

Ngā tapuwae o te haka –
Māori perspectives on haka in sport

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Master of Physical Education

at the University of Otago, Dunedin

New Zealand

30 July 2018

Abstract

The most prominent element of tikanga Māori which is consistently integrated, adopted and adapted into the sporting realm is haka. Haka has a multitude of meanings, as a ritual of encounter, as an expression of identity and a form of entertainment (Karetu, 1993; Armstrong, 2005). It is by far the most visible indigenous ritual and is often used alongside rugby to signify Aotearoa (New Zealand's) national identity. Performances of haka have evolved over the years, predominantly due to associations of the haka 'Ka Mate' with the New Zealand All Blacks. Arguably, on a global stage haka is what makes New Zealanders instantly identifiable. But who benefits? Do the Kiwis who benefit? Is it the global spectator? The game of rugby? The commercial giants? Māori? Who? Moreover, at what expense are others benefiting from haka?

A major source of contention surrounds the impact of globalisation. Issues such as misuse, commodification, appropriation, ownership, tokenism and a general lack of understanding about the customary practice, continues to surface both nationally and internationally. This study attempts to incorporate Māori thinking and understanding into ways in which the haka impacts on Māori cultural identity.

This thesis aimed to explore Māori perspectives on the use of haka within New Zealand sport. It attempts to understand how Māori identify with haka in sport, as well as examine the perceived benefits and risks associated with its use. This study adopted a Kaupapa Māori research framework whereby the research is conducted in culturally appropriate ways by Māori, to give voice to Māori. Data was collected through the process of seven semi-structured interviews with nine participants and one focus group consisting of seven participants. The interviews were transcribed and analysed using three Kaupapa Māori principles as a theoretical framework. Key themes were

identified from the interview data and then coded through a process of thematic analysis.

Key findings illustrated the strength of whakapapa in understanding the contested nature of this topic, encouraging a better understanding of the past and present to inform the future of haka in sport. Experiences of haka in sport contributed to a greater sense of identity for Māori, which was further enhanced with a depth of understanding of whakapapa. Haka in sport also created opportunities for Māori to strengthen cultural ties to whānau, hapū and iwi which enabled intergenerational knowledge transmission. Other benefits included a sense of belonging, greater team cohesion and a distinct team identity. However, perceived risks surrounded the tension that exists between translating ancient/traditional knowledge into contemporary contexts. While haka has done much to set a precedent for normalising Māori culture in sport settings globally, we need to consider ways to appropriately safeguard our cultural practices from exploitation. Through whakapapa, Māori are obligated as kaitiaki to protect these taonga, yet recent global forces are encouraging us to consider how we continue to do this in a contemporary world. Outcomes from this research will provide guidance around the place of haka at sport spectacles, or within sports organisations.

Aku Mihi

E te hunga mate, te hunga kua whetūrangitia, moe mai, moe mai, moe mai rā. I acknowledge all those who have passed on and are no longer with us, here in this realm. I felt the constant presence of my tūpuna throughout this haerenga. So strong in fact, that I chose to write them into this thesis in recognition of their unwavering support - ngā mihi matakuikui.

To the many friends, peers, colleagues and mentors I have had throughout this Master's journey, thank you for your guidance, inspiration, motivation, books, sneaky access to thesis', late-night yarns, coffee dates, overnight stays, willingness to help, Facebook distractions and straight-talk when I needed it. A special thanks to my Te Koronga whānau who helped go over my thesis and give me feedback in my final months; to both my workplaces Unitec and Alliance Communities Initiatives Trust for allowing me the time away from full-time work to make this goal a reality; to my kapa haka tutors and sports coaches over the years and finally, to my closest of friends who have given me the emotional and spiritual support I have needed along the way - you know who you are, tēnei te mihi ki a koutou.

To my participants, I firstly want to apologise for taking so long to document your whakaaro into this thesis. Thank you for taking the time out of your busy lives to contribute to this mahi, it has been invaluable. I feel very privileged to have had the opportunity to listen, capture and write about your wisdoms on haka. My final drive to complete this thesis came through my obligation to you, to share as widely as I can, the knowledge you gifted me - he tino taonga ēnā.

To my whānau research group Professor Wally Penetito, Dr Ihirangi Heke, Joseph Waru and Kim Penetito, thank you for providing guidance in mātauranga Māori,

te reo me ō tātou tikanga and Kaupapa Māori. I want to acknowledge all the advice you've given me along the way, the life lessons and the times where you tangled and then un-tangled my brain. I am especially thankful for the times where you kept me centred and on task, which has contributed to the reassurance that this mahi fully harnesses all that I am as a wahine Māori.

To my research supervisors Professor Steve Jackson and Dr Anne-Marie Jackson, thank you for anchoring me in the mahi and helping steer the waka in the right direction. Steve, you have persevered with me on this journey for nearly seven years now, I opened a signed copy of your book the other day which read, *“All the best with the next leg of your journey - we will be with you all the way”*. I have certainly felt the support consistently during this time, so thank you for your continued guidance and expertise from the beginning and throughout! Anne-Marie, thank you for hearing my karanga and re-igniting the spark to lead this mahi on its final voyage home. I underestimated the power of a network like Te Koronga and the opportunities to connect with other amazing Māori researchers and to write and study in Ōtepoti. Thank you for encouraging me to bring as much of my taha Māori as I could into this thesis. Ngā mihi nui ki a korua, I will be forever grateful.

To Mum, I have little words. You are forever in my corner, you're my biggest fan, and you are the one that keeps me honest. I appreciate all that you have contributed to nurturing and growing our whānau, not just Darcy and I, but all the cousins and mokos that you have taken under your wing and cared for over the years, including my own children. You are a source of great strength and the heart of whānau. You sacrificed your own happiness, in place of ours for a long time, so I share this achievement with you, to acknowledge all that you do for us. I hope I am half the Māmā you are - ka nui tāku aroha ki a koe.

To Dad, everyone else sees your hard exterior, but I know how soft you really are on the inside. I recognise that you are on your own journey right now, so I have some whakaaro for you. You will read in this thesis about how our whakapapa has given me strength throughout this journey, so I encourage that you allow our tūpuna do the same for you. In your travels to Tauranga, to Hastings and then to the deep South, I hope you take these stories with you and acknowledge our tūpuna who travelled the same path aboard Tākitimu, many years ago - he waka eke noa.

To Brooklyn-Rose, the baby I had when I was still a baby - te mātāmua o āku tamariki. You are the one that I am the hardest on, the one who has been my constant driving force in my pursuit of knowledge from the beginning. You might not remember, but there was a time when it was just you and I - and you were my rock! There is no mistake that you are me and I am you. You are a role model to your younger brothers and sisters, and I see them watching you pave the way for them every day. I couldn't be more proud of the girl you are now and the wahine you are going to be in the future!

To Kimiora Kohitu, our māngai Māori. You light up any room with your charm, sass and charisma. You have taught me the most about how to be in tune 'ā wairua', you feel what others feel, and you acknowledge tohu like I've never seen before. You had a wicked haka when you were in my puku at 25 weeks, which put this mahi on hold and was your lesson for me to slow down and enjoy hapūtanga. Your determination for perfection is one of your biggest strengths. You are going to take on the world with your reo my baby - I can feel it!

To Pīata Wairoa, tāku pōtiki ataahua. You epitomise balance and the natural order to the universe, which I write about in this thesis. We witnessed this at your birth when you entered this world so settled - kia tau tō wairua. You possess the ability to heal people and relationships. I believe you are destined to heal our whānau ties, with your hononga to Ngāti Ranginui. I am excited to see your personality grow and shine

a light on this world - karawhiua pēpi. I am grateful for you all, my babies, you make it all worthwhile - e kore te aroha e mutu!

Finally, to Darrio, tāku tau pūmau. You came into my life around about the same time I decided to embark on this haerenga, so you've seen the good, the bad and more of the ugly than I had planned. I want to acknowledge all that you have sacrificed to allow me to complete this mahi and you've never once made a big deal about it. You kept the day-to-day whānau grind ticking over, and you did it all with grace - Ko koe tō mātou nei pou, tō mātou nei toka. Thank you for all you do for our whānau, you are an awesome Pāpā to our babies, a dedicated son, brother and cousin, a loyal friend and a hard worker - everyone loves Darrio, but no one, more than me. He aroha mutunga kore my love. Bring on January 12th, 2019!

Table of Contents

Ngā tapuwae o te haka – Māori perspectives on haka in sport.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Aku Mihi	v
Table of Contents	ix
List of Figures and Tables	xiii
Thesis Conventions	xiv
CHAPTER 1	1
<i>Introduction – Kupu Whakataki</i>	1
1.1 Taku pūrākau	2
1.2 Ko wai au?	7
1.3 Te Ao Māori - Māori worldview	11
1.4 Māori Identity	12
1.5 Haka	14
1.6 Sport	16
1.7 National identity	18
1.8 Rationale for the research.....	20
1.9 Research Aim	21
1.10 Research Questions	21
1.11 Methodology	21
1.12 Outcomes of the research.....	22
1.13 Thesis Structure.....	23
CHAPTER 2.....	26
<i>Methodology – Ngā Whakahaeretanga</i>	26
2.1 Research strategy.....	26
2.2 Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology	29
2.2.1 <i>Tino rangatiratanga</i>	31
2.2.2 <i>Taonga tuku iho</i>	33
2.2.3 <i>Whānau</i>	33
2.3 Data collection and ethical considerations	35
2.3.1 <i>Aroha ki te tangata</i>	35
2.3.2 <i>He kanohi kitea</i>	36
2.3.3 <i>Kia tūpato</i>	37
2.3.4 <i>Manaaki ki te tangata</i>	38

2.4 Research methods.....	39
2.4.1 <i>Semi-structured interviews</i>	40
2.4.2 <i>Focus group interviews</i>	41
2.4.3 <i>Content analysis</i>	41
2.5 Participants	42
2.6 Data analysis	46
2.7 Validity and trustworthiness	47
2.8 Summary	49
CHAPTER 3	50
<i>Haka</i>	50
3.1 Tīmatanga - Beginnings.....	50
3.2 Definition of haka	51
3.3 Te Ao Māori	51
3.4 Te tīmatanga mai o ngā atua	51
3.5 Whakapapa.....	53
3.6 Balance	55
3.7 Mātauranga Māori.....	59
3.8 Creation narratives of haka	59
3.8.1 <i>Tāwhirimātea</i>	60
3.8.2 <i>Tama-nui-te-rā</i>	60
3.8.3 <i>Rūaumoko</i>	61
3.8.4 <i>Tūmatauenga</i>	61
3.9 Mātauranga-ā-iwi	63
3.9.1 <i>Tinirau</i>	63
3.9.2 <i>Ka Mate</i>	65
3.10 Tikanga Māori	67
3.10.1 <i>Haka as a ritual, practice and entertainment</i>	67
3.10.2 <i>Haka as an expression of identity</i>	71
3.11 Kaupapa Māori principles	74
3.11.1 <i>Tino rangatiratanga</i>	74
3.11.2 <i>Kaitiakitanga</i>	76
3.11.3 <i>Taonga tuku iho</i>	82
3.11.4 <i>Whānau</i>	84
3.12 Summary	87
CHAPTER 4	88
<i>Haka in the context of sport</i>.....	88

4.1 Ka Mate	88
4.2 Definition of physical activity and sport	89
4.3 Māori in physical activity and sport	90
4.3.1 Ngā taonga tākaro	91
4.3.2 Ngā mahi a te rēhia	91
4.3.3 Hākinakina.....	92
4.3.4 Pākehā arrival.....	93
4.3.5 Māori participation in sport.....	94
4.3.6 Government support for Māori participation.....	95
4.3.7 Māori sporting events Pā Wars.....	96
4.3.8 Māori physical activity, movement and exercise programmes.....	97
4.3.8.1 Mau rākau	99
4.3.8.2 Kapa haka	102
4.4 Haka in school	105
4.5 Haka in sport.....	109
4.5.1 Rugby.....	110
4.5.2 Psychological edge.....	110
4.5.2.1 Whakapapa	111
4.5.2.2 Preparedness.....	112
4.5.2.3 Mana	114
4.5.2.4 Ihi, wehi, wana.....	116
4.5.2.5 Haka as a discipline	118
4.6 Responses to haka	123
4.7 Summary	126
CHAPTER 5	128
<i>Impact on identity</i>	<i>128</i>
5.1 Uhia mai.....	128
5.2 Influence on identity	129
5.3 Māori identity	130
5.3.1 Identity spectrum	131
5.3.2 Team, group, whānau identity	134
5.4 Indigenous identity	135
5.5 National identity	138
5.6 Sport identity	141
5.6.1 Pre-game haka	146
5.7 International identity.....	148

5.8 Female identities.....	151
5.9 Stigmatisation	156
5.10 Tokenism	159
5.11 Appropriation	164
5.12 Commodification and identity politics	171
5.13 Summary	175
CHAPTER 6.....	177
<i>Conclusion – Whakarāpopototanga</i>	177
6.1 Main findings.....	177
6.1.1 <i>How do Māori identify with haka in the context of sport?</i>	178
6.1.2 <i>What do Māori perceive the ‘benefits’ are associated with the use of haka in sport?</i>	181
6.1.3 <i>What do Māori perceive the ‘risks’ are associated with the use of haka in sport?</i>	182
6.2 Dissemination	185
6.3 Future recommendations.....	186
6.4 Kōrero whakamutunga.....	187
Appendix A – Information Sheet.....	193
Appendix B – Consent Form	195
Appendix C – Interview Guide.....	196
Appendix D – Ethical Approval	197
Appendix E – Māori Ethical Approval.....	198
Appendix F – Tīmatanga (full version)	199
Appendix G – Ka Mate (full version)	200
Appendix H – Uhia Mai (full version)	201
Glossary – Huinga Kupu Māori	202
References – Rārangi Pukapuka.....	221

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

<i>Figure 1: Te Karakia o Tamatea Arikinui</i>	2
<i>Figure 2: Te Whakapapa o Kahungunu</i>	4
<i>Figure 3: Whakapapa from the Tākitimu canoe</i>	4
<i>Figure 4. A Māori world-view of whakapapa - Pedigree of mankind</i>	53
<i>Figure 5. A Māori world-view of whakapapa - Female and male lines of descent</i>	56
<i>Figure 6: Te Whakapapa o Tāne-rore</i>	60
<i>Figure 7: Headstone of Henry Colin Balneavis</i>	191

Tables

<i>Table 1: Research Approach Comparison</i>	28
<i>Table 2: Rugby World Cup 2011 - Tournament facts and figures</i>	142

Thesis Conventions

Italicising te reo Māori (Māori language)

This thesis contains Māori words throughout, as it centres on Māori voices and perspectives and privileges a Māori worldview. Māori words are therefore not italicised, which is an approach supported by Jackson (2011), Mita (2016) and Cunningham (2016).

English definitions for te reo Māori

An English definition is given for Māori words in brackets the first time a word is used for example, atua (Māori god, deity). A glossary of key terms used throughout the thesis is also provided at the end. *Te Aka Māori-English Dictionary* (Moorfield, 2005) was the primary source for most definitions.

Use of tohūtō (Macrons)

Te reo Māori uses macrons (a small horizontal bar above a vowel) to indicate a long or stressed vowel sound. For example, Māori has an elongated 'a' which sounds more like 'Maaori' than 'Maori'. I have used macrons throughout this thesis for consistency apart from direct in-text quotations where macrons are missing from the original text.

Capitalisation of te reo Māori

Where the first letter of a Māori word has been capitalised, this signals the relevance of that word as a name, place or concept, for example, Tākitimu.

Use of footnotes

Footnotes have been used to provide more information about specific topics that require further explanation for clarity.

Italicising quotes

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are analytical chapters, where literature and data are interwoven. I use many vignettes, which are direct quotes extracted from the participant's transcripts. These quotes have been indented and italicised to make the interview data (Pūkōrero) more distinguishable. When a quote is not italicised, this indicates that it is not interview data, but rather data from text.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction – Kupu Whakataki

Taringa whakarongo, kia rite, kia rite

Kia mau!

Nō Ngāti Ranginui me Ngāti Kahungunu ahau. I am from Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Kahungunu. The kaupapa (topic, a matter of discussion) of this research is haka (posture dance performance). The command given above signals to the rōpū (a group of people) to be ready, to prepare for the haka they are about to give, to gather themselves and to focus their minds and energy into what they are about to perform. This introduction prepares the reader for what is to follow and sets the scene for haka to be threaded through the entire thesis. A leading Māori haka and te reo scholar Timoti Karetu¹ states that “haka is the generic name for all Māori dance” (1993, p. 24). However, haka is more than a dance; it is the expression of passion, the culmination of history, culture, language, tikanga (Māori culture) and identity of race. Haka is “at its best, truly, a message of the soul expressed by words and posture” (Karetu, 1993, p. 23). Haka is an important cultural practice and institution in Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview). The context of this research is Te Ao Māori, and I have deliberately chosen to begin this research with retelling the migration story of the Tākitimu waka² as this is the waka that forms the relationship between my two iwi (tribal group); Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Kahungunu. It is a way for me as the researcher, to develop a relationship with you the reader, but also with my kaupapa of haka.

¹ Although Timoti Karetu’s views were expressed over 25 years ago and there are certainly alternative perspectives (Gardiner, 2007; Matthews & Paringatai, 2004; Paenga, 2008 & Royal, 2005), many of Karetu’s (1993) observations on haka are still relevant today.

² Canoe affiliated to Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Tahu tribes.

1.1 Taku pūrākau

Tākitimu, a sacred waka hourua (double hull canoe), left Hawaiki (ancient homeland of Māori) on a journey throughout the Pacific Ocean. The captain, Tamatea-arikini³ prepared the waka for its final voyage from Rarotonga to Aotearoa (New Zealand), during the 14th century around 1350 A.D. (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Ranginui, n.d). It arrived at the west end of Ninety-mile beach on the shores of Awanui and then travelled past North Cape before proceeding down the east coast toward Tauranga (Mitiria, 1972). The waka arrived off Tirikawa, North Rock, at the base of the mountain, Mauao⁴. After a long time at sea, Tamatea-arikini went ashore to give thanks for a safe journey. He, along with his people, climbed to the peak of Mauao and performed an ancient ritual to implant the mauri of his people on the mountain. This is the karakia that was chanted on the summit of Mauao:

Tihei mauriora	May we breathe and live
Tihei uriuri	May our descendants live on,
Tihei nakonako	May our hopes be fulfilled.
Ka tu Ka tau haha te papa e takoto nei	This hill stands here.
Ka tu ka tu haha	This landfall we have sought lies before us.
Te rangi e tu nei	Here is our destination.
Ka tau, ka tau	The sky spreads out above us,
Te matuku mai i rarotonga	The heron flies northward,
Ko ia i rukuhia	Let the ritual be performed.
Manawa pou roto	Place the Manawa pou, the red stone of Hawaiki
Ko ia i rukuhia	On this side and that, toward land and sea.
Manawa pou waho	Thus the ritual is performed.
Whakatina kia tina	Let us establish ourselves firmly here on the headland
Te more i Hawaiki	Our origins lie in the promontories and forests of Hawaiki
E pupū ana hoki	Which rise up toward the heavens.
E wawau ana hoki	We have made a landfall,
Tarewa tu ki te rangi	We have surmounted the dangers of the ocean,
Aue kia eke	The realm of Tangaroa,
Eke Tangaroa	And we have reached land again.
Eke Panuku	We have arrived.
Whano whano	We are about to lead a new life together.
Haramai te tōki	Let us take up the adze and carve out a new existence for ourselves.
Haumi e, huia e, taiki e	

*Figure 1: Te Karakia o Tamatea Arikini. Sourced from *Tākitimu te Waka, Tamatea te Ariki*, by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Ranginui. Retrieved from <http://ranginui.co.nz/vdb/document/86>*

³ Also known as Tamatea-mai-tawhiti.

⁴ Also known as Mount Maunganui, located in Tauranga, New Zealand.

Tamatea-arikinui along with his people decided to settle in Tauranga and later built a pā (fortified village) on Mangatawa, Tauranga. After choosing to settle in Tauranga, Tamatea-arikinui handed over command of the vessel to Tahu to carry on the search for pounamu (Mitiria, 1972). Tahu led Tākitimu on a journey down the east coast, and eventually carried settlers to the South Island.

Shortly after the death of Tamatea-arikinui, his son Rongokako was born. Rongokako was a student of the whare wānanga (place of higher learning). In one of the tests of proficiency, Rongokako achieved the most difficult and essential feat, one which was rarely obtained; the trial involved a word-perfect incantation followed by the graduate taking such giant strides that it mimicked flying from one place to another. This feat was known as tapuwae, and Rongokako was consecrated to the high office of a priest after achieving such an accomplishment (Mitiria, 1972). Rongokako later married Muriwhenua and had a son, Tamatea-pōkai-whenua⁵. Tamatea-pōkai-whenua was a chief in his own right, who also spent time travelling on land and at sea aboard Tākitimu. Tamatea-pōkai-whenua together with his wife Iwipūpū gave birth to a son Kahungunu, who lived at Mangatawa for a period. Ranginui who was another son to Tamatea-pōkai-whenua, became the principal ancestor of Tauranga Moana, so the people identify as Ngāti Ranginui, and I am a descendant of Ngāti Ranginui (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Ranginui, n.d.).

In due course, the Tākitimu waka arrived in Nukutaurua⁶. After a series of events, Kahungunu made his way to Nukutaurua where he first laid eyes on Rongomaiwahine and later fell in love. Rongomaiwahine was already the wife of Tamatakutai, so to win her heart, Kahungunu set out to discredit her husband. Kahungunu was quite the trickster, and after a series of activities to prove his love and worth to Rongomaiwahine, Tamatakutai drowned during a fishing quest with

⁵ Also known as Tamatea Ure-haea.

⁶ Also known as Mahia Peninsula.

Kahungunu. Kahungunu later married Rongomaiwahine, and they had five children. His presence in Wairoa, Hawkes Bay, made him a figure for his people, therefore after his death, the people of this area took the name Ngāti Kahungunu, and I am a descendant of Ngāti Kahungunu (Mitiria, 1972).

Many of my tūpuna (ancestors) mentioned earlier have been expressed in the following two figures:

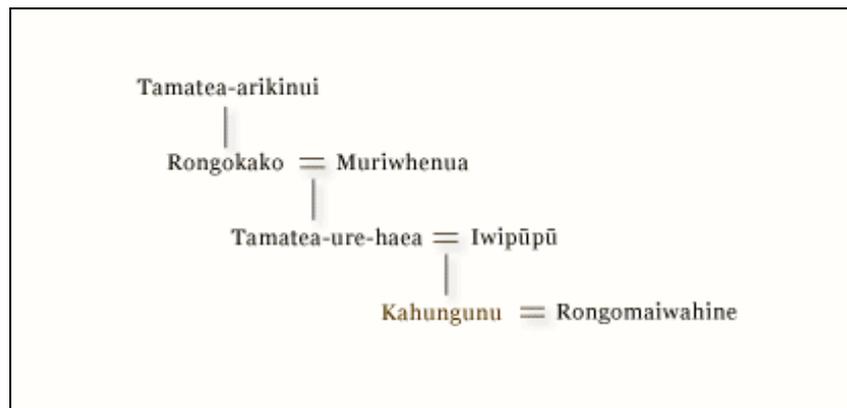


Figure 2: Te Whakapapa o Kahungunu. Sourced from *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* by, M. Whaanga. Retrieved June 12, 2018, from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/whakapapa/568/whakapapa-of-kahungunu>

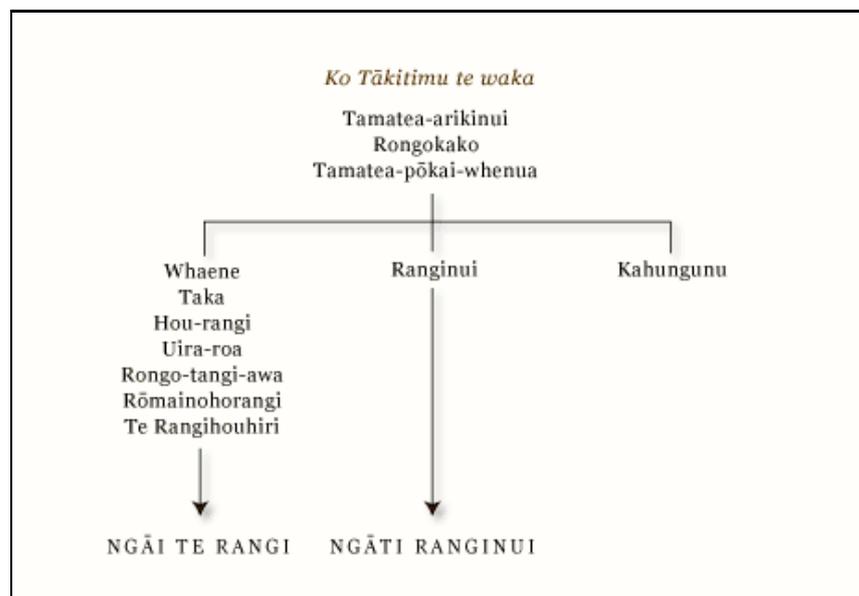


Figure 3: Whakapapa from the Tākitimu canoe. Sourced from *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, by T. A. Black. Retrieved June 12, 2018, from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/whakapapa/3681/whakapapa-from-the-Tākitimu-canoe>

I start with this migration story as it weaves both of my whakapapa lines of Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Kahungunu, illustrating Tākitimu as the common bond. According to Dr Ihirangi Heke “whakapapa is lateral and vertical. It connects people, events, time and ideas. Whakapapa is the web of interaction” (Personal communication, June 5, 2018). In tracking the movements of the waka (canoe), I can learn much about my whakapapa (genealogy), the characteristics and traits of my ancestors and apply these to life situations and in my writing. For example, after learning about the journey of Tākitimu to the South Island, it makes sense to me now, why I have been drawn to wānanga and study at the University of Otago. In June 2018, on a writing retreat at Puketeraki Marae, Karitāne, I visited the urupā (cemetery) where many Kāi Tahu⁷ tūpuna who continued aboard Tākitimu lay to rest. Researching haka is what has led me to Karitāne and Tākitimu is my hononga (connection) to that whenua (land). Comparably, I liken, the leadership skills demonstrated by Tamatea-arikinui in leading his people aboard Tākitimu, to the leadership which is embedded in my DNA and helps steer my waka daily. The karakia (incantation) recited by Tamatea-arikinui atop Mauao, makes specific reference to the use of an ancient Māori ritual, like the ritual of haka, learnt throughout the teachings of the whare wānanga. Mitiria (1972) provides a definition of the whare wānanga below;

The whare wānanga, the highest source of knowledge, was in a very real way an exclusive institution. The school was to preserve for all time the ancient lore, the history and genealogies of the race and all incantations (p. 50).

The ‘exclusive institution’ referred to above, speaks truth to how I have felt on this journey of attaining a Master’s degree. My proficiency as a researcher has been tested, new skills acquired, and my knowledge has been advanced. In my writing, I share a lot of my whakapapa as well as give voice to many Māori who are expert in this topic area. In this regard, my role in preserving and sharing the histories, narratives and

⁷ The principle tribe of the southern region of New Zealand. Otherwise known as Ngāi Tahu.

genealogies gifted to me, is not something I take lightly. As such, I have chosen to name this thesis *Ngā tapuwae o te haka – Māori perspectives on haka in sport*, in recognition of my tupuna Rongokako achieving tapuwae, which is one of the most prestigious accomplishments in the whare wānanga and representative of the journey of haka in sport over time. Beginning my thesis with whakapapa forms a purposeful, symbolic act, to give a practical expression for retaining our oral histories and clearing the way for new knowledge to be obtained - much like in the whare wānanga (Mitiria, 1972). This symbolism demonstrates a level of scholarship and pursuit of knowledge that I hope my children are inspired by and later choose to embark on their own journeys. The following section begins with my pepeha (tribal formulaic expression) as a way of identifying who I am. It will be an extension of the whakapapa lineage already explained above and signifies an attempt to locate myself in the research further. It provides context for the development of relationships, iwi teachings, taonga and histories to extend beyond the present and into the future.

Tīhei Tākitimu

1.2 Ko wai au?

Ko Mauao te maunga

Ko Kahuranaki te maunga

Ko Tauranga te moana

Ko Poukawa te waiū

Ko Wairoa te awa

Ko Tukituki te awa

Ko Tākitimu te waka

Ko Tākitimu te waka

Ko Ngāti Rangī te hapū

Ko Ngāti Te Rangikoianake te hapū

Ko Ngāti Ranginui te iwi

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi

Ko Wairoa te marae

Ko Kahuranaki te marae

Ko Tamatea-arikini te tangata

Ko Whatuiapiti te tangata

Ko Tokona te ingoa whānau

Ko Timu te ingoa whānau

Ko Ephraim Timu rāua ko Dianne Timu ōku mātua

Ko Darcy Timu tōku tungane

Ko Brooklyn-Rose rātou ko Kimiora Kohitu, ko Pīata Wairoa āku tamāhine

Ko Darrio Penetito-Hemara tōku hoa rangatira

Ko Nicole Aroha Timu tōku ingoa

Who I am today, is determined by those who have come before me and those who proceed after me. This pepeha acknowledges that I am a product of my whakapapa. It recognises my tūpuna my papakāinga (original home base) and connects me to my whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribal group) and iwi (tribal group). My pepeha does not start with me, but rather with what anchored my tūpuna to our whenua many years ago. For this reason, I acknowledge my ancestors and my whānau to ground my thinking, methodology, analysis and writing in Te Ao Māori. I have drawn strength from my tūpuna throughout this journey and have consistently referred to my pepeha as a 'living compass' for keeping me centred and empowered. For example, I have walked my maunga (mountain) when I have felt confused, I have drawn on the collective intelligence of my immediate and extended whānau for advice, and I have travelled the path of my ancestors to find clarity and peace in my journey.

Since beginning my quest to complete my Master's degree, I have learned a great deal more about my whakapapa. I have also contributed to the growth of my whakapapa with the birth of my three children; two children I carried and birthed while completing this research. Starting with my pepeha serves two purposes; as a foundation for this research and as a celebration of what I have achieved while on this journey so far. For this study, I position myself as a female researcher of Māori and Pākehā (New Zealand European) descent. In this instance, I feel it is important to frame this research with a brief description detailing what led me to this journey in completing a Master's degree.

My father, who is of Māori descent, and his whānau lived on our papa kāinga in Tauranga for a large part of his youth and moved to West Auckland as part of the urban drift in the 1970s. My mother, who is of Māori/Pākehā descent, was born and raised on her family farm in Clevedon, where she spent most of her days milking cows. My parents, who were both looking for urban opportunities, moved to Manurewa, South Auckland, where they first met. They later married in 1984 and purchased their first home in Manurewa. My brother and I were born and raised in Manurewa, and now I currently reside and work in South Auckland. The reality of growing up and living a suburban lifestyle is that my connection to my iwi, hapū and marae was only ever a distant one. For the most part, my identity was significantly informed by my lived experiences growing up in Manurewa. For this reason, I claim a strong identity as a proud South Aucklander. I also credit much of my growth to my parents' decision to chase the urban dream and enrol me in a mainstream school, within a predominantly Māori and Pacific community.

I have always stood proud and acknowledged my Māori identity, even if my lineage was not always well understood. We went home to our papakāinga in Bethlehem (Wairoa) Tauranga, once a year at Christmas, maybe even more if there

were tangi (funeral). It was very different to Auckland, it looked different, felt different, and it was always full of whānau, led by our matriarch, my Nan, and our patriarch, my Koro. Our visits became fewer after the passing of my Nan in 2002 and even fewer with the passing of my Koro in 2011. However, our homestead is where I draw my most profound connection to my taha Māori (Māori heritage). It is the place I call home, the place I draw a strong and intimate connection to whenua. It is the place where we have celebrated Christmases and birthdays, held family gatherings, mourned for our whānau who are no longer with us and buried the whenua of our children. It is the place I wish to lay, next to my whānau, when I die. Other spaces which enabled the growth of my Māori identity were experiences through kapa haka (Māori cultural performing group) and sport.

My affinity to haka has come from my love for kapa haka, as well as my involvement with haka in sport, in particular, Māori sport. My first experience with haka was in primary school, as part of the school kapa haka group. This love continued throughout intermediate and then into high school. During my time in kapa haka, I remember striving to make the front row middle positions as these were considered the places for the most proficient kaihaka (performer of kapa haka). Late nights and early mornings preparing our bracket for the annual Polynesian Festival became a staple in our household, as did noho marae (to sit and learn about Māori culture), non-competitive performances and haerenga (journey) up and down the North Island.

Similarly, my involvement in both mainstream sport and Māori sport presented opportunities to haka. While it was not an essential ritual performed before any game of netball or basketball (as is often the case with haka in sport today), I performed haka as part of the surrounding events for these codes such as, at pō whakangahau (social events) or as a supporter of teams on the field (such as haka tautoko). My experiences in these various kapa (groups for performing arts) and sports teams created space for

me to explore my identity as a wahine Māori (Māori female), in effect enabling me to restore and reclaim part of my cultural heritage.

I was drawn to leadership positions in both kapa haka and sport. Two leadership roles which significantly impacted on my Māori identity were; performing as the kaitātaki wahine (female lead performer) for Te Ahikaaroa (Manurewa High School) who performed at the ASB Secondary Schools Polynesian Festival in 2003 and; captaining the Aotearoa Māori Netball team who played in the International School Girls competition in Adelaide in 2004. It was apparent to me that these rōpū fast became my whānau. The deep connections we developed as a team were often attributed to the unity we displayed in performances of haka. Sport and haka became the vehicle for celebrating who we were as Māori. It became the gateway to practising Māori culture, which was particularly crucial for me, as I lived away from our marae (Māori place of gathering), hapū and iwi.

This continued love for haka and sport is what brought me to explore the intersections between Māori identity, haka and sport. After high school, I went to university and completed both an undergraduate degree and postgraduate diploma, with a broad focus on sport and recreation. Following that, I pursued a career in tertiary education and very early on, I found myself lecturing about haka to a group of approximately 120 students, during a first-year Sport Culture in New Zealand course. It reminded me of my love for haka and of times where I would spontaneously stand to haka tautoko (support haka), in favour of a kaupapa. The discussions also opened a wide-spread debate around poor performances of haka in sporting contexts and questions of ownership. It seemed that everyone had a perspective on the use of haka in sport, yet these perspectives were extremely varied among students. Questions from students centred on, whether haka was a “Māori thing”? A “sport thing”? Or in fact a “Kiwi thing”? Other discussions with the students put a spotlight on levels of

ignorance around its introduction in a sporting context, which highlighted misunderstandings around what haka is and what it represents. Later in my teaching career, the Rugby World Cup 2011 presented a prime opportunity to explore the new and emerging themes which were adding to the tension around the use of haka in sport contexts. Discussions had evolved from poor performances to overuse, misuse, commodification and questions around who benefits from cultural performances such as haka on a global stage.

These lived experiences have contributed to solidifying my passion for diving deep into this sociological issue. It is this journey that has formed the impetus to explore and understand the benefits and tensions that exist between the use of aspects of Māori culture, such as haka, within the context of sport. Of interest to me, is unlocking Māori perspectives on this topic - acknowledging that Māori have an intrinsic connection to haka as descendants through whakapapa. There are three critical threads to this research; these are haka, sport and identity. To better contextualise the key threads, we must first understand Te Ao Māori, a Māori worldview.

1.3 Te Ao Māori - Māori worldview

Māori hold the view that the universe was created through a series of events, between interconnected realms, which formed the world that we know today (Marsden, 2003; Cunningham, 2016). Whakapapa and creation narratives are thus intimately connected and explain Māori connection to the environment and natural world (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995; Patterson, 2000; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Roberts, 2013). Māori would recite whakapapa of people, birds, trees, fish and the weather to better understand: 1) the world and their place within it; 2) the relationships between things and; 3) to inform ways to act within these relationships (Gregory, 2014).

This is further emphasised in the following mihi (tribute) from Rereata Makiha (2018):

Tuia ki te rangi	Bind the domain of the upper realm
Tuia ki te whenua	Bind the domain of the land
Tuia ki te moana	Bind the domain of the seas
Tuia te here tangata	Bind the tapestry of life to affirm our connection
E rongō te pō, e rongō te ao	to the natural world and to one another
Thei mauri ora!	Let there be life!

(Personal communication, February 20, 2018).

Māori traditions have their foundations in the creation of the universe that have been maintained, retold and reinforced through pūrākau (ancient storytelling), waiata (song), haka, religion and cosmology, to form the belief system that Māori value and uphold today (Marsden, 2003). I discuss these in more detail in Chapter 3. Central to understanding Te Ao Māori is realising the intrinsic link to Māori identity.

1.4 Māori Identity

Fundamental to identity for Māori is whānau. Traditionally Māori identified themselves through tribal structures and kinship ties such as to whānau, hapū, iwi, maunga and waka (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Mead & Grove, 2001). An alternative view of Māori identity is Māori as tangata whenua (indigenous people of the land), implying that Māori arrived in Aotearoa first (Webber, 2008). 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 Rangitāne or Ngāti Apa or Tūhoe or any of forty or more tribes (Durie, 1998, p. 53).

Identity as a social construct can be categorised through gender, race/ethnicity, sexuality, language, religion, genealogy and culture. Māori identity has evolved. As revealed in the above excerpt, the notion of Māori identity has been impacted significantly by the missionaries and continues to be a dynamic social construction which is reflected by the system Māori live in. Typical depictions of Māori during

colonialism were tied to a bio-racist history manufactured by the dominant society – European colonisers (Hokowhitu, 2003). According to Royal (2017), “today almost universally, Māori is used as an ethnic and cultural label, hence, the Māori people, Māori culture and so on” (p. 31).

The term ‘Māori’ itself attracts debate today because it often assumes that all Māori are the ‘same’ and does not acknowledge inter-tribal differences in worldview, nor the shift from a traditional meaning to a contemporary one (Webber, 2008; Mita, 2016). Māori maintained multiple identities until the arrival of Europeans, whereby the common ethnicity ‘Māori’ was emphasised as important. In contrast to the Western view that your name and occupation are of importance when identifying who you are, Māori place more importance on ‘where you are from’ and ‘from who do you descend’ (Durie, 1985). Māori identify themselves according to descent from tūpuna (inclusive of the land, seas and sky) as well as tribal membership and connection to the natural environment (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Cunningham, 2016).

