a careful and sensitive balance was required that necessitated sustaining the constraints of the university, but also maintained the mana of my participants. The aforementioned strategies exemplify the adaptive quality of Māori research, but it is undoubtedly "a work in progress" (Walsh-Tapiata, 2000/2001, p. 33) that will require further discussion and debate regarding research conducted with Māori athletes in the future. In the end it is with conviction that gaining this level of intimacy and rapport was necessary to reassure Māori athletes' interests were at the centre of my study, hence resulting in the depth, scope and intimacy of the pūrākau that were collected.

Participant description

The general profile of participants serves to highlight the criteria by which these Māori athletes were purposefully approached for this study. In particular there were two

basic criteria that the participants had to satisfy: a) they were either currently or had in the past represented New Zealand in their chosen sport or similarly achieved professional status as an athlete; and, b) self-identified as Māori through personal communication with the researcher.

Ten athletes were interviewed, five male, five female, seven of whom either currently participated (or at the time of the interview had participated) in team sports. Seven of the athletes have represented New Zealand at either the Olympic or Commonwealth games. The age range of the athletes was 19 to 48 years. The designated pseudonyms I have selected for each participant in my study are names of Indigenous native trees that in a Māori worldview are referred to as the children of Tāne-mahuta (The guardian of the forest). The use of these names is not being employed lightly, rather they act as an embellishment that complements and links to the concept of tūrangawaewae (which links to whenua) being employed in this research. The following table provides a synopsis of the participant demographic information.

Table 3: Research Participants

PSEUDONYM	GENDER	SPORT	STATUS Elite level sport participation at time of interview.	ETHNICITY Based on parent / caregiver ethnicity.	IWI
Miro	Female	Individual	Current	Māori / Other	Ngāti Porou
Nikau	Female	Team	Current	Māori	Whanganui Ngā Puhī Tainui Ngāti Kahungunu
Pōhutukawa	Female	Team	Current	Māori / Other	Rangitāne

PSEUDONYM	GENDER	SPORT	STATUS Elite level sport participation at time of interview.	ETHNICITY Based on parent / caregiver ethnicity.	IWI
Karaka	Female	Team	Retired	Māori / Other	Te Atiawa
Tawa	Female	Team	Retired	Māori / Other	Ngāti Kahungunu Rangitāne
Kahikatea	Male	Team	Current	Māori / Other	Ngāti Hau Ngā Puhī
Matai	Male	Team	Current	Māori / Other	Ngāti Porou Te Arawa Waikato
Totara	Male	Individual	Retired	Māori / Other	Ngāti Porou Te Aitanga-a- Mahaki Ngāti Kahungunu
Kauri	Male	Individual	Retired	Māori	Ngāti Kauwhata
Rimu	Male	Team	Current	Māori	Tūwharetoa Ngāti Porou

The ethnicity of the participants' parents/caregivers is worth noting because it highlights the complex nature of inter-ethnic relationships and marriage in Aotearoa New Zealand and the impact that this may have on how Māori athletes interpret and make meaning of their Māori identity. The use of the labels 'mother' and 'father' are not utilised because of the diverse character and social-construction of the family unit in contemporary times and to maintain confidentiality. Nine of the participants were raised in a female and male relationship, with the remaining athlete being raised by a single female caregiver. Two participants were raised by 'family members' as part of a whangai²⁶ adoption practice that is prevalent in te ao Māori. The term 'other' is used if the participant did not stipulate the ethnic origin of a particular parent/caregiver.

²⁶ Translated as 'to nurture or to adopt', it also refers to a concept in the Māori world that involves placing a child within a family to be raised by another member of the family if the parents are unable to raise the child themselves.

Participant pūrākau process

In an attempt to uphold a pūrākau methodology the athletes were not constrained or restricted to a sequence of interview questions. Indeed, this research maintained Borell's (2005) perspective that "as Māori researchers who proclaim the value of Kaupapa Māori, we must ensure that decolonising projects at a strategic level do not become re-colonising projects at an operational level" (p.39). To be congruent with the underpinnings of KMT, the pūrākau process was participant centred to minimise participant alienation and to relieve any sense of uncomfortableness and disempowerment (Smith, 1999). Rather a schedule of prompts was employed (Appendix A) to aid discussion when participants had exhausted their pūrākau on a particular topic. Although their personal experiences and sporting competition environments were not directly accessed, the representations and descriptions of their experience – their pūrākau is the essence of what the interview process sought to capture (Mussel, 1998).

The use of pūrākau has been employed as means to symbolize the significance and contribution of their stories. In that sense, these pūrākau are a taonga. The use of the word taonga in the context of collecting pūrākau has been discussed by Awatere (1984) who concluded "Māori knowledge is a taonga" (p.94). Similarly, Royal (1992) described Māori oral accounts by stating that "...an appointment needs to be arranged to deliver the taonga" (p. 43). Royal's description of pūrākau as 'taonga' complimented a response following this current research PhD confirmation seminar. Associate Professor Poia Rewi (2011) identified very clearly the meaning of taonga when he specified "you will remember them and their families for life, and likewise, they you – long after your academic qualification" (pers. comm. 2011). Associate

Professor Rewi's words resonated deeply with the intentions of this research investigation and justified to me the use of pūrākau. His sentiments also concur with Collins (1999), who reflected after her study that:

I believe there is value in highlighting the experience of this group and I pay tribute to the courage and honesty of those people who told me their stories and pray that I will have the ability to convey those stories sensitively and with sufficient context to satisfy the interviewees and other readers. (p. 88)

To collect their taonga a general set of guiding prompts were organised into four major categories that linked their past, present and future perspectives of Māori identity to reflect the organic and alive nature of oral traditions of which pūrākau belongs.

The first set of prompts focussed on the participant's whānau background and growing up, that encompassed establishing participant rapport and qualifying their notions of Māori identity. They were invited to discuss their experiences of participating in aspects that would be considered a part of Māori traditional customs and cultural practices throughout their childhood. Because I anticipated sport as an important part of their life, the discussion inevitably uncovered their perceptions of whānau participation in sport along with their level of engagement in Māori cultural practices. To achieve those objectives involved the recommendation that participants recount memories that shaped their interpretations of Māori identity during their upbringing in general.

The second set of prompts explored their sporting experiences prior to and during the process of becoming an international athlete by asking them to focus on significant milestones, decisions, pathways, events, life-changing opportunities and experiences. Consequently, their pūrākau included discussing the various levels of education, continuing athlete development and how they felt and interpreted their Māori identity in those contexts.

The third set of prompts progressed to understand how they created meaning of their Māori identity and how this was negotiated within the differing environs of elite sport competition, for example the Olympic Games or international events. The significance of their Māori identity was further highlighted through an opportunity to articulate their interactions with coaching and management staff. Māori athletes who had attended either the Olympic/Commonwealth Games were encouraged to openly share their experiences paying particular attention to how they interpreted the implementation of Māori cultural practices with respect to their Māori identity.

The final set of prompts sought to ascertain how their experiences had influenced their current perceptions of Māori identity by drawing on the comparisons with their formative years in sport and understanding of Māori identity. By doing so I aimed to clarify if there had been any variance in their current personal perceptions and what this may mean for the future. To encourage this, I suggested that they perhaps talk about their personal expectations and level of engagement with their communities, tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. It also afforded an opportunity for participants who had children to consider what this may mean for their role as parents and the importance of inter-generational Māori identity.

Although the order described would have assisted in transcribing and making sense of their pūrākau, it was imperative that the researcher responses remained fluid and dynamic. Collecting their pūrākau lasted between one and a half hours and two and a half hours in length given that they had control over content and ‘flow’. To conclude the process two questions were posed; are there any other comments you would like to make? And, is there anything you would like to ask me about the research? Seven interviews took place in the participants homes; two at their work place; and one at a sport tournament where the participant was a guest speaker.

Data analysis: Robustness

Qualitative research encompasses a wide variety of approaches and implementation strategies with the premise to reveal a diversity and richness of human behaviour that is simply not accessible through any other method (Salkind, 2000). It also tends to produce vast amounts of information which then needs to be summarized into a coherent account given that in-depth interviews are not self-interpreting (Bouma, 2000). As such the pūrākau collected were basically the same as the lives they related to, “opened-ended, ambiguous, inconclusive, and subject to multiple interpretations“(Denzin, 1997, p. 283) and were reflexive, reactive interactions between the researcher and the participant (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000).

Sustaining a pūrākau method meant being completely reliant on the largely subjective nature of what Māori athletes chose to remember, understand and adopt, given that potentially they could be selective and biased on how they recollected their past. As such, participant interpretations of their identity did not require the collection of “factually precise historical data” (Houkamau, 2006, p. 119) or that the precise

accuracy of each participants interpretation be verified. Bishop (1996) concurred that storytelling allows the participant to “select, recollect, and reflect upon their stories within their own cultural context and language rather than the cultural context and language chosen by the researcher” (p.24). Capturing their interpretations, required further attempts to adapt to the social cues during the interview process, and by posing, clarifying and following-up in different ways until a sense of confidence and understanding had been achieved regarding the meaning of their experience. Moreover, the rapport established with the participants, meant that sensitivity to the nature and emotional complexity of their responses was maintained.

The participants’ pūrākau were transcribed fully by the researcher. Fully transcribing them personally allowed for a more detailed immersion into the data and aided in analysing the information more thoroughly. Regardless, the challenge was “to be able to make sense of [their pūrākau] by researching it, interpreting it and seeing how it complements other sources” (McLean, 1996/1997, p. 21). Thus, the delicate information and the openness in which they shared their pūrākau was a key asset of this investigation and gives strength to the research rather than limiting its potential contribution.

The open dialogue resulted in collating responses that were intuitive in nature as a consequence of the pūrākau method employed. The way of dealing with the information collected involved coding, classifying and constructing the data into themes (Bouma, 2000), the process of which is well documented (Burns, 1997; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Potter & Wetherell, 1997; Silverman, 1993, 2000). Coding took the form of combining two methods: the theoretical or

priori method that involves developing codes based on the answers that the researcher expects in advance; and the contextual method that in contrast develops codes by grouping similar answers together after the information is collated (Weisberg, Krosnick, & Bowen, 1996).

The theoretical or priori method (Weisberg et al., 1996), described also as selective coding (Neuman, 1991) allowed for the use of the pūrākau prompts described earlier, guiding and addressing the objectives of the research giving greater flexibility, yet allowing the coding responses to be manageable (Burns, 1997). This was beneficial in that if required coding participants' responses could be completed as the pūrākau was being completed. The contextual method (Weisberg et al., 1996) is described as “bringing themes to the surface from deep inside the data” (Neuman, 1991, p. 422). This type of thematising resembles what Morse and Richards (2002) refer to as ‘topic coding’ and what Neuman (1991) identifies as ‘open coding’. It is common for researchers to combine the theoretical/priori and the contextual/topic methods to develop code categories for qualitative research methods (Weisberg et al., (1996) as completed for this research. Because participant responses were descriptive in nature conclusions were essentially drawn from salient themes that were associated with the specific research objectives, that were then drawn together, from within their pūrākau both individually and collectively. This strategy allowed for patterns to be identified from the participant pūrākau. It is these themes, ideas and concepts that have been identified, grouped and reported in chapters Four, Five and Six.

Data analysis: Transparency

Denscombe (2003) argues no data can be presented at face value, because the researcher's self plays a significant role in information production. Attentiveness to the researchers' perceived position of power must therefore be considered given that "research is biased by certain contextual variables" variables that "reflect the values of the researcher" (Glover, 1993, p. 27). Accepting researcher presence within this research meant acknowledging the values and beliefs systems inherent that may have influenced data collection process and analysis. Jackson's (1987) quote regarding Māori research as an activity that "seeks not merely to describe but to seek out seeds of understanding" (p.41) proved effective in negating those challenges and maintaining neutrality.

To seek out seeds of understanding required more than re-telling the stories of Māori athletes but to give meaning to those stories and sensitively present the participants' view as 'their' view (Soutar, 1994, p. 5). Conversely, treating researcher presence as a valuable resource allowed access to the delicate area of Māori identity that perhaps may have remained barred or presented differently to researchers with a different self. Indeed, the 'self' provided a privileged insight into the phenomenon being explored given that kaupapa Māori research invites investigations that are conducted by Māori, for Māori and with Māori (Smith, 1997). Personally, acknowledging the 'self, was pertinent in maintaining rapport with the participants.

Data triangulation (Patton, 2002) was accomplished by ensuring the utilisation of multiple sources of evidence. These sources included the participant pūrākau. Each participant received a copy of their pūrākau transcript as part of the collaboration, co-

construction and emendation process (Stake, 2010). By doing so, they corroborated the robustness of their own pūrākau, refuting that their experiences “would be very difficult to imagine out of thin air” (Houkamau, 2006, p. 118). To ensure that the participants’ perspectives were accurately presented, codes were determined inductively via credible sources of academic literature in which the research is positioned – Māori (indigeneity) in sport and Māori identity. Patterns were identified deductively from the pūrākau through a continual process of checking-back and re-reading hard copies of transcripts. Themes were organised and structured into ‘similar’ topics as they emerged. The analysis showed that Māori athletes recollected comparable features of their Māori identity and sporting experiences even though each of the participants came from differing backgrounds, supporting the process of data transparency.

Limitations of the study

All research contains limitations, especially when collating subjective experiences that explore the convergence of Māori identity and elite sport. A key limitation of this research relates to the number of participants. The research was limited to ten Māori athletes involved in elite sport. Subsequently, the analyses cannot be generalised to apply to all Māori athletes involved in elite sport, although that was never the aim of this research. Furthermore, the age range of participants and sports they participate/d in do not allow for generalisability. Nonetheless, the subjective nature of the research is a strength because it remains reactive to the participant pūrākau which were “opened-ended, ambiguous, inconclusive, and subject to multiple interpretations” (Denzin, 1997, p. 283).

Researcher status as ‘an insider’ is based on the shared similarities of Māori identity, participation in elite sport and experience of colonial assimilation strategies. However, as a Māori male I could not claim ‘insider’ status during my interviews with female participants. However, I was still able to ascertain sensitive and intimate experiences that could not have been shared with me without developing a comfortable level of rapport and trust that was comparable with male participants.

It has been argued that the method of pūrākau gives added value into the world of Māori athletes as experienced by them, yet the one-off interview provides a rudimentary glimpse of their lives at a particular time and place. Even though attempts were made to be at the behest of the participants, I quite often felt that I was abrogating the principles inherent in the Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) given that I would walk into their lives, with an audio recording device, sit down, collect their pūrākau and then one and a half to two and half hours later depart. Reflecting back on this practice makes me feel somewhat uncomfortable on two particular levels; ethically and emotionally. For example, although I attended to the context which the study required, their specific sporting context was not examined in more depth. Nonetheless, at the very least, a further kōrero (discussion) could have been conducted to build on the relationship I had created. Their pūrākau however belongs to them and is therefore available at their request at any time.

Section summary

This section has outlined the ethical concerns from a Māori perspective, participant selection and the limitations of the research. The process of analysing the participant pūrākau for this investigation was described, discussing methods of coding, classifying

and assembling the pūrākau into coherent themes. These themes are articulated and juxtaposed in chapters Four, Five and Six. The position as researcher was clarified justifying the necessity for an interpretive and subjective approach to seek out and provide the reader with an expression of Māori identity as understood by Māori elite athletes. It is hoped that this stratagem may provide a blueprint for future Māori researchers choosing to investigate the convergence or divergence of Māori identity in various Māori contexts.

3.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the epistemological stance (Kaupapa Māori Theory), ontological (the stated research objectives) and the methodological tool (pūrākau) used in this study. There is a primary focus on KMT and pūrākau and the important function they give in solidifying the epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches utilised. A metaphorical depiction of the research methodology employed for this investigation Te Poutama Rangahau was presented to assist in describing the processes employed to capture, illuminate and reveal an understanding of Māori identity. The research strategy and the approaches employed were described. Noting in particular that the moral and ethical parameters of the research was to preserve the interests of Māori athletes by ensuring that their pūrākau, voices and point of view were held paramount.

The next chapter is the first of three focussing on the findings and discussion where Māori athletes who participated in this research are introduced. It will highlight how they self-identify and how they understand and make meaning of their Māori identity

with reference to whakapapa and tūrangawaewae both before and during their participation in elite sport. Additionally, I present their clear passion for sport, noting in particular their introduction, development and involvement in elite sport. Their pūrākau also highlight that te reo Māori is perceived as an imperative component of their Māori identity.

UPOKO TUAWHA: MĀORI ATHLETE INTERPRETATIONS OF MĀORI IDENTITY - WHAKAPAPA, TŪRANGAWAEWAE, AND TE REO MĀORI.

4.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the pūrākau each of the participants are introduced individually and present how they make meaning of their Māori identity. I do so by unfolding each of their pūrākau and making links to their explicit connection to whakapapa and tūrangawaewae as this research after reading their pūrākau several times, considers those Māori concepts as being the core fundamental elements of Māori identity. However, other interpretations of Māori identity are acknowledged and highlighted in their pūrākau. Additionally, pertinent to this chapter is how their strong passion for sport is evident in their pūrākau. As such, this chapter summarises their sporting journey from early development, induction and involvement in international competition and their personal achievements and success in elite sport.

A further analysis from a socio-political perspective reveals how Māori athletes describe the impact of assimilation influencing Māori language development for their parents and consequently destructive to their own te reo Māori acquisition. While assimilation strategies were extremely detrimental to the psychological and spiritual well-being of Māori who experienced these strategies first-hand, and how these strategies had a major and ongoing impact on the generations that followed. This is relevant because their personal interpretations of cultural competency associated with a

lack of Māori language knowledge affects the way Māori athletes perceive their Māori identity in the domain of elite sport.

4.2 NGĀ PŪRĀKAU: PARTICIPANT/MĀORI ATHLETE INTRODUCTIONS

Māori athletes' words and stories are featured up-front to create a relationship between the reader and each of the participants, by adhering to a very well-known quote from the late great scholar of Ngāti Porou, Te Kapunga 'Koro' Dewes. He stated that "to introduce yourself properly, you must answer three questions: Ko wai koe (who they are); na wai koe (from whom do they descend); and, no hea koe (where do they come from) (personal commentary, Sharples, 2012) exemplifying a pūrākau approach. To achieve this outcome this chapter begins with the backgrounds of each of the individual participants noting in particular their connection to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa.

Rimu

Rimu begins that he "was born to young parents" and hence "the best thing to do at that time given the circumstances was to allow my auntie to raise me as a whangai adoption" (see McRae & Nikora, 2006). He attended a bilingual school²⁷ and notes that a part of his motivation to do so was in response to his "whangai mum having [Māori language] whacked out of her" as a result of assimilative educational practices. Subsequently being a part of the marae was a natural part of Rimu's education describing that he has "always had an understanding of things Māori".

²⁷ An educational environment where instruction is taught in both te reo Māori and English.

Te reo Māori was my main language at school so I knew a lot of the Māori language growing up that was the norm to speak [te reo]... I have always considered myself Māori because the language was an integral part of growing up and being popular.

Rimu identifies that te reo Māori is a major element in his personal interpretation of Māori identity.

You really wanted to be a part of being Māori...it was cool and it was important because it was the dominant culture. But all those things I had grown up with as being normal were not normal in the rest of the world...it made me think I sound silly.

Therefore, Rimu's Māori identity was fortified in his formative years because Māori was the dominant culture. When he moved away from this setting he experienced marginalisation of his Māori identity as expressed by his perception that by speaking te reo Māori he sounded 'silly'. This shift, and consequently the alienation from his immediate tūrangawaewae resulted in his level of te reo "declining quite a lot". Regardless, he conveys his tribal affiliations as "Tūwharetoa strong", but recognizes his paternal fathers whakapapa adding "Ngāti Porou...is deep within me and I always tell people that". His expression of established links to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa on both 'sides' of his whānau, whangai and paternal, indicates an assured interpretation of Māori identity.

Although he was an avid all-rounder and excelled in many physical pursuits, his sport “quickly became a huge phenomenon...because it brought everyone together”. It suited his body type “because I was always pretty fast and I was slight of frame”. He was first selected for a provincial team who at that time were “a powerhouse nationally”. New Zealand secondary school honours would soon follow. When he moved to an urban centre he was approached to join that provincial team that “would end up playing an instrumental part of where I am now”. He was soon selected for New Zealand and competed in his inaugural World Cup at a very young age and at the time of his interview had been selected to attend the World Cup again. He mentions winning a World Cup title earlier in his elite athlete career and coaching a national age group team in a test series win over Australia as key highlights.

Rimu does not currently reside where he grew up and thus he felt that “the Māori side of things...I have sort of let things slip and so there has been a drift away from that stuff but I suppose that's why it's so important to go back [home]”. Signalling that despite this detachment, he has maintained positive connections to his tūrangawaewae and whakapapa throughout his participation in elite sport. He provides several examples that depict this connection:

Firstly was being awarded the Tūwharetoa sportsperson of the year and secondly, two years later, I won the coach of the year and these two major trophies can be located at my marae and that means a lot to me because that's where it all started from. That always keeps me grounded and links me back to how I got started in this whole thing...finally I could say I was in some way giving back to those who had supported me from the very beginning.

His pūrākau emphasises that gifting the awards he has received to his marae - ‘at home’ - symbolises a tangible and spiritual connection to his tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, indicating that distance created by geographical residency is certainly not a confining component in maintaining a positive and confident Māori identity.

In addition he explains that having a non-Māori partner and the separation of his parents, has meant negotiating the myriad and complexity of relationships for his children’s identity has been “quite challenging and it can all be a little confusing [for them], but I make sure that they link to all their whānau”. He summarises that “[my children] have come to know the importance of all these people in my life and I suppose in a way I want those people to know them as well...well more than know them”. The comment ‘well more than know them’ suggests that for Rimu building relationships can come with further Māori benefits such as providing an impetus for ancestry to be discussed, an aspect that has more recently become a passion for his mother:

My mother is really delving deep into genealogy our whakapapa because when she was fostered out she lost a lot of all those true connections to family. Mum has been working alongside her sisters and they have probably in the last 15 years been slowly building up our whakapapa and seeing our elders and hearing our whānau stories. She has returned to [our] marae quite regularly and it has been through her research that has allowed me to reconnect with that whakapapa.

His words exemplifying that the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa are pertinent in inspiring Māori identity construction for himself and his children.

Miro

Miro is able to articulate her whakapapa and connection to Ngāti Porou although she does not currently reside there. She acknowledges Hiruhārama in her pūrākau as a significant mountain that overlooks the rural township of Ruatoria. This connection appears to be significant because this location also marks where her “grandfather is buried”. By comfortably affiliating to iwi and geographical landmarks demonstrates her conscious effort to engage with her tūrangawaewae and whakapapa.

Although she confidently declares that she “was never embarrassed of being Māori or identifying as Māori”, ‘things’ Māori were not “a part of life” and her upbringing was void of any integration of Māori cultural practice. She elaborates that her “English heritage is the side of the family that I know the most”:

When I was younger I definitely know that I didn't appreciate my Māori side enough. Basically because it wasn't taught in our home and so we didn't learn about our whakapapa or Māori heritage rather it was all about the English side...it just wasn't a part of our life and so I never grew up with it. When I think about it, it's because Mum didn't have much influence of things Māori in her life and so she didn't know much and so couldn't teach us...

Even though her pūrākau stresses the absence of things Māori she conveys that “I embrace the duality of my heritage because that is who I am...I suppose the term is

half caste...in my eyes I am very much English as well as being New Zealand Māori”. Her pūrākau highlighting how she negotiates the complexities and plurality of mixed ancestry.

She attributes her passion for sport to her parents; “it was a family thing...which meant us being dragged to Mum and Dad’s rugby, netball and touch, all the sports really”. She attended her first national’s event as a ten year old winning the tournament. Just prior to her 14th birthday she was selected for the National under 19 age group team to compete overseas and at 15 years old she decided to concentrate solely on her elite sport. After some gentle coercion from the team manager from that overseas competition she “made the decision to take six months to train. I completely changed myself physically and by the end of that year I was in the top 20 in the world. At the time of her interview she was still ranked in the top 20.

Achieving podium finishes at the Commonwealth Games are major highlights, especially given that 16 of the top 20 ranked female players in the world were in attendance. She adds however that attaining provincial and national female sport awards comes with a sense of social responsibility to the wider Māori sporting community that she willingly and openly accepts. She explains:

...to be given any title I hope will serve as a motivator for other female Māori athletes. Any award that provides recognition is rewarding – it’s not the reason I wanted to play, but to receive it demonstrates that you are doing something right perhaps and its very satisfying to know that other people recognise the work that you are doing.

In illustrating the convergence of her Māori identity and elite sport she says:

When I returned from the Commonwealth Games the kaumātua were coming up to me wanting my photo giving me kisses even though I do not whakapapa to this area but I suppose they have 'taken me in' because they all know that I was born here and I have spent more time on the marae here than any other marae.

Although she explains that she does not whakapapa to the marae mentioned in the above commentary, it demonstrates that connecting to marae and tūrangawaewae may involve processes that include place of birth and current residence. Additionally, it highlights the social privilege and capital of sport, as shown in her comment 'taken me in' even though she has no ancestral links to the marae she speaks of. However, because she 'was born here and I have spent more time on the marae here than any other marae' she describes a unique relationship that perhaps is an example of how fluid Māori identity can be.

In regards to how she perceives her Māori identity while participating in elite level sport she says that "I don't see myself as a Māori elite athlete, I see myself as an elite athlete who just happens to be from New Zealand". Additionally, she comments that "sport was sport to me being Māori didn't really come into it". These aspects of her pūrākau suggest that while she contains an assertive perception of her Māori identity, she does not interpret it as an integrated feature within the realm of elite sport. Consequently, when queried as to how she felt about Māori identity reaffirmation while still competing in high performance sport she iterated, "I can't really see past my

sport at the moment because that's who I am right now I'm trying to make it as a professional athlete. This is who I am right now". Her pūrākau clearly highlights that in this sense she has constructed an internal hierarchy where sport is her priority and professional athlete' her core identity for at least this point of time.

Nīkau

Nīkau was "a part of a whangai adoption to my grandparents, and whenever I mention my Mum and Dad that's who I refer to – my Nanny and Koro²⁸ are my whangai parents, my Mum and Dad". She identifies with several iwi, Whanganui and Ngā Puhi but also has whakapapa links to Tainui and Ngāti Kahungunu. She declares "I'm a river rat through and through and know that area like the back of my hand. I absolutely love going back home up the river...and pretty much whakapapa to all the marae along the awa" exemplifying a positive connection to her tūrangawaewae and whakapapa.

Nīkau in communicating her Māori experiences pays particular attention to attending Māori immersion education. She recalls that "our kura [school] was a marae and our kura was treated like a home [and we were] like a whānau" adding that "tikanga was innate in everything we did". Her pūrākau provides examples that include:

We took our shoes off before entering our class...karakia for every break and every kai...pōwhiri and whakatau were a daily aspect of what we did. We attended tangi and welcomed home whānau who had been to tangi. New kids were welcomed through the process of pōwhiri.

²⁸ Elderly male / Grandfather.

As children they were gifted the roles and responsibilities within the process of pōwhiri including whaikōrero (orator) and karanga (first call of welcome), although quite often these were role modelled by their kaiako²⁹, koro and kuia³⁰. Nīkau explains:

I'm grateful to have had attended a bilingual school where my identity was able to thrive and be nurtured and so I was quite strong in knowing who I was and where I came from, my whakapapa and to be proud of it. I've taken for granted the wonderful Māori education that I have received because I was so immersed in it, that was my world...it has definitely served as a useful vehicle for many rich experiences.

Clearly these initial experiences during her childhood fortified her personal perception of Māori identity. However she expresses that her Mum and Dad never spoke the Māori language within the home explaining “that is just a whole other kaupapa of how they were brought up”. She continues that “Mum was surrounded by fluent speakers” identifying that her mother was raised with te reo Māori as her first language however when “[Mum] went to college she was discouraged from using te reo”. Her comments are in reference to assimilative strategies that were introduced via educational policy coupled with her Mum shifting away from her tūrangawaewae. Nīkau poignantly points out that “unfortunately for some of our people assimilation worked”.

She was four years old when she first mentioned her desire to be a national representative, and was only in standard four (9/10 years old) when she made her first

²⁹ Teacher.

³⁰ Elderly female / Grandmother.

provincial side. At the age of 12 (turning 13) she represented the same region in the under 19 and under 21 National age group competitions. Nīkau was a national representative in two sporting codes, but struggled to maintain the balance between them and finally decided on one sport to “be my number one passion”.

When talking of her most recent sporting achievements, attaining a podium position at the Commonwealth Games is at the top of her list. She describes “that coming home and sharing [that achievement] with my family was amazing I really do think it meant as much to my iwi and hapū as it meant to me”. Additionally it showed that “I’ve made my parents happy I have justified their effort and their expense to the fullest extent in terms of their wairua³¹ their aroha³² and their pūtea³³”.

Nīkau expresses that although her achievements are a measure of her hard work she has become increasingly aware that her sport is not everything and notes in particular the importance of whakapapa. For instance, since her introduction into professional sport her pūrākau indicates the sacrifices she has made as an athlete has unfortunately meant that she has been unable to “come home to see my parents” or “to give back to my [home] community”. The notion of giving back provides obvious benefits for Māori communities, but also can present opportunities for Māori athletes to negotiate their Māori identity (Te Rito, 2006; discussed further in Chapter Six). Yet, she draws strength from her connections to iwi, hapū and whānau exemplifying the appreciation of support she has received from those genealogical links:

³¹ Spiritual support.

³² Unconditional love.

³³ Money, financial support.

As strength to me I think about the arduous task that my ancestors went through to get here from Hawaiki. I think about my tupuna and the journey they endured having to paddle upstream... in comparison, me thinking about a game is easy, their stuff was life it was survival. They went into battle all I'm doing is playing a game. The best that I can do is to honour their memory and to represent them in the best way I know how.

This aspect of her pūrākau emphasises the unique way she draws strength from those links and uses those connections as motivation when participating in elite sport environs. Indeed, she articulates her personal understandings and close connection to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa as intricate elements of her Māori identity.

Pōhutukawa

Pōhutukawa is of Rangitāne descent. Her pūrākau clearly expresses her understanding of Māori identity and links to whakapapa when she declares “knowing my ancestry and where I come from, my Father's whakapapa, whānau and bloodline I suppose is all that matters in knowing who I am and knowing that I am Māori”. Yet, she openly acknowledges that her upbringing would not be considered “very Māori”, continuing that “I feel as if I should know more and I'm embarrassed that I don't given my athletic status and the fact that I am Māori.” In this sense she perceives her Māori identity salience as being heavily influenced by her level of understanding of traditional Māori cultural knowledge. Her understanding is no doubt a consequence of the lack of ‘things’ Māori in her upbringing, as her pūrākau explains:

Dad never spoke Māori and that is the same for his siblings, as they all came from that generation where it wasn't important to learn the language...his actual speaking ability is minimal. So Māori language wasn't spoken around the home and as such my comprehension is minimal if nothing and I only know the odd colloquial saying.

This signifies that for Pōhutukawa, a range of factors besides simply declaring Māori ancestry influence how she makes sense of her Māori identity.

