

INTER-IWI SPORT CAN STRENGTHEN CULTURAL IDENTITY FOR URBAN MĀORI

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:

Wiremu Mato

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Abstract

Inter-hapū (inter-subtribe) Māori (indigenous peoples of New Zealand) sports events, usually held within rural regions, attracts affiliates from all around Aotearoa/New Zealand for a chance to represent their hapū. Anecdotal feedback suggests that these types of events can strengthen cultural or iwi (tribal) identity. If correct, similar events and activities within urban contexts may strengthen the cultural identity of urban-Māori who are potentially dislocated from traditional Māori contexts.

This qualitative study explores the hypothesis that “Inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori” using methodological approaches of both Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) and Grounded Theory. In-depth interviews with eight participants of an inter-iwi urban sports event called the ‘Iwi of Origin’ were undertaken to define what ‘being Māori’ meant to them, and if they thought the Iwi of Origin strengthened their Māori identity. Issues around the future delivery of inter-iwi sports events in Auckland were also discussed.

According to the participants, the Iwi of Origin strengthened their Māori identity, however important variations in the definitions of ‘Māori identity’ were found. Further findings suggest that Māori sports events and programmes in Auckland are an important part of strengthening cultural identity for Māori living in urban areas. An annual inter-iwi sports competition may promote whakawhanaungatanga amongst urban Māori in Auckland and can also be used as a method to support iwi development.

The research recommendations will discuss the need for effective leadership, the requirement for further research to be carried out on traditional Māori pastimes and the belief that the use of traditional indicators of cultural identity be used with caution given the potential to marginalise and further distance those who have already been dislocated from traditional components of their culture.

Chapter One

“Inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori”

Introduction

The research examined the notion that an inter-iwi (inter-tribal) sports event held for urban Māori (indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand) living in Auckland, New Zealand, can strengthen the cultural identity of its participants. The study was carried out by conducting one to one interviews with eight participants of an inter-iwi urban sports event called the ‘Iwi of Origin’. The participants were asked to define what ‘being Māori’ means to them and if they thought the characteristics were strengthened through the Iwi of Origin or through any other inter-iwi sports events they may have participated in. Further information was also gained relating to the concept of inter-iwi sports events in Auckland. The feedback provided by the participants presented a number of issues regarding contemporary Māori identity, as well as further recommendations on the Iwi of Origin event itself.

Positioning of the Researcher

There were a number of reasons the research was conducted. The main motivation came as the result of the annual Ngāti Porou (a Māori tribal group of the East Coast, North Island, New Zealand) inter-hapū (inter sub-tribe) sports day, commonly known to members of the tribe as ‘Pā Wars’. Every year on the third of January, members of my whānau (family) participate in the event. The event is held in either Ruatorea (commonly spelt ‘Ruatoria’) or Tolaga Bay and is the one day where Ngāti Porou hapū (sub-tribes) compete against one another in a variety of sports and games to gain points and ultimately be seen as the ‘top hapū’. The event is held during the Christmas/New Year holiday break in order to capture many of the Ngāti Porou whānau who routinely return home from urban centres during this period. The numbers have reportedly seen thousands of

people attending the event over the last five years (Barry Soutar, personal communication, March 31, 2010).

Our hapū, Te Whānau ā Iritekura, has always had modest participant numbers compared to the other bigger hapū but some of us feel somewhat obligated to show the rest of the iwi (tribe) that whilst we may be small, we still enjoy representing our hapū and celebrating our own unique connectedness through sport. It is also an opportunity for us to catch up with other friends and extended whānau who are representing other hapū.

Iritekura marae (courtyard, open area at front of the wharenuī, often referred to as the complex of buildings around the marae) is situated on the beachfront in Waipiro Bay, a small coastal village that once was the bustling centre of East Coast trade that now has a population of approximately 70 people. My six brothers and three sisters were raised by our parents in Waipiro Bay and, although we know we have some very strong linkages to other marae along the East Coast and in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, Waipiro Bay is where we feel our strongest connection; hence our annual representation of Te Whānau ā Iritekura at the Ngāti Porou Pā Wars.

The Pā Wars held at Ruatorea in 2006 were significant in relation to this thesis because I was witnessing Māori coming together from many different parts of the country to celebrate their identity as Ngāti Porou through sport, and it was something I had taken for granted in the past. Whanaungatanga (relationship building, bonding) was seen through many different examples that day in 2006, from people greeting each other from the same marae whom they had not seen in years, to the jibes and cheeky remarks made from one whānau member to another and even the references one person would make about how much bigger the kina (sea egg) or koura (crayfish) were in their bay compared to someone else's. Food, fond memories and laughter were in great abundance, even amongst those of us who were not on the winning marae teams.

The reason the Pā Wars had gained my attention more so in 2006 was also due to my occupation in Auckland. I was working as a kaiwhakahaere

(manager) for the He Oranga Poutama programme (Sport and Recreation programme targeting Māori communities) which meant that I was given the responsibility of engaging Māori people in the North Harbour region in sport and physical activity, and I was looking for a Māori specific way of doing this. 'Best practice' is a commonly used term in the sport and recreation community and it became apparent to me that using the Pā Wars model may be one of the ways to deliver best practice to urban Māori by holding an inter-iwi sports day in Auckland.

Something else that became apparent in 2006 was that many of the Ngāti Porou Pā Wars participants lived in Auckland, in some cases within less than 30 minutes of each other, and yet they only managed to see one another at the Ngāti Porou Pā Wars some 600 kilometres from Auckland. Given these observations, and the fact that I was looking for something new to implement in the Auckland region, an inter-iwi sports event looked like a great opportunity to engage Māori living in the Auckland region. Also, as far as I was aware there were very few, if any, inter-iwi sports events held in Auckland. So, in 2007, I began the process of organising a similar type of event in Auckland for those of us who had moved away from home but still wanted to maintain those whānau, hapū and iwi links through sport. Couple this with my passion for sport and Māori culture it makes for an interesting, if not very broad, thesis topic.

The organising of the first Iwi of Origin in 2007 coincided with my desire to return to university to start a Masters degree. I had already come to the conclusion that the research would be based on Māori sport, and my proposed 'Pā Wars for Māori in Auckland' idea seemed the ideal event to research. For me, the topic I was about to research was quite straight forward. One of the things I had noticed was that there were many anecdotal comments made before, during and after the 2006 Ngāti Porou Pā Wars about how the event 'develops whanaungatanga' and 'strengthens Māori and tribal identity'. The comments gained my interest because if they were true it could provide justification for holding further inter-iwi sports events and Māori sports programmes in Auckland, and provide possible support for future funding applications. A quick internet search found other examples of

anecdotal evidence to support these theories (Harbour Sport 2006, Pā Wars 2011, NZ Herald 2007, Te Arawa Games 2011). After talking to a few people at the Ngāti Porou Pā Wars and also to other Māori in Auckland, it became apparent that the 'development of whanaungatanga' and the 'strengthening of tribal identity' was seen as a normal part of these inter-marae or inter-iwi sports events and was a 'given'. I was therefore quite surprised to find that there was very little academic research to support this commonly held perception.

Also, what if, like me, you had moved away from your tribal roots and were living in urban-Auckland? If I was to put together an inter-iwi event for Māori living in Auckland, would people still feel their tribal identity was being strengthened outside their own tribal boundaries? What is cultural identity? What does being Māori mean for urban Māori? How can I measure it? Can sport be a vehicle to strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori? The more I thought about it, the more questions I had.

Research Aims

It is not my intention to give a definitive answer to any of the above questions. Instead, I am hoping the research can provide a platform for further discussion around the topic of sport and its contemporary use within the whānau, hapū or iwi context. With this in mind, and in an effort to narrow the scope of the thesis, the research has three aims:

- To contribute to a repository of information and research using the inter-hapū model as a tool for sport and recreation.
- To investigate the notion that an inter-iwi type of sports event can strengthen Māori identity for Māori living in Auckland.
- To provide feedback and recommendations on how to improve the Iwi of Origin for future years.

The research was carried out by gaining qualitative information from eight participants involved in an inter-iwi sports event held in Auckland known as the "Iwi of Origin".

Research Hypothesis

“Inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori”

The hypothesis for this dissertation is that the use of an inter-iwi sports model can strengthen cultural identity for Māori living within an urban environment. The unstated assumptions are that Māori engage in sports, that Māori live in urban settings and that the strengthening of cultural identity is a positive activity for Māori (particularly for health and well-being). This is particularly relevant for urban Māori who may be dislocated from their traditional rohe (region) and may be less likely to have access to tikanga (custom, lore) Māori cultural practices. The focus on whether inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori is an area that has not been well investigated to date.

Research Justification

The justification for the current research is briefly explored in the following section. Key areas of review include the engagement of Māori within contemporary sporting activity, the urban demographic context for contemporary Māori, the relationship between sport and cultural identity on health and wellbeing and the limited evidence available within the research area.

Māori Engagement in Sports:

Generally, Māori feature highly in terms of participation in physical activity and sport. In the early 1990s, Dr Papaarangi Reid compared the findings for Māori against those for the non-Māori population and found that contrary to the stereotypical image of Māori not being physically active, Māori people were indeed active and in some cases were even more physically active than non-Māori (McConnel, as cited in Collins, 2000, p. 242.). Recent figures from Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC) surveys show that 71% of young Māori are active compared with 68% of all young New Zealanders (SPARC, 2007). Māori girls are especially active, spending on average 7.7 hours per week on sport and physical activity compared to 5.8 hours of girls of all other ethnic groups. Māori men are more physically active per week

than non-Māori adults in the country as a whole (SPARC, 2007). This information shows that Māori have a great affiliation to sport and arguably, given the right vehicle in an urban area such as an inter-iwi sports competition, their affiliation to sports may also be used to strengthen their Māori identity.

Māori Living in Urban Settings:

Cities and towns now hold the majority of Māori with eighty-five percent living in urban areas of New Zealand (Statistics NZ, 2007a). Auckland has the largest Māori population with just under a quarter of all Māori living in the region. This represents a potential Māori population that is not widely dispersed and one that should be easily accessible. The 2007 Census gave statistical data on 'total responses' to iwi affiliations by regional council that included all of the people who stated each iwi as either their only iwi, or as one of several iwi (Statistics NZ, 2007b). From these data, the top 5 tribal responses for Māori living in Auckland were Ngāpuhi (50,040), followed by Ngāti Porou (13,215), Waikato (11,469), Ngāti Maniapoto (7,989) and Ngāti Whātua (7,152). These data support the focus of this dissertation on urban Māori given the large number of Māori residing within Auckland.

Sport and Cultural Identity Impacts on Health and Wellbeing:

Sport and physical activity have many synergies to health. The Ministry of Health website states that physical activity is associated with better overall health, more energy, lower stress levels, better weight management and can reduce the risk of a number of health conditions including heart disease, hypertension, obesity and strokes (MoH, 2010). Similarly, access to cultural identity has also been linked to health. According to the Ministry of Social Development's "Social Report 2010":

...cultural identity is important for people's sense of self and how they relate to others. A strong cultural identity can contribute to people's over - all wellbeing (p. 84).

Durie (2003) notes that:

A secure identity is a necessary pre-requisite for good health and well-being, and cultural identity depends not only on access to culture and heritage but also on the opportunity for cultural expression...(p. 68).

Limited Research to Date:

As stated earlier, there has been very little research conducted on contemporary inter-hapū or inter-iwi sports. This is surprising considering the anecdotal success of the events which refer to 'strengthening iwi identity and culture' (Harbour Sport 2006, Pā Wars 20011, NZ Herald 2007, Te Arawa Games 2011). Of the research located by the researcher relating Māori sports events to Māori identity (Bergin, 2002; Thomas & Dyll, 1999) there is no clear indication of how identity is measured aside from the fact that in Bergin's (2002) case, the participants were asked about their experiences participating in Māori sports events in Australia.

Having been a part of the Māori sport and physical recreation sector since 2004, I have worked alongside and liaised with many Māori communities in Auckland, particularly in the North Harbour region. However, the work has also highlighted the lack of academic research available relating to inter-hapū and inter-iwi sports events which, if anecdotal evidence is correct, strengthens Māori cultural identity. Therefore the intention is to provide an academic perspective on inter-hapū and inter-iwi sports in order to build a repository of information on the subject.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter One presents the positioning of the researcher, the study hypothesis, justification for the research and an overview of the thesis structure.

Chapter Two presents a review of literature relating to the theory that an inter-iwi sports event held for urban Māori living in Auckland can strengthen the cultural identity of its participants. The chapter will address the theory in the following way. First a historical outline will be given, including reviews on colonisation and urbanisation, in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the impact these issues have had on pre-European Māori identity. The review goes on to present some recent studies on Māori identity including how 'Māoriness' has been measured in the last eighty years.

Further examples of Māori identity will be discussed with a particular emphasis on the use of 'indicators' and the effect those indicators can have on Māori who do not have a strong connection to them. A brief look at the Māori renaissance and its impact on Māori identity will be followed by a review of the relationship between Māori and sport, including traditional Māori pastimes and the subsequent loss of the pastimes through colonisation.

The education system and its attempts to re-introduce Māori pastimes into the school curriculum will also be reviewed followed by a look at the effect 'introduced sport' has had on Māori. Contemporary Māori sport will also be addressed followed by models of inter-hapū sports events around Aotearoa (New Zealand,) and further examples of some ethnicities around the world using sport to strengthen their culture in their own lands and in others. The chapter will end with a brief review of statistics for Māori in Auckland and Auckland based Māori sports initiatives that have been held in the past.

Chapter Three presents the method and methodology used for the research. The chapter starts with a definition of both method and methodology in order to allow the reader to distinguish between the two. The research methodology is then discussed with a particular emphasis on Kaupapa Māori Research and Grounded Theory approaches which have been used to guide the current research. Kaupapa Māori research is presented as a Māori way of knowing, learning and understanding, placing Māori at the centre. Grounded Theory is used to provide a subjective analysis to the research. This is followed by an explanation on qualitative research, including one to one interviews, which were used during the research and are followed by a

look at the advantages and disadvantages of conducting one to one interviews.

The next section covers sampling (the selection of participants for research) with a review of 'purposive sampling', followed by specific accounts of how the participants were selected for the current research. The interview schedule used to gather information from the participants is then reviewed. The researcher then highlights the themes that were extracted from the interviews with a particular emphasis on Māori identity. This is followed by an explanation of how the data was analysed including any ethical considerations that were taken into account.

Chapter Four presents the findings from the interviews with the eight Iwi of Origin participants. The chapter is presented using seven themes as headings for the information collected. The seven data themes are:

1. Participant information and residence,
2. Location and time of year Iwi of Origin was held,
3. Whanaungatanga
4. Participants' recommendations for future urban inter-iwi sports events,
5. Participants' expectations of the Iwi of Origin,
6. Engaging urban Māori,
7. Māori identity.

Much of the discussion in the chapter revolves around whanaungatanga, using the event as a tool for Māori development and Māori identity. The chapter ends with the participants being asked to rank themselves from one (very weak) to four (very strong) using Māori cultural indicators.

Chapter Five provides key discussion points made in relation to the findings. Five themes are discussed using information from the participants as well as further literature to support the discussion. The five discussion themes are as follows:

1. Māori identity,
2. The Iwi of Origin as a tool for Māori Development in urban Auckland,
3. Comparisons between rural inter-iwi sports and the Iwi of Origin,
4. Urban Māori organisations and their role to promote inter-iwi kaupapa (topics, themes) in Auckland
5. Participant feedback on the Iwi of Origin.

The final chapter, **Chapter Six** presents the recommendations made by the researcher as an outcome of the study. The chapter starts with a summary of findings in order to give an overview of the information provided by the participants in the previous chapter (Chapter Five). The thesis topic “Inter-iwi sport can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori” is then reviewed and broken down into 3 areas in which recommendations are made including:

1. Māori sports events

The majority of this section refers to the participants’ recommendations pertaining to the Iwi of Origin and the fact that it is clear that there is a desire for an annual inter-iwi urban Māori sports event to be held in Auckland. There are also recommendations from the researcher to use the inter-iwi event as a vehicle to strengthen traditional Māori pastimes, known as ngā mahi a te rēhia (traditional Māori pastimes).

2. Urban Māori organisations

Urban Māori organisations continue to be a form of contemporary iwi connection for many Māori living in Auckland. Urban Māori Authorities such as Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust continue to support urban Māori despite the fact that they are not seen as an iwi in the eyes of the courts (Levine, 2001, p. 167) and therefore do not receive iwi based funding. A discussion of Urban Māori Authorities including Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust is considered in this section. The Auckland Regional Kapa Haka (traditional Māori performance) competition is also discussed with a view to learning from their processes in engaging urban Māori and delivering a successful Māori event.

3. Māori Identity

Feedback showed that there are a number of ways the participants looked at themselves as 'being Māori'. Therefore the implication of using a model where one has to 'fit' into a particular way of being is discussed in this chapter. The focus is centred on the fact that many urban Māori no longer have links to their traditional hapū or whānau and therefore do not fit into some categories of what it means to be Māori, according to some models. The acknowledgement from all participants that a Māori sports event such as the Iwi of Origin does indeed strengthen what it means to be Māori is also discussed.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The literature review examines the belief that an inter-iwi sports event held for urban Māori living in Auckland can strengthen the cultural identity of its participants. Central to the chapter is the issue of engaging urban Māori and reconnecting them to traditional Māori values based on whānau, hapū and iwi through the medium of sport.

The chapter starts with a brief review of how the contemporary view of Māori identity was formed. This is carried out by providing an overview of how Māori placed an emphasis on 'whānau', 'hapū' or 'iwi' as the main form of identity prior to European contact and how the word 'Māori' is now being used as an umbrella term for all tribes.

The effects of colonisation and urbanisation on Māori identity are then presented with a general timeline of the migration of many Māori from their rural communities to the cities thereby weakening the structure of their traditional form of society.