An essential component integral to Māori identity is whakapapa (Walker, 1990; Walker, 2004; Reilly, 2004a). For Māori in Aotearoa, myself included, collective and individual identity formation has been shaped by several experiences and is often still a journey of discovery within a Te Ao Māori framework (Webber, 2008). We must not assume, however, that all Māori view the world in this way. Many Māori living in Aotearoa are also of mixed ethnic/racial backgrounds. In identity theory literature, the term for mixed race is hybrid, which was significantly impacted by the essential figure of migrant and colonial contact (Bell, 2014). Due to the process of colonisation, many Māori have lost ties back to their whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore, Māori identity is a dynamic social phenomenon within a Te Ao Māori framework which emphasises self-identification and acknowledges the diverse reality of Māori living in the 21st century (Webber, 2008).

Missionary education was the accepted norm during colonisation. It imposed on Māori an alternative way of understanding the world. As a result, Māori concepts of physical activity changed significantly during this time (Hokowhitu, 2007). Early settlers (referred to as Pākehā) had a tendency for viewing indigenous cultures as utterly different from their own. Stereotypes of Māori as physical people resulted in the construction of Māori culture as fitting under the umbrella of a primitive and physical world (Hokowhitu, 2003). Māori were viewed as ‘natural athletes’ and ‘masters of movement’ which is why many Māori flocked to sports teams. Sports teams allowed Māori to continue to practice many of the values, customs and traditions they held in high regard as part of a whānau. This among other things attracted further Māori representation in sport (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The stereotype of Māori as naturally physical beings also rendered negative perceptions of Māori as violent and aggressive (Hokowhitu, 2007). This view was emphasised more through performances of pre-match haka in sport, and this serves as a site of contention, which will be discussed next.

1.5 Haka

Haka has origins and whakapapa in the creation of the universe mentioned in earlier sections. Ngawhika provides an interpretation of the whakapapa of the word haka and states, “hā refers to the essence or breath of a person and kā refers to the smouldering burning of that breath” (M. Ngawhika, personal communication, July 26, 2018). There are multiple stories, which connect atua (Māori deities), ancestors, whānau, hapū and iwi to haka. Upon the arrival of the missionaries, haka was viewed as savage, barbaric, immoral, obscene and not reflective of a civilised race (Hokowhitu, 2004). Historically, “the haka was the most general and popular form of amusement in the whare tapere (house of entertainment) of old, and it is one of the few that have survived the advent of the white man” (Best, 1901, p. 39). Observations of haka have

been recorded for centuries and continue to be recorded today. Despite the missionaries' negative view of haka; the active suppression of te reo Māori (Māori language) in schools; and the ever-changing terrain of the new world, haka has survived, evolved and changed very little over time (Karetu, 1993; Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014).

Haka has adapted to contemporary times while continuing to draw on and maintain traditional roots. Gardiner (2007) suggests that "haka has become an obvious vehicle for teams to express their will in front of supporters" (p. 116). However, misconceptions of haka as a war dance, continue to challenge definitions of haka today (Gardiner, 2007). There are multiple understandings and definitions of haka. Haka is complex, multidimensional and dynamic (Karetu, 1993). Haka is a ritual, a practice and a form of entertainment (Armstrong, 2005). Haka is a unique way to express, who we are as Māori and at the core, haka is a vehicle for connecting whānau, hapū and iwi to their tribal lineage (Haami, 2013). Haka has allowed me to discover layers of my whakapapa and helped me to express who I am as Māori. Armstrong (2005), offers a robust definition explaining that,

...haka is a composition played by many instruments. Hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue and eyes, all play their part in blending together to convey in their fullness the challenge, welcome, exultation, defiance or contempt of the words (p. 119).

Haka has become an integral expression of New Zealand nationalism, especially in sport (Palenski, 2007).

One critical distinction to make for this study are the differences between haka, kapa haka and mau rākau (Māori weaponry). This distinction is necessary because these concepts overlap in understanding and the participants used these three terms interchangeably to represent 'haka' throughout the interviews. Mau rākau as a literal translation means 'Māori weaponry' and is tied in the context of this research to the

teachings in Te Whare Tū Taua (the house of weaponry) (Moorfield, 2005; Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa, n.d). Kapa haka is a modern and broad term which encompasses many traditional art forms such as haka and mau rākau, but also incorporates other elements such as poi (a ball on a string used in performance), waiata tāwhito (lament or traditional chant), and waiata-ā-ringa (action song) (Paenga, 2008). Whereas, Karetu (1993) explains that haka is “the part of the Māori dance repertoire where the men are to the fore with the women leading vocal support in the rear” (p. 24). In the context of sport, however, we see haka popularly performed by the All Blacks and other teams as a pre-game ritual. There are a few factors to consider in understanding the subtle differences yet interconnectedness of the terms haka, kapa haka and mau rākau. Firstly, one must consider haka as a ritual versus haka for entertainment purposes, and secondly one must pay attention to the presence and absence of weaponry. Finally, all three terms share similarities in definition relevant to physical activity and sport and thus were used interchangeably throughout the interview process to represent their broader meaning. Further discussion around various types of haka will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Internationally, many associate haka purely in relation to the game of rugby, however, its significance surpasses that of a performance for the global spectator, especially for Māori (Armstrong, 2005; Gardiner, 2007). In many respects, there is continued growth around what haka represents to the individual, family, team and spectator. These statements align with those discussed earlier and start to contextualise haka within the context of sport which will be the focus of the following section.

1.6 Sport

Arguably, rugby is New Zealand’s national sport (Thomson & Sim, 2007). Due to the All Blacks use of haka, and their success internationally, the haka has become

a unique Māori ceremony which New Zealanders identify with and take pride in. As an expression of cultural identity and as a powerful tool to motivate players, haka is arguably an essential ingredient of an All Blacks sporting event (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). As such, these performances often attract large and diverse audiences. In some instances, these haka are televised which contributes towards significant visibility (Murray, 2000). Outside of the All Blacks team, other sports codes to perform haka include; women's rugby, rugby sevens, rugby league, touch, basketball and the Olympic squad, to name a few.

Ka Mate⁸ is by far the most popular and well-known haka within the sport landscape and has been performed by the All Blacks, for over 100 years (Gardiner, 2007). For this reason, it is as much a part of the All Blacks culture and tradition as the silver fern or the name the All Blacks (Gardiner, 2007). The honour of the first haka performed before a rugby game, albeit not Ka Mate, was attributed to the New Zealand 'Native' team which toured Britain in 1888-89 (Gardiner, 2007; Palenski, 2007; Ryan, 1993). The tour was privately organised and was not officially sanctioned; thus, the performance of haka with the team dressed in traditional attire, complete with mats, was rumoured to be a money-making drawcard, attracting crowds and defraying the costs of the tour (Gardiner, 2007).

Aside from this early effort, haka was firmly implanted on the sports field by the 'Originals' in 1905, on the first overseas tour to Britain by a full-scale New Zealand representative side (Gardiner, 2007). It was on this tour that the team introduced Ka Mate (Palenski, 2007) and on this tour that the name All Blacks was used (Gardiner, 2007). Members of the team would attest that it was not uncommon, post-match, to be asked to recite Ka Mate in response to requests from the British, which adds to the notion of the performance functioning more as a spectacle than anything else.

⁸ Haka composed by Ngāti Toa Rangatira chief Te Rauparaha and performed regularly by the All Blacks before a rugby test match. Ka Mate is a story about a celebration of the triumph of life over death.

Members of the 'Originals' team also reported that because of its popularity players would often be asked for both autographs and to write down the words of the 'war cry' (Palenski, 2007). Whether an expression of culture, commercial opportunism, a ploy for the All Blacks to psych themselves up, while at the same time intimidate the opposition – haka became a permanent fixture for the All Blacks from then on (Gardiner, 2007; Palenski, 2007).

Although haka has been performed regularly since the 'Originals', it would be fair to say that efforts at haka have been somewhat variable over the course of 100 years. In 1987, under the leadership of Buck Shelford, haka performances were reviewed, and much effort was put toward these displays being intense, fierce, unified and better reflective of their original context. From practising and understanding the words to perfecting the accompanying actions, haka performances improved drastically under Shelford's leadership (Gardiner, 2007). Nevertheless, after almost a century of use, in 2005, the status of Ka Mate as the sole All Blacks haka was under review and the All Blacks introduced Kapa o Pango⁹ to their haka repertoire. The haka talks specifically about various symbols such as the silver fern, the Black jersey and the powers and privilege bestowed upon it. However, soon after its release, Kapa o Pango was criticised heavily for its controversial throat-cutting gesture (Cornaga, 2006). This brought about an urge for greater public understanding of haka both nationally and internationally.

1.7 National identity

Aotearoa, New Zealand is a hybrid nation, founded on a bicultural past with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi¹⁰ in 1840 (King, 1997). A significant part of New

⁹ Haka composed by Derek Lardelli and performed by the All Blacks for the first time in 2005. The haka reflects the multi-cultural makeup of contemporary New Zealand.

¹⁰ The Treaty of Waitangi was signed on 6 February 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs from the North Island of New Zealand. It is an exchange of promises between these two parties.

Zealand history has centred on the relationship between Māori and the European settlers (King 1997). Sport has also helped to shape our national identity and haka provides a unique sense of difference in relation to the rest of the world (Edwards, 2007). However, haka in a traditional context does not symbolise any real connection or belonging within the landscape of sport, raising questions related to whether its use is of any real benefit to Māori.

The hegemonic construction of a nationalist discourse has created a prominent place for rugby in New Zealand. Thus, the ever-present use of haka and other elements of Māori culture align with a discourse of national unity – as a way of representing the nation and all New Zealanders (Falcous, 2007). Considering the challenges of sustaining kaupapa Māori values and practices, in contemporary today, Falcous (2007) suggests the need for affecting reconciliation with Māori through a process of decolonisation. In this respect, if Māori culture is used to represent New Zealand – the problem does not lie in the integration of the ritual per se, but rather, allowing it to function as a mask. Therefore, if performances of haka function primarily as dramatic displays, to engage the global consumer – then in effect we are providing the illusion of bicultural engagement and creating a myth of seamless national unity when potentially this does not exist (Falcous, 2007).

Other tensions surrounding the use of haka as a national identifier related to sport, encompasses questions of authenticity, access, protection, misuse, misappropriation, stereotyping and recognition for Māori cultural knowledge, which has a profound impact on identity. There is a danger of exploiting Māori culture through a lack of awareness, understanding, ignorance and respect. Haka is paramount in contributing to the legacy of indigenous cultural knowledge and solidifying a distinct national, sporting and indigenous identity both here and overseas. These comments

highlight the politics at play, with the intersection of haka and sport and provides the rationale for this study.

1.8 Rationale for the research

While there is a growing body of published research that attempts to apply Kaupapa Māori research methodologies to aspects of sport and physical activity, there is a lack of literature explicitly related to haka in sport. A small body of literature directly focuses on Māori perspectives on haka, kapa haka and mau rākau, led by a few indigenous scholars and their research partners (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Hokowhitu, 2003; 2007; Kawai, 2003; Matthews & Paringatai, 2004; Royal, 2005; Palmer, 2007; Waiti, 2007; Paenga, 2008; Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; Biddle, 2012; Moon, 2012; Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014; Erueti, 2015). Evidence of the benefits and risks associated with the use of haka within the context of sport exist predominantly anecdotally. Thus, there is a need to develop sport specific literature that acknowledges a Māori worldview and addresses topics such as haka directly. Doing so, not only legitimises tikanga Māori as 'proper knowledge' but also creates an opportunity to further understand the effects of Māori culture on New Zealand's national identity.

This thesis proposes to examine how Māori identify with haka in the context of sport. The research seeks to give voice to Māori perceptions relative to benefits and risks associated with the use of haka, to expand our understanding of the place of haka within sport in New Zealand. Haka plays a significant role in the vitality of Māori culture and continues to set New Zealand society apart from the rest of the world, especially within the context of sport. Despite its continued use on a variety of platforms, few researchers have documented its value (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). It is widely known that haka is used as a unique way in which New Zealanders express their national identity, which reflects how we are represented and viewed internationally.

However, controversy and debate surround the question: at what expense? Scherer and Jackson (2010), note that in the New Zealand context, perceived misuse, commodification and globalisation of the haka, has become a significant source of contention, and is widely considered to be culturally insensitive to Māori.

Similarly, Hokowhitu (2007) in his research examines the dominant, stereotypical and marginalised representations of Māori culture within the context of sport and physical education. These perspectives highlight a range of ways haka serves as contested terrain. In contrast, Pihama, Tipene and Skipper (2014) highlight that there are multiple ways in which we can view the value and contribution of haka across cultural, social and economic contexts.

1.9 Research Aim

The aim of this research is to explore Māori perspectives on the use of haka within New Zealand sport.

1.10 Research Questions

1. How do Māori identify with haka in the context of sport?
2. What do Māori perceive the 'benefits' are associated with the use of haka in sport?
3. What do Māori perceive the 'risks' are associated with the use of haka in sport?

1.11 Methodology

For this study, I utilised a Kaupapa Māori¹¹ methodological approach, which is particularly appropriate given the research questions are centred on understanding Māori perspectives. At its core, a Kaupapa Māori approach focuses on research that is of benefit to Māori, conducted in culturally appropriate ways by Māori, to give voice

¹¹ Māori approach to research which encompasses, Māori customary practices, Māori principles and Māori ideology. It is a philosophical approach incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.

to Māori (Smith, 1999; 2012). A literature stocktake of existing research pertaining to haka was undertaken to identify gaps and trends. A 'whānau research group' was established with the principal purpose of ensuring that the research agenda was defined and controlled primarily by Māori. Conversely, the role of this group was to ensure that the research agenda has importance and is relevant to Māori. This group also provided expertise around tikanga and te reo. Ethics within a Kaupapa Māori research approach are grounded within tikanga Māori; and as a result, reflected research techniques as outlined by Smith (1999). The overall approach takes into consideration accountabilities and obligations, as well as the involvement, safety, wellbeing and protection of the participants involved in the research.

Data was collected through a series of semi-structured, open-ended interviews with nine participants, as well as a focus group involving seven participants and one external facilitator. Three key texts were also used in addition to the data collected throughout the interview process. Key themes were identified and coded during analysis of the interview data, which is generally regarded as thematic analysis. Three principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory which encompass Māori knowledge and values in practice: tino rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty), taonga tuku iho (cultural knowledge passed down through generations) and whānau are woven throughout the analytical chapters to make sense of the data (Smith, 1999). Key findings and future recommendations were discussed with the 'whānau research group' and documented in the final chapter.

1.12 Outcomes of the research

This research will support the development of a credible evidence base to guide policy design and assist government agencies such as the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Culture and Heritage to increase understanding of the place of haka in sport and leverage future opportunities for appropriate levels of

support in sport and other settings. While this research focuses specifically on Māori perspectives, Māori needs and Māori outcomes, it is acknowledged that teachers, coaches, spectators, sport administrators, health professionals, and managers would benefit from the insights documented in this research. Learning how to integrate elements of tikanga Māori into the culture of businesses, government organisations, schools, health providers, teams and clubs with purpose and understanding is key to cultural responsiveness. Palmer (2007) further highlights the significance of this research in the following quote:

If sport managers and leaders are serious about promoting their sport to Māori and/or incorporating elements of tikanga Māori into their sport management policies, processes and practices, an understanding of how internalised beliefs, stereotypes and generalisations associated with Māori involvement in sport, needs to be gained (p. 328).

Opportunities exist for the exchange of knowledge with regards to other indigenous cultures as well. This study aims to help further illustrate Māori perceptions regarding representation of indigenous cultures, as well as expand our understanding of the complex nature of using customary practices such as haka within a sport context and other settings.

1.13 Thesis Structure

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. Chapter 1 is an overview of the thesis topic and introduces the aim, research questions and research context. While the introduction provides a synopsis of the main ideas to give some background to the thesis, it also aims to establish the need for further research on the topic.

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical and methodological framework for the study. This draws on Kaupapa Māori Theory, specifically the principles of tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho and whānau (Smith, 1999). The methodology section also discusses the research methods and ethical considerations employed during data collection. The

early introduction of the methodology section of this thesis is necessary to set the scene for the integrated analysis that occurs in the latter chapters.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are analytical chapters where literature and analysis are woven throughout. As a result, the thesis structure reflects the interconnected nature of the Māori worldview and Kaupapa Māori Theory and Methodology. Choosing to exclude a literature review in favour of analytical chapters allows for themes to emerge, be contextualised and analysed simultaneously. This aligns with the aforementioned tino rangatiratanga principle and follows the lead of previous authors in this field (Jackson, 2011, Mita, 2016, Cunningham, 2016).

Chapter 3 begins with an overview of Te Ao Māori - a Māori worldview, followed by a working definition of haka and then an examination of the origins of haka through a pūrākau (ancient stories) lens. Haka as a ritual, a practice and an expression of identity is discussed next. Then, the second half of the chapter explores three principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory such as tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho and whānau. Discussion around kaitiakitanga is also interwoven throughout the analysis of these principles. Finally, the chapter concludes with a review of the economic impact of haka in contributing to a thriving whānau.

Chapter 4 addresses the intersection of haka with sport. This chapter provides context for definitions of physical activity and sport from both non-Māori and Māori perspectives. This is followed by a discussion on the impact of haka in school and in sport contexts such as rugby. Further discussions highlight the various ways haka serves to provide a psychological edge, such as through, whakapapa, preparation, mana (prestige, authority), ihi (essential force, excitement), wehi (responding in awe) and wana (thrill, exhilaration). In addition, the chapter discusses various responses to haka as it has evolved and the contested nature of these responses as they challenge a Māori worldview on the topic.

Chapter 5 brings together the previous two chapters and focuses on identity. This chapter examines how the construction of various identities either challenge or strengthen identity. It begins by exploring Māori identity, followed by an examination of sport, national and international identity. The role of women in haka is explored next, followed by an examination of the stigma for Māori associated with the use of haka in sport. The chapter concludes with discussions of appropriation, commodification and the identity politics that surround haka in sport.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with key findings, related to the research questions highlighting the contested nature of the topic. The chapter continues with a discussion about dissemination of the research, future recommendations and a final kōrero which encapsulates how haka continues to be a vehicle for discovering and strengthening the notion of whakapapa in my world.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology – Ngā Whakahaeretanga

This research aimed to explore Māori perspectives on the use of haka within New Zealand sport. This chapter describes the methodology and methods that were used to address this research aim. I begin by outlining the research strategy paying attention to the ontological and epistemological orientations of this research which are grounded in whakapapa. Followed is a discussion of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Methodology and its relevance as a catalyst for creating the space for this research to occur. I provide a brief explanation of the principles that reinforce the theory and emphasise those that helped shape the data and inform the key findings of this study. The data collection phase of the thesis is then discussed which involved a series of interviews, one focus group and analysis of three texts. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the data analysis.

2.1 Research strategy

The ontological and epistemological orientations of this research reflect the nature of a Māori worldview and whakapapa, which are both implicit within a Kaupapa Māori research approach. Grix (2004) describes ontology as the starting point of all research, followed by one's epistemological and methodological positions. Ontology considers the nature of being, and thus how researchers experience and come to understand their reality within the world, while epistemology is concerned with the nature of knowing and how we attempt to communicate this knowledge to others (Gratton & Jones, 2004). For Māori, whakapapa threads through both ontological and epistemological orientations. The nature of being is determined by and through whakapapa whereby the nature of our human existence is firmly connected to the

environment. For example, humans were literally of the land, whereby the first woman was shaped from clay by Tāne (Jackson, Baxter, & Hakopa, 2018). The nature of knowing is also informed by whakapapa. One explanation for the origin of knowledge is attributed to Tāne, who ascended to the heavens to collect ngā kete o te wānanga (the three baskets of knowledge) (Best, 1924a). There are several interpretations of what each basket represents, te kete aronui (held knowledge designed to benefit mankind), te kete tuauri (held the knowledge of ritual, memory and prayer) and te kete tuatea (contained knowledge of evil or makutu harmful to mankind) (Best, 1924a).

It is acknowledged that Kaupapa Māori research helps guide Māori researchers to view and organise their research differently to a Westernised approach. Pihama (2010) states, "...indigenous theories such as Kaupapa Māori are grounded within cultural frameworks and epistemologies" (p. 5). As such, I reiterate, this research is informed by and framed from a Māori worldview. Worldview is introduced in Chapter 1 and 3, inclusive of both my worldview as the researcher and a Te Ao Māori lens on this study.

Some Māori academics have questioned whether Kaupapa Māori research is its own paradigm (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research aligns to some of the ways a paradigm is defined, and it also weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, aspirations and needs. According to Waiti (2007) "it draws on a variety of Māori aspects such as mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), Māori pedagogy, te reo Māori (Māori language), and tikanga Māori (Māori customs, practices, lores) to help frame and develop the research process" (p. 49). Table 1. illustrates a comparison between Qualitative research and Kaupapa Māori research to inform the methodology for this study.

Table 1: Research Approach Comparison

Qualitative Research Approach	Kaupapa Māori Research Approach
<p>Activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Locates the study within particular settings which provide opportunities for exploring all possible social variables and set manageable boundaries ● Looks deep into the quality of social life 	<p>Activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establishes whānau (extended family) relationships ● Rāranga kōrero (knits together narrative)
<p>Beliefs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Conviction that what is important to look for will emerge ● Confidence in the ability to devise research procedures to fit the situation and nature of the people in it as they are revealed ● Reality contains mysteries to which the researcher must submit and can do no more than interpret 	<p>Beliefs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participation driven ● Devolved power and control to promote Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination). ● Collective benefit ● Cultural consciousness
<p>Steps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Decide the subject is interesting (e.g. in its own right, or because it represents an area of interest) ● Explore the subject ● Let focus and themes emerge ● Devise research instruments during the process (e.g. observation or interview) 	<p>Steps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Researchers are somatically involved ● Hui (gatherings, meetings) – used to engage participants at every stage of the research development ● Taonga tuku iho (something handed down) – oral histories shape the outcomes of the research subject ● Joint development of new storylines
<p>Rigour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Principled development of research strategy to suit the scenario being studied as it is revealed 	<p>Rigour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Whānau (extended family) involved in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Decision making ○ Ownership of data ○ Communication ○ Monitoring ○ Procedure ○ Participation ○ Accountability ○ Accuracy ○ Preservation of intellectual property – Taonga tuku iho (historical, cultural knowledge passed on from generation to generation)

Note: Reprinted [adapted] from K. Penetito, 2005, *Me Mau kia ita ki te tuakiri o te whānau, ma te whānau e tipu ai: Whānau identity and whānau development are interdependent.* (Master's thesis). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, NZ.

2.2 Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology

This study incorporated a Kaupapa Māori philosophy to drive the research process. According to Pihama (2010) “the development of Kaupapa Māori as a foundation for theory and research has grown from Māori struggles for tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake” (p. 10). Kaupapa Māori theory is informed by mātauranga Māori, while at the same time is shaped by lived experiences of Māori every day.

Kaupapa Māori research is located in an alternative conception of the world (Bishop, 1994). Kaupapa Māori methodologies were developed from a strong sense of Māori dissatisfaction with the way in which they were researched as indigenous people. As a result, a Kaupapa Māori approach to research has created opportunities for Māori, whereby the need to seek legitimation or permission from Pākehā academics is no longer a requirement.

Kaupapa Māori methodologies have become a way for Māori to ensure that their research is conducted in culturally safe ways, which are ethical and more importantly, tika (be correct, true, accurate). There are several elements within a Kaupapa Māori research framework. Furthermore, Smith (1999, p. 185) outlines that Kaupapa Māori research:

- is related to being Māori
- is connected to Māori philosophy and principles
- takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
- is concerned with ‘the struggle of autonomy over our own cultural well-being’

Kaupapa Māori research plays a significant role in the connection between language, knowledge and culture. With the revitalisation of te reo Māori, has come the resurgence of Māoritanga (Māori culture) and various forms of knowledge. Kaupapa Māori frameworks seek to provide an understanding of Māori values, beliefs and attitudes,

Māori language and Māori ways of living in the world. As an analytical approach, Kaupapa Māori is about thinking critically and developing a critique of Pākehā constructions and definitions of Māori, while affirming the importance of Māori self-definitions. This has set the premise for favouring Māori participation in this study.

It is important to note that not all research undertaken by Māori fits within a Kaupapa Māori framework. For Kaupapa Māori research to be carried out in culturally relevant and appropriate ways, kaumātua/kuia (elders) are often involved through providing mentorship and leadership. An area of contention around Kaupapa Māori research revolves around Pākehā involvement. This discussion is complex, and for this research project, Russell Bishop's ideas have been applied. According to Bishop (1994),

There is an issue of control around Pākehā involvement in Kaupapa Māori research. This issue is linked with the goal of empowerment whereby Māori are given the opportunity to regain control of research on Māori, and as a result assert a position that to be Māori, is both valid and legitimate. Therefore, the space which Pākehā can occupy within a Kaupapa Māori framework must be in support of Māori research (as treaty partners) and must not be conducted on an individual basis by Pākehā, nor controlled by Pākehā (p. 178).

Thus, while it is advised Pākehā not undertake this type of research on their own, nor control the research agenda, Pākehā can be useful allies and colleagues in the study. Barnes (2013) asserts that Māori–Pākehā relations “unveils questions about power, paralysis, ethics, positioning and agency” (p. 9). For this study, I actively set out to elicit the experiences of my Pākehā supervisor, Professor Steve Jackson, who had published widely about haka at the time of starting my Master's journey. For this reason, I view Māori–Pākehā research relations, within Kaupapa Māori research, as mutually beneficial. While Māori are indeed in control of the research agenda and take the lead on concepts that fall within Māori cultural paradigms, I have found working with Pākehā as supportive in advancing the Māori agenda.

One fundamental understanding to a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is that in practice, it positions researchers in such a way as to operationalise tino rangatiratanga (Bishop, 1994). Therefore, a set of working principles which encompass Māori values and knowledge have been embedded into the practice during all phases of the research process. Smith (2003) summarises six essential principles that are crucial to Kaupapa Māori research:

- Tino rangatiratanga, (relative autonomy principle)
- Taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations principle)
- Ako Māori (preferably pedagogy)
- Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga (mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle)
- Whānau (extended family structure principle)
- Kaupapa (collective vision philosophical principle)

For this research, I have chosen to focus on tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho and whānau. These principles will feature throughout the analysis chapters where applicable. Interwoven into this analysis is discussions of kaitiakitanga (guardianship), which is also central to a Māori worldview.

2.2.1 Tino rangatiratanga

The relative autonomy principle, tino rangatiratanga, can be regarded as the fundamental underlying theme of Kaupapa Māori. In context, this is demonstrated in the phrases, 'by Māori for Māori' or 'Māori control Māori things' which references mana motuhake (autonomy, sovereignty).

At present, Māori live in a dominant Westernised society and haka when performed in front of a global audience has become a blurred example of a Māori, Kiwi, New Zealand, sporting, cultural expression. Smith (1999) asserts that the West continuously desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing. Haka is a prime example of this; therefore, it must be acknowledged that haka is a Māori

construct first and foremost. The misuse, misappropriation, commodification of haka are all tensions that frame haka as a site of struggle. As such, this research utilises tino rangatiratanga as a strategy to disrupt this discourse to give voice to Māori perspectives on the topic, to inform a critique of the health of haka, to advise and lead strategies for use in non-Māori contexts. Self-determination of indigenous cultures in maintaining and protecting cultural knowledge, tradition and heritage is vital in the application of this principle throughout this study.

Tino rangatiratanga was considered at length in the choice to adopt a Kaupapa Māori research methodology during a time whereby I was negotiating a new relationship with a non-indigenous supervisor. My supervisory team consists of Professor Steve Jackson, who is of Canadian descent and Dr Anne-Marie Jackson, a descendant of Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa, Te Roroa. As previously mentioned, contention surrounds non-Māori involvement in Kaupapa Māori research. As the primary researcher for this project, it should be noted that I assume principal control of the research agenda. Namely, I have made all the decisions surrounding the design, implementation and analysis for this project. However, I also accept that some perceive non-Māori participation as inappropriate. As such, I do not take for granted that “research in itself is a powerful intervention” (Smith, 1999, p. 176). Consultation was sought around this contention which resulted in various suggestions and advice, from academics and whānau alike. I made an initial decision to go with a non-Māori supervisor - Steve Jackson and later asked Anne-Marie Jackson to join my supervisory team. Throughout this research journey, I understand that I have been in receipt of privileged information and have felt obligated to share these stories in a way that empowers Māori worldviews. I feel, I have had the best of both worlds and wish to acknowledge my supervisory team in their ability to guide me throughout this process, always encouraging culturally responsive practices

and advising strategies to stay true to a Kaupapa Māori approach. As a result, this is a prime example of how I, as the primary researcher for this project, operationalised self-determination.

2.2.2 Taonga tuku iho

Intergenerational transfer of knowledge has been key to the survival of haka as an expression of Māori culture. Taonga tuku iho refers to “treasures both tangible and intangible that have been handed down from ancestors” (Nepe, 1991, p. 128). This principle resonates with this research as I seek to understand how haka as mātauranga Māori, Māori custom, Māori tradition has contributed to the sustainability of Māori culture and identity over the years. Ngāpō Wehi makes an implicit reference to haka as taonga tuku iho in the book entitled *Ka mau te wehi: Taking haka to the world*;

The only glimmer of light to pierce my heart to brighten the darkness of my loss is seeing the dream Nen and I believed in, shining bright and radiant before me - seeing the intangible treasures of our culture actively displayed in the daily lives of the next generation (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 11).

Haka in this context is ‘knowledge as taonga’, used to pass on strong whānau values and identity to the next generation. Whakapapa is central to the notion of taonga tuku iho because it acts as a mechanism for both identity and the transmission of knowledge positions (Pihama, 2010). Identity is also an important concept related to this principle. Understanding how Māori identify with haka and how haka enables strong cultural identity across generations highlights ways that this principle was essential to this research.

2.2.3 Whānau

Whānau, put simply means ‘family’. Whānau is based on a Māori worldview which indicates a connection to whakapapa and sits at the heart of Kaupapa Māori Theory. In a modern context, the term also includes friends who may not have kinship ties (Moorfield, 2005). The whānau principle within Kaupapa Māori Theory is essential

and assumes that the practice of whanaungatanga is an integral part of Māori culture and identity (Waiti, 2007). This view is further reinforced by Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs (2006) stating “the process of identifying, maintaining, or forming past, present, and future relationships... enables Māori to locate themselves with those present” (p. 334).

In this project, great importance is placed on whānau as a support structure, much like the support structure in place within the world of haka. Therefore, in applying this principle in practice, I sought guidance from whānau in the form of a ‘whānau research group’ to support my research endeavours. A focus for this group was to provide expertise around tikanga and te reo Māori, by way of supervision and guidance. It is acknowledged that kaumātua status is directly linked to knowledge, but more importantly their ability to use that knowledge for the collective good (Smith, 1999). While providing mentorship and support in the first instance, often kaumātua are invited in as official members of the research team, which is indeed the case for this project. A special effort was made to seek support from kaumātua within my whānau as a way of sharing wisdom around lived experiences conducting Kaupapa Māori research in the past. I also employed the leadership skills of one whānau member who facilitated the focus group session during the data collection phase of this research. Sporadic and spontaneous hui with members of this group enabled me to draw on the collective strength of a community of Māori in support of this kaupapa. My ‘whānau research group’ comprised of Professor Wally Penetito, Dr Ihirangi eke, Joseph Waru and Kim Penetito. Finally, it must be acknowledged that by enrolling others into this research project, it enabled more Māori voices and perspectives to help shape the research.

2.3 Data collection and ethical considerations

This research was approved by the University of Otago Ethics Committee under Category B (see Appendix D) and the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (see Appendix E). Keeping consistent with a Kaupapa Māori research approach, the following research practices as outlined by Smith (1999, p. 120) were employed:

- Aroha ki te tangata (respect for people)
- He kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
- Titiro, whakarongo... korero (look, listen...speak)
- Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- Kia tupato (be cautious)
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
- Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge)

These seven research practices are underpinned by tikanga Māori (Smith, 1999), and they form the ethical framework for this research project. The following section outlines how some of these concepts were applied in practice during the data collection phase.

2.3.1 Aroha ki te tangata

Aroha ki te tangata is about respecting the decision of participants to define their own space and meet on their terms (Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Huriwai, Mataki, & Tuuta, 1999). Treating people with respect means allowing them to be in control. Each interview took place at a site and time determined by the participant, and these included interviews conducted at the participant's residence, my residence, marae and various workplaces. Many of the participants were known to me and so before proceeding with the formal interviewing, time was spent engaging in conversation about how they were and how their whānau were. Upon completion of the interview, participants were advised that the discussions would be transcribed and returned to the participants to edit, comment or correct. This process allows for the participants to

check that they were comfortable with the content captured in the interview and to ensure that nothing was taken out of context - a process otherwise known as member checking (Bryman and Bell, 2011). These practices illustrate attempts made to ensure respect was shown to participants.

2.3.2 He kanohi kitea

Kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face contact), is another noted strength in that it ensures a dedicated audience is present (Smith, 1999). The seen face is valued as an opportunity for increased transparency and accountability among those present in the interview (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, & Smith, 2010). For this study, importance was placed on meeting all participants face to face to "...aid in restoring the balance and bonds of whanaungatanga during rituals of encounter and relationship building" (Mead, 2003, p. 28). This process of preferencing face to face interaction involved travelling up and down the North Island. On two occasions after all attempts were made to meet kanohi ki te kanohi, a phone interview was agreed as an appropriate second option. In both instances, the participants were travelling or working overseas and therefore felt comfortable with sharing their Pūkōrero¹² over the phone. One participant was a close friend of mine who currently resides overseas, and the other was a senior kapa haka exponent who has a busy schedule and regularly travels. He preferred a phone call in the evening, while he was relaxing in front of the television. On a few occasions, participants would invite others into the conversation which was deemed a natural part of whanaungatanga and allowed for even stronger connections to be formed. This often created a more comfortable and safer environment for participants, which allowed them to trust in the process and share more deeply their lived experiences.

¹² Pūkōrero is the title given for the participants who are well-informed orators and who speak with authority about the topic of this thesis – haka.

2.3.3 *Kia tūpato*

Kia tūpato is about being cautious and ensuring I create an environment that is culturally and politically safe (Pipi et al., 1999). For this research project, I used several strategies to enable safe practice to occur. A loose interview structure was used as a guide to ensure the implementation of strong ethical practice. Similarly, it was used to 'check in' with the participant to see if they were clear on the interview process. This structure outlined an introduction, explanation of the research topic, and description of what the information will be used for. The introduction involved time for whanaungatanga to allow an opportunity to establish kinship connections and 'break-the-ice' for the conversation to flow freely. Whakawhanaungatanga is often acknowledged for helping to establish rapport, create a relaxed atmosphere and allow for information to be shared and entrusted to Māori researchers (S. Walker et al., 2006). At the beginning of each interview, I disclosed personal information which identified my cultural, professional and research backgrounds, as a way of enabling participants to assess whether my research project was right for them (S. Walker et al., 2006). Once the kaupapa of the hui was established and acknowledged, I went through the consent requirements together with the participant(s). I then made time to ask if further clarification around points of interest was required. Participants were immediately reassured that there were no right or wrong answers and thus encouraged to feel at ease. This process also seeks to flip the idea of expert-researcher and non-expert participant, with the researcher being the non-expert and the one who has come to look, listen and learn (Smith, 1999). Similarly, the 'whānau research group' was consulted regarding aspects of tikanga on a regular basis to ensure cultural safety for both the researcher and the participants. Ensuring that these processes took place, highlights but a few ways I attempted to ensure that the research was carried out with integrity.

2.3.4 Manaaki ki te tangata

Manaakitanga (hospitality, kindness, generosity) acknowledges a person's inherent dignity (Hudson et al., n.d). Manaaki ki te tangata is defined as demonstrating reciprocity and being the ideal host (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). This research was concerned with giving voice to Māori perspectives on haka. At the heart of this, sits a desire to look after and care to tell a Māori story on the topic. The participants of this study hold a great deal of mana regarding haka. While I feel that their stories should be shared far and wide to influence both future investment and practice of haka in the context of sport, I am mindful of the sensitivity of their Pūkōrero. Concerning New Zealand's small size and the potential to identify participants, confidentiality was negotiated with the participants during the discussion around consent requirements and a blanket rule to keep all participants anonymous was made. Similarly, it was decided that any data collected would remain under 'collective guardianship' as opposed to becoming the property of the 'researcher' and the 'whānau research group' would advise on how to best disseminate the results (S. Walker et al., 2006).

As an example of the commitment to demonstrate reciprocity underlying the principle of Manaakitanga, I was challenged by one participant to act on the Pūkōrero that others shared with me;

I think the other thing too is that you are going to become the expert in haka and sport after you finish this piece of mahi... You have got a moral responsibility to say well; this is what our people are saying.

I have often felt the obligation to give back to my people, by sharing the lived experiences of the participants who chose to engage in this research project. While it has taken a while to get to this point, this obligation is what has driven me to finish. Acknowledging the voices of those who took the time to share their Pūkōrero with me demonstrates the power of a Kaupapa Māori research approach.

A few minor challenges arose during the data collection phase, which were managed on the spot. On one occasion an interview took place (upon the participant's request) in the middle of a public and busy workplace. If the opportunity arose, or a request was made prior by a participant to involve several people in an interview, I generally endorsed this decision. However, on this occasion the participant being interviewed, continuously brought others into the conversations we were having. On a positive note this helped to establish a rapport and encouraged a collaborative, comfortable environment to share, yet on the other hand, it posed challenges around consent and adequate disclosure of the strategic intent of the research. Upon completion of the interview, I decided that, for the most part, the conversations involving other participants, centred on demonstrating further support for the Pūkōrero shared by the primary interviewee.

Consequently, the dialogue shared by other participants was excluded in the analysis phase of this project. Finally, most interviews ran a little over time. When this occurred, participants were asked if they wished to continue and attempts were made to begin to bring the conversation to a close. It is important to note that the experience of whakawhiti kōrero (discussion sharing) under a Kaupapa Māori framework was encouraged and welcomed.