At seven years of age she recalls that at school, each child was asked to choose two sports; a winter code and a summer code, however she expressed “when I was selecting my sports only two remained”. Although she displayed considerable promise in both sporting codes she showed a heightened potential in one of those sports in particular and represented her first provincial team with the under 11 age group. At age 14 she made her first senior woman’s representative team however she was ineligible to play because she was considered too young, but played for that same team one year later. She participated in a variety of sports through the early years of high school but in year 11 (15/16 years old) she selected her national representative sport because:

...of the people that were around me there was already a foundation here so to speak of elite athletes and I know that I could have those people help me on my journey. Who would believe that not much longer after just watching them I would be actually training with them in the same representative teams! They were my idols growing up. I look back and see how lucky I was to be able to

train with current New Zealand representatives from a very young age...may be as young as 13...a very privileged and honoured position for sure.

Her pūrākau emphasises the critical role of elite athletes in the encouragement of her ‘journey’ many of whom she identified in her pūrākau as Māori. Since those early beginnings she has attended the Olympic and Commonwealth games twice, winning a medal at the Commonwealth Games. Additionally she has competed in a major international event attaining a bronze medal from that event. Other honours mentioned include being named in the World All-Stars team and playing professionally in Europe.

When discussing the intersection of her Māori identity and participation in elite sport two relevant issues arose. Firstly, although able to communicate her ties to whakapapa, she expresses that she is an “elite athlete not a Māori elite athlete”, emphasising that a hierarchy exists when interpreting how she makes sense of her Māori identity while participating in elite sport, as similarly indicated in Miro’s pūrākau. Furthermore, she expresses her uncomfortableness when approached by coaching and management staff to provide Māori cultural knowledge, describing that “I’m not too confident with doing that and ‘being that person’ because I don’t really have the language, knowledge or the experiences to back up that role modelling”.

As noted earlier in her pūrākau, this comment again stresses that her interpretation of Māori identity is heavily predicated on her personal knowledge of Māori culture and traditional practices – te reo Māori and tikanga. It also highlights the issues of ascription of what could be perceived as stereotypical notions of Māori identity. Thus

stressing that coaches consider that Māori athlete identity is a complex phenomenon in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Pōhutukawa's pūrākau also exemplifies that some Māori, especially those who 'describe their upbringing as not very Māori', may not have experienced or possess sufficient cultural knowledge and hence lack confidence in sharing it, are made to feel disempowered, albeit unintentionally.

Kahikatea

Kahikatea grew up in Northland. In referring to his tūrangawaewae and whakapapa he mentions his marae, Whakapara and affiliates to Ngāti Hau and Ngā Puhī, declaring that is "where my ancestors lie and where both my father and his father, my grandfather grew up". His mother is of Dutch heritage, her family having immigrated to New Zealand following the Second World War. He "never took up te reo Māori at school and that is a decision that I really regret", because he was "always prioritising sport". Although there is a sense of remorse of not learning te reo Māori, he articulates that:

I suppose the only people that really matter are my people back at my marae whether I am a part of the working bee or putting down a hangi³⁴ at Christmas those experiences [are a] privileged part of my youth...those things are important to me to be Māori - I am Māori and I am proud of it!

His pūrākau emphasises that tūrangawaewae and whakapapa are the only components pertinent to identifying as Māori, rather than elements such as te reo Māori. He continues that:

³⁴ Food that is cooked in an earth oven with steam and heat from heated stones.

[It's] not the colour of my skin [it's] how I was raised...because as we know even the darker Māori may not have had as much exposure to some of the experiences I have been so privileged to be a part in my youth. I have stayed on the marae and I've seen tikanga in action, mihimihi where the stick is passed around and slept with the body [during tangi]. But as you know these stories are told on the walls of our marae in photos. That's why it is always so great come home and be with family...to be grounded after being overseas, having a laugh. That's what I would call whānaungatanga and are the things that matter to me and what it means to be Māori and have whānau.

This section of his pūrākau provides an insightful assertion that speaks of his involvement in Māori cultural practices and traditions he experienced “in [his] youth” and were considered a “privilege”. Indeed, these Māori social experiences and subsequent cultural practices and traditions have not only proven to be a significant factor in influencing his understanding and respect of his Māori identity, but have undoubtedly encouraged his Māori identity into adulthood. Additionally, he considers whānau to be an imperative element in maintaining a positive and confident Māori identity.

While contact sport was an integral part of his childhood he was later advised by doctors to choose a non-contact sport given his numerous accounts of concussion. Invited to “have a go” by a high school teacher at the sport which is his current national representative sport, Kahikatea recalls with a smile that “I was terrible at first and didn't make the ‘A’ team until I was in my final year of school”. However national honours soon followed and on return from an international tour representing

New Zealand in Australia he was quickly approached to join a national development programme:

The environment there was awesome and it wasn't long before I was being asked to play with the best player to ever have come out of New Zealand...a real icon within the game and actually as I put my finger on it he had a huge impact on my decision to take up my sport. So one year after being at the high performance Academy I was playing with the best player in New Zealand and we won every tournament that year including the first two tournaments in Thailand and straight after that we won again in Tahiti.

At the time of his interview he had completed his ninth year on the world pro tour and competed in his 100th tournament “which is quite a milestone for me personally but also in the sport itself”, and despite preparing to qualify for the Olympics, he iterated “if I was to stop playing right now I could be happy with what I have achieved”.

Despite exemplifying positive connections and relationships to tūrangawaewae, whakapapa and expressions of how whānau experiences created meaning of his Māori identity, he expressed that “I still feel uncomfortable going on to the marae and I think a big part of that was being made to feel that way”. Although, he didn’t articulate the reasons why or describe how he was made to feel this way, he responded:

However now I am accepted with open arms...perhaps this is because of my achievements within my sport. I wouldn't call it fame or being famous, but I suppose there is a bit of pride by my family.

This component of his pūrākau validates the cultural capital of elite sport not only as a valued social construct in mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand, but also in Māori contexts. Kahikatea provides an example in which elite sport affords opportunities for Māori athletes to feel more accepted by Māori. Indeed, he demonstrates a mechanism through which he and perhaps Māori athletes in general to utilise their social standing in sport to positively negotiate the boundaries of Māori identity and elite sport, towards feelings of acceptance and belonging.

Karaka

Karaka identifies with her dual heritage of her Pākehā father and Māori mother. She describes that “mum was quite sporty so I would consider her the major influence in terms of sport participation in our family”. In regards to her tūrangawaewae and whakapapa she expresses her links are to the iwi of Te Atiawa and Parihaka marae demonstrating a conscious acknowledgement of Māori identity. However, she expressed that “it has been such a long time since my last visit there”, highlighting a physical disconnection to her tūrangawaewae.

She believes that te reo Māori is extremely important and “wished that I had known the language earlier...but I know I am Māori and that knowledge stems from my mums whakapapa...that’s my basic association with being Māori”. There is an acute impression of remorse exemplifying that she perceives knowledge of te reo Māori as a major element in Māori identity. However, as her pūrākau unfolds it is clear that she is a subject of intergenerational assimilation explaining that “Mum never spoke to us in Māori basically because she was of the generation where it was beaten out of her at school”. She also added that her father was “quite negative in his comments regarding

Māori”. Consequently Karaka’s parents were adamant that for her “learning the Māori language was not going to be beneficial or advantageous...in either education or in my life as a whole”. Her pūrākau reveals the impact of assimilation influencing Māori language development specifically for her mother. Additionally, it is evident that her father adhered to notions and discourse that conveyed te reo Māori as obsolete and insignificant to the development of Māori, thus influencing her understanding of te reo Māori acquisition and the way she interprets her Māori identity.

Her break into the New Zealand women's national team came after competing in a tournament. She expressed the impact of that initial experience, paying particular attention to the esteem she had for the senior players:

I was just having the time of my life loving every minute because here I am rooming with two of my idols and I was just learning so much...and so I'm ringing home and telling mum that this is absolutely amazing.

Karaka has represented New Zealand in two sports. Her first experience at international level in one of those sports was her selection for the New Zealand B team and she competed in her first world championships at 17 years old. While obviously adept and skilled in both sporting codes they were starting to overlap given that they were sports played in opposing seasons. She decided to choose the sport that was an Olympic and Commonwealth Games event, and competed at both, expressing that “all my experiences at those games were amazing”. In particular achieving a podium finish was a very memorable achievement. As she spoke of her career in elite sport, she reflected that:

One of the memories I hold dear is a photo I have of me holding the tools of my trade of both the sports I played and remember very vividly saying to myself that I wanted to represent my country at the Olympics. I look back now and I can't believe that I have achieved that.

In referring to her children she describes that “I’ll probably tell [my children] that their mother was an Olympian and a Commonwealth games athlete” and continues “who just happened to be Māori and those two things are in no particular order”. Much like Miro and Pōhutukawa, she too interpreted and internalised her Māori identity and participation in elite sport using a hierarchical schema. Additionally, she demonstrates how perhaps her Māori identity is an incidental element when configuring the wider features of her total identity.

Now retired from international sport competition she says that “I am hoping that I can teach my children where [they] come from and I could see us doing that journey together which would be absolutely awesome...because I have yet to learn about that”. Her pūrākau indicates that although she may have internalised her Māori identity as ‘incidental’, she hopes to provide experiences that will result in her children internalising it differently to how she experienced it, through the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. It is clear that she perceives these concepts of Māori identity as pertinent elements in her personal perception of Māori identity and important connections to communicate to her children.

Matai

Matai confirms his tūrangawaewae and whakapapa by identifying with both his Māori and Pasifika parentage, specifically with Ngāti Porou, Te Arawa, and Waikato, yet attests that “I affiliate to Mum’s side more and identify more with Ngāti Porou”. He adds that “when I’m filling in any kind of forms or declarations I state that I am NZ Māori”. The name he was given has been “within the family male line for a long time” and means ‘old-soul’ and was attributed to him “because when I was born everyone who looked at me would say that I looked like an old man in a baby's body”. As such this part of his pūrākau illustrates his deep understanding of the whakapapa concept that embodies a spiritual and physical connection to his past, present and future.

His Māori identity was encouraged early in his infancy where his mother was both his Kohanga Reo (immersion Māori language early childhood centre) and primary school teacher in a bilingual classroom environment. He expressed a deep gratitude towards his Mother for those initial years as his “kohanga and bilingual teacher at primary” and being exposed to “mihimihi, pepeha and waiata”. This established his Māori language “foundation that I can always rely on wherever I go”. However:

Unfortunately I've lost a lot of the language now and it feels like broken 'Māori'. My comprehension of te reo isn't too bad I can understand mostly what is being said, I just can't reply. I wish I could do better I regret not having kept up my Māori especially when I am with family. It makes me feel embarrassed and sad because I should know better given my upbringing.

His emotional expression of ‘sadness’ and whakamā (embarrassment) in the above quote identifies a sense of remorse for not maintaining his te reo, indicating that his te reo Māori diminishment has altered his self-perception of Māori identity and perhaps his ability and comfortability when and in engaging in Māori contexts.

In terms of his sporting development his pūrākau reveals the central relationship with his older brother as “pretty close” consequently they participated in “everything together”.

I was always playing above my age because I was always playing with my older brother and his mates. That is where I developed a lot of my skill because I had to try and keep up with them so I know that I owe a lot to those experiences. I was only 9-10 years of age when I made my first provincial representative team.

His early achievements in sport include winning secondary school national titles and being awarded the most valuable player (MVP) at each tournament. These would lead to provincial and national representative selections for both the New Zealand under 19 age group and Open (senior) Men’s teams to play against Australia in that same year at only 16 years of age.

However within the first two months of 2008 he received an opportunity to attend a provincial academy for another sport. Only 11 athletes were selected that year from the entire lower North Island. By the end of 2008 a lucrative contract to play in a National Youth competition in Australia was presented. This grade is seen as the ‘feeder’ competition into the professional version of this sport. He explains:

A scout turned up from [the club]. This is where I feel extremely lucky you see all 11 of us were vying for a position or a contract, but because [the club] were very specific about who they wanted only two of us were selected. We were both originally told to attend the trial but one week later they contacted us to request our attendance for pre-season training in November. And so within two weeks of being approached we were based overseas!

Staying for two seasons that included a semi-final in 2010, he was offered a contract to stay with his club, but he declined noting that “I didn't really enjoy the environment that they had”.

Currently residing in New Zealand he has made the transition to another sport, securing professional contracts at various levels. “I am so happy to be home absolutely awesome...being around people that I can trust...the real reasons to coming home - to be with whānau and friends”. In that vein he affectionately concludes “whānau is the major influence that has shaped me, my identity into the person that I am and with what I have achieved”. Indeed he describes that he had “been brought up to come to know our family, for me it's been really important”, thus logically “I would like to [raise] my children just like how I was so having them know who they are and about family is really important too”. His pūrākau demonstrates that the concept of whānau is an imperative component in creating meaning and making sense of his Māori identity.

Totara

Totara has dual heritage, a European (mother) and a Māori (father), and expresses his tūrangawaewae and whakapapa by identifying with Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki and Kahungunu. He was born on Pukerua Pā (marae), which doubled as the local hospital. In expressing his Māori identity Totara tells of what it meant to be Māori in mainstream education in an era where te reo Māori was not encouraged, indeed he described that “te reo Māori was practically non-existent it just wasn't done” even though “many teachers at school were Māori [and] a strong Māori presence was present”. This demonstrates the mainstream philosophies and policies at the time where assimilation practices to suppress te reo Māori were well and truly engrained in the education system. Despite such negative socio-political constructions Totara clarifies that:

The town where I grew up had predominantly Māori population and demographic which meant that everything was Māori...being Māori was normal and that was my reality. For me the town represented closeness to our whenua which was alive with volcanic activity. That is apparent in our cosmology and innate in our philosophy and typical within Māori narrative of mythology and legend and these Māori things were a day-to-day experience for me...so my immediate environment was everything Māori and therefore my way of life of being Māori was normal to me. Māori aspects of life were an innate part of our immediate environment you were simply unable to escape from being Māori even though it wasn't a part of the education system. When you've got a brown skin you gotta brown skin and it is that apparent to be Māori.

Totara exemplifies that through the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa he identifies deep emotions and close relationship and connection with the natural environment. His expression “when you’ve gotta brown skin you gotta brown skin” emphasises that Totara also embodied his identity on the colour of his skin, perceived perhaps in a way that was relational to the environment that shaped and influenced his Māori identity development and the way others perceived him based on the colour of his skin.

In regards to his elite sport journey, by the age of 12 he became the New Zealand under 14 age group champion and later that year departed for California unaccompanied, he states “I waved goodbye to my parents...I just wanted to do my sport”. At 13 years old he was the New Zealand under 17 age group champion and at 15 would end up moving to Austria, Italy and Germany with his family to pursue competition and monetary incentives. At only 17 years of age he was selected for the New Zealand senior national team and a year later attended his first of four Olympic Games. He was selected for his fifth Olympic campaign “but I turned that down...to me there was nothing more that I needed to prove”.

He shares in his pūrākau that he is “an athlete who is Māori” demonstrating how he interprets his Māori identity as integral to his identity while he competed in elite sport. However he continues to describe that challenges existed regarding his Māori identity expressing that “I was either ignored or treated in a manner where it was better to remain invisible or to assimilate”. However, his current occupation indicates that he is “very connected to te reo...I love the way that it sounds and to study waiata especially

mōteatea³⁵ and those types of things” even though he personally has “not conducted or been a part of any formal study to learn the language”. He describes that:

I believe I have the ability to listen to oratory and I can understand a lot of what is being said but it's still not my time my dad is still alive and he still maintains that mantle...so I am 'in waiting'.

His pūrākau is fertile with examples of his deep connection with the environment. For instance in mentioning his closeness to the maunga (mountain) he expresses:

It was my destiny and [the mountain] was going to decide what I was going to do and it was my sheer will power, intelligence and vision that took me a long way. But it was also my ability to be able to communicate with the environment that surrounded me. I could communicate with the earth with the mountain...you know the static you get when you're listening to the radio...you try to fine tune it to the right station. Well it's the same for my sport, you are working with the feedback from the hard surface and travelling at over 100kms an hour you had to be making minute adjustments and anticipate the ground ahead of you...

Totara embodies feelings of his affinity to whenua, tūrangawaewae and whakapapa describing a dynamic and vibrant process of his Māori identity in elite sport. He adds:

³⁵ A traditional chant, sung poetry, lament. It is also a general term for songs sung in traditional mode.

So being Māori to me is about having a really firm connection with the land – that’s what it means, it has always been about Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and Rangi (Sky Father). I love the concepts of all it means to be Māori.

Totara’s pūrākau also gives attention to his whānau, he describes that they are “very blended” with “dual heritage if not more”. Furthermore, he is very aware that “in a land where prejudice and tension exists” it is imperative that his whānau maintain “a very open mind and clear understanding” of the diverse identities that they hold. As such, the strong link to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa and his passion for te reo Māori has been encouraged in the raising of his children:

My two youngest children have both been through kura and they are both fully fluent in te reo. All of the children are except for [daughter] but she is fluent in Samoan and Tongan. So they all have the ability to read and write in Māori.

Acknowledging that they do indeed maintain “a very open mind and clear understanding” of Māori identity, Totara expresses that:

They each have their own channel and there is no pressure from me to indoctrinate them and they don't feel that way either. Their identity will be their own journey...each of them will have a unique identity of which it is theirs to develop.

His pūrākau clearly recognises the significance of te reo Māori as a major influence in maintaining a clear understanding of Māori identity for his children, exemplifying that Māori identity continues to be a process of adaptation, evolution and creativity.

Tawa

Tawa has mixed ancestry; her mother is of Māori descent and her father is European. In discussing her upbringing she speaks fondly of her parents' families, skills and talents. In mentioning her tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, she explains:

I am of Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne descent. When it comes to my own self-identification I tick both the New Zealand Māori and New Zealand European boxes, and in a general sense I typically tell people that I am Māori. I suppose I would have been able to identify a little bit more to everything being Māori if perhaps it had been more ingrained in my upbringing...so there wasn't a huge presence of Māori cultural aspects. I don't think I suffer from a lack of belonging to things Māori because I really want to, but I suppose every person sits on a continuum of sorts...but I know that I am Māori.

Her analogy of a 'continuum' highlights an acknowledgement that at one end "there wasn't a huge presence of Māori cultural aspects", but at the other end declares "I know that I am Māori". She exemplifies that while she may identify as Māori there wasn't a 'huge presence' of the behaviours that would be described as 'traditional', emphasising the diverse ways through which Māori identity can be personified. However, she adds that "I would like my children to know who they are and where

they are from”, which is likely given that information regarding whakapapa is being collated by her mother:

Learning about our whakapapa is also one of Mum’s most recent re-connections to her Māori heritage and she has now started to introduce me to the family tree. It’s pretty amazing stuff especially when you look who is on there and there are people that you know. I get excited because she is excited about it.

Additionally as a way maintaining connections to her tūrangawaewae she shared that “what I am really stoked about is that my marae knows about my accomplishments”. In this sense, whakapapa provides an imperative in which Tawa connects to her Māori identity.

Her mother introduced Tawa to her chosen elite sport at a young age but it wasn’t “until I got to college that I decided that it was my thing”. She clarifies:

I really do think that a big part of the decision to play elite sport was because I was mentally and physically tough and durable enough to play at that level. The senior players made me feel like I was integral part of the team even though I was so young and I thought the support that I had when I was introduced to this level was awesome.

Her pūrākau pays respect to two factors in particular, that assisted in achieving elite athlete status; one ‘individual’ in nature and the second ‘collective’. The terms

‘mentally and physically tough’ and ‘durable’, exemplify the personal attributes (individual) she contains; and secondly, the support she experienced from the ‘senior players’ (collective) that made her feel like an ‘integral part of the team’. While both factors are important in the development of elite athletes, the ‘collective’ strategy that was conveyed can symbolically represent the whānau concept (this is discussed further in Chapter Five).

She was selected for the under 18 age group team to tour Melbourne in 1998, and explains that it was “a pivotal point in me deciding that I wanted to wear the silver fern”. In 2001, she made the greater New Zealand squad of 26 athletes providing the motivation she needed to make the touring and test series squad team line-up for the 2002 international test series. She attended the Olympics and an international tournament involving five other countries, solidifying her position in the national high performance programme. But injury kept her out of international competition until later she successfully regained selection for the national team and attended another Olympic Games. Now retired from all international competition and yet to “officially retire” from all forms of her sport she reflects, “I am glad I gave it a real good go, I loved every minute of it”.

Her pūrākau reveals that her interpretations of Māori identity while participating in elite sport has “never been balanced, [and] are still very much two separate entities” and continued that “I have yet to figure out how to weave these things together...if that needs to happen at all...I'm not sure if it's important.” This identifies how she has experienced and has created meaning regarding her Māori identity and participation in elite sport but implies that they were not consciously connected. The following

excerpt from her pūrākau (which was the opening quote for Chapter One), concluded that her identity:

...would have to be about sport of course. Being an elite athlete is who I am, and I suppose I identify more to that because it has been ingrained in me. I have eaten and drunk slept my sport but I can't say the same for being Māori and that is the difference for me. I know what it takes to be an elite athlete but I do not have any idea on what it means or to show to anyone else to be Māori.

Her pūrākau underlines that she confidently identifies as Māori, yet emphasises that how she makes sense of her Māori identity is influenced by the way she is perceived by others and how much she knows regarding Māori traditional practices. She also expresses “one day if my children ask of course I will tell them about all my sporting exploits and that sport was a big part of my life and that being Māori unfortunately wasn’t”. The word “unfortunately” suggests both a sense of regret and that perhaps developing her Māori identity was out of her control. She also refers to the vulnerable position of identifying as Māori, describing that she has felt “exposed a few times”. She explains that:

What’s always been interesting for me when it comes to knowing about Māori culture is the assumption that I should know because I am Māori and this has happened with the national team and I have been embarrassed because I didn't know.

This section of her pūrākau reveals her teammates' assumption, that is, if Māori athletes identify as Māori then by default they must contain knowledge of Māori culture and traditional practices. While not intentional, such assumptions only served to expose her "embarrass[ment]", similar to the experiences of Pōhutukawa. Such experiences signify that an array of elements besides simply declaring Māori ancestry have influenced the way she interprets her Māori identity.

Kauri

Kauri describes that he has tūrangawaewae and whakapapa links to Ngāti Kauwhata. While both his parents are of Māori descent they "were both born in the era where being Māori was not very cool and so in return they were very anti-Māori things themselves". For instance even though he was "involved in things Māori at school like kapahaka and learning te reo" his parents' "were very much against it" adding that "well they weren't pro Māori let's put it that way...so it certainly wasn't a part of my upbringing". Much like a number of previous pūrākau the processes of colonisation and assimilation were detrimental to the Māori identity development of Kauri. Despite these experiences, his pūrākau expresses the positive influence of a specific teacher who encouraged a positive perspective of Māori identity.

I had a very inspiring teacher at high school. In fact he was inspirational for all of us Māori students at school. I am still in close contact with him. He also did our karakia at our wedding. [He] had a major impact on my life.

This teacher challenged dominant paradigms and ideologies in education at the time with regards to Māori providing experiences complimented with support,

encouragement and engagement that assisted Kauri to actively pursue his Māori identity. Although Kauri confesses:

I'm nowhere near as connected to my marae as I should be but that doesn't make me any less Māori. At the end of the day it is your own decision as to whether you self-identify as Māori... [Māori identity] is evolving all the time.

His comment 'at the end of the day it is your own decision as to whether you self-identify as Māori' concurs with the notion that identifying as Māori stems from "the people themselves" (O'Regan cited in Melbourne, 1995, p. 156, see Chapter Two). Secondly, Kauri's interpretation of Māori identity is that it is in a state of continual flux as seen in the word 'evolving'. He stresses that contemporary notions and definitions of Māori identity need to be cognizant to the socio-cultural and political climate.

His father started him in his sport at age 10 and Kauri recounts how on "the first day I loved it, I got it – I understood the environment, the referee, I understood the science... and decided then that this is me!" Noticing that Kauri was becoming distracted by at-risk behaviours, his coach decided to intervene and visited his home. Kauri refers to that visit as "a life turning moment" and remembers writing that night that he wanted to represent New Zealand at the Olympics. Later that year he won his first national title at age 12 and "was hooked from then on".

His career includes attending 16 national championships winning 15 to which he quips "don't ask about the one that I lost". He achieved the goal he set as a 12 year old boy

when he competed at the Olympic Games, and attaining a podium finish at the Commonwealth Games. Given that he was ranked in the top ten in the world he should have been selected for the next Olympic Games team however, “I had a falling-out with the national sporting fraternity and I was so angry and grumpy with the support I was given” and so he retired.

More recently, he has been involved in the development of athlete support structures that are currently utilised by the New Zealand Olympic Commission and has attended four Olympic Games and two Commonwealth Games as both an athlete and athlete support. At the time of his interview he was preparing for another Olympic Games and concludes “that exemplifies how I am getting everything I asked for”.

Kauri continues to exemplify that he has a “strong desire to learn and know about things Māori” and consequently has encouraged the development of his children’s connection to their Māori identity even though initially this was not the case in his own upbringing. He has committed to this notion by explaining that “both my children are in immersion Māori education and so their level of te reo is quite good.” When discussing his children’s Māori identity development he plainly states that he desires they “be strong in knowing who they are and that they are secure in their identity and where they come from”. Additionally, he considers knowledge of “building relationships” and having “wider understanding of their environment” indicators of the pertinence of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa to inspire Māori identity reaffirmation. He concludes that:

My wife and I are making decisions every day to make sure that our kids have the ability to create their own future and that they are given the opportunities to have choices based on their potential to operate in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds...to be pluralistic.

His use of the term “pluralistic” is best understood in his own words; “being Māori has evolved and what that may look like is different now then what my experience growing up was...being Māori today is more dynamic than it ever was.” His pūrākau emphasising that Māori identity is a fluid and complex concept in an evolving contemporary world.

Section discussion

It was evident that the introductory pūrākau illustrated several themes that emphasised the juncture of elite sport and Māori identity salience. These themes are referred to as tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, Māori identity as hierarchical, incidental and/or integrated factors to athlete identity, whānau, and te reo Māori.

Tūrangawaewae and whakapapa

The participants have been introduced by organising their pūrākau to answer “who they are”, “who they descend from” and “where they’re from” as expressed through a connection with hapū and iwi homelands and geographic symbols encapsulated by tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. That is, participants could identify as Māori by virtue of being able to verbalise tūrangawaewae and whakapapa alone. It is evident that these concepts continue to play a part in how Māori athletes configure and create meaning of their Māori identity exemplifying that there is cultural value and fulfilment from

continued links with iwi, hapū, whānau (Nikora, 2007) and whenua. As such, the participants are able to articulate their personal interpretations of a sense of “rootedness”, “insiderness”, “feeling at home” or “being in place”, or a “rooted sense of place” as described by Andres (2011).

Some Māori athletes express that although they communicate a straightforward association to their Māori identity through tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, they exemplify an acute self-awareness that they exhibit few specific Māori cultural knowledge practices associated with it. For instance, several athletes signalled that te reo Māori is a relevant Māori cultural practice that influences how they perceive their Māori identity. However, it is evident that for some, assimilation instigated a loss of te reo Māori, consequently terminating the transmission of te reo Māori between parents and successive generations.

Māori identity as hierarchical, incidental and/or integrated with athlete identity

Some participants expressed that their Māori identity was incidental to their identity as elite athletes and they spoke of the vulnerability of being subjected to reified, one-dimensional notions of cultural practices as ‘authentic’ measures of Māori identity. Participants recollected feelings of ‘embarrassment’, ‘remorse’ and ‘sadness’, especially when they felt they were ‘put on display’ by coaching and management staff or queried by athletes. This concurs with earlier studies completed by Hirini and Flett (1999), who commented that a quarter of their participant group of Māori Rugby athletes experienced stress when being approached to provide knowledge of traditional Māori cultural practices. Conversely, many interpreted their Māori identity as a defining feature as a result of exposure to positive experiences of Māori revolutionary

political, educational and social change. It appeared that these participants had positively integrated their notion of Māori identity while participating in elite sport. These Māori athletes shared their experiences of immersion/bilingual educational environments in their formative learning years clarifying that learning te reo Māori was significant in their Māori identity understanding. Both of these themes emphasise the significance that diversity exists between individuals, who are in the process of renewing, modifying and remaking their Māori identity.

The introductory pūrākau of participants also revealed a brief insight into their development, induction and involvement in elite sport, emphasising several themes. In relation to the previous theme, participants suggested that Māori identity was subject to hierarchical trends. Some Māori athletes expressed dissonance and apprehension regarding their Māori identity fuelled mostly by intergenerational assimilation. For this group, the challenges and tensions they reveal stress that their focus on Māori identity has been relegated in order to achieve (and maintain) competing in their chosen elite sport. In other words elite sport participation has possibly created a totalitarian reign over Māori identity association. Most certainly this has occurred because participation in elite sport simply doesn't provide the space to allow them to explore Māori identity, even though they perceive it to be important. That is, the commitment displayed to their respective sports and extensive positioning in the sport role may have subsumed their desire to explore their Māori identity.

Furthermore, their pūrākau expressed that they may have in fact been proud of their Māori identity but it was not central to their sporting achievements, stressing that their Māori identity was an incidental element of identity rather than an integral component

of the ‘self’ while participating and performing in elite sport. The consequence is that sport and their athlete identity overshadowed how they experienced their Māori identity, thus influencing their self-perceptions of Māori identity in elite sport. This finding concurs with work conducted by Palmer and Masters (2010) whose research participants voiced the strain they experienced regarding the juncture of Māori and gendered identities and the barriers and strategies they used to negotiate them.

Whānau

Additionally, while the purpose of this research was not to assess the role of whānau, the contribution of other athletes, coaching or management staff and communities in the development of Māori elite athletes, needs to be acknowledged. The pūrākau do refer to specific types of behaviours and roles those actors play in developing Māori elite athlete success (see Upoko Tuaono). Evidently this collective effort and support has created an environment favourable to the development of sport ability, supporting the early work of Wrathall (1996) who highlighted the importance of familial support structure for the Māori athletes in her study.

Associated with this theme, some participants commented that ‘giving back’ was important and reciprocated the support they received. This was done in a variety of ways that highlighted maintaining connections to their tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. Examples include, visiting whānau and marae to display and share in their achievements after competing abroad (i.e., medals attained from Olympic/Commonwealth Games) and the gifting of awards to marae. As such, participants’ introductory pūrākau indicate that although they have experienced a loss of ‘ways-of-old’ and a geographical disconnection from their origins in culture and

physical location (Hoskins, 2007), connections to whānau through tūrangawaewae and whakapapa can maintain meaning for Māori athletes in respect to their Māori identity. The gifting of taonga (treasured items) and collective mana (prestige) based on their sporting achievements provides another impetus for Māori athletes to make sense of their Māori identity that is salient in the modern world. Illustrating that ‘knowing’ can be propagated as a cognitive and spiritual journey and not only a physical one. For instance several Māori athletes were motivated by their parents to examine whakapapa which assisted in creating meaning for their Māori identity. These Māori athletes have sustained this practice to promote and encourage Māori identity for their children. The importance of whakapapa stresses that belonging to a socio-cultural construct is not only an imperative concept in inspiring Māori identity, but can act as a powerful motivator in intergenerational transmission. Therefore, for some of the participants their experience of Māori identity continues to unfold both personally and for their children.