Some studies of Māori identity are then highlighted with a particular focus on 'indicators of Māori identity' which are used to measure one's identity relating to a number of prescribed markers. The impact of the Māori renaissance is then reviewed with specific examples of how Māori have mitigated the loss of Māori language and identity by establishing Kōhanga Reo (Māori language pre-school), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language school for children aged 5-11years) and other Māori institutions.

Issues around Māori in sport will then be examined including a review of traditional Māori games and pastimes and how in Māori culture, and many other indigenous cultures, sport was seen as a 'normal' part of life which is contrary to the way it is seen today. The loss of many of the traditional Māori pastimes is also reviewed including a brief look at the education system and how it contributed to the loss.

This is followed by a review of contemporary iwi sports events being held in rural parts of the country followed by further examples of how sport has been used as a vehicle to strengthen one's culture, both nationally and internationally.

The final section presents a brief conclusion to the literature review.

Māori Identity Pre Colonisation

Before European contact, the word Māori simply meant normal or usual. There was no concept of a Māori identity in the sense of cultural or even national similarities... The original inhabitants of New Zealand did not refer to themselves as Māori; rather they were Rangitane or Ngāti Apa or Tūhoe or any of forty or more tribes (Durie, 1998, p. 53).

As seen in the above statement, the notion of a 'Māori identity' was not one that was nationally driven by iwi. Indeed, each whānau, hapū and iwi had its own name and identity, and referred to themselves as such.

According to Durie (2003), the signing of the Declaration of Independence by thirty five Northern chiefs in 1835 heralded the start of a collective national Māori identity, but it wasn't until the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and the "subsequent rapid colonisation of New Zealand that a more widely accepted Māori identity emerged." (p. 53).

Colonisation and Urbanisation

The colonisation process and its subsequent effect on traditional Māori values saw a major transformation of Māori life. The consequence, according to Nicholls (1998) was that the Māori world-view was "subsumed into another culture" (p. 60). Urbanisation meant that Māori were moving away from their cultural roots, which were based on whānau, hapū and iwi. Moeke-Pickering (1996) adds to this by stating that weakening the "tribal structures meant reducing the primacy of those identities that were meaningful for Māori" (no page number).

The 1920s saw the start of a gradual shift of the Māori population from rural to urban areas with fewer than 20 percent of Māori people living in cities by 1926. However, it was not until the 1940s that the most noticeable urban shift started taking place (Meredith, 2006). By 1945, 26 percent of Māori were living in urban areas, largely due to the utilisation of Māori who were not eligible for war service to support or 'manpower' industrial jobs necessary for the war effort. Mass migration continued into the 1950s and by the mid 1960s, 62 percent of Māori were living in urban areas. 1960 was also the year the Hunn Report (a report written about the state of the Department of Māori Affairs) advocated policies of assimilation and integration of Māori moving into urban areas (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The 1990s saw more than 80 percent of Māori living in urban areas (Meredith, 2006).

During this period major changes took place which dislocated traditional Māori society. Such changes meant that Māori no longer had the traditional family networks that had existed rurally. According to Walker (1990) the migration of Māori from rural to urban areas was the result of a conscious decision to search for what has been described as "the big three - money, work and pleasure" (p. 198). Also, many Māori saw their rural lifestyles as too conservative and the city offered the attraction of adventure and financial security (Meredith, 2006), albeit located away from their family and tribal bases:

The consequences of urbanisation meant that a number of Māori were not exposed to maintaining and organising themselves primarily around their whānau, hapū and papakainga (home base, original home). (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, no page number).

So, for many of these urbanised individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi were no longer the focal point of their identity with many never returning to their tūrangawaewae (place where one has rights of residence or belonging through whakapapa), or seeing the relevance of a Māori identity, content instead with living life in mainstream New Zealand.

Measures of Māori Identity

Definitions of Māori identity are varied in nature and have been, and continue to be, highly contested. Kukutai (2004) describes various attempts made in New Zealand to measure Māori identity. One such measure is Ritchie's "degree of Māoriness scale" which uses ten items such as "blood" (three quarters Māori or more), marae visits, living in a Pā (Māori village) and the ability to name their traditional canoe as a scale to determine how Māori one is (Ritchie, 1963, p. 38). Kukutai (2004, p. 90) also identifies Metge's "schema of Māoritanga" as another measure of Māori identity. The scale consists of twelve items which include loyalty to Māori, generosity, a deliberate happy-go-lucky attitude to time and money, and a refusal to worry over the future or plan too far ahead, as measures of Māori identity (Metge, 1964, p. 94).

Government census-derived definitions of 'Māori' can be captured within the collection of ethnicity that has changed repeatedly over time. Cormack & Robson (2010, p. 6) state that early government definitions of Māori began as "half-caste, living as members of Māori tribes" or "half-castes living as Europeans". This meant if you were living as a Māori, whether or not you were European or Māori, then you were classified as Māori. The terminology then changed in 1926 when the census asked a question about full-blood or half-blood. In the 1936 census, respondents were asked to indicate their fractions of blood (in greater than half or full). In 1976, the census reduced the focus on blood quantum measures to incorporate a socially constructed definition of ethnicity (which was provided alongside a question on Māori descent). In 1981, the portion of the question relating to descent was removed but the ethnic origin question remained including tick boxes for "full" origin (e.g. 'full Māori') (Cormack & Robson, 2010, p. 9-10). In 1986, the census did not ask respondents to calculate fractions of descent (removing blood quantum measures), and moved to definitions based around affiliation and self-identification allowing respondents to self identify with more than one ethnicity (Howard & Didham, as cited in Cormack & Robson, 2010, p. 10). Variations of the ethnicity question have been used in the census since 1986. It should however be noted that the "degree of Māori blood" measurement

was still used on birth and death registration forms up until September 1995 (Cormack & Robson, 2010, p 20).

How Māori are defined and therefore counted within New Zealand has implications for resource access and legal rights. Kukutai (2004) argues that any definition of Māori ought to include both ancestry and ethnicity, and goes on to say:

Persons of Māori descent who do not identify as Māori should not be counted as Māori for most general policy and legal purposes. They are New Zealanders of Māori ancestry, as distinct from persons who consider themselves to be culturally Māori. Similarly, the small number of persons who culturally identify as Māori but are not of Māori descent should not be considered part of the Māori population because they have no whakapapa claim (p. 101).

Arohia Durie (1997) sees some combinations or all of the following as likely to make up the basis of claims to Māori identity: whakapapa (ancestry, or the knowledge of ancestry), knowledge of mātua tīpuna (grandparents, ancestors), knowledge of connections to whānau, hapū and iwi, connections to tūrangawaewae (place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship), acknowledgements by iwi, hapū and whānau of reciprocal kinship connections, shareholdings in Māori land, upbringing, facility with te reo Māori (Māori language), understanding of tikanga-a-iwi (tribal customs), active participation in Māori organisations, commitment to fostering Māori advancement, and freedom of choice (p.159).

The Department of Māori studies, Massey University, is leading a longitudinal study, called Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR), of 700 Māori households and 1600 individuals which would enable cultural, economic and personal factors to be correlated (Te Hoe Nuku Roa, 2004). Part of the study asks participants if they self-identify as Māori and also asks if they have quantifiable involvement in, and/or knowledge of whakapapa (genealogy, descent), marae participation, whānau, whenua tipu (ancestral lands), contacts with Māori people and te reo Māori (Durie, 1998, p. 58). The findings from this study places people into one of four identity groups; secure identity, positive identity, notional identity and a compromised identity.

A study conducted by Borell (2005) looking at the identity of urban Māori youth presented valuable insights into the reality of young urban Māori who are struggling with their identity and 'how Māori' they feel they are, or what they perceive as 'being Māori'. The findings revealed that there were multiple ways that urban youth defined themselves as being Māori (e.g. locality factors associated with being 'Southside' and experiential factors such as material disadvantage) and that there was potential to label youth as inadequate or marginalise them even further if we attempt to define being Māori from a traditional cultural lens. Indeed Borell (2005) directly challenges the traditional indicators of Māori identity and writes:

what makes up Māori identity as described in these models implies a certain way of being Māori that is likely to reflect the cultural identity of some Māori but not others. The risk here is that Māori youth, in particular those that are not deeply or actively steeped in such recognised dimensions of the culture, are often invisible. Their identity markers as Māori are therefore often misunderstood and as a result many may be doubly marginalised (p. 34).

Similarly, a study conducted by Houkamau (2006) also found similar feelings of inadequacy from some Māori women when asked if they are knowledgeable in certain 'Māori' characteristics. Houkamau (2006) writes:

Most women [interviewed in the research] recognised that the orthodox view of Māori identity is that 'it' involves knowing one's Māori ancestry, understanding cultural traditions and protocols and being able to speak the Māori language. While many appreciated that these things were beneficial for Māori people, they also recognised that these particular conventions carried negative consequences for Māori who were not culturally competent... For some women, their inability to fulfil what others saw as the 'proper' Māori role made them feel left out, as if they did not belong. (p. 218).

Indeed, McIntosh (2005) says that the inability of some Māori to trace whakapapa or speak te reo Māori "excludes them in different fora" and that it can be "painful for Māori to confront this reality" (p. 45). Webber (2009) goes on to say:

what makes one Māori is never clear cut and, like culture, it is dynamic, contextual and situational... and that there are multiple roles and statuses that we all occupy, and what might privilege us in one context may be used to marginalise us in another. (p. 2).

Research regarding Māori identity by Houkamau (2008) of 35 Māori women born in three different age classifications (pre 1950s, 1950-1970 and post 1970s) also found that many of the participants born between 1950 and 1970 felt disconnected from their Māori identity, (possibly due to being born around the period of mass Māori urbanisation). However, young Māori women (born post 1970) were more comfortable in affirming their Māori political and cultural equality “even in the face of perceived Pākehā prejudice” (p. 217). Interestingly, the post 1970’s group were born around the same time as the period of renaissance for Māori.

The Māori Renaissance

Although the urbanisation of Māori threatened the loss of Māori identity, there was a cultural renaissance of urban-Māori in the 1970s and 1980s that helped to mitigate this loss. According to Walker (1990, p. 10), the renaissance coincided with the recovery of the Māori population to well over 400,000 by the early 1990s. The formation of Māori volunteer groups such as sports clubs, culture clubs and tribal organisations are noted by Walker (1990, p. 199) as one of the keys to the successful adjustment of Māori to urban life. The developments helped Māori to continue to identify as Māori, and further advancement of urban-Māori identity took place with the construction of urban-marae. The marae is traditionally seen as the focal point of many cultural occasions and urban-marae were built for the same purpose thus further strengthening the identity of Māori living in urban areas (Walker, 1990, p. 200).

In addition, the emergence of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa meant that some Māori parents could choose to reintegrate their children into the Māori language and culture which may have been previously inaccessible. Māori language classes were also no longer exclusive to schools but became available to parents themselves, (in some cases free of charge) Māori and

non-Māori alike. Many of the Māori language classes included noho-marae (marae stays) where marae protocol, history, genealogy and many other traditional Māori values are taught. The opening of Māori Television in 2004 and the arrival of the Māori Party in the same year saw an increasing Māori presence in contemporary New Zealand society (Māori Party, 2004; NZ History, 2004).

Urban Māori Authorities (UMA) such as Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust were formed in the 1980s and 1990s in an effort to represent urban Māori. Furthermore, in 2003, five UMA combined to become the National Urban Māori Authority (NUMA) “as a political voice for urban dwelling Māori” (NUMA, 2009). Although a legal application for NUMA to be regarded as an iwi was declined (Levine, 2001, p. 167), NUMA have been successful in accessing funding to provide social and health services such as Whānau Ora (NUMA, 2010) possibly making further in-roads in their desire to be seen as a new form of iwi, and thereby creating their own identity.

Whichever way one looks at the subject of identity, the one constant is that it continues to change. Arohia Durie (1997) states that “identities continue to be made as life circumstances change so given sufficient confidence and opportunity, even the submerged can recover a Māori identity” (p. 157). Arguably, sport can assist in this recovery by, at the very least, bringing urban Māori together under the one roof to participate in an event. Palmer (2006) suggests that:

Māori have played an important role in shaping New Zealand's identity as a nation, and this can be seen in the most positive sense within the institution of sport (p. 261).

Māori and Sport

Māori have always had a great affiliation for sport. In pre-European times, according to McConnel (2000, p. 228), sport was such a normal part of life that “it was not seen as separate to everyday living nor did it have to be slotted into a certain part of the day”. McConnel (2000, p. 228) adds to this by stating that “Māori had no single word for sport”. The notion that sport

was a normal part of living and fits into any part of the day was a common theme of many indigenous peoples and was reflected in the aboriginal peoples in Australia, the indigenous American First Nations (Cashman, 1995) and the Pacific Island cultures (Te'evale, 2001). It could be argued that this indigenous view of sport came from a different cultural perspective than that of Pākehā. Osterhoudt (1991) says the coloniser's perspective of sport was more 'mechanistic in nature' and was a domain of structured life, separate from everyday society.

Traditional Māori games and pastimes, referred to as "ngā mahi a te rēhia" (denoting 'amusements') not only served as pleasing pastimes but "were also the cause of much social enjoyment" (Best, 1952, p.137). Intertwined in ngā mahi a te rēhia were the myths and legends that were a natural part of pastimes and the Māori world view. As Best (1952) writes:

Ever true to his mytho-poetic nature, the Maori of past times sought to explain the origin of all amusements and arts of pleasure by attributing them to certain mythical personages of remote times (p. 11)

For example, a popular legend relating to ngā mahi a te rēhia is that of the ancestors Tinirau, Tutunui and Kae. According to one legend, Kae performed a sacred ritual during the birth of Tinirau's daughter. As a token of his thanks, Tinirau gave Kae a piece of his pet whale, Tutunui, to eat. Kae then stole Tutunui and the whale was subsequently killed and eaten by Kae and his people. Upon hearing of this, Tinirau sent a group of females to kill Kae as he knew a party of male warriors would draw suspicion. Kae's distinguishing feature was that he had extremely crooked teeth and so once the women arrived at the village they started performing "amusing games" including a "posture dance" which led to the identification and death of Kae (Best, 1952, p. 12). Other such myths served the purpose of connecting Māori with the spiritual world. Indeed, Royal (1998) cites a number of stories and legends relating to specific parts of haka, dance and other forms of ngā mahi a te rēhia. Brown (2008) goes on to say:

Games connected Māori directly and powerfully to their spiritual beliefs and their wairua. All games had strong links to the

numerous Atua (Gods, deities), which Māori believed were the guardians to the realms of the world (p. 9).

In pre-colonial times, recreation for Māori could be seen in many ways including “inter-community contests” where one party of people would travel to another, for the purpose of competing in, what would be termed nowadays, as sports contests. The contests might consist of wrestling, kite-flying, swimming or canoe racing or may include “more skilled games” such as tī rākau (dart throwing) (Best, 2005, p. 14, Thomas & Dyall, 1999, p. 120). Best (1952) goes on to say:

The communistic social system of the Māori people, combined with their absence of a graphic system whereby to conserve their ancient lore, and provide recreation, caused them to carefully preserve their unwritten literature, and to rely much on games, pastimes and vocal music as a means of passing winter evenings and other periods of leisure (p. 12).

However, the arrival of the Pākehā would mean the Māori way of life, including ngā mahi a te rēhia, was about to change forever.

Colonisation, Education and Māori pastimes

The impact that colonisation has had on traditional Māori sports and pastimes according to McConnell (2000, p.231) has been devastating and Te Rangihiroa (1958, p. 250) adds “the old Māori games have practically disappeared and been replaced by games learnt from Pākehā”. Brown, (2008) supports this by stating:

As Māori culture became subsumed by European culture and Eurocentric ways of recording history, the ancient games were obliterated from the New Zealand way of life (p. 9).

Crawford (as cited in Palmer, 2006, p. 262) highlights the role schools played in the eradication of traditional Māori pastimes due to the strong religious views held by the missionaries of the time, and their unwillingness to accept other beliefs. Crawford writes:

Soon after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori mind and body were assimilated to reflect the attributes...of the

dominant culture. Māori students in schools were discouraged from continuing with ngā mahi a te rēhia as they were considered antagonistic to Western and Christian ideals. (p. 262).

Sorrenson (1988) refers to correspondence between Sir Peter Buck and Sir Apirana Ngata as an indication of the change in Māori culture including the loss of the old-time games through schools:

Reverting to adaptations and assimilations of culture I mentioned earlier in this letter the disconcerting elements introduced through the schools and especially the secondary schools. Take games – all the Maori games have been lost... Marbles, hop scotch, pop-guns, tennis, hockey, football, have supplanted the older games (p. 164).

Attempts to reintroduce traditional Māori pastimes into the school curriculum in the last 70 years, although well intentioned, have been met with skepticism. Educators such as Phillip Smithells, inaugural Dean of the School of Physical Education at the University of Otago in the 1940's, has been widely recognised as one of the leaders in attempting to revitalise Māori pastimes in the physical education programme in the 1940s. However, Hokowhitu (2004a, p. 73) writes although Smithells advocated for Māori pastimes, his efforts "merely reproduced Māori physical activities via recognisable western definitions".

Further Māori physical activity programmes such as 'Te Reo Kori', (a programme which uses traditional forms of Māori movement and song) were introduced into schools in the 1990s and was seen by some as the answer to returning to some of the values that had been lost. However, Hokowhitu (2004a, p. 75) says research carried out on Te Reo Kori found that the programme was too simplistic and was more advantageous for Pākehā students than for Māori already versed in tikanga. The Te Reo Kori programme, while implemented with good intentions, was delivered in order to fit into a western view of education and failed to acknowledge Māori movement in its full capacity, removing such things as whakapapa or genealogy.