2.4 Research methods

Qualitative methods of research were employed to collect and collate the research data. As illustrated in Table 1, many of the concepts valued in Kaupapa Māori research are like methods used in the practice of qualitative research. In this instance, multiple methods were employed to address the research question. The four commonly used methods within qualitative research are: 1) observation 2) content analysis 3) interviews and focus groups 4) recording and transcribing. Each method has a different use and helps render different types of information (Silverman, 2001;

Bryman and Bell, 2011). Accordingly, the following qualitative methods allowed me to capture deep insights into the participant's perspectives on the topic (Bryman and Bell, 2011). The research agenda for this project warranted a data collection strategy that provided the ability to gather rich descriptive data which aligned with a Kaupapa Māori research approach. I utilised semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and content analysis.

2.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

I conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews. I chose to interview as a method to provide the cultural context, enable opportunities to establish a connection with the participant and build trust in the process. Semi-structured interviewing allows the interviewee a great deal of autonomy in how to reply (Bryman & Bell, 2011). The purpose of the interviews was to elicit a deep understanding of Māori perceptions of haka. The interview questions were directive, but as open-ended as possible, to allow detailed narratives of the participant's experiences to flow (Bryman & Bell, 2011). As such, the questions centred on four broad areas, identity, representation, perceived benefits and perceived risks associated with the use of haka in sport (See appendix C for interview guide).

I conducted seven interviews with nine participants which lasted between one and one and a half hours in length. Five of these interviews were one-on-one, and two were group interviews. Kōrero (discussion, conversation) during the interviews would shift between speaking English and te reo Māori, as determined by the participant. Group interviews took place as participants preferred to be interviewed together for convenience and support, "which is not uncommon within Kaupapa Māori research and imbues the concept of whānau and whanaungatanga" (Mita, 2016, p. 40). In both instances, the interviews took place as three-way conversations, with other whānau members present. The number of interviews was selected to attain depth from the

perspectives of a variety of key informants on haka. This also allowed me to compare the varying views of each participant.

2.4.2 Focus group interviews

Focus groups allow a method of interviewing that involves more than one participant, often a group. I selected this method as it allowed the participants more freedom to build on each other's perspectives and create a well-rounded response to the questions posed. This method also recognised an opportunity to observe interaction, behaviour and other social cues. A select group of people were invited to a focus group which discussed the three research questions for this study. The focus group involved seven participants, facilitated by a member of my 'whānau research group' which ran for approximately two hours. The session was structured in nature and started with karakia and whanaungatanga (relationship building) before proceeding to the formal presentation followed by questions, and it concluded with karakia whakamutunga (incantation to end) and kai tahi (shared food). The emphasis for this focus group in comparison to the semi-structured interviews was to encourage interaction within the group to enable the joint construction of meaning relative to haka (Bryman & Bell, 2011). The participants shared their perspectives on what they deemed necessary and significant, and the facilitator used probing questions to advance the conversation, which provided the point of orientation for data collection.

2.4.3 Content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is an approach to investigating documents and extracting meaning from texts, which subsequently allows for categories to emerge (Bryman & Bell, 2011). For this research, existing texts are used as secondary data during analysis (Gray, 2014). Three texts were used as important sources of information in addition to the data gathered during the interviews and focus groups.

Each text provides pūrākau and quotes from experts in their fields, relative to the research questions. Their views are regarded as complementary and impactful to this study. The three texts chosen were:

1. *Haka!: The dance of a noble people* written by Timoti Karetu published in 1993.
2. *Ngā hua a Tāne-Rore - The benefits of kapa haka* written by Leonie Pihama, Jillian Tipene, and Heather Skipper published in 2014.
3. *Kau mau te wehi - Taking haka to the world (Bub & Nen's story)* written by Bradford Haami published in 2013.

2.5 Participants

The primary method used in the selection of the research participants for interviewing was purposive sampling. This method does not seek to sample research participants on a random basis (Bryman & Bell, 2011), rather it is a strategic choice of interviewees based on their ability to contribute to the theoretical understanding of the research topic. The secondary method used to enrol participants was snowball sampling (Silverman, 2001), otherwise known in Te Ao Māori as whanaungatanga (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). This method enabled further connections with other potential participants, as recommended by current participants of the study and relied on their networks to create access. In aligning the study with Kaupapa Māori research outcomes, the decision was made to interview Māori participants only. Members of the 'whānau research group' endorsed this approach and advised that this would help to further legitimise and empower Māori perspectives on the topic. Due to the contested nature of this topic, there was a need to gain multiple views to accurately cover a range of Māori perspectives. As a result, three key target groups of potential participants were identified to provide deep insights concerning the research questions:

1. Māori in a variety of roles pertaining to haka including kapa haka exponents, tutors, producers, performers, judges, organisers and advisors on the topic of haka
2. Māori in a variety of roles pertaining to sport including national athletes, coaches, key leadership positions, media professionals, business owners, administrators, stakeholders, academics
3. Māori informants in relation to Māori concepts

A list of potential participants was developed, and contact details sought. Interested participants were contacted by phone to build rapport further and establish a commitment to be involved. For the most part, participants were whanaunga (relatives), friends, colleagues, peers or known to me in some way. This allowed levels of sharing that came from a place of whakapapa, friendship or association based on trust and respect (Pipi et al., 2004).

In some cases, but not all, this was followed by a formal email providing an overview of the project and access to the information sheet and consent form (see Appendix A and B) for this study. For three kuia/kaumātua participants, this was not a priority, and their early commitment to the project was often established kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) or in conversation with the person who connected me with them. It should be noted that many of the participants straddled multiple roles across the three key target groups outlined above and therefore spoke from various perspectives.

At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked to introduce themselves, in a way they felt comfortable for recording. To protect the anonymity of the participants, pseudonyms are used throughout the analysis chapters. The pseudonyms are described as Pūkōrero (a well-informed spokesperson, orator) and are listed in chronological order of when the data was collected, starting with the first interview and finishing with the focus group.

Pūkōrero 1

Participant 1 is in her early thirties and has represented New Zealand in Rugby Union, Kabaddi and played netball at a provincial level. Her debut was against England some years ago, and she has since played in two Rugby World Cups. She has over 20 caps to her name and is a current member of the Black Ferns squad.

Pūkōrero 2

Participant 2 is in her late twenties and has represented New Zealand in Rugby Union, Rugby League and Kabaddi. She has played in three Rugby World Cups and debuted against Australia a number of years ago. She has over 25 caps to her name, is a current member of the Black Ferns squad and has been tasked with leading the haka on the field, many times in both Rugby and Kabaddi.

Pūkōrero 3

Participant 3 is a kuia who works as a Kaiawhina in a tertiary institution. She has expertise in karanga (ceremonial call performed by females), rongoā Māori (Māori medicine), Māori healing, and the ancient Japanese healing technique of reiki. She has grown up around kapa haka and mau rākau as both a performer and supporter.

Pūkōrero 4

Participant 4 is in his early thirties and currently resides in China. He runs a haka performance group and business throughout Asia that uses authentic and traditional Māori songs and dance to ignite those wanting a cultural or Kiwiana feel to their event. He has grown up performing haka on the field in conjunction with his ties to rugby.

Pūkōrero 5

Participant 5 is a kaumātua, academic and politician who has dedicated much of his life to advancing the Māori agenda. He has been a politician, led and performed

in national kapa haka rōpū, founded the establishment of Te Whare Tū Taua and has played a pivotal role in the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement.

Pūkōrero 6

Participant 6 is in his early forties and is a Kura Kaupapa graduate who grew up wanting to be a rugby league star. He is currently a sport presenter and produces sports commentary in te reo Māori and English, for both Sky TV and Māori Television. He has performed at a number of Matatini Kapa Haka Nationals and has held roles as a cultural ambassador performing kapa haka internationally.

Pūkōrero 7

Participant 7 is in his forties and currently leads an iwi sports trust focusing on Māori health and well-being. He has been involved in haka for over 35 years, taken the stage at Matatini with several senior groups and has performed internationally under the umbrella of New Zealand Tourism. He is a qualified secondary school teacher and has worked across primary, secondary and tertiary education settings.

Pūkōrero 8

Participant 8 is in his thirties and is a health and wellbeing coordinator. He conducts a range of physical health and wellbeing programmes for all ages and plays a lead role in researching Māori physical activity philosophies. He has been involved in haka from an early age, has been in many kapa haka rōpū and has performed nationally at various Matatini, as well as locally and internationally as part of the tourism sector.

Pūkōrero 9

Participant 9 is a kaumātua, leading kapa haka expert and cultural entrepreneur. He is known for knitting his business acumen with his passion for kapa haka as the founder of a Māori cultural performance and tourism company. He is the co-founder of

one of the consistently top-performing national kapa haka teams and has won the male leadership title at numerous Matatini festivals.

Pūkōrero 10 (series)

Pūkōrero 10 will represent the collective views of the seven participants in the focus group. These participants ranged from past and present provincial, to national and international sports players, sports ambassadors, kapa haka performers, health professionals, academics, experts in Te Whare Tū Taua and Māori activists. Participants worked for a variety of cross-sector organisations namely, a large district health board, national sports organisations, regional sports trusts, tertiary institutions and a media company (radio and television). Each of the seven participants has been assigned a number, for example, 10.1, 10.2, 10.3 and so on.

2.6 Data analysis

The data collected from the interviews were transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis and coding. Thematic analysis is a process used to code qualitative information, identify emerging themes and analyse patterns (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Gray, 2014). Essentially, a theme was a pattern found in the information that helps describe or organise observations made, or information found (Boyatzis, 1998). Coding is a process whereby the interview data is assigned a code, for example, a colour, a word or a phrase that captures the essence of the data (Silverman, 2001). There were two types of coding applied throughout the analysis, deductive and inductive coding. Deductive coding involved drawing on existing ideas from the literature and inductive coding involved exploring new and emerging concepts, not yet captured in the literature (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Gray, 2014). The transcripts were typed, read and re-read and key quotes were recorded on coloured post-it notes which allowed me to develop themes from the research. The interview and focus group data were themed

several times, in several ways to cross-check the validity and strength of the themes. Thematic codes were generated and used to understand, organise and theorise the data.

Using a Kaupapa Māori research methodology involves the interpretation of data and understanding phenomenon which relies heavily on my collective knowledge, understanding and worldview. As the primary researcher for this project, I made a conscious decision to surface the submerged and subjugated ways of understanding, knowing and being. My own consciousness and awareness of Māori systems, knowledge and processes form the cultural capital, as well as the bias, that has informed the analysis of the data. It is the system that has built the foundation for this study and the basis for which I have a passion for and have chosen to research Māori perspectives of haka in sport. This research, therefore, becomes a platform to articulate the voices of Māori and their reality and experiences with haka.

As previously mentioned, three texts were used as resources to complement the analysis and add further weight to the Pūkōrero shared. These texts went through the same process of coding and then thematic analysis. It should be noted that these texts were discovered during the analysis phase and stood out as literature that significantly helped fill gaps in my own knowledge, as well as in the data collected. Finally, the emerging themes were discussed and debated with the 'whānau research group' to develop some conclusions. Whānau helped advise possible recommendations from the findings as well as determine where the information remained, who had access to it, what will be published and what will be held back for private use only.

2.7 Validity and trustworthiness

Kaupapa Māori research, by definition, seeks to establish its own particular form of validity and trustworthiness. In considering replication of this work, while other

research could address the same topic, perhaps even interview the same people; the specifics of the research are unique and could not be replicated as they are very personal – a point that is encouraged in Kaupapa Māori research (Smith, 2011). The practice of Kaupapa Māori research is based heavily on the importance of relationships such as those I continue to have with the participants and their whānau. These methods bring forward the distinct experiences of the participants involved in this research which means that the findings, intertwined with my own experiences, would be difficult to replicate. These are strengths of my research and form part of my rationale for utilising the approach.

Furthermore, seeking to promote genuine opportunities for whakawhanaungatanga enabled participants to build a sense of confidence that the information they chose to share with me was part of a trustworthy exchange, not simply information extracted from them. This was extremely important given the sensitive nature of the hapū and iwi pūrākau gifted. Member checking was also completed as a way to allow participants to read their interview transcripts in their own time, collect any necessary feedback, and therefore improve the accuracy and credibility of the study.

Like other qualitative research projects, the data collection methods were largely reliant on the subjective nature of what the participants chose to remember, understand, adopt and then share with me. This is often considered a limitation of the research. However, where I felt there was a need for a deeper level of understanding to be gained, other relative questions were asked to promote further discussion. The strength of the relationship and connection between the participant and myself would often govern the depth of questioning, the richness of the kōrero and the extent of the knowledge gained. Qualitative research is concerned with interpretive openness, and as such, I acknowledge my own prejudices and biases which reveal the lens through

which I build an interpretation of haka in sport, as the subject. It is for these reasons that I chose a Kaupapa Māori approach to this study.

2.8 Summary

Kaupapa Māori research at its core has benefit to Māori, is conducted in culturally appropriate ways, and is validated and controlled by Māori. A Kaupapa Māori approach created the space for this study to disrupt Western discourses by privileging Māori worldviews and perspectives. The qualitative research methods used not only allowed me to capture Pūkōrero, but it helped drive more profound levels of understanding. The principles and practices outlined in a Kaupapa Māori framework helped shape how the data was collected, analysed and presented (Smith, 2011).

By incorporating a Kaupapa Māori philosophy to this research project, I have exercised my right to tino rangatiratanga, conducting research I am passionate about which is both culturally relevant and appropriate. The three subsequent chapters are analytical in nature and the chapter directly following this one examines the first research question; how do Māori identify with haka? The chapter begins with an overview of Te Ao Māori, followed by a discussion about the origins of haka using pūrākau. The chapter continues by exploring haka as a ritual, a cultural practice, an expression of identity and a form of entertainment. The second half of the chapter examines various Kaupapa Māori principles as introduced in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Haka

3.1 Tīmatanga - Beginnings

<i>I te tīmatanga</i>	<i>In the beginning</i>
<i>Ko te Kore</i>	<i>there was nothing</i>
<i>Ko te pō nui</i>	<i>the big darkness</i>
<i>Ko te pō roa</i>	<i>the long darkness</i>
<i>Wehenga mātua</i>	<i>the separation of Rangi and Papa</i>
<i>Herenga tangata</i>	<i>formed man/people</i>
<i>He toa rangatahi</i>	<i>formation of young warriors</i>
<i>He toa rangatira</i>	<i>formation of young chiefs</i>

'Tīmatanga'¹³, was composed by Whetu Tipiwai and is performed by the Māori All Blacks before test matches (Mulholland, 2009). It tells a story of the creation of the universe from a Māori worldview, conveying a timeline of events which provide a framework for this chapter. This chapter aims to contextualise haka as an important institution in Te Ao Māori. It begins with a working definition of haka and an introduction to Te Ao Māori - a Māori worldview, referring to much of the whakapapa described in the haka above. This frames further discussion around mātauranga Māori including connections to atua, which acknowledge a natural order to the world. Next is a series of brief descriptions about the origins of haka through a pūrākau lens. Discussions of haka as a ritual, practice and expression of identity are then highlighted under the broad term, tikanga Māori. The second half of the chapter explores some of the benefits of haka through descriptions of tino rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, taonga tuku

¹³ Note: This is only a snapshot of the haka, please find the full version of Tīmatanga in Appendix F (Mulholland, 2009. p. 247).

iho and whānau. The chapter concludes by referencing haka and its economic impact, before weaving an introduction of haka within the context of sport, to set the scene for Chapter 4. Throughout this chapter, I incorporate analyses from my Pūkōrero to bring forward the participants' voices.

3.2 Definition of haka

As described in Chapter 1, haka is more than just a posture dance. Haka has a multitude of meanings, as a ritual of encounter, as an expression of identity and a form of entertainment (Karetu, 1993; Armstrong, 2005). Whakapapa is an essential ingredient of haka. Haka has a powerful, transformative impact on connecting whānau, hapū and iwi to their tribal lineage. Haka can also be used as a tool in the transmission of mātauranga Māori across generations. The following section will look to further contextualise haka within a Māori worldview.

3.3 Te Ao Māori

Te Ao Māori was briefly introduced in Chapter 1 as encompassing the way Māori view the world. Pūrākau, such as Māori creation narratives are vital to understanding a Māori worldview (Graham, 2009). There are many tribal variations of creation narratives, but to frame this research, I will retell the story of Te Wehenga¹⁴. I grew up hearing this pūrākau and so it is fundamental in anchoring my worldview as the Māori researcher for this thesis.

3.4 Te tīmatanga mai o ngā atua

Māori perceive the world as a process and therefore divide the world into three stages of existence: Te Kore - the state of potential, Te Po - the darkness and celestial realm and Te Ao Marama - the world of light and dwelling place of human beings

¹⁴ The separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

(Marsden, 2003). In the beginning, there was Te Kore (the world of potential), that could neither be felt or sensed. Out of this phase, Te Po (the world of becoming) was born. Io Matua Kore¹⁵ (the omniscient, supreme being, parentless one), existed at the beginning in Te Kore before initiating further growth in Te Po. He then created Ranginui and Papatūānuku and delegated the first process of creation to them and their offspring. Ranginui and Papatūānuku lived in a close embrace throughout the stage known as Te Po and produced many children known as atua¹⁶, who longed to see the light. After several failed attempts, to separate their parents, Tānemahuta was successful and brought light into the world – the phase known as Te Ao Marama, (the world of being). Ranginui descended to the sky to become the Sky Father while Papatūānuku became Earth Mother. Ranginui and Papatūānuku are the primal parents of over 70 atua (Māori gods, deities). Those commonly referred to are Tāwhirimātea (deity of the wind and weather), Tangaroa (deity of the sea), Haumiatiketike (deity of uncultivated food), Rongomātāne (deity of cultivated food), Tūmatauenga (deity of war and weaponry) and Tānemahuta (deity of the forest). Later, Tānemahuta was again celebrated for creating the first woman from the soil at Kurawaka, and her name was Hineahuone. They had a daughter named Hine-tītama, who later fled to the underworld and became Hine-nui-te-po (the goddess of death). Thus, the nights, heavens, earth, water and all things in them were created (Best, 1901; Best, 1924b; Hiroa, 1949; Walker, 1990; 2004; Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2004a; Graham, 2009; Barber, 2012; Cunningham, 2016). The creation narrative described above is depicted in Figure 4:

¹⁵ Otherwise known as Io Matua Kore.

¹⁶ Ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity.

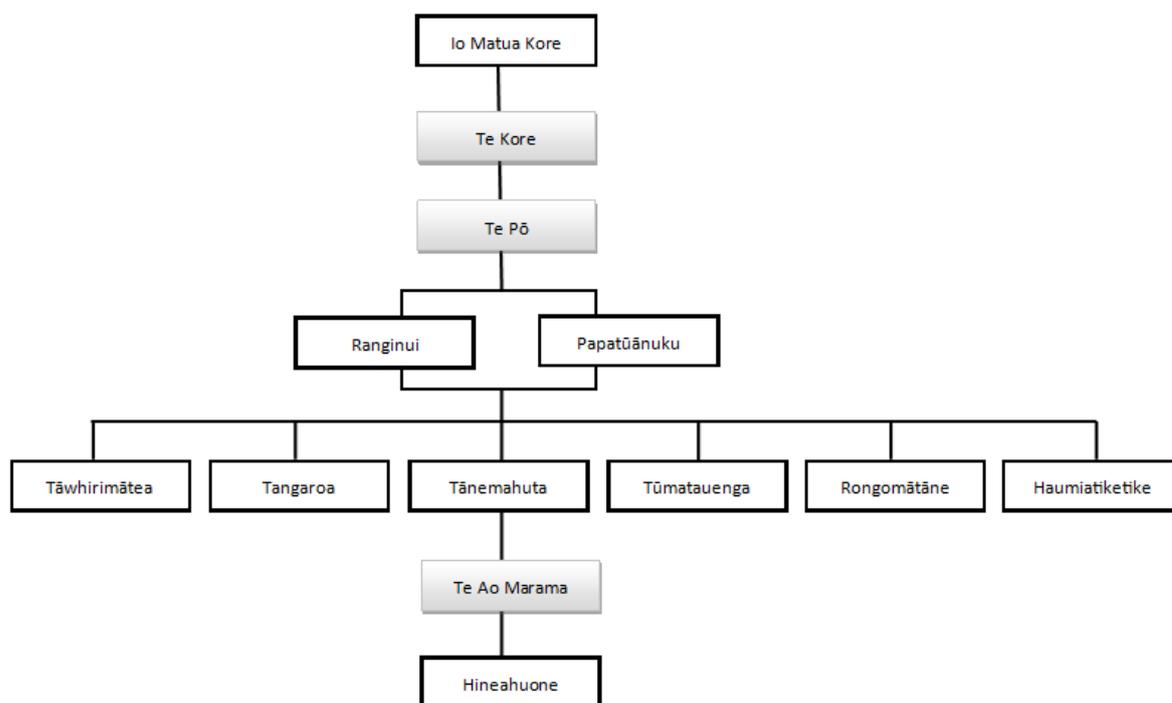


Figure 4. A Māori world-view of whakapapa - Pedigree of mankind. Adapted from *Nō wai, ko wai?: The influence of whakapapa on health and well-being* by, C. Cunningham, 2016, p. 10.

Creation narratives and references to tūpuna are particularly crucial to a Māori worldview because they help to explain our connection to the environment, which justifies our beliefs, epistemology or knowledge system (Mead, 2003). This creation narrative is particularly important to this research as participants make constant reference to Ranginui, Papatūānuku and their children - Ngā Atua Māori. To help frame the project further in relation to Te Ao Māori the following concepts, whakapapa, balance and mātauranga Māori will be defined. These concepts form the foundation for discussion about the participant's Pūkōrero and provide the context for examining haka.

3.5 Whakapapa

Integral to a Māori worldview is whakapapa. Whakapapa relates to the genealogical ordering of knowledge (Walker, 1990; Walker, 2004; Reilly, 2004b). According to Heke, Rees, Waititi and Stewart (2018) “these connections go beyond

connections to people, and include connections to places, to events, to a particular time or era and, most importantly, to ideas” (p. 2). Pūkōrero 7 makes numerous references to the relationships between haka and whakapapa and highlights that we are the physical representation of all those that have come before us. He affirms that haka stems from something more significant, something which stands outside of a cultural construct. Pūkōrero 7 asserts that;

It is our responsibility when doing haka to channel generation upon generation of haka performed before us.

He further explains that the more you engage with atua, with your tūpuna, the better equipped and more knowledgeable you are when you perform haka. Pūkōrero 7 says;

[We] start from atua first, we roll that down to see the experiences and examples from tūpuna, and then it comes down to us.

He adds;

99% of Māori think that it is me doing the haka and I'm connecting with atua. So, they're working from the bottom - up. Whereas we are following the whakapapa line from the origin down to us. Because we are the most insignificant part of it because we are the last on the chain.

This description starting with atua, making links to tūpuna and then ending with us, is often heard when reciting whakapapa through pepeha. Mead and Grove (2001) explain that modern Māori pepeha are not just historical relics but also “constitutes a communication with the ancestors” (p. 9). My pepeha which is explained at the beginning of this thesis outlines connections to the whenua, to the moana (sea, ocean) and to the people that precede me, all of which help to contextualise my place on this earth. Pepeha forms the cultural paradigm that demonstrates the importance of starting with genealogically and geographically significant identities before finishing with one’s name (Hakopa, 2011). Reciting whakapapa in this way also allows for us to hononga (connect) back to atua as descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and in this case, draw strength from the collective energies of all those that come before us.

Furthermore, Pūkōrero 3 speaks about haka and a connection to atua, and focuses her attention on the influence of Papatūānuku in the following statement;

This is part of your connection to the whenua; you connect to these things in so many ways. You are connecting to ki to tatou nei whaea – Papatūānuku, you are acknowledging and connecting to things of nature.

Much like the previous explanation, this statement acknowledges the hononga to Papatūānuku and recognises how haka connects you to the whenua through whakapapa. We pay tribute to, much like in our pepeha, ancestral landscapes that have been made sacred by the lives and deaths of our tūpuna (Townsend, 2014). This connection highlights another way whereby an atua connection can strengthen our identity and purpose when we engage in haka (Heke et al., 2018). Referencing Papatūānuku as a ‘connection to nature’ also highlights that whakapapa refers not only to the physical connection but to the metaphysical as well.

3.6 Balance

Balance is at the centre of a Māori worldview. Hamsworth and Awatere (2013) support this claim and assert that Te Ao Māori “acknowledges a natural order to the universe, a balance or equilibrium” (p. 274). A Waikato Chief (unknown) provides another version of the whakapapa of Io, in Figure 5, which further acknowledges an ordered approach to the female and male lines of descent (Best, 1924b):



Figure 5. A Māori world-view of whakapapa - Female and male lines of descent. Sourced from *IV Cosmology and anthropogony. The Māori - Volume 1* by, E. Best, 1924b, p. 70.

In this version, Io is also credited with having bought the stars into existence. Te Marama (the moon) heads the female line of descent down to Papatūānuku, while Te Rā¹⁷ (the sun) heads the male line of descent down to Ranginui. Each line of descent consists of nineteen names commencing Te Po-nui (the great darkness) and Te Ao-nui (the great light). The twentieth name from Te Marama is Papatūānuku, and the twentieth name from Te Rā is Ranginui (Best, 1924b). I have chosen this narrative as it emphasises a clear balance between the female and male elements which is relevant within haka.

Reference to the dualities between identities are made continuously in Te Ao Māori to emphasise holism and reiterate a balance between male and female elements (Palmer, 2016). For example, Ranginui and Papatūānuku - recognition of the sky and the earth; Te Ao and Te Po - recognition of the light and the darkness; Ira Atua and Ira

¹⁷ Otherwise known as Tama-nui-te-rā.

Tangata - recognition of celestial beings and human beings; Whatukura and Māreikura - recognition of the male and female denizens of the uppermost heavens (Best, 1924b). These examples acknowledge the symbolic connection and importance placed on the balanced identities and gendered roles often found in haka (Palmer, 2016) which I will explain shortly. The most important of all gendered roles is in the reproduction of mankind. Both men and women are essential parts of the collective whole, which has an overall impact on whakapapa (Palmer, 2016). Furthermore, three of the nine participants made similar references to this balance of natural order in concerning haka. Pūkōrero 3 speaks about seeking balance in relation to women's role in haka and uses Wairaka (Ancestor of Ngāti Awa, Whakatāne and Ngāti Tūhoe) as an example of a tupuna who embraces both male and female elements. She says;

Wairaka is a fantastic example: “Kia Whakatāne au i ahau”. What an amazing role model she is and so there may be instances where you may feel you would like to be more in your male element. It’s about balance. Left-right, and so there are times where I believe it is appropriate for women to do the haka.

Further to the above quote, is the pūrākau of Wairaka and the Mātaatua waka. Wairaka is known as a strong leader of her people and daughter of Chief of Ngāti Awa, Toroa¹⁸. When the Mātaatua waka first arrived at Whakatāne, the men decided to leave the women in the canoe alone, while they went ashore. Meanwhile, the canoe started to drift back to sea. Wairaka defied the tapu that forbids women to handle a canoe and seized a paddle to bring the waka back to shore. She called upon her ancestors to be like a man - “*Kia Whakatāne au i ahau*” (let me act the part of a man). She paddled her waka back to the shores of Whakatāne, saving the people of Ngāti Awa. Whakatāne is now the name of the present township and of the river that flows past it (Taonui, 2005). This narrative acknowledges that there are distinct roles, which harness both male and female strengths within a Māori worldview. These roles work in balance with

¹⁸ Toroa was the chief of the Ngati Awa tribe and captain of the Mataatua waka.

each other, for example, men as stronger and more physical beings went in search of a safe place to settle their tribe. Much importance is placed on the role of wāhine as 'te whare tapu o te tangata'¹⁹ (Scott, 2006), and the relative impact on the growth and survival of a tribe. So, while these gendered roles are distinct, they also do not imply superiority and inferiority but instead are complementary of each other. In this instance, Wairaka played a pivotal role in challenging the restrictions around the role of a woman, to harness the strength of a man to save her tribe.

Two other participants mentioned balance regarding war and peace. Pūkōrero 9 refers to haka as an appropriate representation of emotion, passion and peace supported by the "*Gods of war and the Gods of peace*". While Pūkōrero 5 talks about the role of men and women during haka pōwhiri. In reference to the haka pōwhiri, he conjectures,

...that ends Tūmatauenga, and then the men move out and then Rongomaraeroa moves in, and that's the women with the greenery, and that represents Rongomaraeroa.

Pūkōrero 5 captures Te wero o Tūmatauenga as the male domain and the karanga personified by Rongomaraeroa as the female domain. Each example preferences a Māori worldview which reinforces the notion of balance, grounded in the discourse that female and male identities have distinct roles to play. According to Palmer (2016), the symbolic connection between male and female elements told in the pūrākau 'Te Wehenga', is one that continues to influence gender relations in Te Ao Māori. Similarly, the connection between whakapapa, atua and human behaviour is also apparent in the above examples, which contribute to Māori ways of knowing, being and doing and their relevance to haka.

¹⁹ Child bearers.

3.7 Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori also has a whakapapa and contributes to the knowledge that forms layer upon layer and connects us from the past to the future. Mead (2003) provides an apt definition of mātauranga Māori from a whakapapa perspective:

Mātauranga Māori is a body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing on concepts handed from one generation of Māori to another. Accordingly, mātauranga Māori has no beginning and is without end. Each passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to mātauranga Māori. The theory, or collection of theories, with associated values and practices, has accumulated mai i Te Ao Māori from Māori beginnings and will continue to accumulate providing the whakapapa of mātauranga Māori is unbroken (p. 320).

Mātauranga Māori is heavily informed by oral stories and traditions that have been passed on through generations. According to Heke et al., (2018) “this knowledge is arranged and ordered in layers through a system of ancestral ties referred to as whakapapa” (p. 2). To further provide context, it is imperative to canvas an understanding of mātauranga Māori within a Māori worldview through the lens of various creation narratives related specifically to haka. These will form the basis for including Pūkōrero and analyses of the critical concepts defined above.

3.8 Creation narratives of haka

Haka has a rich history and can be traced through whakapapa back to atua. There are multiple versions of the whakapapa of haka. In this chapter I share some of the kōrero related to these pūrākau, which will help contextualise the origins of haka, to inform the evolution of haka through to contemporary times. There are also many stories of haka compositions across iwi all over Aotearoa. Some examples are; Tamatekapua rāua ko Whakatūria, Ponga rāua ko Puhihuia, te haka a Wairangi and many more (Karetu, 1993; Paenga, 2008). However, for this thesis, I will provide four short narratives which reference Tāwhirimātea, Tama-nui-te-ra, Rūaumoko (deity of earthquakes) and Tūmatauenga. I offer a brief account of these stories as they reflect

my understanding of haka origins, and they were referred to by participants throughout the interview process. The purpose is to illustrate the whakapapa of haka and to demonstrate the strong connection with ngā atua Māori. Finally, I provide two iwi-based narratives which again, express whakapapa connections and were referenced by participants throughout the interview process.

3.8.1 Tāwhirimātea

A kōrero shared with me from Dr Ihirangi Heke regarding te whakapapa o te haka (the genealogy of haka) relates to the influence of Tāwhirimātea in the separation of his parents Papatūānuku and Ranginui mentioned earlier. Dr Ihirangi Heke (2014) contends that Tāwhirimātea performed the first haka as recognition of the adornment of ngā whetū (stars) that was provided by Tānemahuta for Ranginui as an attempt to distract his sorrow from being separated from Papatūānuku (Personal communication, September 26, 2014).

3.8.2 Tama-nui-te-rā

Karetu (1993) asserts that the art form of haka stems from Tama-nui-te-rā (deity of the Sun). Tama-nui-te-rā had two lovers, Hine-takurua (the winter maiden) and Hine-raumati (the summer maiden). From his union with Hine-raumati a son, Tāne-rore was born (Best, 2005). These whakapapa links are depicted in the following Figure 6:

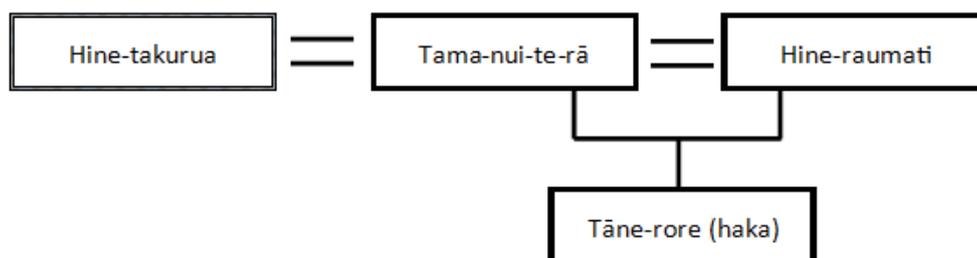


Figure 6: Te Whakapapa o Tāne-rore. Adapted from *Notes on Māori mythology* by, E. Best, 1899, p. 89.

It is believed that Tama-nui-te-rā personifies his love for these maidens in the rising and the setting of the sun (Best, 2005). When Hine-raumati holds the favour of Tama-nui-te-rā, the physical manifestation is seen in the shimmering heat haze that rises from the ground on hot summer days – otherwise known as te haka a Tāne-rore (the dance of Tāne-rore) (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010). During execution of all types of Māori performing arts, the wiri (trembling, slight quivering of the hand) performed during haka is said to be a physical representation of the shimmering heat referred to in the proverb 'Kua tū te haka a Tāne-rore' (the dancing of Tāne-rore has commenced).

3.8.3 Rūaumoko

Rūaumoko is the unborn child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who remained in the womb after Ranginui and Papatūānuku were separated. When Rūaumoko moves and turns within the womb of Papatūānuku, the earth shakes hence his name, the God of Earthquakes. However, making the earth shake is not his only work. When he pulls the cords that move the earth, this signals a change in season and is believed to be an acknowledgement of Rūaumoko and his haka (Best, 1901; Paringatai, 2004).

3.8.4 Tūmatauenga

A brief account of the influence of Tūmatauenga as the deity of war and weaponry is also necessary when considering the interconnected nature of mau rākau with haka. According to Hiroa (1949) in the early conflict between the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, Tūmatauenga proved himself to be the best fighter, for he resisted the attacks of Tāwhirimātea and defeated his brothers. Therefore, the ancient art of Māori weaponry can be traced back to this time, whereby Tūmatauenga received many of his names from his fierceness in battle and fighting (Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa, n.d). In reference to te haka o Tūmatauenga, Pūkōrero 5 states;

The haka 'is' Tūmatauenga, so that is why it goes with the wero. Part of the wero is called te haka o Tūmatauenga, which is the demonstration of the warrior's prowess.

A wero is carried out to ascertain the intentions of manuhiri (visitors). The marae ātea (courtyard outside the meeting house), is said to be the domain of Tūmatauenga (otherwise known as Te Maraenui-ātea-o-Tūmatauenga) (Tyler, 2011). Pūkōrero 5 refers to te haka o Tūmatauenga as a ritual of engagement during haka pōwhiri. He provides a rich description of this process;

...the laying down of the kōpere and the putting down of the rākau - is one of the nine stages of the challenge. If they pick up the wero, you tūtū ngārahu to remind them, and then when that dance of defiance with weapons is over, then tuku ki a ratou te karanga.

This description demonstrates the exchange between ancient knowledge and action in the present, between atua and man during haka pōwhiri. This is an example of the taken for granted transmission of mātauranga Māori within a Te Ao Māori framework.

To those unfamiliar with this process, the haka is merely a performance. However, there are deep underlying connections with the environment, with tūpuna and with atua. When Pūkōrero 5 mentions tutu ngārahu, he is referring to the presence of Tūmatauenga in his role as the kaitiaki (cultural guardian) of the marae ātea. Similarly, when he mentions karanga, he is referring to the presence of Rongomaraeroa in her role as the kaitiaki of the whare. According to Paenga (2008) "Te Rongo-Tūtaua is the joining of the two atua... and the process by which Tūmatauenga submits to the realm of Rongomaraeroa to enable an outcome of peace and understanding to ensue" (p. 95). They are the guardians and caretakers of the knowledge in their respective domains, which both play a part in the successful outcome of the ritual. This tikanga also reinforces the dual balance and connection of the male and female elements mentioned previously. It is important to note, however, that this tikanga may differ between iwi, hapū, whānau and marae.

These pūrākau help frame the relationship between ira atua²⁰ and their contribution to haka. They emphasise ways we can tap into ancient knowledge to inform our actions in contemporary times. Underlying each of the examples is rhetoric which reinforces the message that through whakapapa, atua have a natural connection to the way we identify with, execute and represent haka. The examples also strengthen the view that haka is multidimensional and complex.

3.9 Mātauranga-ā-iwi

Alongside creation narratives are further pūrākau which have contributed to haka compositions across iwi all over Aotearoa. The two stories mentioned below inform iwi-based mātauranga Māori. The first is the story of the great Taranaki chief Tinirau which further references the origins of haka and the second tells the story of Te Rauparaha's escape and the haka Ka Mate.

3.9.1 Tinirau

Te kapa haka a Tinirau is often linked back to the first kapa haka of Māoridom by the women of Tinirau (Karetu, 1993). The story begins with the birth of Tūhuru, son of Tinirau and Hine-te-iwaiwa. Following his birth, Tinirau secures the services of a tohunga named Kae to perform karakia tohi (baptism ceremony). As a koha (gift) to mark the occasion, Tinirau presents Kae with a piece of flesh from his pet whale, Tutunui. He also offers Kae a waka to travel home in, but Kae insists on riding on the back of Tutunui home. Tinirau agrees, with an understanding that Kae disembarks upon arrival allowing Tutunui to return. Despite Tinirau's instructions, Kae kills, cooks and eats his pet whale. Subsequently, the aroma of the flesh was brought by the winds back to Tinirau's home. Learning of Tutunui's fate, Tinirau and Hine-te-iwaiwa convene a troupe of women, known as Te Kāhui Tau, who are tasked with capturing Kae. Te

²⁰ Atua genes/genealogy.