Another theme to come from the pūrākau was how Māori athletes perceive, experience and understand the significance of te reo Māori when making sense of their Māori identity. This seemed to be a strong and central theme which will be discussed in more depth in the following section.

4.3 TE REO MĀORI

Te reo Māori was a natural and complete part of everyday life for the Indigenous people of Aotearoa that had existed for the best part of one thousand years. Apart from a few dialectal varieties between differing tribes, and was the only language

spoken in Aotearoa New Zealand before the introduction of the English language (Bell & Kuiper, 2000). For 170 years Māori resisted assimilative strategies to ensure the preservation of te reo. It is distinctive to Aotearoa New Zealand where it is referred to as a 'taonga' – a treasure and a living entity. This description is mostly due to the Waitangi Tribunal claim WAI 262, (2005) where te reo became protected as Cultural Intellectual Property alongside Indigenous flora and fauna. However, the Waitangi Tribunal further described the health of the Māori language as approaching a crisis point reporting that only four percent of New Zealanders had the ability to speak te reo. As such it is still very much at risk and remains extremely fragile.

Participant pūrākau suggest two major motivations in considering te reo Māori as significant to their Māori identity; firstly to enhance their personal perception of Māori identity; and secondly, to encourage it's use to maintain Māori identity in their children. The participants discuss the challenges that exist pertaining to their interpretations and maintenance of te reo Māori. They clarify their motivations and importance of being able to role model te reo Māori to their children, and to encourage the continuation and transfer of whakapapa to successive generations. By doing so Māori athletes' identify an increasing sense of Māori identity for them and their children.

Feelings and perceptions of te reo Māori

Rimu said that “the pull to engage is very strong” and that he has “been feeling a real urge...going back and immersing” himself in te reo Māori. He clearly indicates that knowing the Māori language has a dual benefit, as an asset in terms of his work and “also because of my own family”. His pūrākau also illustrates the internal negotiation

he experiences commenting that “in the end it’s about priorities and I really do want to make Māori culture a priority, but there are always other things that come up!” Rimu identifies the importance of te reo Māori, but expresses the challenges he faces regarding the “other things” and priorities in his life.

Kahikatea conveys the importance of learning te reo, especially in fulfilling the role of whaikōrero on his marae, providing a means to strengthen ties to his whānau and marae, elements he perceives as being pertinent to his interpretation of Māori identity. He comments:

I would like to enrol in the class for the language...I have a few words and bits of vocab that I can use when I'm back home. On the marae, I know what is happening I know the procedure I know the protocols, but I still do not feel comfortable [speaking] and that's where I would like to get to, to understand what is happening and to stand and speak.

Additionally, he indicates both a high regard for te reo Māori and the importance of this skill to aid Māori identity and self-efficacy. Miro “took up learning the language at school”, but doesn’t describe herself as “conversant”. She shares that:

Now as I'm getting older and starting to understand about what is missing in my life. How important it is to know where you come from... I think you need to know where you come from. I think there is the opportunity to learn more and to get into the Māori side of my heritage.

She shares that learning about her Māori knowledge has “become particularly important as I'm travelling around the world”, giving an insight that as a Māori athlete competing in the global arena of elite sport she perceives te reo and tikanga as a skill to aid in being an advocate for Māori. Especially given that “people are asking me where I'm from and they have never heard of Māori people and I think that is quite sad”. She expresses that being an elite athlete is currently her priority:

[once] my career is done and I've retired so to speak I'd like to spend more time to be able to give my Māori heritage the time it requires on finding out about where I come from and learning a lot more about things Māori. I just don't see enough of the Māori side in me and that is sad.

Her comment “I just don't see enough of the Māori side in me and that is sad” exemplifies the internal tension that exists, implying the significance of te reo in regards to her Māori identity and how her perception of te reo influences her emotional well-being. Indeed she reveals that an increased understanding of Māori knowledge would not only contribute to an assured sense of Māori identity, but may supplant the sadness she internalises. When referring to intergenerational transmission of te reo, Miro explains:

I want to give [my children] the thought that it's important to know where you are from especially given that our children will come from a very rich heritage. They will be South African, English and Māori. I would like them to know about [Māori] heritage and to have some kind of language no matter how minimal it could be...just like I am on that journey now.

Tawa articulated that her mother had a limited understanding of the Māori language and hence neither her nor her siblings were “raised with the language [te reo]”. Accordingly she states that “I don’t really consider myself Māori, because I just don’t feel like I know enough.” She justifies her feelings of insecurity by expressing that “I haven’t been brought up Māori” and that for her “the greatest indicator of being Māori is knowing the language”. However, she highlights the positive influence and admiration for her mother, who more recently has decided to engage with learning te reo, hence Tawa wishes to “follow [Mum] in doing that” and subsequently “looked into it”. There is an obvious sense of regret in her comment “I think that journey could have started a long time ago”, yet she maintains a healthy “interest in wanting to learn the language and to be better able to comprehend the language in situations where it is being spoken”. However she summarises:

But like everything else, there is not as much that I am doing that I would like to be able to do. The intention is there, I want to give it time, I want to make time to learn more about being Māori but I’m still pretty busy, so right now it is not a priority. But I suppose mum is being the quintessential example and that it is never too late to start given that she is learning all this stuff at 54.

Although learning te reo Māori ‘is not a priority’, she illustrates that her perception of Māori knowledge is not a simple act, but requires a combination of choice and effort (Phinney, 1990, p. 502). She continues to self-identify as “being Māori”, highlighting a philosophical debate that exists between declaring to be Māori due to ancestry and identifying as Māori that by her personal interpretations and self-imposed standards

and expectations requires the ability to speak te reo Māori. However, there are other aspects that she wishes her child(ren) to explore:

I would like them to be comfortable on the marae and for them to at least know what is going on and not to do anything wrong. I hope my children will actually know more than me so that they can comfortably operate in the Māori world as well. I suppose we will all learn that together because I'm not sure how we're going to achieve that right now as we're talking! In order for that to happen I must learn...I suppose I need to start walking that journey sooner rather than later.

The word 'journey' is a strong feature in some of the pūrākau collected. Indeed, the analogy of a 'journey' illustrates that for Māori athletes, the desire to make sense of their Māori identity involves adapting to the fluidity and temporal changes of the socio-cultural moment. Indeed for some, the journey involves discovering the possibility that they can indeed be part of the past the present and the future. The concept of connecting to 'the past the present and the future' presents situations that enable Māori athletes to create meaningful relationships with their communities. In continuing her pūrākau, Tawa indicates that a major motivation in beginning her 'journey', are her children.

I know very little about my origin and I'm embarrassed of that because I have yet to make that commitment. I haven't embraced it at all. I haven't even looked at it...it hasn't even crossed my mind. But this process, this interview in a way has got me thinking about those things. So the search for identity is

certainly very important, but my hesitation stems from the simplicity that I just don't know where to start.

Given that mainstream education has embraced some aspects of mātauranga Māori particularly te reo Māori, Karaka has observed a unique occurrence with her children. She explains that:

I see that [my daughter] has more contact with the language at her day care centre. It is just a part of what they do. She knows more language than what I do and she is teaching us at home.

In this sense Karaka's daughter is providing a possible avenue for te reo Māori to not only exist in the home, but may, provide the motivation to initiate the 'journey' she mentioned previously.

The utilisation of the term 'journey' within the pūrākau reflects more than just a physical act of searching, but encompasses a very personal and metaphorical representation in which they express both an emotional and a spiritual 'journey' that allows the athletes to make sense of their Māori identity. This is exemplified again in Nīkau's pūrākau who conveys "I feel for our rangatahi³⁶ coming through that unfortunately don't have the same experiences that I have had." Although her comment uses the word 'experience' it is a similitude of the word 'journey' in the context of her pūrākau and explains that her entire upbringing was a 'journey' that fortified an emotional and spiritual connection to her Māori identity. However as she

³⁶ Adolescent/teenager/young person.

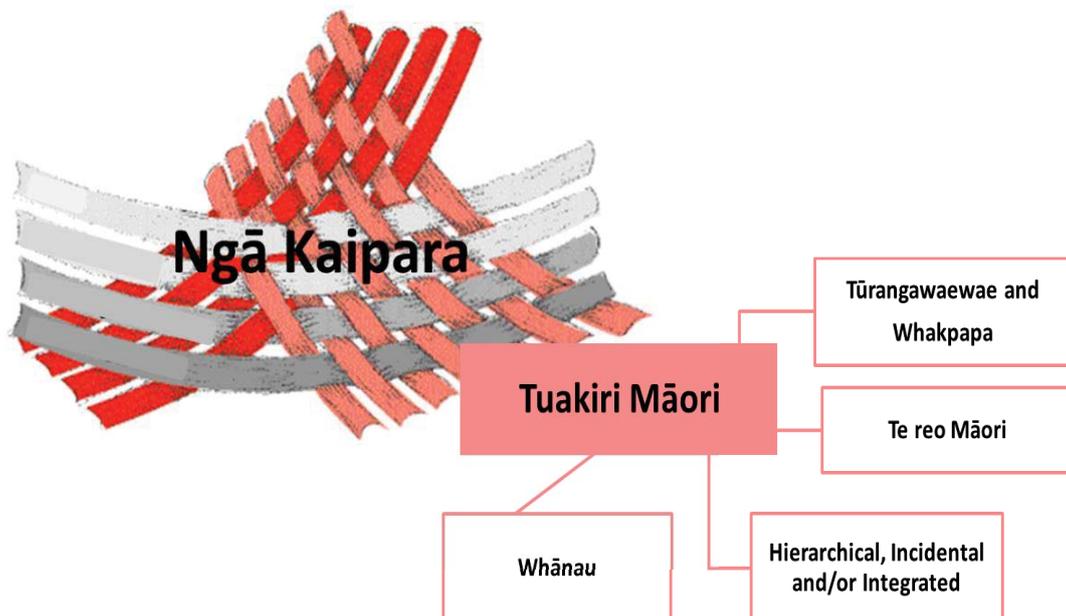
states, some young Māori may not have had ‘the same experiences’ and therefore suffer an emotional and spiritual detachment from their Māori identity. Nīkau stresses that “this [Māori] knowledge that I have is a privilege” adding:

That’s why my babies are going to grow up knowing who they are and where they come from. I want them to know their Nanny and their Koro - in fact I want them to bring [my children] up (laughs)...well it worked for me I had the best upbringing so that should probably work for [my children] too!

Section discussion

The following figure provides a visual representation of the themes/strands that have been revealed in the analyses of introductory pūrākau in relation to Māori athlete identity and components of tūrangawaewae. The Māori term Ngā Kaipara translates as ‘athletes’, thus in this research Māori identity is referred to as ‘Tuakiri Māori’ depicting how participants revealed their Māori identity as displayed below:

Figure 3: Te Whāriki Tuakiri: Tuakiri Māori



The essence of the introductory pūrākau affirms the diversity that exists for Māori identity, and how Māori athletes construct and experience their Māori identity through the various concepts and themes that have been extrapolated. In this sense, the way in which I have applied the concepts tūrangawaewae and whakapapa is in accordance with both the definitions provided by Penetito (2005) and Doherty (2014). The themes of whānau and the hierarchical, incidental and/or integrated relationship between Māori identity and elite sport have also been expressed in the pūrākau and discussed in this section.

This section also demonstrated that the revival of te reo Māori as well as Māori customs and cultural practices have acted as catalysts for Māori athletes to develop new cultural patterns and new ‘traditions’ to emerge in their Māori identity development. These patterns were evident in Nīkau and Rimu’s pūrākau who were involved in Māori immersion and bilingual schooling environs. Additionally, this section revealed that while, te reo Māori has not been a priority for the majority of the participants it is perceived as a key element in creating meaning of their Māori identity (Durie, 1998; 2005).

4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Tūrangawaewae and whakapapa are Māori concepts and expressions that can assist in understanding Māori identity. These concepts encapsulate the paradigm that guides this exploration of Māori identity to make sense of how Māori athletes come to experience and understand themselves as individuals within the context of elite sport.

Several participant pūrākau highlight that their peers, coaching or management staff continue to maintain a homogenous perspective of ‘what it means to be Māori’. This exposes the more problematic aspect that not all Māori, athlete or otherwise, share all of the so-called traditional elements associated within the realms of Māori tikanga. Indeed, some of the participants were unable to readily access links to Māori cultural knowledge given that many stated that Māori things were not a part of their upbringing. Accordingly, some of the participants suffer a degree of deprivation when labelled by others, and by self, as inauthentic. This research, has employed an approach to Māori identity that considers Māori possess “...multiple intersecting social and identity attributes that help to comprise their self-identity” (Brekhus, 2008, p. 1063). Hence in this research Māori identity is best thought of as an ongoing social process rather than being a fixed entity that is defined by the perception of supposed authentic practices, hence the application of the concepts tūrangawaewae and whakapapa (Doherty, 2014) and whānau (see Upoko Tuaono, for more discussion of this concept).

It is evident that te reo Māori is perceived as an imperative component that aids in clarifying how Māori athletes interpret, perceive and understand their Māori identity. This perhaps is an ongoing and challenging journey for Māori athletes to develop dimensions of identity for themselves and their successive generations. in order to overcome the devastating consequences from the assimilation practices that had such a detrimental effect on sustaining the Māori language for previous generations.

This development articulates their aspirations to begin a personal journey of Māori identity, stressing the potentiality for identity alteration to occur for them and their

whānau. These introductory pūrākau reveal that for Māori athletes' identity change and adaptation is not about losing nor letting go, but to realise instead, it is about the new spaces that may appear within their unfolding Māori identity.

The next chapter provides an analysis of participant pūrākau and the implementation of mātauranga Māori into elite sport environs. It aims to shed light on how Māori traditions and cultural practices have been interpreted, internalised and experienced by Māori athletes and how they make sense of such practices with respect to their Māori identity.

UPOKO TUARIMA: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI IN ELITE LEVEL SPORT CONTEXTS

5.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

The Honourable Dr. Pita Sharples (2012) in a public address described how aspects of mātauranga Māori have become common place in producing a unified identity of uniqueness that sets Aotearoa New Zealand apart from the rest of the world.

Our athletes know that traditions like haka and karakia prepare and focus us on the challenges ahead. These traditions unite us and link us back to our people and our homeland. This is exactly what haka and karakia were designed for. (Sharples, 2012)

Mātauranga Māori instilled New Zealand athletes with a sense of unity and pride, creating and encouraging a national identity, especially when they are on the international stage. Yet, how Māori knowledge has been experienced, interpreted and understood by Māori athletes at the elite level remains unclear. In this chapter, the research pays attention to the notion that mātauranga Māori when applied in sport can become a central or defining feature that unites Māori and non-Māori athletes, inspiring a unique sense of national identity. Although mātauranga Māori cultural practices are a largely taken for granted characteristic in mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand, analyses will shed light on how these practices have influenced the Māori athlete identity while participating in elite sport.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, investigates the experiences of Totara and Kauri and the implementation of mātauranga Māori while they were competing in elite sport in the mid 1980's to the early 1990's. Both Totara and Kauri competed in individual sporting events at their respective Games and have been retired from elite sport participation for almost two decades. Their pūrākau provide a socio-political back-drop of mātauranga Māori practices and the ideology held by those in power during the time they were representing Aotearoa New Zealand. Their pūrākau however are heavily influenced by the developments of Māori politicisation that has occurred since their retirement. In that sense they give an insightful comparison between now and then with respect to mātauranga Māori in elite sport.

The second section presents the challenges and issues of the implementation of mātauranga Māori through Kauri's pūrākau, highlighting the ways in which Māori protocols have been misappropriated particularly at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games level. Furthermore he highlights how he confronted, challenged, and adapted to racialised social dynamics within the context of those global events. His pūrākau is accompanied with work from leading writers in Māori traditions and customs to emphasise the insensitivities he highlights.

Sections three and four provide the participants experiences, perceptions and interpretations of the other participant's with respect to the incorporation of mātauranga Māori. In Chapter Two I argued that the implementation of mātauranga Māori at the Athens and Torino Olympic Games to encourage national identity was void in the public discourse of an assessment from a Māori athlete perspective. These

sections respond to that ‘void’. Māori athlete pūrākau express their perspectives of the impact and influence of mātauranga Māori by integrating examples from the Olympic and Commonwealth Games and specific sporting contexts are presented. Section three explores and describes intangible (conceptual) examples of mātauranga Māori clarifying Māori athlete experiences of mātauranga Māori at a conceptual level. Section four explores and describes the tangible (physical) elements of mātauranga Māori clarifying how Māori athletes create meaning with respect to their Māori identity where mātauranga Māori has been implemented at a physical or concrete level.

The pūrākau of Māori athletes highlight the influence of mātauranga Māori on their Māori identity, while simultaneously encouraging and supporting a shared sense of team and national unity. An analysis of their pūrākau is presented by applying the term ‘kauapapa whānau’ (Te Rito, 2006). The term kaupapa whānau as described in Chapter Two is the creation of mutual personal connections and inter-relationships between athletes, coaching and management staff, identifying a unique process where mātauranga Māori has encouraged team cohesion and purpose and the promotion of a unified national identity (Erueti, 2014; Hapeta & Palmer, 2014).

While the primary aim of this chapter is to give a coherent analysis of participant pūrākau, analyses will also encompass the emergent development of the implementation of mātauranga Māori. Consequently, this chapter emphasises how socio-political structures and systems with respect to mātauranga Māori has over-time impacted on the Māori identity of Māori athletes. This section is largely descriptive in nature however Māori athlete interpretations of mātauranga Māori may act as a

'blueprint' for other sporting organisations intending to create a similar Māori and national cultural distinction.

5.2 TOTARA AND KAURI'S EXPERIENCES OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Totara describes that athletes were required to abide by an "Olympic team contract" when selected for the Olympic team in the mid 1980's. He suggested to team management that the "contract reflect the intentions of the treaty of Waitangi", however:

[management] would never ever do that and never acknowledged the treaty. They said it was all about every culture and so the term that was designated to be implemented was multicultural. We were further informed to not even discuss it...that is as far as the management would go on that particular issue. Outwardly we would be able to show other country's our culture mainly through haka. But otherwise, you were not allowed to show anything Māori. Absolutely not!

His pūrākau indicates that while he was participating in elite sport the treaty was considered a nullity in order to maintain a multicultural ideology, rather than a bicultural focus. Consequently, Totara described that "as a participant in the Olympic team there wasn't much integration of Māori concepts...let alone a whānau feeling". His experiences validate that just because sport brings Māori and Pākehā together (and other ethnicities) in the 'same changing rooms and arenas' does not mean that sport

policy and practice is a ‘level playing field’ (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). While there is no one interpretation of how these early racial dynamics work in mega global events, it is clear that in the context of the Olympic games the attending management were happy to use or appropriate decontextualized elements of Māori culture such as haka to mark a national identity, but denied Māori any further decision making role in sport at this level. This raises the notion of what is referred to as ‘cultural artefact’ (Best, 1925; 1976) emphasising that the implementation of Māori cultural knowledge has been utilised to serve the interest of the dominant culture, rather than raising the profile of Māori. The lack of mātauranga Māori resulting in a sense of “loneliness”, “isolation” where he was made to feel “pretty much on my own”.

Similarly, these feelings and interpretations are shared in Kauri’s pūrākau who was selected to compete at the Olympics in the early 1990’s. He expressed his regret at not experiencing a wider connection to athletes via a mātauranga Māori strategy:

I basically had to fend for myself, there was no whānau atmosphere. That stuff was non-existent! And so it was very difficult for an individual athlete to connect with anyone...it was quite tough. However I have no doubt in my mind that if there was more of a whānau atmosphere at the Olympic Games then there is no doubt I would have done better.

The discourse of Totara and Kauri suggests that management and governance in sport need to strengthen their critical consciousness in understanding how the experience of Māori athlete’s is understood (Thomas & Dyal, 1999). The next section presents Kauri’s pūrākau and allows for a critical description and assessment of the

development, emergence and implementation of mātauranga Māori in the Olympic and Commonwealth Games events. By doing so, the ‘lessons to be learned’ are explored assisting in the development of culturally sensitive approaches surrounding the implementation of mātauranga Māori in elite sport events and teams in the future. The justification for providing Kauri his own ‘space’ within this chapter is best summarised in his words:

I think the public needs to know...I think that the impact that Māori culture has had on our athletes and the support they have shown towards those things like haka and pōwhiri would be a powerful motivator to the public - we need to tell that story!

The following section begins mapping this story by first describing several examples that highlight why aspects of mātauranga Māori require sensitivity and care from a Māori perspective when they are being implemented into elite sport. Kauri’s pūrākau highlights that elite sport coaches and managers and decision makers need to adopt competent knowledge and sensitive approaches to mātauranga Māori implementation.

5.3 MISAPPROPRIATION OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AT THE OLYMPIC AND COMMONWEALTH GAMES

Sydney 2000

Kauri describes that the implementation of mātauranga Māori within the context of the Olympic and Commonwealth Games events began with the preparation for the Olympic Games in Sydney 2000 (New Zealand Olympic Committee, NZOC, 2004).

The NZOC decided to erect a waharoa (gateway) for the entrance to the New Zealand location at the Olympic village. However, the NZOC and specific Olympic Games team management members neglected to consult with Māori members when assembling and raising the waharoa. Consequently, several complications arose when the waharoa was being disassembled at the conclusion of the games.

For example, the Olympic symbol (the five coloured rings) had been carved into the waharoa and these needed to be removed³⁷. Although Kauri was not present he was promptly sought to counsel on this matter. Making contact with the artist who had produced the waharoa, he requested that the Olympic rings be removed. Kauri expresses “of course it upset [the artist] and so I had to deal with ‘smoothing over’ that relationship”. Additionally, the amo (vertical posts) were set in concrete at the site where the New Zealand team were located in the Olympic village and so were abandoned and remain at that site. Only the maihi (angled posts) made the journey home.

For Māori, highly prized whakairo (carvings), such as waharoa are treated with the same respect as if they were an animate object. As such leaving the amo in Australia was similar to leaving a ‘loved one behind’. Mead (2003) explicitly states that “as a highly valued activity art is surrounded and immersed in tikanga” continuing that “the observance of tikanga of creative work actually enhances...gives significance...and elevates...something special and highly valued” (p. 265). Furthermore aspects of tikanga were ignored such as karakia (blessing) when erecting the gateway.

³⁷ Only the IOC has the exclusive trademark rights to any interlocking arrangement of five rings, hence the reason for having them removed from the waharoa.

Additionally, the erecting of a waharoa from a Māori perspective symbolises “a change in state...a threshold”, that is, a metaphysical ‘change’ occurs that allows those people passing through a waharoa to be cleansed of the “profane” (Barlow, 2001, p. 179). When athletes arrive at the Olympic Games they too begin a process of preparation (psychophysical and for some metaphysical) for their sporting event. Kauri did not explain how these breaches of tikanga occurred even though a cultural advisor was present with the team in Sydney. However, he declares that had the advisors been present to clarify this meaning when the waharoa was erected, a unique amalgamation of mātauranga Māori and elite sport could have been seized. Unfortunately, the mana of the waharoa was simply reduced to decoration, rather than as a cultural taonga that could create the link between Indigenous epistemology and elite sport.

Manchester 2002

In another example, at the Commonwealth Games in Manchester two years later, the New Zealand Team management requested they be welcomed by Ngāti Rānana³⁸ (London Tribe) with a pōwhiri. However some “smoothing over” had to occur, concerning the lack of understanding demonstrated by the New Zealand Commonwealth team regarding an aspect of tikanga referred to as koha (donation/gift/contribution). This protocol is a practice of reciprocity that is imperative in the pōwhiri process (Barlow, 2001; Mead, 2003). Kauri was approached to make contact with Ngāti Rānana to “sort it all out”.

³⁸ Literally translated as London Tribe that describes a group of Māori expatriates who have created a Māori identity in London.

Although these two examples demonstrate a lack of cultural consideration, Kauri viewed these breaches as “blessings in disguise” as the NZOC decided to formulate an informal cultural advisory group with Kauri as a member. This group encouraged Māori autonomy and decision-making for the sensitive implementation of mātauranga Māori at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. “A phenomenal amount of critical debate” ensued between the advisory group and the NZOC in preparation for the Olympic Games in Athens 2004. Among many factors discussed, Kauri describes that there were two major aims from the perspective of the advisory group; firstly that “the correct people were going over to Athens to protect our taonga”; and secondly, that those selected would “ensure that the implementation of Māori culture was correct”. Ultimately Kauri and a respected kaumātua were selected to travel with the New Zealand Olympic team to Athens in 2004. However issues would continue to arise.

Torino 2006

An example that highlights the negative beliefs and attitudes of Olympic team management regarding Māori knowledge occurred at the Winter Games in Torino. This involved the gifting of Possum skin hats, a distinctive act that typified the meaning of creating a national identity that was whole heartedly supported by the cultural advisors. These hats along with the giving of pounamu (greenstone) pendants were presented at an intimate ceremony to unify athletes, coaches and management staff. Completing the process also required athletes to perform hongi³⁹ another symbol of unity as expressed through Māori tikanga. However, at the conclusion of the ceremony the NZOC team leadership requested that Kauri and the team kaumātua return their hats due to a calculation error. Kauri explains his reaction:

³⁹ A traditional Māori greeting between two people that involves the gentle pressing of noses. It also symbolises a sharing of the ‘same breath’ and the merging and unification of minds.

My surprise at the audacity of this request was a massive shock, as was [kaumātua] because his knowledge of the gifting process is that once it has been gifted, to ask for that gift to be returned is a huge insult and he exclaimed “but it has been on my head and so it is tapu!” I was so angry and wild that my emotions took over and I was lucky enough that he trusted me. So I returned the hats.

The incident attracted publicity throughout the team and athletes vocalised their support for both cultural advisors. Kauri commented on this incident in a report of the Torino Games to the NZOC. Their action of giving the possum hats back was a perceptive and strategic act as in their report they were able to reflect from their viewpoint that:

...it was far more powerful to say that we actually gave them back to show how we were treated instead of writing that he was going to take the hats back. Also this would put no doubts in anyone’s mind of what actually happened.

In support of Kauri and the team kaumātua, the NZOC decided that the Winter Olympic Games in Torino would be that particular leader’s last event, sending a very powerful message that cultural insensitivity will not be tolerated.

Section discussion

These examples of misappropriation of mātauranga Māori through cultural concepts and artefacts such as waharoa, pōwhiri, koha, gifts, and hongis described by Kauri identify that part of “the battle is often with the support staff, the coaches and the

managers”, who sometimes perceived cultural actions as time wasting and irritatingly resource dependent. Kauri conveyed that implementing “things Māori was about trying to fit into schedules” and “sticking to the itineraries set by management” and ultimately the “itinerary omits Māori knowledge”. Consequently Kauri felt that “[management] just want the pieces they want”. This indicates that while there is a general consensus that the Olympic/Commonwealth Games may unify a diverse range of people from the same nation, it does not automatically lead to all those involved adopting a tolerant attitude of acceptance towards mātauranga Māori. For instance mātauranga Māori was considered by some support staff, coaches and managers as merely an ‘add-on’ and ‘window-dressing’ that exemplified notions of exploitation and the commodification of Māori knowledge, rather than an inclusive and integrated component of the games experience as intended by Kauri. He indicated that:

The people that have given up the most, for the team as a whole to remain comfortable is [kaumātua] and I, we reduce our mana for the greater good. I'm not purposely assuming the role of a martyr because we both know that that is a decision that we have to make and we do because it's what is best for everyone.

As such, to uphold portions of mātauranga Māori and to adapt them to the needs of the staff “mostly non-Māori”, the implementation of mātauranga Māori often came at the marginalisation of the belief systems of both Kauri and the kaumātua. This highlights that those in decision making positions and in particular the chef de Mission are in a unique position of power where their leadership and vision can provide the capacity and support, to promote a national identity through a mātauranga Māori approach.

There are inherent challenges that require cultural awareness and familiarity of those in decision-making and powerful roles with Māori cultural practices. While there isn't an expectation of the chef de Mission and other leaders in the Olympic management to assume such knowledge, perhaps it is the NZOC that needs to take responsibility for ensuring this occurs.

Despite the challenges explained by Kauri in this section, the primary argument for integrating mātauranga Māori is based on the premise that they are cultural practices applicable more broadly to enact collaborative relationships in the sporting context. This was exemplified through the implementation of whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga integral conceptual notions of transference and dynamics between athletes and the wider New Zealand team relationship and establishing an emotional belonging and sense of home-tūrangawaewae. Kauri describes the justification for this:

My role as adviser to elite athletes is that I try to create an environment where they can be their best and giving them every chance of success. My second goal is that if [athletes] don't do well at the games I need to know that when they leave the games that they have still had an inspirational experience despite whether they have reached or exceeded their personal goals or not. As a part of that goal it is my duty I feel that you have connected with the culture that I'm trying to create, you feel good about who you are you've connected with other athletes.

To encourage feelings of whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga, Māori cultural traditions and practices were integrated into the sporting environment. The next

section describes these concepts in two categories; intangible and tangible forms of mātauranga Māori. The first segment examines how intangible forms have been used that included, pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony), mihi (greeting formalities), and haka (dance), waiata (song) and te reo Māori (Māori language). Kauri's pūrākau provides much of the contextual information of how mātauranga Māori has been employed at the Olympic/Commonwealth Games events. His pūrākau is complimented by participant pūrākau to assist in describing how these practices were experienced by Māori athletes who attended the Olympic/Commonwealth Games. How mātauranga Māori was experienced by participants in national sport teams is also discussed.

5.4 INTANGIBLE EXAMPLES OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

Pōwhiri

Kauri described that the pōwhiri process was implemented at the 2000 Olympic Games in Athens. In a traditional Māori context tangata whenua (host) are referred to as the social group that maintain ancestral rights in a specific geographical locality and are responsible for exercising manaakitanga (hospitality) (Barlow, 2001; Mead, 2003). The ritual of the opening ceremony at the Olympic Games in 2004 preserves the hosting rights to the Greek people, as such the process of pōwhiri at the Athens Olympic Games was restricted to the New Zealand Olympic village. The process involved that the cultural advisors and support staff assume the role of tangata whenua and the athletes were welcomed as manuhiri (visitors). The athletes subsequently became a part of the hosting group tangata whenua when additional athletes arrived. Kauri explains that the flexibility of tikanga regarding host/visitor and the formal roles

“inherently became a process of reciprocation”, that created an innovative strategy essential to the construction of kaupapa whānau. It shows that pōwhiri continues to evolve both in the way it is understood, and in the range of ways it is applied to create a sense of whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga for the New Zealand Olympic teams.

Mihimihi

With respect to the process of mihimihi (greeting/discussion), the central area for conversation, communication or discussion for Māori is the marae. While a space could not be formally blessed and utilised as a marae at any of the Olympic/Commonwealth Games the New Zealand villages, Kauri expressed that aspects exemplifying mihimihi were deemed necessary to create a sense of whānaungatanga and kotahitanga. Mihimihi provided a mechanism where the underlying link between the physical and social environment is emphasised. Kauri described that “Māori and non-Māori are given to the best of their knowledge an opportunity to introduce themselves using geographical locations maunga, awa, hapū, iwi and marae...[or] if they could or to just describe where they come from”. Even though only few athletes could introduce themselves using tūrangawaewae and whakapapa as an extension of their identity, it allows a contextual fascia that connects athletes to one another as ‘people’ from Aotearoa New Zealand “so that everyone could have the opportunity to connect and to relate to one another via those locations”.