Introduction of New Sports

Although the process of assimilation meant that many traditional Māori games had been removed from society, Māori were quick to learn the skills of the new introduced sports, with many Māori sportspeople dominating their respective sports. Crawford (as cited in Palmer, 2006, p 262) writes that as the western sports came to dominate the New Zealand landscape, Māori adopted and indeed excelled at many of those sports. Sports stars such as George Nepia (rugby), Ruia Morrison (tennis), Waimarama Taumaunu (netball), Wayne Shelford (rugby) and Dean Bell (rugby league), are examples of prominent Māori sportspeople. More recently, Palmer (2006) sees the use of Māori culture at the 2004 Athens Olympics, the individual and collective pride displayed following Michael Campbell's 2005 U.S Open win and the use of sports such as waka ama and touch of how Māori culture can have a positive impact on sport experiences, Māori and New Zealand identities (Palmer, 2006, p 261). James and Saville-Smith (as cited in Palmer, 2006, p 262) go on to say that rugby and netball are the sports that "Māori have made a major impact on in New Zealand culture and identity, and have benefited from the social status associated with success in sport". Hokowhitu (2003) adds by stating that:

Māori achieved more in sport than any other area of New Zealand society and that sport was the only mainstream activity where Māori could achieve success and compete with Pākehā on an even playing field." (p. 209).

However, Hokowhitu (2004a, p. 268) goes on to say that success for Māori on the sports field has been a part of a wider agenda from Pākehā who look to further control Māori, and that Māori success in sport has been engineered by the dominant culture to steer Māori clear of other more academic avenues. Hokowhitu (2004b) notes that the discourse views Māori and other dark skinned people as physically gifted and white skinned people as intellectually superior. In other words, Māori were "naturally gifted athletes" and "physically superior", traits requiring little intellect. This view, sometimes called 'race logic' (Thompson, Rewi & Wrathall, 2000, p. 251) suggests that Māori are more physical by nature and their destiny lies in the more physical occupations, while positions of influence and decision making should be

given to white players. Thus, whilst acknowledging Māori have adjusted well to introduced sport, there is also the view that Māori integration into sport has reflected notions of cultural inferiority with the subsequent exclusion from positions of power within the sporting domain, as well as exclusion from academic intellectual avenues.

Contemporary Inter-Iwi Sport

Inter-iwi or inter-marae sport has been a very popular way of engaging Māori in rural communities. The origin of the modern form of inter-marae sports is unclear but the events have been a successful means of celebrating iwitanga (tribal culture) in many rural areas and according to Thomas & Dyall (1999) have been important for fostering tribal development and assisting the maintenance of cultural values and knowledge:

Competition, the pursuit of excellence, being a member of a team, and showing individual leadership have been considered important by Maori in many settings, such as on the marae, at tribal gatherings (hui), and at sporting events (Thomas & Dyall, 1999, p. 120)

The tournaments allow whānau, hapū and iwi bonds to be maintained and developed. Sport is the drawcard, but it provides a setting where links are strengthened (Thomas & Dyall, p. 120).

For Ngāti Porou, New Zealand's second largest tribe, it is a chance for whānau members to return to their roots to reunite with each other. Ngāti Porou Chairman Api Mahuika comments on Pā Wars:

It's about inter-generational participation, reuniting families 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).

As noted above, Ngāti Porou Pā Wars is not just about sport, but includes activities such as iwi trivial pursuit, euchre, darts, line dancing, karaoke, healthy cooking competitions and many other not so well known activities. The one-day festival is held on the third day of every January and has

attracted thousands of people over the last few years (Barry Soutar, personal communication, March 31, 2010).

For Tūhoe (Māori tribal group of the central North Island of New Zealand), their bi-ennial, four-day festival sees thousands of Tūhoe descendants returning to their tribal area. Tūhoe elders initiated the festival 40 years ago because they feared that their people were leaving their roots to find work in the cities and were therefore losing their Tūhoe identity in the process. The occasion has been seen as a chance to celebrate the tribe's culture, language and ancestry (NZ Herald 2007).

The aim of the Ngāti Whātua Ngā Rima O Kaipara Hākinakina (Five Marae of the South Kaipara sports day) is to bring “rangatahi (youth), mātua (parents), kuia (female elders) and kaumātua [probably meant to say ‘koroua’ which means male elders] together to enjoy the spirit of tribal and whānau unity through sporting activities” (Harbour Sport, 2006).

In April 2011, the Te Arawa Games, held in Rotorua, was rekindled after a ten-year break in an effort to strengthen Te Arawa iwitanga through sport (Te Arawa Games, 2011).

Many other Māori iwi, hapū and whānau throughout New Zealand hold their own versions of inter-hapū sports events and festivals to celebrate their particular iwi uniqueness and identity. Indeed, Thomas & Dyll (1999) state:

Pride comes from identification, a sense of belonging and being part of a group. Sport now provides this sense of belonging for many Māori especially young Māori who have lost their tribal roots or who are living outside their tribal area. Sport plays an important role in nurturing the social and cultural identity of individuals and groups (p. 121).

Health initiatives have also used sport to enhance cultural identity which has lead to a positive effect on Māori communities. Eketone (2006) describes a case study called the Tapuwae Māori community development initiative that was formed in an effort to reduce drink driving in Māori males by taking traditional Māori concepts, particularly around waka ama (double hulled

canoe), and adapting them to a contemporary context. The programme reinforced the purpose of tikanga in Māori society and drew parallels between the tikanga of the 'waka' (vehicle) you paddle and the 'waka' you drive. One of the contemporary applications of tikanga is that you do not paddle a waka if you are under the influence of drugs or alcohol and there are safety, cultural and spiritual reasons for why this is so (Eketone, 2006). The approach resulted in improved attitudes towards drinking and driving with significant drops in the percentage of men who agreed it was okay to drive after having a couple of drinks, or that it was okay to drive after drinking as long as you were under the limit (Eketone, 2006, p. 476).

Paenga (2008) conducted research investigating the traditional philosophies and practices that kapa haka (Māori performing group) contribute towards wellbeing and identity as processes for Māori, that can be utilised in Māori health promotion. Paenga (2008) interviewed nine experienced kapa haka participants and asked them, among other things, about the impact kapa haka had made in their lives and how it shaped their identity (p. 63). One of the major findings was that kapa haka is an important vehicle for the construction of a secure Māori identity which was part of wellbeing, whanaungatanga and learning skills that could transfer into other areas of life (Paenga, 2008, p. 108).

Sports events can also strengthen cultural identity for migrants who have moved away from their respective places of birth. Bergin (2002) gives examples of Māori sports tournaments held throughout Australia where participants re-engage with, or strengthen their cultural identity through, the use of Māori protocols such as pōwhiri (process of welcome), karanga (ceremonial call of welcome to visitors), whaikōrero (oratory), hākari (celebratory feast) and the celebration of whanaungatanga during these sports events. Bergin (2002, p. 266-267) also comments on examples of Australian born Māori, who have previously had no desire to learn about Māori culture, coming to New Zealand for sports trips, getting a taste of their Māori culture and returning to Australia wanting to learn more about their ancestral heritage.

A similar approach is taken by the people of the Pacific islands who have moved to New Zealand but struggle to maintain their Polynesian culture and identity (Te'evale, 2001). Of particular interest is the use of kilikiti (a Samoan form of cricket) tournaments as an example of maintaining a Pacific identity in Auckland. Te'evale (2001) also refers to how Pacific Island people living in Auckland organise their own sports events and sports organisations, further strengthening their identity in the midst of a dominant Papalagi (European) society. There is an irony that Pacific identity is strengthened by the experience of being an ethnic minority and that "sporting success is perhaps the one domain where Pacific peoples find success in a Papalagi-dominated society" (Te'evale, 2001, p. 220.)

Sport and Identity in the Global context

Sport activities have a global significance for populations who are asserting identity. For example, there is an interesting account of the role of traditional Irish sport and its connection to promoting cultural identity in Northern Ireland. Hassan (2006) says traditional Irish sport has served to strengthen regional and intra-regional rivalries. The interest in indigenous Irish games, in particular Gaelic football, has always been very strong, as opposed to the more internationally recognized sport of soccer which is seen very much as a British sport. To engage with the game of soccer is thought to question one's commitment to a particular, albeit somewhat traditional, view of 'Irishness'.

Consistent with many indigenous communities, traditional North American cultural sport and recreational activities were removed through the process of colonisation and a new "more civilised" form of sport was introduced by the colonisers as a tool to assist assimilation. However, Forsyth and Wamsley (2006) write that these new sports have worked in contradiction to the intended purpose by providing opportunities for indigenous communities to:

Overcome the oppression of forced education, to reshape their cultural values and celebrate sporting achievements on their own terms. (p. 299).

Forsyth and Wamsley (2006) use the North American indigenous games as examples of indigenous communities reviving their self-determination and

cultural identity giving strength to the concept of improving cultural identity through sport.

Indigenous sporting activities have provided viable contexts for Native American peoples in North America to retain their identity despite continuous contact with other cultures. Cheska (1987) uses examples of how tribe-specific indigenous sporting mannerisms are used to re-emphasise cultural identity among various Native American tribes (Cheska, 1987). However, Cheska does go on to say that some of those examples highlight the in-tribe prejudice that occurs between those who are stronger with their heritage than those who are not.

The colonisation of Tunisia by the French saw many traditional sports threatened by the sports played by the new, dominant culture (Sato, 2004). However, the colonised Tunisian people soon became very good at many of these introduced sports, especially soccer, and they took the opportunity to challenge and oppose the Western European nations, especially France, on the playing field, which fostered a new sense of national identity (Sato, 2004).

The examples given above show that in countries which have been colonised, and those who are an ethnic minority in a foreign land, have used sport as a way of redeveloping an identity for their culture and, in some cases, have even become more dominant at the sport than the coloniser. It could be argued that since sport was such a normal part of everyday life for many indigenous peoples in the pre-colonisation period, indigenous peoples have adapted to introduced sport more easily than expected. However, it should also be noted that 'race logic' (see page 23) can also play a part in sports which are controlled by the dominant culture.

Māori Sports events in Auckland

There have been examples of inter-whānau (inter-family, between families) sports within urban Māori settings which have been very successful in engaging many Māori throughout the Auckland region.

For example, the Waipareira Challenge run by Te Whānau O Waipareira Trust (an urban Māori authority based in West Auckland) was a two-day sporting event that ran from 1998 to 2004 with thousands of people turning up to the event each year. The theme of the event was to encourage healthy lifestyles among Māori through sport, nutrition and injury prevention and to encourage non-smoking and non-alcoholic events to Māori. According to the event organiser, some of the major attractions of the event were the cash prizes, as well as whakairo (carvings) which were given to winners of the respective sporting codes (Rocky Tahuri, personal communication, 4 June, 2007).

The biennial regional kapa haka competition also draws thousands of kapa haka enthusiasts from around Auckland. Teams represent many different urban Māori groups such as Te Whānau o Waipareira, Te Wānanga Takiura (made up of teachers and students from a Māori teachers training college) and Porou Ariki (made up of Ngāti Porou descendants living in Auckland). The winning teams gain the opportunity to represent Auckland at the national kapa haka competition which is hosted by different iwi every second year.

The events identified above are just two examples of Māori sport related events being driven by Māori, for Māori in Auckland. Unfortunately, there has been no research carried out regarding the effects of Māori identity in relation to the events.

Identifying Barriers and implementing Strategies to participation

A 'Māori participation in sport and physical activity' study conducted in Tainui by Rewi, (Thompson, Rewi & Wrathall, 2000, p. 244) revealed some of the barriers to sport and physical activity faced by Māori adults. The main barrier for the participants was cost with sports equipment, fees, uniforms and facilities listed as the major expenses. Shyness was the second most common barrier with a lack of confidence being the third. Strategies identified to increase levels of participation were greater encouragement for Māori youth, greater parental involvement in encouraging their children, and reducing the cost. The study also showed that Māori were likely to be

involved if there was greater Māori input at organisational level. Rewi (Thompson, Rewi & Wrathall, 2000) goes on to say:

They believed that more marae based competitions, more Māori coaches and administrators would lead to a fairer and less alienating sporting environment (p. 245).

Further findings from a separate study conducted by Wrathall (Thompson, Rewi & Wrathall, 2000, p. 246) highlighted the importance of whānau support. Whānau in this context refers to immediate whānau and extended whānau. The findings of both studies are important to the current study as they can provide guidance on which to base any further Māori sports programmes or events in Auckland.

Creating an Opportunity

Using sport to promote tribal identity and whanaungatanga at community level has been left mainly to events such as 'Pā Wars', where an individual or family represent one of their marae or hapū at a sports event. The events are very popular for many tribes with some participants travelling from other parts of the country to compete. Unfortunately for urban Māori such as those living in Auckland, the events usually take place in traditional tribal areas outside of the Auckland area. Meanwhile, there are virtually no inter-iwi sports events held in the one area where one-in-four Māori live; that is Auckland. Meanwhile, for those urban Māori who participate in their own inter-marae sports events, they have to travel to their respective tūrangawaewae to participate in these types of events when in reality, for tribes such as Ngāti Porou, there are more than three-times the number of Ngāti Porou affiliates living in Auckland (13,215) than there are in the Ngāti Porou region (4,250 living in the area from the East Cape to the outskirts of Gisborne city) (Ngāti Porou ki Tāmaki, 2007).

Therefore it is proposed that the use of an inter-iwi urban sports event held in Auckland, will provide a platform to conduct research on the link between Māori sport, Māori identity and urban Māori.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology and Methods

Methodology refers to the principles underlying particular research approaches as distinct from 'methods', which are ways of collecting data (Dew, 2007, p. 433). Therefore, methodology determines a method for researchers to produce data for analysis (Carter & Little, 2008).

The reason the above statements are leading this chapter is to highlight that although methodology and method are linked, they have quite different roles. Many of the writings that have been examined by the researcher have been ambiguous in their explanations and definitions of both. Therefore it is the researcher's intention to begin the chapter with some clarity around the meanings and differences between methods and methodology.

An examination of the methodological approaches of the current research will be provided in the chapter, highlighting Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR), and Grounded Theory as the methodological approaches. It is followed by a brief discussion of qualitative research and in particular the 'in-depth interview' research method. Structured and unstructured interview questions are also reviewed followed by the advantages and disadvantages of the in-depth interview. The chapter continues with a look at the participant selection process (sampling) with a particular focus on 'purposive' sampling. A description is given of the sampling processes used for the current research followed by an explanation of the interview schedule and the questions used during the interviews. Data analysis will then be reviewed followed by the ethical considerations taken for the research.

Kaupapa Māori Research Methodology

Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) has been used as a methodological framework to provide philosophical direction and guidance for this thesis. Post-colonial research was built on western approaches of understanding, learning and knowing with very little regard for indigenous cultural practices and generally with indigenous communities being seen as 'the other' (Said, 1978). The history of post-colonial research practices, from many indigenous

perspectives, is so deeply embedded in colonisation that some regarded it as a tool only of colonisation and not as a potential tool for self-determination and development (Smith, 2005, p. 87). Bishop (2005, p. 110) says that one of the results of colonisation has been the development of a tradition of research into Māori people's lives that addresses concerns and interests of the predominantly non-Māori researchers' own making. Such a non-indigenous approach has indeed resulted in some resistance to research from indigenous communities.

According to Bishop, (2005) the discontent and disruption of this Eurocentric form of research has led to the emergence of KMR. Linda Smith (2000) has also noted that the move to KMR has led to a lessening of resistance, if ever so slightly, to the idea of conducting research for Māori:

One of the challenges for researchers working in this context is to retrieve some space. Firstly, to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori. Secondly, to convince Pākehā (European, fair skinned, often refers to people of European ethnicity) of the need for greater Māori involvement in research. Thirdly, to develop approaches to, and ways of carrying out research that take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research and the parameters of both previous and current approaches to research. What is now being referred to as Kaupapa Māori Research is an attempt to retrieve that space and achieve these general aims (p. 225).

KMR places the focus on Māori ways of knowing, learning and understanding in an effort to put Māori at the centre of the research where there is a positive outcome for Māori.

According to Bishop (2005, p. 115), a Kaupapa Māori position is predicated on the understanding that a Māori means of accessing, defining and protecting knowledge existed before the arrival of the European, and have always been legitimate within Māori cultural discourses. This is despite the fact that Māori were marginalised after being guaranteed protection by the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi.

Graham Smith (as cited in L.T. Smith, 1999, p.185) says KMR is related to being Māori; is connected to Māori philosophy and principles; takes for

granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori and the importance of Māori language and culture; and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy. Bishop (2005) adds that a fundamental approach to KMR is a:

discursive practice that is kaupapa Māori that positions researchers in such a way as to operationalise self-determination in terms of agentic positioning and behaviour for the participant (p.115).

Given the above descriptions, KMR in the context of this thesis will be defined by the following:

- *It is by Māori, with Māori, for Māori*
The research was carried out with Māori participants by a Māori researcher with supervision from senior Māori academics. Following the final report, a copy of the thesis is available for Māori participants to use within their respective communities.
- *It will put Māori at the centre of the research*
Māori is not seen as the 'other' in the research project. Instead the research has Māori as the centre of the research with Māori appropriate framing and analysis.
- *It aims to produce positive outcomes for Māori*
The analysis of data from this research is focused on ensuring that positive outcomes for Māori are hypothesised and appropriate recommendations (focussed on positive outcomes specific to Māori) made.
- *It acknowledges the emancipatory potential of cultural identity*
This research is consistent with the emancipatory nature of KMR by focussing on the positive implications that strong cultural identity may provide for Māori.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is also used as a philosophical base within the data analysis section of the study. According to Charmaz (2000, p. 522) grounded

theory research fits into the broader traditions of fieldwork and qualitative analysis. Adele Clarke (2007) states:

Grounded Theory is first and foremost a mode of analysis of largely qualitative research data. That is, it does not claim to offer a fully elaborated methodology from soup to nuts – from project design to data collection to final write-up. Many elements of a full-blown methodology are offered, but data analysis is the focus of most of the texts.” (p.424).