Kāhui Tau²¹ comprised of Hine-te-iwaiwa, Rau-kata-uri (Goddess of the flute), Rau-kata-mea, Ruhiruhi, Hine-te-otaota, Hine-marekareka and others, who all personified various aspects of dance. Unsure what Kae looked like, the women were advised to entertain the villagers with enthusiasm and expose Kae's distinguishing teeth. The women arrive at Kae's pā, where people were gathered in the whare tapere. They set out to make him laugh through kapa haka. With no avail, Rau-kata-uri leads an erotic haka which in turn entertains Kae, thereby revealing his teeth and confirming his identity. Kae is then captured and later killed to avenge Tutunui's slaughter (Karetu, 1993; Best, 2005; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010; Royal, 2013). Pūkōrero 6 refers to this story, and attributes the first haka to Hine Rau-kata-uri and her troupe of women in his comments below;

Hine Rau-kata-uri - there were 5 of them, and they were the first people to do haka. That's where it originated from. It's the 'Story of Kae'. It turns out that these two chiefs were having a row and one ate the other one's pet whale. So, they sent a party of five women over to his island, and the only description they had of him is that he had gappy teeth and so they performed haka for the first time and the guy laughed and smiled, and that is how they found him. Hence the creation of haka.

Pūkōrero 6 provides an argument that while the nature of haka is quite aggressive and often considered a male domain, from a whakapapa perspective, the origins of haka belong to women as much as they belong to men. Like in the above story of Tama-nui-te-rā, women played a significant role in haka pūrākau. However, haka has mistakenly become synonymous with masculinity (Palmer, 2016). This demonstrates how retelling indigenous stories can increase understanding when applied across contexts, privileging indigenous knowledge systems.

²¹ The troupe of women who sing, play instruments or do posture dances.

3.9.2 Ka Mate

From a modern time, the final pūrākau is of the haka Ka Mate, which was composed and performed by Te Rauparaha, a warrior chief of Ngāti Toa Rangatira. The story begins with the people of Ngāti Te Aho who were looking to ambush Te Rauparaha in revenge for previous killings. Te Rauparaha, while on the run, sought protection from Te Wharerangi, Māori chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Te Wharerangi, while hostile and reluctant to be of any assistance, guaranteed safety and protection for Te Rauparaha, who was known as the Māori Napoleon, after killing off many iwi in the South Island and several high-born people of Waikato (Oliver, 1990). Te Wharerangi hid Te Rauparaha in a kumara pit, while his wife Te Rangikoea, sat over its entrance. Chiefs of Ngāti Te Aho arrived and began performing chants to locate Te Rauparaha; however, their words were neutralised by the genitals of Te Rangikoea. According to Karetu (1993), Chiefs of both tribes exchanged words about the whereabouts of Te Rauparaha and while in hiding Te Rauparaha contemplated his fate. He whispered to himself;

‘Ka Mate, Ka Mate, Ka Ora, Ka Ora, Ka Mate, Ka Mate
I die, I die, I live, I live, I die, I die’.

Upon the departure of his pursuers, Te Rauparaha shouts,

‘Ka Ora, Ka Ora! Tēnei te tangata pūhuru hūru nāna nei i tiki mai whakawhiti te rā!
‘I live, I live! For it was indeed the power of a hairy person that fetched the sun and caused it to shine again!

As Te Rauparaha exits the pit and stands in the clear, he exclaims,

‘Hupane, kaupane; Whiti te rā!
Spring up the terrace; the sun shines!’

The commonly held view is that in this haka, Te Rauparaha is paying tribute to Chief Te Wharerangi, who was said to have had hairy legs. However, an alternative view held among Ngāti Toa Rangatira descendants suggests that Te Rauparaha was

acknowledging Te Rangikoahea who concealed him beneath her legs to expose her pūhuru (pubic hair) (Palmer, 2016). Therefore, critical to note in the above pūrākau is the influential role played by Te Rangikoahea, which privileges a feminist perspective on the haka (Palmer, 2016). Similarly, Palmer (2016) asserts “the story of the Ka Mate haka was composed as one example of how the relationship between tapu/noa and male/female elements can be expressed” (p. 2176). This relates to previous discussions centred on a balance in gender-specific roles.

The haka Ka Mate tells the simple story of pursuit and escape, fear of capture and exhilaration of ultimate survival (Gardiner, 2007). It has become the focus of national and international attention, especially on the rugby field and is discussed at length in the chapters to follow. However, an interesting point to note from the above selection of pūrākau is that these narratives do not currently establish that haka in a traditional context served any purpose or belonging within the landscape of sport.

Creation narratives and references to tūpuna are particularly crucial to a Māori worldview because they help to explain our connection to the environment, which justifies our belief system and epistemology. Among these narratives are valuable lessons used to guide whānau, which are all influenced by the oral traditions passed down through generations – taonga tuku iho. This section emphasises that whakapapa allows us to understand the connection we have as Māori to our ancestors, which provides a compelling argument to study the environment, learn from the natural world and from the characteristics and traits of ngā atua me ngā tūpuna. Thus, allowing us to fully grasp the potential of haka in various contexts including sport, Māori identity and culture.

3.10 Tikanga Māori

Tikanga Māori or broadly described as Māori culture is key to Māori identity. Tikanga Māori involves a set of beliefs, associated with cultural practices and procedures (Mead, 2003). Tikanga Māori are distinctive ways of doing things, 'the Māori way' or behaving according to Māori customs (Royal, 2017). Haka as a cultural ritual, practice and an expression of Māori identity, were all themes which were prevalent throughout the interview process and will be discussed in the sections to follow. Therefore, it is essential to provide in more detail, key definitions as the foundation for understanding haka as the kaupapa for this thesis. There is variance in how both experts and participants choose to articulate haka which highlights its complex nature. Thus, it is essential and necessary to allow for analysis of how haka was and still is, being described, practised and impacted upon in contemporary societies.

3.10.1 Haka as a ritual, practice and entertainment

Haka as a practice is used in many ways, as a ritual, a challenge, a celebration, a means of physical activity, a symbol of honour, a form of entertainment and as a tool to teach discipline and team unity (Karetu, 1993; Armstrong, 2005; Gardiner, 2007). Pūkōrero 9 reinforces this view by suggesting that;

...it [haka] is holistic; there are many different shapes to it. There is no clear-cut explanation it has many facets, many purposes, many uses, and therefore many reactions to it.

From a practice perspective, Pūkōrero 6 describes haka as;

A voice piece, a celebration and a calling card

While Pūkōrero 3 asserts;

Haka is an amazing way to express what you want to put out to the world. For those who are visual, you can understand through their actions, for those that are audio, you can hear it, and for those that are kinesthetic, you feel it.

Similarly, Ngāpō Wehi (2013), a kapa haka exponent, defines haka in his book, *Ka mau te wehi* as:

An opportunity to voice a collective opinion. 'Raise the dust' and confront the relevant themes and issues of the day that affected our families, our people, our tribes and our nation at large. I believe haka should be challenging and controversial. The uniformity of movement and message is what I pursued. Too often I see the powerful movement of the haka overtaking the lyric. The message should always be paramount, thus said, the reo therefore becomes a crucial component to the haka (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 217).

These descriptions emphasise the multidimensional nature of haka and reinforce the many roles that it can play. Key themes of these descriptions include haka as a celebration, a way to send a message, a way to address relevant issues and actualise it with actions in a uniquely cultural way. Wehi's example pays attention to using haka to portray a powerful message favouring te reo Māori. These initial themes provide a working description of haka which will be developed further throughout the chapter.

Haka is also the generic term for many types of posture dance; each style had a specific name and differed in both tone and delivery (Best, 2005). Of all haka, the most commonly used is the haka taparahi (posture dance performed without weapons, where men descend to the ground). However, other styles include, kapa haka (Māori cultural performing group), haka peruperu (posture dance characterised by leaps and jumps, often performed with weaponry), haka pōwhiri (ceremonial dance performed to welcome visitors), ngeri (short posture dance with no set movements, without weapons), manawawera (posture dance with no set movements, performed at tangihanga, unveilings and after speeches), tūtū ngārahu²² (posture dance, performed by the war party before going into battle, where men are armed and jump up and down) and haka whakaari (posture dance for theatre) (Moorfield, 2005; Matthews &

²² Also known as whakarewarewa or tūtū waewae.

Paringatai, 2004). Kapa haka, haka pōwhiri, ngeri and tūtū ngārahu were all mentioned throughout the interview process with various participants.

When considering 'how to' haka, it is important to note that a tribe's social status or mana, was often judged on performances of haka and so only the best would be picked to represent the tribe. The ability to haka with style, grace and elegance is said to rely heavily on expert leadership to influence the timing and movement (Karetu, 1993). Of equal importance is the discipline required to perfect various techniques. When asked what the non-negotiables of good haka performances are, Pūkōrero 5 specifically names three;

Stance is very important in haka, because that is what it is. Essentially it is a posture dance. A posture dance of many kinds. Even between tribes there are different postures - preferred postures and compulsory postures in some instances, that vary from each other. So, it is a posture dance.

He adds;

It is a rhythm dance, so you must keep the same mita - this is very important.

Finally;

The most important thing perhaps is the reo. That is used and pronounced properly.

Pūkōrero 5 in the above description, addresses some of the critical techniques including stance, rhythm and te reo which ensure haka performances are authentic and enhance the mana of the whānau, hapū, iwi. However, Karetu (1993) claims that there are two other essential components of haka which include, pūkana (expressive eyes) and whētero (tongue protruding to full length). It is understood that the whole body comes into play, particularly the face. Expressions from the face often graphically illustrate the meaning of the words. Karetu (1993) reinforces this by saying:

...to perform haka correctly, facial expressions involve, pūkana (dilating of the eyes, performed by both sexes), whētero (protruding the tongue performed by men only), ngangahu (like pūkana, performed by both sexes), and pōtētē (the closing of the eyes at different points in the dance, performed by women only) (p. 29).

With reference to pūkana, in Māori culture, the eyes are believed to be the windows to the soul. For women, when performed correctly, this action can do much to entice and allure male counterparts (Karetu, 1993). For men, not only is pūkana and whētero believed to be attractive, but the tongue is known as the “avenue whereby thoughts of the mind are conveyed to the audience” (Karetu, 1993, p. 30). Great honour is placed on the tongue for Māori males, due to their role in whaikōrero (formal speech, oratory). During pōwhiri and on the marae, men are expected to master the use of their voice to convey the personal and collective thoughts of their people. Mana is said to rise or fall depending on their level of skill in this area. Women do not whētero because they do not hold the principal role as the speaker on the marae (Karetu, 1993). Every haka has a message, and both pūkana and whētero are used to emphasise certain words or phrases (Karetu, 1993). Pūkōrero 9 speaks about drawing on atua for the power and energy it takes to execute haka and portray a message. He pays attention to the personification of Tūmatauenga in the following statement;

...it is the sound of anger, the trembling, the big eyes, which are all parts of the design of the War God - Tūmatauenga. When you're angry, you do all those things. You quiver and shake when you're angry, and that's why you get the shaking of the hands (wiri) and the bulging of the eyes (pūkana) and the flicking of the tongue (whētero) to show the enemy you are going to eat them. 'My mouth waters for your flesh'. It's protection for our own people.

Mana is enhanced depending on the performers level of skill in pūkana and whētero. This personification of Tūmatauenga (i.e. wiri, pūkana, whētero) highlights the importance placed on these techniques as mentioned earlier. The reference to Tūmatauenga is an acknowledgement of how our past can be linked through whakapapa to atua. Heke (2013) suggests that for Māori atua, kaitiaki and tipua

personify mātauranga Māori in relation to places and spaces where we descend from. He asserts that connections are “often ‘personified’ so that even physical forms take on ‘personal’ characteristics that inform its relationship to the people that are connected to it” (Heke et al., 2018, p. 2). The controlled aggression demonstrated in the application of haka is likened to te wero o Tūmatauenga witnessed during haka pōwhiri on the marae. This impacts on the way Māori view their connection to haka both consciously and unconsciously, which highlights the importance of understanding the relationships between ‘personified’ environments and the outcomes that result from the connections with people (Heke et al., 2018). The next section reinforces how haka creates a link between the spiritual and physical realms, which manifests as an expression of identity and more broadly, an expression of whakapapa.

3.10.2 Haka as an expression of identity

Haka is arguably one of the most visible displays of identity unique to Māori. Being ‘Māori’ has been made accessible through haka, which in turn has provided a connection back to the tribal lineage for many and is an expression of identity locally, nationally and internationally. Pūkōrero 1 reinforces this view stating;

Haka is an expression of who we are not just as New Zealanders, but as Māori.

While Pūkōrero 9 further adds;

Haka on a global scale is awesome; it’s putting our name out there. Haka is a vehicle for showing people around the world - who we are.

Pūkōrero 3 spoke about how haka performances, like other identifiable cultural rituals (such as the highland fling for those of Scottish origin), creates a sense of home for many Māori living overseas and she attributes this feeling back to whakapapa. This reinforces the idea that whakapapa ‘is’ identity for Māori, and that sometimes rituals like haka, provide a more profound sense of connection that you can feel, but you cannot always see. Te Rito (2007b) calls this “whakapapa firmly embedded in Māori

psyche” (p. 4). This intangible connection or feeling is further strengthened by Pūkōrero 3 stating that;

You don't actually ever stop feeling it when you are raised with it when you are little. That rhythm that connection is always still there.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 4 states;

Haka is just sitting inside me, and so if it's on, it's on, and if it's not, it's still on pretty much. So, it's that little burning fire in me.

These comments assume that this vague feeling attributed to whakapapa, is not bound by time, but instead exists as a deep connection which gives life to their identities. Walker (1990) provides a further explanation by stating “whakapapa is a comprehensible paradigm of reality, capable of being stored in the human mind and transmitted orally from one generation to the next” (p. 16).

A common observation during the interview process was the constant reference made to haka being something ‘greater than them’, focusing on the importance of the metaphysical – spiritual realm as previously mentioned. For example, Pūkōrero 9 states;

To me, the haka electrifies the atmosphere. It charges the atmosphere. It extends out from your wairua, from your spiritual being and sending it out into the cosmos.

In addition to the perspective that whakapapa enables us to explore deep connections to our existence, two participants highlighted the deep connection to atua and ancestors by taking responsibility for their own performances of haka. Pūkōrero 8 emphasises that whakapapa is vital when looking to understand haka deeply. He states;

Some non-Māori can't ever comprehend. They don't understand that innate, that deep... it's embedded in our DNA. The connections that we have to the words that we say and the actions that we are portraying.

While Pūkōrero 7 challenges us to consider our whakapapa connections to atua;

You are representing a whole lot more. Consider if we go back to the sun, you are representing all those people that the sun touches.

Both participants encourage us to consider that the deep connection which is being referred to, stems from something greater which stands outside of a cultural construct that many are unfamiliar of. Pūkōrero 3 also adds;

When you're a Māori performing haka, that sense of ihi that you will get from it as a Māori performing for that team will probably be different to a Pākehā or any other nationality.

She relates these experiences to whakapapa and knowing where you come from.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 4, too refers to whakapapa as an explanation for haka being something more significant;

Haka, in general, has whakapapa, has history, so not only are we yelling and screaming words and physicalizing it with actions, but there is a deep meaning to it.

These comments highlight a gap in cultural understanding which participants found hard to articulate during the interview process. This is an area of focus for this research. Many could speak of the deeper connection discussed earlier, some even credited a connection to whakapapa as a reason for the depth, for example, Pūkōrero 3 referred to a sense of ihi that only Māori benefit from. Similarly, Pūkōrero 4, 7 and 8 refer to a deep connection and deep meaning which is embedded in the DNA of Māori performing haka. According to Heke (2013), these connections are examples of how Māori identify with environmental cues and esoteric knowledge. This highlights that the genealogical descent of all living things from atua to the present, allows us to understand better the connection we have with haka. It gives context to how our understandings of haka and its use in various settings have evolved over time and ended up in the present. The following section explores this theme further, focusing specifically on Kaupapa Māori principles.

3.11 Kaupapa Māori principles

Three Kaupapa Māori principles, tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho and whānau, as outlined in Chapter 2, were prevalent throughout the interview process. These three principles overlapped in the analysis. Discussions centred on enabling access to Māori cultural knowledge, the evolution of haka and its contemporary impact and challenges around access, opportunities and protection of our cultural practices.

3.11.1 Tino rangatiratanga

The Kaupapa Māori principle of tino rangatiratanga refers to self-determination and sovereignty (Mead, 2003). Many participants referred to the power of haka as a way in which to enable tino rangatiratanga for Māori. The participants emphasised that haka enables accessibility of our culture for Māori and non-Māori, while at the same time normalises tikanga Māori, te reo and mātauranga Māori all around the world. Pūkōrero 10.2 argues that;

With regards to benefits, not only in sport but in any forum where haka is used, it's an opportunity to convey our te reo.

Pūkōrero 6 suggests that;

Haka has a function of normalising Māori within our country and within the world.

He provides a rich description of his experience as a Māori commentator,

I was the main commentator during the Rugby World Cup, and my delivery was in two languages. I was able to give insight into what they were actually doing, what it meant, what it is being used for and its purpose now. It was cool having a large audience to actually give an accurate description of what was going on.

Pūkōrero 6 adds;

It's not regarded as tapu and that only Māori can do it. You go over to London or anywhere in the world if you are from New Zealand people want to bust out a haka.

Pūkōrero 4 asserts;

Haka needs to be shared for it to stay alive, just like our culture and our language. Haka is no good lying on a bit of paper locked up in a cupboard for no one to see!

While enabling access to haka and Māori culture is deemed positive, controlling use of haka after increasing access becomes problematic. This view is reinforced by Pūkōrero 10.5 who states;

I think that there's a wider issue around Mātauranga Māori and so the scepticism that we have as Māori around reclaiming our knowledge, to think that, you know, we've lost it, we're reclaiming it now, we're putting bits out there like haka and we 'kei te whakaae'. So, you know, we agree to put things like this out into teams. We have our own people teaching them the right way, you know, but at what point does it become owned by the rest of the world.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 10.5 speaks about the consequences when our culture, specifically haka becomes easily accessible to the broader public. She states;

You know like in America, how they're really good at taking other people's cultures and using them, there's millions of examples. So that's what they're doing with this too now, because it's out there.

She makes specific reference to the use of Ka Mate as a haka and says;

That's not your language, and they're not your ancestors we're talking about, we're talking about Māori ancestors.

The participants have highlighted that increasing access to elements of Māori culture, such as haka, renders both positive and negative outcomes when considering tino rangatiratanga as a key theme. Haka enables the process of reclaiming mātauranga Māori and practising Māori cultural values, beliefs and rituals in contemporary today. Increased access to haka also provides an opportunity to normalise te reo Māori on a large scale, within a variety of settings. However, the participants also surfaced tensions surrounding non-Māori use of haka. Mana motuhake (autonomy, sovereignty) is often used in reference to tino rangatiratanga and simply put means - Māori control over Māori things. Pūkōrero 10.5 refers to some of the consequences Māori face after increasing access to taonga such as haka. Māori are no longer in full control of haka

and are often left offended, sceptical or simply taken advantage of when others use it. The dominant culture in New Zealand, namely Pākehā claim to own haka as part of Kiwi culture, own the kupu (words, lyrics) and own the pūrākau behind the kupu. Māori are therefore faced with decisions to make around restricting access and exposure to aspects of tikanga Māori such as haka. Limiting access seeks to demand fair acknowledgement of its origins and extended meaning, while also encourage Māori to step up as kaitiaki and educate non-Māori 'the right way'. This will be examined further in the section to follow. As an extension of the Kaupapa Māori Theory principle of tino rangatiratanga, I have also interpreted my data to include kaitiakitanga or namely 'user-rights' for tino rangatiratanga in relation to haka.

3.11.2 Kaitiakitanga

In considering tino rangatiratanga, we must also contemplate ways in which to control access and therefore control the use of haka in the public realm by both Māori and non-Māori. One example which illustrates how Māori sought to address issues of control and recognition related to the use of taonga such as haka in the public domain, was through the Waitangi Tribunal WAI 262 claim. This inquiry put the spotlight on the Crown failing to protect and exercise tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga of flora, fauna and other taonga through the development of policy and enactment of legislation. The Waitangi Tribunal (2011) provides an overview of WAI 262:

The claim is about the place of Māori culture, identity and traditional knowledge in New Zealand's laws, and in government policies and practices. It concerns who controls Māori traditional knowledge, who controls artistic and cultural works such as haka and waiata, and who controls the environment that created Māori culture. It also concerns the place in contemporary New Zealand life of core Māori cultural values such as the obligation of iwi and hapū to act as kaitiaki (cultural guardians) towards taonga (treasured things) such as traditional knowledge, artistic and cultural works, important places, and flora and fauna that are significant to iwi or hapū identity.

Furthermore, the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) provided the following definitions of taonga:

- ‘Taonga species’ refers to flora and fauna significant to the culture or identity of Māori iwi
- ‘Taonga works’ refers to artistic, cultural works significant to the culture and identity of Māori iwi or hapū
- ‘Taonga derived works’ refers to works with a Māori element to them, but that element is generalised or adapted, and is combined with other non-Māori influences

As a result of the WAI 262 Claim, the Waitangi Tribunal recommended the establishment of new partnership bodies in education, conservation, culture and heritage, as well as a new commission to protect Māori cultural works and mitigate against derogatory, offensive and unauthorised commercial use of the haka. These partnerships which acknowledge the role of iwi and hapū as kaitiaki, provide a mechanism for Māori to fulfil their obligations as cultural guardians, which are central to the survival of Māori culture. These partnerships begin to address the balance between sharing Māori knowledge and cultural practices with the world, yet with consent and acknowledgement, to support the transmission of Māori culture and identity. ‘Ka Mate’ has been recognised as a taonga where current laws are not designed to acknowledge guardianship responsibilities (Tahana, 2011).

From 1998 to more recent times, the mandated authority for Ngāti Toa, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Incorporated, has run several unsuccessful bids to win trademark registration and copyright for the words of ‘Ka Mate’. An earlier application to the New Zealand Intellectual Property Office New Zealand (IPONZ) resulted in IPONZ contesting that the words were in the public domain and could not be monopolised, since, no one organisation could be identified as the trade source of goods or services promoted in conjunction with the haka (Intellectual Property Office New Zealand, 2012). In 2011, a ceremony formalised the New Zealand Rugby Football

Union (NZRFU) legal use of 'Ka Mate', whereby a deed of settlement was signed by both parties stating that Ngāti Toa was to retain copyright and control, over the use of it as the national All Blacks haka. While protection was of most concern, Ngāti Toa's spokesman Riki Wineera declared that "it's just an agreement there's no finances attached to it at all" (Parker, 2011), which poses further questions around recognition and ownership.

In June 2012, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Incorporated submitted a trademark application against ProKiwi International Limited which was later denied (Intellectual Property Office New Zealand, 2012). In April 2014, the 'Haka Ka Mate Attribution Act' came into force, to give effect to the provisions of the Treaty settlement between the Crown and Ngāti Toa Rangatira relating to the haka Ka Mate. Therefore, the Act is a way of giving meaningful recognition to the mana of the haka, and it provides Ngāti Toa Rangatira recognition of their cultural association with the haka (Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, 2014):

1. The right of attribution (as outlined in the guidelines) applies to:
 - a. Any publication of Ka Mate for commercial purposes;
 - b. Any communication of Ka Mate to the public;
 - c. Any film that includes Ka Mate and is shown in public or is issued to the public
2. The right of attribution does NOT apply to:
 - a. Any performance of Ka Mate, including by a Kapa haka group;
 - b. Any use for educational purposes of anything that includes Ka Mate;
 - c. Anything made for the purposes of criticism, review or reporting current events;
 - d. Any communication to the public of anything described by paragraph (a) or (c) for a purpose that is not commercial.

The provisions outlined in the Deed of Settlement illustrate that the Crown acknowledges the significance of Ka Mate as a taonga and as an integral part of Ngāti

Toa Rangatira history, culture and identity (Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, 2014). This is an example of tino rangatiratanga. Similarly, the 'Haka Ka Mate Attribution Act' allows for Ngāti Toa Rangatira to be kaitiaki and to uphold the mana of the haka, of their tupuna Te Rauparaha and his descendants and iwi. Safeguarding cultural practices was a prevalent theme throughout the interview process. Pūkōrero 3 suggests that as Māori we have;

Collective responsibility around sharing knowledge about why and how we do haka.

While, Pūkōrero 10.2 shared a story about having to consider his morals and values, as Māori, in the decision-making process to share haka with a broader audience;

I had an experience a couple of years ago, where we were contacted by Nitro Circus²³ – They do extreme motorcycling. So, they had these events over in New Zealand, and they wanted to do the haka. And so, I thought, wow man, should I do this? I talked to a few of my mentors and thought, do I say no, I'm not available, and then they do it, and then it's sort of embarrassing, or do I take it as an opportunity to educate and inform and maybe hopefully get them to do it in a tika way? So, I took on the challenge, and I made sure that I went through the right processes in terms of contacting Ngāti Toa and asking them if it was all right if I teach these guys? And they said, 'as long as they're not making money off it in terms of selling t-shirts' then they were okay with it. So, there was a lot of risk mitigation involved. At the end of the day the main fulla that I talked to, his show name is Streetbike Tommy. If you watch an opening sequence, he's a clown, and with anything he does he makes a mockery of everything. I spoke to him and said, the main thing was, you can't make a joke of this one if you do make a mockery of the haka, New Zealand will hate you. He was quite serious and took it all on board.

Pūkōrero 10.5 further added to above comments made saying;

That's the point though if you don't, someone else is going to do it. They're gonna learn it off YouTube. So that's the balance we have with our mātauranga at the moment, you know? We go and teach it, teach it right, make sure there's parameters around it or leave it to YouTube - That's the risk.

²³ Nitro Circus was founded by motocross madman and multiple X Games gold medallist Travis Pastrana. The team comprises a crew of actions sports enthusiasts who travel the world riding dirt bikes, base jumping and performing stunts.

This sentiment is endorsed by Ngāpō Wehi (as cited in Haami, 2013) who advocated for the upskilling around permissions, licenses, royalties and credits after the advent of broadcasting kapa haka festivals on television. Similarly, the rise of YouTube in 2005 encouraging video sharing online, also created a demand for considering alternative ways to protect cultural practices which were becoming frequently accessed via the internet. The participants above highlight an ongoing tension regarding our ever-evolving culture and the balance between traditional and contemporary use of Māori culture. It forces us to consider new ways of looking at kaitiakitanga that do not dismiss a rich history or ancient knowledge yet accept the changing times. Pūkōrero 9 reinforces this idea by asserting;

It is a global society, and we can't get stuck on the past.

Pūkōrero 10.5 goes even further to say;

Sport has a level of accountability that Māoridom needs to place upon them. So, we need to continue to be vocal around what are you doing with our haka?

She confirms that we must stipulate a rigorous process if we are going to share our culture with the world. She asserts;

Sport has to be held accountable for this as well.

One suggested solution to safeguard ownership of haka compositions, allowing for levels of control around how the music is being used [legally] and ensuring creators were paid for their work was discussed during the focus group. Pūkōrero 10.5 suggested the formation of a “Māori APRA” to safeguard haka. APRA, otherwise known as the Australasian Performing Rights Association, aspires toward the following mission;

We're here for the music. We help music creators get paid for their work and give music users easy ways to legally play and copy music. Royalties keep the music coming and ensure the industry's future (Australasian Performing Rights Association, 2018).

The idea here is that by registering as members of APRA, people looking to use any haka composition have a level of accountability to address, before use. Pūkōrero 10.5 suggests going a step further in developing “*Māori APRA*”, whereby there is a “*level of accountability back to Māoridom*”. Use of APRA was endorsed by a participant in the *Ngā hua a Tāne-Rore report* (2014) saying “...and even things like APRA, getting royalties off your waiata, you know, we’ve got to get far more savvy about that” (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014, p. 59). The participant also adds, “I understand for Māori there’s obligations as well, in terms of meeting those cultural, those social, those, I guess you’d say Treaty partner obligations” (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014, p. 60). This participant encourages us not only to safeguard haka as a cultural practice but rather attract opportunities for economic return. I would argue that for Māori, use of a system in this way, highlights one way to invoke tino rangatiratanga as composers and thus owners of their compositions.

While control, protection, intellectual property (IP) and copyright are all sites of contention when analysing tino rangatiratanga, so too is ownership. Who owns haka? Dunn (n.d.) in her analysis of who owns haka, states “underlying the legal issues is the cultural chasm between Māori conceptions of collective kaitiakitanga and Western notions of individual ownership and private property rights” (p. 5). Pūkōrero 10.1 describes this dichotomy as;

A contemporary analogy of the land ownership issue of the 1800s

Pūkōrero 10.1 he adds;

In the 1700s the big question was who owns our land? And to me, it’s a similar scenario. Now we’re talking about IP all over the world.

Pūkōrero 10.1 speaks of a time in the 1700s where there was a search to establish a system for land ownership. He applies the same thinking to this scenario, with the introduction of intellectual property rights during the 19th century and the desire for the West to establish individual ownership. Dunn (n.d, p. 7) reinforces this view and adds;

The Treaty of Waitangi vest authority and control over taonga in kaitiaki, enabling them to guard its mauri (life force) ... and therefore the use of taonga by others without permission, especially that which is offensive, is inconsistent with the Treaty.

In terms of ownership of culture, however, Māori hold the view that no one individual is the owner of an element of Māori culture, including rituals and symbols, but rather the 'collective' is (Reilly, 2004b).

To provide an alternative view Pūkōrero 10.7 talks about composing specific haka for a team instead of the universal use of Ka Mate as a team haka. She explains;

The girls [Black Ferns] haka was specifically done based on their brainstorm of what it meant for them. It was then taken away and something was composed specifically for them. So that is ownership there, that can't be questioned.

Pūkōrero 10.7 addresses a growing trend in sport of late, to compose haka specifically for a team, which embraces the team's unique identity, such as the haka used to begin this chapter. These comments highlight that with the growing interest in using haka in the context of sport, indigenous people must maintain the power to regulate heritage rights (Solomon as cited in Dunn, n.d.). In this regard, Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper (2014) emphasise the fundamental need for acknowledgement of the role of Māori as kaitiaki and tangata whenua, and as Treaty partners, in the development of our cultural heritage. I will provide more detail in relation kaitiakitanga within the context of sport in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the role of Māori as kaitiaki becomes particularly important when considering the intergenerational transfer of our haka as a taonga, which will be discussed next.

3.11.3 Taonga tuku iho

In addition to the above definitions of 'taonga', taonga tuku iho refers to intergenerational protection of highly valued taonga either tangible or intangible (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). Haka is a taonga that has been passed on through generations. With haka comes mātauranga, tikanga, te reo and whakapapa and

therefore becomes a way to reinforce tribal lineage and pass on cultural heritage to future generations. The participants provided many examples of how haka contributed to strengthening their identity and connecting them to whakapapa. To set the scene for analysis relevant to the need to connect or in some instances reconnect to whakapapa Kaiwai (2003) states:

The mass exodus of Māori to the city during the 1950s-60s posed further problems with the cultural dislocation of an urban Māori diaspora that had left their tribal homelands - the traditional repository of mātauranga Māori - in search of work and new experiences. Kapa haka, in this context, would come to fill the cultural lacuna left in the wake of Māori relocation to the city, representing a potent symbol of Māori identity, values, culture and pride to those Māori living in the cities (p. 5).

As an example of strengthening identity and connecting whānau, Pūkōrero 9 spoke about haka as providing;

A way for family first and foremost to retain some of the knowledge passed down from elders - taonga tuku iho.

While Pūkōrero 7 asserts that;

Those that are competent and know haka and its whakapapa, know it's a powerful connector.

Pūkōrero 8 emphasises that;

It's always a way to reinforce our tribal lineage and whakapapa through haka.

Similarly, Ngāpō Wehi says it best in his book:

Nen and I always felt kapa haka was more than just cultural performance. It was, and still is, a lifestyle that was about maintaining the values and ideals of being Māori, being whānau and being community, and in our case, this just so happened to be in an urban setting (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 14).

Māori oral traditions form a rich record of the past handed down verbally over generations, through whakapapa, whakatauākī (proverbs), korero, waiata and haka. The participants identified that haka has multiple benefits when considered a taonga such as the role it played in retaining “*the knowledge passed down from elders*”, “*reinforcing tribal lineage*” and being a “*powerful connector*” for whānau as a forum for

knowledge transmission between younger and older generations. During the urban drift, haka became a vehicle for the demonstration of whakapapa and expression of cultural identity (Haami, 2013). However, while oration was a standard form of transmission in pre-colonial times, Western influence and evolution has encouraged Māori to document and capture these oral traditions in text and video. Therein lies challenges around sharing and protection as mentioned in the previous section.

Haka represents our tribal affiliations, our messages, and our creation narratives. Therefore, the issue is about responsibility for kaitiakitanga, responsibility to look after, to maintain the cultural integrity of this gift [haka] we have been given to us from our ancestors – he taonga tuku iho. The integrity of our whakapapa, who you are born from, who you are born to be and who will be born from you, is reliant on Māori as kaitiaki of our cultural practices (Lee-Penehira, 2018). Haka is embedded in whakapapa and is often a symbolic expression representing whānau, hapū and iwi connections, which will be discussed next.

3.11.4 Whānau

The literal translation of whānau is ‘to be born’, and thus whānau formed the basis for whakapapa, kinship ties and values (Reilly, 2004b). Haka is considered a vehicle used to pass on strong whānau values and identity to the next generation. Haka also enables the formation of a whānau, especially within a team environment. According to Moeke-Pickering (1996) for whānau:

What is of significance, is that the formation of a secure whānau identity which is likely to contribute toward an overall stable Māori identity. Creating an environment where a sense of secure well-being among members of a whānau is nurtured, leads to members constructing a whānau and Māori identity that is meaningful to them in their lives (p. 12).

Strengthening whānau values was endorsed by a participant in the *Ngā hua a Tāne-Rore* report (2014) saying:

It comes down to what is the purpose of why you're doing haka. And with my marae hat on, it's actually, if I can get this being normal for our babies, then that's the important bit, that this generation have learnt this stuff and it's normal. And I am secure that they will teach their babies, who will teach their babies, who will teach their babies. That's the big thing for me (as cited in Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014, p. 29).

In addition, Wehi (2013) asserts that haka enables Māori to “understand the true meaning of whānau” (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 9). In my own experiences with haka in the context of sport, it was always a whānau affair. From the cooks to the coaching team, to the supporters, to the tutors, everyone played a role, and each was pivotal in the success of a sports campaign, particularly when we were travelling away. The concept of whānau, in this context, was not reliant on tribal structures or kinship ties, but rather an environment which fostered meaning and a sense of belonging (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Furthermore, Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper (2014), advocate for the nurturance of haka as a cultural taonga through the process of intergenerational transmission, which is also related to whānau and was discussed in the previous section.

On another note, the participants made specific reference to haka providing economic benefits and therefore increased opportunities to survive and provide for their whānau. Pūkōrero 9 continuously advocated for haka playing an essential role in whānau making a living. He asserts;

Haka has been a part of the livelihood of the people here since before the eruption of the Tarawera.

He makes specific reference to haka as a means of survival;

That's why in Te Arawa we survived, it was because of our culture. We put on concerts for the Pākehā for tourism purposes. And even today it is strong.

He speaks of haka as an enabler for the iwi;

We did haka, made money, and it was a source of income and still is for the people here in this area ...and as a result, Tūhourangi was a thriving tribe at the time due to tourism.

He also speaks positively about haka as an enabler for whānau;

...us Māori are here, we are still strong today and providing for our families and going out into the world.

Pūkōrero 10.3 further reinforced this idea by saying that making money, having a job and getting paid were all benefits to Māori. Similarly, Pūkōrero 12 spoke of haka as;

An avenue to provide some form of financial stability.

Pūkōrero 10.7 referred to the two rōpū at the time who were over in Edinburgh performing every night for a month. She said;

In many ways, it becomes a vehicle to see the world, share and acknowledge what you have.

It is worth noting that the above participants were mainly referring to haka as defined in this thesis as kapa haka. Those participants who spoke directly to the economic value of haka tended to note that the long-term benefits on and for Māori whānau were uncontested - for example, providing “*financial stability*”, “*a source of income*” and opportunities for Māori to “*see the world*”. These sentiments align with Moeke-Pickering’s (1996) comments related to a sense of security and stability enabling the whānau to form a strong Māori identity. While haka performances still occur today under the umbrella of tourism, there seems to be an emphasis on whānau engaging in haka to connect with other family members and pass on strong whānau values. In this instance, it is not necessarily about ‘who’ you are as Māori, but rather practising ‘how’ to be as Māori (i.e. the behaviours, tikanga and values). As such, haka used in this way, by Māori, benefiting Māori was deemed acceptable in contrast to haka used for financial gain by non-Māori which will be discussed in the later chapters.

3.12 Summary

Haka has a whakapapa that dates back to the creation of the universe, as outlined in the haka Tīmatanga. As an oral tradition, haka is a ritual and an expression of cultural identity which has evolved and stood the test of time. It also looks to continue the same trajectory into the future. While Māori continue to struggle to legitimise tikanga Māori in non-Māori environments haka, as an indigenous Māori ritual, continues to challenge the status quo with its continued use in both Māori and non-Māori settings. Haka serves as a vehicle for practising cultural traditions, retelling our creation narratives, reinforcing tribal ties, connecting whānau through whakapapa and normalising te reo me ona tikanga. However, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage at both national and international levels requires further discussion. Participants advocate for self-determination of indigenous cultures in maintaining and protecting cultural knowledge, tradition and heritage. Other common themes which surfaced throughout this chapter include ownership, intellectual property, copyright, protection and control, which will be analysed further in the chapters to follow. This adds further validity to this study, in seeking to explore and better understand the place of Māori culture within a sport context.

In examining the above pūrākau, there were minimal links made between haka and its place within the context of sport. This raises questions about its relevance and encourages us to consider whether rituals like the haka belong in the sport realm or whether they belong in the traditional contexts where they originated. The next chapter aims to discuss the intersection of haka with sport, emphasising the impact haka has had on the sport landscape.