Through the process of mihimihi the cultural advisors challenged the individual and depersonalised approach that sometimes exists in elite sport and embraced a tūrangawaewae and whakapapa perspective. In that sense, mihimihi allowed for the

creation of a unified identity formation between athletes both Māori and non-Māori. That is, the mutual connection to Aotearoa New Zealand acts as a communal tūrangawaewae, linking each athlete to whakapapa in a nationalistic semblance (Edwards, 2012). In this sense mihimihi promotes kaupapa whānau due to the implementation of Māori knowledge and cultural practices providing a thought-provoking intersection where both Māori and non-Māori athletes have been able to positively link their diverse identities within the Olympic/Commonwealth games environs (Erueti, 2014; Te Rito, 2006).

Haka

In terms of working within a Māori paradigm to gain trustworthiness and dependability necessitates the consideration of the logistics of cultural proprietorship and copyright when it came to utilising the haka 'Ka mate Ka mate'. Before being gifted sensitive iwi information about this haka, Kauri invited Ray Ropata, an expert from Ngāti Toa who have legal claim to the haka 'Ka mate Ka mate' to share the origin of the haka with the NZOV leaders from a Ngāti Toa perspective. This aspect of Kauri's pūrākau highlights that although haka exist to be shared, the value of haka as a taonga must be respected by ensuring that the rights of the kaitiaki (carers/creators) to exercise kaitiakitanga (caring) and rangatiratanga (chieftainship) were safeguarded. Ngāti Toa could therefore also to exercise authority including determining how the haka may or may not be utilised. Ngāti Toa amicably agreed that Kauri be given the privilege to act on their behalf when it came to using the haka while attending the Olympic/Commonwealth games.

Many national sporting organisations have had haka composed specifically for their athletes as part of demonstrating their unique national identity when representing New Zealand in global events (Erueti, 2014; Hapeta & Palmer, 2014). The All Blacks, the Black Ferns (women’s national Rugby team), New Zealand Rugby League (both men’s and women’s), New Zealand Men’s Basketball, Swimming New Zealand, and New Zealand Women’s Football, are the most well-known examples. Another example is the national sporting organisation that Karaka competed with, who had initiated haka with both male and female teams over the last two decades. Karaka describes her experiences when she represented New Zealand:

For the New Zealand squad we learnt a women’s haka, which I cannot remember right now but the feeling it gave me was one of anxiety... it freaked me out a little bit, because I wasn't sure if we were allowed to do it because of my limited understanding of it being some kind of challenge it was very new and foreign to me. People loved it though! But I really embraced it at the time and I think I could have learnt a lot more about the Māori culture in that sport environment.

Plainly evident are Karaka’s intense feelings of “anxiety” established largely on her “limited understanding” of haka at the time. Thus indicating that her self-assessment and personal perception of Māori traditions and cultural practices influences the way in which she interprets her Māori identity. Karaka indicates how she navigated her lack of knowledge by “embrac[ing]” the haka. In a general sense Karaka’s experience of the integration of mātauranga Māori proved to have a profound impact on her Māori identity. Certainly, her concluding remarks “I think I could have learnt a lot more

about the Māori culture in that sporting environment” suggests a sense of remorse. It is evident that the environment was receptive and encouraged the implementation of mātauranga Māori, perhaps one of the very few sports to do so during the 1990’s. However, choosing to play her alternative elite sport full time, meant that she was unable to experience additional learning of mātauranga Māori.

Kahikatea shared a completely different scenario regarding the use of haka:

Prior to playing overseas both my playing partner and I performed the haka. I had been asked by other athletes when I was going to perform this haka and my reply to them was always the same- ‘when it is good for us to do it’. But I also understood that it was because it was special and only used at special times. So this semi-final seemed right - it was our first semi-final, it was against the world number one team and it was in front of 10,000 spectators. It [was] truly special...I feel very lucky that we have an identity and we know who we are.

Interestingly, he expresses a unique connection to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa through the performance of haka on the global sporting stage encapsulated in his words “I feel very lucky that we have an identity and we know who we are” albeit in a nationalistic sense, rather than overt ‘cultural’ impression. Additionally, his pūrākau exemplifies the distinct nature of mātauranga Māori “because it was special” and also highlights his respect of such cultural practices and his understanding of protecting them as ‘taonga’ for instance “only used at special times”. It is clear that the act of haka provided a positive means by which to make sense of his Māori identity in special elite sport moments.

Haka misappropriation

Even though the haka, and particularly the haka ‘Ka mate’, is revered as an innate part of national symbolism in elite sport, its use, at times, still encounters controversy (Hokowhitu, 2009; Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). In an example from the Melbourne Commonwealth Games, Kauri expressed the dangers of what he referred to as a “cutting and pasting” from previous Games. Kauri suggested that “athletes were beginning to get hōhā (annoyed) because of the amount of haka being performed...I think they believed [the haka] was losing its value”. This exemplifies that the use of haka is accompanied with both words of advice and caution as Kauri explains:

There was definitely a feeling of the cultural aspects, particularly the haka, being pushed, rather than about feeling the right time to implement something Māori – it’s the reason. I believe that if athletes don’t know why they are doing it, then the how can be very difficult. The how, to me is not important, but the why provides the foundation. I suppose what athletes and management also didn’t realise was that the people who would get blamed for any type of overkill so to speak would be the cultural advisors.

In reference to Kauri’s metaphor above of ‘cutting and pasting’, the section of his pūrākau highlights that the reasons ‘why’ and ‘when’ the haka should be done has been ‘cut’; and, the part that has been ‘pasted’ is the ‘how’. His pūrākau emphasises that ethical imperatives subsist when integrating specific iwi knowledge that ensure it is applied with the same respect in which it was given and protected as ‘taonga’. In this sense, how haka continue to be integrated at the Olympic and Commonwealth

Games events is a continual process of discovery and strategic emendations given that mātauranga Māori is an evolving concept.

Nīkau's pūrākau explains this notion of haka as 'taonga' in the way she interprets the implementation of haka in respect to her Māori identity when competing at the Commonwealth Games. While she supports the implementation of mātauranga Māori, she states that the mana attributed to it requires respect, giving an insight into the tension she has experienced regarding haka. She clarifies this further in her pūrākau:

I know that our culture is what separates us from everyone else at those [Commonwealth] games...but I only did the haka once. On one hand I thought that it was really neat that they were trying, but on the other hand I consider the haka to be a treasure and so I wasn't completely convinced that [they] deserved it. They didn't do honour to it. It was being performed on the world stage and that's how [New Zealand management] wanted it to be perceived... you know what I mean? So I kind of battled a little bit with that philosophy and I took a little step backwards.

She continued:

Someone asked me about doing the haka and I said "No, I wouldn't do that [haka] personally if I was going overseas". I continued to explain that women from my rohe (area) don't stand in the front rather they perform the haka from the back and are protected by the males. Women are able to tautoko (support) the men but it is always done from the back. This differed to what had been

explained. It has allowed for some interesting discussion and I suppose I take every one of these moments as a teachable moment to embrace our culture but also to respect it and that it is a treasure.

Nīkau's feelings about the use of haka has had a positive influence on the national sporting organisation she is a part of who have taken a more proactive approach to the use of haka as a means to generate a sense of team identity. Seeking the aid of a spokesperson from Ngāti Toa that has cultural proprietorship of the haka 'Ka Mate', athletes were afforded the opportunity to learn the historical analysis of the haka as understood from the oral accounts provided by his hapū. Additionally, Nīkau describes that they were educated on the correct "edition of the haka and its associated meaning". They were later taught the actions and words, but not prior to the information previously discussed. Nīkau explains this approach:

To have [him] invited shows that [national sporting organisation] wanted to respect what was being done and more importantly to do it right. It was a welcome reprieve from being approached personally as I am the one they come to when asking for advice...you know. It was nice to have him there and of course it's really good to see that they are becoming more aware and sensitive when wanting to implement aspects of the Māori world. To understand what is acceptable and what is the right way to go about things, because I don't know everything either.

In this particular part of her pūrākau, her experiences describe two very distinct aspects. Firstly, admiration towards her national sporting organisation for showing the

proper “respect” to the haka by seeking the advice of an expert; and secondly, her sense of “relieve” given that she did not have to act as the sole bearer of knowledge regarding haka “because [she doesn’t] know everything either”. By “becoming more aware and sensitive” the national sporting organisation has undoubtedly acknowledged the importance and sensitive employment of mātauranga Māori, but most importantly albeit inadvertently, they have reinforced Nīkau’s Māori identity in the process.

Waiata

The use of waiata also featured Tawa and Nīkau’s pūrākau. Tawa reveals that her experience of the implementation of Māori cultural knowledge started very simply with the national team being taught the New Zealand national anthem in te reo Māori:

One of the big shifts that came with being in the national team was the use of the Māori national anthem and this was widely supported by all the players regardless of being Māori or non-Māori. It wasn't an easy process the girls struggled with learning the words but it was awesome to see their perseverance and to finally be proud to say that we could sing both versions of our national anthem equally and together.

Since those early beginnings, the journey of incorporating Māori cultural components has evolved with the help of several Māori athletes, who had knowledge of waiata, and felt confident in their own Māori identity to share their knowledge. Tawa continues:

Our team had decided that we should learn a couple of simple waiata - Māori songs specific for us that we could sing. We were very lucky because a couple

of the girls contained a good level of understanding of things Māori especially waiata and so they taught us the songs and the meaning and it was a really nice. These same girls also taught us the reasons for waiata and of course one of those reasons were so that we could either support a speaker or reply to a group and we did so on numerous occasions, and every time we did that it felt like it was the right thing to do not because it was a Māori thing, but it just allowed our team to express our support and gratitude in a unique way, in our way...and of course it was really cool.

The knowledge that was shared regarding the “meaning” and the “reasons”, not only gave an appropriate validation for the use of waiata, but also gave an insight into Māori protocol for all those involved. Certainly learning this protocol had a profound impact on Tawa and the team to the extent that when a waiata was sung or performed in the context of supporting team speakers “it felt like it was the right thing to do”. She reflects positively about the use of waiata, however she adds “not because it was a Māori thing”, conveying concepts of kaupapa whānau and sensitive respect for ethical ways to behave when showing support to speaker’s from her team, guided the integration of mātauranga Māori, however:

The stuff that we’re implementing as a team has shown me the unique and distinct nature of being Māori, and knowing where I come from and having that connection to home and to culture has been really inspiring...it certainly brought us closer together.

This aspect of her pūrākau emphasises that her Māori identity has been influenced by mātauranga Māori in two ways because it revealed to her the “unique and distinct nature of being Māori, and knowing where I come”. This suggests her Māori identity is not fixed but continually negotiated, reinforced or reappraised, enriching and deepening her personal sense of Māori identity understanding in the process (Andres, 2011; Kukutai, 2001).

Nīkau applauded the efforts of her national sporting organisation describing that:

Whenever we would go anywhere and [captain] would speak we could actually stand as a whānau and support her with our unique waiata as is the norm in the Māori world. That makes it quite special when we were either welcoming new girls into the team or when we had visitors and so the team is treated like a whānau it's just a different type of whānau.

Once again Nīkau references the use of specific Māori cultural knowledge and practices in the form of waiata to reflect how it brought them closer representing a kaupapa whānau philosophy.

Te Reo

An additional, yet very unique example of mātauranga Māori that is used by a specific national sport code in New Zealand athletes and teams at the international level is the use of te reo Māori as a strategic approach during matches. This highlights the perception that Māori language has a particular ‘capital’ when used in a manner that

positively influences performance outcomes when competing in the international sporting context. Pōhutukawa clarifies:

What has been really interesting more recently is that our current coach who is Australian has embraced the Māori culture more from a strategic point because our calls on the field are employed using the Māori language - our moves are in Māori! I find it quite cool even though at first we were all pretty shocked, but all of us have taken this on board and can see the advantage in using the language as a tactic.

The additional psychological benefits of this approach pinpoint the positive influence that the use of mātauranga Māori had on the team in creating a national identity and on her personal understanding of Māori identity, as she continues to describe:

What's been absolutely awesome is that everyone has embraced this philosophy and it feels very natural. I know that the connection between using Māori language on the field and performance can't be proven. But what I can comment on is the fact that the language is bringing us closer together as a team as athletes because we're all from New Zealand and being Māori is unique to New Zealand and that is our connection.

Pōhutukawa articulates feelings that represent kaupapa whānau through the use of te reo Māori.

This research has captured the interpretations of Māori athletes who have experienced the implementation of mātauranga Māori either with the Olympic and Commonwealth games or within their own sporting contexts. The next section examines the Māori concepts of whānau (referred to as kaupapa whānau in this research, see Chapter Two), whānaungatanga (kinship ties) and kotahitanga (community or unified vision) feature strongly throughout the participant pūrākau. The concepts of whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga are also clarified within the context of a specific sport, exemplified in the pūrākau of Rimu. Their emotional responses varied from positive to negative which are outlined next.

Māori athletes feelings of mātauranga Māori: Kaupapa whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga

Participant pūrākau illustrate that they experience mātauranga Māori in emotional, spiritual and corporeal ways. Miro describes her understanding of mātauranga Māori at the Commonwealth Games:

The philosophy behind the team is to try and make the athletes feel they are at home. There were koru (Māori spiral pattern) designs on the walls and a special rock, I think it may have been greenstone and the explanation that was given to us was that if we give to it that will give us something back and so the idea was that we would rub it on our way through the lounge. I'm not really sure what it represented but because it seemed a part of something of my Māori heritage and so I wanted to be a part of that energy. I have never really been interested or inclined to believe in those types of Māori customs it's not really me...but I still did it.

The implementation of mātauranga Māori has provided an opportunity for Miro to make sense of her Māori identity as highlighted in her interpretation that “it seemed a part of something of my Māori heritage and so I wanted to be a part of that energy”. However her comment “I have never really been interested or inclined to believe in those types of Māori customs” and “it's not really me”, identifies how she personally interprets such practices. Furthermore her words “but I still did it”, suggests that how she negotiates her Māori identity may involve conflicting and positive implications while competing at the Commonwealth games.

For Pōhutukawa, the impact of mātauranga Māori is very clear, she articulated:

The Olympic experiences were quite special. Every athlete or team is welcomed through the process of pōwhiri. Every athlete is also gifted with a pounamu. When I think about it now the emotions that flood back, and there are certain emotions that come to mind, it gives me shivers just thinking about it - a tingling sensation it just felt absolutely awesome. It touches you in a special way but for the first time I felt that my culture was being respected and that it had some value because it was being connected to my sport and to me as an elite athlete. The sense of belonging and identity this generated...I suppose you could almost use the term whānau. At that time I wished I knew more and that I could understand the language so that I knew what was going on, but I suppose my heart was telling me that anyway.

Pōhutukawa exemplifies that the implementation of mātauranga Māori had a profound impact on the way she internalises and interprets her Māori identity. Having “culture

valued” in sport by ‘others’ confirm this impact that resulted in an enhanced self-perception of Māori identity, which is best summed up in her words “it just felt absolutely awesome”. Additionally, her anecdote “I suppose you could almost use the term whānau”, indicates that the concept of kaupapa whānau (Te Rito, 2006) was also a pertinent factor in nurturing a positive perception of Māori identity during the Olympic/Commonwealth Games. In that sense her pūrākau incorporates elements where she experiences mātauranga Māori both internally “it gives me shivers just thinking about it - a tingling sensation”; and externally as represented through the notion of a commitment to and enjoyment from being part of a unified team (Erueti, 2014; Hodge & Hermansson, 2007), and kaupapa whānau (Te Rito, 2006).

Karaka and Tawa’s pūrākau respectively further describe the impact of mātauranga Māori on Māori identity and participation at the Olympic/Commonwealth games:

...to have those who are non-Māori perceive what we were doing as being special made it even more special for me because they were recognizing a part of who I am and to the best of their ability trying to connect with that part of what makes New Zealand unique. On a deeper level the obvious and main effect that was happening was the construction and building of a team foundation and bringing us closer together like one big whānau - there was no other way to create that. It just makes you so proud to be a New Zealander. While winning a medal of any colour is a big deal in terms of sport receiving the haka for that medal is recognized in the same regard - it has the same mana as the medal itself it is one of the highest accolades an athlete can receive. The environment that was created by using Māori cultural aspects was an amazing

experience and for me personally it was just great to see us come together and to be so tight.

It is hard to put into words what it actually felt like because I believe that you needed to have been a part of it all and be there to experience the feeling but it was certainly very special and something I will never ever forget... it was pretty powerful. It also gave you a sense of home and being very Kiwi. Because I was a little bit wiser going to the Beijing Olympics and I was more prepared I suppose culturally. For me personally it was easy to embrace because I am Māori but a part of that was also realising that it was important to embrace it for the team

These examples illustrate how Karaka and Tawa interpret their connection to Māori knowledge through the conception of kaupapa whānau. Similarly much like Pōhutukawa's pūrākau, they too represent that the Games environments afforded opportunity to make sense of their Māori identity, diminishing the tensions that may exist between their Māori identity and participating in elite sport. Their pūrākau confirm that mātauranga Māori can inspire a consciousness where all involved, particularly for Māori athletes (and support staff), can procure strength and meaning from knowing who they are (whakapapa) and where they come from (tūrangawaewae) and how they connect (kaupapa whānau/whānaungatanga), crucial elements that heighten the athlete experience (Erueti, 2014; Hodge & Hermansson, 2007).

In a different context to the Olympic and Commonwealth Games events, Rimu's pūrākau highlights that the dominance of Māori participation in his sport has meant

that mātauranga Māori has been an integral element within national representative teams for quite some time. In reflecting on his experiences, he explains the influences of whānau, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga had on his Māori identity in elite sport:

Being Māori never really came in to the idea of sport for me until I was about 15 and that's where I tribute my first real Māori sense of sport. And I didn't really get that from other sports I felt really empowered and so when you did things [Māori] it wasn't really about you any more it was about all the people behind you that gave you the building blocks to get there.

Although he acknowledged that he maintained a confident perception of his Māori identity, “being Māori” was not linked to his “idea of sport”, prior to engaging with mātauranga Māori in the national teams. Indeed, this is exemplified in his pūrākau that “it wasn't really about you any more it was about all the people behind you”, strengthening and encouraging the maintenance of relationships to the deeper social structures of whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga. His comment that “I didn't really get that from other sports”, also indicates the unique approach the team employed which acted as the context for Rimu to create meaning of his Māori identity.

Rimu also shared that the national teams use marae as accommodation when preparing for international competition for two major reasons. Firstly, to reduce the cost for athletes, but secondly and most importantly it provides an impetus to create a strong sense of kaupapa whānau. A by-product has included an increase of Māori knowledge by the athletes associated with Māori protocols and rituals, such as adhering to the

process of pōwhiri. There were other aspects of Māori knowledge incorporated as well:

We had karakia and waiata the typical token songs but they still brought us all together and we shared a strong sense of belonging and identity. We weren't the most skilful or the best group of athletes, but those Māori things brought us together as a team. Where the bonding aspect formulated the whānau base and so aspects of things Māori I suppose gave us a sense of empowerment of being Māori...it was really kaupapa Māori driven.

Utilising mātauranga Māori resulted in a “strong sense of belonging and identity” expressing a rich understanding of the kaupapa whānau concept to describe the intense connection formed between athletes, coaches and management staff. While it is evident that a kaupapa whānau identity was created, the implementation of mātauranga Māori acted as a positive stimulus for the encouragement of Māori identity and that Māori cultural practices contributed towards an “empowerment of being Māori”.

Now as a coach in the high performance programme for his sport, the kaupapa whānau concept has become an essential part of his coaching philosophy. This is illustrated in his pūrākau in his experience of coaching a national age group team to a successful series win against Australia:

I decided to implement staying on the marae and also a whole lot of other teambuilding strategies and games to make us tight. What I'm trying to create is a connection where we can talk about each other's personal lives and be

more aware of what is happening in each other's lives. So it's all about extended whānau. No one gave us a chance of winning or beating Australia but we ended up being the only team to win our series.

Following the series against Australia Rimu provided a report to his national sporting organization describing the perceived impact of creating a whānau environment by stating that:

The development of building a team based on trust of each other and a trust of each other's abilities was paramount. The way we came together and would do anything for each other...to create something so strong between each other, enabled us...for all involved to have a very successful and a very memorable Trans-Tasman event.

Rimu unravels the dynamism surrounding the unique phenomenon of kaupapa whānau in elite sport that engulfs the implementation of Māori knowledge, aspects of athlete development and what it means to be 'successful'. Indeed, his pūrākau identifies that elite sport provided an opportunity to create meaning of his Māori identity and perhaps pass on to the next generation of athletes in his sport. Subsequently, he creates a kaupapa whānau environment experience for his athletes to afford similar opportunities

However, some Māori athletes did not have a positive perception of the integration of Māori knowledge at the Gams events. Nīkau describes her feelings when attending the Commonwealth Games:

During the Commonwealth Games there was big push to create a team spirit or team unity that involved the incorporation and implementation of Māori things so to speak. On the one hand I thought it was really cool but on the other hand I was like this is [pauses] ... awkward.

Nīkau's pūrākau suggests that including mātauranga Māori is justified because it promotes kaupapa whānau. However, as someone with in depth knowledge of mātauranga Māori she felt "awkward" implying her desire to protect and safeguard mātauranga Māori and how it is implemented in sport settings. Additionally Karaka illustrates how one particular Māori athlete in her team felt about the use of mātauranga Māori:

...[there] was an athlete in our team [who] would question certain aspects of what we were doing and would be asking why certain things weren't being done. But of course she and I come from different places in terms of our experiences of being Māori.

Certainly mātauranga Māori can serve to preserve the essence of a concept such as kaupapa whānau that stresses unity, commonality of purpose, and social and cultural exchange in elite sport environs. Nīkau and Karaka's thoughts highlight that although a cultural advisory group had been constructed to uphold the principles inherent with the implementation of mātauranga Māori, it is evident that Nīkau experienced some feelings of discomfort and awkwardness because they or others around them felt that the inclusion of mātauranga Māori in the Games context was tokenistic or somehow not authentic or 'tika' (correct).

The aim of integrating these aspects of mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori was to unite the ethnically diverse members of the New Zealand team, consequently, expressions of a unique team approach is conveyed when competing on the world stage of elite sport. To complement the intangible concepts described the implementation of tangible elements of mātauranga Māori has been employed within Olympic/Commonwealth Games events. Examples include material taonga (treasures) in the form of a ceremonial cloak or kākahu, worn by the flag bearer, a Mauri stone (greenstone) and pounamu (greenstone pendant) and pou (posts) unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. This is discussed in the next section.

5.5 TANGIBLE EXAMPLES OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

Kākahu, mauri stone and pounamu

Tangible taonga provide learning opportunities as expressed by our tupuna that give constructive strategies in formulating connectivity between athletes and Aotearoa New Zealand. Tangible taonga that are unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. These taonga included a ceremonial cloak or kākahu to be worn by the flag bearer, a Mauri stone (greenstone) and pounamu (greenstone pendant) for each athlete. With regards to pounamu Kauri clarifies that:

All these things symbolise the gifting process, the act of giving and representing the essence of pounamu, that strength can come from small things as represented in the whakatauki 'ahakoa he iti he pounamu'. So pendants are gifted to the athletes and it is a hugely personal and special thing.

These taonga are gifted as part of the reciprocal agreement that the NZOC has with Kai Tahu, who are the kaitiakitanga of the largest repositories of pounamu in Aotearoa New Zealand. Indeed this was imbued in the mauri stone, a large pounamu stone which athletes were encouraged to touch and rub to reconnect to the natural world and their tūrangawaewae. By revitalizing knowledge of traditional practices and indeed their tūrangawaewae by linking human genealogy and whānaungatanga between athletes, and between athletes and those at 'home' - to reaffirm a unique national New Zealand identity and their Māori identity.

Pou

To symbolise a connection to home, the physical space of the New Zealand Commonwealth Games village in Delhi 2010 allowed for another example of tangible taonga to be employed in the form of contemporary Māori art. Kauri describes how this particular aspect of mātauranga Māori was implemented:

The first part of that process I got hold of [artist] from Taranaki to construct an entrance way for our team village. He replied with "that's so yesterday" and designed for us instead a 3m tall standing pou made of aluminium with the colours reflecting the vibrancy of India and the height representing Everest. This was interesting for all of us given that it was very contemporary so in his own way [he] was redefining what it means to be Māori because he challenged all the traditional ideas that we had of Māori. Those that won medals as a different way to celebrate their achievement signed the pou. This was being heralded as a new tradition, but it wasn't ...the concept of bringing everyone together is not new it's just the way we did it. [He] provided through Māori

art allowing us to share in athlete success that in turn would bring us closer together and unified.

Māori contemporary art in the form of pou presents a pragmatic resolution introduced by Kauri to establish a reconnection with tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, and expands the inventory of mātauranga Māori concepts appropriated to the Olympic/Commonwealth Games context. The artist gives utility to traditional knowledge, whilst maintaining a position that is innovative and adaptive to contemporary notions of socio-cultural identity in sport. Tikanga was also observed at the conclusion of the games with regards to the pou:

The pou were divided into three equal parts, one part was gifted to the New Zealand embassy in India, the second part was gifted to the mayor of Delhi and the third part that had been signed came home with us.

In a purely pragmatic sense, the pou in particular have much to offer in creating the identity both Kauri and the kaumātua philosophically set out to achieve. In a holistic sense, the importance of gifting two of the three pou to Delhi symbolises a respectful act of reciprocity for the hospitality the New Zealand team received, a concept that positions the worldview and customs of Māori (Barlow, 2001; Mead, 2003). This provides a reminder to the NZOC to think outside the predominantly non-Māori paradigm of elite sport when committing to mātauranga Māori in its entirety.

Section discussion

The participant pūrākau demonstrate that mātauranga Māori in the form of rituals and activities such as haka and waiata are valued when integrated into elite sport (Erueti & Palmer, 2013; Erueti, 2014). It is also evident that utilising mātauranga Māori into a wider context of elite sport can result in the creation of a unique sense of belonging that highlights the link between whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga for Māori athletes. Furthermore, the creative potentiality and inventive capacity of Māori knowledge through tangible taonga has also had a positive impact on the Māori identity of some participants. Within the contexts of the Olympic and Commonwealth Games Kauri indicates that:

That's how it works we start to create the environment and people who have never in their lives identified as being Māori start to feel good about that part of their lives and who they are. I had so many athletes approach me commenting on their Māori ancestry and connection, because in the past the opportunity and environment had not allowed them to talk so openly about their whānau.

The majority of the experiences of Māori athletes who attended Olympic/Commonwealth Games support Kauri's statement. In summary, their pūrākau suggest that the integration of Māori knowledge creates a variety of benefits for Māori athletes that can also benefit the cooperative whole; that is, providing a source of connectivity between each other and to the wider context of their elite sport environment creating something akin to kaupapa whānau (Erueti, 2014; Hodge & Hermansson, 2007).

Participant pūrākau from sport specific national teams have also highlighted the potential to experience and be motivated by the concept of ‘whānau’ (Barlow, 1991; 2001; Mead, 2003) while competing within the mainstream elite sport environment (Te Rito, 2006). They describe that if mātauranga Māori is embraced by the team, that is a kaupapa whānau setting exists, then Māori athletes can experience an increase in their pride, Māori understanding and increased acceptance by their peers of Māori identity. As a result how Māori athletes experience, negotiate and interpret Māori identity while participating in elite sport can be positively amalgamated and managed.

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter began with the journey of mātauranga Māori, beginning with Totara and Kauri’s pūrākau who conveyed that mātauranga Māori concepts were not considered a part of promoting unity within the notions of a nationalistic ideal (McCreanor et al., 2010; Taonui, 2013) at the time they attended their Olympic events. Although succinct, their perspectives perhaps spurred Kauri and the NZOC team kaumātua to modify previous strategies and understandings, and present new philosophies that were in tune with cultural awareness and knowledge, while encouraging elite sport goals.

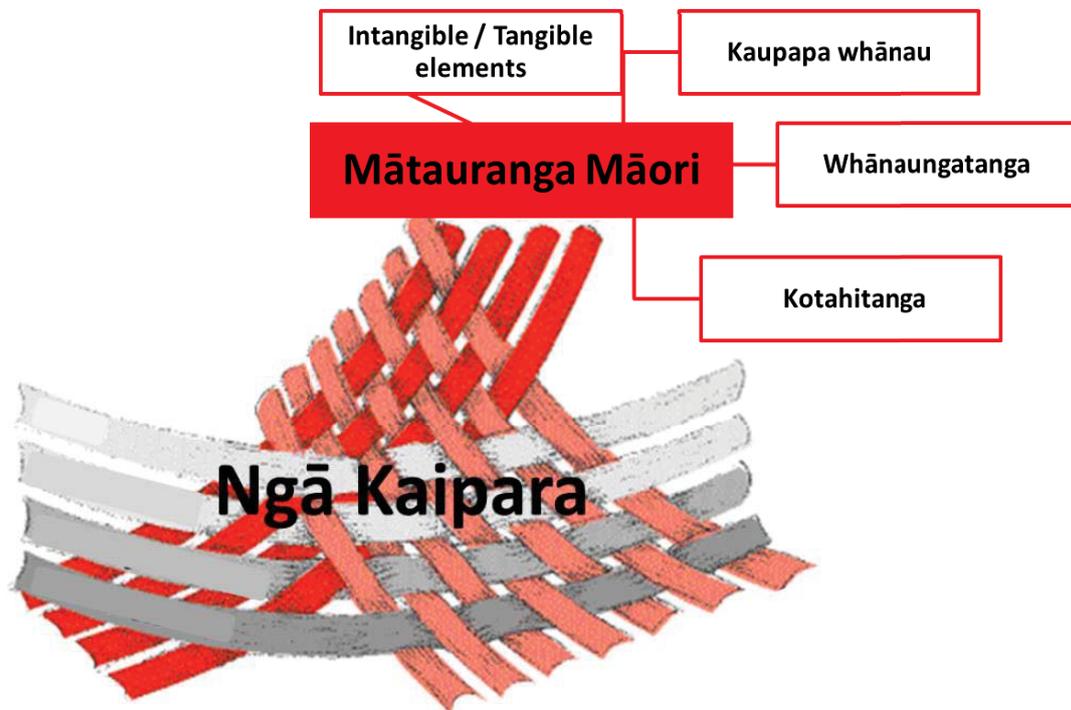
In the end, because of its traditional qualities, creative potentiality and inventive capacity, mātauranga Māori can result in the creation of a sense of belonging at both a national and personal level for athletes, and perhaps for coaches and management staff. Examples of intangible and tangible elements of mātauranga Māori allowed for a diverse range of athletes with connect to one another, to satisfy both differentiation (athlete/sport) and inclusion (national) needs (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; Palmer,

2007b; Wrathall, 1996). Consequently, a collective team or national semblance, while representing Aotearoa New Zealand in elite sport, especially when competing at the Olympic/Commonwealth games becomes an experience that connects them. Global sporting events provide a context to encourage the interface between elite sport participation and the promotion of mātauranga Māori. Nevertheless those with power and decision-making abilities should include those who are knowledgeable about mātauranga Māori and have a mandate from the kaitiaki (guardians) of this knowledge.