Singleton & Straits (2010) summarise commentator’s views on grounded theory as theory that is generated from the data. Miles & Huberman (1994) note that the ‘grounded’ approach advocates loosely structured research designs that allow theoretical ideas to emerge from the field in the course of the study.

Although grounded theory can be seen as a positive approach by allowing the data to generate theory, it has been criticised for its failure to acknowledge implicit theories which guide work at an early stage (Silverman, 2000, p. 145). Silverman (2000) also suggests that “grounded theory, used unintelligently, can degenerate into a fairly empty building of categories or into a mere smokescreen to legitimise purely empiricist research” (p. 145).

The current study will follow the description identified by Clarke (2007) regarding grounded theory:

Thus a grounded theory of a particular phenomenon is composed of the analytic codes and categories generated abductively in the analysis and assessed in terms of their theoretical / analytical capabilities. Over time, the categories are explicitly integrated to form a theory of the substantive area that is the focus of the research project. (p. 424).

It is also the intention of the current research to adopt a path that allows the continued development of qualitative traditions without accepting the “positivistic trappings of objectivism and universality” (Charmaz (2000, p. 523). As a consequence, the researcher will be able to look at topics and issues subjectively.

Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research has been conducted during this research. Simply put, qualitative research focuses on phenomena that occur in “natural settings, and the data are analysed without the use of statistics” (Jackson, 2008, p. 88) as opposed to quantitative research that “focuses on the use of numbers and emphasises the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, rather than processes” (Denzin & Ryan, 2007, p. 582). Gaskell (2000) adds to this by stating:

The real purpose of qualitative research is not counting opinions or people but rather exploring the range of opinions, the different representations of the issue. (p. 41)

The choice of either qualitative or quantitative methodologies in social research is dependent on what the researcher wants to find out. For instance, as Silverman (2000) writes, “if one wanted to discover how people intend to vote, then they may consider a quantitative method such as a social survey. However, if one were concerned with exploring people’s life histories or everyday behaviour, then qualitative methods may be favoured” (p. 1).

Denzin and Ryan (2007, p. 582) note that the word ‘qualitative’ implies an emphasis on processes and meanings which are not rigorously examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount and frequency. Silverman (2000) adds that qualitative research allows some ‘flexibility’ that can be seen by some as encouraging innovation but can be criticised by others as having a lack of structure (p. 2).

Some of the methods used to gather qualitative data include observation (making observations of human or other animal behaviour), (Jackson, 2008, p. 81), focus groups (a form of evaluation in which groups are assembled to discuss potential changes or shared impressions), (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 27), and, in the case of the current study, the personal interview also known as the one to one interview or the in-depth interview.

In-depth Interviews

According to Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (2000, p. 213), the in-depth interview is a face to face, interpersonal role situation in which an interviewer

asks respondents questions designed to elicit answers pertinent to the research hypothesis. Gaskell (2000) adds to this by stating:

...it is an interaction, an exchange of ideas and meanings, in which various realities and perceptions are explored and developed. To this extent, both the respondent and the interviewer are in different ways involved in the production of knowledge (p. 45)

The questions, their wording, and their sequence define the structure of the interview (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000, p. 213). A 'structured interview' is an interview that has questions that are created in advance and the same questions are asked of each participant. In an 'unstructured interview', the questions vary depending on the interviewee's responses (Cavana, Delahaye & Sekaran, 2001; Sekaran, 2000; Spatz & Kardas, 2008). The in-depth un-structured interview was chosen for this research because it gave the researcher flexibility to inquire further if it was felt that more information was required. Therefore, although the unstructured interview has some structure, it "attempts to understand the complex behaviour of members without imposing any priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 653).

There are both advantages and disadvantages to using the personal interview. When compared to telephone interviews, Sekaran (2000) writes that the main disadvantages of in-depth interviews include the geographical limitations of interviews that may restrict a countrywide or international reach, the cost of training interviewers (to minimize interviewer bias) and a potential uneasy feeling the interviewee may feel when interacting face to face. Gaskell (2000, p. 45) adds to this by stating that the interviewee may not have given the topic serious consideration, so when asked questions about the chosen topic, he or she may be self-conscious and even a little hesitant and defensive. Questions may arise within the interviewee of trust towards the interviewer? Can they say what they really feel? The interviewee may respond with answers they feel the interviewer would want to hear or to adopt positions on issues that match a particular self-image (Sekaran, 2000, p. 45). In addition, personal interviews can also take more time than other methods (Spatz & Kardas, 2008, p. 318).

Some of the advantages of the personal interview include the ability of the interviewer to adapt the questions as necessary, clarify any doubts, and ensure that the responses are properly understood by repeating or rephrasing the question (Sekaran, 2000). According to Lawrence Neuman (2006), the personal interview has the highest response rates and permits the longest questionnaires. The interviewers can also observe the surroundings and can use non-verbal communication and visual aids (p. 301). They also have the ability to establish a rapport with the respondent (Cavana et al., 2001) therefore, essentially, in the successful in-depth interview the personal worldview of the interviewee is explored in detail (Gaskell, 2000, p. 46).

Sampling

The process of selecting participants for a research project is known as sampling (Dane, 1990, p. 289). Any part of a specific population is considered a sample and any given sample can be a part of more than one population.

Purposive sampling was used in this research. Purposive sampling refers to the selection of participants on the basis that it illustrates “a feature that we are interested in” (Silverman, 2005, p. 129), in this case, inter-iwi sports competitions including the Iwi of Origin event.

During the Iwi of Origin events in 2007 and 2008, the organiser kept a list of names and email addresses of people who organised their respective teams. An invitation was sent on the 26th of February 2010 via email to the team captains and other points of contact whose details were available to the researcher. The email asked for willing participants to assist in the research based on inter-iwi, inter hapū and inter-marae sports events using the Iwi of Origin as a base.

The main criteria for selection was that the research participants self-identified as Māori, had competed in one or both of the Iwi of Origin events in

2007 or 2008 and were aged between 20 and 60 years at the time of the interview. Only those who were willing to participate in the study were asked to reply to the invitation via email or phone call. The invitation included contact details of the researcher for those potential participants who may have required further information. Participants were given three weeks from the time the original email was sent to register their interest for participation.

Replies from interested participants were held until the please reply by date had been reached by which time eight participants had signalled their interest to be interviewed. The gender, age and iwi of the willing participants were then analysed to aim for a fair representation of participants (i.e. four males and four females, an even representation of iwi and age). A further eight names from the database were contacted via phone call to recruit more females and representatives from iwi who were not represented. Despite the efforts to recruit more females, the researcher was unable to do so. Therefore, there is a gender imbalance of the participants in the research as there were only two females that responded to the initial email. Furthermore, none of the females who were contacted via phone were available to participate in the study. However, it is unclear whether or not there would have been differences in feedback from males and female participants, as the interview questions did not have a gender specific focus.

An email or phone call was made to thank all respondents and also to advise the successful participants that contact would be made within one week to organise dates and times of interviews. The participant information sheet was sent one week prior to the actual interview.

The interviews took place in locations agreed upon by both the participant and researcher. The length of time for each interview varied between 35 minutes to 90 minutes. The researcher used a digital voice recorder to record the interviews (following receipt of informed consent). Written notes were also taken.

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule consisted of a list of unstructured interview questions. The interview schedule was organised to do two things - to gain feedback around inter-hapū and inter-iwi Māori sports events, including the Iwi of Origin and also to determine how the participants viewed themselves as 'being Māori'. The schedule used the following topics;

1. Participant information and residence – to confirm the gender and iwi affiliation of the participant.
2. Location and venue of Iwi of Origin – to gather participants' thoughts on a suitable urban location and venue for an inter-iwi sports event in Auckland.
3. Whanaungatanga – the topic of 'whanaungatanga' at Māori sports events has been a recurring theme anecdotally and was therefore explored.
4. Participants' recommendations for future urban inter-iwi sports events – to provide feedback for future events.
5. Participants' expectations of the Iwi of Origin – to see if the participants expectations were consistent with inter-hapū sports events.
6. Engaging urban Māori – to inform and provide advice to organisers of future events on ways to engage urban Māori.
7. Māori identity – Two approaches were used to gain information regarding Māori identity.

The first approach asked participants two main questions. The first question was "what does being Māori mean to you?" The question was asked because Māori identity, or what it means to be Māori, is a central part of the hypothesis and thus the researcher felt it was important to get the participants perspectives of what "being Māori" meant for the participants (in their own words). The second question was "did the Iwi of Origin strengthen what it means to be Māori for you?" The question was asked to see if the participants definitions of being Māori were strengthened through participating in the Iwi of Origin which impacts directly on the hypothesis 'Sport, when held in a Māori cultural context, can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori'.

In the second approach, participants were asked for their opinions about seven cultural indicators and where they thought their respective 'ranking' would be from one (being very weak), two (weak), three (strong) to four (being very strong) on each indicator. The seven indicators reflect those identified by Durie (1998) including; self-identification as Māori, knowledge of whakapapa, marae participation, whānau, whenua tipu (ancestral lands), contacts with Māori people and te reo Māori (Durie, 1998, p. 58). The researchers' intent was as follows:

1. To see if any of the indicators were recognised by the participants in the first approach (and first question) outlined above (i.e. what does being Māori mean to you?).
2. If the indicators were recognised, to determine how strong the participants ranked themselves alongside the indicators
3. To create discussion around potential themes. For example, if participants ranked themselves as being "very strong" in te reo Māori, but did not see te reo Māori as something that is required to "be Māori", then it was hoped that this would provide a pathway for further discussion.

It should be noted at this point that it is not the researcher's intention to duplicate the methods carried out by Stevenson (2001) in his measurement of Māori cultural identity using Te Hoe Nuku Roa project, and, as such, it should be acknowledged that research methods in both studies are very different. The researcher has merely used the seven indicators as reference points for the study as they are "considered particularly important to Māori cultural identity" (Stevenson, 2001, p. 59). As such, no total tally of participant scores was undertaken, the researcher instead choosing to focus on the use of the indicators as opposed to applying a 'category' to the participant.

The full set of interview questions used in this study is attached in Appendix A.

Data Analysis

The data analysis uses grounded theory which incorporates “careful line by line reading of the text while looking for processes, actions, assumptions and consequences”. (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p.522).

The data analysis also follows the recommendations of Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 10) which outlines three components of data analysis including: 1. Data reduction – selecting and focussing the data, 2. Data display – compressing the information to allow conclusions to be drawn, and 3. Conclusion drawing – deciding what the information means.

The type of data reduction coding that is used in this research is known as latent coding, sometimes called semantic analysis (Lawrence-Neuman, 2006, p. 326) and is a form of content analysis. This is a process where the researcher looks for the underlying, implicit meaning in the context of the text. This differs to manifest coding which is the process of developing a list of words or phrases and then counting the number of times the phrase or word appears in a text (Lawrence-Neuman, 2006, p. 325).

The data were analysed by first reading the transcripts where potential themes were then put into a spreadsheet. Each theme had its own sub-theme with further comments. Once all eight transcripts had been analysed, the themes were grouped together and five main themes of interest were chosen. They are:

1. Māori Identity,
2. Comparisons between rural inter-iwi sports and the Iwi of Origin
3. Taurahere and their role to promote Inter-Iwi kaupapa in Auckland
4. The Iwi of Origin as a tool for Māori development in urban Auckland
5. Participant feedback on the Iwi of Origin

The above five themes are discussed in chapter five.

Ethics

“Procedures used to protect the rights of the research participants are paramount in any research” (Raerino, 2007, p. 46). Therefore, ethical considerations were taken into account during the entire process in an effort to respect the participant and the research process. Auckland University of Technology (AUT) is committed to ensuring a high level of ethical research (AUT, 2011) which includes the requirement for students who are conducting research involving other people, to apply to the AUT Ethics Committee (AUTEC) for research approval. The researcher submitted an ethics application to the AUTEC in August of 2009. The application was subsequently approved on the 1st of October 2009. The application for the current study included an interview schedule, a confidentiality agreement, a consent form, participant information sheet, and a safety protocol to ensure the researchers safety (Appendices A-E).

As discussed earlier, participant information sheets were sent out one week before the intended interview date. The information sheet included information which informed the participant that they could withdraw from the process at any time of which none of the participants did. The researcher also contacted the participant one day prior to the interview to ensure the interviews were still going ahead. At the start of the interview, the researcher talked for between five and fifteen minutes in order to assist the participant to feel more relaxed. The participant was asked if they had read the information sheet and then the consent form was produced for the participant to sign. Just before the interview proceeded the participant was told that they could withdraw from the interview at any time. At the conclusion of the interviews the researcher thanked the participant and informed them that they would receive a final copy of the thesis upon its completion. A \$50 gift voucher was also given to the participant in appreciation of their assistance. The participants were not told of the \$50 voucher previous to the research as the researcher felt the incentive may have affected the interview.

Conclusion

The methodological approaches used in the current study are Kaupapa Māori Theory and Grounded Theory. Both approaches provided a philosophical background to carry out research suitable for the study. One to one in-depth interviews using unstructured questions were conducted in order to gain as much information as possible from the participants. The main aims of the questions were to gain information and feedback pertaining to inter-hapū and inter-iwi Māori sports events, particularly the Iwi of Origin and also to determine how the participants viewed themselves as 'being Māori'. The data were then analysed using Grounded Theory and content analysis which provided the researcher with themes from which to provide discussion. Ethical considerations were taken into account through the AUTEK process in order to respect the participant and the research process. The findings of the interviews will be covered in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Findings

As previously stated, the current research examines the belief that an inter-iwi sports event held for urban Māori living in Auckland can strengthen the cultural identity of its participants. This chapter looks at the experiences and views of the participants who were interviewed for the study. Both the interview questions and the participants' feedback are presented.

The topics covered in this chapter reflect the interview topics outlined in Chapter Three:

1. Participant information and residence
2. Location and venue of Iwi of Origin
3. Whanaungatanga
4. Participants' recommendations for future urban inter-iwi sports events,
5. Participants' expectations of the Iwi of Origin
6. Engaging urban Māori
7. Māori identity.

The chapter will end with a review of the information provided by the participants.

Participant Information and Residence

The first part of the interview sought to gain information on the participants' gender and tribal affiliations. The following table shows the findings. Of the sixteen iwi who were represented at the Iwi of Origin 2007 and 2008, only one iwi that participated is not represented in the sample below (Te Ātihaunui-ā-Pāpārangi).

Table 1 Participant Iwi Affiliation

#	Tribal affiliation(s)	Gender
1	Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tahu ki Tāmaki, Ngāti Kahungunu	Male
2	Ngāti Hine and Ngāti Porou	Female
3	Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrākei, Tainui, Turia o Hou, Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Porou	Male
4	Ngāiterangi, Ngāti Pūkenga, Ngāti Ranginui	Male
5	Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi	Male
6	Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi	Female
7	Te Arawa	Male
8	Ngāpuhi	Male

Location and Time of Year for Event

The Iwi of Origin event was held in October of 2007 and September of 2008. The chosen location for both years was Northcote, North Shore City due to the close proximity of the playing fields, courts and ability to access the Northcote Netball Centre as a suitable indoor pōwhiri / prize giving venue at a subsidised rate. In the second year, the organisers were able to secure Lake Pupuke in Takapuna City (city located in Auckland, New Zealand) for waka ama, which was also within walking distance of the netball courts. Participants were asked if they thought the location and the time of the year was suitable. Participants were also asked if they could recommend other suitable venues in Auckland. Respondents reported no major problems with either the time of year or the location.

Um, well in rural areas you might have a High School like Ngata College [in Ruatorea, East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand] where their netball courts are right there and stuff, but in Auckland having a facility where there are netball courts, fields and all that sort of stuff they are really expensive so the logistics of having an event where it doesn't cost a million dollars, you know. Hato Petera is a good venue because the netball courts are just down the road. Yeah, when you think of logistics it's the best that you can get. Participant Two.

Four of the respondents who lived in four different parts of the Auckland region (Central, North Shore, North Kaipara (region north of Auckland) and

South Auckland) commented that it did not really matter where in Auckland the event was held; they would travel to support the kaupapa.

My team comes from all over [Auckland] so it doesn't really matter. Participant One.

I think given what it was all about, [there] would have been no issues [about where and when the event was held] Participant Four.

...for any Iwi of Origin, no matter where it would be put, it would be the same. You know you would have whānau who will be travelling a long distance to actually make it there. Participant Five.

Um, it didn't really make any difference where, any location. Participant Eight.

When asked about the suitability of the time of the year it was held, there was a recommendation from some of the participants to check with Māori organisations to ensure their respective events calendars were free. However, the overall feedback was to organise a date that suited the availability of the hosting venue and to stick with it.

Um, you know, because it's all part of the Iwi of Origin, it was about being able to do it no matter what and it is part of the fun as well, whether it's rain hail or snow. I mean if you did it in the snow it would be even better. Participant Five.

One participant stated that the September / October period was good because it gave iwi a chance to practise prior to going to the Māori touch Nationals:

I thought that time was actually a good time of year because one, teams can get themselves together if they want to go to the Māori touch nationals or something like that so if they come in with their iwi they can use something like that as a starting point for training. Participant Two.

Whanaungatanga

The following three questions asked if the participants had brought their own whānau to the event, had met new tribal members, or people from other iwi. The questions were designed to see if the event was a catalyst for participating with one's own whānau or meeting new people from their own

iwi or other iwi, therefore promoting a form of whanaungatanga or relationship building. Seven out of the eight participants answered “yes” to the three criteria above:

Yeah, yeah, it was good reuniting with a lot of friends and whānau and everyone was sort of on the same high buzz, or high feeling of joy and whanaungatanga and so, yep definitely. Participant Three.

Participant two talked about the process of selection for her team. The majority were made up of her immediate whānau but they still did not have enough people so they added people from Ngāti Hine and if they still did not have the appropriate numbers, they would add people from Ngāpuhi.