CHAPTER 4

Haka in the context of sport

4.1 Ka Mate

<i>Ka Mate! Ka Mate!</i>	<i>Will I die! Will I die!</i>
<i>Ka Ora! Ka Ora!</i>	<i>Or will I live!</i>
<i>Ka Mate! Ka Mate!</i>	<i>Will I die! Will I die!</i>
<i>Ka Ora! Ka Ora!</i>	<i>I live! I live!</i>
<i>Tēnei te tangata</i>	<i>For it was indeed the wondrous power of a woman</i>
<i>Pūhuruhuru nāna nei i tiki mai</i>	<i>that fetched the sun,</i>
<i>Whakawhiti te rā!</i>	<i>and caused it to shine again</i>
<i>Upane, ka Upane</i>	<i>Line up in rows</i>
<i>Upane, ka Upane</i>	<i>Line up in rows</i>
<i>Whiti te rā!</i>	<i>The sun shines!</i>

'Ka Mate'²⁴ was composed by Ngāti Toa Rangatira chief, Te Rauparaha and is performed by the All Blacks. This haka tells a story of escape, of triumph, of relationships and of the power of women (Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Incorporated, 2014). Ka Mate was first performed by the 1888 'Native' team and has become an iconic part of New Zealand culture and plays a pivotal role in the sport landscape (Gardiner, 2007). It is only fitting that Te Rauparaha and Ka Mate be acknowledged at the beginning of this chapter, as it holds a great deal of mana when considering the intersection of haka within the context of sport. The chapter begins with simple definitions of physical activity and sport, followed by discussions of Māori views on

²⁴ Note: This is only a snapshot of the haka, please find the full version of Ka Mate in the Appendix G (Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Incorporated, 2014, p. 5).

these concepts. Key topics such as ngā taonga tākaro (traditional Māori games), ngā mahi a te rēhia (leisure and recreational activities), and Māori participation in sport, provide the context for examining mau rākau and kapa haka as Māori versions of physical activity and sport. The significant role that schools play in providing an incubator for experiences of haka related to sport is explored next. Followed is an examination of the impacts of the use of haka in rugby, with an emphasis on Ka Mate. Potential benefits and risks will be explored, such as the role haka plays in building a positive team culture, enabling a psychological edge over opponents, enhancing mana and the impacts of ihi, wehi, wana. The chapter also raises questions surrounding the mechanisms put in place by sports codes to control responses to haka, which don't align with a Māori worldview. This chapter focuses on research questions 2 and 3, referencing both benefits and risks associated with the use of haka in sport. The chapter concludes by emphasising the need to further analyse the opportunities and challenges surrounding haka and its impact on identity.

4.2 Definition of physical activity and sport

Physical activity is defined as any bodily movement produced by skeletal muscles that require energy expenditure. This includes exercise as well as other activities which involve movement such as walking, cycling, play, sport and recreation (World Health Organisation, 2018). Participation is multi-faceted and can be undertaken in an organised structure, for example, in a competition, tournament or informally outside of an organised structure (Sport New Zealand, 2018). In addition, Sport New Zealand (2018) provide the following definitions of sport and active recreation:

Sport is associated with being competitive, but individuals differ in their degree of competitiveness irrespective of how they participate. Active recreation is a term used by Sport New Zealand to capture participation in activities not considered to be sport, e.g. play, dance or tramping, wānanga (p. 4).

Pursuant to Sport New Zealand surveys, 95% of young people and 73% of adults spend three or more hours, a week, taking part in sport and active recreation (Sport New Zealand, 2018). If you include the number of volunteers, coaches, administrators and spectators, participation rates rise even further. These statistics highlight that sport and active recreation plays a vital role in the lives of New Zealanders and contributes to national identity. This statement was further reinforced by Sport New Zealand (2017b) in their recent report titled '*The Value of Sport*' "New Zealanders believe sport and active recreation at both community and high-performance levels strengthens our national pride and fuels our national identity" (p. 25). In addition, Palmer (2007) reinforces this notion and specifically references Māori and Māori culture in sport, as having a pivotal role in shaping New Zealand's identity as a nation. Palmer (2007) claims:

Māori people and tikanga Māori have played a significant role in the creation of New Zealand's identity as a sporting nation, and Māori values are an important part of the culture of sports clubs and the kawa by which they operate (p. 327).

Therefore, the following sections illustrate Māori affiliation with sport and physical activity highlighting the introduction of haka and relevant analysis of its impact.

4.3 Māori in physical activity and sport

Sport has always played an integral role in Māori life. However, the conception of sport we have today differs somewhat to those in pre-colonial times, especially for Māori. According to McConnell (2000), sport "was not seen as separate to everyday living, nor did it have to be slotted into a certain part of the day" (p. 228), which implies that in pre-colonial times, sport was inherent in how Māori functioned on a normal, everyday basis (Erueti, 2015). Furthermore, McConnell (2000) adds, "Māori had no single word for sport" (p. 228), which adds weight to the claim that sport and recreation was not considered as a stand-alone entity but rather interwoven. Regarding sport and physical recreation, Māori weaponry was one aspect of physical, cultural practice,

central to Māori. Māori were masters and tacticians in the use of taiaha (spear), mere (club) and teka (darts) (Hokowhitu, 2007). Similarly, Māori would compete in inter-iwi sports contests consisting of wrestling, kite-flying, swimming or canoe racing (Best, 2005; Thomas & Dyall, 1999; Mato, 2011). For Māori, sport was seen to incorporate realms other than physical activity, competition, play and games (Hokowhitu, 2007). Kapa haka and mau rākau are two examples of Māori physical activities which were discussed at length throughout the interview process. First, however, it is necessary to identify critical terms which help to provide context to the way Māori view physical activity, sport and active recreation.

4.3.1 Ngā taonga tākaro

‘Ngā taonga tākaro’ are defined as traditional Māori sports, games and recreational activities (Rangatahi Tū Rangatira, n.d.). Ngā taonga tākaro were cultural activities which connected Māori directly to their spiritual beliefs and formed “the nexus of society, supporting education and sustaining social order in the land” (Brown, 2017). Some examples of ngā taonga tākaro include, mu tōrere (an ancient Māori board game involving a wheke), kī-o-rahi (ball games associated with the legend of Rahitūtakahina), poi toa (games and physical exercises, involving poi, used to sharpen reflexes, increase flexibility and improve coordination), waka ama (outrigger canoe racing) and manu tukutuku (kite-flying activities) (Brown, 2017). These activities significantly influenced the health and wellbeing of the tribe in ancient times and are developing a movement of cultural regeneration in contemporary times.

4.3.2 Ngā mahi a te rēhia

‘Ngā mahi a te rēhia’ are examples of Māori games and pastimes of pleasure, which allowed Māori to reinforce their values and transport their social norms and practices through time - often through kōrero pūrākau (Brown, 2008). Ngā mahi a te

rēhia provided a balance between work and leisure in traditional Māori society and incorporated spiritual knowledge and understanding (Best, 2005). During leisure time Māori would play musical instruments, perform waiata, haka and poi, play sports and games and tell stories. These activities served multiple purposes, such as providing a balance, as previously mentioned in Chapter 3, between the spiritual realm and the physical realm. They also encouraged the transmission of ancient knowledge and provided entertainment value for many Māori (Mato, 2011; Royal, 2013). For example, the pūrākau of Tinirau mentioned in Chapter 3, formed the basis of knowledge exchange - he taonga tuku iho, and intertwines ngā mahi a te rēhia (such as singing, dancing and a variety of performing arts), with Māori values, beliefs and narratives, to inform a Māori worldview of physical activity and sport.

4.3.3 Hākinakina

Hākinakina is defined as a sport or game (Moorfield, 2005). Arguably, hākinakina is the modern term for Pākehā sports which were introduced to New Zealand in the 19th century. The emphasis with hākinakina is related to the previous definition of sport, that is, associated with being competitive and structured. In this regard, the focus is not on the spiritual connection, the knowledge transference or the broader holistic teaching and learning from a Māori worldview (Erueti, 2015). Instead, the focus is on competing in an organised, physically demanding activity. These activities, therefore, were not supported by whakapapa Māori or pūrākau, and thus do not acknowledge mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori and te reo Māori.

The above definitions provide an overview of the perspectives held by Māori when defining Māori physical activity and sport. Noted are the overlapping concepts and terms in each of the above definitions, much like the similarities in description between physical activity and sport. I believe whakapapa is key to understanding the distinct differences between the terms. Hākinakina is the modern term used for sport,

while taonga tākaro and mahi a te rēhia assert a connection to traditional Māori knowledge systems, through associated activities such as korero pūrākau, waiata and haka (Erueti, 2015). Mātauranga Māori is instilled within the whakapapa of the previously mentioned physical activities and sports which help to illustrate the distinct differences related to a Māori worldview.

4.3.4 Pākehā arrival

Colonisation, significantly impacted the Māori way of life, including the presence of traditional Māori sports, games and pastimes (Brown, 2008). Hokowhitu (2007) reaffirms this suggesting that “Missionary education imposed on Māori an alternative way of understanding the world, which detrimentally impacted on Māori concepts of physical activity” (p. 81). Māori concepts of physical activity and sport were seen as barbaric, which further reinforced the Pākehā view of Māori people as savages (Hokowhitu, 2007). As a result, over time, many practices were eradicated due to strong religious beliefs and an unwillingness to accept an alternative view of sport and physical activity (Mato, 2011). One method of eradication was to exclude anything obscene or barbaric from being documented (Brown, 2008). Māori practitioners like Dr Ihirangi Heke, Harko Brown and others now actively aim to revive these lost practices and knowledge systems. For example, Heke (n.d.) is currently advocating that sport, and physical activity is best conducted in a Māori paradigm, which involves studying the environment and interacting with it. He asserts that there is much to learn from atua, their characteristics and their traits to inform physical activity, by Māori, for Māori and from a Māori worldview (I. Heke, personal communication, January 20, 2015).

Although many traditional Māori games were eliminated from society such as kī-o-rahi and manu tukutuku Māori quickly affiliated with, learnt and excelled in the non-Māori sports, which dominated the New Zealand landscape (Mato, 2011). During the 19th century, Māori gravitated to rugby, while in the 20th century we saw the growth

and success of Māori in golf, cricket, tennis, netball, football, squash and women's rugby (Keane, 2013). These sports had strong Māori participation and examples of prominent Māori sportspeople at the top of their game (Mato, 2011).

4.3.5 Māori participation in sport

A recent review of Māori participation in community sport highlighted that Māori are significant contributors to sport and recreation in New Zealand (Sport New Zealand, 2017a). The report highlights that Māori boys and girls participate in high numbers, and Māori girls volunteer at high rates. In contrast, Māori adult participation and volunteering are high, and Māori have intergenerational participation in some sport codes. Māori are also drawn more towards team sports, than individual sports (Sport New Zealand, 2017a). High participation rates are aligned with the role sport has played in ensuring positive health outcomes for Māori (Sport New Zealand, 2017a). These opportunities for intergenerational participation promote the inclusion of all whānau members, and therefore whānau groups are a distinct feature of Māori participation and representation. These opportunities help to develop and maintain tribal links where cultural values and knowledge, such as haka, waiata and pepeha can be practiced. The Sport New Zealand review on Māori participation (2017a) supports this view stating:

Innate Māori concepts such as whanaungatanga (kinship, relationship), manaakitanga (respect, reverence) and aroha (compassion) are examples of cultural practices observed regularly in sport. The unique added value that the Māori culture offers to sport is unequalled in the world and captures other nations' attention. Māori culture is a stealth weapon that our national teams use to engender passion and pride in being New Zealanders. The sport and recreation sector provide a strengths-based opportunity to leverage Māori participation to achieve broad, long-term Māori outcomes (p. 6).

4.3.6 Government support for Māori participation

Support from the government, tribal groups and other agencies in the form of organisations such as Toi Tangata²⁵, He Oranga Poutama²⁶, and others have impacted on increased participation in kapa haka, mau rākau, waka ama and kī-o-rahi (Sport New Zealand, 2017a). This has had positive flow-on effects into iwi games, tribal games and Māori-specific events with a focus on whānau, hapū and iwi sport (Sport New Zealand, 2017a). As a result, sport has become a medium to promote social, cultural, and economic development for Māori. There are several opportunities in the sport sector to engage Māori participants and promote whānau, hapū and iwi affiliations in sport and physical activity. Examples include but are not limited to, annual sports tournaments run by Māori for Māori such as the Aotearoa Māori Netball tournament, Ngā Hau e Wha Māori Squash tournament, Māori Touch nationals, Iwi of Origin²⁷ (run by He Oranga Poutama ki Tamaki), Te Huinga Tauira (University games for all Māori tertiary students), Wiki Hā (a bi-annual, week long, national tournament run for Māori immersion high schools across a range of sports) and more. Thus, while historically, Māori physical activity and sport was incompatible with the compartmentalisation of sport in Western culture (Hokowhitu, 2007), these cultural practices have now evolved and continue to advance. Many government organisations including schools, regional and national sports bodies have encouraged the practices of a growing modern culture. Perceived benefits of incorporating tikanga Māori have been recognised within the realms of sport and education, which further credits the use of Māori cultural practices such as haka and reinforces the rationale for this study.

²⁵ A Māori agency which develops, delivers and champions kaupapa Māori based approaches to health, movement, and nutrition.

²⁶ Sport New Zealand's long-standing approach to increasing Māori participation.

²⁷ An urban inter-iwi Māori sports festival held in Auckland annually.

4.3.7 Māori sporting events Pā Wars

Another layer pivotal to this discussion is Māori-led sport and physical activity. Māori values and cultural styles evident in sporting events organised by Māori for Māori. For example, the hosting of annual Māori tournaments for specific sports is considered a draw card for many Māori (Palmer, 2007; Erueti, 2015). Pā wars are inter-iwi or inter-marae sports tournaments. These tournaments were hosted by different tribal groups and allowed whānau, hapū, and iwi bonds to be maintained and developed in a setting where teams competed against each other. For example, the kaupapa of the Ngāti Porou 2018 annual Pā Wars (Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, n.d.) is to:

- Strengthen whanaungatanga as Ngāti Porou
- Create a fun, relaxed and safe environment for whānau (mokopuna, tamariki, mātua and tūpuna) to play together
- Promote healthy lifestyle practices
- Fundraise for our Marae while capitalising on friendly inter-marae rivalry
- Run off some of the Christmas/New Year excesses
- Increase Ngāti Porou whānau and hapū participation in sport and recreation activities

Tuhoe, Ngāti Whātua, Te Arawa and many other Māori iwi, hapū and whānau throughout New Zealand hold their own versions of inter-iwi, inter-marae sports tournaments and festivals, which celebrate their unique identity (Mato, 2011; Erueti, 2015). Pā wars are inclusionary by nature and provide a setting for Māori to strengthen the tribe's culture, language and whakapapa.

Inclusionary mechanisms such as whanaungatanga were almost always, evident in Māori sport which encouraged the development of strong bonds and solidarity between players and whānau. Fundamentally, being a player in a team is considered similar to being a member of a whānau, hapū or iwi group, thus for Māori, sport provides a sense of belonging, nurturing social and cultural identities

(Thomas & Dyall, 1999). Additionally, learning new waiata and haka, which are often performed pre-game or at the accompanying festivities such as whakangahau (entertainment concert) and kapa haka events added another layer to Māori sport. These culturally specific sporting contexts create a platform for mātauranga Māori, Māori values, beliefs and whakapapa to be shared from one generation to another. The extra effort put towards waiata and haka practice, in addition to training, contributes to these opportunities being regarded as highly as the sports competitions themselves, which will be discussed later in this chapter (Palmer, 2007; Thomas & Dyall, 1999; Erueti, 2015). Another critical driver impacting Māori participation is health and well-being, which will be discussed next.

4.3.8 Māori physical activity, movement and exercise programmes

Māori physical activity and sport revitalisation efforts continue today. There are a growing number of Māori practitioners (as previously mentioned) who are developing and running Māori physical activity, exercise and movement programmes by Māori, for Māori. Several practitioners who are leading the way for Māori physical activity today, are listed below:

- Te Ahukaramū (Charles) Royal with Whare Tapere - Ngā Mahi a te Rēhia (Royal, 2013)
- Justin (Ihirangi) Heke with Atua: Matua (Heke, 2012; Heke, n.d)
- Darrío Penetito-Hemara with He Pī Ka Rere (Penetito, 2014)
- Harko Brown with Ngā Taonga Tākaro (Brown, 2008; Brown, 2017)
- Paul Whitinui with Kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools (Whitinui, 2008)
- Terina Raureti with Te Koronga – Whānau Fit (Raureti, Jackson, Hakopa, & Ruhe, 2017)

While this is not an exhaustive list, these are but a few who are revisiting concepts that once connected traditional Māori to their natural and spiritual realms, in the context of

sport and physical activity to provide the foundations for optimal health. Regarding kapa haka, Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper (2014) claim that there has been,

A major shift within competitive kapa haka in recent years has led to a new standard in terms of levels of physical health and fitness. That shift has affected a quantum change in attitudes towards health and fitness amongst kapa haka practitioners. This is believed by the participants to have many associated benefits, not just for the practitioners themselves, but also for their extended whānau and communities (p. 42).

If we think about haka performances in sport, much of the kaihaka are elite trained athletes competing internationally. Therefore, we must not take-for-granted the role haka plays in illustrating an image of Māori as physically fit and healthy people.

Heke (n.d) in his work on Atuatanga (Māori philosophical practice which acknowledges ngā atua Māori) talks about reconnecting - what can we learn from atua and tūpuna that will reinforce our whakapapa in a contemporary context. This approach is also becoming a growing trend. A few examples of programmes which reinforce a connection to whakapapa through physical activity, exercise and movement include Patu Aotearoa²⁸, Māori Movement²⁹ and Rangatahi Tū Rangatira³⁰. Each of these programmes helps to grow awareness of participants genealogy of body, mind and spirit and the relative connections to the environment to nurture and maintain cultural identities as Māori. Haka with its rich whakapapa associated with ngā atua Māori as outlined in Chapter 3, features heavily throughout these programmes.

Continued efforts to revitalise Māori concepts of physical activity and sport have attracted widespread support, which contributes to increased participation among Māori. From an economic perspective, kapa haka should be taken seriously in terms

²⁸ High intensity training programme which incorporates te reo Māori and concepts of Atuatanga.

²⁹ Fitness programme focused on the knowledge of Atua to inform movement sequence.

³⁰ Offers training support in the coordination and delivery of Ngā Taonga Tākaro.

of the benefits to be gained in mitigating certain chronic diseases and improving health statistics for Māori (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, haka, mau rākau and kapa haka were used interchangeably throughout the interview process. Both mau rākau and kapa haka have been discussed as examples of Māori physical activity which were considered a regular part of Māori society in pre-colonial times and continue to play a role in Māori participation in sport and recreation today. Therefore, it is not surprising that they both regularly featured in discussions with the participants. The following section aims to explore the intersection of haka with mau rākau and kapa haka as Māori physical activities.

4.3.8.1 Mau rākau

Exploring Māori participation and Māori conceptions of sport and physical activity, prompted discussions of the presence of haka during experiences of mau rākau. It is important to note here that while mau rākau may not be considered a sport, it does share many similarities in definition. There is a considerable amount of physical exertion, discipline and skill involved in mau rākau; however, unlike other sports, its origins are oriented towards protection of the whānau, hapū and iwi as well as the ancient knowledge of warfare and weaponry (Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa, n.d.).

Today one form of mau rākau is practiced and taught by graduates of Te Whare Tū Taua, and involves teachings about battle formations, weaponry, attack and defence moves, dexterity of footwork, balance, speed and economy of movement as well as the rituals of engagement (Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa, n.d.). For these reasons, mau rākau is more adequately defined as Māori physical activity. According to Sharples “Te Whare Tū Taua was one of the many ancient learning schools where the art of war was preserved for over 1000 years throughout all iwi” (Te Whare Tū Taua

o Aotearoa, n.d.). The modern school founded by Dr Pita Sharples in 1983, was established as part of the renaissance of te reo me ona tikanga to reclaim the art of mau rākau. It became an innovative programme in physical fitness, Māori history, Māori atua, whakapapa, self-discipline, te reo Māori and the skilled use of taiaha (Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa, n.d.).

The view of Māori as masters of weaponry was further reinforced by five of the nine participants interviewed, who spoke specifically about the influence of mau rākau, Te Whare Tū Taua and the ancient art of Māori weaponry. One consideration which was brought to the fore by two participants throughout the interview process were considerations of haka as sport, not a tag on to the Western idea of a sport. Pūkōrero 9 provides further context;

Haka movements come from Te Whare Tū Taua and as such, it is a sport. It is exercise, aerobics and fitness.

Pūkōrero 9 also makes a comparison between the practice required in sport and the training and teachings from Te Whare Tu Taua in the following rich description;

Toroparawai³¹ in the house of weaponry involves the use of feet. We put things down in structures. One is, Putere takitahi³², another one is called whitiwhiti porotaka³³ which are like lattice works where you lay manuka on the ground, and they are like grids. With those grids you jump over them using certain jumps like kokirikiri³⁴ and pou tahi, pou rua, pou toru. These are all movements of the feet and happen in sync.

He adds;

These lattice works go up in gradient. A shallow hill will get steeper. You begin to bounce up and down like a frog going up and down hills. The higher the hill the fitter you must be.

³¹ The art of footwork in Te Whare Tū Taua.

³² Te Whare Tū Taua grid movement, where warriors move together as one.

³³ Te Whare Tū Taua movement involving the feet.

³⁴ Te Whare Tū Taua footwork drill, focusing on fast swift movements.

He likens the skills you learn through Te Whare Tū Taua to sport and reiterates;

It teaches coordination, fitness, agility, speed, accuracy and precision. Haka hones your reflexes, instincts, mind, strength and stamina.

He argues;

It is a sport, it is a martial art, and in that martial art, we also practice fighting.

Evident in the above comments is an alignment with previous definitions of sport as encompassing body movements produced by skeletal muscles that require physical exertion. Mau rākau is also a cultural activity connecting Māori directly to their spiritual beliefs and mātauranga Māori as outlined in the definition of ngā taonga tākarō. While it is important to note that Pūkōrero 9 is explicitly referring to stage performances of haka it enables us to consider how we have transitioned from an era of warfare bringing cultural knowledge into a contemporary context.

Pūkōrero 3 shares that her first experiences with haka as a child were centred on her koroua teaching her mau rākau. She states;

As children, us girls grew up learning mau rākau, and it was told to us that there may come a time where we may need to protect our whānau.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 5 mentions;

In the old days, when it was wartime, everybody had to learn how to fight. Some even went to Te Whare Tū Taua (for the fighting man).

This suggests that in both cases mau rākau was an accepted norm and an aspect of cultural practice and physical activity, that was valued for the importance it placed on protection for whānau, hapū and iwi. Pūkōrero 7 states;

The majority of my haka experience is in mau rākau, and so I believe they go hand in hand - not separate. They are just an evolution of one another.

Pūkōrero 9, who has composed many haka in his time attributes the choreography of his haka compositions, to the battle formations taught in Te Whare Tū Taua. He adds;

So, it's choreography, yes, but it is choreography with a meaning and purpose.

These comments again reaffirm Māori definitions of sport and physical activity, highlighting the importance of cultural practices with meaning related to the way Māori view their participation. Further to conversations surrounding stage performances of haka, participants also discussed kapa haka and its role as a form of haka in sport and physical activity.

4.3.8.2 Kapa haka

There are intrinsic links between kapa haka, culture and Māori identity (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). Like mau rākau, kapa haka shares many similarities with definitions of sport and physical activity yet expands these further. For example, Pūkōrero 3 shared a variety of views of kapa haka relative to haka and sport. Firstly, she suggests that;

Haka is the performing and screen arts in Te Ao Māori.

While she also explains;

Kapa haka was a form of exercise. It's like Kata, if you think about Asian style self-defence. It's repetitive, and the movements of your body is likened to Tai Chi.

She provides further context relative to sport;

First and foremost, it is their sport that they are focussed on. It's about making the team, securing their positions, their fitness levels and learning to work as a team in unison - toward a common goal - to WIN! Kapa haka is exactly the same. You work as a team towards a common goal, and that is to get your message across.

These comments again reiterate that kapa haka is like sport in regard to the competitive nature of the activity. Teams of people or individuals work towards a common goal and refine their skills and techniques with a drive to win.

Kapa haka has not always been considered a sport in contemporary times, possibly because it is viewed as a cultural event or celebration. However, Pūkōrero 7

explained that he challenged SPARC (now known as Sport New Zealand) by asking them if they had “ever considered Kapa haka as a sport?”. He adds;

I put a challenge to them. I said, have you ever considered kapa haka as a sport? They said no it's not a sport it's a pastime, it's a recreation. They responded, it's a cultural pursuit, you need to go to another Ministry for that. I said, if you consider the amount of training, the amount of effort, the amount of competition that goes into Matatini it is far more aggressive and superior than any other sport New Zealand plays bar the Olympics.

From my own experiences in kapa haka and sport participation, kapa haka uses a great deal of energy expenditure, requires discipline, practice and involves perfecting skills and techniques needed to perform and excel in many contexts. Pūkōrero 7 explains further by giving an example of how well trained and conditioned kapa haka performers could compete at a high level in other sporting fields. He argues;

I can easily take some Matatini performers and move them into a sport in the Olympics, and I said... can you do it the other way? They said no. So, I said, you should be investing there.

Pūkōrero concludes by saying;

Kapa haka could be classed as a sport, but it is much more than that.

Sports such as rugby are considered more than just a sport; they are part of our national identity. Teams competing at a high level draw a sense of pride and affiliation from New Zealanders. Just like sports such as rugby, kapa haka is also more than just a sport, and it is a part of our identity as Māori. Kapa haka is a way to represent our kura (school), rohe (district) and iwi.

In this regard, kapa haka serves a multitude of roles which aligns with the previous definition of haka being multidimensional and complex. Pūkōrero 3 and 8's views about kapa haka being a sport are like Pūkōrero 9's views about mau rākau as a sport. These references identify that there are both similarities and differences in views. Critical differences between Māori and non-Māori concepts of sport include the transmission of whakapapa and mātauranga, as well as the connection back to the

spiritual and natural realms as mentioned in Chapter 3. Inherent throughout these comments are opportunities to redefine the place of haka within the context of sport. Perhaps if kapa haka was considered a sport, it could be used as a mutually beneficial model which could increase participation for Māori and improve health and well-being as a 'cultural pursuit'. Another theme prevalent in the comments above is the economic investment. The entertainment value and economic return of kapa haka is already recognised in national and regional competitions up and down the country. Perhaps, future conversations should centre on shifting investment and changing the view that haka only happens before a match. The participants are arguably encouraging us to redefine 'haka in sport', to formally view 'haka as a sport' for Māori to reap the many benefits it has to offer. Participants also referred to kapa haka contributing to a deeper understanding of Maori physical activity.

When asked about experiences with haka, many participants spoke about their experiences in kapa haka as a starting reference. Pūkōrero 6 explains;

I've been involved in kapa haka since I was about three years old through Kohanga Reo³⁵, Kura Kaupapa³⁶, Wharekura³⁷ in whatever competitions we were invited to back home. Kapa haka was a big part of our lives and the curricula at school.

He adds;

At a senior level, I have performed at five nationals - Matatini... as well as regional performances. I have also gone overseas as a cultural ambassador, and kapa haka was our main vehicle to do that. So, I've been involved for pretty close to 30 years.

These descriptions expand on the understanding of kapa haka as a Māori physical activity. The above comments imply that for these participants, kapa haka is a natural part of what they do as Māori; in school, at home and even overseas. Due to the

³⁵ Māori language preschool.

³⁶ Māori medium primary school.

³⁷ Māori medium secondary school.

dynamic nature of kapa haka, these quotes help us better understand why participants used the terms haka, mau rākau and kapa haka interchangeably. From a Māori perspective, these concepts, activities and practices are all interrelated. This notion supports the claim made previously, that in pre-colonial times, sport and physical activity were both integral and interconnected within Māori society. While there were names for activities such as mahinga kai (food gathering place), taiaha, diving and fishing, the idea of sport we have today as an organised activity was unfamiliar in pre-colonial times. Another theme implicit in the description above is the impact that the school environment has had on providing a setting, which encourages haka experiences to occur. Perceived benefits of incorporating tikanga Māori have been recognised within the realms of sport and education (Whitinui, 2008), which further credit the use of Māori cultural practices such as haka and reinforces the rationale for this study. This theme will be explored further in the sections to follow. It is likely that mau rākau and kapa haka will continue to surface throughout these sections as these are the contexts which haka occur, and participants related to.

4.4 Haka in school

Pākehā teachers and a significant proportion of Māori teachers have habitually steered away from doing anything that was too seriously Māori. Most have been content to do something like talking about the Māori creation stories, visiting a marae, putting down a hangi (traditional cooking method), teaching some well-rehearsed waiata or the occasional haka... but very few indeed have done anything remotely Māori that progressed beyond kindergarten level (Penetito, 2010, p. 252).

I start this section with this quote because it demonstrates that the education system has failed many Māori children in New Zealand. However, haka continues to bridge a gap for both non-Māori and Māori, allowing young people in New Zealand the opportunity to experience Māori culture. With the renaissance of te reo Māori and the

Kaupapa Māori movement³⁸ in schools, there have been several attempts to reintroduce Māori physical activity within the school curriculum. One example was the introduction of Te Reo Kori in the 1900s. Te Reo Kori was a programme which used traditional forms of Māori movement and song in the context of learning within the New Zealand Physical Education curriculum (Hokowhitu, 2004). However, while well-intentioned in mainstream settings, Te Reo Kori was criticised for missing the mark for Māori (Hokowhitu, 2004; Mato, 2011). For example, Mato (2011) argues that Te Reo Kori “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” (p. 22). By 2000, the development of Te Reo Kori moved beyond simple movement activities to incorporate games, pastimes, environmental education, dance and drama, acknowledging a wider whakapapa inclusive of Te Ao Kori (the world of movement) (Te Kete Ipurangi, n.d.). Efforts to reintroduce concepts of traditional Māori physical activity and sport continued outside of the school setting also.

All interview participants spoke of their experiences with haka at school. For most, this was their first experience with haka, and it was either relative to their involvement in kapa haka or their affiliation with rugby. To demonstrate the profound experiences these participants had with haka in sport, a brief description of some of the participant’s experiences at school is mentioned next. Pūkōrero 10.8 spoke of the haka ‘Rūaumoko’ that he did at school in Ruatoria. While Pūkōrero 9 explained that he learnt haka at age 12 at Parkdale Intermediate School in Rotorua, before becoming a member of Ngāti Whakaaue at age 13. Pūkōrero 7 mentioned his involvement through school [kapa haka] competitions. While Pūkōrero 8 articulated that from a young age, he was forced to do kapa haka, to support his kuia/koroua on the marae and at school.

³⁸ The introduction of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga as Māori language immersion schools with the aim of revitalising Māori language, knowledge and culture.

An affiliation with rugby was prevalent in the discussions around haka within the context of sport. The intended purpose of haka was generally associated with portraying an identity which differed between mainstream and Māori settings. This is like the various identities depicted through the use of haka at a national level. For example, the All Blacks perform Ka Mate, while the Māori All Blacks perform Te Timatanga, and both are central components of their unique identities. Pūkōrero 6 spoke about participating in sports teams that did haka. He mentioned;

We went to Māori schools, we represented Māori clubs, so haka was part of what we did. When the teams were doing 'hoop-rays', we were doing haka.

This comment highlights that there are also differences in the use of haka between mainstream schools and Kura Kaupapa. Pūkōrero 5 provided another view similar to the above quote but targeted toward a Māori religious school setting. He credits his first haka linked with sport to his experiences at Te Aute College, where they did haka before and after games. He adds;

...it was a religion - you did it whether you liked it or not - it was a very important part of the day. It wasn't something extra, but rather part of it all!

This comment infers that haka within a Māori school sport setting is normalised. Within mainstream school settings, Pūkōrero 4 provides a general statement saying;

Every young New Zealander experiences kapa haka during their schooling, and so this is where it began for me. In particular at Secondary School through first XV rugby.

While Pūkōrero 1 talks about her first experiences with haka in comparison to recent performances on the national and international sport stage. She states;

I remember doing haka in school; it is way different to representing your country in sport.

The above comments imply that the school setting becomes a training ground to prepare young New Zealanders for performances of haka in sport and other contexts in future. This was the case for me, whereby my affiliation with netball and with kapa

haka was complimentary of each other and allowed me to step into leadership roles as a young wahine Māori. This level of preparation continues to benefit me in my adult life. I frequently draw on these experiences as the kaikaranga (women caller) and kaihaka in the workplace, on the netball court, at home, on the marae, as a parent and as the kapa haka tutor for my daughter's school.

While experiences with haka in New Zealand schools are not exclusive opportunities afforded to Māori, Māori are relied upon as performers. Pūkōrero 3 talks about her experiences as a youngster in kapa haka being driven by the fact that she was Māori. She says;

I went to a country school, ...if you were Māori you were in the kapa haka team.

Similarly, Ngāpō Wehi speaks of his first experiences with haka in his book mentioned previously. He tells the story of when he was eight years old at Waioweka Native School:

At age eight I was introduced to the sound and movements of my very first haka. The local principal, Mr Sherrin, would line all the Māori boys for their daily dose of cod-liver oil and pour it down our throats. Our dose of health medicine would be followed up with a haka. It was always, 'Ka mate, ka mate, ka ora, ka ora...' coloured with our own special ending to bring the great warrior Te Rauparaha's composition to a fitting crescendo and it was a line we performed with great gusto every day: 'Kikia te touo Mr Sherrin! Hi ha!' (kick the back side of Mr Sherrin, Hi Ha!). I know my father would not have been very impressed with that sort of disrespect and I was lucky he never found out (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 35).

These comments reinforce the view that Māori are often stereotypically channelled into Māori-driven kaupapa like becoming haka and kapa haka performers at school. Unfortunately, these comments make no further references to the sacrifices made, to commit to being part of the sports team or kapa haka group. However, Hokowhitu (2003) suggests that being Māori and perceived good in the physical arena, this stereotype inhibits Māori achievement and limits their opportunities in the academic realm.

It should be noted that the participants went to a variety of school settings including, Kura, Wharekura, mainstream, private, boarding and native schools. Every participant spoke of their involvement with haka at school, which suggests that the school setting plays a significant role in enabling young people, both Māori and non-Māori, opportunities to experience haka and celebrate Māori culture (Whitinui, 2008). It becomes a strategy for affirming Māori students as Māori, as well as a vehicle for the retention and revitalisation of te reo Māori (Whitinui, 2008). Furthermore, sports teams provide an incubator for young people, a starting place for their journey of discovery with haka and its impact on Māori identity formation.

4.5 Haka in sport

Internationally accepted spectator rituals include expressions of enthusiasm such as the Mexican wave (Lineham & Collins, 2000) and songs like 'Waltzing Matilda' and 'Swing Low Sweet Chariot'. While other sporting rituals include singing the national anthem, shaking hands after the game and performing pre or post-match haka. The most prominent element of tikanga Māori which is consistently integrated, adopted and adapted into the sporting realm is haka (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). Mainstream Aotearoa have adopted elements of tikanga Māori, such as haka, into their sporting culture, with varied results. Palmer (2007) argues that New Zealand's identity as a sporting nation has been influenced significantly by Māori people and Māori culture. Pūkōrero 8, supports this claim by stating;

Non-Māori have no other way to distinguish themselves as New Zealanders other than with haka.

This places even more importance on Māori culture and its place within sport contexts. It also raises issues around identity, misuse and recognition. According to Gardiner (2007) "haka has become an obvious vehicle for teams to express their will in front of supporters" (p. 116). However, when asked to define haka, its popular, albeit mistaken,

definition is a war dance (Gardiner, 2007). Therefore, discourses about haka and what they represent are shifting in their meaning both in relation to time and space. One sport that gets much haka recognition is rugby, and this will be discussed next.

4.5.1 Rugby

The presence of haka in sport is most recognisable within field sports such as rugby union, rugby league, touch and tag football. Interestingly, Most New Zealand rugby followers take pride in watching the haka being performed, as a unique Māori ceremony that marks the difference between the All Blacks and other international rugby teams (Gardiner, 2007). In brief, the All Blacks haka is performed immediately following the respective national anthems and is usually led by a senior Māori player in the team, although this has now evolved, and non-Māori are recorded to have led the haka. Important to note regarding the intersection of haka with sport, is that the philosophy behind haka in a traditional context (as related to Tūmataunga, battle and warfare), has been transferred into this sport setting, and considered relevant to the game of rugby. It is believed that the similarities shared between rugby and warfare, perhaps formed the site whereby haka solidified a permanent place within the sport landscape. A brief historical view of the whakapapa of haka in rugby was introduced in Chapter 1 and sets the scene for discussions on the impact of haka in rugby settings, in the following sections.

4.5.2 Psychological edge

All Blacks performances of haka have been scrutinised for enabling an unfair psychological advantage and haka is often deemed a form of intimidation (Gardiner, 2007). The interview participants had a lot to say about the benefits of haka from a psychological perspective, which were largely centred on pre-match performances of

haka in rugby. Their views fell under four key sub-themes, whakapapa, preparedness, mana and ihi, wehi, wana.

4.5.2.1 Whakapapa

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, Whakapapa relates to the genealogical ordering of knowledge (Walker, 1990; 2004; Reilly, 2004a; 2004b). From a whakapapa perspective, participants reiterated that while pre-match haka in the context of rugby are normalised and considered tradition, haka performances should not be taken for granted. Preparation and practice form key components of successful on-field haka, with the view of drawing collective strength through whakapapa. Whakapapa in this context forms the reason or purpose and therefore allows a more holistic connection to both the living and spiritual worlds as discussed earlier. Pūkōrero 6 explains;

It's real what we do, there is a purpose, we are not just doing it to freak people out, and we don't have guns and spears ready to throw.

He adds;

There is a reason why we do it; it's about culture, it's around tradition, we have been doing this for a long time now.

Pūkōrero 8 further comments on misunderstandings of haka performances on the sports field as displays of intimidation. He asserts;

Others think haka is something we do to warm up or get going, but there is a whole deeper realm to it.

He adds;

Haka is more than a screaming match to build up adrenalin. It does do that, but in my opinion, without knowing the true origins of that haka, you can't fully harness what that haka can do for you.