The pūrākau of Māori athletes represents another feature of the journey highlighting the inclusiveness they experience as defined through the concepts of kaupapa whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga to describe their feelings of membership within the New Zealand team (Te Rito, 2006). These terms have been applied to describe how mātauranga Māori encouraged and supported a shared sense of unity and national identity for some Māori athletes involved in New Zealand sport teams (Erueti, 2014; Erueti & Palmer, 2013; Hodge & Hermansson, 2007). The result is that the tensions that may exist between Māori identity and participation in elite sport can for the most part be positively amalgamated.

This chapter therefore provides another aspect of the model Te Whāriki Tuakiri (see Upoko Tuawha), with the additional element Mātauranga Māori (see Figure 4, p. 214), that depicts the amalgamation of the concepts identified within this chapter:

Figure 4: Te Whāriki Tuakiri – Mātauranga Māori



It is apparent that mātauranga Māori is enjoying space and focus within the arena of major sporting global events such as the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. Kauri's pūrākau shows that mātauranga Māori is able to be applied in global sporting events due to its ancient rigour and contemporary dynamism. Given that Kauri remains involved with the Olympic/Commonwealth Games team, he will have the opportunity to assert new frontiers by continuing to build on the potential to strengthen the borderlines between mātauranga Māori and future Olympic/Commonwealth games events. This task is not easy because it involves the responsibility of actively protecting that which is considered traditional knowledge and reshaping, rebuilding, reinterpreting and reincorporating elements to allow mātauranga Māori to be relevant to and respected in the world of elite sport today. Kauri affectionately concludes:

Tikanga as proposed by our ancestors is a wonderful blueprint for achieving those ideas [of whānau, whānaungatanga and kotahitanga] where they were in tune with creating relationships and how they connected not only with people but with their whenua. These concepts are as relevant today as they ever were. I believe that while our athletes are 98 to 99% physically and mentally attuned to what they have to achieve to compete and go into battle on the world stage I see my role as making up that last one or 2% that reminds them of who they are and where they are from and who they are doing this for. Our culture provides that vehicle it aids them in thinking past the physical because they are not thinking about wairua or cultural aspects and I try to make them realise the importance of that ...that makes up that last one or 2%.

The next chapter provides a thematic analysis focussing on participant experiences of the intersection between Māori identity and the context of elite sport.

UPOKO TUAONO: MĀORI IDENTITY AND SPORT

PARTICIPATION INTERSECTIONALITY

6.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Thus far, the analyses have explored Māori identity and elite sport as distinct entities that have not been explored as integrated elements. This chapter organises participant pūrākau into several themes that emphasise the intersection their Māori identity and sport participation. The first theme presented portrays the feelings and experiences of Māori athletes when attending iwi based Māori sport tournaments. Although participant pūrākau described their experiences of mātauranga Māori, those experiences occurred within the realm of elite and international sport events where the Māori worldview was not considered dominant. In contrast this chapter explores their pūrākau based in a context that is more in line with te ao Māori – a Māori worldview and may therefore reveal different aspects of their Māori identity development.

The second theme focusses on Māori athletes interactions with media agencies, while the third theme examines how Māori athletes' acts of social responsibility, contribution and leadership impact on their Māori identity. The fourth theme gives focus to the athlete-coach relationship and the influence coaches have had on participants' interpretations of Māori identity. Finally, an analysis of several pūrākau uncovers the way some Māori athletes maintain a unique relationship with the environment that emphasizes the spiritual connection to whenua (land), by expressing distinctive, and often private practices they employ while competing in elite sport.

6.2 MĀORI SPORT COMPETITION ENVIRONMENTS

For decades Māori have placed considerable value on sport to the extent that it now serves as a means to contribute to the mutual benefit and enrichment of Māori aspirations (Mato, 2011; Moon, 2012). This section comprises several Māori athlete pūrākau that highlight the experiences of their engagement within Māori sporting contexts that occur in the form of the iwi based sporting competitions sometimes referred to as the Pā Wars and national Māori sport tournaments. Although these competitions are not particularly aimed at the elite echelon of sport, several of the participants highlighted how participating in these events provided an avenue in which to make sense of their Māori identity, hence their inclusion in this chapter.

Totara described that the Pā Wars and Māori sports tournaments are great initiatives, particularly in encouraging Māori identity reaffirmation not only at a personal individual level, but also at the whānau, hapū and iwi levels. The regulations governing these tournaments require individuals to provide evidence of ancestral links to the hosting iwi and hapū, encouraging a connection to specific tūrangawaewae and whakapapa and opportunity to engage with tikanga and kawa - traditional cultural practices (Andres, 2011; Doherty, 2014). Matai expressed that he has returned to his iwi of Ngāti Porou for the Pā Wars demonstrating one of the ways he connects to his tūrangawaewae and whakapapa through the sporting context. He concluded that the “Pā Wars is something that I would like to get more involved with”. Similarly, Rimu described his experiences of his role at the Ngāti Tūwharetoa “two-day festival” that contains a variety of activities “from Petanque to Marae-Idol and rugby on Saturday”. Rimu continues:

I maintain really strong links with my marae through what's called the Pā Wars. There are around about two to four thousand competitors and the sport I organise is so big we have to cap the amount of teams who can enter - for instance last year we had 50 teams and I had to put it back to 28.

The participation numbers at the Ngāti Tūwharetoa sport festival he coordinates exemplifies how it has become a major contributor in linking to the tangible aspects of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. In that sense, these settings are more about how sport promotes the aspirations of Māori, rather than how Māori can promote the aspirations of the variety of sports present. While these previous excerpts from participant pūrākau have emphasised connections to specific iwi, national Māori sport tournaments also provide Māori with an opportunity to engage with elements of Māori identity.

Rimu also discussed his involvement in organising the annual national Māori tournament for his sport. Completely, alcohol and smoke-free the tournament is structured with a Māori worldview in mind because “it has its own identity and autonomy and doesn't require input from the national governing organisation”. For instance, on the final evening of the tournament Rimu mentions that “a waiata competition [is held] where each iwi has to perform a song or haka.” This highlights that while the sport competition is important the involvement of “a strong connection to things Māori” is a pertinent focus. Rimu indicated that “in fact you could almost say that it was strictly kaupapa Māori driven” given traditional cultural practices are integrated throughout the tournament, providing the space for those attending to

engage with specific Māori traditions and cultural practices pertinent to Māori identity (Mato 2011; Moon, 2012).

Nīkau described her experiences when attending the national Māori tournament for her sport stating that she “played a couple for another rohe”. She expressed that “they were good fun nice social events and I've had the opportunity to play with some of the ex-national representative athletes”. In this sense Māori tournaments afford Māori athletes an additional option to participate in sport and interact with revered sports people after retiring from elite sport competition. In another national Māori sporting example, Tawa described that:

I have been to the Māori national tournament once and that's because I'm just too busy with national team commitments to be able to attend those. I'm hoping to go next year actually. I loved it and really enjoyed it because it's very social although there are some good past, present and future players who also attend. It is very whānau orientated because everyone pitches in to help to make sure that the tournament runs smoothly.

The incorporation of Māori knowledge at these tournaments offers Māori athletes the opportunity to participate in sport within a dominant Māori perspective that has the potential to encourage Māori identity. Tawa's mention of the word whānau symbolises that there are significant feelings of belonging within these Māori sporting contexts (Thomas & Dyall, 1999).

However, contrary to these positive experiences, is Karaka who revealed that she attended a Māori national tournament only once because “I was embarrassed of the lack of knowledge that I had”. Her commentary stresses the tension and anxiety she experienced, indicating how she perceives her Māori identity. This is evident in the following aspect of her pūrākau:

Each team has to do some kind of performance and we sung a song and I was absolutely petrified of doing this because I didn't have a very good understanding of what I should be doing so I suppose I felt inadequate.

Karaka reveals that the environment of the Māori sport tournament she attended exposed her feelings of inadequacy of Māori knowledge similar to the stress experienced by players in the Māori men’s rugby team that Hirini and Flett (1999) found in their research with also in Māori contexts. Nonetheless Karaka noted that she “couldn't wait to get onto the field because that is what I did know”, suggesting that her identity as an elite athlete presented a positive means in which to negotiate the uncomfortableness she experienced.

Section discussion

The pūrākau in this section generally highlight a positive perception of iwi and Māori tournament sporting environments. On the one hand, it is evident that by attending Māori based sport competitions, a sporting context that advocates a Māori paradigm can encourage aspects of Māori identity for Māori athletes’ that is perhaps missing in their mainstream elite sport contexts. For example, the sharing of waiata or haka between teams, the whānau feeling and collective logistical efforts involved, and the

sense of rangatiratanga (self-determination). On the other hand, attending these sport contexts may not be a comfortable exercise for all. As Karaka identified, she avoided these tournaments because of her lack of comfort and lack of Māori knowledge in that setting. However, by validating her status as an athlete she was able to negotiate the lack of confidence regarding her Māori identity and knowledge of traditional cultural practices, accentuating one method of negotiation in which Māori athletes cope with the challenges and tensions that occur for Māori athletes at these events.

The next section clarifies how Māori athletes have interacted with the media and how this interaction has assisted in making sense of their identity, because they illustrates, early and persistent examples of racialised ideologies in mainstream sport that highlight a hegemonic Pākehā discourse about how Māori identity of Māori athletes is portrayed in the media (Bruce et al., 2007; Watts, 2002).

6.3 MEDIA INTERACTION

The media has become a prime site where Māori athletes may experience specific tensions that emphasise the juncture of Māori identity and elite sport. This section begins with Totara's pūrākau who competed in elite sport during the mid-1980's and early 1990's, giving insights into the way Māori were portrayed in media at that time. He expressed that:

If I did bad at an event I was referred to as a Māori [athlete] and if I did well I was mentioned as "that Kiwi kid". There may have been an insidious public interest to possibly exploit and make headlines in those ways.

His pūrākau suggests that media portrayed Māori in a way to mark a national identity when it was suitable, especially when he was successful and his Māori identity when he was not. This pinpoints how media maintains the power to subscribe which social groups Māori elite athletes belong too. Simply, when Totara won, he was portrayed in a nationalistic way - a “kiwi kid”, yet when he lost he was portrayed through his Māori identity. Watts (2002) provides an insight into the way Indigenous athletes are portrayed in the media to help in “reconciliation of symbolic social relationships” (p. 81) much like the pūrākau of Totara demonstrates (see also Bruce & Hallinan, 2001; Coram, 2007). James (2000 cited in Watts, 2002, p. 81) in his article in *The Toronto Star* wrote, “[Cathy Freeman is] the toast of Australia. But inside is a heartbeat linked to her Indigenous people. The tension is how far should she go to embrace one without rejecting the other?” Such a quote resonates with this research and especially with this section where media gives implicit messages about Māori identity and how it aligns (or doesn’t) with dominant national ideologies and expectations. It is clear that during the 1980’s when Totara was competing, the position media constructed was a perception of Māori-Pākehā relations in Aotearoa New Zealand to appear as a progressive environment that respected Māori interests (Bruce et al., 2007; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Watts, 2002).

Pōhutukawa describes that when it comes to mainstream media “unless it is brought up in the interview I don't advertise overtly that I am Māori”, expressing how she chooses to present her Māori identity in public media. Her reason for having these feelings is clear when she states “because I'm fearful that my audience will judge me or persecute me”. This indicates her Māori salience when dealing with the media is based on how others perceive her – by either Māori or Pākehā audiences; and certainly accentuates

an internal tension that has her negotiating how she wants to be perceived by the general public. This emphasises that for Pōhutukawa a range of extraneous factors besides simply declaring Māori ancestry influence her decision to identify as Māori. Furthermore, it indicates the challenges Māori athletes encounter when they ‘look’ overtly Māori, but feel that they do not ‘act’ Māori as expected by the audience. Consequently, it may be that Māori athletes internalise their Māori identity in order to maintain a more acceptable public image and nationalistic notion of identity to appease how they are perceived by Māori, Pākehā and the general populace. She also highlights that ‘being’ Māori is different to ‘acting’ Māori.

Further in her pūrākau, Pōhutukawa expresses that her feelings of tension are not solely confined to mainstream media. The manner in which she deals with Māori media, particularly Māori TV⁴⁰, reveals “feelings of anxiety”, “the strain” and a “fear and vulnerability”. Her self-perceptions are predicated by ‘others’, and open to judgement by the public, and in the context of this media form, by a Māori audience. Her personal fear came mostly from “not being Māori enough or for mispronunciation”. Consequently, Pōhutukawa also feels a sense of susceptibility commenting that she is “extremely embarrassed when I am asked if I know the language and the extent is only ‘Kia ora’”. Now more accustomed with Māori TV journalists, Pōhutukawa is always approached using the English language for interviews, to maintain what she describes as personal “boundaries of comfort and cultural safety” when engaging with Māori media.

⁴⁰ Māori Television is a New Zealand TV station that started broadcasting on 28 March 2004 from a base in Newmarket, Auckland New Zealand. The station is funded by the New Zealand Government and makes a valuable and significant contribution to the revitalisation of the Māori language and culture.

Several of the participants similarly described “a sense of anxiety” regarding their interactions with Māori media, largely because their Māori language was not at a level to be able to converse with journalists who prefer to conduct interviews in te reo Māori. Indeed, they would murmur under-breath “please don't ask me in Māori”. Their pūrākau illustrate the challenge Māori athletes face that expose a lack of confidence in publically identifying as Māori that is built on a lack of te reo Māori competency. Indeed Māori athletes “felt stink”, and “really bad” and “embarrassed” because they “couldn't speak the language”, or didn't “know my own language” – all of which were common themes. Tawa expressed that she has publicly “put [her]self out there” and engaged with Māori TV©, her only apprehension being “that they were going to question me using te reo and of course I wouldn't have any idea what they were asking”. These feelings of inadequacy were accentuated when Māori athletes would return home from competing overseas in global tournaments, as Karaka describes:

All of us Māori girls are dreading our landing because we knew that Māori TV would be there waiting for us. So we would be all running and saying to one another “I'm not doing it...you do it”...because we were embarrassed about not being Māori enough for them or more importantly for those Māori who may be watching. We weren't embarrassed to be Māori just not Māori enough for our audience.

It is evident that some athletes recognize that their status as a sporting celebrity is associated with the cultural responsibility that they should ‘know more’ which appears to be imposed internally rather than due to explicit pressure from the public.

Furthermore, the pūrākau reveal that some of the participants are very self-critical of their lack of Māori language competency and this is accompanied with feelings of whakamā (shame) and guilt, highlighting yet again the importance of te reo Māori as a significant determinant of how Māori athletes perceive their Māori identity (Durie, 1998b).

Another area where Māori athletes disclose how media unveils their personal understandings of Māori identity, is in the way Māori media can assist and contribute with Māori sport development. Indeed, Māori athletes are able to use their perceived mana as sport celebrities to access the Māori world (Te Rito, 2006). For instance, Karaka expressed that being identifiably Māori by media organisations had more to do with the positive impact she could have as a role model for young people. She explained:

It wasn't until I had to deal with the media that being Māori was an aspect that was highlighted as a part of my identity. Particularly Māori television and Mana magazine made quite a big deal out of me making the [national] squad that was huge to them... but it wasn't until I was older that I realised the impact that this could have on all Māori at any level of society.

Tawa also shared:

I was happy to be interviewed from the perspective that maybe I could have an influence on future athletes or to any young people who were looking at becoming elite athletes that was my way of giving back. But all of us who

identified as being Māori were doing that anyway so it was nice as a group to show a united front specifically as Māori athletes.

Tawa states that “giving back” is not reserved for Māori only, but “to any young people who were looking at becoming elite athletes”. These examples show that media is a potential domain within which Māori athletes can seemingly acquire greater acceptance and be perceived positively, both by others and themselves and as a result, perhaps encouraging their Māori identity (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2007b).

Pōhutukawa mentions her attendance to the first Māori sports awards in 2005, highlighting another example where Māori identity is purveyed within the public expressions of the media. She makes specific reference to a strong apprehension to attend because “[she] didn't feel Māori enough to be there”. She soon discovered however that other Māori athletes who were attending “felt similar”, resolving that “I think for the first time I didn't feel so lonely in mainstream sport” perhaps because she realised that she was not the only Māori athlete at the Māori sport awards who felt not Māori enough. Her experience indicates that she may shift between seeking acceptance from the diversity of Māori groups that are present at these awards based on the personal expectations she has set for herself. She describes not “feeling Māori enough” implying that the absence of Māori knowledge influences her self-interpretations of Māori identity (Hirini & Flett, 1999). Yet her pūrākau also stresses a sense of solace and comfort as a negotiation and readjustment occurs with Māori, who she describes as being “similar”. Her perspective describes the challenges Māori athletes face where Māori identity and elite sport in the media context converge, and

diverge. That is, elite sport is both a blessing and a curse where opportunities are afforded Māori athletes to create meaning of their Māori identity to others, but also avert from being a part of the Māori world, through media, as they would like.

Section discussion

The overwhelming sense of awkwardness of not being able to speak the Māori language in addressing the public via media interviews or at public occasions is apparent. It is evident that how Māori athletes make sense of their Māori identity is heavily influenced by how they interpret the perceptions of others. Yet this may be largely imagined as Pōhutukawa identified “no one [at the Māori Sports awards] made me feel this way no one said anything to me to make me think that I’m not Māori enough - it's just me!” As such, she has identified that there are many elements (self-perception, perception of others) that influence how Māori athletes perceive their Māori identity and more importantly the meaning they associate with that perception (Hirini & Flett, 1999). As such, the strategies they employ in negotiating the challenges they experience while interacting with media and public appearances is complex and requires further exploration when considering Māori athlete notions of Māori identity.

6.4 ATHLETE - COACH RELATIONSHIPS

This section clarifies participant’s perceptions and experiences of elite level sport and Māori identity with respect to the athlete-coach relationship, much of which has been considered around notions of cultural insensitivity and intolerance displayed by coaching and management personnel and how these have been interpreted by Māori

athletes (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013; Nicholson et al., 2011; Thomas & Dyall, 1999; Wrathall, 1996). This first part focusses on the positive perceptions that Māori athletes experienced within their athlete-coach relationships; and the second part reveals the negative experiences associated with their coaches. Both aid in illuminating how their athlete-coach relationships have influenced their understandings and interpretations of Māori identity in elite level sport.

Positive athlete-coach experiences

The athlete-coach relationship is essentially a social association formed on an involuntary basis that requires a measure of similarity of attitudes, goals, beliefs, opinions, culture, and interests (Jowett & Frost, 2007). Such similarities are likely to increase, or decrease as the relationship develops and is maintained. Participant pūrākau in this section elucidate their feelings and thoughts about Māori identity within the parameters of the athlete-coach relationship. Nīkau shares a memorable moment she experienced with one of her coaches while progressing through the national development squads who demonstrated “quite an unorthodox” approach. She states:

...our coach was Māori as well, and I really think she saw things particularly within Māori athletes that other coaches didn't see. She would have been one of only a few Māori in the high-performance coaching programme. She is an absolutely outstanding coach with so much to offer if you are willing to go on a 'journey'. I remember one time her asking us “what is the best thing that we bring to this team”, my first two answers weren't appropriate and so she asked me after each of those answers “to try again”. As you can imagine I'm almost

in tears by this time and she looked at me and said “you know what you’re the best at...it’s your mana that separates you from everyone else”...perhaps maybe she saw something more than just the physical which is what makes her so special.

Nīkau identifies two pertinent aspects that link with Māori identity. Firstly the coach uses the word ‘mana’, a concept that is embedded in the Māori world in which to describe a point of difference (Barlow, 1991). Indeed, the coach attempted to create a relationship of similarity with Nīkau that considers her Māori identity as a unique element within elite sport participation as conveyed in her words “perhaps maybe she saw something more [...] which is what makes her so special”. Secondly, the term “more than just the physical” suggests that the coach perceived that Nīkau had more to offer than the skills and athleticism she possessed, which challenges stereotypes associated with Māori athletes (Hokowhitu 2003a; 2003b; 2004; Palmer, 2006; 2007a; 2007b; Palmer & Adair, 2012). In this case the use of the word ‘mana’ acknowledges an attribute (often akin to charisma, power and prestige) beyond the physical, aiding in creating a special relationship based upon the acknowledgement of the unique Māori qualities that Nīkau possessed. Nīkau reflects on the impact this had on her:

For me that was absolutely huge...obviously it had a big impact on me as one of the memories that I have of her as a coach. I haven't really thought about it too much, but I suppose it was a defining moment for me.

Rimu shares similar feelings, in his experiences with a coach who decided to integrate a Māori approach that provided Rimu an opportunity to create meaning and a deeper connection to his Māori identity (Andres, 2011; Kukutai, 2001). He describes:

To be honest the first time I represented New Zealand I didn't know what the silver fern meant in regards to my Māori identity, but he [coach] reminded us and gave us that grounding. He had fantastic things to say and would bring out certain emotions to the extent that during team talks he would have half the team crying. He really had a profound impact upon me in terms of my philosophy in coaching and how to bring the best out of athletes...like getting us to think about “who are you doing this for?” and “who are you representing?” To me that is the value of being a part of something bigger than you...

Rimu highlights the coaches' philosophy of creating and preserving links to home and generating a united sense of belonging. These notions are evident in the words “what the silver fern meant in regards to my Māori identity” and how the coach reminded athletes “who are you doing this for?” and “who are you representing?” These questions indicate how Rimu interpreted the coaches intentions to have the team connect to ‘home’ – it is this connection that emphasises Rimu’s Māori identity through the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa as applied in this research (Barlow, 2001; Doherty, 2014; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). As such, for Rimu this coach provided an impetus to make sense of his Māori identity while participating in elite sport.

While Miro was drawn to coaching staff that identified as Māori, it was their skill set, rather than their Māori identity that was the key motive in developing and maintaining a robust athlete-coach relationship. She shares:

...my current coach was the number one ranked men's player and I also thought that he was amazing and I just loved the way that he played the game. Last year I got to work with one of my biggest inspirations. Now all of these people, my role models, were Māori but I don't actually think that was the reason I was so inspired by them but there was something about them that drew me to them.

The word “something about them” is somewhat unclear in the context of her pūrākau but suggests there was some implicit or incomprehensible aspect of these role models that were Māori that drew her to them. When describing their relationship it was evident from her pūrākau that her perceptions of him had surpassed the coach-athlete norm viewing him more as an older brother aligning with the term kaupapa whānau (Te Rito, 2006) discussed in the previous chapter. She describes that:

This feeling between us is unique because I have had a lot of coaches. But I suppose what was really different is that I did see him as part of my family...I trust him I know that he has my best interests at heart - I am more confident with him and have found it hard to generate this kind of relationship with anyone else. It is an issue of trust and once again I can't tell you that it's because he is Māori, it may be, but I don't see our relationship in terms of ethnicity and cultural background.

Miro reveals a whānau philosophy by referring to her coach as “a part of my family” and “found it hard to generate this kind of relationship with anyone else”. Her pūrākau also highlights that a requirement for a ‘fit’ based on the Māori identity of her coach was not essential. That is ethnicity was an incidental aspect of their relationship. Karaka also indicated that ethnicity did not influence the positive relationship she had with coaching staff while competing at the elite level:

The World Champs was a really cool experience. The coaches and managers for this team were also Māori. To me their ethnicity never came into the equation they were the right people for the job. The knowledge and understanding of the game spoke for itself.

Kahikatea also shares that:

I have been lucky to have had some amazing coaches during those years and it has never been about their ethnicity or culture, rather it was more about their personality and whether I could get on with them.

Nīkau, in an earlier example in this section identified a positive relationship with a coach of Māori identity. She adds to the analyses by providing accounts of positive athlete-coach relationships with non-Māori coaches. She states that “[she] was really good at looking at me as a person...as an individual”. This recognises that despite being different in ethnicity, a positive athlete-coach relationship that is athlete-centred and holistic was developed based on the coaches’ perception of athletes as “individuals” and not based on deficit perceptions of Māori. Additionally, similar to

Miro, she comments that she considered the coach to be “very much a part of our family”. They still maintain a close connection where “[the coach] has always made herself available to me”. Nīkau concludes that “she is very much an inspiration and has had a huge impact on my sporting career and personal life”. As such their athlete-coach relationship typifies a kaupapa whānau semblance (discussed in Chapter Five) (Te Rito, 2006).

Participant pūrākau speak intensely about the esteem they had for their coaches revealing how the interpersonal constructs such as closeness, commitment, complementarity, and co-orientation have been experienced. Additionally, credibility, reputation and personal “knowledge and understanding” enhanced their mana in the eyes of the athletes evidently increasing the likelihood of mutual athlete-coach understanding. But the implication of ethnic similarity was not a mandatory requisite, even though some of the coaches participants spoke about identified as Māori.

Negative athlete-coach experiences

While the previous section focussed on the positive aspects regarding athlete-coach relationship experiences, participant pūrākau also identify the notion that the elite sporting environment is socially constructed by coaching and/or sport administration personnel, who do not consider Māori identity relevant when working with Māori athletes. Totara shared his views on the plight of Māori identity in sport, expressing that:

I find it absolutely pathetic that they could have such a hold on you. I believe that [Māori athletes] are a part of a system where [athletes] are managed or

coached in a way that has them by the reigns and they are being controlled. They are not allowed to connect with the land, because [coaches] don't want that quality... coaches continue to utilise a true and tried system that has very little flexibility for our Māori athletes. I believe that what they should be doing is utilising what we do have and making that better and more efficient.

His perspective conveys an ideology that sport administration, management and coaching staff hold the power to preserve a firm grip on athletes (Māori and non-Māori) that disregards and may suppress Māori identity. He is perhaps more politically aware and critically-minded than some of the other participant's, consequently, his opinion challenges the centrality of conforming to the hegemonic athlete-coach relationship by highlighting how 'things' could be different. He addresses the structural, ideological and philosophical power imbalances that suggest that Māori athletes conform to dominant ways of knowing in elite sport, giving an insight into Māori ways of "seeing, knowing and being and demonstrates how incorporating fundamental beliefs of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) could positively energise sport in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Hippolite & Bruce, 2013, p. 88).

Matai recounts his experiences and feelings about coaching and management staff while based in Australia that reflect the previous thoughts. He stated that:

We were in an environment that basically treated us like physical cattle – we were nothing more than just athletes. I would think that it's tough or like that for the majority of the Māori boys that go [to Australia]. I suppose that's all a part of trying to fit in. I had never had a sense of disconnection from my

culture so to speak until I got over there and this is where I found being Māori and remembering and knowing about my identity and knowing where I'm from was really important.

His pūrākau suggesting that Māori athletes are perceived as 'physical cattle' supports the work of Hokowhitu (2003a; 2003b; 2004) in Aotearoa New Zealand and Coram (2006) who illustrates that Matai's experiences parallel the way Aboriginal athletes in Australia are perceived. Matai also expresses that maintaining a strong sense of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa is an integral component of his Māori identity and an imperative attribute when he was competing in elite sport abroad. His pūrākau also suggests that maintaining Māori identity and an understanding of their Māori identity may assist Māori athletes with the transition to competing in sport overseas, or may be the driving force that results in Māori returning to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Nīkau also stated that "it is either 'their way or the highway' and the sooner you can get over that mentally then you'll be successful" when referring to her experiences with her national sporting organisation. She further explains:

[She] pulled me aside and said to me you won't make the national team unless you lose some weight. My response was "how dare you trample on my mana like that, you just don't say that" and so I had had my first clash of heads with a coach. That message was given to three other Māori athletes in the team. She saw us as athletes first which is strange for me to comprehend given that when we first met I thought one of her strengths was her ability to see people as

a whole and to pull people together to create unity. In the end I don't think she really knew us and she never made the effort to know me personally.

It is evident that body weight was an obvious concern for the coach, an expectation that is not necessarily based on ethnicity or on Nīkau's Māori identity. Yet, because Nīkau identified that three 'other Māori' athletes were approached suggests that she may have seen it as a 'race-based' request. Indeed, Nīkau felt that the coach had not created a relationship where those expectations could be delivered that sensitively considered her 'mana' (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013). As such, cultural awareness and sensitivity on the part of coaches in relation to Māori athletes may prove advantageous in developing more rewarding and respectful athlete-coach relationships. In another example, Nīkau identifies an issue that recognises the multifaceted and reciprocal processes of athlete relationships that may not always be explicit to coaches or management staff.

[Coaching/management] don't see the shit that goes on. But hei aha (whatever)...it's about that whānau thing and how you contribute and get the best out of your team mates and I think the [coaching and management staff] ignore a lot of that. And so once again as long as the opinion of my teammates is high then it is all worthwhile...it's worth it, it's okay!

Her pūrākau pinpoints that if a negative relationship subsists between athletes and coaching/management staff, the result can be a lack of trust and openness within the athlete-coach relationship context but that support can occur at a peer level rather than at a hierarchical level. Her pūrākau also highlights specific concepts innate in te ao

Māori. The support she demonstrated to her teams mates is best summarised in the word whānau as an effective mode in which to create effective relationships in elite sport. Karaka also provided a similar example describing her coach as “evasive” where “he didn't provide me with the feedback I needed” in preparation for the Commonwealth games. This led to a breakdown in the relationship between them because “I took it personally because he made me feel that I wasn't important to inform me on what I required to get back on the field”. However upon reflection she concludes:

I look back at that now and in retrospect it was similar for what just seemed to be the Māori athletes. So I pulled myself out of the team. I just don't think he was looking at me, because he wasn't up front with me or with the other Māori girls.

Her suggestion that the coaches' lack of behaviour was directed at “the Māori athletes” is another example of her perception of discrimination and highlights that coaches need to learn and modify their behaviours that consider Māori identity and cultural sensitivities (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013; Thomas & Dyllal, 1999; Schinke et al., 2007). She internalised this as one of the “worst experiences of my entire athlete career and a personal low”, perhaps because she perceived it as a subtle act of ‘overt-racism’. She explains the seriousness of the coaches' behaviour by stating that:

...because that coach had turned something that I loved into something that I could not enjoy if I had to interact with him or rather because of a clash that I

could not understand. I think I still had at least one more Games in me. I quit.

It was a tough decision, but it was the right thing to do at that time.

Section discussion

The coaches referred to by the participants in this section of the analyses are non-Māori whose reactions or interactions with Māori athletes were perceived in two ways. Firstly, there are instances where coaches act in ways that are perceived as inappropriate and insensitive towards Māori values and athlete cultural requirements. Secondly, non-Māori coaches who choose not to see Māori identity essentially fail to see these athletes holistically, that is by ignoring their ethnicity, they may in fact be ignoring their Māori identity (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013; Thomas & Dyall, 1999; Schinke et al., 2007). This is important particularly if the athlete considers their Māori identity as an important element in elite sport participation. Both aspects inherently exemplify that non-Māori coaches who choose to ignore Māori identity or cultural diversity in general as part of their coaching philosophy may impede their ability to understand and interact with Māori athletes as more than ‘cattle’ and ‘objects’ to be managed for optimal performance. However, the pūrākau do suggest that some non-Māori coaches do see Māori athletes as people rather than as objects, resulting in the development of effective athlete-coach relationships.

6.5 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, CONTRIBUTION AND LEADERSHIP

The responsibility and obligation for Māori athletes who participate in elite sport to ‘give back’ to their local communities is evident in several pūrākau. They suggest that the contribution they make stems from a combination of personal social responsibility, and the important role social engagement plays in nurturing and positively developing Māori and non-Māori athletes, especially youth.