...it is really difficult to find people for your own iwi or your own hapū in an urban area I suppose or one's that can make it shall I say. But we tried. Eighty percent of our team were our family and then it got extended because you are Ngāti Hine so come over here. And then it goes on so you have to be Ngāpuhi you know and so I mean it does, I feel it makes it a bit more difficult to get people to come together especially when they come from all over Auckland. Participant Two.

One participant referred to his iwi team in terms of their affiliations to marae instead of individuals or whānau groups:

I had Puatahi [Marae] whānau, some of the Puatahi whānau who I am related to. Um, also Te Aroha Pā Marae, um yeah and a few others, yeah up here one from Oruawharo [marae]. Participant Five.

Two participants met, for the first time, members of their own iwi who live in the Auckland region. Both participants were representing Ngāti Whātua but played in different teams.

There was another Ngāti Whātua team there from Kaipara. So we played them and there were a few in there that we had met for the first time. Participant Three.

I met a few actually 'cause they don't reside in Puatahi they, some of them are actually up in Whangarei and some of them are up further north, so yeah it was, I did meet couple of whānau. I didn't realise they were Ngāti Whātua. Participant Five.

One of the participants was delighted to see people whom she had seen at mainstream sports events participating at the Iwi of Origin, not realising they were Māori:

It was awesome to see, so and so playing for their iwi and maybe we would see them in other settings. We would see them at touch, but only in a mainstream type of way. They would be playing for their provinces or their own social teams but to see them playing for their iwi. . .it made us feel really good knowing that they were quite strong with their iwi ties when maybe we didn't actually know that. We had only really seen them in a sort of a mainstream setting. Participant Two.

One of the participants said the Iwi of Origin needed to have more of a focus on whanaungatanga comparing it to his own iwis' inter-hapū sports:

Certainly the Iwi of Origin is an opportunity to meet whānau but it's... kind of like not... because it's a day long tournament sort of thing, towards the end of the day you sort of just want to get home, you're a bit tired so the ability to whakawhanaungatanga (implement the process of relationship building) is slightly limited on a day like that. The Ngāti Porou Pā Wars is totally whakawhanaungatanga and with the bonus of having some sport, particularly competitive which means you can take your whole whānau and there is something for everybody. Like the old people can go and play euchre or they can go to trivial pursuit. At my age now, I'm no longer specifically in the event but I'm spending my whole day chatting to the whānau, meeting the whānau, dissing some whānau. Participant One.

Participant Eight, who had been born and raised in Auckland, did not take any of his whānau to the event or meet anyone new from his iwi:

No. I can't say I had, did meet anyone. Participant Eight.

Participants' Recommendations

The following questions sought recommendations on how to improve the Iwi of Origin event and whether they would recommend the event to others to attend. All eight participants agreed they would recommend the event to others:

...definitely we are actually hoping to enter another one [event] if there is another one. Yep, totally recommend it. Participant Three.

The majority of recommendations called for the Iwi of Origin to be an annual event:

Um just if it was more concrete bro um just in terms of date and if it's an annual event that it just keeps rolling over...if it's a fixed event um every year you know, for those that didn't sort of come to one event you know there is always that chance to pick them in the following years. Participant Seven.

Operating it [the Iwi of Origin] every year so there is a continuum. Participant Five.

Two of the participants described the event as a catalyst for reconnecting to their iwi and hapū:

I think it was [a] fantastic event for me and I think that I have been living in the city for so long and actually it gave me a sense of identity and brought it back to the forefront for me. Participant Four.

Yeah absolutely bro. I think it's an awesome, it's an awesome kaupapa particularly for Māori for those that don't have any whānau in the area that have moved away from their iwīs and hapūs um you know it's a good event to attend you know, even though we're all from different hapū and different whānau you know when Māori get together, it's always a positive experience. Participant Seven.

One of the participants stated that building a clear objective for the day is important:

...what I am saying is just building a clearer objective for the day. For instance, at the moment all it is just turn up to the game but if you built it another way and said [the objective was] to meet the other tribes, you know it's a different kaupapa which means that you would do some extra things on the day to enable that. Participant One.

One of the participants talked about the possibility of using the Iwi of Origin as a tool for iwi and Māori development:

I would definitely encourage people to come along, just to support the kaupapa that's probably just the number one thing. If anything, if there is anything for positive Māori development, then encouraging people to participate is the most important thing. It's a positive kaupapa. It's not just about cultural identity. For me it's about iwi development and if people participate in

sport in order to have iwi affiliation or just to express their iwi affiliation then that is a first step for them going into wider things. Having that sort of sense of pride in the iwi they might just decide to go to a marae meeting or it provides a step. Participant Two.

Participant two talked further about how the Iwi of Origin was a catalyst for meeting her own iwi members who were living in Auckland:

Sport is off to the side in a way it's not the main focus. . .yeah for us in our Ngāti Hine team we have people that were outside of our immediate family and finding out where they are from and what they do with in their family or their own town where they are from. It develops those links... and it's a real step around having that or building that passion for your own. Participant Two.

Participants' Expectations

The questions then sought feedback on what the participants expectations were of the Iwi of Origin, to which the reply from three participants was based around fun and "whanaungatanga".

The expectation at most Māori events that I have been a part of, [is that] you can expect it to be you know full of fun and enjoyment. Participant Four.

Yeah I expect that whānau have a positive, you know all iwi have positive experiences from attending the Pā Wars or Iwi of Origin event. Participant Six.

You know the biggest part of the day is the, is the whanaungatanga part, you know just meeting the people. Participant Seven.

Participant Two advertised it to her team members as an urban Pā Wars:

...it was just really awesome that a kaupapa like this was being developed in an urban area. When we sent out the pānui (newsletter, notice) around like it being an urban Pā Wars we were like fully behind it. Knowing that it was around participation and that it was around people celebrating their iwi outside of their iwi area. Participant Two.

Comparing Rural Pā Wars to the Iwi of Origin

The next question asked participants if they had been involved in other inter-hapū or inter-iwi sports events previous to the Iwi of Origin to which seven out of the eight respondents answered yes. The respondents were then asked to give feedback on the differences and similarities between the Iwi of Origin and the intra-iwi event they had participated in previously. All seven respondents replied that both events have a fantastic āhua (nature, way of being) and way of promoting whanaungatanga, but the urban event does not have the same degree of āhua and whanaungatanga:

I think for us the wairua [soul] at home [is stronger] because we know each other and we are all blood you know and you might [have] one or two that are you know in-laws or married into the iwi or hapū from there and that's cool too because we give them a bit of ribbing but um yeah so and comparing it with iwi of origin in Auckland with the urban, with the urban um Māori or whānau um definitely, still a little bit stand offish about it you know. Participant Six.

Yeah absolutely bro...Oh just in terms of um bro just the inter-whānau sort of battles I guess...there's a stronger affiliation to the actual Pā Wars when it's your own hapū or your own whānau as opposed to the different ones. It's like a more sort of personal connection; it's stronger. Participant Seven.

There was a feeling from one of the participants that there is potential for the Iwi of Origin to grow stronger in terms of having a similar āhua and promoting whanaungatanga but it would take time:

The slight difference being playing against your iwi there's probably more pride and more will to win. Because it's [the Iwi of Origin] a reasonably new tournament I think that would take time. I say it's hard to replicate that feeling. Participant Three.

One of the participants also talked about taking the best of both (rural Pā Wars and the Iwi of Origin) and applying them to the other:

Definitely they are very different um and you know there are strengths and weaknesses on both um yeah. So you can take, you can take those weaknesses and strengths from each of them and try you know apply them to the other so an example of that would be you know the weaknesses that we have [is] alcohol, we have alcohol at home which is not the best thing... [but] we don't have that in Auckland. Participant Six.

One of the participants found it hard to get out of the mindset of being in Auckland:

So, it's a totally different kind of kaupapa and you are in kick back holiday mode. So you know when you are doing a one-day [event] in Auckland you are not able to get out of the context of being in the fast lane... The irony is half of them [participants at Ngāti Porou Pā Wars] are from [living in] Auckland. Participant One.

The topic of how resources and services were more readily available in Auckland was also discussed:

Oh, big differences. I mean I think the resources available to us in Auckland and we can, if you've got the right contacts you can make those sorts of events um, really, really successful. So our touch tournament at home we have to clear the paddock, we have to fill in a few holes from where the cows have been grazing for the whole of winter, you have to draw up lines and you know all that stuff that you get in the rural environment, whereas anywhere in Auckland you've got you know, you've got netball courts that are serviced by Councils, you've got grounds that are serviced by Councils. Participant Six.

Participants' Opinions of the Iwi of Origin

Participants were then asked their opinions of the Iwi of Origin. Participant One made further comparisons of the Iwi of Origin and rural inter-iwi sports events:

The one problem I have is that there is an assumption that your iwi already exists as a consistent group, well that is not true... So what I am saying is that your sports [event] is founded off an assumption that all of these iwi have got their act together in this town and I know that they don't. Participant One.

All participants thought the event was positive for urban Māori:

It's again a positive kaupapa and it's about being able to participate in sport but also through a means where you can affiliate with your iwi outside of the setting. I wouldn't know the percentage but there are a lot of Māori who have no affiliation, I mean they know maybe where they are from but they have no opportunity to be able to participate in anything that's got to do with iwi. So just having this as a means to do that, even if it's,

even if that's the only thing they do then that's a positive thing.
Participant Two.

Participant six valued the fact that the Iwi of Origin was smoke free and alcohol free which is not necessarily the case in rural intra-iwi sports events:

Um, yeah I think it is a good thing for iwi to get together at a sport especially you know I really want to emphasise the, the values around being smokefree, alcohol free. I don't think you know the two years that I've been involved um there's never been any threat of anything happening and I think it's due to the values that whoever organises it hold around, huge which is different to what we have at home. Participant Six.

The topic of re-connecting to their Māori identity also re-emerged:

I think it is fantastic because like I said I mean when you are away from your culture for so long it's not only about partaking in a sport but I think you know for me, I think it is recognising that you know there's, the importance of that unity so I think it is something that certainly should be encouraged and you know it's about an education process as well. Participant Four.

This is just another opportunity I guess for those that don't have that connection to sort of get some reinforcement you know, get around other Māori. Participant Seven.

Engaging Urban Māori

Participants were asked what they thought was the best way to engage Māori living in Auckland. One of the participants used his own iwi as an example of how to engage urban Māori. The discussion focussed on the role his own taurahere (group made up of iwi members who reside in another iwi region) plays:

Up here in Auckland what we have identified is the new Ngāti Porou. This is a long slow education process for those fullas at home to understand that the new Ngāti Porou was not born at home, probably has never visited home and third is unlikely ever to go back there... On the other hand, what they have got is probably higher than the Māori average income, professional occupation and education and bank accounts which means collectively if we can mobilise Ngāti Porou here in Auckland we can significantly lead many projects nationally given that we are the second largest tribe in New Zealand. It behoves us with those statistics to do that. Get a bit of lead. Not to be whakahīhī (to boast) for Ngāti Porou, get up and lead, that's

what we were born to do. That's what Ngāti Porou is.
Participant One.

The same participant also made suggestions on what the Iwi of Origin should do to engage more Māori:

What you need to do is come and sit down and formally make an approach and meet with mana whenua groups even though it would be premature and early but at least get on record that you as the face of Māori sport for want of a better term for Māori strategic thinking in this town from a sports point of view that you are the go to man even sending out a letter to each of the mana whenua groups to say that you are here when they are ready but you are not asking them for anything but here are your contact details and that sort of thing and certainly if they are prepared to have a conversation then you are happy to take up that opportunity and do that with the taurahere as well.
Participant One.

One of the participants recommended the Iwi of Origin organisers “draw on their networks” more whereas other participants cited money and / or work commitments as being barriers:

If you had better resources, you would be able to promote it more widely known, money to market it better. Participant Three.

I think there are a lot of issues that stop Māori from actually participating. There are monetary, or whether they are just too busy or they are working you know long hours in mahi (work).
Participant Five.

The use of social media was also a possibility according to participant six:

I suppose we live in a pretty different area now and lot of young Māori migrate towards you know a lot of online media and they are in Facebook and I think there are more companies now being involved in trying to contact that target market” Comment One. “Um, so my little marae that I belong to in the Hokianga (Harbour in the north of the North Island) has a committee down here in Auckland. So yeah, through them, through that the organisation and also through website and Facebook now, social networking. Participant Six.

Māori Identity

The interview then looked at the issue of Māori identity. The question “What does being Māori mean to you?” was asked. The question was asked in an effort to find out the participants’ own definitions of having a Māori identity. A variety of characteristics and descriptions such as feelings of ‘uniqueness’ and having ‘status’ were given.

Six of the eight participants had quite differing views of what ‘being Māori’ meant to them. One of the participants identified his own iwi as being more important to him than being ‘labelled’ Māori.

Being Ngāti Porou is what it is... I’m Ngāti Porou first and then I’m Māori but I relate to these other tribes, I always relate it to tribe. But having said that, I’m not callous enough to say that Māori doesn’t mean anything. Māori for me means honouring being Ngāti Porou and by being the best Ngāti Porou I can be it gives honour to other Māori. Participant One.

Feelings of “uniqueness” and references to “Tangata Whenuatanga” (to be indigenous to the land) were talked about by one of the participants.

...it’s that uniqueness. Having our own way and being able to express that way especially as you know as tangata whenua I suppose. Participant Two.

Participant three listed a number of characteristics:

being Māori I guess is a lifestyle, a status symbol in some ways and its having pride in yourself...I think it makes you a stronger person being Māori because you have more whānau to get behind you and you know bigger networks, bigger connections. So that’s what being Māori means to me mate. Participant Three.

For two of the participants, being raised on a marae and having a sense of belonging to a group of people that is bigger than your immediate whānau became a talking point:

Interesting one. Um, I suppose for me having been brought up on the marae, it’s for me, it’s about having that real let’s say sense of belonging, that real sense of you know, what’s the

word for it, support... Um, yeah primarily that would be it. Participant Four.

I was brought up in a Māori environment. I was brought up in a rural setting, played most of the time at marae. Being brought up in a marae setting that's pretty special... Participant Six.

Participant six also talked about contributing to both the Māori and the non-Māori worlds:

I enjoy other cultures too but... I'm comfortable in both worlds, I'm not a fluent speaker but I think I contribute to both. Participant Six.

Two participants related 'being Māori' to something intrinsic, a feeling one has that can be quite hard to identify:

Well, for me it's just this inner strength within, inside me... my wairua or my mana um that we [Māori] have. Participant Five.

Yeah bro, it's quite hard to um list them individually it's just kind of ah, I think you know there's kind of things that you and the āhua that you have bro these are like intrinsic things that you have and sometimes it is kind of hard to identify them when you just do them anyway, you don't actually have to think about all do I need that quality or does that make me a Māori if I've got this quality. You actually just do it. Participant Seven.

One of the participants talked about seeing his mates:

For me it's good to catch up with all the boys again. Participant Eight.

The same participant talked about the influence his grandmother had on him and how, for him, being Māori was about showing love to one another.

For me, to be Māori is what my grandmother taught on to me. What she taught me is how to love another person, or how to express love or be equal to someone besides you and that for me is being Māori. I mean, I go to all my whānau get-togethers, you know, friends' working-bees, and I still help out if they need a hand with building stuff. If I can connect in some way with that person, not so much what colour I am or what I do, it's who my character comes out and expresses who I am, that's the connection I sort of make with me and that's the expression from my grandmother to me that she founded into us. Participant Eight.

Strengthening of the Characteristics

The participants were then asked if those characteristics were strengthened through Māori sports events such as the Iwi of Origin or any other inter-Marae sports competitions.

One participant felt that her 'being Māori' was strengthened through the Iwi of Origin but it was more a case of fitting into the environment they find themselves in whether it be a Māori or non-Māori kaupapa:

Does it strengthen my identity as a Māori? Yeah I think it does. I think it does in terms of being with other Māori, I think there's a strong sense of when you are with other Māori you kind of draw on your Māoritanga (Māori culture) to you know be, be in that environment. Whereas if you are not with other Māori and you are just at a kaupapa that isn't Māori you don't have to draw on those, those values so you kind of just leave them as they come, you become the environment that you are in. Participant Six.

Participant two felt that her 'being Māori' was not strengthened, because her whānau are comfortable with their Māoritanga. Rather, she was happy with the fact that she was able to express pride in her iwi in a sporting context in urban Auckland.

Not expressing being Māori because we are comfortable being Māori, it's being able to express that pride in your own iwi. Participant Two.

The same participant also talked about how the Iwi of Origin gave her an opportunity to learn about her iwi history, whakapapa and whakatauki (proverbs) through the making of her hapū banner:

I mean we made a homemade banner. No one else did and that's I mean, the banner is actually really funny. When we were making the banner even though it was homemade, it was okay, my sister and I didn't really know about the Ngāti Hine pukepuke rau and what that meant and so that gave an opportunity for dad to talk about you know what that whakatauki meant and so it's not just about sport and about yeah we get to play with the cuddies and that sort of stuff. It's actually about you learning about the history of your iwi and in real subtle manners and yeah it's a starting point. Participant Two.

For participant four, who had been living in Auckland for more than fifteen years, it was about reconnecting himself with his Māori heritage:

Yeah absolutely...because I have been up here for so long um that was you know I suppose it was a reminder, a reminder that I am Māori and this is where I am from and to be involved with other Māori from different hapū and iwi, mate it was excellent. Participant Four.

For two participants, the Iwi of Origin was a vehicle to bring Māori together.

To a certain degree, yes. In a way it brought people together. To me it also strengthened the connections with different iwi, from one iwi to another iwi, it strengthened. Participant Five.

Yeah I think so... So um Iwi of Origin, you know expanded some of our networks, other Māori networks from you know other parts of Auckland and that was about contributing. Participant Six.

Another participant denied engaging in a lot of “Māori stuff” but described how ‘being Māori’ to him was related to connecting with each other.