The participant comments suggest that haka is, in fact, a meaningful cultural display of identity, unity and passion. While on field pre-match haka are viewed as aggressive displays of screaming and slapping, the participant's comments above encourage us to consider the deeper meaning and purpose behind haka performances. They

encourage us to consider haka as a tradition, as art with origins and as a construct which has “*a whole deeper realm*”. These comments also indicate that performances are improved when there are greater understandings and connections to the whakapapa of the haka being performed (Palmer, 2007). Pūkōrero 6 and 8 build further on Pūkōrero 7’s earlier comments in Chapter 3 which highlight that performers of haka are the physical representation of their whakapapa. He asserts that it is our responsibility to channel generation upon generation and understand that performances of haka should not be taken lightly. Knowledge of the whakapapa of haka, much like knowing the words, what they mean and where they come from, is essential in “*harnessing what haka can do for you*”. It also forms part of the preparation phase of a performance, which will be discussed next.

4.5.2.2 Preparedness

One description of ‘preparedness’ which resonates is by mental skills coach for the All Blacks, Gilbert Enoka who asserts that “mental strength, leadership techniques and overcoming high-pressure situations are all key skills which aid in performing to optimal potential” (in Gray, 2016). When considering various types of haka such as haka peruperu, whakarewarewa and tūtū ngārahu as previously mentioned, the context for these haka performances was pre-battle. These haka were traditionally used to prepare a war party mentally and physically for impending conflict (Moorfield, 2005), which informs the metaphor for the use of pre-match haka on the rugby field. Many participants referred to how haka serves as a vehicle for mental preparation in rugby. Haka performances on the sports field are said to identify a lot about a player’s mental and spiritual readiness for the game ahead. This idea was reinforced by Pūkōrero 10.7 who asserts;

Watching the All Blacks do the haka before they have a game is like, their mental and spiritual preparation for battle - in preparation to win”.

She adds;

I often think, if it was a mean haka, they should be all right. So, it's like mental and wairua preparation.

Pūkōrero 10.5 agrees and further adds;

It's a measure as well. Like when you warm-up, if your warm-up is bad, you play bad!

Similarly, Pūkōrero 5, 6 and 9 each speak about the haka as a mechanism for motivating individuals and the team, but also for demonstrating to your opponent that you are ready. Pūkōrero 1 reaffirms this and provides detail around her experiences performing haka as an international sport representative;

Often I will look at the players during the haka and say 'oh that player is going to have a good game. The haka tells me so much about where that person is at mentally and physically.

She adds;

Haka builds you up; if you give it 100%, you are going to get that in return.

She concludes by saying;

Watching haka on television you get a chill, versus doing it yourself before you take the field is another high - it's next level.

These comments reinforce the notion that the haka does give players an edge, it motivates, it brings the team together and prepares them not only for the game but for overcoming barriers or challenges with regards to the other team. It also acts as a measure of readiness, much like the tūtū ngārahu haka. Tūtū ngārahu was a haka performed in front of elders and experienced warriors, who each judged their performance indicating whether they were ready to go into battle or not (Moorfield, 2005). In the same regard, haka performances on the rugby field are subject to the judgement of their opponents and the wider public as a measure of mental, spiritual and physical strength. When performed well, the All Blacks create a powerful image of

unity, of challenge readiness and of holistic strength, which in turn impacts on the mana of an individual or whole team.

4.5.2.3 Mana

Mana refers to the prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, and supernatural force in a person, place or object (Moorfield, 2005). Reilly (2004b) explains the relationship of mana to be linked with whakapapa of people, land and the environment. In addition, Reilly (2004b) indicates that mana has a connection to systems of restrictions such as tapu (sacred, restricted) and noa (ordinary, unrestricted). Mana in this context refers to the spiritual power bestowed on the haka performer and the team. Traditionally, mana was said to rise or fall based on tribal performances of haka (as previously mentioned) (Karetu, 1993), and there is no difference when considering performances on the rugby field. Pūkōrero 1 and 2 reinforce this idea saying;

Prestige and mana come with doing the haka. If you feel the mana and you feed off it, it makes you stronger.

Pūkōrero 6 states;

We are fortunate to be able to do it; it gives us an advantage if we do it right.

Furthermore, he suggests that;

Haka in sport is more of an internal thing - it's what it does for you and your team rather than performing it for everyone else.

These comments centre on the intrinsic value of haka as an internal lever which enables strength and a psychological advantage. The notion of mana being enhanced as a result of haka performances is not a new concept. Ngāpō Wehi states:

Haka was not merely a pastime but a high social custom where tribal reputations rose and fell on their ability to perform the haka. Haka performed for both ritual and entertaining occasions, takes on this role of having the ability to raise the reputation of a team, a whānau, or an iwi (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 213).

For sports events by Māori for Māori, Pūkōrero 10.7 refers to mana stating;

It's about mana gain too. You might not have won the game, but if you did a better haka, that's what you're gonna be remembered for.

She continued;

In any Māori national tournament, there's the winner of the game, and there's the winner of the haka, so it's acknowledged on an equal footing as the sport itself. So, the importance of it is right up there as well as playing the game.

Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, the more prestigious the event, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana (Moorfield, 2005). This view aligns with comments made earlier in this chapter about the weight haka holds in the bigger scheme of the competition at play. It explains why during international test matches, mana enables you to feel stronger. Finally, Pūkōrero 10.7 provides a timely reminder about the purpose of post-match haka in the process of whakamana (to give authority and prestige);

We can't forget the haka that happens after the game too. You've got the pre-game one which is the challenge, the preparation, etc. but the post one is about acknowledging the opposition, giving them kudos, leaving your last stand before you actually go in the sheds. That post haka is going to be quite different to the pre-game haka, there's a little bit of a difference in the reason that you do it. You know, a lot of teams now will haka to their supporters, so they're paying homage to the people that have supported them during that time. So, it's kind of evolved into that as well.

Whakamana refers to endorsing, legitimising, confirming, validating and empowering a person, place or object (Moorfield, 2005). Haka in this context is used as an expression of support, otherwise known as haka tautoko. These haka are performed as a way of endorsing a team (if performed by spectators) or as a tribute to the spectators, whānau and friends (if performed by players) who have supported their journey. Recent examples of post-match haka include; the Black Ferns haka performed after winning the Women's Rugby World Cup 2017 (World Rugby, 2017); Benji Marshall's emotional family haka from the stands, in honour of his younger brother Jeremy Marshall-King's rugby league debut for the West Tigers in 2017 ("Benji Marshall leads post-game haka for brother Jeremy after his debut" 2017) and there are

many rugby sevens events where post-match haka are performed as a celebration and tribute to supporters.

In contrast to the benefits of gaining a psychological edge, haka can also impact negatively on the influence on mana. Pūkōrero 1 considers the decline in mental strength, which has an overall impact on her mana after performances of haka on the field. She states;

The worst feeling ever is when you get out on the field to do the haka, and then you have to turn around and sit on the bench.

This feeling which is often termed the 'come down', will be discussed in the section to follow which addresses ihi, wehi and wana.

4.5.2.4 Ihi, wehi, wana

According to Matthews and Paringatai (2004) ihi, wehi and wana are terms used as a measure of excellent performance, reflecting Māori beliefs. Ihi can be defined as the essential force, excitement, thrill, power, personal magnetism and supernatural force (Moorfield, 2005). It is believed that when ihi is present during a performance it is the ultimate achievement of perfection (Kruger as cited in Matthews & Paringatai, 2004). Ihi and wehi together are often described as the 'goosebump' sensation you have when you are aroused by good performances of haka and "wana is the thrilling effect" (Matthews & Paringatai, 2004, p. 114). Ngāpō Wehi provides an apt definition of ihi below:

Seeking the presence of ihi is essential to empowering the haka. I reminded our members of its importance, of how we must excite that which is inside us to bring forth this special state (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 217).

He adds;

The intense body movement, the power of the voice, the wiri (shake of our hands), the tune, the kaupapa within and even the silences between, contribute to the dissemination of ihi. I think it is the sole factor that gives power to the haka, causing wehi (fear, awe) and wana (excitement) in response (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 217).

The participants further reinforced this view. According to Pūkōrero 5;

Haka gives the team ihi before the game and reminds them that it is battle.

While Pūkōrero 9 asserts;

Haka extends out from your wairua, from your spiritual being and sends it out to the cosmos.

Pūkōrero 1 makes further links back to whakapapa concerning on-field performances;

You have to know where the haka comes from why it's there and who it represents and when you do you feel like you can take on anyone. Your tūpuna will give you the ihi you need for the game if it's done properly.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 3 asserts that;

Whakapapa informs the sense of ihi you get from performing haka as Māori.

Haka performances are known for invoking wana when charged with ihi and wehi (Kruger as cited in Matthews & Paringatai, 2004). One comment above refers specifically to wana saying “*you feel you can take on anyone*”. This comment emphasises the electrifying energy experienced during the performance which can engender similar responses from the audience. Participants also place emphasis on harnessing the collective potential of your whakapapa “*your tūpuna will give you the ihi you need*” which aligns to previous statements made in Chapter 3 regarding atua and tūpuna. Much like haka; ihi, wehi, and wana, are physical demonstrations of the exchange between ancient knowledge and action in contemporary today. For many who are unfamiliar with this process, these demonstrations are merely performances. Using a whakapapa lens ihi, wehi, and wana have deeper underlying connections with the environment, with tūpuna, and with atua.

Furthermore, Wehi asserts that “ihi is the internal element that once excited is contagious and addictive” (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 217). Ihi is powerful, playful and often leaves an impression. Exciting an audience and engendering a response from the spectators, is at the core of ensuring the survival of sport as well as increase

participation and viewership. Therefore, discussions of ihi, wehi and wana, perhaps provide context for further conversations surrounding participation strategies.

4.5.2.5 Haka as a discipline

Perhaps what isn't being considered when a cultural practice, like haka, is taken out of context and included as a pre-match ritual, are the rigorous trainings and cultural competencies required to support the execution. Pūkōrero 7 and 8 encourage us to think about the skill and levels of competency required to perform haka. While the focus for these participants is not on rugby per se, they articulate explicit considerations which can apply to any context including rugby. Pūkōrero 7 provides a rich description of the type of training he partakes in to prepare for haka;

Well if you consider the training that I do, haka is all about channelling atua. One of the normal atua that you channel when you do haka is Tūmatauenga. Tūmatauenga was controlled but aggressive. If you move into other personality traits of Tū – Tū Kariri, Tū Kanguha, Tū Kaitaua and you can't handle being in that space, that's when you lose it. So, you've got to know the personality trait of the atua or that environment or element, that space that you are going in to. It is your responsibility to know those elements. If you haven't been trained into that space, then you get lost.

Pūkōrero 7 refers to Tūmatauenga as “controlled but aggressive”, implying that haka performances in any context should be controlled. He also mentioned three personality traits of Tūmatauenga: Tū Kariri refers to Tūmatauenga of all anger; Tū Kanguha³⁹ refers to Tūmatauenga the fierce fighter; and Tū Kaitauā refers to Tūmatauenga the devourer of war parties (T. Solomon, personal communication, July 1, 2018; Hiroa, 1949). These personality traits of Tūmatauenga, signify a connection through and between the spiritual and physical realms, from atua to mankind. The traits also intimate violence and aggression which require disciplined training to harness and control their potential. Pūkōrero 7 adds;

³⁹ Refers also to Tūmatauenga the enraged.

What they call it is “hitting the wall” or “losing it” or even fainting on some occasions. They have gone to channel a space that we psychologically know as a haka space underneath an atua, and they don’t know how to handle it, because they don’t know it, they haven’t felt it before, or they haven’t been there enough to come back out. So, what we say is that we are engaging with atua, and the more you go and engage with that atua, that tipuna, that ancestor, the better equipped you are and the more knowledge you gain from the experience.

He provides another example related to the atua, Tangaroa;

So, if we are on the water paddling, the more you go to Tangaroa, the more you understand Tangaroa, and the more you can flow with Tangaroa. It’s the same with haka, the more you go into that space, the more you flow with it. The more likely you are to experience the risky side of that atua as opposed to the productive side and therefore the better equipped you are.

Pūkōrero 8 describes the overwhelming experience as being;

Overcome by ihi, wehi, wana that they can’t control.

He adds further clarification around the type of training required;

All the training we do involves how to deal with and manage all the different types of feelings that you’re going through while participating in haka. Constant experience and practice over and over again teaches you how to manage that energy. This is something that is hugely lacking, especially when it comes to our kura. They’re just overcome with a feeling that they can’t manage.

These statements further reinforce the idea that haka requires training, practice and an understanding of the whakapapa all the way back to atua and tūpuna. Pūkōrero 7 and 8 indicate that minimal training and practice channelling these energies can be detrimental to haka performances both on and off the field. Ngāpō Wehi further reiterates:

If not controlled properly the ihi can cause the ‘animal’ in a person to take over. I’ve seen this many time, especially in the haka when men entice their ihi energy to an uncontrolled state causing them to lose their timing and coordination. This is when the beauty of the haka performance is lost, and the message demeaned” (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 218).

This section highlights some of the risks associated with the use of haka in rugby, shedding light on situations where haka can over arouse the spirit within. This over arousal manifests in a variety of ways and has been highly visible on the rugby field in

front of large audiences. It also brings to light issues surrounding taken for granted displays of haka when performers are ill-trained and in a public domain. Similarly, becoming overwhelmed or over-aroused as an outcome of performing haka has influenced the game of rugby locally, nationally and globally. In the absence of these rigorous types of training, sports organisations, teams, coaches and players must consider other ways to address this issue in future. Cultural advisors such as kaumātua are often introduced into teams, as one way to mitigate risk like this. For example, the New Zealand Olympic Committee is known for using advisors and advocates in this regard, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.5.2.5.1 Olympics

Elements of tikanga Māori such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga (hospitality, generosity) are also being incorporated into the culture of sports teams, clubs and organisations (Palmer, 2007). The New Zealand Olympic Committee is an example of an organisation who do a great deal to incorporate aspects of Māori culture; for example, the adoption of korowai (cloak), pounamu (greenstone), te reo Māori, haka and other Māori sentiments are used to inspire athletes and enhance their sense of identity (Palmer, 2007). Pūkōrero 6 argues that for the New Zealand Olympic team;

It is no easy feat to unite a team of different individuals, from different sports and different age ranges. Yet Māori culture, in particular, the use of haka enables this to occur.

He adds;

This is demonstrated in the team's acceptance of Māori taonga, and their willingness to do haka to support their fellow teammates.

Haka in this context is used in a powerful way to unite athletes of all ethnicities, ages and cultural backgrounds. In the same regard, Pūkōrero 10.8 gives a brief account of the build-up to the Athens Olympic games with Amster Reedy, Trevor Shailer and Dave

Currie in leadership positions. He speaks about how the athletes were taken through a process of understanding haka from all angles. Pūkōrero 10.8 contends that;

This process during the build-up to the games helped to create buy-in among athletes, which contributed to a sense of connectedness for the team who were far away from home soil.

Therefore, it is within a team context where we see elements of tikanga Māori, especially haka, being used to unify groups of individuals. This provides further justification that rituals such as haka provide a means of affirming participants' identities and help to create solidarity and affiliation with the team or group of people (Thomas & Dyll, 1999). Haka becomes a powerful tool in this context which is why we see its increased use within the sport sector, however, arguably, this highlights contention around notions of tokenism which we will talk about more in Chapter 5. Haka has had an enormous impact on both Māori and non-Māori within the sport sector. The sections to follow highlight the impact haka has had on team culture, on the player's psychology and on opponent's responses to haka.

4.5.2.5.2 Team culture

Haka possess the power to unite ethnicities, players, teams, administration and even a nation. Haka is a mechanism for creating a bond between people, a sense of belonging and enabling players to stay centred and focused on the task. This is reflected in the participants kōrero. Pūkōrero 6 explains;

If you can find something that can get many players from all different ethnicities to buy in to - that's big!

He suggests that it is becoming a new norm;

To use haka to create an environment where everybody in the team feels they belong.

Pūkōrero 10.6 agrees and says;

It can be a good way to focus a team before going into the sport, so they are united.

She adds;

There is national pride, you know, but there is also the strength of the team and the unity of the team and bringing that all together into focus.

Pūkōrero 10.7 states;

I think it has the ability to unite, a whole country no matter where you are in the world, but as a team too. You know you get a team, you get a national side of players from different clubs, different ethnicities, you know, and it's kind of one of those mechanisms that bonds you and unites you as one before you go on the field to play as a team.

These sentiments were strong throughout much of the kōrero with participants and address various benefits such as team bonding, team buy-in, national pride, increased focus and a sense of belonging. Two participants discuss situations where team culture was harnessed using haka. Pūkōrero 1 talks about her experience in the national Kabaddi team and being involved in composing the haka. She articulates the profound effect that it had on her and the team. She says;

We had involvement with the Kabaddi haka. We saw it grow, we were part of the whole journey with it, so it is special to us.

While Pūkōrero 6 suggests that;

It is not just the players, but the administration understands that haka is a big part of the team's culture.

In this regard, we are seeing an increased number of cultural experts being brought in to compose haka and to support teams to perform haka well. Pūkōrero 6 provides a key example of how the Kiwi's, national Rugby League team and the Chiefs provincial rugby team appointed a cultural advisor as part of the team administration:

Prior to Ora [cultural advisor], they would spend time at camp, which would last a weekend or so, in preparation for a test match. They would learn haka and do some inspirational talks to get people emotionally attached and buy-in to the kaupapa. Now the shift is, Ora is actually a part of the camp - there is the coach, the managers, the trainers, the strappers and Ora. He is not a guy that has just come in for a couple of hours to run through the words; he is actually a part of the team.

He continues;

He comes in, and his motto is [with haka and Māori culture] about trying to build the “Kiwi house”, not a “Māori house” not a “Pākehā house” he calls it the “Kiwi house”. What he is trying to do is create an environment through haka and through tikanga Māori where everybody in the team feels as though they belong. That’s regardless of whether they are Māori or not.

These two examples highlight the benefits of a team of players feeling a sense of belonging. The comments suggest that when players feel like they are a part of something, from the composition of haka to learning the words and actions, to being inspired by Māori kapa haka exponents, to creating an inclusive team environment - haka unites all. Also, having cultural advisors and experts as part of the leadership team for the entire campaign enables the opportunity to embed whakapapa into the team operations. The act of learning, training, rehearsing and performing in this way is a strong binding factor for creating stable relationships. This entire experience led and facilitated by the cultural advisor, as part of the team, brings haka to the fore, which in turn has a significant positive impact on team culture. This could be a potential model for all sports codes to adopt in future. The perspective of the opponent in responding to haka performances is also closely related to maintaining a strong team culture and will be discussed next.

4.6 Responses to haka

An evolving issue involves the controversy over how opposing teams should react and respond to haka being performed in sport settings. Up until approximately 20 years ago, opposing teams have respectfully kept their distance (Gardiner, 2007). However, Australians have tried on occasions, mainly through the media, to upset the All Blacks. In 1989, Irish rugby captain, Willie Anderson, contested the haka – moving forward and eventually meeting nose to nose with Buck Shelford, to disrupt the All Blacks psyche and stimulate an atmosphere amongst the home crowd. Willie Anderson extended an opposing challenge that the Irish team had accepted. English

hooker Richard Cockerill did the same to Norm Hewitt a decade later (Gardiner, 2007). The International Rugby Board now advises teams that disciplinary action will follow if any team moves within 20 meters of each other (Mortimer, 2010), and this rule has been actioned in recent times. At the Women's Rugby World Cup 2010 in London, the Australian women's rugby team were fined over \$2000 for encroaching too close while the New Zealand women's team performed their pre-match haka (Hinton, 2010).

Consequently, the International Rugby Board have put in place strict rules regarding opposition behaviours when haka is performed (Hinton, 2010). The rules state that teams must face the performance, or other similar pre-game cultural performances and must remain 10 metres behind the halfway line on their side of the field (Hinton, 2010). Further to this discussion, Pūkōrero 10.8 mentioned that;

The North Harbour Rugby Union were forced to produce rules and guidelines around when, where, and how, haka should be performed, as a direct result of school teams getting up in each other's faces and starting to fight.

This highlights the risk associated with introducing a cultural ritual into a context where it was never intended to be. While the sports field is often likened to the battlefield; in reality, we no longer live in an era where that type of behaviour is accepted nor tolerated, both on and off the field. The battlefield metaphor then becomes dangerous especially when players can't control the ihi they are feeling in light of teams responding with disrespect or aggression. As a result, responses to haka become restricted. Pūkōrero 10.2 reinforces this by saying;

We end up parameterising our responses.

Parameterising in this context refers to restricting responses to haka. Interestingly, what is understood from an observer's point of view as disrespectful to the ritual and unsportsmanlike, is seen in Māoridom as perfectly acceptable, and typical of a response to haka (Karetu, 1993). Pūkōrero 6 reinforces this idea stating;

Standing respectfully is the current practice, but the reality is, [from a Māori perspective] they are not bound to do anything.

Pūkōrero 8 supports this notion and states;

By way of a response, it goes against the whole construct of haka by just standing there and taking it.

Pūkōrero 10.1 too claims that;

As a secondary school student at a Māori boarding school, the only respect for a haka was to haka back. That was the appropriate response, and it didn't happen because you were all finished. As soon as you started, that was reason enough to haka.

These comments suggest that the rules and restrictions associated with responses to haka are ill-informed and not representative of tikanga Māori. The three participants above, provide a strong argument for an increased level of understanding about haka and ways in which to respond in future.

Outside of the sport context, but relevant to the theme previously mentioned - ihi, wehi and wana, is Beyoncé's response⁴⁰ to a haka performed for her after her show in Auckland on 19th October 2013 (Beyoncé, 2013). During interviews, the focus group participants discussed this example at depth and had differing views on the subject.

Pūkōrero 10.6 describes what she believes happened for Beyoncé;

I reckon it comes from her puku, in Māori terms. When we tend to talk about passion, and we're talking about a passion that comes from the puku and that's what was evident. She responded in exactly the same way that a lot of our kaitātaki wāhine do when they're in the thrall of their performance. They exude the same kind of expressions and the same kind of, you know, ihi, wehi and wana that comes from the puku. It's the centre of our passion as Māori - is our puku.

Pūkōrero 10.5 agrees and states;

It was a wairua response - it's an energy transfer.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 10.7 emphasises that;

That is the beauty of haka; haka can give that to you.

⁴⁰ Beyoncé's spontaneous response included her slapping her thighs, stomping her feet, sticking her tongue out, shaking her head and widening her eyes like the pūkana. Not knowing the words but wanting to join in, Beyoncé simply yelled. Afterwards, she laughed in delight, raised her arms and gave the crew a tremendous round of applause.

While Pūkōrero 10.8 disagrees and says;

Well, I think its ignorance - no right or wrong. She just doesn't know.

He argues;

Yes, she has passion, but she doesn't understand the tikanga behind it.

Pūkōrero 10.1 concluded the discussion saying;

I think all responses are appropriate responses. I think just to go quickly back to Beyoncé, and we have different views of her and her response. The thing is that she's also a really well-known figure in the world and confident standing on the world stage. So, her response is, oh well I'll do that as well. So, for her that's an appropriate response, and therefore all responses are appropriate.

What is clear is that there are varied ways to respond to haka and each response renders a different perspective. Thus, a tension is created between the translation of elements of tikanga Māori in a contemporary context and non-Māori influence regarding policies in response to haka as an entertainment spectacle. To address this tension, Palmer (2007) encourages further discussion around the cross-cultural communication involved when integrating Māori culture into a sport context. She also stimulates consideration of sport policies and practices that acknowledge a Māori worldview (Palmer, 2007).

4.7 Summary

Māori sport and physical activity has evolved and continues to play an essential role in the lives of Māori and non-Māori alike. After the eradication of Māori sport and physical activity during the process of colonisation, Māori were drawn to non-Māori sports. The Kaupapa Māori movement and renaissance of te reo Māori encouraged the resurgence of activities such as mau rākau and kapa haka, which participants likened to sport, physical activity and exercise. These activities enabled Māori to reclaim cultural practices which were inherent in Māori sport and physical activity, during the period prior to European contact. These practices were then integrated into several settings including schools and sport environments.

The introduction of the Ka Mate within the game of rugby, at a time when rugby was a male dominated white man's sport, set a platform for a unique cultural identity to be exposed and promoted both locally and globally. The popularity of Ka Mate grew exponentially over the years, where now we see it performed at leading international sports events such as the Rugby World Cup and the Olympics. Haka was identified as an enabler of fostering positive team unity, a sense of belonging and serving as a mechanism to provide a psychological advantage over the opponent. While over-arousal and parameterising responses to haka to control reactions in a sport setting highlighted potential risks associated with its use. Identity has surfaced several times throughout this chapter and previous chapters, thus, Chapter 5 will focus on examining how haka in sport challenges and strengthens identity.

CHAPTER 5

Impact on identity

5.1 Uhia mai

<i>A uhia mai</i>	<i>Let it be known</i>
<i>Ko wai ngā Hine</i>	<i>who are these women</i>
<i>Ko wai ngā Hine</i>	<i>who are these women</i>
<i>Ko ngā Mamaku e ngunguru nei</i>	<i>tis the Black Ferns rumble</i>
<i>Hi au, au, aue ha</i>	
<i>Ko Hineahuone</i>	<i>From Hineahuone, Hine, and</i>
<i>Ko Hine-tītama</i>	<i>from Hine-tītama</i>
<i>Ko Hine-nui-te-pō</i>	<i>and Hine-nui-te-pō we came</i>
<i>Ki te whaiāo</i>	<i>to transfer from the void (supernatural world)</i>
<i>Ki te ao marama</i>	<i>to the world of enlightenment</i>

‘Uhia mai’⁴¹, was composed by Whetu Tipiwai and is performed by the Black Ferns women’s rugby team. It tells a story of the team’s history and culture and was developed after the team came under scrutiny for their renditions of ‘Ka Mate’ and ‘Ka Panapana’ (Palmer, 2016). The haka retells the journeys of influential Māori women who travelled ki te whai āo (from the void of darkness) and into te ao marama (the world of light). This metaphor provides the framework for exploring the influence and impact haka in sport has had on identity. All three research questions are addressed in this final analytical chapter. Perceived benefits and risks are discussed in relation to their impact on identity. The chapter begins with a discussion of Māori, indigenous, national, sport and international identities, recognising the overlap and

⁴¹ Note: This is only a snapshot of the haka, please find the full version of Uhia mai in the Appendix H (Palmer, 2016, p. 2180).

interconnectedness between these labels. When it came to the intersection of sport, haka and Māori identity, participants had varying views. The second half of the chapter explores the women's role in haka, privileging a feminist perspective in consideration of the haka above. Next is an examination of the role haka has played as a stigma related to Māori identity, as well as exploring aspects of tokenism. The chapter concludes with an emphasis on appropriation, commodification and identity politics, highlighting how the use of haka in sport has contributed to misrepresentations and a lack of recognition for Māori. This section calls for the consideration of an appropriate balance between promoting Māori culture versus exploiting indigenous cultures.

5.2 Influence on identity

Sport provides a sense of belonging and plays vital role in nurturing the social and cultural identity of individuals and groups. A considerable part of New Zealand identity and uniqueness is showcased through the prominent use of tikanga Māori. As a consequence of globalisation, there has been a shift in the way we now live our lives (S. Walker et al., 2006). Global forces are now helping to shape local indigenous cultures all around the world (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). As such, the haka provides a key site of contention for analysis on the impacts of globalisation on identity.

New Zealand national sports teams have taken the lead from the All Blacks in two respects. Firstly, there is a prevalence of the words 'black' and 'fern' in team names – examples of symbolic isomorphism (Dickson & Phelps, 2006), and secondly, there has been a tendency to use the haka Ka Mate as a team haka. Given that these are national teams with elite athletes, it is not surprising that they openly embrace symbols of their nation which they can project with pride. As such, "the haka has become an obvious vehicle for teams to express their will in front of their supporters" (Gardiner, 2007, p. 116).

The following sections aim to discuss identity from multiple perspectives, highlighting the benefits and risks associated with the use of haka within the context of New Zealand sport.

5.3 Māori identity

A brief definition of Māori identity was given in Chapter 1, referring to Māori identity as shaped within whānau environments (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Webber, 2008). According to Walker (1989) in traditional times, Māori identity was derived from the learning that occurred within tribal structures such as whānau, hapū, iwi and waka. A sense of belonging was maintained through whakapapa and strengthened by cultural practices such as language, customs, traditions and kinship obligations (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Tribal locations and significant tribal markers were often recited through pepeha, to form an intrinsic part of Māori identity (Mead & Grove, 2001). This process acknowledged both the spiritual and physical connections with the land and the earth's natural resources, which are central to a Māori worldview, as mentioned in Chapter 3. However, a competing view by Durie, Black, Christensen, Durie, Taiapa, Potaka and Fitzgerald (1995) encourages us to consider Māori identity to include characteristics that emerge out of the modern ecology, such as socioeconomic and lifestyle influences. The current reality is that there is no single exact measure of what constitutes Māori identity, as it has evolved and continues to be shaped by generations today (Durie, 1994). Urbanisation was a significant marker of change after the Second World War and can provide further context to the evolution of Māori identity which has occurred over time.

The migration of Māori from rural to urban areas during the period of urbanisation exposed Māori to a different way of life. The 'urban drift' occurred between the 1950s and 1980s, where Māori living in towns and cities increased from 35% in 1956 to 80% by 1986 (Meredith, 2015). Many Māori were forced out of their rural

homes due to job losses and land theft and were in search of new opportunities. These opportunities are described by Walker (1990) as “the big three - money, work and pleasure” (p. 198). Māori actively sought new adventures, financial security and a city lifestyle at this time. However, being located away from whānau, hapū and iwi created changes to the way in which Māori identity was viewed. According to Mato (2011):

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 (p. 14).

Instead, Māori whānau were assimilated into living life in mainstream New Zealand. This dislocated many Māori from tikanga, mātauranga Māori and te reo me ona tikanga. Therefore, practices such as haka, waiata, karakia and mātauranga-a-iwi became less accessible and thus, no longer informed the way urban Māori identified with being Māori (Walker, 1989). Over time, the successful adjustment to urban life shaped a new Māori identity. A variety of factors helped with the formation of this new identity. For example, the formation of Māori sports clubs, cultural clubs, urban-marae, the kaupapa Māori movement, the establishment of the Māori Party in 2004 (Māori Party, n.d.), and the introduction of Māori Television in 2004 (Māori Television, n.d.) enabled Māori to reclaim and shape new ways of knowing, being and doing. As described in previous chapters, haka played a significant role in the formation of Māori identity both in traditional and contemporary times. During the interview process, haka was discussed as supporting identity formation within sport settings.

5.3.1 Identity spectrum

Measures of ‘Māori-ness’ have been around for years and often centre on the topic of ‘authenticity’ (Webber, 2008). Early observers of Māori such as J. Metge and J. Ritchie developed a series of indicators to determine the degree of Māori-ness, which included criteria such as, adherence to Māori ceremonies; use of Māori

language in the home, half or more of the time; blood quantum (three-quarters or more Māori); frequent visits to marae; and a taste for Māori kai (i.e. foods gathered from the sea and forest) (Ritchie & Metge as cited in Webber, 2008). Participants had quite differing views on the intersection of sport, haka and Māori identity. Pūkōrero 10.6 talks about the influence that a tournament like Māori Touch nationals can have on establishing and maintaining a strong sense of Māori identity. She makes a comparison along a spectrum between those who had been exposed to Te Ao Māori (e.g. children who attend/attended kura kaupapa) and then those who were at the beginning of their journey, identifying who they were as Māori. She asserts that, for those at the beginning of their journey with identity, haka becomes;

A big thing about their identity that they're learning.

She adds;

It becomes a key experience for them in identifying who they are as Māori.

This reinforces the notion that Māori-specific sports events provide the perfect environment for Māori to connect/reconnect with practices such as haka to identify as Māori and maintain tribal links. This becomes particularly important for Māori who live in urban areas, who have lost a sense of connection to their hapū, marae and papakāinga (Te Rito, 2007a). In this instance, sport and more importantly haka becomes a vehicle for transmission of whakapapa which grounds Māori and provides a sense of purpose and belonging (Haami, 2013). In contrast to this view of identity, Pūkōrero 10.3 responds to the above comments, saying;

Identity will cross the spectrum of whether you grew up in te reo and know you're Māori, to an urban coming in, it's still identity which is probably why sports people do it [haka]. It's tradition, it's identity towards being a New Zealander and it isn't just Māori.

She adds;

Haka is for everyone. Haka represents Aotearoa, which is New Zealand, which is all your immigrants coming in. Haka is not Māori, ...haka is for New Zealanders, for Aotearoa.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 5 suggests that;

Essentially the roots are Māori. But it is something we have gifted to New Zealand.

Furthermore, Pūkōrero 6 reiterates;

It is something that people from New Zealand and from around the world identify with... not being Māori but being Kiwi from NZ.

While Pūkōrero 10.6 states;

The haka has been adopted internationally as being part of rugby culture, not necessarily Māori culture.

These views highlight the accessibility of Māori culture as positive when considering the concept of identity. These views also challenge the notion that whakapapa is not a requirement when practising or performing haka. Therefore, haka represents more than just Māori identity, but instead sport and national identity as well. It also raises questions around a responsibility as Māori to look after and maintain the cultural integrity of haka as taonga tuku iho. Karetu (1993) neither supports or refutes the above statement that 'whakapapa is not a requirement of haka'. However, he does argue that "while the language continues to survive, so will haka" (Karetu, 1993, p. 87). He emphasises language as a critical component of Māori identity which is reliant on Māori leadership and challenges the wider public to address this fundamental aspect.

Karetu (1993) contends:

Correct use of language, allowing for poetic licence, is fundamental to the ethos of haka and groups who stray from the principal philosophy must be brought back to acceptable standards. We do haka, our language, our descendants a disservice if we accept or condone the incorrect use of language (p. 87).

I would argue that, if haka is to survive in the context of sport, as more than just a dance tagged on to the beginning of a rugby match, we cannot negate the need for

whakapapa. To maintain the cultural integrity of haka and make our tūpuna proud, Māori need to be in leadership roles, as kaitiaki of haka, advocating for the crucial role of te reo Māori. The role of Māori as kaitiaki of mātauranga Māori will be discussed in sections to follow.

5.3.2 Team, group, whānau identity

In 1995, the New Zealand Army redefined their identity by adopting the name Ngāti Tūmatauenga and commissioned Te Keepa Stirling to compose them a haka. The haka is called 'Tū Taua a Tūmatauenga' (the fighting columns of Tūmatauenga) and is a permanent feature in formal ceremonies such as greeting and farewelling soldiers (Gardiner, 2007). Contrary to the above views of identity, Pūkōrero 10.8, provides an alternative perspective regarding team and group identity;

If I recall all the different times that you learn different haka throughout your lives, it's during a specific time and place. For instance, with our rugby league team for Mata College, Ruatoria, [the haka] was called Kura tiwaka, and we all still remember that bloody haka. Then you go into the army and then you've got a number of different army haka, so you know, that provides your identity. So that when you get back into similar situations and see the same people, it provides you with a sense of identity.

According to Walker (1988), "the concept of whānau is used widely by many groups and organisations to provide a management framework for organising and managing relationships" (as cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 23). This comment aligns with previous statements that haka serves as a collective identity within various settings, for example, school, sport, iwi, army and others. Sports clubs often use the word whānau (as did I in my opening introduction to this thesis, referring to both my netball team and kapa as whānau), to describe a connection to the team. Keith Quinn (1993) provides an account of Buck Shelford's perspective on whānau identity:

Like many others, Buck Shelford is at a bit of a loss trying to pinpoint the essence of rugby. He knows from his years of experience there's something special about it. But it's hard to define. Then, after some hesitation, he settles on 'whānau' as the unique ingredient. His explanation? The bond a Māori feels when he's with his family or with his friends in a rugby team, the whānau, makes him uninhibited on the field. Then, with this togetherness, the Māori likes to play with freedom. The whānau feeling makes the Māori better at team games than he or she is at individual games. The Māori likes the role of being in a team (as cited in Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 23).

The affiliation of being part of a group or team, working towards a common goal is often likened to a whānau and therefore renders a whānau identity (Thomas & Dyll, 1999, Mato, 2011). Buck also highlights that the "whānau feeling" has a positive impact on performance. In this instance, haka provides a distinct Māori cultural identity for those who associate themselves with a group.

5.4 Indigenous identity

Aotearoa is a hybrid nation. While New Zealand today, has a multicultural face, it is essential to acknowledge that the nation grew from a bicultural heritage (Palmer, 2007). In New Zealand, much emphasis has been placed on the importance of biculturalism – a term highlighting equal recognition and respect for indigenous Māori cultures and the European settlers (King, 1997). A significant part of New Zealand history has been and will continue to be, a story of relations between predominantly two peoples and two cultures (King, 2008). In 1840, a partnership agreement was signed between Tangata Whenua (native people of the land, also known as Māori) and British representatives of the Crown. This document known as The Treaty of Waitangi provided Aotearoa with the blueprint for a bicultural (and multicultural) nation (Campbell, 2011; Palmer, 2007).

Māori experiences living in New Zealand are not unlike many indigenous groups living in colonised countries around the world. Gregory (2014) provides a list of key

historical events which have significantly impacted Māori throughout the process of colonisation. They include, but are not limited to:

- 1835 - Declaration of Independence
- 1840 - Treaty of Waitangi
- The Land Wars
- Two World Wars
- Policy of Assimilation
- Urbanisation
- Kaupapa Māori Movement
- Biculturalism
- Multiculturalism

Regardless of this past, Māori as indigenous peoples, are pioneers whose efforts are recognised globally, especially concerning legitimising Māori ways of knowing, being and doing. This was emphasised throughout the interview process with six participants referring to the use of haka as leading the way for many indigenous cultures around the world. Simply put, Pūkōrero 3 said;

We have set the ara, for the world to follow.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 7 spoke of a conversation he had with a Hawaiian man who said;

We design some of the things we do with hula, off haka, because that is the precedent we have as indigenous people.

He added;

We wish we had haka, we have hula, and we dance, but sometimes there has to be an aggressive outlet for our men.

In contrast, Pūkōrero 10.3 was an ambassador while the Australian women's rugby team were competing in New Zealand in 2014. She advised that the team members spoke highly of the presence of Māori culture in New Zealand while making a point of the absence of anything that signifies Aboriginal⁴² culture in Australia, which players were embarrassed about.