For Māori, social responsibility with the aim to motivate and inspire Māori youth, has created an avenue in which Māori athletes’ can demonstrate a contemporary form of Māori leadership (Te Rito, 2006). In the context of sport, Māori athletes are perceived as sports celebrities and thus leadership occurs when mana is conferred by their Māori communities (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2007b). Although there are obvious benefits for Māori communities when Māori athletes engage with them, such acts are also “constructive strategies that present opportunities for Māori athletes to negotiate their Māori identity” (Te Rito, 2006, p. 14). Some athletes indicated the ways they contribute specifically to their respective local communities as a means to ‘give-back’ for the support and development they received from, iwi, hapū and whānau in both elite sport and in life.

General community contribution

The desire shown among Māori athletes to engage in the phenomenon of social responsibility is evident in their intent to contribute to the ‘next generation’ of athletes. In Chapter Four, participant pūrākau indicated that they are very appreciative of the

role, function and positive impact of both Māori and non-Māori role models in their journey. These role models have included whānau and extended family members, and both Māori and non-Māori coaches, managers and elite athletes who have helped them realize the responsibilities that come with being Māori and an elite athlete. Certainly their early sporting development experiences provide a strong justification in explaining the motivation that Māori athletes have in reciprocating and contributing to their local communities.

Tawa explains that she has “never forgotten” the support she received, hence:

So my role now as one of the more mature and experienced players is to support the ‘next generation’ in just the same way as I was supported. So it is important that we continue to have these young girls coming in obviously so that they can develop quicker. So I could see myself being a role model or a mentor to other athletes coming through not just for Māori players but for anyone who is interested in playing at the elite level. My advice would be to seek and try to find a balance between achieving their goals and staying connected with their family because that's really important to be there with them and for them, and if they could not have it affect their sporting aspirations.

At the time of sharing her pūrākau, she described this notion of having positive relationships with whānau when describing how she had been approached to assist in the development of “a young Māori girl from Taranaki”. She indicated that her personal attitude regarding the importance of whānau, has been transferred to her

coaching philosophy exemplified by the creation of a positive relationship with her athletes parents. Consequently, the parents shared with Tawa their desire that “she play for my club, so that she was with me”.

Given the international experience of the participants within their own sporting codes a theme identified from Rimu and Miro’s pūrākau, focussed on providing preparatory initiatives to aid future athletes for elite level sport and international competition. Rimu in his current position highlights the academy system that he is personally responsible for:

The new generation are very lucky because they get to be a part of the youth academy development structure. It is a privileged position because what they get to learn and experience is what was given to us at the senior/open categories so they have all of our experience, but are only between the ages of 13-17.

Miro also shared similar aspirations of an academy structure albeit sometime in the future:

Of course I would like to come home...with the best of intentions to give back to the community wherever that may be, but definitely give back in some way. I can see myself becoming a coach and [current coach] and I have discussed the idea of starting a Māori sport academy, but if that doesn't happen then I just want to be able to give back in any way that I can.

The natural progression from elite athlete to coach was a key theme shared by some of the participants. Once again there is a strong sense to contribute to the people who gave so much to their development. Nīkau highlights:

I would like to go back and do some work or contribute back to the teams, coaches or management as a way of saying thank you to them and the work they do and their specific communities. Being with people is what I'm about, because it makes the whole experience tangible and real. It provides an opportunity to make that tangible connection for children who are aspiring to be elite athletes themselves so that the dream becomes more real for them and much more achievable.

However, coaching requires a particular set of skills that she acknowledges need refining, accepting that coaching is a very “challenging” experience. She also expresses that “I’m not very tolerant or patient”. Yet when she is “there and I’m immersed with the kids I love it and I’ve found it so rewarding. So I have a huge respect for all coaches and I could see myself doing it one day”. Tawa similarly expressed:

For me it's always interesting to hear that people see me as a coach, whereas I don't. I have some fantastic experiences to call upon, but they are all as an athlete and I suppose that coaching is another aspect in my development that sits just outside my comfort zone. But I think once I get started I would be okay.

Pōhutukawa “would really enjoy getting back to [the] community, but the time just doesn't allow it”. Given her duties as an international athlete alongside her professional career, her sporting life is extremely time consuming, yet she “jump[s] at any opportunity” to contribute. As such she has been invited as a guest speaker for school assemblies and secondary school sport prize giving’s. However, she expresses that a highlight of her career was when she coached a provincial representative team:

The coach that had been selected has been around for a long time and is one of those amazing people that just give’s back to the sport that gave so much to her children. I suppose you could almost say that she was the only person that was willing to take up the position of coach. However she would be the first to admit that she doesn't have the technical knowledge to coach so she asked me to come in and help. I was more than happy to do this...I learnt a lot about what it meant to create relationships of respect and trust as this was my real first coaching position even though I was just an assistant coach. I got to learn a lot about dealing with team dynamics, from I suppose a perspective that I had never had before it has certainly given me a heightened sense of respect and role of the coach. I really enjoyed it!

The process she describes that led to her becoming the assistant coach implies an innate willingness or social obligation to support the head coach - a person that had given and sacrificed so much of their personal time to a sport even though their technical knowledge may not have qualified them to do so. This coaching position served as an outlet for her to explore and pursue different passions outside of

competing and training, and provided her with an opportunity to personally develop the importance of promoting positive coach-athlete relationships.

Giving back to Māori

The social responsibility for Māori athletes to contribute to their specific Māori communities is a product of the mana they gain from those around them. This bestowal of mana coupled with their personal sense of social obligation to ‘give’, results in what Te Rito (2006) refers to as a contemporary form of Māori leadership. He goes on to say that although sport has replicated the traditional practices of life, Māori athletes as Māori leaders therefore adhere to the same principles of those tupuna and chiefs who acquired the means, power, ability and authority (mana) to “pull people together, give direction, and constantly motivate them towards a shared goal” (p. 14). Notably, this reconceptualised Māori perspective of leadership manifests in many different spheres and can therefore contain many definitions. The pūrākau highlight the variety of ways participants’ demonstrate their leadership in regards to their contribution to Māori.

Kahikatea has received many opportunities to be a guest speaker. He advises future Māori athletes to:

...have a go even if it's just for a small amount of time or only temporary to get out of your comfort zone you need to experience the world. I believe that that experience cannot happen when you are surrounded by the supporting structure of your family. You're learning is confined to the knowledge of your family. I'm not saying that home or family is not important, but I can honestly

say that I had a good go at it and now I get to travel to the States to Europe to South America all because I made a simple decision to go for a year.

While the role and encouraging impact of whānau has been previously discussed, Kahikatea highlights that the risk of leaving the comfort of whānau is a risk worth taking. However he describes his intentions to return back to his tūrangawaewae ‘back home’ to his whakapapa and iwi:

I would like to give back to my iwi. There are so many talented Māori kids up [home]. I mean if I have the time I'm always willing to give...but some of those bigger responsibilities back to my iwi may have to wait till after the Olympics. I can see myself living back there eventually and working with the kids supporting and helping them make good decisions about their lives.

Nīkau also shares:

Giving back to my iwi is something that I would like to do, but I'm not sure in which capacity and to what extent, but I think what I'm doing is doing that anyway...so yeah somehow.

Totara has held many prestigious positions given his mana in his chosen sport, but it is his passion for the development of Māori athletes, emerging or current that continues to motivate his contribution to Māori participating in elite level sport. He explains:

There has always been some obligation to help and I have always been supportive to any organisation that have sought me out or my advice or help, for instance being on the New Zealand Athlete's Commission. I have been a part of career counselling for elite athletes and have worked with Māori elite athletes. The harsh realities of professional sport doesn't really hit until [Māori athletes] find out that they are not going to make it, to be realistic only one out of every 10 will make it professionally. I want to help the nine out of 10 whose hopes have been dashed and may feel that sense that they have let their whānau down. There's no reason why we can't improve those odds to two out of 10 or that the experience and opportunities financially can't be improved for the other eight out of 10. I am really willing to give back and set up a sport management company that helps with providing information and resources for Māori elite athletes and their career development outside of sport...so representing athletes in court or aiding with athlete contracts and negotiating terms for business proposals is an avenue I'm considering.

The several examples provided give confidence and comfort that Māori athletes have sincere intentions to positively influence, help realise potential and to inspire Māori athletes in the future with confidence and purpose. Kauri asserts that “all of my life has been about making a contribution to Māori”. He also mentions that this contribution has been a result of “my Māori identity...[that] has been closely linked with my sport and my work and what I do with the Olympic and Commonwealth teams”. Not content with his contribution to the realm of Māori health and the New Zealand Olympic/Commonwealth games teams, he indicates that:

Something that [kaumātua] and I were looking at implementing which we didn't get the funding for in the end was to develop a Māori mentoring scheme called Ngā Tini Whetū, which focused on mentoring parents rather than athletes. So that parents were being given the tools to know what to expect and what they were doing with their children's lives. For instance how to apply for funding, how to write letters of support and stuff like that.

The pūrākau of several athletes consider their contribution in terms of what they could 'give back', while others only focused on a smaller 'catchment' of influence. Kauri, for instance, demonstrates that he wishes to be a part of Māori development at a societal level as exemplified through his work in the health sector that involved increasing social change in terms of health screening initiatives, complimented with specific Māori athlete development.

In a different example, Tawa shares that she "doesn't really go back to the marae". However, her contribution occurs in a vicarious manner that reflects a contemporary expression of tūrangawaewae and connection to whakapapa, she explains:

What I am really stoked about is that my marae knows about my accomplishments mostly due to my uncles as I have a couple of them that sit on the marae committee and they have made contact with mum and have asked about my sporting CV from the last five years or so. If I was ever going to contribute back to my community in a wider sense it would have to be on my terms where I feel culturally safe and where I think my particular skills and attributes could be of better use I suppose.

She articulates once again that her personal competency and perceptions associated with a lack of Māori language and cultural knowledge affects the way she makes sense of her Māori identity.

I still have feelings of apprehension about returning there to speak or to be a part of any type of occasion and that apprehension stems from my lack of knowledge and understanding of Māori cultural environments and situations. Because of that lack of knowledge I feel quite uncomfortable in those situations and so returning for anything back there is still something I am very tentative about. So for things outside of sport, as I just mentioned, I don't have much knowledge about Māori things and that's a scary situation for anyone to be in.

Tawa highlights the apprehension she has regarding her direct contribution to her Māori community. Even though she expresses a confident perception of her Māori identity through tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, she is aware that she exhibits few specific Māori cultural behaviours associated with it. Indeed, she is a testament that the ability to 'claim' is different for every Māori athlete and that 'claiming' may involve being a part of other processes (Durie, 2005; Poata-Smith, 2013; Stevenson, 2004). She emphasises the challenges that exist when considering the ways she wishes to contribute within the specific Māori context of her tūrangawaewae.

Section discussion

Participants' pūrākau assisted in clarifying the positive intentions and the variety of methods that Māori athletes demonstrate in terms of their social responsibility activities. Several pūrākau examined how Māori athletes are indeed instrumental in

helping Māori and non-Māori future athletes to navigate the elite sport system. The influence of positive role models was a common theme in regards to their own introduction, development and involvement in elite sport. Consequently, it has inspired them to be positive role-models in a variety of ways - as coaches, managers, setting up their own company, mentoring athletes and their whānau, and engaging in a Māori tournament or within the context of specific iwi based competitions, albeit as Tawa states “on their own terms”.

Māori athletes reveal the issues they face in contributing to their respective iwi and hapū, illustrating that indeed the manner in which Māori leaders exist has changed (Te Rito, 2006). Te Rito (2006) therefore concludes that Māori communities have more leaders and more kinds of leaders than in pre-European times with the emergence of Māori athletes as a new type of leader that is generally accepted because of their sporting achievements.

So far in this chapter, the previous sections have given insights into the public expressions and actions of Māori athlete identity in sport. In the next section an exploration is given into the private cultural practices that Māori athletes incorporate when participating in elite sport.

6.6 PERSONAL EXPRESSIONS OF TRADITIONAL MĀORI KNOWLEDGE IN ELITE SPORT

Several pūrākau accentuate the private rituals Māori athletes perform while competing. These rituals are noteworthy given that their pūrākau strengthen the value Māori athletes connect to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa that is an expression of their Māori identity. Nīkau for instance remains connected to her whenua in the following way:

When I am overseas mum makes me carry some of our taonga which I don't like to do, but I have a small vial of water, water taken from the awa (river) that acts as a conduit for karakia when asking for strength. It was something that mum was taught by her father and it doesn't have to be water from the awa it can be any water to be used for a blessing it could be used if you were sick for instance. I believe the term that would best describe why I carry it and its purpose is to aid me in my personal mauri. I don't believe this to be superstition I believe it to be my reality it makes me stronger and reaffirms my connection back here so that when I am away I am always connected. Mum has always advised that when my mānawa (heart) is feeling a little bit low a bit pōuri (sad) to "talk to your tupuna (elders) to your Nanny she'll guide you she'll look after you" and I believe that they do, I really do...

It is evident in her pūrākau that a holistic connection based on identity is formalised, linking to whenua is significant in that it describes and defines the physical, cognitive and spiritual connection Māori athletes have to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa expressed as the space and place and the elements 'of home' (Barlow, 2001; Doherty,

2014; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). It is these elements that have been associated with the concept of mauri to describe the connection Māori athletes have to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. Additional analyses of the pūrākau from Kahikatea and Totara respectively, further exemplify this connection:

When it comes to sport psychology everyone knows that you perform better on your own whenua in front of my whānau because there are 40 of them jumping up and down and I see that as positive pressure I don't want to let them down. And I take that feeling with me where ever I might be playing, for instance, I might picture them in the stands or in the clouds. In our semi-final there is a forest behind one of the major stands, so when I look at those trees I picture them individually and I see my family. That keeps me in the zone and I imagine them looking over me. I suppose a sports psychologist would call it mental imagery, but for me it just comes naturally I don't feel as if I had to learn this... and I know that some of the other athletes on the world pro tour would think I was nuts. But I truly believe that when I look into the forests, my family are watching over me. (Kahikatea)

So I could take my reality and what I knew and understood about the environment and take it and transplant it into other countries with mere (club like weapon) and punching it into the ground and lifting the mana of these mountains these magnetic points and I could capture them into my taonga [mere] and I could unleash them like a Power Ranger by use of meditation or by uttering their names it was literally a ray gun flying out of my hands and I can still do this. In my training sessions especially during sprinting I would

recover by doing hongis with trees and to me they were rongoa (medicinal) trees and to me I felt that the spirits would literally talk me - I'm not joking and at this age I don't mind talking about it because it may seem a little left-field. But that is exactly what it means to be Māori to me is that connection with the land with nature. I suppose you could say that I was walking straight into the mauri of the whenua, I could feel it through the rocks...I could feel the mountain face through the snow. And so I thought that nature had a lot to teach us in those days because the human element is very limited. It was subconscious and natural to me to do this as a young person, but by the time I got a little bit older say when I was 20 or 21 it was like I was 'grasshopper' off 'Kung Fu' where the world was my teacher. (Totara)

These participant pūrākau highlight the significance of connecting to whenua providing an expression of their Māori identity and connection to their personal mauri. The following example given by Kauri highlights a very sacred and private ritual revealing that:

I would go do my own little karakia having the knowledge that this would give me support. It's been a long time since I've spoken about this but before going to the Olympic Games I went to visit a kaumātua for a blessing so to speak. However this involved four other kaiāwhina (helpers) who each were massaging my limbs and [kaumātua] was massaging my head and they were all saying karakia for my bones and my sinews to aid in strengthening my body and muscles. I found it very cleansing and just as important as everything else I was doing physically, it was a very uplifting moment. Because here I was

someone whose parents weren't that connected to many things Māori being involved and experiencing something very spiritually Māori. Just going through that process was...well you know...

The participant pūrākau illustrate the very distinct and unique strategies some Māori athletes have employed that reveal a deep connection to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. Most significantly, the examples convey a spiritual relationship and connection to land that is “based on cosmology and culture, which rooted [Māori] to their tribal territory spiritually and emotionally” (Hay, 1998, p. 245). Indeed they reveal a relationship with land that transcends spiritual and kinship bonds between people, the physical realities of nature as well as the supernatural world as descendants’ (Royal, 2008). Totara explains:

I certainly believe that knowing about and understanding some of these deeper Māori constructs has a lot to offer to athletes...what has become more important to elite athletes these days is to have some meaning in what they do. One would have to put Māoritanga [Māori culture, practices and beliefs] into a similar vein as those types of motivational aspects.

The closing aspect of Totara’s pūrākau emphasises how he interprets mātauranga Māori and the pertinence of affording opportunities that may connect athletes to a national semblance that incorporates tūrangawaewae and whakapapa and also in assisting a positive transition for Māori athletes in negotiating their Māori identity in sport at the Olympic/Commonwealth games environs. However, he also articulates the potential risk in doing so:

I would never have shared my personal perspectives and philosophies of the land and my connection to it [with other athletes and team management]. No...I would have been considered a nutcase and classified as a certifiable 'looney'. You must remember that raising this type of stuff is very novel.

He illustrates that mātauranga Māori would have been misinterpreted by those who maintain positions of authority highlighting his notions and requirements to remain 'silent' regarding the very personal connection he has to the Māori constructs of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa. For this reason sensitivity and consideration of the use of cultural knowledge is required in order to encourage and protect the modes and methods in which mātauranga Māori is integrated (Erueti & Palmer, 2013; Hanrahan, 2004; Paraschak, 1997; Schinke et al., 2007; 2008).

Section discussion

Simply, the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa identify the deep relationship and spiritual connection that Māori have with their natural environment (Barlow, 2001; Doherty, 2014; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). Additionally, the concept of mauri appears supporting notions of Māori identity defined by Penetito (2005) and Doherty (2014). Consideration to the phenomenon of tūrangawaewae, whakapapa and mauri expressions of Māori identity raises an awareness that the restructuring of Māori identity for Māori athletes is always in continual flux (Erueti & Palmer, 2013).

The pūrākau given in this section of the chapter presents interesting challenges for coaching and management staff involved in elite sport. The narrative of an Aboriginal athlete who participated in the work of Schinke et al., (2007) provides an apt response

to non-Māori coaches who may experience the unique cultural practices described here with Māori athletes. The Aboriginal athlete recommended:

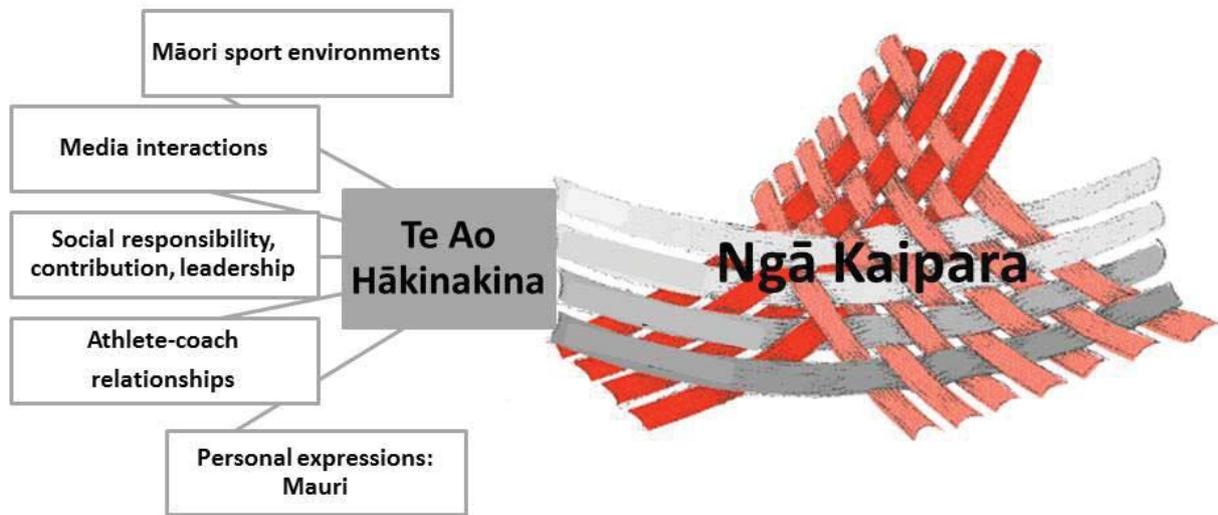
Learn a little bit more about the culture, so you can understand the person a little more. Find out how they pray. There's different stuff about the culture, and to understand the culture a little more you must understand the person a little more. I'm not saying to practice the culture, but I'm saying try to learn about it. (p. 136)

Whether non-Māori coaching and management staff choose to accept this challenge will provide fruitful avenues for further research and practice. In an earlier publication Schinke et al., (2006) reported that when attempts were made by non-Aboriginal athletes, coaching and management staff to understand their cultural differences, close long-term relationships followed (p. 445), that this research argues would encourage and enhance inter-cultural relations and healthier identity among many ethnic groups including Māori (see also Schinke et al., 2010).

6.7 CHAPTER DISCUSSION

An analysis of the themes extrapolated identify that participants' place considerable emphasis on Māori identity and role salience is a positive step to further understand how Māori athletes cope with their Māori identity in sport. This chapter provides the final element of the Te Whāriki Tuakiri referred to as Te Ao Hākinakina translated as the world of sport. Figure 5 (p. 256) displays how this concept is applied along with the themes described in this chapter:

Figure 5: Te Whāriki Tuakiri – Te Ao Hākinakina



The pūrākau generally highlight a positive perception of iwi and Māori tournament sporting environments (Mato, 2011; Moon, 2012; Thomas & Dyall, 1999). Most recently there has seen a shift towards the construction of autonomous Māori sporting organisations that are loosely based on whānau, marae and iwi structures. Some participant's reveal the challenges they face in regards to their lack of knowledge of cultural rituals and practices. This was also prevalent given the sense of awkwardness of not being able to speak the Māori language in addressing the public via media interviews, indicating again how their Māori identity is influenced by how they infer the perceptions of Māori and non-Māori audiences. While such negative perceptions of their 'Māoriness' may be largely imagined by Māori athletes, those imaginings expose how they negotiate their Māori identity performance to align to the perceptions of others. A coping mechanism they employ is to 'make-up' for their lack of Māori cultural knowledge and te reo Māori competency using and referring to their athletic

status and ability to preserve the esteem of Māori around them and maintain favour by ‘others’ (the public/audience) (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2007b). Such coping strategies may lead to the role of athlete superseding Māori identity albeit to negotiate the internal tension that exists.

The pūrākau also clarify that for some of the participants ethnicity of the coach is an irrelevant component in encouraging a positive athlete-coach relationship. Several Māori athlete pūrākau however did reveal that ethnic identity of the athlete and the coach can affect the manner in which interpersonal constructs such as closeness, commitment, complementarity, and co-orientation are experienced in the athlete-coach relationship (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013; Jowett & Frost, 2007; Thomas & Dyll, 1999). Consequently, more research into the context of the coach-athlete relationship, and coaching and ethnicity more generally, is important especially now that more Māori are appearing on the global stage of elite sport participation.

In another theme participant’s reveal how social responsibility and the obligation to contribute and contemporary leadership explicate personal understandings of their Māori identity. Participant pūrākau described an inherent responsibility to give-back to their iwi, even though the athletes may never formally be requested that they do so. It may be that Māori athletes have an implicit level of accountability that triggers an intrinsic motivation to commit to contributing based purely on tūrangawaewae and whakapapa that may differ to non-Māori athletes (Te Rito, 2006). Furthermore, while national representation is an extremely important factor in the life of a Māori athlete, they highlight that the ethic of social responsibility and contribution ‘back’ to those

who gave them support provides the time and impetus to consider their links to home, both tūrangawaewae and whakapapa.

The final theme identified examples of the private traditional rituals and cultural practices of Māori athletes divulging that a deep personal knowledge is a dynamic and integral component of their Māori identity - their mauri. This component may be 'invisible' in the public realm of mainstream elite sport, but through their pūrākau, that mauri and knowledge becomes partially visible. The examples that Māori athletes provide of the methods they employ exposes that a connection to tikanga and values, especially to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, in elite sport competition does exist and is an important outlet for self-expression, wellbeing and pride (Erueti & Palmer, 2013; Erueti, 2014).

UPOKO TUAWHITU: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Sport is an essential component of our national identity (Edwards, 2007; Leberman et al., 2012). Ever since it was first introduced to Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori have participated, shared and contributed to its development (Hokowhitu, 2007; Palmer, 2007b). When Aotearoa New Zealand began competing on the international sporting stage, Māori were present especially within the sports of rugby and netball. Consequently, Māori have become an increasingly integral feature of elite sport within the contemporary sporting landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand (Hippolite, 2008; Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; Hodge & Hermansson, 2007; Palmer, 2007b; Wrathall, 1996). This research was initiated because having competed in elite sport and reflecting on my experiences, along with my current perceptions of Māori identity and the limited research available in the area provided inspired me to explore how Māori athletes make sense of their Māori identity within elite sport. As a result, the following primary research question was formulated:

“How do Māori athletes experience, interpret and negotiate their Māori identity while competing in elite sport?”

The literature of Māori identity from a socio-historical perspective has been well documented (Durie, 1995; King, 1991; 1997; 2003; Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990; 2001). However, sport studies that have considered the perspective of Māori athletes

in elite sport is relatively limited and dated. For instance, current statistics of Māori elite athlete participation in sport remains scarce with only a few reports and anecdotal commentaries produced (Hokowhitu et al., 2008; Palmer, 2007; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005). As such, we have at best, a partial understanding of the connections between Māori and sport in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Watson, 2007). It is evident that the few studies investigating Māori sport suggest that much more analysis is required in order to have a more complete and critical understanding of the relationship.

Regardless of the limited academic literature, it made sense to adopt a stance that combined te ao Māori and te ao hākinakina to respond to that gap. To encourage te ao Māori, the values and qualitative research systems inherent in Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) (Smith, 1997) sustained the epistemological stance that Māori research be conducted by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. Identifying the core social relationships where elite sport and Māori identity converge and the tensions that may exist at that intersection necessitated a sensitive approach that would capture participant's personal experiences as elite athletes who identified as Māori. A method referred to as pūrākau (Cherrington, 2002; Lee, 2009; Wirihana, 2012) was selected to collect participant's interpretations of these experiences. A metaphorical depiction of the research process labelled *Te Poutama Rangahau* (refer to Figure 2) demonstrated how Kaupapa Māori Theory and pūrākau together nurtured the aforementioned research imperative and associated objectives (see Upoko Kotahi).

7.2 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

A contemporary definition of Māori identity was adopted that diverged from relying solely on traditional elements and static parameters of cultural behaviours (Durie et al., 1997), as “many [Māori] weren't raised as Māori, but can still learn and can still be Māori” (Cram, 1994 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p.57). Consideration was given to the historical, social and political influences of ethnicity within the wider social-construction of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Despite the influences of dominant ideologies that tended to see Māori identity as deficit and/or inferior, participants were able to articulate their personal interpretations of Māori identity through the concepts of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa.

A connection with whānau, hapū, iwi and geographic locations and landmarks (Andres, 2011) continue to play a part in how Māori athletes configure and create meaning of their Māori identity. This exemplified that there is cultural value and fulfilment from continued links with iwi, hapū and whānau (Nikora, 2007). Several participants' pūrākau however indicated that they had a geographical disconnection from their origins in culture and physical location (Hoskins, 2007), yet they maintained links to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa in other ways, such as inter-generational sharing of knowledge and exchanging of taonga. This suggests that a holistic investigation of Māori identity can illustrate that 'knowing' Māori identity can be propagated as a cognitive and spiritual connection, as well as a physical connection. Therefore, despite some participant's experiencing a loss of 'ways-of-old', Māori identity can maintain meaning for Māori athletes in the modern and post-modern world.

Despite all participant's being able to express links to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, some recalled feelings of 'embarrassment', 'remorse' and 'sadness', given that they were unable to exhibit some of the Māori cultural behaviours, such as speaking te reo Māori, they associated with authentic Māori identity. Additionally, some participant pūrākau describe that they were unable to readily access links to Māori cultural knowledge given that many stated that Māori things were not a part of their upbringing. Although te reo Māori had not been a priority for the majority of the participants it was perceived as a key element significant to their Māori identity (Durie, 1998a, 2005). The impact of language cessation strategies and ideologies, especially in educational institutions that perceived te reo Māori as unimportant has had a negative inter-generational impact on the retention of Māori language, which may have ongoing implications for Māori identity and how it is perceived (Durie, 1996 cited in Hoskins, 2007).

Nevertheless, several participants were able to maintain a positive amalgamation of their Māori identity and elite sport participation. This was largely due to their formative years of education where te reo Māori was encouraged emphasising that learning te reo Māori or participating in traditional Māori cultural behaviours during their upbringing (such as kapahaka, karakia, waiata or visits to their marae) was significant in the way they created meaning of their Māori identity (Houkamau, 2006). In the end, participant pūrākau highlight the more problematic issue that, not all Māori share all of the so-called traditional elements associated with Māori identity reinforcing that 'being' and 'acting' Māori are not necessarily essential elements of Māori identity for Māori athletes.

Several participants also shared that engagement with te ao Māori has been motivated by inter-generational learning. That is, for some participants the reconnection and investigations into whakapapa by one or both of their parents has provided them with opportunities to explore and understand their Māori identity. Similarly, Māori athletes promote and encourage Māori identity for their children, stressing that whakapapa is not only a foundational concept in inspiring Māori identity, but can act as a powerful motivator in intergenerational transmission of mātauranga Māori. As such, for some of my participants their experience of Māori identity continues to unfold, for their parents, for them personally and for their children.

Distinctive challenges Māori athletes face with respect to their Māori identity when participating in elite sport

Participant's expressed dissonance and apprehension regarding their Māori identity perhaps as a result of intergenerational assimilation (Houkamau, 2006). Certainly, some discussed their Māori identity with respect to their elite sport participation in several ways; hierarchical, integrated and/or incidental. All of which describe Māori identity as a relegated feature, and therefore privileging elite sport participation and their identity as an elite athlete. The explicit acknowledgement of prioritising their athlete identity, while apologising or minimising their Māori identity was shared through expressions of embarrassment, vulnerability and acute awareness of being subjected by themselves and others to what they 'should be' to be considered Māori by their peers, coaching or management staff (Hirini & Flett, 1999) and media/public audiences. Accordingly, some of the participants implied that they suffered a degree of loss when perceived to be labelled by others and by self as inauthentic. Although

this was the case for some Māori athletes, some other participant's interpreted their Māori identity as a meaningful feature while participating in elite sport.

Analyses of Māori athletes' participating in the Olympic/Commonwealth environs in particular highlight how Māori knowledge adds to their sporting experience. Indeed the integration of intangible and tangible elements of mātauranga Māori were valued by Māori athletes because they allow diverse athletes to connect to one another to satisfy both differentiation between both athletes and sport, and inclusion (national) needs (Edwards, 2007; Erueti & Palmer, 2012; Erueti, 2014).

The analyses also highlighted that in the context of the Olympic and Commonwealth Games a high level of mutual respect was necessary between the NZOC and ngā kaitiaki (Māori proprietors) of the knowledge being sought. Furthermore, mātauranga Māori has been utilised by specific national sporting teams resulting in athletes experiencing 'kaupapa whānau', while competing within elite sport (Erueti, 2014; Hodge & Hermansson, 2007; Palmer & Erueti, 2012) allowing for a positive amalgamation of Māori identity and participation in elite sport. A unique aspect of some Māori athlete pūrākau revealed the private tikanga rituals and cultural practices they employed that connected them to home and whānau. Illustrating that personal expressions of Māori culture while participating in elite sport can co-exist (Erueti & Palmer, 2013; Erueti, 2014).