I don't do a lot of the Māori stuff but I think the sports day [Iwi of Origin] can be a good platform to learn. I mean you got heaps of Māoris there aye [at the Iwi of Origin] and you hear some of them speaking Māori so it makes you think about learning. To be honest, the most encouraging thing is that I show it in how I am and it's how I see a lot of my friends, a lot of people that I meet. I have that sort of connection and I think if we start expressing that to the outer world, I suppose it's only better for Māori in general. Participant Eight.

One of the participants associated his drug-use when he was younger to the fact that he didn't know who he was and was searching for his own identity:

Because I didn't know who I was when I was growing and it wasn't until my mid-twenties when I started to wonder who I was, why I was searching for something, what was I searching for and it was actually for my own identity – ko wai au? Who am I? I mean you know when you have gone through a drug filled life and it really sent me sideways because, why it sent me sideways was because I was trying to found out who I was but I was always smoking dope you know. That made me forget a lot of crap. It also made me forget who I was and that's why I ended up floundering around for many years. Participant Five.

Urban Māori Organisations

Although eligibility to participate in the Iwi of Origin was based on one's ability to affiliate to an iwi, there were a few instances where the participants were representing urban Māori organisations such as Te Taua Moana marae in Devonport or Te Whānau o Waipareira or an urban Māori sports club based in Auckland. The eight participants were asked if they thought the inclusion of those types of teams into urban Māori sports events was positive for Māori development to which the reply was yes.

With the urban [Maori] being able to participate, that's another way for Māori to participate... Participant One.

The main thing is that people are involved as Māori. Participant Three.

We already do [recognise urban Māori organisations in events]. It's called the Tāmaki Regional Kapa Haka Competition. Participant One.

I think for some of them, they're the only whānau they know so we probably should be including them. Participant Six.

One of the participants stated that each participant should have a choice but he had reservations about creating 'new' iwi.

So because like the Navy are very strong as a whānau as they are, I can understand why they want to become like their own identity as an iwi but they are not because they can all whakapapa Māori can whakapapa to a tribe um, but for them to engage in Pā Wars I think um, I think they should be given a choice to either play for your own iwi or you can play for the Navy. But creating another iwi, it's not right to me. Participant Five.

Māori Identity Indicators

The participants were then asked to rank themselves from 1 (very weak) to 4 (very strong) on seven cultural indicators. Table 2 below presents the findings.

Table 2 Participants Self-ranking Against Seven Cultural Indicators

Participant	Self Identification as Māori	Māori Ancestry	Marae Participation	Whānau	Ancestral Land	Contacts with Māori People	Māori Language
1	4	4	3	4	3	3	3
2	4	4	2	4	2	3	2
3	4	4	4	4	3	4	3
4	4	2	2	4	1	3	2
5	4	4	3	4	2	4	2
6	4	3	4	4	4	4	2
7	4	4	3	4	4	4	4
8	3	1	1	3	1	3	1

Conclusion

The findings represent the views of eight Iwi of Origin participants (six males and two females) representing fifteen iwi. Although the participants lived in many different parts of the Auckland region, the location of an inter-iwi event was not seen as a significant issue. All participants commented on the value of being with other people from their own iwi or with other Māori living in Auckland. The main recommendations from the participants were to hold the event annually as it would gain momentum in Auckland and increase in popularity. All participants expected the event to be a fun day with lots of ‘catching up’ with other whānau, hapū and iwi from different parts of the country.

All participants had positive feedback about the event and many talked about how the event gave an opportunity to re-connect with their Māoritanga. However, one participant commented that there is a need for urban Māori organisations to “sort themselves out” if urban inter-iwi events were going to be successful. Comparisons were made between the Iwi of Origin and inter-hapū sports events, with seven out of the eight participants stating the “āhua” and the “wairua” were stronger at inter-hapū events.

Better resources, including increased funding and the use of social marketing were identified as ways of engaging urban Māori. There were a variety of answers as to what ‘being Māori’ meant for participants. All participants agreed that the Iwi of Origin strengthened their Māori cultural identity. Seven

out of the eight participants had no problems with urban Māori aligning to urban Māori organisations or urban Māori authorities.

Chapter Five

Discussion

This chapter is broken into two parts. First, the discussion presented will be based on five main themes as a result of the information provided in the findings chapter. It provides the reader with points of interest from the view of the researcher. The themes are as follows:

- Māori identity,
- The Iwi of Origin as a tool for Māori development in urban Auckland,
- Comparisons between rural inter-iwi sports and the Iwi of Origin,
- Urban Māori organisations and their role to promote inter-iwi kaupapa in Auckland
- Participant feedback on the Iwi of Origin.

The second part of the chapter will discuss the limitations of the study.

Māori identity

The evidence gathered in the current study supports the hypothesis that “Sport, when held in a Māori cultural context, can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori”. The study has required the researcher to examine some descriptions and measurements of Māori identity which have been discussed in the literature review chapter of the thesis (see Chapter Two). Many of the measurements were based on the requirement for an individual to ‘have’ a number of indicators (i.e. ability to speak te reo Māori, knowledge of one’s Māori ancestry etc), which could be used to define levels of ‘Maoriness’ (Ritchie 1963, Metge 1964, Durie, 1998). Therefore, during the interviews of the current study, the researcher used seven cultural indicators identified by Durie in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) study (1998, p. 58) in which the participants were asked to rank themselves 1 (very weak) to 4 (very strong) alongside the indicators. Seven out of the eight participants displayed very strong scores (majority 3s and 4s) across all indicators, but for the one

person who had been born and raised in Auckland, the scores were recognisably weaker (majority 1s).

However, it became apparent that his definition of 'being Māori' was based on his experiences of growing up as a Māori in an urban environment and that models using more traditional 'indicators' did not necessarily capture his form of Māori identity. For example, the participant marked himself 'weak' regarding te reo Māori, Māori ancestry, marae participation and ancestral land. Also, he was the only research participant who did not take any of his immediate whānau or meet people from his own iwi. However, during the interview, he noted that being with his friends was a way he identified as being Māori. He also participated in many of his immediate family's whānau gatherings, friends' working-bees and used his work skills in the building industry to assist friends and whānau. According to the participant, those are examples of the lessons his grandmother had passed on to him. Therefore those activities and the motivations for those activities can constitute what being Māori is to him even though those characteristics are not present in models such as THNR.

When asked "what does being Māori mean to you?" only one of the indicators was identified (marae participation), and that was by only one of the participants. The findings also showed that although at least three of the participants considered themselves to be very strong speakers of te reo Māori, they did not identify te reo Māori as something that is congruent with 'being Māori'. The indicators, it could be argued, are less relevant to 'being Māori' to some Māori, including those who strongly identify with the indicators. It could also be argued that those who are attempting to define Māori identity are doing so from an idealistic point of view and do not truly reflect what being Māori means to all Māori. Webber (2009) supports this:

The tension between the ways that identity is defined by members of the community and the ways that identity is discussed by the academy are like night and day... There is an ongoing need to challenge the continuing development of hegemonic orthodoxies within 'Māori research', grounded in essentialist notions of 'Māoriness'. Inquiry and open critique should not be seen as threatening, disrespectful or controversial, but rather a challenge to that orthodoxy and the

orthodox. It is imperative that we guard against Māori essentialism, or else we confine so many Māori to silence and simply visit upon other Māori another form of disempowerment. (p. 5).

Therefore, it could be argued that the difficulty with using cultural indicators is that it asks for the participants to measure themselves against a model which has been predetermined by someone else's definition of what being Māori is. Simply put, not all Māori are going to 'fit' into those categories, which could further marginalise Māori who have been living away from tūrangawaewae. As Borell (2005) explains when referring to her own study of Māori youth living in South Auckland:

...what makes up Māori identity as described in these models implies a certain way of being Māori that is likely to reflect the cultural identity of some Māori but not others... The risk here is that Māori youth, in particular those that are not deeply or actively steeped in such recognised dimensions of the culture, are often invisible. Their identity markers as Māori are therefore often misunderstood and as a result many may be doubly marginalised. (p. 34).

Therefore, in the research, a very simple method was used to identify if Māori cultural identity is strengthened through the Iwi of Origin. First, the question was asked "What does being Māori mean to you?" with the follow up question "Did the Iwi of Origin strengthen those things for you?" The reason for the approach was an attempt to avoid putting people into 'categories' or trying to fit them into someone else's perception of what 'being Māori' is and thereby possibly limiting their input into the research. Thus, by asking the question "what does being Māori mean to you?" it gave the opportunity for the participant to draw on their own experiences of 'being Māori', some of which may not necessarily fit existing models.

The answers were varied which adds further weight to the argument of using less prescriptive models to determine Māori cultural identity. Furthermore, when asked if the Iwi of Origin strengthened the characteristics identified by the participants, all eight participants responded yes.

The Iwi of Origin as a tool for Māori development in urban Auckland

One of the topics raised during the interviews was the belief of some of the participants, that the Iwi of Origin would be a useful tool for iwi development or Māori development in urban Auckland. According to some of the participants, one of the ways the Iwi of Origin achieved this was by providing an opportunity for those who had been disconnected from their iwi to reunite with their whānau through playing inter-iwi sport, thereby increasing numbers or 'human capital' for the hapū or iwi. The participants therefore saw the development and growth of human capital as an important part of iwi and Māori development.

In addition, examples were given by participants of how the Iwi of Origin provided people the opportunity to learn their whakapapa and the meaning of tribal whakatauki (learnt while making a tribal banner which included the whakatauki), which provided a further appreciation of tribal history thereby creating a stronger relationship with their iwi. As one of the participants stated:

It's not just about cultural identity for me, it's about iwi development and if people participate in sport in order to have iwi affiliation or just to express their iwi affiliation then that is a first step for them going into wider things. Participant Four.

The general sentiment from the participants was that if people have a sense of belonging, (i.e. with their hapū or iwi) there is more likelihood of them participating in activities pertaining to the hapū or iwi. From an iwi development perspective, an increase in the number of participating members would be a valuable asset in areas such as wānanga-ā-hapū, (sub-tribal learning workshops) where hapū members are given the opportunity to learn about their history, te reo Māori and tikanga. Not only would this increase the number of people who retained iwi knowledge, through learning during wānanga, but it could also provide more opportunities for people to pass on the history, reo and tikanga of the iwi. Durie (2003) supports the notion by identifying the retention, transmission and development of Māori knowledge, language and culture as an important goal in Māori development (p. 99).

Iwi development is also about leveraging off the skills of those who have moved away from home. As one participant pointed out, Māori from his particular iwi “may not have been born at home or ever go home” but on the other hand, may have “higher than the Māori average income, professional occupations and education”. This participant suggested starting an iwi database so that the skills and experiences of some urban disconnected iwi members could be better utilised by their traditional iwi. Indeed, there seems great potential for iwi development. As Durie (2003) states, whānau are absolutely essential to capturing, nurturing and developing human capital:

There are many agencies which should play some part in the development of human capital, but unless whānau are actively involved in helping members reach full potential, then progress will be uneven, accidental and slow. There is a serious need to explore the ways in which human potential can be realised; it appears to be the single area where investment will pay sizeable dividends. (p. 27).

As iwi development issues such as Treaty negotiations arise in the years to come, the importance of using the right people with the right skills, whether or not they live in their respective tūrangawaewae, will become more critical.

Comparisons between Rural Inter-Iwi Sports and the Iwi of Origin

Seven out of the eight interviewees had participated in both an inter-hapū sports event and the Iwi of Origin. All seven participants commented that there was a positive “āhua” and “awesome whanaungatanga” at both events. The major difference identified by the participants was that their own inter-hapū sports events had a stronger āhua than the Iwi of Origin because the connectedness between whānau members is greater in their own tūrangawaewae, or as they put it “at home”. According to the majority of the participants, the strength of connectedness could not be replicated in urban areas. The reasons given for the greater connectedness included “because we all know each other” and “we are blood” and “it’s like a more sort of personal connection, it’s stronger”.

The above sentiment was given by the participants who had been born in, and still had a connection to their iwi. However, for the one participant who

was born and raised in Auckland and who had never been to an inter-hapū or inter-iwi sports event previous to the Iwi of Origin, he found the urban event a great way to start learning more about Māoritanga and saw it as a great opportunity for strengthening whanaungatanga through “networking”. The participant had a stronger connection to his friends in Auckland than he did to his iwi; therefore his friends had become his version of a tribal like connection or hapū /iwi. Urban based inter-iwi sports events may never replicate the āhua for those who have a strong affiliation to their tūrangawaewae, and nor should it, but it can provide at the very least an environment where being Māori is celebrated through the medium of sport.

Although it was not the intention to directly compare inter-iwi urban sports events with inter-hapū sports events such as Pā Wars, the discussion from the participants has shown there is the possibility of events like the Iwi of Origin being used as a catalyst to promote connectedness for both Auckland born Māori and Māori born and raised in their own “tūrangawaewae. For the former, it provides an opportunity for urban Māori organisations or whānau to represent their respective organisations or groups in order to strengthen their connection to their whānau (whatever their definition of whānau may be). For the latter it provides an opportunity to get “blood” relatives together under a common theme to celebrate their more traditional view of iwitanga (iwi culture) without having to travel great distances.

Urban Māori organisations and their role to promote inter-iwi kaupapa in Auckland

One of the participants commented that in order for any inter-iwi kaupapa to be successful in Tāmaki, the taurahere organisations based in Auckland need to “get their act together”. The participant then went on to recommend integrating with taurahere and mana whenua in order to gain a coordinated approach to delivering sports in Auckland. In other words, urban Māori organisations need to have the capacity, capability and a coordinated approach to be able to mobilise their “members” into engaging in activities, including sport.

Possibly, the most obvious such organisation in Auckland would be Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust (TWOWT), based in West Auckland. TWOWT was formed in the 1980s through a collaboration of a number of pan-tribal Māori organisations who had previously been delivering “education, sports, training and more... with no real coordination of resources and skills” (TWOWT, 2010). The Trust currently has a joint venture with Ngāti Whātua and Tainui (Waipareira Annual Report, 2010). Furthermore, in 2003 the Trust joined with five other Urban Māori Authorities from around the country to become the National Urban Māori Authority (NUMA) as a political voice for urban dwelling Māori (NUMA, 2009).

TWOWT has also attempted to apply for “iwi status” via the New Zealand courts in an effort to access iwi based funding in order to provide support to the many urban Māori they represent. The application for iwi status by the Trust has indeed caused some debate around the definition of iwi in a contemporary light, as stated by Sissons (2004):

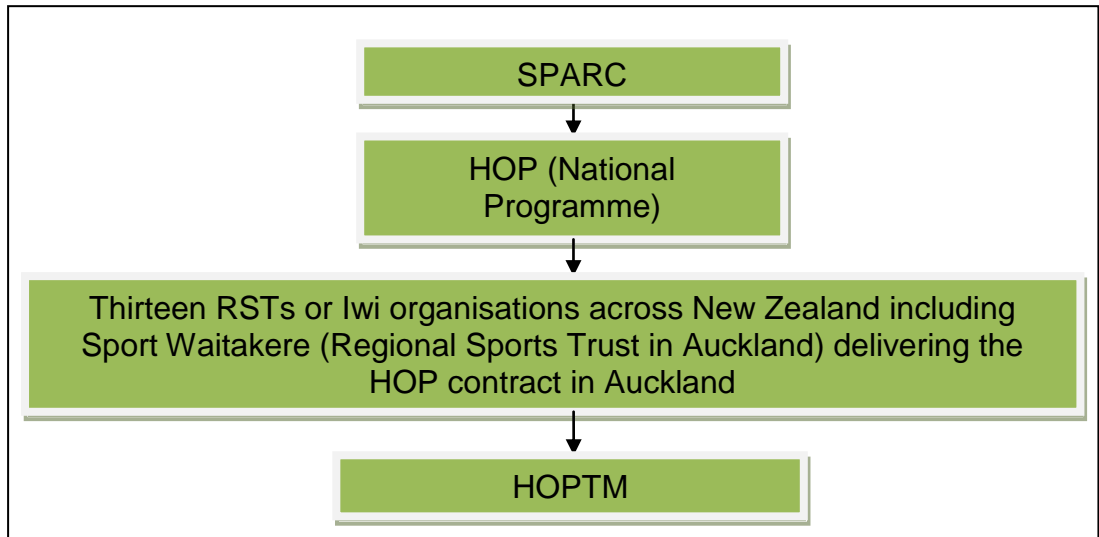
Urban Māori Authorities and those they represent seek neither a collective Māori voice nor a tribal one. Instead, they seek recognition as a legitimate new Māori voice questioning current understandings of post-settler nationhood (p. 30).

Although unsuccessful in the application for iwi status, TWOWT have been successful in securing government funding to deliver social and health services through initiatives such as Whānau Ora (a government social and health initiative). TWOWT currently deliver sports and physical activity programmes in West Auckland as part of the “Wai Health” service and, from 1999 to 2004, organised and delivered a Māori sports event similar to the Iwi of Origin with hundreds of attendees. Given Te Whānau o Waipareira Trusts experience in the Auckland region and the relationships they have formed over the last thirty years, it seems a necessity for the Trust to be included in any inter-iwi sports kaupapa in Auckland.