⁴² In Australia the term 'Aboriginal' refers to people who are Indigenous to mainland Australia or the Island of Tasmania).

Pūkōrero 3 adds to this discussion and explains;

Ka mate has made a space on the international stage for other indigenous peoples to stand-up and challenge.

She continues;

Whenever you hear haka, you run to where it is so that you can be a part of it. Haka is about the acknowledgement of cultural identity.

Furthermore, Pūkōrero 10.6 refers to Samoa's 'Manu Samoa';

It was only introduced because they wanted to do something in order to be able to confront the All Blacks. And so, the 'Manu' was written as a means by which to respond to the All Blacks haka.

These comments imply that haka has set the benchmark for other indigenous cultures to follow. The comments refer to Hawaiian, Samoan, Australian Aboriginal and Māori perspectives on haka and the role that it plays in shaping identity.

As a comparison, Hodson's (2016) study focuses on First Nations indigenous people and Haudenosaunee Iroquois culture. His research examines Pow wow⁴³ and haka as expressions of dance, to critically reflect on how indigegegy⁴⁴ shapes the teaching practice. Hodson (2016) contends that "Pow wow and haka form a powerful process of decolonization for Aboriginal⁴⁵ men and teachers working with young children" (p. 2). Despite the unimaginable injustices and hardships suffered throughout the process of colonisation, Māori continue to progress and integrate tikanga Māori

⁴³ A combination of drumming, singing, dancing, ceremony and eating. Pow wow is an opportunity for each First Nation and urban Aboriginal community to play host to the greater community, to share their hospitality and wealth with drummers, dancers and non-Aboriginal spectators. There are two types of Pow wows: 1) Traditional, that tends to be more spiritual, expressed through ceremony and 2) Competitive where dancers compete for prize money.

⁴⁴ Otherwise spelt, indigegegy is a term coined by Stan Wilson, a Cree Elder and Educator. Indigegegy uses Indigenous knowledge, literature and scholarship and is centred on land-based education. Indigegegy engages Indigenous methodology such as circle work and lifts traditional teachings, ceremonies and practices. Indigegegy is a decolonizing practice that builds on the resurgence of Indigenous ways of knowing, teaching and learning (<https://www.wlu.ca/academics/faculties/faculty-of-social-work/centre-for-indigegegy/index.html>).

⁴⁵ In Canada the term 'Aboriginal' came into vogue after 1982 when the federal government passed the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Section II.35.2 uses the homogeneous term 'aboriginal' to include 'Indian, Inuit and Metis peoples of Canada.'

into non-Māori settings. As such, haka is an identity marker and is recognised as a healing intervention in the process of reclamation. Each of the above sentiments highlight the transformative power of haka as a symbol of identity. These comments shine a light on Māori as trailblazers and role models for embedding indigenous practice within the context of sport. When performed locally, nationally or even internationally, the haka does much to set a precedent for indigenous identity formation around the globe.

5.5 National identity

Sport is a vehicle for identity to be fostered and nurtured. Sport also helps provide New Zealand with a unique sense of difference in relation to the rest of the world. National identity is shaped in a myriad of ways. New Zealand identity is constructed through aspects of history, notable achievements, national characteristics and national symbols or icons (Edwards, 2007). For example, New Zealand is known for the use of black and white colours, the national flag, the silver fern and customs or traditions, such as the national anthem and the haka. Arguably, New Zealand embraces the use of indigenous cultures better than anywhere else in the world, especially in the context of sport (Collins, 2007). However, there is a challenge in maintaining a creative tension between traditional values and their cultural expression in a contemporary sport setting. Thus, culture sits at the heart of this section, due to ways in which Māori culture has been used to identify, represent and significantly distinguish New Zealand, from the rest of the world. While culture constitutes ways of knowing, being and doing, it is likely that among many settings, groups of people may not share the same culture as others. Edwards (2007) reaffirms this and states, “how people describe their New Zealand-ness and how they define their identity will vary from person to person” (p. 171).

As an expression of cultural identity, haka is arguably an essential component of any sporting event (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002) and as such, haka performances often render large and diverse audiences. Furthermore, Murray's (2000) study demonstrates that haka performances have come to represent a variety of identifications. He claims that haka is more than an 'icon of national identity' and more than an 'identity of race'. Moreover, "haka performances do not generate a singular identification; rather they are multiple (within limits) in their associative possibilities" (Murray, 2000, p. 356). Performances could represent Māori, tribal, family and team identifications which are all equally valid positions. Pūkōrero 1 further reinforces this view stating;

Haka is an essential component of the game.

Pūkōrero 6 also adds;

It is a big part of their identity as a team... it's a big part of the team's culture.

The primary means through which nationhood is communicated is through the media. In most instances, these haka are televised, which contributes towards significant visibility (Murray, 2000). New Zealand sport media clearly magnifies sporting success. Therefore, haka has a key role to play in the distinct national identity portrayed in the media too. Pūkōrero 4 adds to this discussion by stating;

[Haka] is one of the few things that New Zealand Pākeha gobble up and accept is ours. I mean after all these years when people weren't allowed to say 'Kia Ora'. Isn't it amazing that every airline now says 'Kia Ora, welcome to New Zealand'.

He adds;

Haka is a clear, identifiable 'Māori thing' which New Zealand accepts. It has its own mana in that right.

This comment suggests that New Zealand has made significant progress towards acceptance of Māori cultural heritage in the public domain, namely relative to the tourism sector. According to Rewi (2010) "having a cultural base and a strong sense

of identity provides the Māori individual with mana” (p. 57). Haka and its presence on the rugby field before and after games has been a significant contributor to the maintenance of tino rangatiratanga and Māori identity. Similarly, haka in rugby has contributed to the acceptance of cultural rituals in sport, both nationally and internationally.

Rugby is arguably the country’s national sport, thus holding an important place in kiwi sporting culture. When the All Blacks play at international test matches, the game of rugby takes on national symbolic significance for many New Zealanders and provides a vehicle for enormous national pride and a sense of national identity (Collins & Waddington, 2007). According to Collins (2007) “sporting success is important to New Zealanders” (p. 212). Rugby continues to hold a prominent place in New Zealand society, due to the success of the All Blacks on the field. Also, with the expansion of the New Zealand rugby family of brands including the All Blacks, All Blacks Sevens, Māori All Blacks, Black Ferns and Black Ferns Sevens, the rugby brand is stronger now than ever before (DNA Design Communications Limited, n.d.). Pūkōrero 4 confirms this in his interview stating;

When foreigners hear the word haka, they straight away relate it to the All Blacks.

Pūkōrero 7 further emphasises this idea by saying;

The popularity of the haka probably comes down to the All Blacks being the most successful team in any sport, in any country around the world, in the history of sport. I don’t think the popularity would be as it is now without the All Blacks.

Pūkōrero 6 reiterates;

If it is something that makes people feel proud about where they’re from, then I don’t see that being a problem at all. It’s become a national icon rather than just a Māori icon of who we are as a society. I guess with a lot of things related to tikanga is that things have evolved.

These comments highlight that both sport and haka play a vital role in a shared national identity for both Māori and Pākehā. Jackson and Hokowhitu, (2002) reinforce this by stating, “it is rugby’s mythical and popularised role in defining New Zealand identity and in uniting Māori and Pākehā that helps explain the significance of the haka” (p. 127). Central to a consistent description of national unity is the need to acknowledge and reconcile the social division of the nation in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity (Falcous, 2007). In the above comments, Pūkōrero 4 refers to haka as “*one of the few things that Pākehā gobble up and accept is ours*”, while Pūkōrero 6 refers to haka as “*a national icon rather than a Māori icon*”. Both statements imply a level of social division whether it be historical or reflect the current situation. As mentioned earlier, colonisation impacted detrimentally on Māori life, leaving lingering effects. Thus, haka plays a dual role in healing the divide of our nation's dark past and maintaining a united national image globally.

5.6 Sport identity

Rugby has become such a global team sport that “the world now wholly embraces the Rugby World Cup and the colour and excitement it brings” (Davies, 2003, p. 7). This was reinforced with the recent expansion of the All Blacks brand (previously mentioned) and the inclusion of Rugby Sevens in the Olympic Games 2016. As is the case with the Olympic Games and other sport mega-events, people of all walks of life, who may not necessarily follow sport, unite to enjoy the spectacle and applaud their respective countries (Davies, 2003). For example, the Rugby World Cup 2011, hosted in New Zealand, was indeed a global spectacle which arguably had the potential to generate benefits for New Zealand now, and in the future (“Rugby: Lower than expected loss for World Cup”, 2012). Jackson (2013) published several key tournament facts and figures which were recorded immediately post Rugby World Cup 2011, as outlined in Table 2:

Table 2: Rugby World Cup 2011 - Tournament facts and figures

- 133,000 international fans visited from over 100 countries
- 1.35 million people attended 48 matches
- Biggest ticketed event ever in New Zealand - 11 times the 2005 British & Irish Lions Tour
- Venues were at 87 per cent capacity on average
- Global cumulative television audience of 3.9 billion
- Broadcast in 207 territories
- Screened live for the first time in the USA
- 98 per cent market share in New Zealand for RWC 2011 Final
- All-time record pay TV audience in Australia
- 73 per cent of the French population watched at least 15 minutes

Note: Reprinted [adapted] from S. J. Jackson. (2013). Rugby World Cup 2011: Sport Mega-events between the Global and the Local. *Sport in Society*, 16(7).

While Table 2 previews an indication, to some extent, that the tournament was indeed a 'success', it is worth delving a little deeper into some of the other impacts it had. It could be argued that the major sport mega-event also provided significant opportunities for Māori cultural and economic development. Haka featured everywhere. It was used in many domains, including welcoming each of the teams to Aotearoa; kapa haka during the opening ceremony and for special occasions; the All Blacks use of both Ka Mate and Kapa o Pango before test matches; the South African rugby team's visit to Opotaka – where it is believed Ka Mate was first composed; the haka Peepshow in the Octagon, Dunedin; flash-mob haka performed by fans across the nation and much more.

While at the outset, the incorporation of aspects of tikanga Māori created an illusion of national unity, it is essential to acknowledge that many critics were opposed to it becoming a national symbol of who we are as New Zealanders. Some critics said that the opening ceremony provided an over-representation of Māori culture, almost to the exclusion of any other aspect of New Zealand cultural identity; while others said that the opening ceremony was yet another stereotypical representation of indigenous

culture (Jackson, 2013). Questions surrounding the choice to hire Australian, David Atkins (DAE) to produce New Zealand's national identity, too, raised concerns around authenticity and true representation of New Zealand culture. This debate emphasises that when advertising executives and other Pākehā claim that Ka mate and other indigenous cultural traditions are part of the All Blacks history or culture, they are being incredibly selective as to when they identify with and embrace, Māori culture (Scherer & Jackson, 2010).

A brief overview of the Rugby World Cup 2011 opening ceremony, as a snapshot in time, will provide some context for the analysis in later sections. The media played a significant role in how Māori were represented to the global spectator during the opening ceremony. According to Jackson (2013) the ceremony "...offered the world a carefully choreographed, idealised version of New Zealand" (p. 3). The opening ceremony started with a segment titled 'the call' which featured Precious Clarke of Ngāti Whātua doing the karanga, followed by a series of digitally enhanced Māori stories of creation. These stories were then further emphasised through performances of haka representing an intent to awaken and call on the strengths of Rūaumoko. A story about a young boy's dream of being a famous rugby player featuring rugby legend – Jonah Lomu followed next before the spectacle concluded with a final haka pōwhiri and three tonnes worth of fireworks (Jackson, 2013).

Three of the participants interviewed made specific reference to the Rugby World Cup 2011 opening ceremony. Pūkōrero 10.3 attended the opening ceremony and spoke directly to the aesthetic appeal contributing to identity formation. She states;

It was done so well the whole thing... I was sitting there going 'man I'm glad I'm Māori', that's cool it represents me.

She adds;

What was awesome about the [opening ceremony] was that the effects make it. I'm not a Māori purest, but I looked at it in an aesthetically pleasing way, because of the technology too. If you took all of the effects away, would it be as appealing?

She also spoke positively about the organiser's decision to invite Te Mātārae i Ōrehu, the reigning champions of Te Matatini 2011, to perform haka during the ceremony proceedings and said;

They created authentication by using a group that won the haka nationals. So, Māori purists will go, yep, that's all good, they won the right to perform.

In contrast, Pūkōrero 9 was a member of Te Mātārae i Ōrehu and was responsible for composing and performing the haka titled 'Rūaumoko' at the ceremony. He mentioned;

We won the 2011 National competition, Matatini, and so once you win, you are privy to all the things that come up to represent New Zealand Māori for the next two years. In this case, the Rugby World Cup was one of those, so that's why we were chosen.

In his discussions with the Producer, he was asked;

We are going to do a haka, we are going to put a volcano under you guys, and we are going to make it disappear at the end of your performance. So, can you put a haka together for us?

He continues;

We ended up using Rūaumoko which was modified to suit the performance.

On another note, Pūkōrero 10.5 held the view that;

What was unique about this [the opening ceremony] was that New Zealand decided to showcase haka in a positive light to the world.

She added;

So 'we're globally hot and locally not', referring to New Zealand yet again, leveraging off Māoritanga for the benefit of global audiences... they leveraged off Māoritanga for the World Cup.

Notions of conflicting views of authenticity are implicit in each of the above Pūkōrero.

Authenticity brings with it evaluations of originality and truth (Bell, 2014). Pūkōrero 10.3

and 8 speak of using the National Kapa Haka winners, as a legitimate source of Māori knowledge, identity and symbolism. Similarly, both Pūkōrero also, talk about ways of appeasing the audience and fitting Māori culture into the context of the opening ceremony. For example; Pūkōrero 10.3 said, *“I looked at it in an aesthetically pleasing way”*, while Pūkōrero 8 said, *“We ended up using Rūaumoko which was modified to suit the performance”*. Not an uncommon occurrence, these examples highlight how leaders conformed to satisfy the brief and appeal to the global consumer instead of reproducing the original composition in its pure form and in the context, it was composed for.

In contrast, Pūkōrero 10.5 brings to light the tension that exists when we focus on using haka out of context to engage the global spectator. She said, *“So we’re globally hot and locally not”*. According to Bell (2014), authentic indigeneity is viewed as an original, accurate representation of indigenous peoples, in this case, Māori living in New Zealand. However, with discussions of authenticity comes paradoxical valuations, such as the one identified in Pūkōrero 10.5’s description, i.e. the paradox being Māori as *‘hot’* overseas and *‘not’* in New Zealand. The valuations of haka co-exist and are co-dependent in serving to reinforce and reject a distinct national identity unique to New Zealand.

Similarly, Falcous (2007) uses the term ‘boutique representations’ to describe symbols like haka which are prominent in the construction of a national identity foregrounded on tikanga Māori. He defines ‘boutique representations’ as, “longstanding colonialist discourses which mythically portray Māori as valued and respected within the nation” (Falcous, 2007, p. 383). Pūkōrero 10.3 and 8 encourage the idea that New Zealanders are unified in their identification and their support of rugby. While Pūkōrero 10.5 suggests that it is all a myth and highlighting only one view of the truth about Māori representation and identification in relation to sport.

5.6.1 Pre-game haka

If we switch now to focusing on pre-game haka as another site of contention, we can further explore the risks associated with sharing haka with the world. Pūkōrero 10.5 references the Rugby World Cup 2011 opening ceremony and contends that;

Māori will look at that [Opening Ceremony] and go, okay, so Māori in the Springbok tour, we couldn't play in the team, and yet they still use our haka.

She continues;

So, are we getting royalties back for this? Are we getting kudos back for this? What is the benefit to Māoridom...? Yes, it was a positive step, but there's a deeper story underneath that.

These views reinforce that using haka as an official symbol of New Zealand's identity is contentious because there is often no significant attempt to address permission, rights, recognition and royalties to acknowledge Māori. Instead, these issues are glossed over. Pūkōrero 5 further sheds light on discussions of authenticity saying;

The real context for haka is on the Marae or in a Māori ceremony - not a performance.

This perspective challenges the previously mentioned invitation made to Matatini 2011 winners Te Mātārae i Ōrehu, and their performance of haka at the Rugby World Cup 2011 opening ceremony. Pūkōrero 5 continues by saying;

Haka is NOT part of the rugby game; it is something we have added that has been taken out of context.

Given the participants have established that haka in a traditional context, does not symbolise any real connection or belonging within the landscape of sport, it raises questions around whether its continued use in sport is of any real benefit to Māori. This further reinforces the idea that the use of haka has evolved over time. Authentic indigeneity is now a thing of the past and modernity is the present and future (Bell, 2014). Pūkōrero 5 affirms that regarding authentic indigeneity, “*The real context for*

haka is on the Marae or in a Māori ceremony - not a performance”, reiterating that “*Haka is NOT part of the rugby game*”. These comments suggest that while haka has become a symbol of national sporting identity, not necessarily Māori identity, perhaps further consideration should be given to whether it truly belongs in the context of sport.

Regarding haka and the variety of performances it has rendered over the years, it is public knowledge that some are simply sick of it. Some feel it is overused, some lack a clear understanding around its use and its significance, and some feel as though it does not accurately represent New Zealand culture at all (McLeod, 2011), nor belongs within the realm of sport. Seven participants agreed that the haka belongs in a sport context and they emphasised that it would be unfortunate if it no longer existed in this space anymore. While two participants challenged the public view that ‘it belongs’. Pūkōrero 8 mentions;

The whole ceremonial kind of practice of participating in something cultural before a game is probably something that is non-Māori ... we sing our national anthems before sporting games - that could be enough. Because as a nation that is something, we can all connect to.

This aligns with Pūkōrero 5’s comments about the ‘real context’ of haka being the marae. He further adds;

The main thing is when we do things traditionally, we do it properly and we respect it in those contexts.

Pūkōrero 1 holds the view that;

I think it belongs. I would be lost if I didn’t do it before a game now. It’s a part of me now. It’s an expression of who we are not just of who we are as New Zealanders, but as Māori.

Similarly, Pūkōrero 6 has strong views on the significant mark haka has made on sport identity in New Zealand and around the world. He states;

The more people do it, the more people are interested in it and not just in a superficial sense (I hope), but people actually want to know what the words mean. If we use Ka Mate as an example, they want to know. Mainstream have done all right up till now. If you asked 15-20 years ago who wrote Ka Mate, where is it from, no-one would have had an idea. Whereas now, it is quite common, a lot of people would know that Te Rauparaha wrote it and know what it is about. People 10-15 years ago (I have spoken to a few people about this) take Buck Shelford for example - members of his team couldn't stand the haka, they wondered why they had to do it, and regarded it as a stupid dance, and you could tell by the way it was performed. Whereas now, it's a big part of their identity as a team. They have written their own haka now for the All Blacks. The Kiwis have written their own haka. It's not just amongst the players, but the administration of both codes understands that it's a big part of the team's culture.

Pūkōrero 6 makes an interesting point about the taken for granted acceptance and understanding of haka in sport nowadays. He mentions that 15-20 years ago people would not be able to tell you who wrote Ka Mate, let alone tell the story of Te Rauparaha's escape. While, Pūkōrero 1 implies that haka is so much a part of the sport landscape, that as a rugby player she would 'be lost' without it. Both comments suggest that the participants were in favour of the continued use of pre-game haka in sport settings. This indicates that haka has come a long way, since the first pre-match performance of Ka Mate by the New Zealand Native team in 1888-89 (Gardiner, 2007) and that it has solidified a permanent place on the rugby field. Internationally, haka in sport has elevated our national profile which has allowed us to make strong connections globally and this will be discussed in the next section.

5.7 International identity

Haka performances can create opportunities to connect and engage with others overseas, in a cultural exchange and culture-to-culture trade missions. In the eyes of the rest of the world, haka is one of the most distinctive features which instantly sets us apart from other countries, particularly on the rugby field (Palenski, 2007).

Pūkōrero 4 reinforces this view when he states;

Foreigners love it. You don't realise until you go to foreign places... how passionate people are seeing us perform haka.

Māori culture is often used as a way of representing the nation to the rest of the world, which foreigners are attracted to. Sports administrators and spectators would argue that the haka serves to unite and provide a sense of solidarity among the team, spectators and the nation (Palmer, 2007). However, others would argue that the haka, when showcased on an international stage, serves the primary purpose of engaging the global consumer (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). Pūkōrero 10.5 supports the use of haka as a distinct way to engage the global consumer. He says;

It shows how unique it is aye... we're the only people in the world you know that have this thing called haka, and it can move people in that way".

During international competitions, New Zealand sports teams, such as the All Blacks, are known for taking indigenous customs and traditions with them. The consistent use of selected symbols, rituals and other cultural practices, for example, korowai, the national anthem in te reo Māori, the koru (silver fern), the creation and subsequent use of marae (Māori cultural centres) and the haka, have each contributed to a unique and influential New Zealand identity within sport (Edwards, 2007). Pūkōrero 9 talks about New Zealanders (both Māori and non-Māori) wanting to do the haka when they are outside of Aotearoa as a unique way of saying "I'm a New Zealander and I'm proud".

He states;

I witnessed it a lot overseas, all of a sudden, they want to do the haka and be noticed as New Zealanders because it is unique.

Furthermore Pūkōrero 10.5 talks about a question she posed in a lecture which related to the above point. She said;

How many of you have gone overseas, gone to a pub and all of a sudden you know all the words to the haka'? All the hands went up, and there was one Māori in the room.

This emphasises the significance of haka as a distinguishing characteristic of individual identity as a New Zealander, when overseas, especially for non-Māori. Experiences in sport often influence the formation of these social identities associated with haka. (Edwards, 2007). Attitudes toward team participation, team affiliation, as well as intrinsic and extrinsic reinforcement of identity, all contribute to how we see ourselves and therefore portray ourselves as New Zealanders (Edwards, 2007). At the same time, it reinforces issues around safeguarding Māori cultural practices from misuse as previously mentioned; this will be discussed later in this chapter.

Many of the participant's responses regarding Māori identity centred on aspirations to share Māori culture with the world and excite the global consumer. Increased access allows for social and economic benefits to be explored, yet these expose several risks surrounding safeguarding cultural practices like haka. Pūkōrero 4 explains;

The more exposure our culture gets, the more New Zealand teams and others look to use them.

Pūkōrero 3 further supports that claim saying;

To the other side of the world, it is new and fashionable.

Like the comments made earlier, the above sentiments imply that New Zealanders take haka for granted. Outside of New Zealand haka is deemed 'fashionable' and Māori people are considered exotic (Smith, 1999), suggesting that international audiences are interested in what Māori have to offer.

Pūkōrero 1 talks about her experiences doing haka on an international stage. She speaks to the difference in lived experience between Māori and non-Māori in her team when it comes to haka. She says;

Often, I'm more nervous doing the haka, than the game itself. Only because you are representing so much, and because we are Māori – it's a big thing.

Pūkōrero 3 also adds;

There is a space for haka performances abroad - it gives Māori a sense of home.

Again, the participants varied in their views about using haka to promote an international identity through sport. However, all advocated for the place of haka abroad. Ngāpō Wehi had a strong view of Māori performers as cultural ambassadors for Māori people and for New Zealand. In his book he said:

I believed it was incumbent on us as tangata whenua to make the first move towards becoming bridge people, rather than waiting for others to make an initial move towards us (as cited in Haami, 2013, p. 167).

Haka quickly became a national Māori icon which Māori travellers associated closely with. For example, two participants spoke about their affiliation with Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club⁴⁶. Ngāti Rānana provides New Zealanders residing in the United Kingdom an environment to teach, learn and participate in Māori culture (Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club, n.d.). At the time of the interviews, Pūkōrero 4 had just recently finished performing throughout Europe with Ngāti Rānana before heading to Hong Kong to run a similar kaupapa. Essentially, this formed a 'bridge' between home overseas and home in New Zealand. It also provided opportunities for economic return. These comments demonstrate the tension that exists between the use of haka on a local versus global stage and the way in which New Zealand uses haka in sport as a 'bridge' to connect with global spectators and consumers. This will be discussed in later sections with references to appropriation.

5.8 Female identities

Sport can serve to underline or contest identity in relation to gender within a culture. 'Uhia mai' which is the haka that begins this chapter, highlights one-way women are empowered and honoured for what they offer the sport landscape.

⁴⁶ Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club was first established in 1958 as a group promoting Māori uniqueness.

However, the role of women in haka in the sporting realm is seen as subordinate to the men. For example, common sporting attributes in New Zealand are often identified with hegemonic masculine values and characteristics such as toughness, roughness, strength and speed (Palmer, 2007). As such these attributes are seen to portray men in a more favourable light than women (Edwards, 2007). According to Palmer (2016), “the voices and experiences of Māori women tend to be eclipsed when differences in power and privilege between men and women” (p. 2173).

Furthermore, Fougere (1989) reinforces this idea sharing his perspective from the 80s:

From its beginning, rugby has been a game for men and boys, premised on high levels of participation. Perhaps because of the fierceness of the physical conflict involved, women have almost been entirely excluded. Women’s softball, basketball or hockey teams are taken seriously, while women’s rugby teams remain a sports-page joke (p. 113).

In contrast to this view, women have always been very much a part of the haka, and in some cases played lead roles, within Māori contexts (Gardiner, 2007). According to Karetu (1993) and as explained by Pūkōrero 5 earlier, during haka pōwhiri, it is not until the women have finished the karanga when the men emerge to conclude the ritual with haka taparahi. For example, the New Zealand Army – Ngāti Tūmatauenga, in acknowledgement of the prestige and place of wāhine toa, give women the roles of beginning and ending the haka (Gardiner, 2007).

While the haka is commonly understood to be a male-dominated ritual, the role of women in haka and sport is worth consideration. The following sections will explore haka in the context of New Zealand women's rugby, using the Black Ferns⁴⁷ as a case study example. I aim to examine the Black Ferns journey with haka up until their first performance of ‘Uhia Mai’.

⁴⁷ Otherwise known as Ngā Mamaku.

The first haka performed by the Black Ferns was Ka Mate, which occurred in 1991, before their opening game against Canada in Cardiff. According to Palmer (2016), “this demonstration of defiance, cultural pride and identity... was met with some disapproval once the team and the haka images made it back to home soil” (p. 2177). The Black Ferns were encouraged to consider what was culturally and socially appropriate with regards to rugby as a hyper-masculine institution. In 1994, captain Lenadeen Simpson-Brown (of Ngāti Porou descent) obtained permission from her elders to use part of the women’s haka, ‘Ka Panapana’, and they proceeded in performing it at the 1998 World Cup (Palmer, 2016). Performances of Ka Panapana were deemed culturally appropriate especially considering the leader was of Ngāti Porou descent, which aligns with previous discussions of authenticity. However, the teams continued use of Ka Panapana soon came under scrutiny as the new leader was not of Ngāti Porou descent (Palmer, 2016). In this regard, the Black Ferns responded with a newly developed haka titled ‘Uhia mai’ which translates to mean ‘Let it be known’ composed by Whetu Tipiwai in 2006 (Palmer, 2016). This journey provides background to several reasons why the women’s role in haka, in sport contexts, is unclear. Participants had varying views on the role of women in haka in general terms. Pūkōrero 5 contends;

Women have always been at the forefront of haka and have always had a role.

While Pūkōrero 9 suggests that while men and women participate;

The women's role in haka has not been clearly defined.

Pūkōrero 10.5 claims;

There’s been an evolution of women in haka, and it's great to have people come in and reassure our girls, our wāhine that it [haka] is okay.

Pūkōrero 4 states;

There are whakaaro out there about haka not being feminine enough. There is a perception that the world doesn't want to see our beautiful women looking aggressive and savage.

Palmer (2016) reaffirms this marginalised view of women in sport, describing the debate around the Black Ferns use of Ka Mate in 1991:

The image of Debbie Chase performing Ka Mate with a wide leg stance was considered by some elders and cultural experts in Aotearoa New Zealand to be an inappropriate stance for women to perform. This debate was centred around negotiating the presentation of women's bodies in a way that was considered culturally authentic on the one foot and socially appropriate in a predominantly non-Māori context where masculinity and aggression are valued and revered on the other foot (p. 2177).

Additionally, Pūkōrero 2 speaks about her experiences leading the haka 'Uhia mai' and refers to the fact that it was purposefully composed for women;

It talks about strong Māori women/atua like Hine-titama.

These comments support the differing opinions among Māori, which no doubt contributes to mixed understandings of a women's role in haka among the public. Gardiner (2007) claims colonisation and Christianity are responsible for the diminishing role of women in haka, preferencing a hyper-masculine system which surrounds the game of rugby. While the above example (Palmer, 2016) illustrates hegemony⁴⁸ at work. This cultural theme is further explored by Cameron and Kerr (2007) who define hegemony as "a rule by consensus, rather than coercion or force, whereby the subordinate class or group gives the dominant group authority to rule" (p. 366). In this case, women are seen to be inferior due to challenging perspectives surrounding the uncertainty of their role. This was reflected in the quotes, "*The women's role in haka has not been clearly defined*", "*haka not being feminine enough*" and "*people come in and reassure our girls, our wāhine that it is okay*". The long-standing dominance of male, Eurocentric values and institutions, overpowers women in the contemporary sporting realm. However, this idea is refuted by Pūkōrero 6 who says;

Yes, [haka] is male-dominated, but women invented the haka.

⁴⁸ Hegemony is a concept derived from the work of Antonio Gramsci.

He continues;

I guess because of its nature its quite combative; it's very in your face, it's loud, it's abrupt... but in terms of the origins of haka it belongs to women just as it belongs to men.

The relationship between women and haka is witnessed during the childbirth process and provides an alternative way of viewing a women's role with haka, outside of the context of sport. Pūkōrero 8 speaks about the origins of haka from birth;

I hear my wife have haka every time she gives birth to a baby... that's the purest form of haka... and what is it there to do, it is there to give birth to our babies so right there - that is her instant right... instant birthright to be able to participate in haka.

Pūkōrero 9 also speaks about the birthing process and when we hear our women haka;

This is the natural thing, we all know this part aye. The first haka is the pain, is the screaming and that is why the women are given that right as the first voice to welcome people on to our marae.

Pūkōrero 9 makes a critical reference here between a women's role in haka and a women's role in karanga during Māori rituals and ceremonies. These comments emphasise that a women's role in haka is not subordinate, but rather in balance with the natural order to the world and complimentary of the male counterpart, thus reflecting a Māori worldview previously mentioned. In the context of rugby within a non-Māori worldview, Palmer (2016) explains “the existence of women's rugby, however, remains fragile and dependent on the often-paternalistic relationship with the hyper-masculine institution of rugby” (p. 2181). This is reflected in the Black Ferns experience exploring with various haka and using them on the field. A Kaupapa Māori perspective may be useful for addressing unique forms of inequality such as those mentioned here.

Sport is often constructed as the great equaliser (Hogan, 2003). In the sporting arena, this is described as, competitors being judged solely on performance as opposed to traits such as ethnicity, gender and class. However, in conflict with the above view, neo- and post-Marxian critics have suggested that rather than breaking

down social inequalities, sport in general, serves to reinforce these inequalities (Hogan, 2003). The participant's comments bring to the fore the need for increased understanding of the place and appropriateness of women performing haka. Subsequently, there is little doubt that both men and women are essential and complementary ingredients for successful haka; however, evidence suggests that because of hegemony, this has not been well translated into the sporting arena (Cameron & Kerr, 2007). Sport managers, executives, administrators, coaches and facilitators are now faced with challenges of changing these patterns of inequality and disadvantage, to include minority groups such as women, just as they were in traditional times.

5.9 Stigmatisation

Arguably, stereotypes are an important issue with respect to Māori culture and performances of haka (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). According to Jackson and McKenzie (2000) beyond the physical and often violent nature of the game of rugby, are the more symbolic displays of violence through the performance of pre-match haka. Therefore, the pre-colonial stereotype that Māori men are more violent, aggressive and physical, thus logically stemming from a savage culture can be detrimental when considering the place of haka in sport. Hokowhitu (2007) refers to this view as the prevalence of the myth of a certain 'warrior gene'. This 'warrior gene' is defined as, "a gene linked to Māori being more aggressive and violent and more likely to engage in risk-taking behaviour" (Lea as cited in Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 88). Members of the public have also challenged the haka for its role in contributing to the violent nature of sport particularly in New Zealand high schools. This poses several challenges for sport managers, educators, and administrators, not to mention Māori. They are forced to assess whether the haka with its shouting, thigh slapping, chest thumping, muscle-flexing, foot-stamping and intimidating physical posture, presents a

picture of a propensity to mistreat, harm, or violently abuse people (Cameron & Kerr, 2007). Pūkōrero 7 attributes the process of stigmatisation to the likes of Elsdon Best and other non-Māori writers who documented the wars and contributed to the perceived idea of the Māori male. He states;

They took haka and the weapons and stuck them up front, so the Western view of Māori was as warriors who killed people.

He adds;

When the Māori battalion came along, and they performed haka before they went into war, we further proved that that view was correct.

These comments support the view of the 'Warrior gene' which have been reinforced over time and contributed to the stigma associated with Māori identity today. According to Hokowhitu (2007):

...icons of Māori masculinity have perpetuated the physical/violent myth or stereotype - such as the Māori Battalion, the Māori sportsman, the Māori labourer, and the Māori paraphernalia surrounding sports teams, such as haka (p. 17).

The view as outlined by Pūkōrero 7 adds to the notion that haka in sport creates an ideal melting pot, further reinforcing ideas of Māori men as violent, aggressive warriors who logically stem from a savage, barbaric and war-like culture (Hokowhitu, 2007).

These views were again brought to the fore with the introduction of the controversial haka – 'Kapa o Pango'. On Saturday 27th August 2005, a new haka, Kapa o Pango, composed by Derek Lardelli, was released to the nation and public (Cornaga, 2006). The New Zealand Rugby Union and All Blacks management announced that they intended to expand the 'All Blacks tradition of haka' and contribute to the team's heritage (Gardiner, 2007). The inspiration for the haka stemmed from Derek's tribal affiliations with Ngāti Porou, and the All Blacks squad at the time. Kapa o Pango talks specifically about symbols such as the silver fern, the All Blacks jersey and the powers bestowed with it. Gardiner (2007) suggests that the "haka itself is relatively

straightforward; the words used are not difficult to articulate, and the ideas behind them are simple but powerful” (p. 110).

Despite good intentions from the New Zealand Rugby Union and All Blacks management, the launch of the new haka caused immediate controversy. The throat-cutting gesture at the end of the haka was at the heart of the debate (Scherer & Jackson, 2010). While Lardelli insisted that it was symbolic of the intensity of first-class rugby at the ‘cutting edge of sport’ (Gardiner, 2007), critics called it too intense and threatening (Cornaga, 2006). The New Zealand Rugby Union expressed their concerns early after the introduction of Kapa o Pango, however, a review of widespread public opinion identified support for the new haka, urging a need for greater public understanding of haka in general (Cornaga, 2006). Its introduction also raised questions as to whether performances of the haka should be restricted to an environment where its origins have traditional meaning and are being understood (Cameron & Kerr, 2007).

Observers unfamiliar with haka view the ritual as “grotesque, savage and indecent” (Karetu, 1993, p. 29); however, another view is that such stereotypes are in the eye of the beholder, and perhaps lack some cultural understanding. The use of pūkana and whētero as mentioned in Chapter 3 are but two characteristics performed in haka that are largely misunderstood.

Furthermore, Jackson and Hokowhitu’s (2002) study alludes to stereotypes of Māori used in a transnational marketing campaign which highlights the exploitation of indigenous cultures. The marketing campaign in question showcased images of Māori warriors running in full traditional attire with tā moko (Māori facial tattoo) and taiaha. Of focus in the campaign was the pre-match haka performance of Ka Mate. Ultimately, Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) concluded that stereotypes of Māori were used to reinforce labelled views of New Zealand’s indigenous people as violent, exotic

savages, in effect, exploiting indigenous cultures. These statements further reiterate the implications concerning the global image of Māori.

Another misunderstanding that surfaced during the interview process was the view that Ka Mate performed by the All Blacks is the only haka. Pūkōrero 7 mentions;

It has been a stigma over time that the haka we see the All Blacks so was seen as the ONLY form of haka.

This comment suggests that there are gaps in understanding when it comes to knowledge about haka, while also reiterating the significant influence the All Blacks have here and overseas. While haka will continue to be performed by many to welcome guests, endorse remarks, or to give vent to strong feelings (Karetu, 1993), it is argued that the global representation of the unique characteristics of Māori culture will be remembered for all the wrong reasons. The lack of understanding which surrounds haka outside of the context of sport contributes significantly to the misuse of haka as a cultural practice. In addition, the tokenistic use of haka is often well-intentioned, however still detrimental to accurate representations of Māori culture and Māori identity.

5.10 Tokenism

Tokenism involves using, taking or applying a practice in a way that serves/benefits an interest that is not reflective of its real purpose (Stevenson, 2015).

Kim Ho (2017) provides an alternative definition:

Tokenism is a form of covert racism. Racism requires those in power to maintain their privilege by exercising social, economic and/or political muscle against people of colour (POC). Tokenism achieves the same while giving those in power the appearance of being non-racist and even champions of diversity because they recruit and use POC as racialized props.

While many acknowledge Māori as the creators of haka, examples of haka performances in sport, are very rarely located in its full cultural context. For instance, Pūkōrero 10.1 refers to a level of tokenism in his interview saying;

I'm just thinking about that group in the NFL or American Football League who decides to do a haka just because their jersey was black, like the All Blacks.

As previously discussed, another example of tokenism relates to haka performances on the rugby field which create a view of our All Blacks team as unified and therefore implying that our nation is united (Falcous, 2007). This view portrays Māori and Māori culture as valued, therefore contributing to a positive, unified identity. However, according to newly appointed New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Adern, Māori are still over-represented as an ethnic group in child poverty, incarceration rates, homeownership rates, negative health statistics and material hardship (Walters, 2018). Māori are still fighting for sovereignty, for tino rangatiratanga in New Zealand, yet Pākehā continue to hold power as the dominant group in society. This notion was further reinforced by Pūkōrero 4 saying;

People in power pick and choose when Māori is featured for us nationally and internationally.