Māori athletes, who attended iwi and Māori tournament sporting environments, emphasised the predominantly positive experience of Māori identity in these contexts (Mato, 2011; Moon, 2012; Thomas & Dyllal, 1999). However, they also revealed the

challenges they face when their lack of knowledge of Māori cultural rituals and practices is exposed or are at risk of being exposed in these settings where a Māori worldview is dominant. These feelings of awkwardness and uncomfortableness are also apparent when using te reo Māori when addressing the public via media interviews. While such perceptions may be largely imagined or implied by Māori athletes, those feelings highlight how they internalise their Māori identity and more importantly how they negotiate and try to manage the perceptions of others. A strategy they used to diffuse those negative feelings included focussing or privileging their athletic status and their ability to preserve their mana (esteem) with those around them (Hokowhitu, 2003b; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Palmer, 2007).

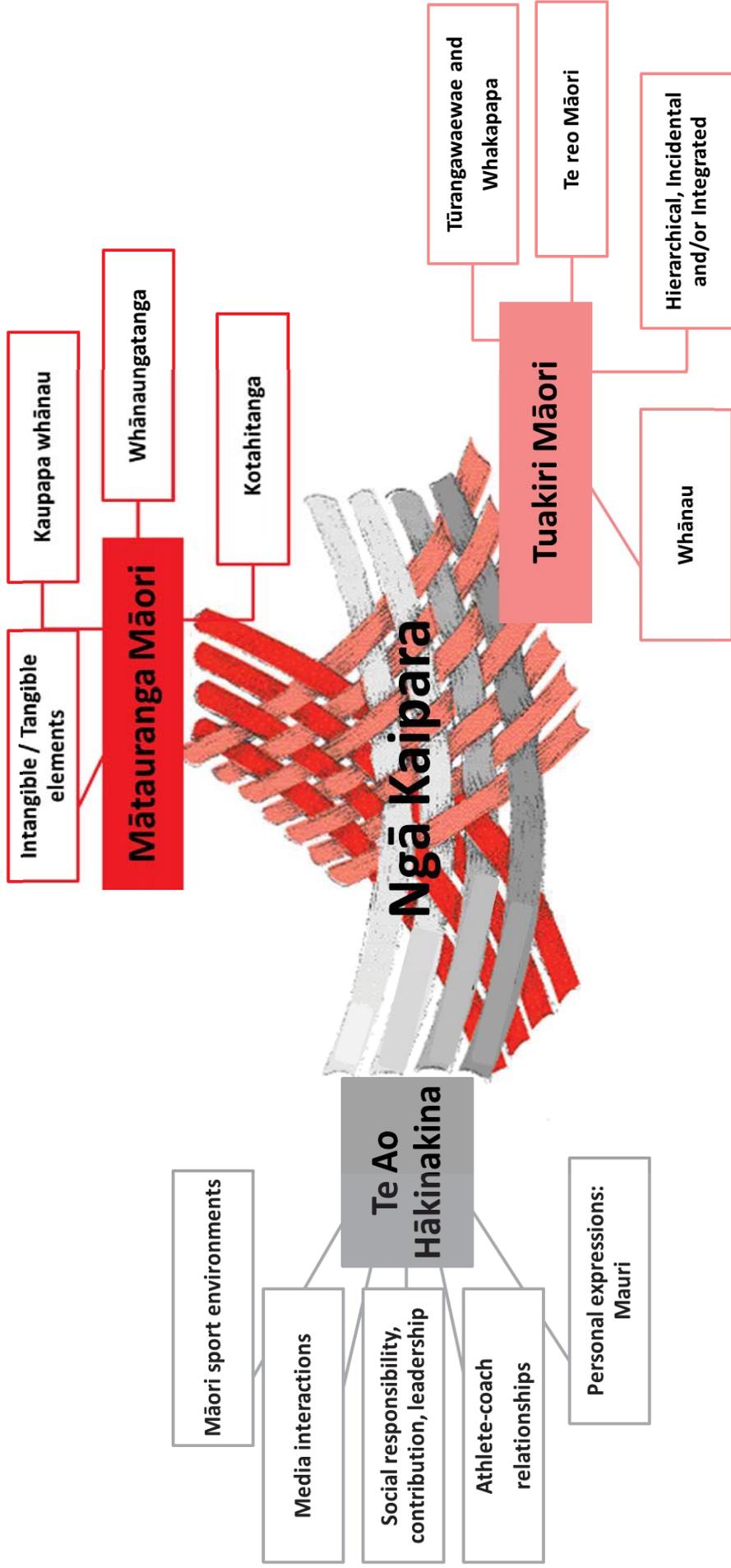
For some participants the ethnicity of the coach was an irrelevant component in encouraging a positive athlete-coach relationship, especially when the coach is aware of the role Māori culture plays in their lives, and they show an appreciation for the athlete as a person rather than as an object. However, several Māori athlete pūrākau reveal that similar ethnic identity is a pertinent and important component of the athlete-coach relationship (Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; 2013; Thomas & Dyll, 1999; Wrathall, 1996) because they perceived that there was a shared understanding of cultural expectations and values, as well as empathy for what they were experiencing as Māori in an elite sport context.

Māori athletes indicated how social responsibility and servant leadership assist with their personal understandings of Māori identity (Te Rito, 2006). Participant pūrākau described an inherent responsibility to reciprocate and give back to the groups who contributed to their development. These acts of social responsibility and contribution

also afforded Māori athletes an opportunity to strengthen and maintain links to tūrangawaewae and whakapapa – to home.

To highlight the differing components of their pūrākau, a metaphorical depiction and intersection of their identities and experiences in the form of a whāriki; a woven mat was useful. In traditional Māori raranga (weaving) processes, master weavers ensure that each of the strands must be skilfully interwoven to serve its purpose. In this sense the way in which the strands intersect play a vital role in maintaining the integrity of the whāriki and its shape. I refer to this model as ‘Te Whāriki Tuakiri: the identity mat’ (see following p. 267) to show the convergence of the major influences discussed in this research to illustrate how ‘Ngā Kaipara’ - Māori athletes, create meaning of their Māori identity in elite sport.

Figure 6: Te Whāriki Tuakiri: The identity mat



7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Providing Māori athletes with an opportunity to respond to the queries Ko wai koe? Na wai koe? No hea koe? (Sharples, 2012) through the pūrākau approach has reassured that this traditional form of Māori identity query has proved a worthwhile method in order to give voice to the sense-making process Māori athletes express to understand their Māori identity in local, national and global sporting environments. Utilising similar Indigenous story-telling methods in studies involving Māori and other Indigenous peoples could help to understand how Māori and Indigenous identity are shaped, negotiated and expressed in a variety of contemporary sport contexts.

Māori social constructs of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa provide a sensitive and holistic comprehension of the fluctuating nature of Māori identity and how Māori athletes come to understand their cultural identity within elite sport. Indeed the pūrākau reveal a relationship with land and ancestry that embraces spiritual and kinship bonds between people, the physical realities of nature, and for some a supernatural world as descendants (Royal, 2009). As such, studies that aim to illuminate Māori identity may benefit from the application of tūrangawaewae and whakapapa, providing yet another strategy with which to describe how Māori create meaning of their Māori identity in contemporary contexts. The 'Te Whāriki Tuakiri' model may also be useful for sport administrators, managers and coaches to engage in dialogue with Māori athletes about how sport participation and Māori identity could be more effectively weaved together so that the holistic wellbeing of Māori individually and collectively is considered

The use of mātauranga Māori within elite sporting contexts such as the Olympic/Commonwealth Games events and national sporting teams, demonstrate how the integration of these cultural practices in to elite sport requires further scholarly discussion and analyses. For researchers interested in this interface it is a time of invigoration given that the pūrākau exemplify the positive nature of mātauranga Māori for Māori, as well as for the nation and commercial stakeholders. Appropriated Māori cultural elements if implemented in a culturally sensitive way assist in diminishing the tension where Māori identity and elite sport participation intersect. Gaining a broader understanding of mātauranga Māori in sporting contexts by exploring the perceptions of others (coaches, managers), the media, and a Māori audience may help understand how the inclusion of mātauranga Māori does or does not assist Māori aspirations in and out of sport with regards to health, wellbeing, economic prosperity as well as cultural development and achievement.

Studies that embrace alternative stories and capture the perception and experience of both Māori and non-Māori athletes and also coaching and management staff who are involved in international sport have considerable merit. In collating these alternative stories the following questions are suggested to assist with understanding the ethical or ‘tika’ application of mātauranga Māori in sport:

1. who has helped define the Māori knowledge being utilised?
2. for whom is this Māori knowledge worthy and relevant? Who says so?
3. which group will be the one to gain from this Māori knowledge?
4. to whom are the bearers and executors of this Māori knowledge accountable?
5. who will gain most from the outcomes of applying this Māori knowledge?

(Adapted from Smith, 1991, p. 51)

These questions have been adapted from Smith's (1991) queries regarding Māori research ethicality. Adjusting them to the field of Māori participation in elite sport makes sense in respect to the ethicality that considers how mātauranga Māori can be integrated into sport without harming Māori. These queries also encourage the decision-makers and power-brokers in sport to determine how their beliefs and motives for including mātauranga Māori in sport may impact on sporting organisations, teams, and both Māori and non-Māori athletes.

The implementation of mātauranga Māori in sport has also demonstrated a positive strategy with which to generate unity and a positive sense of belonging termed as kaupapa whānau. Although this research has documented that kaupapa whānau currently exists within some elite sporting contexts there is a need to research what the implications are for those involved in elite sport and where and/or when the application of kaupapa whānau is being considered. Research that explore this could continue to highlight how such practices impact on those involved, as well as notions of exploitation and misappropriation of cultural knowledge subsist. Such future investigations may also contribute in describing the diversity of Māori identity that exists bringing to the fore additional theoretical frameworks, similar to the depiction of 'Te Whariki Tuakiri' and clarify how mātauranga Māori could move beyond task-related processes.

From a functionalist perspective research into the context of the ethnicity-coaching interface is important especially now that more Māori, Pasifika and ethnically diverse athletes are appearing on the global stage of elite sport for New Zealand. From the perspective of encouraging cultural diversity and/or Indigenous rights in sport settings, understanding the reciprocal (and perhaps detrimental) effects of the athlete-coach relationship in relation to ethnicity and race may provide greater comprehension, consciousness and conceptualisation of Māori identity in a sporting context. Longitudinal studies of the athlete-coach diad in relation to race and ethnicity starting at the school and club level, could provide useful knowledge of these constructs and how this impacts on both parties in their career development, career satisfaction, and holistic wellbeing. More specifically, what role do those in coaching, management, administration and governance play in encouraging Māori identity and aspirations as well as positive experiences for Māori athletes? This research did not explore these intersection or context and acknowledges that only the perspective of the Māori athletes informed the exploration of the impact that elite sport has on Māori identity and vice versa.

Further research would determine whether coaches, managers, sport psychologists, agents and administrator's engage in culturally sensitive behaviours that consider Māori athlete identity as a valued and multi-dimensional construct. The benefits would not only occur for sport organisation, teams or athletes but also for te ao Māori. A possible research direction could involve an exploration of athletes' and coaches' perceptions and experiences of Māori identity and culture in sport settings or contexts where Māori participation is more (or less) visible. For instance investigation into Māori identity and culture in specific sport contexts, for instance Rugby Super XV

franchises (see Hapeta & Palmer, 2014) would provide a valuable insight into the interpersonal athlete-coach dynamics and allow for the exploration of wider implications.

Finally, parameters of research that highlight how opportunities for Māori athletes to demonstrate social responsibility and leadership (Te Rito, 2006) may contribute in creating a stronger support structures for Māori athletes pursuing elite sport in the future (see Stronach, 2012). Additionally, investigating opportunities for Māori identity and elite sport identity to intersect seamlessly could also assist in developing overall well-being and advancement for Māori athletes in a way that benefits them as individuals as well as their team, sport and community (whānau, iwi, hapū and Māori) collectively.

In summary, I have really enjoyed my PhD journey. The topic has resonated with me since its inception, which occurred in two very memorable separate discussions with each of my supervisors who suggested that my topic could encourage an act of self-discovery - and it has. Engaging in my own pūrākau helped me realise that sport has built its own ideologies, creating margins that can be used to justify inequality and to defend privilege. Elite sport, despite its limitations, also has the potential to create possibilities of new privileges in contrast to those created by the legacy of colonisation. Although, sport has served those purposes as well, this research argues that it can also be a tool for cultural regeneration and wellbeing.

Collecting the pūrākau of Māori athletes to reveal their past and current interpretations of participating in elite sport has provided valuable insights into those possibilities

largely unexplored in the field of sports studies in Aotearoa New Zealand. It also suggests that coaches, managers and administrators can assist in managing the challenges Māori athletes may face in the formation of contemporary Māori identities, while participating in sport. As such, this research has not only contributed to the gap in the previous literature, but provided insights into the pragmatic solutions in understanding Māori athlete negotiation, interpretations and tensions of Māori identity within the realms of te ao Māori and te ao Hākinakina.

Participant pūrākau have clarified that Māori identity change and adaptation is not about losing one's identity, nor letting go of the identities that they have become socially accustomed to in elite sport but to realise instead, it is about creating new spaces within their unfolding Māori identity for both to co-exist. That is, this research went about seeking an understanding that sport can encourage Māori identity without being detrimental to the emotional state nor detract from the sport performance goals of Māori athletes and their teams. There is much to learn from their pūrākau and the pūrākau of other Māori athletes supplying fertile grounds for the future encouragement and sustenance for Māori athletes participating in elite sport. It was this central idea that provided the inspiration for this study. I hope that it will have the desired impact on those Māori athletes who are seeking to attain similar success in elite sport as Māori.

REFERENCES

- Adair, D., & Stronach, M. (2011). Natural born athletes? Australian Indigenous people and the double-edged lure of professional sport. In K. Spracklen, & J. Long (Eds.), *Sport and challenges to racism* (pp. 117-134). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Allen, M. W. (1994). Warfare and economic power in simple chiefdoms. MI: University Microfilms International.
- Anaru, N. A. (2011). *A critical analysis of the impact of colonisation on the Māori language through an examination of political theory*. Unpublished masters thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Andres, U. P. (2011). *Return migration and Māori identity in a Northland community*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Auckland, , Auckland, New Zealand.
- Awatere, D. (1984). *Māori sovereignty*. Auckland, NZ: Broadsheet Publications.
- Ballara, A. (1986). *Proud to be white? A survey of Pākehā prejudice in New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Heinemann.
- Barrington, J. (1988). Learning the "Dignity of Labour": Secondary education policy for Māoris. *New Zealand Journal of Education Studies*, 23(1), 45-58.
- Beaglehole, E., & Beaglehole, P. (1946). *Some modern Māoris*. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Beaglehole, E., & Ritchie, J. E. (1958). The rakau Māori studies. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 67(2), 132-154.
- Bearup, G. (2007). In a league of their own, *The Age: Good Weekend Magazine*, pp. 31-33, 19 May.

- Bergin, P. (2002). Māori sport and cultural identity in Australia. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 13(3), 257-269.
- Best, E. (1925). *Games and pastimes of the Māori: An account of the various exercises, games and pastimes of the natives of New Zealand, as practised in former times, including some information concerning their vocal and instrumental music*. Wellington, NZ: The Board of Māori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum.
- Bevan-Brown, J. (2002). *Culturally appropriate effective provision for Māori learners with special needs: He waka tino whakarawea*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand
- Binney, J. (2005). *The legacy of guilt: A life of Thomas Kendall*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.
- Binney, J., Chaplin, G., & Wallace, C. (1979). *Mihaia: The prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu*. Wellington, NZ: Oxford University Press.
- Bishop, R. (1994). Initiating empowering research? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 29, 175-176.
- Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories*. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.
- Bonnes, M., & Secchiaroli, G. (1995). *Environmental psychology: A psychosocial introduction*. London: Sage.
- Boock, R. (2008). She'll be white bro. Retrieved June 14, 2014 from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/rugby/669492/i-She-ll-be-white-bro-i>

- Borell, B. (2005). *Living in the city ain't so bad: Cultural diversity of South Auckland rangatahi*. Unpublished masters thesis. Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Bouma, G. D. (Ed.). (2000). *The research process* (4th ed.). Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Brant, R., Forsyth, J., Horn-Miller, W., Loutitt, J., Sinclair, C., & Smith, M., et al. (2002). North American Indigenous games sport research panel. In R. Brant, & J. Forsyth (Eds.), *2002 North American Indigenous Games Conference Proceedings* (pp. 67-70). Winnipeg, CA: University of Manitoba Press.
- Brekhus, W. H. (2008). Trends in the qualitative study of social identities. *Sociology Compass* 2(3), 1059-1078.
- Broughton, J. (1993). Being Māori. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 106(968), 506-508.
- Bruce, T., Falcoux, M., & Thorpe, H. (2007). The mass, media and sport. In C. Collins, & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society* (2nd ed.) (pp. 147–169). Auckland, NZ: Thomson.
- Bruce, T., & Hallinan, C. (2001). Cathy Freeman: The quest for Australian identity. In D. Andrews, & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sports stars: The cultural politics of sporting celebrity* (pp. 257-270). London: Routledge.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Buck, P. (1958). *The coming of Māori*. Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- Burns, R. B. (1997). *Introduction to research methods*. Melbourne, Australia: Longman.
- Castree, N. (2004). Differential geographies: place, Indigenous rights and 'local' resources. *Political Geography*, 23(2), 133-167.

- Cherrington, L. (2002). *The use of Māori mythology in clinical settings: Training issues and needs*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the national Māori graduates of Psychology symposium 2002: Making a difference, 29-30 November 2002, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Chuang, P. C. (2014). Double play: An analysis of the sporting practice of Taiwanese professional baseball players. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science*, 3(1), 64-77. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21640599.2014.893713>
- Clandinin, J., & Rosiek, J. (2007). Mapping a landscape of narrative inquiry: Borderland spaces and tensions. In J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping Methodology* (pp. 35- 75). Thousand Islands/London/New Delhi: Sage.
- Coakley, J., Hallinan, C., & McDonald, B. (Eds.). (2013). *Sport in society 2: Sociological issues and controversies*. North Ryde, NSW: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Cohler, B. J. (1982). Personal narrative and life course. *Life-Span Development and Behaviour*, 4, 205-241.
- Collins, H. (1999). Ngā tangata awarua: The joys and pain of being both Māori and Pakeha. In R. Selby, & A. Laurie (Eds.), *Māori and oral history: A collection* (pp. 83-88). Wellington, NZ: National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ).
- Constitutional Advisory Panel. (2013). *New Zealand's constitution: A report on a conversation*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Justice.

- Coram, S. (2004). *The relevance of Indigenous role model policy utilising elite Indigenous athletes to Indigenous education policy*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Faculty of Education, Monash University, Clayton.
- Coram, S. (2007). Race formations (evolutionary hegemony) and the ‘aping’ of the Australian Indigenous athlete. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport Journal* 42(4), 391-409.
- Cross, T. L., Bazron, B. J., Dennis, K. W., & Isaacs, M. R. (1989). *Towards a culturally competent system of care: A monograph of effective services for minority children who are severely emotionally disturbed*. Washington, DC: Gearogetown University Child Development Centre.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Cuba, L., & Hummon, D. M. (1993). A place to call home: Identification with dwelling, community and region. *Sociological Quarterly*, 11, 111-131.
- Davidson, J. (1984). *The prehistory of New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Longman Paul.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York University: NYU Press.
- Denscombe, M. (2003). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects. Second edition*. Maidenhead, Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Denzin, N. K. (1997). Biographical research methods. In L. J. Saha (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the sociology of education* (pp. 282-288). Oxford: Pergamon.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Doherty, W. (2014). Enhancing mātauranga Māori and global Indigenous knowledge. In T. Black, H. Murphy, C. Buchanan, W. Nuku, & B. Ngaia (Eds.). Wellington, NZ: Haemata Ltd/New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA).
- Dunbar, C. (2008). Critical race theory and Indigenous methodologies. In N. N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp. 85-99). London: Sage.
- Duncan, G. A. (2006). Critical race ethnography in education: Narrative, inequality, and the problem of epistemology. In A. D. Dixson, & C. K. Rousseau (Eds.), *Critical race theory in education: All God's children got a song* (pp. 191-212). New York/London: Routledge.
- Durie, M. H. (1998a). *Whaiora : Māori health development* (2nd ed.). Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2005). *Ngā tai matatu: Tides of Māori endurance*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1998b). *Te Mana te Kawanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H., Allan, G. R., Cunningham, C. W., Edwards, W., Forster, M. E., Gillies, A., . . . Waldon, J. A. (1997). *Oranga kaumatua: The health and wellbeing of older Māori people. Report for the Ministry of Health and Te Puni Kokiri*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Māori Development.

- Durie, M. H., Black, T. E., Christensen, I. S., Durie, A. E., Fitzgerald, E. D., & Taiapa, J. T. (1995). Te Hoe Nuku Roa framework: A Māori identity measure. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *104*, 461-447.
- Edwards, M. (1992). *Mihipeka: Time of turmoil - Ngā wa raruraru*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin.
- Edwards, M. (2007). Sport and identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In C. Collins, & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society* (pp. 170-189). Rosedale, Albany, NZ: Thomson.
- Edwards, S. (1999). *Hokia ki ngā maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau o Tāwhiri-mātea: Māori identity reclamation: Empowerment through identity*. Unpublished masters thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical underpinnings of kaupapa Māori directed practice. *MAI Review*, *1*(Target Article), 1-11.
- Elder, C., Pratt, A., & Ellis, C. (2006). Running race: Reconciliation, nationalism and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *41*(2), 181-200.
- Elliott, H. (2012). Chiefs inspired by Māori warrior heritage. Retrieved 26 September, 2014 from TV3 News: <http://www.3news.co.nz/sport/chiefs-inspired-by-Māori-warrior-heritage-2013020619#axzz3Ncp6067q>
- Erueti, B. (2014). Mātauranga Māori at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. *MAI Journal*, *3*(1), 60-73.
- Erueti, B., & Palmer, F. (2013). Te Whariki Tuakiri (the identity mat): Māori elite athletes and the expression of ethno-cultural identity in global sport. *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, p. 1-15. doi:10.1080/17430437.2013.838351

- Fenton, S. (1999). *Ethnicity: Racism, class and culture*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Firth, R. (1929). *Economics of the New Zealand Māori. First edition*. Wellington, NZ: A. R. Shearer/Government Printer.
- Gardiner, G. (1997). Racial abuse and football: The Australian football league's racial vilification rule in review. *Sporting Traditions*, 14(1), 3-25.
- Gardiner, G. (2003a). 'Black' bodies - 'white' codes: Indigenous footballers, racism and the Australian football League's racial and religious vilification code. In J. Bale, & M. Cronin (Eds.), *Sport and Postcolonialism* (pp. 29-44). London: Berg.
- Gardiner, G. (2003b). Running for country: Australian print media representation of Indigenous athletes in the 27th Olympiad. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 27(3), 233-260.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The Interpretation of Cultures* (pp. 412-453). New York: Basic Books.
- Glover, M. (1993). *Māori women's experience of male partner violence: Seven case studies*. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Gorman, S. E. (2005). *Brotherboys : The story of Jim and Phillip Krakouer*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Grace, P., Ramsden, I., & Dennis, J. (2001). *The silent migration: Ngati Poneke young Māori club 1937-1948*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers.
- Grainger, A. D. (2008). *The browning of the All Blacks: Pacific peoples, rugby, and the cultural politics of identity in New Zealand*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

- Green, A. E. (2006). *New Zealand migrants to Australia: Social construction of migrant identity*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bond University, Sydney, Australia.
- Hallinan, C., Bruce, T., & Burke, M. (2005). Fresh prince of colonial dome: Indigenous logic in the AFL. *Football Studies*, 8(1), 68-78.
- Hallinan, C., Bruce, T., & Coram, S. (1999). Up front and beyond the centre line: Australian Aborigines in elite Australian Rules Football. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 34(4), 369-382.
- Hallinan, C., & Judd, B. (2007). 'Blackfellas' basketball: Aboriginal identity and Anglo-Australian race relations in regional basketball. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24, 421-436.
- Hallinan, C., & Judd, B. (2009). Changes in assumptions about Australian Indigenous footballers: From exclusion to enlightenment. *Sport in Society*, 12(9), 1220-1235.
- Hanrahan, S. J. (2004). Sport psychology and Indigenous performing arts. *The Sport Psychologist*, 18, 60-74.
- Hapeta, J., & Palmer, F. (2014). Māori culture counts: A case study of the Waikato Chiefs. In T. Black, H. Murphy, C. Buchanan, W. Nuku, & B. Ngaia (Eds.), *Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge*. Wellington, NZ: Haemata Ltd/New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA).
- Harbour Sport. (2006). 2006 Winners. Retrieved June 20, 2012, from <http://www.harboursport.co.nz/News+&+Events/Events/Sporting+Excellence+Awards/2006+Winners.html>
- Harris, A. (2004). *Hikoi: Forty years of Māori protest*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers Aotearoa.

- Harris, B. (1989). *The proud champions: Australian Aboriginal sporting heroes*. NSW: Little Hills Press.
- Hartley, J. (2002). Black, white ... and red? The Redfern All Blacks Rugby League club in the early 1960s. *Labour History Compass*, 83.
- Hay, R. (1998). A rooted sense of place in cross-cultural perspective. *The Canadian Geographer*, 42(3), 245-247.
- Hayward, E. (2006). *No free kicks: Family, community and football*. Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
- Hermansson, G. (26 October 2014). Massey University Blues Sports Awards address. The Sport and Rugby Institute, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Hess, R., Nicholson, M., Stewart, B., & De Moore, G. (2008). *A national game: The history of Australian Rules Football*. Melbourne: Viking.
- Hippolite, H. R. (2008). Towards an equal playing field: Racism and Māori women in Sport. *MAI Review*, 1, *Intern Research Report 3*, 1-12.
- Hippolite, R. H., & Bruce, T. (2013). Towards cultural competence: How incorporating Māori values could benefit New Zealand sport. In C. Hallinan, & B. Judd (Eds.), *Native games: Indigenous peoples and sport in the post-colonial world* (Vol. 7, pp. 85-106). Bingley, WA, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.
- Hippolite, R. H., & Bruce, T. (2010). Speaking the unspoken: Racism, sport and Māori. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 2(2), 23-45.
- Hirini, P., & Flett, R. (1999). Aspects of the Māori All Black experience: The value of cultural capital in the new professional era. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 5(1), 18-24.

- Hodge, K., & Hermansson, G. (2007). Psychological preparation of athletes for the Olympic context: The New Zealand Summer and Winter Olympic Teams. *Athletic Insight. The Online Journal of Sport Psychology*, 9(4), 1-4.
- Hohepa, M., & Jenkins, K. (2004). *Raising Māori students' achievement in Te Tai Tokerau: A summary of the evaluation of Te Putahitanga Matauranga*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Education.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2003a). Māori masculinity, post-structuralism, and the emerging self. *New Zealand Sociology*, 18, 179-201.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2003b). 'Physical beings': Stereotypes, sport and the 'physical education' of New Zealand Māori. *Culture, Sport and Society*, 6(2/3), 192-218; 331.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2003c). Race tactics: The racialised athletic body. *Junctures*, 1, 21-54.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2004). Tackling Māori masculinity: A colonial geneology of savagery and sport. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16(2), 259-284.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2005). Rugby and tino rangatiratanga: Early Māori rugby and the formation of Māori masculinity sporting traditions. *Journal of the Australian Society for Sports History*, 21(2), 75-95.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2007). Māori Sport: Pre-colonisation to today. In C. Collins, & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in New Zealand Society (2nd edition)* (pp. 78-95). Albany, NZ: Thomson.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2009). Māori rugby and subversion: Creativity, domestication, oppression and decolonization. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26(16), 1-21.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2010). A geneology of Indigenous resistance. In B. Hokowhitu, N. Kermoal, C. Andersen, A. Petersen, M. Reilly, Altamirano-Jimenez, & P. Rewi

- (Eds.), *Indigenous identity and resistance: Researching the diversity of knowledge*. (pp. 207-226). Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press.
- Hokowhitu, B., & Scherer, J. (2008). The Māori All Blacks and the decentering of the white subject: Hyperrace, sport, and the cultural logic of late capitalism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 25, 243-262.
- Hokowhitu, B., Sullivan, S. J., & Williams, L. T. (2008). Rugby culture, ethnicity and concussion. *MAI Review*, 3(1), 1-9.
- Holland, R. (2012). *Governance of New Zealand national sport organisations : Pasifika and Māori voices*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Department of Management, College of Business, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand
- Hoskins, J. (2007). Whānau transformation through tribal reconnection. *MAI Review*, 1, Intern Research Report 3, 1-8.
- Houkamau, C. A. (2006). *Identity and socio-historical context: Transformations and change among Māori women*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Howard, J. A. (2000). Social psychology of identities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 367-393.
- Howe, K. (2003). *The quest for origins*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin.
- Hubbard, A. (2006, January 15). *On the ball...always*. Sunday Star Times, Section C pp. 1-2.
- Jackson, M. (1987). *The Māori and the criminal justice system : A new perspective - He whaipanga hou*. Wellington, NZ: Policy and Research Division, Department of Justice.

- Jackson, M. (1993). Tino Rangatiratanga - or Agency. *Te Ao Marama. Regaining Aotearoa. Māori Writers Speak Out. Volume 2, He Whakaatanga o Te Ao. The Reality.*
- Jackson, S., Scherer, J., & Silk, M. (2007). Globalisation and sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In C. Collins, & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society (2nd ed.)* (pp. 130-146). Melbourne: Thomson Dunmore Press.
- Jackson, S. J., & Hokowhitu, B. (2002). Sport, tribes, and technology: The New Zealand All Blacks haka and the politics of identity. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 26(2), 125-139.
- Josselson, R. (1996). *Revising herself: The story of women's identity from college to midlife.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Josselson, R., & Lieblich, A. (1993). *The narrative study of lives. Vol. 1.* Newbury, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Jowett, S., & Frost, T. (2007). Race/ethnicity in the all male coach-athlete relationship: Black footballers narratives. *IJESP: West Virginia University*, 3, 255-269.
- King, M. (1977). *Te Pūea, a biography.* Auckland, NZ: Hodder and Stoughton.
- King, M. (1991). *Whina: A biography of Whina Cooper.* Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books.
- King, M. (2003). *The Penguin history of New Zealand.* Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books.
- Kirch, P. (2000). *On the road of the winds: An archaeological history of the Pacific islands before European contact.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Kiro, C. (2000). Māori research and the social services: Te puawaitanga o te tohu. *Te Komako- Social Work Review*, XII(4), 26-32.