Another organisation which seems pivotal in strengthening Māori sport in Auckland is He Oranga Poutama ki Tāmaki Makaurau (HOPTM). HOPTM is part of the He Oranga Poutama (HOP) programme which is run nationally by Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC). The HOP programme is

delivered through twelve Regional Sports Trusts (RSTs) and iwi organisations around the country (HOP, 2011). HOPTM is the name of the Auckland based programme (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Structure of He Oranga Poutama ki Tāmaki Makaurau

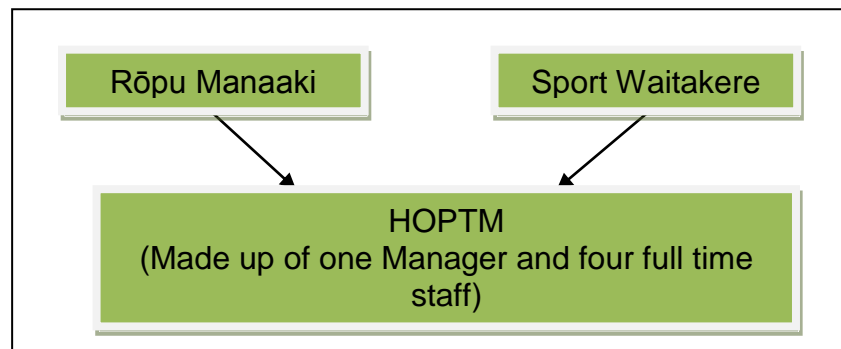


The HOP programme has three strategic outcomes: (1) kaiwhakahaere participating as leaders in their community, (2) increased opportunities for whānau to explore, learn and participate as Māori in sport and traditional physical recreation, and (3) the revitalisation and development of sport and traditional physical recreation (HOP, 2011). Given the above outcomes, HOPTM are committed to taking a lead in forming partnerships with Māori and non-Māori organisations to implement Māori sport initiatives in Auckland in the forthcoming years in order to deliver on its outcomes.

HOPTM have built strong relationships working alongside organisations such as local iwi, taurahere, District Health Boards, and Auckland Council. Those relationships would provide a very strong platform for HOPTM to facilitate sporting opportunities for Māori in Auckland. Indeed, the HOPTM currently have a Rōpu Manaaki (Advisory Group) made up of Māori representatives from organisations such as TWOWT, Mauriora ki Ngāti Whātua (health provider based in South Kaipara) and Hāpai Te Hauora (Public Health provider) (see Figure 2).

HOPTM also currently deliver on physical activity contracts through the District Health Boards in Auckland and work with the Auckland Council in delivering programmes throughout the region. Also, unlike many of the Maori sport organisations currently in Auckland who are volunteer-based, HOPTM has five full time staff to assist, support and develop Māori sports initiatives at a community level.

Figure 2 Governance into He Oranga Poutama ki Tāmaki Makaurau



The organisations described above (TWOWT and HOPTM) are only two of many such organisations who have a commitment to providing sports and physical activity programmes for Māori in Auckland. If a collaborative effort is required to provide urban Māori communities with quality sports programmes, then the two organisations identified above should be considered in the plan.

The Auckland Regional Kapa Haka competition was also referred to by one of the participants as an example of effective urban Māori representation in a physical activity kaupapa (kapa haka) in Auckland. The competition sees participants representing many groups, from taurahere such as Porou Ariki, who represent people of Ngāti Porou descent living in Auckland, or an urban Māori group such as Te Rōpū Manutaki who represent the many Māori who have moved to West Auckland and based themselves around Hoani Waititi Marae. In 2010, groups of up to fifty people from across the Auckland region performed over a weekend with the number of groups increasing each year.

Previous to every competition the kapa haka groups go through tireless hours of practice; training on the weekends and after work on weekdays in order to perform for twenty minutes on stage. The logistics required to

organise such a large number of people over such a long period of time (sometimes up to three months) is monumental. With this in mind, there are indeed some Māori organisations that have “got their acts together” but seemingly, only for the kaupapa of kapa haka.

This is not to detract from the fantastic work that kapa haka does for Māori in Auckland, it merely asks the question – how, if at all, can Māori sport capitalise on the platform that has been laid by kapa haka in Auckland? In terms of Māori development, it would make sense to look to work with those groups to focus on sport as another component of their respective organisations.

The main barrier it seems, is finding the people to drive the kaupapa within those organisations. In order for urban Māori organisations to make sport a priority, the researcher feels Māori sport would have to be held in the same regard as kapa haka. In order for that to happen Māori sport has to go through a process of growth, development and learning. Māori sport has to build whakapapa and its own identity, much the same as the kapa haka movement has gone through over the last 100 years. Kapa haka is generally viewed as specifically Māori and is run largely by Māori. Māori sport, on the other hand has been assimilated into mainstream sport to the extent that it is usually organised, coordinated and managed by mainstream organisations (McConnell, 2000). There is a possibility that HOPTM can assist in the process, by working with urban Māori organisations to organise and coordinate Māori sports programmes and initiatives.

If urban Māori organisations were to “get their acts together” as described by one of the participants in this study, by building robust databases and writing relevant and effective strategic plans, they would have a better ability to access resources (such as government funding) and to lobby local government. Furthermore, as the Māori proverb says, “Whakapūpūtia mai ō mānuka kia kore ai e whati” or “there is strength in unity” (Clarke, as cited in Mead and Grove, 2001, p. 423) and as more disconnected urban whānau become reconnected, to have an ‘organised’ platform to work from becomes increasingly important.

Participant Feedback on an Urban Inter-Iwi Sports Event

The overall feedback on the Iwi of Origin as an event that tried to reconnect urban Māori with their own iwi or with Māori in general was very positive. The event location and time of the year reported no major problems. Most participants felt that it did not matter where in Auckland the event was being held, they would support the kaupapa by travelling to the location. There were pros and cons to the event being held in an urban area. Some of the pros included the belief that more organisations could be involved in the event, more resources and funding could be sourced and more people could participate due to the large number of Māori living in Auckland. Some of the cons were: the cost of obtaining a suitable venue were perceivably high and that in some cases there was no blood connection to the other participating iwi, which meant it could have been just another sports event as opposed to a Māori sports event.

The opportunity for whanaungatanga was the most positive theme reported by participants. In one case, two teams from Ngāti Whātua participated in the event but had not met each other previously. One team was from South Kaipara and the other from Ōrākei (suburb of Auckland), but the event provided the opportunity for both teams to meet and make connections with each other. In another case, one of the teams was recruiting team members just before the games started, by asking spectators whether they were from their own iwi and telling them to play. As one participant explained when asked about the Iwi of Origin as a means to meet others from the same iwi:

Sport is off to the side in a way, it's not the main focus its. . . yeah for us in our Ngāti Hine team we have people that were outside of our immediate family and finding out where they are from and what they do within their family or their own town where they are from. It develops those links. Participant Two.

The main recommendation from participants was the desire to hold such an event annually. The belief was that in doing so, the event would gain momentum and would continue to grow in size and mana (prestige, status) throughout Auckland. As identified previously in this chapter, in order for an urban Māori sport event to be held in the same high regard as, say, kapa haka, it needs to build its credibility with Māori in the urban environment and

thereby develop and promote its own whakapapa and history. This can only be achieved through a process of growth, learning and development. It also means that those with influence in Māori communities have to draw a line in the sand as a starting point for urban Māori sport in order to set clear goals and actions over the next twenty years. Arguably, the Iwi of Origin can provide the platform for future inter-iwi sports events and more importantly, assist in the development of urban Māori and urban Māori organisations.

In addition, by having an annual event, Māori organisations would be able to put the event into their own calendars where it would become a part of the regional and national Māori events calendar, much the same as other major Māori events in Auckland such as Matariki.

Limitations

The following section discusses some of the limitations of the research project. The topics considered are as follows: sample size, urban born Maori representation, female representation, time constraints and length of time between event and interviews.

Only eight interviews were conducted. Upon reviewing the information provided by the participants, the researcher would have preferred to have more people to interview. More interviews may have provided more perspectives than those gained in the research and therefore provided further areas of discussion than those presented. For instance, when the participants were asked what 'being Māori' meant for them, each participant had different views and answers. This was contrary to what the researcher expected.

Of the eight interviewees, only one of them was born and raised in Auckland. Therefore the researcher feels the study would have gained greater benefit through interviewing more Māori born and raised in Auckland. The information gathered from the seven participants who were born and raised outside of the Auckland area was very informative to the researcher, especially when considering comparisons between inter-hapū sports events

and the Iwi of Origin. However, the one participant born and raised in urban Auckland had, in many ways, a very different world-view on how he defined 'being Māori'.

Recruitment of female participants for the research was very difficult with only two female participants registering their interest to be interviewed. Of the males, by way of comparison, there were ten male participants who were willing to be interviewed of which six were chosen for the final interviews. However, it should be stated at this point that there was no noticeable difference in feedback provided by the female participants against the feedback of the males. A larger sample size may have provided a more noticeable difference, however it was not the intention of the researcher to investigate gender related differences with respect to cultural identity.

As stated previously, the Iwi of Origin events were held in 2007 and 2008, but the interviews were conducted in 2010 meaning that two to three years had passed before the interview process had started. One participant in particular, had trouble recalling some of the information asked of him. The information may have provided further insights into urban Maori sports but because of the long period of time between the event and the interview, he was unable to accurately provide feedback.

Overall, despite these limitations the recruitment of 8 participants is appropriate for qualitative research of this nature within the context of a Masters dissertation and the feedback from the participants has been rich and informative for the hypothesis provided for this study.

Chapter Six

Recommendations

The aim of the study was to explore the theory that the delivery of sports in a cultural context can act as a medium to engage urban-Māori communities and strengthen cultural identity amongst those who participate in inter-iwi sports events. The first part of the chapter will provide a summary of findings to highlight the main points covered in the previous two chapters. Given the subject of the thesis “Sport, when held in a Māori cultural context, can strengthen cultural identity for urban Māori”, the rest of the chapter will address three topics which are central to the thesis. The first is Māori sport, and the recommendations gathered from the participants of this study, as well as the researcher’s own views regarding Māori sport that have surfaced during the research. The second will look at urban organisations and urban Māori authorities and propose some recommendations around their roles and responsibilities with regard to sport. The third will look at Māori identity and further discussion points that have arisen from the study, in particular the use of cultural indicators.

Summary of Findings

According to the participants, the Iwi of Origin did indeed strengthen their Māori identity but not all participants’ definitions and views of what ‘Māori identity’ is, are the same or fit a particular model. There is a desire to have an annual inter-iwi sports competition in Auckland. The exact location and the time of year, or even playing the sport, is as important as the kaupapa of getting together with other Māori living in Auckland. Some participants saw events such as the Iwi of Origin as an opportunity for iwi development; others saw it as a reminder of the uniqueness of being Māori, while some saw it as an opportunity to catch up with friends. However, all participants saw it as a positive step towards whakawhanaungatanga for Māori in Auckland.

Many comments were made comparing the Iwi of Origin to inter-hapū sports events which have been held in other areas. The main comment is that the

'vibe' is not as strong at the Iwi of Origin because the 'whakapapa links' are not as strong at the Iwi of Origin. However, for one of the participants who had never attended an inter hapū sports event, the Iwi of Origin provided a solid base by which to build Māori networks and provided an opportunity to learn about Māoritanga. Another participant commented that urban Māori organisations need to take the lead in determining the direction for urban Māori sport. In the researchers' opinion, the leadership spoken of includes the need to improve urban Māori organisations ability to engage with urban Māori. The Auckland regional kapa haka competition was also identified as a positive example of engaging urban Māori and providing a successful Māori event.

Māori Sport Events

As indicated in the summary of findings above, there is a real desire from the participants for an inter-iwi sports day in Auckland to become an annual event. There are, in fact, plans currently in place to repeat the success of the Iwi of Origin 2007 and 2008 by staging another event in late 2011. Indeed, plans are afoot to develop the event over the next three to four years using best practice processes from other inter-hapū events, and also using the skills, knowledge and input of urban Māori. A large part of the work should be carried out by the He Oranga Poutama ki Tāmaki Makaurau (HOPTM) team who work alongside Māori communities in Auckland to facilitate and deliver sport and physical activity.

HOPTM have five full time staff who are based throughout Auckland with sport and traditional physical recreation as a major focus for their work. HOPTM are not just deliverers of games and sport programmes but also assist in building the capability and capacity of Māori sports clubs and organisations; link with mainstream organisations to provide sporting pathways for Māori; organise Māori sports events; have a focus on working with Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Wharekura (Māori language schools for youth aged 13-17 years); Maori Sports Clubs and Marae; run Māori leadership programmes and provide professional development opportunities to the community (Linden Morris, April 18, 2011, personal communication).

However, this is not to suggest that HOPTM should be the only organisation to take a lead in delivering Māori sport. Organisations such as Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust have experience in delivering sport and physical activity programmes in Auckland and are continuing to provide them. Furthermore, there are many other Māori sports clubs, health organisations and individuals that have a vested interest in urban Māori development. Therefore, in order to reduce duplication and maximise resources, an organised and coordinated approach to the delivery and facilitation of Māori sport in Auckland is required. An event such as the Iwi of Origin fits perfectly within the HOPTM work plan and, given the right resources for planning and evaluation can provide rich information on Māori sport in Auckland in order to guide future Māori sport initiatives.

Furthermore, if Māori living in Auckland want to see the Iwi of Origin develop into an event that incorporates the many 'other' facets of traditional Māori sport and pastimes, the Māori community needs to consider reintroducing ngā mahi a te rēhia (traditional Māori pastimes) into Māori sports events and programmes. Not just the pastimes themselves, but the whakapapa, the karakia (prayers) and many of the connections to the Māori spiritual world that have been lost. This is not to discourage people from continuing to play the more contemporary sports such as inter-iwi rugby and netball, as Māori have excelled at those types of sport in the past. Indeed Māori sports organisations such as Māori Touch NZ, Waka Ama NZ and Māori Tennis are all based in Auckland with strong membership numbers, but there is an opportunity to rediscover the past and implement traditional Māori pastimes into events and programmes in Auckland, which could be followed in other parts of the country, if they are not already.

Indeed, if one takes a snapshot of the current inter-hapū sports events around the country, they almost all consist of contemporary sports with little, if any, recognition of the pastimes our tīpuna played. According to some of the participants interviewed in the current study, whanaungatanga will always be celebrated whenever Māori of the same hapū or iwi get together for a kaupapa such as sport but the question is, is it enough for us to celebrate whanaungatanga? Or do Māori want to celebrate it in a more 'traditional'

way; that is, by incorporating some of the pastimes played by our forefathers. Certainly, it would be good to see the revitalisation of Māori pastimes being further researched and implemented into programmes, and I believe a Māori event such as the Iwi of Origin is the perfect place to start for urban Māori.

Having worked in the Māori sport environment since 2004 the researcher has seen, in the last two years, an increased interest in the revitalisation of traditional Māori pastimes at community level, especially schools, both mainstream and kura kaupapa Māori. The increased interest has been spearheaded by the game of Ki o Rahi, a traditional Māori ball sport. Ki o Rahi is “an umbrella term for traditionally derived Māori games that are played on circular clearings, and furthermore, it derived out of a number of similar games which have been condensed into the commonly played game of today” (Brown, 2008, p. 26-27). The HOPTM team have been running Ki o Rahi workshops and events for the last two years with approximately 1400 people being taught the game with further interest to form Ki o Rahi clubs and to set up Ki o Rahi weekly inter-club games (Linden Morris, personal communication, May 20, 2011).

The increased interest in ‘traditional’ Māori games has been the result, in part, to the research that people such as Harko Brown, Dr Ihirangi Heke, Dr Charles Royal, and others have undertaken, as well as the passion from many others across the country to implement these pastimes ‘on the ground’ (Linden Morris, personal communication, May 20, 2011). Games such as Ki o Rahi, have continued to maintain the whakapapa, mythology and tikanga of the past but have also been modified to make it easier for today’s generation to understand and play. The researcher believes it is an opportune time for Māori organisations to capitalise on the current interest and begin to implement Ki o Rahi and other traditional pastimes into their sports programmes and events.

Māori Organisations / Urban Māori Authorities

Māori organisations in the context of this thesis has been defined as any Māori group or organisation that has a common goal of “perpetuating Māori

identity, values and culture” (Walker, 1990, p. 199) and includes groups such as urban Māori authorities, health and social services. Reference is made to urban Māori authorities because it is felt they have played and will continue to play an important part in urban Māori development and, as a result, have the potential to make an impact on Māori sports programmes in Auckland. Furthermore, despite some negative publicity in the past, urban Māori authorities such as Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust have a proven track record in terms of engaging with urban Māori in Auckland and have delivered successful programmes for urban Māori (Moewaka Barnes, 2000, p. 17; TWOWT, 2010).

Given that eighty five percent of Māori have moved away from their tūrangawaewae and into towns and cities it appears obvious that organisations such as Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust that successfully support urban Māori (much the same way an iwi rūnanga would) have an important role to play in Māori development in general. Given this context the case for urban authorities to be supported from iwi assets, including Treaty of Waitangi settlements, remains an important consideration. If these resources are shared within urban settings, urban Māori development may be better facilitated and possibly assist in the development and delivery of urban Māori sports programmes that are actually supporting iwi identity as the current study shows.

Of course, Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust is only one of the many Māori organisations in Auckland. Māori sport organisations, whānau groups, kapa haka groups, taurahere, church groups, marae and the like are all playing their part in promoting kaupapa Māori in Auckland. The one thing many of them have in common is that Auckland is not their tūrangawaewae. So how do we get recognition for those urban Māori living in Auckland who have lost their ties with their own tūrangawaewae? Himona (as cited in Maaka, 1994) asks:

Those legions of us who live in the cities, also look forward to representation. Will our iwi come to town to reclaim us all, or shall we borrow a strategy from age-old tradition, or start anew, and form our own? (p. 311).

In the researcher's opinion, much could be learnt from the journey that Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust has made in an effort to take care of those urban Māori who have been dislocated from their own iwi but are still looking for a Māori organisation to represent them.

Another point to consider regarding urban Māori organisations is the Auckland regional kapa haka competitions which have been running for a number of years. It is arguable that they are well placed with existing systems for engaging urban Māori groups for physical activity. The processes that have been followed by the regional kapa haka organising committee should be investigated further in an attempt to use their model of engaging Māori and delivering a Māori event by, and for, Māori. While not providing all the information needed to stage an inter iwi urban sports event, it could provide many 'best practice' scenarios for the future engagement and development of Māori sport in Auckland. Also, the HOPTM team should be working alongside the kapa haka groups to, at the very least, see if those teams would be interested in forming sports teams to compete in an inter iwi sports event. The reality for many urban Māori, some of whom participate in the kapa haka nationals, is that they have more of a connection to their kapa haka (groups) than they do to their traditional hapū or iwi. Therefore working alongside the kapa haka groups would be a way of using a successful Māori initiative (the regional kapa haka competition) and providing a Māori sports event for them to participate in.