- Kukutai, T. (2001). *Māori Identity and "Political Arithmetick": The dynamics of reporting ethnicity*. Unpublished masters thesis. Waikato University, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Lalli, M. (1992). Urban-related identity: Theory, measurement and empirical findings. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 12*, 285-303.
- Leberman, S., Collins, C., & Trenberth, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Sport business management in New Zealand and Australia*. South Melbourne, VIC: Cengage Learning Australia.
- Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as method. *MAI Review, 2*(3), 79-91.
- Liu, J. H., & Allen, M. W. (1999). The evolution of political complexity in Māori Hawke's Bay: Archaeological history and its challenge to intergroup theory in psychology. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 3*(1), 64-80.
- Liu, J. H., Stewart Wilson, M., McClure, J., & Higgins, T. (1999). Social identity and the perception of history: Cultural representations of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*(8), 1021-1047
- MacClancy, J. (Ed.). (1996). *Sport identity and ethnicity*. Oxford: Berg.
- MacDonald, F. (2005, November 27). *Tana's triumph signals payback time for the Pacific*. Sunday Star Times, Section C, p. 11.
- Magdalinski, T. (2000). The Reinvention of Australia for the 2000 Olympic Games,. *International Journal for the History of Sport, 17*(2 and 3), 305-322.
- Mahuika, A. (1992). Leadership: inherited and achieved. In M. King (Ed.), *Te ao hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga*. Auckland, NZ: Reed Books.
- Makereti. (1986). *The old-time Māori*, . Auckland, NZ: Women's Press Ltd.

- Malcouronne, P., & Gasteiger, A. (2011). *Our game*. Auckland, NZ: Kowahi Publishing/New Zealand Geographic.
- Māori Dictionary. (2010). Retrieved January 11, 2010 from www.Māoridictionary.co.nz
- Māori Dictionary Online. (2010). Retrieved January 11, 2010 from www.Māoridictionary.co.nz
- Mara, D. L. (2006). *Theories and narratives: Pacific women in tertiary education and the social construction of ethnic identities in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Marsden, M., & Royal, C. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Otaki, NZ: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.
- Matheson, J. (2001). So what's the white answer? *NZ Rugby World*, 47, 20-38.
- Mato, W. T. K. (2011). *Inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori*. Unpublished masters thesis. Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.
- McAdams, D. P. (1990). Unity and purpose in human lives: The emergence of identity as a life story. In A. I. Rabin, R. A. Zucker, R. A. Emmons, & S. Frank (Eds.), *Studying persons and lives* (pp. 148-200). New York: Springer.
- McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York: Morrow.
- McAdams, D. P. (2001). *The person: An integrated introduction to personality psychology (3rd ed.)*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt.
- McAdams, D. P. (2008). American identity: The redemptive self. *The General Psychologist*, 43(1), 20-27.

- McAdams, D. P. (2009). *The person: An introduction to the science of personality psychology (5th Ed.)*. New York: Wiley.
- McCan, D. (2001). *Whatiwhatihoe: The Waikato Raupatu claim*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers.
- McCreanor, T., Rankine, J., Moewaka Barnes, A., Borell, B., Nairn, R., Gregory, M., & Kaiwai, H. (2010). Māori sport and Māori in sport: Mass media representations and Pakeha discourse. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 6(3), 235-247.
- McLean, K. C., Pasupathi, M., & Pals, J. L. (2007). Selves creating stories creating selves: A process model of narrative self development in adolescence and adulthood. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11, 262-278.
- McLean, P. (1996/1997). Oral history and iwi development: A personal viewpoint. In R. Selby, & A. Laurie (Eds.), *Māori oral history: A collection (2005)* (pp. 19-22). Wellington, NZ: National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ).
- Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishing.
- Melbourne, H. (1995). *Māori sovereignty: The Māori perspective*. Auckland, NZ: Hodder Moa Beckett.
- Meredith, P. (2007). Urban Māori. In Te Ara - the encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved January 13 2010 from www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/urbanMāori/en.
- Metge, J. (1964). *A new Māori migration: Rural and urban relations in northern New Zealand*. London: University of London Athlone Press.

- Metge, J. (1976). *The Māoris of New Zealand : Rautahi*. London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Metge, J. (1990). Te rito o te harakeke: Conceptions of the whānau. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 99(1), 55-92.
- Metge, J. (1995a). *New growth from old: The whānau in the modern world*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.
- Metge, J. (1995b). *The whānau in modern society*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.
- Miles, M., & Huberman, M. A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mita, M. (2000). Storytelling: A process of decolonisation. In L. Pihama (Ed.), *The Journal of Puawaitanga. Special Issue: Indigenous Women and Representation* (pp. 7-9). Auckland, NZ: Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau.
- Moewaka Barnes, H. (2000). Collaboration in community action, a successful partnership between Indigenous communities and researchers. *Pacific Health Dialog*, 7, 13-17.
- Montoya, M. E. (2002). Celebrating racialised legal narratives. In F. Valdes, J. M. Culp, & H. A. P (Eds.), *Crossroads, directions and a new critical race theory* (pp. 243-250). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Moon, P. (2012). Links between Māori cultural well-being and participation in sports: A literature review *Te Kaharoa*, 5, 1-62.
- Moorfield, J. C. (2005). *Te aka : Māori-English, English-Māori dictionary and index*. Auckland, NZ: Pearson Longman.
- Morse, J. M., & Richards, L. (2002). *Read me first for a user's guide to qualitative methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Mulvaney, J., & Harcourt, R. (1988). *Cricket walkabout: The Australian Aborigines in England*. Melbourne: Macmillan.
- Mussel, G. (1998). Life histories. In G. S. C. Cassell (Ed.), *Qualitative methods and analysis in organizational research* (pp. 10-27). London: Sage.
- Mutu, M. (2010). Constitutional intentions: The treaty of Waitangi texts. In M. Mulholland, & V. Tawhai (Eds.), *Weeping waters: The treaty of Waitangi and constitutional change*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers
- Nadel, D. (1993). Aborigines and Australian football: The rise and fall of the Purnim Bears. *Sporting Traditions*, 9(2), 47-63.
- Neuman, L. W. (1991). *Social research methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- New Zealand Government: Te Kawangatanganga o Aotearoa. (2015). Office of treaty settlements. Retrieved June 30, 2015 from <https://www.govt.nz/organisations/office-of-treaty-settlements/>
- New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC). (2004). "One Team-One Spirit": The New Zealand Olympic team at Athens Retrieved 01 June, 2014, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qYXwqlsTYDc>
- Ngata, A. T. (1972). *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi Lectures and Ngati-Kahungunu origin. Second introductory address. [Reprint edition of original lectures from 1944]*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University.
- Nicholson, M., Hoye, R., & Gallant, D. (2011). The provision of social support for elite Indigenous athletes in Australian Football. *Journal of Sport Management*, 25, 131-142.
- Niezen, R. (2000). Recognizing indigenism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42(1), 119-148.

- Nikora, L. W. (2007). *Māori Social Identities in New Zealand and Hawai'i*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- NZ Herald. (2006). Grey hair, big pukus, but elders cut a dash. Retrieved June 20, 2012, from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/ruatoria/news/article.cfm?l_id=500530&objectid=10362365
- NZ Herald. (2007). Tuhoē head home for festival. Retrieved June 20, 2012, from <http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/411361/1052183>
- Orange, C. (1992). *The treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.
- Orange, C. (2004). *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books Limited.
- Palmer, F. R., & Adair, D. (2012). Chapter three: Indigeniety, race relations and sport management. In S. Leberman, C. Collins, & L. Trenberth (Eds.), *Sport Business Management in New Zealand and Australia* (pp. 54-80). South Melbourne, VIC: Cengage Learning Australia.
- Palmer, F. R. (2000). *Māori Girls, Power, Physical Education, Sport and Play: "Being Hungus, Hori and Hoha"*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Palmer, F. R. (2006a). Māori sport and its management. In S. Leberman, C. Collins, & L. Trenberth (Eds.), *Sport Business Management in Aotearoa/New Zealand (2nd ed.)* (pp. 62-88). Melbourne: Thomson Dunmore Press.
- Palmer, F. R. (2006b). State of Māori sport. In M. Mulholland (Ed.), *State of the Māori nation: Twenty-first century issues in Aotearoa* (pp. 261-275). Auckland, NZ: Reed.

- Palmer, F. R. (2007a). Body image, hauora and identity. *Childrenz Issues*, 11(2), 12-19.
- Palmer, F. R. (2007b). Treaty principles and Māori sport: Contemporary issues. In C. Collins, & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society (2nd ed.)* (pp. 307-334). Melbourne: Thomson Dunmore Press.
- Palmer, F. R. (2009). Tino rangatiratanga in sport. *Paper presented at the Manu Ao Seminar presentation, Massey University, Turitea Campus, Palmerston North.* Retrieved August 16, 2012, from <http://tur-media-db1.massey.ac.nz/mediasite/Viewer/?peid=d99e4492285a4bbb94ce4c7eb664e7c8>
- Palmer, F. R., & Masters, T. M. (2010). Māori feminism and sport leadership: Exploring Māori women's experiences. *Sport Management Review*, 13(4), 331-344.
- Paraschak, V. (1996). Racialized spaces: Cultural regulation, Aboriginal agency and powwows. *Avante*, 2, 7-18.
- Paraschak, V. (1997). Variations in race relations: Sporting events for native peoples in Canada. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14, 1-21.
- Paraschak, V. (1998). "Reasonable amusements": Connecting the strands of physical culture in native lives. *Sport History Review*, 29, 121-131.
- Paraschak, V. (2004). *Histories in the (un)making: Aboriginal sport histories and federal sport policy in Canada.* Paper presented at the The 32nd annual North American Society for Sport History (NASSH) Conference, May 28-31, Pacific Grove, California.

- Paraschak, V. (2007). Doing race, doing gender: First Nations, sport, and gender relations. In K. Young, & P. White (Eds.), *Sport and gender in Canada (2nd ed.)* (pp. 137-154). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paraschak, V. (2013). Hope and strength(s) through physical activity for Canada's Aboriginal peoples. In C. Hallinan, & B. Judd (Eds.), *Native games: Indigenous peoples and sport in the post-colonial world* (Vol. 7, pp. 229-246). Bingley, WA, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.
- Paraschak, V., & Tirone, S. (2014). Chapter 5: Ethnicity and race in Canadian sport. In J. Crossman, & J. Scherer (Eds.), *Social dimensions of Canadian sport and physical activity* (pp. 90-115). Toronto, CA: Pearson.
- Parliamentary Library. (2010). The Māori language selected events: 1800 - 2010. Retrieved 20 June, 2014 <http://www.parliament.nz/en-NZ/ParlSupport/ResearchPapers/2/7/f/00PLSocRP09071-The-M-ori-Language-Selected-Events-1800-2010.htm>
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods (3rd ed.)*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Penetito, W. H. (2005). *A sociology of Māori education - Beyond mediating structures*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Pere, L. M. (2006). *Oho mauri: Cultural identity, wellbeing, and tangata whai ora/motuhake*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Pere, R. R. (1982). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition*. Hamilton, NZ: University of Waikato.

- Pere, R. R. (1991). *Te Wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom: Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Ltd.*
- Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*(3), 499-514. California State University, LA.
- Phinney, J. (1995). Ethnic identity and self-esteem: A review and integration. In A. Padilla (Ed.), *Hispanic psychology. Critical issues of theory and research* (pp. 57-70). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.
- Pitter, R. (2006). Racialization and hockey in Canada: From personal troubles to a Canadian challenge. In D. Whitson, & R. Gruneau (Eds.), *Artificial ice: Hockey, culture and commerce* (pp. 123-139). Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Poata-Smith, E. S. (2013). Emergent identities: the changing contours of Indigenous identities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In M. Nakata, M. Harris, & B. Carlson (Eds.), *The politics of identity: Emerging indigeneity* (pp. 24-59). Sydney: University of Technology Sydney E-Press.
- Polkinghorne, D. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human Sciences*. Albany: State University of New York (SUNY) Press.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1997). *Discourse and social psychology*. London: Sage.
- Rennie, D. (2012). Interview with the Chief 's TV channel. Retrieved 26 Sepetember, 2014 from <http://chiefs.onsport.co.nz/chiefs-head-coach-dave-rennie>
- Riemann, G., & Schütze, F. (1991). "Trajectory" as a basic theoretical concept for analyzing suffering and disorderly social processes. In R. David (Ed.), *Social Organization and Social Processes. Essays In Honor of Anselm Strauss* (pp. 333-347). Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

- Rigney, D. (2003). Sport, Indigenous Australians and invader dreaming: A critique. In J. Bale, & M. Cronin (Eds.), *Sport and Postcolonialism* (pp. 45–56). London: Berg.
- Robson, B., & Reid, P. (2001). *Ethnicity matters: Māori perspectives*. Wellington, NZ: Statistics New Zealand.
- Royal, C. (1992). *Te haurapa: An introduction to researching tribal histories and traditions*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.
- Royal, C. (2002). Oral and Indigenous thought and knowledge. In R. Selby, & A. Laurie (Eds.), *Māori and oral history: A collection* (2005) (pp. 45-49). Wellington, NZ: National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ).
- Royal, C. (2003). *Indigenous worldviews: A comparative study*. Wellington, NZ: Te Whare Wananga o Raukawa.
- Royal, C. (2008). *Te ngākau. Mauriora-ki-te-ao*. Wellington, NZ: Living Universe Ltd Pōrirua.
- Salkind, N. J. (2000). *Exploring research* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Sawicka, T., Barr, K., Grace, D., Grenside, L., Thomson, J., & Williams, G. (1998). Forming a cultural identity: What does it mean to be ethnic? Retrieved 11 January 2010 from <http://www.vuw.ac.nz/yfp/papers/ethnicity>
- Scheurich, J. J., & Young, M. D. (1997). Coloring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased? *Educational Researcher* 26(4), 4-16.
- Schinke, R. J., Blodgett, A. T., Yungblut, H. E., Eys, M. A., C., R., Battochio, R. C.,
 . Recollet-Saikonnen, D. (2010). The adaptation, challenges and strategies of

- adolescent Aboriginal athletes competing off reserve. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 34(4), 438-456. doi: 10.1177/0193723510379993
- Schinke, R. J., Hanrahan, S. J., Eys, M. A., Blodgett, A., Peltier, D., Ritchie, S. D., . . . Enosse, L. (2008). The development of cross-cultural relations With a Canadian Aboriginal community through sport research. *Quest*, 60, 357-369.
- Schinke, R. J., Ryba, T. V., Danielson, R., Michel, G., Pickard, P., Peltier, D., . . . Peltier, M. (2007). Canadian Aboriginal elite Athletes: The experiences of being coached in mainstream cultures. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 5(2), 123-141. doi: 10.1080/1612197X.2007.9671815
- Sharples, P. (2012). Olympic cultural event. A public address retrieved 9 April 2014 from <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/olympic-cultural-event>.
- Sheehan, M. (1989). *Māori and Pakeha - Race Relations 1912-1980*. Auckland: MacMillan.
- Siers, J., Henderson, J. H., & Rangihau, J. (1975). *The New Zealanders*. Wellington, NZ: Millwood Press.
- Silverman, D. (1993). *Interpreting qualitative data*. London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: Sage.
- Simmons, D. R. (1976). *The great New Zealand myth: A study of the discovery and origin traditions of the Māori*. Wellington, NZ: A. H. and A. W. Reed.
- Simon, J. (1998). Anthropology, 'native schooling' and Māori: The Politics of Cultural Adaptation. *Oceania*, 69(61), 61-78.
- Sinclair, C. (2008). *Master list of every Indigenous player to have played in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League*. . Melbourne:

- Unpublished data supplied to the researchers by the Australian Football League.
- Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: theory and praxis*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Smith, G. H. (2012). Interview-Kaupapa Māori: The dangers of domestication. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 47(2), 10-20.
- Smith, L. T. (1991). Te rapuna i te ao marama: Māori perspectives on research in education. In J. R. Morss, & T. I. Linzey (Eds.), *The politics of human learning: Human development and educational research*, (pp. 46-55). Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press.
- Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press.
- Smith, L. T., Smith, G. H., & McNaughton, T. (1999). *Working with Māori/Te mahi tahi ki te Māori: A beginners guide for employers*. Auckland, NZ: Equal Employment Opportunities Trust.
- Soutar, M. (1994). Tribal history in history. In R. Selby, & A. Laurie (Eds.), *Māori and oral history: A collection (2005)* (pp. 4-15). Wellington, NZ: National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ).
- Spolsky, B. (2005). Māori lost and gained. In A. Bell, R. Harlow, & D. Starks (Eds.), *Languages of New Zealand* (pp. 67-85). Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.
- Spoonley, P. (Ed.). (1993). *Racism and ethnicity: Critical issues in New Zealand society (2nd ed.)*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.
- Spradley, J. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

- Stake, R. E. (2010). *Qualitative research: Studying how things work*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013). Census QuickStats about culture and identity: Pacific peoples ethnic group . Growth in Pacific peoples ethnic group slows. Retrieved November 03, 2015 from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/pacific-peoples.aspx>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2010). Ethnicity: Definition. Retrieved January 11, 2010 from http://www.stats.govt.nz/methods_and_services/surveys-and-methods/classifications-and-standards/classification-related-stats-standards/ethnicity/definition.aspx
- Stevenson, B. (2004). Te Hoe Nuku Roa: A measure of Māori cultural identity. *He Pukenga Korero*, 8(1), 37-46.
- Stewart-Harawira, M. (2005). *The new imperial order: Indigenous responses to globalization*. London: Zed Books.
- Stronach, M. (2012). *Sport career transition: stories of elite Indigenous Australian sportsmen*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Technology Sydney, NSW, Australia.
- Taonui, R. (23 April 2012). Time to tackle rugby's dirty secret. *New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved 12 June 2014 from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10800719
- Tatz, C. (1987). *Aborigines in Sport*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House.
- Tatz, C. (1995). *Obstacle race: Aborigines in sport*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

- Tatz, C. (2009). Coming to terms: “Race”, ethnicity, identity and Aboriginality in sport. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2, 15-31.
- Tatz, C., Ramsey, A., Stocks, G., Bass, M., Winkler, M., & Eva, B., et al (contributors),. (1998). *AFL's Black Stars*. Melbourne: Lothian Books.
- Te Arawa Games. (2011). Te Arawa games. Retrieved June 20 2012, from <http://www.papatakaro.org.nz/pride.htm>
- Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *He tikanga whakaaro: Research ethics in the Māori community*. Wellington, NZ: Manatū Māori.
- Te Awekotuku, N. (2003). *Ruahine: Mythic women*. Wellington, NZ: Huia.
- Te Puni Kokiri. (2005 June). Te Māori i te whutuporo: Māori in rugby. *Fact Sheet 23*, 1-2.
- Te Puni Kōkiri. (2005). Te Māori i te whutupōro: Māori in rugby (Fact Sheet 23). Retrieved January 07, 2015 from <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/195/tpk-Māoriinrugby-2006-en.pdf>
- Te Rito, P. (2006). Leadership in Māori, European cultures and in the world of sport. *MAI Review*, 1(Intern Research Report 8), 1-19. Retrieved from <http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/17/17>.
- Thomas, D. R., & Dyal, L. (1999). Culture, ethnicity, and sport management: A New Zealand perspective. *Sport Management Review*, 2, 115-132.
- Thompson, R. (1954). Māori affairs and the New Zealand press, part II. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 63(1), 1-16.
- Thompson, S., Rewi, P., & Wrathall, D. (2000). Māori experience in sport and physical activity: Research and initiatives. In C. Collins (Ed.), *Sport in New Zealand Society* (pp. 241-255). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

- Tuteo, V., Heperi, I., Simon, J., & Morris-Matthews, K. (2005). Gathering oral histories as a bicultural project: On the native schools system. In R. Selby, & A. Laurie (Eds.), *Māori oral history: A collection* (pp. 89-99). Wellington, NZ: National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ).
- Van Meijl, T. (1995). Māori socio-political organization in pre- and proto-history: on the evolution of post-colonial constructs. *Oceania*, 65(4), 304-323.
- Vayda, A. (1960). *Māori warfare*: Polynesian Society Monograph 2.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2006). Waitangi Tribunal: Background. Retrieved January 11, 2010 from <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/about/established.asp>
- Walker, R. (1987). Māori myth, tradition and philosophic beliefs. In J. Philips (Ed.), *Te whenua, te iwi - The land and the people* (pp. 42-46). Wellington, NZ: Allen and Unwin.
- Walker, R. (1989). Māori identity. In D. Novitz, & B. Willmott (Eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (pp. 35-52). Wellington, NZ: GP Books.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin.
- Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua: The life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland, NZ: Viking Press.
- Walsh-Tapiata, W. (2000/2001). Ranaghau mo te iwi: Ngā pikinga me ngā hekenga. In R. Selby, & A. Laurie (Eds.), *Māori oral history: A collection (2005)* (pp. 33-37). Wellington, NZ: National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ).
- Wang, S. (2009). Taiwanese baseball: A story of entangled colonialism, class, ethnicity, and nationalism. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 33, 355-372.

- Warren, I., & Tsaousis, S. (1997). Racism and the law in Australian Rules Football: A critical analysis. *Sporting Traditions*, 14(1), 27-53.
- Watson, G. (2007). Sport and ethnicity in New Zealand. *History Compass*, 5(3), 780-801.
- Watts, I. (2002). Selling Australia: Cathy Freeman and the construction of an Australian identity. *The Global Nexus Engaged: Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 77-84.
- Weisberg, H. F., Krosnick, J. A., & Bowen, B. D. (1996). *An introduction to survey research, polling, and data analysis* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Williams, H. W. (1975). *A dictionary of the Māori language (7th ed. reprinted)*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Williams, H. W. (2002). *A dictionary of the Māori language (7th ed. reprinted)*. Wellington, NZ: Government Printer.
- Williams, M. (1996). Immigrants and indigenes. *Meanjin*, 55(4), 635-650.
- Wirihana, R. (2012). *Ngā pūrākau o ngā wahine rangatira Māori o Aotearoa: The stories of Māori women leaders in New Zealand*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. School of Psychology, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Wrathall, D. A. (1996). *Sports policy and the Māori woman athlete from a Māori perspective*. Unpublished masters thesis, Victory University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Yu, J., & Bairner, A. (2010). Schooling Taiwan's Aboriginal baseball players for the nation. *Sport, Education and Society*, 15(1, February), 63-82.
- Yu, J., & Bairner, A. (2011). Confucianism, baseball and ethnic stereotyping in Taiwan. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 47(6), 690-704.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Pūrākau Prompts (Interview Plan)

Section 1: Exploring the development of their Māori identity

This set of prompts assists with the establishment and commencement of their pūrākau based on their notions of Māori identity. Participants use subjective experience to give a personal understanding of their Māori identity and knowledge of ‘things’ Māori.

1. Tell me about growing up and your experiences of ‘things’ Māori.
 - Tell me about your whānau. Would you say that Māori ways of doing things was a part of growing up? Why? Why not?
 - If you can, tell me about your affiliation to your whakapapa and tūrangawaewae (marae, hapū and iwi)? How do you make sense of those connections?
 - Was te reo Māori a part of growing up? What are your feelings about your competency to understand or speak te reo Māori? How do these feelings influence your perceptions of Māori identity?
2. Given everything that we have discussed, how have all these experiences while growing up influenced your perceptions of Māori identity?

Section 2: Exploring foundational sport experiences

This set of prompts assists with the establishment and commencement of their pūrākau based on their experiences of sport.

1. Starting from your earliest memories, tell me about how you got into sport?
 - Why did you get into sport and how was your interest in sport mainly developed?
 - Who encouraged you to participate? Think about whānau/teachers/friends.

2. During these formative years of sport involvement, were there any experiences you can think of where participation in sport influenced your notions of Māori identity?
 - How did these experiences make you feel? How did you react? How did others involved with sport, peers, coaches/management, whānau or anyone who played a role in your sport participation react?
 - Were there other Māori playing? If so, what influence did they have on your ideas of Māori identity or participation in sport, if any?
 - Did it matter?

3. What are some of the pivotal moments in your life where you thought that being an elite athlete was possible?
 - What/who immediately comes to mind that led you thinking about elite level sport?
 - What decisions needed to be made?
 - What really helped you with the transition from sport participation to elite sport?

Section 3: Examining the ways elite sport participation and Māori identity intersect

This set of prompts assists with highlighting how they make sense of their Māori identity while participating in elite sport.

1. Tell me about your elite sporting achievements?
 - Which of these are you most proud of? Why?

2. During your years of elite sport involvement, were there many other Māori athletes/coaches/managers in your sport?
 - If so, what influence did they have on your ideas of Māori identity or participation in elite sport, if any?
 - Did knowing that they were Māori make any difference in terms of your participation or continued development or maintenance in elite sport?
 - What about the influence of non-Māori athletes/coaches/managers

- in your sport?
- In what ways did those people (Māori or non-Māori) influence (if any) the way you perceived your Māori identity?
3. During your years of elite sport involvement, were/are there any experiences you can think of where you felt positive/secure, or otherwise, awkward/uncomfortable about your Māori identity?
- Describe for me the situation?
 - Where did this happen? What was occurring?
 - How did these experiences create meaning and make you feel about your Māori identity?

Section 4: Future participation in Māori world

This set of prompts assists with having them express their current perspectives of Māori identity, and how they may have evolved with their earlier perceptions discussed in the first section of their pūrākau. It also explores their future hopes and desires in respect to their Māori identity.

1. In what ways do you connect and contribute back to both your sporting and Māori communities?
 - Do these connections and contributions assist in making sense of your Māori identity? If so how?
2. What are your current perceptions of Māori identity?
 - In what ways have your connections to whakapapa and tūrangawaewae (whānau, marae, hapū and iwi) changed? If not why? If so for what reason?
 - What does this mean for you, your children and whānau?

Concluding comments

1. Is there anything you would like to add regarding what you have shared with me?
2. Is there anything you would like to ask me about the research?

APPENDIX B

Information Sheet for Participants

Tēnā koe,

My name is Bevan Erueti and I am conducting research into the area of Māori sport and I am requesting your participation. A description of the project follows. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate I thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and I thank you for considering my request.

Aim of the Project

This project explores the relationship between Māori identity and Māori elite athletes, to find out whether Māori identity has any impact on the participation of Māori elite athletes.

This research is being carried out to fulfil the requirements of my PhD in Māori Studies and Sport which I am undertaking through Otago University. It will contribute to Māori knowledge and development, particularly in the area of Māori sport ultimately, to benefit Māori.

My primary supervisor for this study is Dr. Brendan Hokowhitu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies/Te Tumu Māori, Otago University, Dunedin. My secondary supervisor is Dr. Farah Palmer, College of Business, Massey University, Palmerston North. I also have one advisor, Professor Luanna Meyer, Faculty of Education, Victoria University, Wellington.

The research will be submitted for examination and lodged in the Otago University library. You will be advised of the results of the research before the overall findings are disseminated among the Māori sporting community, the wider academic community, public sporting services and health professionals.

Participants

This project aims to collect and analyse the personal experiences of elite Māori athletes. It is hoped that there will be 12-20 athlete interviews across a range of past, current and future Māori elite athletes. The term 'elite' has been defined as an athlete that has competed at either international level or has professional status in their chosen sporting code. The definition of 'sport' is left to the discretion of the researcher and therefore, participants may come from a variety of activities. The age range is 18-70yrs and an even mix of males and females is desirable.

Participation in this Research

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to be interviewed for approximately 1-2 hours. Time will be made available if you wish to meet with me as the primary interviewer to discuss any queries outlined in more detail and the

opportunity to ask any questions.

You will be sent an interview schedule and consent form prior to the interview so you can think about the questions beforehand. Informed consent will also be obtained prior to the interview. If you agree, your interview will be recorded using a dictaphone. The interview will be held at a place that suits us both and will be conducted by myself and any other people you wish to attend for support. Once completed, I will transcribe the interviews. You will be sent your transcripts to check if you agree with what was recorded.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part or you may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Data/Information Collection and Use

All information obtained in this research will be treated in the strictest confidence. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand). To ensure confidentiality, and to preserve anonymity all personal information including people's names will be removed and pseudonyms (aliases) used instead.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish. Those transcripts and audio tapes not requested will be archived in a non-identifiable manner with the rest of the research information in a locked filing cabinet at my place of residence in Palmerston North. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

Participation in this Research

- ❖ Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and optional;
- ❖ Participants will be informed about who is conducting the research, why it is being done and what the results are to be used for;
- ❖ Participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without fear of recrimination or discrimination in their future;
- ❖ Participants may withdraw any or all of the information they have provided until the final writing of this thesis;
- ❖ Participants are free to invite their whānau and/or other nominated support people to the interview;
- ❖ Participants will receive preliminary data for comment, once the initial analysis has been completed;
- ❖ Participants will be offered a summary of the research at the completion of the research, and will be given the opportunity to attend any of a series of hui/presentations that will be held at the conclusion of the research, as a means of further disseminating the results.

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Bevan Erueti
Te Kura Māori
Faculty of Education
Victoria University
Wellington
(04) 463 9788
bevan.erueti@vuw.ac.nz

Dr. Brendan Hokowhitu
School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous
Studies/Te Tumu Māori
Otago University
Dunedin

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph. 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.



APPENDIX C

Interview Consent Form

I have read the information letter detailing this project and understand what it is about. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I agree to take part in this project.

- ĀE / YES - Mauriora!
- KĀO / NO - ngā mihi ki a koe e hoa. Pai mārire!

If ĀE / YES - I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information within audio devices will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;
4. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity. However, anonymity cannot be assured because of the limited number of Māori elite athletes and their associated public profile and status.
5. I understand that, for validity reasons, I will be given copies of the transcripts of my interview so that I am able to check the transcript's accuracy.

..... (Signature of participant)

..... (Date)

Please provide an appropriate contact detail i.e., email, that I may use to schedule a date for our interview. **THIS WILL BE HELD IN THE STRICTEST OF CONFIDENCE.**

Contact:

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX D

Research Outputs / Publications

Journal Articles (Peer Reviewed)

1. Erueti, B. (2014). Mātauranga Māori at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. *MAI Journal*, 3(1), 60-73.
2. Erueti, B., & Palmer, F. R. (2013). Te whāriki tuakiri (the identity mat): Māori elite athletes and the expression of ethno-cultural identity in global sport. *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 17(8), 1061-1075.

Book Chapters

1. Erueti, B. (2015). Insights into the implementation of Indigenous knowledge and cultural practices within Aotearoa New Zealand elite level sport. In A. Bairner, J. Kelly & J. W. Lee (Eds.), *The Handbook of Sport and Politics*, (pp.- -). UK: Routledge (in print).
2. Erueti, B., & Palmer, F. R. (2015). Te whāriki tuakiri (the identity mat): Māori elite athletes and the expression of ethno-cultural identity in global sport. In K. Liston & P. Dolan (Eds.), *Sport, Race and Ethnicity: The Scope of Belonging? (Sport in the Global Society - Contemporary Perspectives)* (pp.--). London: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Conference Presentations

1. Erueti, B. (2015). *Indigenous knowledge in elite level sport: 21st Century examples from Aotearoa/New Zealand*. International Sport and Sociology Association (ISSA), World Conference of Sociology of Sport, June 9-12, 2015, Paris, France
2. Erueti, B. (2013). *The globalisation of Indigenous knowledge in mega sporting events: Negotiating the boundaries of Māori/Indigenous and New Zealand/national identity at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games*. Presented at the World Congress of Sociology of Sport Conference, The International Sociology of Sport Association (ISSA). University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, June 12-15, 2013.
3. Erueti, B. (2012). *The (in)visibility of Māori identity hybridisation in elite sport: Negotiating the space between national and ethno-cultural identity*.

Presented at the 4th International Conference in Sport, Race and Ethnicity (SRE). University of Ulster, Belfast, Ireland, June 27-30, 2012.