Māori Identity

This particular study has supported the hypothesis that "Sport, when held in a Māori cultural context, can revitalise cultural identity for urban Māori". Identity, in particular 'Māori identity', has been a central part of the study. Furthermore, the results support anecdotal comments given by some tribal leaders which related to their own inter-hapū events bringing people together and strengthening iwi identity.

However, an emerging point of interest to the researcher during this study is the way participants defined themselves as 'being Māori'. The participants'

definitions showed there are a number of ways they see themselves as being Māori including: “Being Ngāti Porou is what it is... I’m Ngāti Porou first and then I’m Māori” to feelings of “uniqueness”, having a “status symbol” and “something that you just do”. Therefore the use of frameworks which use a number of predetermined indicators to capture peoples ‘Māoriness’ should be used with caution as it has the potential for marginalising those who may already be struggling with identity issues. This is not to say that those types of frameworks are not useful in capturing information, but, the researcher feels the attempt to link such indicators to a Māori identity which is strong, weak or anything in between means that those people who do not rate strongly with such indicators are left in a type of ‘cultural limbo’.

For example, although seven out of the eight participants scored fairly highly when ranking themselves against seven cultural indicators, the one person who did not score highly had his own definition of what being Māori was. His definition had traits such as sharing, helping others, and being with his mates which, according to him, did not fit the cultural indicators, but were the things that his grandmother passed on to him. Characteristics such as those identified by the participant should also be considered if one is trying to link indicators to Māori identity. In doing so, it provides a more inclusive framework which reflects the changing and ever evolving nature of Māori identity.

Some of the participants had been living in Auckland for over ten years and commented on their appreciation of being re-engaged with aspects of their culture. Thus the Iwi of Origin worked in two ways; for the participant who had been born in Auckland, it gave him a foundation on which to be acknowledged as Māori. For those who had been living in Auckland for a number of years, it allowed them to re-engage with their culture which in some instances, had been lying dormant for years. Therefore, all participants agreed that the strengthening of Māori identity occurred through the Iwi of Origin.

Conclusion

The research hypothesis was broken down into three components to provide perspectives which are central to the study. Māori sports events and programmes in Auckland are an important part of strengthening cultural identity for Māori living in urban areas. However, in order for the true potential of the programmes to be uncovered it requires capable and experienced organisations to take the lead in organising, coordinating, delivering and partnering with Māori and non-Māori organisations to provide quality experiences. It is recommended that more research into the revitalisation and reintroduction of traditional Māori pastimes in Māori sports programmes and events, such as the Iwi of Origin, be undertaken. Although some organisations have already implemented traditional pastimes into their programmes there is much left to do in regard to learning many of the karakia, myths and beliefs which were practised by Māori tīpuna (ancestors), especially those associated with the traditional sport pastimes.

Organisations such as Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust have represented Māori who have been dislocated from their iwi since the 1980's. Although urban Māori organisations are not seen as a traditional iwi in the eyes of the courts, (and therefore are unable to apply for iwi-based funding), they continue to support Māori living in Auckland. The researcher therefore tends to support the findings of Levine (2001) and Maaka (1994) in questioning the reasoning behind the stance the courts have taken in denying urban Māori trusts iwi status, and the opportunity to provide further support to urban Māori. Regardless, the Government has a responsibility to provide for all citizens (including dislocated urban Māori) and therefore the funding available to urban Māori organisations should reflect an equity and Treaty of Waitangi approach to community development regardless of whether they have 'iwi' status or not.

It is also recommended that the Auckland Regional Kapa Haka competition should be used as a template for engaging Māori groups and providing a successful event. However, more importantly, Māori sport needs to follow the path that has been taken by kapa haka in becoming a recognised means

of celebration for Māori. In the researcher's opinion, only then will Māori sport gain the same status and therefore the same support as kapa haka.

Māori have a number of ways of defining Māori identity. Therefore the use of cultural indicators to define Māori identity will mean that some will fit the indicators, while others will not. It is the researcher's opinion that the use of traditional and limited cultural indicators can also provide a means of marginalising and further distancing those who have been dislocated from traditional components of their culture. To attempt to use them as a framework to describe how 'culturally aligned' someone is does not take into account the broad range of identities Māori currently have, and will continue to have. As stated earlier, the study of cultural identity continues to evolve and as such, it is hoped that the recommendations made above will provide further discussion on Māori identity and Māori sport.

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Glossary of Terms

Āhua	Nature, way of being
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	God, deity
AUT	Auckland University of Technology
AUTEC	Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
East Coast	Eastern Coast of New Zealand of the North Island, referring to the tribal area of Ngāti Porou
Hākari	Celebratory feast
Hāpai Te Hauora	Māori Public Health Organisation
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hato Petera	Saint Peters, Māori Catholic Secondary School based in Northcote
He Oranga Poutama (HOP)	A sport and recreation programme for Māori, funded by Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC)
He Oranga Poutama ki Tāmaki Mākaaurau (HOPTM)	A team of five people based in Auckland responsible for delivering the He Oranga Poutama programme
Hoani Waititi	Marae in West Auckland
Hokianga	Harbour in the north of the North Island, New Zealand
Inter-hapū	Inter-subtribe, between sub-tribes
Inter-iwi	Inter-tribe, between tribes
Inter-whānau	Inter-family, between families
Iritekura	Name of one of the whare tipuna in Waipiro Bay, also refers to the hapū “Te Whānau ā Iritekura”
Iwi	Tribe, often refers to a large group of descendants from a common ancestor
Iwi of Origin	A one-day inter-iwi sports event held in Auckland in 2007 and 2008
Iwitanga	Tribal culture
Kae	Māori ancestor
Kaipara	Harbour northwest of Auckland
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kaiwhakahaere	Manager, coordinator
Kapa haka	Māori performing group
Karakia	Prayers
Karanga	Ceremonial call of welcome to visitors on a marae
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Topic, theme
Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR)	Methodological approach to research that is appropriate for Māori
Kilikiti	Samoan cricket
Ki o Rahi	Traditional Māori ball sport
Kina	Sea egg, a seafood delicacy amongst some Māori

Ko wai au?	Who am I?
Kōhanga Reo	Māori language preschool
Koroua	Male elders
Koura	Crayfish
Kuia	Female elders
Kura Kaupapa	Māori language school for children aged 5-11 years
Mahi	Work
Mana	Prestige, status
Mana whenua	Iwi of the local area
Mātua	Parents
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Aotearoa Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori culture
Marae	Courtyard, open area at front of the wharenui, often referred to as the complex of buildings around the marae
Mātua Tīpuna	Grandparents, ancestors
Mauriora ki Ngāti Whātua	Māori Social Services organisation
Ngā mahi ā te rēhia	Traditional Māori pastimes
Ngai Tahu ki Tāmaki	A group from Ngai Tahu based in Auckland
Ngaiterangi	A Māori tribal group of the North Island near Tauranga
Ngāpuhi	A Māori tribal group of the northern part of North Island
Ngāti Awa	A Māori tribal group of the North Island near Whakatane
Ngāti Hine	A Māori tribal group of the Northern part of the North Island
Ngāti Kahungunu	A Māori tribal group of the North Island near Napier
Ngāti Maniapoto	A Māori tribal group of the North Island near Hamilton
Ngāti Porou	A Māori tribal group of the East Coast of the North Island, New Zealand
Ngāti Poroutanga	Ngāti Porou culture
Ngāti Whātua	A Māori tribal group of the Auckland area
Ngāti Whātua Ngā Rima o Kaipara Hākinakina	Five marae associated with the South Kaipara sports day
Noho marae	Stay over at a marae
Ōrākei	Suburb of Auckland associate with Ngāti Whātua
Oruawharo	Marae in North Kaipara
Pā	Fortified village, Māori village
Pā Wars	Name of the inter-hapū sports event held for hapū of Ngāti Porou
Pākehā	European, fair skinned, often refers to people of European ethnicity
Pānui	Newsletter, notice

Papalagi (Palagi)	European in Samoan
Porou Ariki	A Kapa Haka group made up of Ngāti Porou descendants living in Auckland
Pōwhiri / pōhiri	Process of welcome
Puatahi	Marae in South Kaipara
RST	Regional Sports Trust
Rangatahi	Youth
Rohe	Region
Rōpu Manaaki	Advisory group
Ruatorea	Small township on the East Coast of the North Island, New Zealand
Rūnanga	Tribal council
Tāmaki /Tāmaki Makaurau	Auckland, New Zealand
Tangata Whenua	Indigenous peoples
Tangata Whenuatanga	To be indigenous to the land
Tapuwae Māori Community Development	Māori health programme that uses waka
Taurahere	Group made up of iwi members who reside in another iwi region
Te Arawa	A Māori tribal group of the Bay of Plenty of New Zealand
Te Ātihaunui-ā-Pāpārangi	A Māori tribal group of the lower Whanganui area
Te Hoe Nuku Roa	The name of a longitudinal Māori household survey
Te Reo Kori	A school based programme which uses traditional forms of Māori movement and song
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Wānanga Takiura	A teachers training college for teachers of Kura Kaupapa Māori and other forms of Māori language schools
Te Whānau ā Iritekura	Name of one of the hapū in Waipiro Bay, East Coast, North Island, New Zealand
Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust	An Urban Māori Authority in West Auckland
Ti rākau	Māori pastime played with sticks
Tikanga	Custom, lore
Tikanga ā hapū	Sub-tribal customs, sub tribal practice
Tikanga ā iwi	Tribal customs, tribal practice
Tinirau	Māori ancestor
Tīpuna	Ancestors
Tolaga Bay	Small township on the East Coast of the North Island, New Zealand
Tūhoe	A Māori tribal group of the Bay of Plenty of New Zealand
Tūrangawaewae	Place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship
Tutunui	Māori ancestor
Tuwharetoa	Māori tribe of the Taupō region
UMA	Urban Māori Authority

WAI Health	Māori health provider in West Auckland
Waikato	Region of New Zealand
Waipiro Bay	Coastal village on East Coast of New Zealand near Ruatorea
Wairua	Spirit/soul
Waka	Vehicle
Waka ama	Double hulled canoe
Wānanga	Workshops, learning environments
Wānanga ā hapū	Sub-tribal learning workshops
Whaikōrero	Oratory
Whakahīhi	To boast
Whakairo	Carvings
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent
Whakatauki	Proverbs
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of relationship building
Whānau	Family, can also refer to a group of friends associates who have no kinship ties
Whānau Ora	A government social and health initiative
Whanaungatanga	Relationship building, bonding
Whangarei	City on the Northern part of the North Island, New Zealand
Wharekura	Māori language school for youth aged 13-17 years
Wharenuī	Main building of a marae where people are accommodated
Whenua tipu	Ancestral lands

Appendix A - Copy of Interview Schedule

Themes for semi-structured interview

Hypothesis / research question

“Can sport, delivered using an urbanised “Pā Wars” model, enhance cultural identity for urban Māori?”

- Give background

Semi structured interview: (The researcher will already have gained the participants name and age).

- What iwi affiliations do you have?
- How did you hear about the iwi of origin?
 - Was the location in Northcote on the North Shore suitable for the event?
 - Was the time of year that the event was held suitable?
 - Did you take members of your whanau or extended whanau with you? – Who?
 - Did you meet anyone you had not met before from the same hapu or iwi as you?
 - Did you see people from other iwi that you had not seen in a long time or make connections to?
 - Now that you have been to an iwi of origin, would you recommend others attend?
 - What would make this event better for the future?
- Focussing on the event itself:
 - What did you expect of the event? Did you have any expectations?
 - What did you do on the day? i.e. did you participate in a sport, were you supporting from the sidelines, were you officiating etc?
 - Have you been involved in other inter-marae, inter-iwi or pā wars types of sports competitions previous to the iwi of origin?
 - Discuss inter hapū sports events and IOO – differences/similarities/value of either or both on cultural identity
 - What is your opinion of having an inter-iwi sports event in Auckland?
 - What is your opinion of these types of events i.e. Inter-tribal sports events?
 - What do you think these events are trying to achieve?
 - Do you think the iwi of origin achieved this, why / why not?
 - What would you recommend for the organisers of the iwi of origin do to engage more Maori living in Auckland?
 - Do you engage in any other non-sport related Maori events or programs in Auckland?
- Explore markers of their cultural identity (traditional and contemporary)
 - What does being Māori mean to you?
 - Did the Iwi of Origin strengthen those things you have identified?
- Explore what impact Iwi of Origin had on their cultural identity?
 - Did iwi of origin have any impact on those things that you have just identified?
 - How?
- Do you think its alright for urban groups such as Te Taua Moana or Te Whanau a Waipareira to participate as an iwi or hapū?
- Please rank yourself from one to four, one being very weak, two being weak, three being strong and four being very strong against the following indicators

- Self-identification as Maori
 - Maori ancestry
 - Marae participation
 - Whanau
 - Ancestral land
 - Contacts with Maori people
 - Maori language
- Anything else to add about the Iwi of Origin/Pā wars/sports/cultural identity in general?

Thank you very much for participating in this research. As a token of my appreciation please accept this \$50 gift voucher.

Appendix B – Confidentiality Agreement

Confidentiality Agreement



Project title: Can sport, delivered using an urbanised “Pā Wars” model, enhance cultural identity for urban Māori?

Project Supervisor: Teorongonui Keelan

Researcher: Wiremu Mato

- ☐ I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe is confidential.
- ☐ I understand that the contents of the tapes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.
- ☐ I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them.

Transcriber's signature:

Transcriber's name:

Transcriber's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Teorongonui (Josie) Keelan.....

Ph (09) 921 9999 ext 6104.....

Email

josie.keelan@aut.ac.nz.....
.....

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 September 2009 AUTEK Reference number 09/198 Note: The Intermediary should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix C – Consent Form

Consent Form



Project title: Inter-iwi sport can strengthen the cultural identity for urban Māori

Project Supervisor: Teorongonui Keelan

Researcher: Wiremu Mato

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 27 June 2009.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐
- ☐ I agree that my iwi affiliations may be identified in the findings (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐
- ☐ I agree that I may be contacted and asked to participate in future research projects (please tick one):

Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:

.....

Participant's name:

.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 September 2009 AUTEK Reference number 09/198

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix D – Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:

27 June 2007

Project Title

Can sport, delivered using an urbanised “Pā Wars” model, enhance cultural identity for urban Māori?

An Invitation

My name is Wiremu Mato and I am currently studying a Masters of Arts in Maori Development at Auckland University of Technology. This is an invitation for you to participate in this research as a previous participant in the “iwi of origin” inter iwi sports event. Your participation is totally voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without any adverse consequences.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to gain your views on the use of an inter-iwi sports event, namely the iwi of origin, and how, if at all, it can enhance your cultural identity. The researcher is studying a Master of Arts at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and will look at publishing the findings and/or presenting the findings to interested parties. Your name will be kept confidential throughout the process following the initial interview by the researcher. This will be carried out by coding your name. Therefore, the only person that will know your name will be the researcher who conducts the one to one interview. Other details such as your iwi may be used in the report.

How was I chosen for this invitation?

An email was sent out to you or someone you know who participated in the iwi of origin. The email asked for willing participants to be interviewed for this research.

What will happen in this research?

This project involves gathering information by conducting one to one interviews with 8-15 people who participated in the iwi of origin. Participants who give consent will be asked about the iwi of origin, inter-iwi and inter-marae sports and how, if at all, cultural identity is strengthened through these events. The interview will be between 45 minutes and 90 minutes in length and held at a venue suitable to the participant and researcher. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice-recorder.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There may be discomfort if your definition of cultural identity (i.e. what it means to be Maori) does not match who you believe yourself to be, therefore not seeing yourself as a “real Maori”.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You can access the Health and Wellbeing centre at the Auckland University of Technology. The researcher can also access a tribal leader from your iwi for advice and assistance in this matter.

What are the benefits?

This research may be of particular interest to Maori because there is currently very little research available regarding the “pa wars” model of sport. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Maori sports events such as inter-marae sports competitions can foster and strengthen the cultural identity of the participants. This research aims to investigate these claims by evaluating an urban-Maori sports event held in Auckland in 2007 and 2008.

Maori could benefit from this research as this research may assist in the development of these types of events or programmes.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your name will be coded following the initial interview with the researcher.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The interview will take no more than 90 minutes at a location that is suitable to both the researcher and you and does not cost you anything to participate.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

1 week from the time that you get this participation sheet.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

The researcher will provide a consent form for you to fill out before the interview.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes, you will receive a copy of the final report.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Teorongonui Keelan, josie.keelan@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext 6104. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?***Researcher Contact Details:***

Wiremu Mato
Email Wiremu.mato@sportwaitakere.co.nz
Ph (09) 966 3114 (work)
(027) 240 5276

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Teorongonui Keelan, josie.keelan@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext 6104.

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Appendix E – Safety Protocol

Researcher Safety Protocol

Project name: Can sport, delivered using an urbanised “Pā Wars” model, enhance cultural identity for urban Māori?

Researcher details: Wiremu Mato
Email: wiremu.mato@sportwaitakere.co.nz
Ph: (09) 966 3114 (work)
Mob: (027) 240 5276

The researcher will, at all times make the supervisor aware of the dates, times and locations of each interview. A full timetable of those interviews will be forwarded to the supervisor and the interview will not proceed unless express consent has been given by the supervisor.

The researcher will also make his family aware of the dates, times and locations of each interview and will notify his family immediately before and after the interview.

The interview process will be conducted in a culturally appropriate manner consistent with tikanga Māori and consistent with a mutual understanding between researcher and interviewee.