Again, people in positions of power are brought to the fore. These comments refer to non-Māori who have the privilege of choosing to engage with Māori or choosing to use Māori culture to represent New Zealand when it benefits them. Tokenism in this vain looks like, maintaining a culture that promotes non-Māori as people in power and as champions for incorporating aspects of Māori culture in their sports events. In this regard, haka is used as the mouthpiece to shield any view that White dominance exists in New Zealand (Kim Ho, 2017). This further reinforces sentiments made in the definition provided earlier, that tokenism as a form of covert racism (Kim Ho, 2017).

In contrast, Pūkōrero 1 and 2 explain the preparation that goes into performances of the Black Ferns haka. They refer to the added pressure on them as

Māori to teach and run practices to ensure the whole team know what they are doing before taking the field. Pūkōrero 2 says;

With the Black Ferns there are lots of Pākehā in our team, and I get a little frustrated because they don't pronounce the words properly or do the actions properly. Sometimes we go the extra mile with practice to make sure that they are doing it right and sometimes it's a cultural clash - they just don't know.

As previously mentioned, Karetu (1993) expressed great concern about the emerging focus of haka on the actions, movements and choreography. He asserts that correct pronunciation, an appreciation of what is being said and the whakapapa of the composition should take precedence. He claims that it has a direct impact on the mana of the individual, the group, the whānau and various tribal structures (Karetu, 1993).

While Pūkōrero 1 says;

It is up to the team to run extra practice to make sure everyone is up to speed; it's hard though because we [Māori] are left to teach, tutor and run extra haka practices while on tour or in camp.

She further adds;

Usually, we only meet a week before we leave too, so it's hard for us to find the time. There are always new caps as well who need teaching, but I guess that is how the haka is passed down - by the players.

These women highlight the additional pressure put on Māori to teach haka to non-Māori in the team. As a result, this renders both positive and negative associations with identity. For example, added pressure can both feel like a burden or feel empowering. Depending on the outcome of this situation, cultural taxation can also hinder the development of a positive team environment. Cultural taxation refers to the burden placed on the ethnic minority group to carry out tasks that only a select few can do (Stevenson, 2015). Padilla (1994) defines cultural taxation as;

The obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may bring accolades to the institution, but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed (as cited in Torepe, 2011 p. 25).

According to Torepe (2011), “the notion of ‘a sense of duty’ somewhat akin to be an ‘ambassador-at-large’” (p. 24), reflects an additional expectation placed on Māori in various settings including sport, at school and in the workplace. While Māori feel a sense of obligation as kaitiaki of Māori knowledge, this needs to be a consideration for coaches, managers and administrators of national sports organisations.

The above comments also emphasise the cultural disconnect between Māori in the team and non-Māori learning haka. While haka in sport serves as a gateway for non-Māori to experience Māori culture, it is essential that both Māori and non-Māori be supported well to do so (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014). These tensions highlight a growing disconnect between traditional teachings (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014) and nurturing a cultural taonga like haka, for pre-match performances on the rugby field. Haka in sport allows for non-Māori to expand their understanding of a Māori worldview, Māori culture and Māori identity. The challenge becomes, how much to share before it is reproduced in a way that does not recognise any Māori whakapapa.

Another source of conflict and tension concerning haka, as previously mentioned, is that unfortunately few people, including New Zealanders, understand what is being said (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). Karetu (1993) asserts that those who enjoy the performance of haka, often react to the excitement that good performers engender in their audiences, rather than the message or story behind it. Many sports teams and individuals recite Ka Mate, as an indication of their place of origin (Karetu, 1993). However, Karetu (1993) speculates that “in a number of cases, if not the majority, the words are bowdlerised, mispronounced and it is obvious that no cognisance is taken of the lyric and what it might be trying to say” (p. 68). This comment raises questions surrounding a lack of clarity around the purpose of haka as an identifier in the context of sport. Pūkōrero 9 provides one explanation for the

misunderstanding of the purpose, and attributes it to the timing of when the haka was introduced on the sport scene;

The All Blacks did the haka at a time when they were fresh out of the war.

Traditionally, warriors performed certain haka in preparation for 'war' and 'battle' such as haka peruperu, tūtū ngārahu and whakarewarewa as previously mentioned. These haka served the purpose of testing the warrior's psychological readiness and their physical prowess (Matthews & Paringatai, 2004). In contrast, with Ka Mate, when it was originally composed, it was intended as a haka taparahi (Armstrong, 2005). This type of haka style is not conducive with the notion of 'war' and 'battle' but rather as a ceremonial haka for marae-based rituals (Karetu, 1993). Pūkōrero 10.2 adds to this debate with his view on the topic saying;

How it's represented nowadays, is probably different to what it was back in the days. I think most of the haka that you see nowadays, I'd probably deem as haka taparahi, whereas, you know, it sort of waters down the essence of all the different types of haka that there are, like the peruperu haka and tūtū ngārahu. So, I suppose that's how it has evolved now, and it's just around representing it in a way that retains the mana.

A noticeable characteristic that has been introduced to Ka Mate, by non-Māori, which is not a feature of haka taparahi, is jumping at the end. This "watering down" of haka is further reinforced by Karetu (1993) who expresses his concern about this popularised version of Ka Mate stating that it has "become the most performed, the most maligned, the most abused of all haka... and it is these irritating perpetrations that lead to a lot of discord" (p. 68). The above examples indicate but a few ways the haka has been misunderstood which has impacted on how Māori culture is represented and therefore how Māori are identified.

Over time, the haka has become a showpiece of our multi-cultural existence, but it is now far removed from its original setting and purpose. Arguably, haka performances on the national and international stage are consistent with a good

standard today regarding stance, rhythm and actions. However, it is also hoped that te reo Māori and especially the whakapapa as crucial components to haka are valued today and in the future. This was highlighted as a common theme throughout the interview process. It was noted that the public lacked in their general understanding of haka, which contributed to misuse and misappropriation and will be discussed further in the sections that follow.

5.11 Appropriation

Appropriation can be defined as the act of taking something, usually without permission and using it as one's own (Stevenson, 2015). There is a continuum of appropriation which is measured by the degree to which you claim to own something while referencing where it came from. The haka as a cultural expression, an art form and a unique symbol of New Zealand identity, has been subject to appropriation in a variety of contexts, significantly impacting on Māori identity. According to Dunn, (n.d.) Māori art and culture like many other indigenous cultures around the world is argued to be “fair game for misappropriation in the touristic trading of Māori apparel, forming attempts to ‘sell New Zealand’” (p. 5). As such, appropriation surfaced numerous times throughout the interview process as attacks on identity for Māori.

The haka is often used in non-traditional and non-typical situations which are examples of appropriation and in some cases, culturally insensitive use of haka, associated with commercially driven outcomes. A few examples include the Italian television commercial titled ‘Car Mate’ using haka to advertise the latest Fiat cars⁴⁹ in 2006, the Baking Industry of New Zealand’s construction of an animated video featuring gingerbread men performing haka to promote the ‘New Zealand Bakery of

⁴⁹ NZPA, ‘Italians Drive Ahead with Car Mate Haka’, The New Zealand Herald, 4 July, 2006, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10389619

the Year competition⁵⁰ in 2009 and the continued use of the haka in Blockbuster movies such as Moana⁵¹, Fast and the Furious 8⁵² and Forever Strong⁵³ to name a few.

Further to definitions of appropriation, cultural appropriation is defined as the unacknowledged or inappropriate adoption of the customs, practices and ideas of a minority group of people, by another dominant group of society (Stevenson, 2015). One source of conflict and tension in relation to cultural appropriation of haka surrounds the fact that unfortunately few people, including New Zealanders, understand what is being said, as mentioned previously (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). Those who enjoy performances of haka, often react to the excitement that good performers engender in their audiences, rather than the message or story behind it (Karetu, 1993). This view was reflected throughout the interview process whereby no participant blatantly stated their disapproval of others using haka. Instead, they indicated that a lack of understanding of haka contributed to their dislike of the way that it was being used and how that reflected on them as Māori.

Participants throughout the interview process referenced many of the examples listed above. A variety of themes surfaced such as exploitation, bastardisation, cultural disregard, representation and these will be discussed in relation to both benefits and risks. Pūkōrero 8 feels very passionate about this topic and states;

It's an abuse of that particular aspect of culture.

⁵⁰ Fairfax News NZ, 'Gingerbread Haka Causes Upset', Stuff.co.nz, 31 January, 2009, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/14479/Gingerbread-haka-causes-upset>

⁵¹ Fairfax News NZ, 'Haka-inspired Moana song 'Warrior Face' released' Stuff.co.nz., 15 February, 2017, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/film/89428871/hakainspired-moana-song-warrior-face-released>

⁵² MaiFm, 'The Rock brings haka to Hollywood', MediaWorks Radio, 14 April, 2017, <https://www.maifm.co.nz/home/hip-hop-hollywood/2017/04/the-rock-brings-the-haka-to-hollywood.html>

⁵³ Fairfax New NZ, 'Hollywood hijacks haka', Stuff.co.nz, 31 January, 2009, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/701595/Hollywood-hijacks-haka>

He refers to it as;

It's bastardisation.

He further adds;

They disregard and implicate any other responsibility they have for any other aspect of our culture i.e. te reo Māori and they see the haka, especially when we are outside of New Zealand; Non-Māori feel like they can use that as a way to identify themselves.

Pūkōrero 8 implies that non-Māori attempts to use Māori culture is tokenistic, referring to non-Māori who choose to “*disregard and implicate any other responsibility*”. Using haka in this way highlights that it only serves to benefit non-Māori and fails to address “*any other aspect of our culture, i.e. te reo Māori*”. The apparent tension here relates to the relationship between the two fundamentally distinct cultures in New Zealand, i.e. indigenous Māori culture and New Zealand national culture which is based primarily on the language and customs of the British settlers (Eketone & Walker, 2015). The relationship as described in the above example highlights a one-way relationship rather than a mutually beneficial one. Non-Māori use Māori culture to distinguish who they are as New Zealanders at the expense of any consideration of how to authentically incorporate the broader cultural practices that surround the haka. Pūkōrero 10.7 challenges this view and refers to ‘intent’, saying that;

Sometimes the execution is not always on pointe, but the intention is there. People do it as a means of representation, as a sense of identity. Sometimes I feel like that if the intent is good, then you let some other stuff slide.

The risk in ‘letting things slide’ is the precedent which is being set for future use of haka in sport, and when appropriated this could do much to contribute to global misunderstandings of haka. An example of a time when the All Blacks haka precedent was challenged internationally, was at the All Blacks versus Welsh test match in 2006. There was a dispute between the All Blacks and the Welsh Rugby Union who insisted the All Blacks perform the haka before the national anthem because they believed that

the team had an unfair advantage ahead of the second test in Cardiff. The All Blacks refused and performed the haka in the changing rooms instead. Pūkōrero 5 shares his view on this event stating that;

Risks of offending people exist. For example, All Blacks the silly buggers shouldn't have done the haka in the dressing room.

He adds;

If another team wants to kick the ball around under the goal and ignore the haka, they should be allowed to.

Over time, the haka has become a showpiece of our multi-cultural existence, but as previously mentioned it is far removed from its original setting and purpose. Former All Black, Wayne 'Buck Shelford's' influence mentioned earlier (Gardiner, 2007), contributed to a better understanding of haka. Furthermore, Karetu (1993) asserts, if it is to survive as more than a dance where performers are oblivious to what or why they are saying words, then the crucial role of te reo Māori (Māori language) must be emphasised.

Arguably, because haka is so much a part of rugby culture, it is not surprising that rugby teams, NFL teams and schools who play football or rugby are attracted to performing pre-match haka. American football teams, rugby teams and multiple movies involving field-based sports, have all benefited from using haka as an identity marker for their team, which in turn adds to the sport spectacle. Pūkōrero 10.6 refers to haka in a movie and says;

There was a movie that came out a few years ago... [Forever Strong⁵⁴] and it was looking at what rugby culture is all about.

⁵⁴ Forever Strong is a sports film directed by Ryan Little and written by David Pliier and released on September 26, 2008. The film is about a troubled rugby union player who must play against the team his father coaches at the national championships. *Forever Strong* is based on a compilation of individual true stories.

She adds;

The haka has been adopted internationally as being part of rugby culture. Not part of Māori culture, but part of rugby culture. And so, you're now getting people doing haka all around the world because they see it as part of rugby culture.

In addressing a lack of understanding, Pūkōrero 6 and 9 also remind us that when you consider cultural appropriation, part of the issue is that many don't understand that there are many occasions we use haka, not just on the rugby field. Such examples include haka pōwhiri, kapa haka, in celebration, in mourning the death of a loved one, and deformation - usually a political criticism, to name a few. Another part of the issue is that haka is connected to Māori whakapapa and when performances are not conducted by Māori, nor informed by Māori they fall victim to misappropriation. Misappropriation in this sense renders discussions which centre on a lack of understanding, appropriate representation, adequate training, pronunciation and cultural displays of mana and ihi.

Pūkōrero 1 and 2 discuss their trip to India, as players in the New Zealand Kabaddi team, where they performed haka before international matches. They provided an example when they were forced to manage and moderate their engagement with non-Māori who asked them to haka on several occasions. Pūkōrero 2 explains;

When we were overseas playing Kabaddi, we were asked to haka here, there and everywhere.

Pūkōrero 1 adds;

Even our coach wanted us to do it every now and then and we had to say no.

She adds;

No because we do it at certain times, for certain occasions.

Pūkōrero 2 interjects and says;

We can't blame everyone for not knowing though.

She added;

We found it useful to relate it to their own cultural context. For example, we would ask them well if we asked you to pray right now, would you pray? We tried to relate it to their culture to increase understanding and respect. We had to explain it, but we also were respectful to their culture. We wore headpieces Sikhs and traditional attire when required etc.

Evident in these comments is a lack of awareness of the place of Māori cultural rituals, which contributes to misunderstandings of when it is and is not appropriate to haka. The above example also highlights that Māori are increasingly being exposed to situations where they are required to make decisions about navigating the space between appropriate versus inappropriate. In this example, these Māori females chose to respond by relating their cultural practices to local cultural understandings, highlighting a comparison between what is and is not appropriate. While both countries in this instance are rich in culture, the overall principle is applicable elsewhere. Essentially, it is critical for us to reflect on how we perceive the cultures that we are representing, as well as consuming. Dominant cultures are encouraged to become educated about the cultures they are 'borrowing' from, to understand how to treat them with respect. Also, there is a need to consider the effect of the actions of dominant cultures, whether positive or negative, on identity formation. This calls for more work to be done in developing an awareness of the place of haka in sport by New Zealand sports organisations up and down the country.

Three participants were of the view that any publicity is good publicity, encouraging us to share haka far and wide. For example, Pūkōrero 1 challenged a negative view of cultural appropriation by stating;

When others try and copy you, you take it as a compliment.

Pūkōrero 3 suggests that it is a good idea that others use haka in a variety of contexts.

He explains;

Our tupuna [Te Rauparaha] is being acknowledged all around the world, and in that respect, the world is his!

Pūkōrero 7 shares this view and asserts;

Isn't it powerful that teams have to pray to our Gods to win a game?

While Pūkōrero 6 encourages us to consider balance. He says;

We must critique the balance between exploiting indigenous cultures and promoting Māori culture.

These alternative views on cultural appropriation highlight that the participants were less concerned with the continued use of haka in a variety of settings and instead encouraged further exposure. Māori, in general, held no objection to haka being performed in sporting contexts. Instead, most participants expressed their concerns around monetary benefit in favour of non-Māori, which will be discussed as commodification in the following section. There was a consensus, like comments made in the *Ngā Hua a Tāne-Rore* report (2014) that the economic potential of haka is underestimated and undervalued from a Māori point of view. Whereas, from a non-Māori perspective haka generates a sizeable financial return, especially in sporting contexts. This was reaffirmed by one participant in the report saying:

It's either All Blacks or it's haka, or kapa haka, and that's the brand of New Zealand and the value of that brand is huge. Whether we capitalize on it or wish to capitalize on it is another question (as cited in Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014, p. 52).

These sentiments encourage further conversations around the value of haka in sport for Māori, which will be discussed more in the next section. Furthermore, it will be important to explore various ways to embrace indigenous cultures without resorting to cultural appropriation. The goal in this regard is to minimise any attack on identity for Māori.

5.12 Commodification and identity politics

Commodification is defined as the process of treating something as a commodity or an object of trade (Stevenson, 2018). It is undeniable that culture has become a commodity and that there are certain things about cultural products and services that set them apart from the rest. According to Torgovnick (1990) “what is clear now is that the West’s fascination with the primitive has to do with its own crises in identity” (p. 157). For some time now, haka-related imagery and sounds have been used in advertisement campaigns and by large corporations for commercial gain. Some examples include AMP Insurance, AIG Insurance, McDonald’s, Lion Nathan Breweries, Steinlager, Lotto, Ford Motor Company, Coca-Cola, Rexona deodorant and Adidas (Scherer & Jackson, 2010).

One key example of commodification as outlined by Scherer and Jackson (2013), is the 1999 Adidas commercial for the All Blacks produced by Saatchi and Saatchi, Wellington. The commercial entitled ‘Black’, centred on the haka Ka Mate and articulated the Adidas brand intertwined with indigenous cultural imagery (Scherer & Jackson, 2013). The advertisement designed for a global audience aired in over 70 countries worldwide and over 500 cinemas in the United Kingdom (Scherer & Jackson, 2013). The use of haka in the Adidas advertising campaign worth \$1.5 Million drew major concerns from Māori. As a result, Adidas, Saatchi and Saatchi and the NZRU were criticised for their misappropriation and commodification of Māori culture with an array of intellectual property issues about debates over who owns the haka (Scherer & Jackson, 2010; 2013). From an identity standpoint, Scherer and Jackson (2013), provide an analysis of the identity politics at play using the above example. They divide the analysis into four sections, 1) producing ‘Black’, 2) representing ‘Black’, 3) reading ‘Black’, and 4) consuming ‘Black’ to address the various identities at play. For example, some of the identity markers include the hyper-masculine identity, colonial stereotypes

such as warrior, primal, scary and 'Other', All Blacks identity, indigenous and Māori identity, bicultural identity and Adidas identity. It could be argued that the producers went to great lengths to produce 'authentic' and 'real' representations of Māori and Māori culture, however, the reality is that Māori gained little from this endeavour (Scherer & Jackson, 2013). Haka used as cultural branding in this way is generally regarded as cultural appropriation.

This example also brings to light issues surrounding the politics of identity relative to copyright and intellectual property rights. Ngāti Toa Rangatira, believing they deserved a large slice of the money and recognition, for this campaign and other uses of Ka Mate, attempted to register claims with the Intellectual Property Office of New Zealand (IPONZ). The application spent several years in front of IPONZ, before it was rejected from a legal standpoint related to two central issues – trademark and copyright. Trademark was immediately disregarded and so too was copyright on the basis that there is no written contract to verify ownership of Ka Mate, in turn, making it part of the public domain. However, victory was afforded to Ngāti Toa Rangatira in 2009, with the large Treaty deal which recognised the cultural significance of Ka Mate for Ngāti Toa. It also acknowledged authorship which was attributed to Te Rauparaha (Scherer & Jackson, 2013). Other significant events, as previously mentioned, include Ngāti Toa signing a deed agreement with the NZRU about copyright and control over the use of Ka Mate in 2011 and the passing of the Haka Ka Mate Attribution Act 2014 (Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Incorporated, 2014). While minimal financial recognition has been noted, measures are being put in place to maintain mana and kaitiakitanga roles, which are paramount to Māori and Māori identity.

Two other examples of commodification that also address the politics of identity include the release of Nicki Minaj's music video⁵⁵ entitled Starships [Explicit] in 2012, where the camera cuts from a bikini wearing Minaj to four males performing Ka Mate (Dunn, n.d). Similarly, in 2017, Uruguay 'Haka' energy drink⁵⁶ distributors of the 'Haka Matara' energy drink caused an uproar over the use of the word 'haka' and branding their drinks with Māori moko designs. Issues such as exploitation, misappropriation and bastardisation also surfaced in the examples mentioned earlier. These examples continue to make news headlines and highlight a need to consider how globalisation, is in fact, affecting Māori identity. The participants were familiar with many of the examples of appropriation and seemed unphased by it all. For example, Pūkōrero 5 states;

I don't see it as an insult... I think it's fun. We take ourselves too seriously sometimes.

This comment aligns with previous ideas that any publicity is good publicity. While Pūkōrero 10.6 flips the attention to Māori in her view of commodification by Māori. She states;

Commodification of the haka has been around for a very, very long time. We tend to forget that in actual fact Māori have been paid to perform haka for a very long time.

She argues that haka has been commodified as entertainment since the point of interaction with other iwi and gives an example of her tūpuna performing at the Pink and White Terraces in Rotorua. She contends;

I don't think that we can afford to get all sort of moralistic about the commodification of haka because it has been commodified mai rā anō.

⁵⁵ Cash Money Records, 'Nicki Minaj - Starships (Official Video)', YouTube.com, posted 26 April, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SeIJmciN8mo>

⁵⁶ Māori Television, 'Haka Energy drink company apologises to Māori', Māori Television, 9 May, 2017, <http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/haka-energy-drink-company-apologises-maori>

Similarly, Pūkōrero 8, talks about the motivation for tourism type performances of haka is money. He adds;

People say that it is taking advantage of your culture, but it's an example of what our tūpuna have used for years and years and years, generations and generations since 1800s with Whakarewarewa.

He talks about doing things in a piupiu, wearing a moko that are no longer conducive with his values in upholding Māori culture and the pursuit of excellence, yet the benefit was the ability to earn an income at the time. This comment aligns with previous discussions in Chapter 3 around haka performances enabling financial stability for Māori. Pūkōrero 10.6 in her korero provides a timely reminder regarding commodification saying;

People do get concerned, and I think it's good because it prompts us to think about what we are doing, why we are doing it and the ways in which we are doing it. It makes us stop and think about how we ensure that our knowledge and the tikanga that are associated with that knowledge, is in fact tika - That we are doing the right thing, and that in the process we aren't damaging.

She adds;

Although you know, no culture is static, all cultures grow and evolve, and the culture that we know now is certainly not the culture of my parent's generation. It's completely, almost completely different.

Pūkōrero 9 supports this view stating;

If our ancestors were alive, they would've adapted and evolved.

This section shines the spotlight on the appropriation of indigenous cultural elements. The analysis reveals that while the use of haka refutes any worrying signs of assimilation, at times, it does enhance white settler identities, and the identity of the nation from a global perspective (Torgovnick, 1990). This section addresses the many global influences that challenge the survival of haka in the multicultural society we live in and emphasises the pressures this puts Māori identity. Rewi (2010) reinforces this statement saying, “compromise has sometimes been driven by the conflict that arose as a ‘challenge to survival: to self-respect, to identity and to mana [prestige, power]’ of

Māori” (p. 55). Rewi (2010) refers to much of what has been discussed in this section as ‘cultural transformation’ which has enabled the survival of Māori culture, especially haka. He asserts that “identity, purpose and co-existence remain problematic” and reliant on “change and compromise” (Rewi, 2010, p. 55). Thus, perhaps there is a need to decrease the tension between traditional and contemporary values and beliefs with regards to haka as an expression of cultural and national identity. Cultural appropriation and commodification will continue to be an issue for a variety of reasons, some which have been addressed in this chapter and others in previous chapters. These issues are elevated when ‘borrowing from a culture’ becomes exploitative, does not recognise the creators or is a false representation of that culture, which impacts negatively on Māori identity. Important to note also, is that many of the concepts outlined above, do not exist in isolation of each other, but instead are fluid, overlapping and interrelated.

5.13 Summary

Sport has revealed the capacity to reinforce or change the formation of our identity. Non-Māori are increasingly exploring ways of integrating Māori cultural practices like haka, into ceremonies and events surrounding sport. In an ever-increasing global society, Māori culture and language are unique to New Zealand and provide us with a point of difference on a worldwide stage; thus, it could be argued that aspects of tikanga Māori should be embraced, and misrepresentations of Māori, critiqued and challenged.

Many associate haka purely in relation to rugby, however, its significance exceeds that of entertainment for the global consumer. It is evident that discourses about haka are shifting in their meaning, from ki te whai ao (the void of darkness) into ki te ao marama (the world of light) as described in the haka ‘Uhia mai’. It is essential to reiterate a point made earlier, that in many respects there is continued growth

around what haka represents to the individual, family, team and spectator. As such, it may be important to consider and understand, how Māori perceive this ritual (which initially had nothing to do with sport), has gained its popularity in a contemporary sport setting and continues to survive despite all the contention surrounding it. This chapter highlighted several frequently raised questions surrounding authenticity, access, protection and recognition which have a profound impact on identity and will need persistent consideration as the world continues to change around us. Haka is paramount in contributing to the legacy of indigenous cultural knowledge and solidifying a distinct national, sporting and indigenous identity both here and overseas. However, there is a danger of exploitation whereby a lack of awareness, understanding and respect contributes to challenges for Māori.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion – Whakarāpopototanga

This research aimed to explore Māori perspectives of the use of haka within New Zealand sport. The process involved interviewing a variety of Māori participants, with varied experience in both haka contexts and the sport landscape. Kaupapa Māori methodologies and principles were used to frame the research and develop three key research questions:

1. How do Māori identify with haka in the context of sport?
2. What do Māori perceive are the 'benefits' associated with the use of haka in sport?
3. What do Māori perceive are the 'risks' associated with the use of haka in sport?

Data was collected through the process of seven semi-structured interviews with nine participants and one focus group consisting of seven participants. The interviews were transcribed and analysed using three Kaupapa Māori principles as a theoretical framework. This chapter explains the main findings of the research through a summary of each of the analytical chapters and answering the research questions. The main thread which knits all the key findings together is whakapapa. Future aspirations, implications for other Māori communities and plans for dissemination of this research are also discussed in this chapter. I conclude with a pūrākau of my own which references whakapapa and its continued influence in my journey.

6.1 Main findings

This research clearly highlights the contested nature of this topic and calls to attention the challenges Māori face, in sustaining Māori cultural values and practices in a contemporary commercial realm (Karetu, 1993; Palmer, 2007). Whakapapa was

a key theme throughout, which encouraged a better understanding of the past and present to inform the future. This research preferences a Māori worldview, Māori voices and therefore privileges a connection to both the physical and spiritual worlds (Marsden, 2003, Reilly, 2004a). This research identified that experiences of haka in sport contributed to a greater sense of identity for Māori, which was further enhanced with a depth of understanding of whakapapa. This research also identified many benefits. Haka in sport created opportunities for Māori to strengthen cultural ties to whānau, hapū and iwi which enabled intergenerational knowledge transmission (Haami, 2014). From a team perspective, benefits included a greater sense of team cohesion, a sense of belonging, and a distinct team identity which contributed to the unique make-up of that group. However, risks surround the tension that exists between translating ancient/traditional knowledge into contemporary contexts. While haka has done much to set a precedent for normalising Māori culture in sport settings globally, we need to consider ways to appropriately safeguard our cultural practices from exploitation. Through whakapapa, Māori are obligated as kaitiaki to protect these taonga, yet new global forces are encouraging us to consider how we continue to do this in a contemporary world.

6.1.1 How do Māori identify with haka in the context of sport?

This research question was explored in various ways throughout each analytical chapter. Chapter 3 discusses how Māori identify with haka as distinct from haka 'in sport', while Chapters 4 and 5 make explicit references to the sport landscape.

Tribal locations and tribal markers as recited in pepeha form the basis for Māori identity (Mead & Grove, 2001). However, identity nowadays is changing with the times; for example, the urban drift contributed significantly to the formation of a new identity for Māori (Mato, 2011; Meredith, 2015). Participants recognised that a sense of

belonging was maintained through whakapapa and strengthened by cultural practices such as language, customs, traditions and kinship obligations. Haka, as a cultural practice was acknowledged as representing more than just Māori identity. The formation of social identities associated with haka were discussed as influenced by experiences within sport. Attitudes toward team participation, team affiliation, as well as intrinsic and extrinsic reinforcement of identity, all contribute to how we see ourselves and therefore portray ourselves as New Zealanders (Edwards, 2007). Within the landscape of sport, the All Blacks performances of Ka Mate helped to reinforce a positive association with haka, which has led to the normalised use of pre-match haka especially in rugby, both nationally and internationally.

The reality for many Māori living in modern society is that the role of haka has changed drastically over time. This thesis identifies through pūrākau that haka has origins in Te Whare Tapere, Te Whare Tū Taua and on the marae in ceremonial gatherings (Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa, n.d), however, in contemporary times we see its continued use in school and sport settings change the terrain. For some participants, an affiliation with sport created a unique pathway to access and connect with haka (e.g. Pā wars, Māori sports competitions, school sport and rugby). Furthermore, these connections with haka enabled whānau to strengthen ties with their own marae, hapū and iwi (Walker, 1989; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Haami, 2014). For this reason, most participants encouraged further opportunities to expose our culture in this way to the world.

Participants advocated for performers of haka in sport to draw on the collective strength and energies from all those that come before them (i.e. atua and tūpuna) which is paramount in Te Ao Māori. The belief is that environmental cues, metaphysical connections and esoteric knowledge all have an impact on successful performances of haka and therefore strengthen identity (Heke, 2013). Haka enables a hononga to

tūpuna, to atua and te taiao (the natural environment) which is believed to enhance a connection between our ancestors and nature. This mātauranga reflects a pre-colonial view of Māori physical activity demonstrating the interconnectedness between the spiritual and living realms (Heke, 2013). This is one example which highlights a way we can tap into ancient knowledge to inform our actions in contemporary times.

A common misunderstanding with haka and sport as identified by the participants is the role of women in haka. These misunderstandings can be attributed to colonisation, Christianity, Eurocentric values and hegemonic views (Gardiner, 2007; Mato, 2011; Palmer, 2016). Traditionally, there were distinct roles set to harness both male and female strengths (Best, 1924). These roles were balanced and complemented each other; however, modern society has challenged this view whereby women are considered marginalised and inferior, especially in sport contexts. This has contributed to misunderstandings of the women's role in haka in modern society, which have translated into sport settings. For example, the criticisms that the Black Ferns experienced with their use of Ka Mate and Ka Panapana as pre-match haka demonstrated the dominant view of what is and is not acceptable for women. However, pūrākau and other creation narratives provide an alternative perspective which challenges this marginalised view and in turn is changing patterns of inequality and inferiority to better reflect a Te Ao Māori view within sport (Palmer, 2016).

Haka is paramount in contributing to the legacy of indigenous cultural knowledge and solidifying a distinct national, sporting and indigenous identity both here and overseas. The participants of this study encourage a wider connection and understanding of Te Ao Māori to inform the relevance and appropriateness of haka in contemporary today.

6.1.2 What do Māori perceive the 'benefits' are associated with the use of haka in sport?

The many benefits associated with the use of haka in sport was a focus throughout Chapters 4 and 5. I established that, through haka, many of our modern feats as Māori have been made possible. Its value to our people goes beyond the concrete path and has set us up for success both on and off the sporting battlegrounds.

The participants identified a plethora of benefits of haka in sport. Haka is a powerful tool used to unite athletes of all ethnicities and social backgrounds, and it creates buy-in, a sense of belonging and fosters an inclusive team identity (Thomas & Dyll, 1999; Palmer, 2007). Haka nurtures the space for mental and spiritual preparation and is a measure of readiness on the field (Palmer, 2007; Moorfield, 2015). Haka serves as a collective identity within various settings (e.g. iwi, school, sport, army and others). Haka has several intrinsic benefits, which are often attributed to whakapapa, for example, the demonstration of ihi, wehi and wana and contributions to enhanced mana (Matthews & Paringatai, 2004). Haka enables the intergenerational transmission of ancient knowledge, Māori values, beliefs and narratives, which were inherent in ngā taonga tākaro and ngā mahi a te rēhia (Brown, 2008; Royal, 2013). These inform a Māori worldview of physical activity and sport and strengthen ties to whakapapa, language and culture.

Participants recognised haka as a sport and as a Māori physical activity throughout the interview process, through its similarities in definition. Intergenerational participation and chasing the 'cultural pursuit' were distinct features of Māori participation, which aligned with opportunities for whanaungatanga and strengthening cultural ties through learning haka, whakapapa and waiata. Participants identified that there is a growing trend whereby practitioners are reviving lost practices and knowledge systems to draw on atua characteristics and traits to inform physical activity,

movement and exercise (Heke, 2012; Brown, 2017; Penetito, 2014; Raureti et al., 2017). These contribute to the growing use of haka in sport settings and provides a holistic approach to considering wellbeing.

Haka as a cultural identity marker has done much to normalise te reo within the sport landscape. Exposure on a global scale and displays of our unique, distinguishable identity internationally, have contributed to significant progress towards the acceptance of Māori cultural heritage in the public domain. Haka has also set a precedent for other indigenous cultures to follow (Hodson, 2016), whereby Māori are considered pioneers and leaders in embedding indigenous practices within the context of sport. The evolution of haka within the landscape of sport is taken for granted. It has elevated our national profile, has allowed for strong connections to be made globally and has therefore solidified a permanent place for years to come (Pihama, Tipene, & Skipper, 2014).

6.1.3 What do Māori perceive the 'risks' are associated with the use of haka in sport?

While haka is a vehicle for positive influence within sport domains, it also renders several risks for Māori, which were a focus for discussion in Chapters 4 and 5. The tension that exists between translating ancient/traditional knowledge into contemporary contexts is paramount (Palmer, 2007). For example, haka in a traditional context does not symbolise any real connection or belonging within the landscape of sport, raising questions related to whether its use is of any real benefit to Māori. Participants had mixed views about this highlighting that the ceremonial kind of practice of haka as a pre-match sport ritual is reflective of a non-Māori construct, while others spoke of the increased public acceptance of tikanga Māori, due to haka performances creating a platform for normalising Māori culture both nationally and internationally. Another example includes the conflicting views of authenticity which are

attributed to ways which Māori conform their own cultural practices, to appease the global consumer, which has contributed to cross-cultural communication issues (Bell, 2014). For example, the way teams have been restricted in responding to haka performances (i.e. 10-metre rule) was identified by participants as an example of non-Māori setting restrictions, which do not reflect a Māori worldview. Regardless, sports teams and sports organisations have experienced challenges in maintaining a creative tension between honouring traditional values and their cultural expression in a contemporary sport setting, especially on a national scale.

Sharing our culture with the world comes hand in hand with a sense of responsibility and obligation. Managing the consequences of increased access to our cultural practices and knowledge systems becomes important especially when they are considered a commodity worldwide (Torgovnick, 1990; Scherer & Jackson, 2010). It has become commonplace to misuse haka and share it globally with the world (Karetu, 1993). This has surfaced tensions around non-Māori use of haka, which has raised questions surrounding, safeguarding, protection and control. The participants identified several issues related to globalisation including, commodification, appropriation and ownership of haka, which all had an impact on Māori. Haka has in the past and continues in the present, to provide an economic return for both Māori and non-Māori. For example, opportunities for employment, for commercial gain and overseas travel. However, issues are elevated when 'borrowing from a culture' becomes exploitative (Kim Ho, 2017), robbing Māori of the recognition they deserve.

While seemingly unphased and unsurprised by the appropriation of haka in the public realm, most participants were more concerned with the lack of understanding of haka which, reflected negatively on them as Māori. For example, the view of the haka as a violent and aggressive ritual was originally attributed to early observers who documented much about Māori shortly after their arrival (Hokowhitu, 2003; 2007). This

is one example of a misunderstanding of haka, its purpose and meaning which continues to reinforce the stigma of Māori as violent and physical beings. Similarly, these stereotypes are further strengthened when players/performers become overcome with ihi and lose control during haka performances, which again surfaces questions about whether haka belongs in sport.

Our ancestors created the formula to allow haka to flourish, which dates back to the creation of the universe (Marsden, 2003). However, with the rise of technology and globalisation, traditional kaitiakitanga models have been tested. The new face of kaitiakitanga must now acknowledge our rich history (e.g. te taiao, ngā tūpuna, ngā atua), yet embrace the changing times we live in (e.g. the rise of YouTube and other media platforms). The role of Cultural Ambassadors and Kaumatua as essential members of sports teams has mitigated some of the risks against misunderstandings and misuse of haka by national and international sports teams (Palmer, 2007). While these roles help serve as educators of haka, this does not control the misuse of haka in the broader context of sport, for example, drunken haka as a spectacle. Further strategies will need to be put in place to safeguard haka in this regard.

While non-Māori use Māori culture to distinguish who they are as New Zealanders, participants identified that they do so at the expense of any consideration of how to authentically incorporate more extensive cultural knowledge surrounding haka. This is considered tokenism and to a certain degree covert racism (Kim Ho, 2017). It is an example of non-Māori in positions of power and privilege, 'pick and choose' to engage with Māori and use haka to represent them only when it suits. The inclusion of the haka at sporting events also creates the illusion of a nation that is united (Falcous, 2007), which does not necessarily acknowledge the historical trauma Māori continue to face today.

The analysis of the following risks continues to raise questions around whether our focus is on sharing our kaupapa – haka with the world or protecting it? Answers to these questions will help to determine next steps with haka in the context of sport in future.

6.2 Dissemination

The key findings of this research will be shared with the participants first and foremost, to honour their participation and enable them to share their insights with their own whānau, hapū and iwi. As per the recommendation of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Research Committee, the findings of this research will be shared with Ngāti Toa Rangatira and the hapū and whānau of Te Rauparaha. I also aim to share this research with national sports organisations who use haka with the purpose of future proofing haka for generations to come.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, this research is also aimed at supporting the development of a credible evidence base to guide policy design and assist government agencies such as the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Culture and Heritage to increase understanding of the place of haka in sport and leverage future opportunities for appropriate levels of support in future. For example, I would welcome discussions with Sport New Zealand to discuss further opportunities for haka to be considered a sport, and opportunities to reshape investment for Māori in their cultural pursuit of holistic wellbeing. Similarly, I welcome conversations with the New Zealand Rugby Union and other interested national sporting organisations to explore the place of haka in their respective codes.

The exchange of knowledge with other indigenous cultures is paramount to this research, as the insights explicitly reference the role haka has played in setting the benchmark for others globally. This research privileges indigenous perspectives in

order to expand our understanding of the complex nature of using customary practices, like haka, in contexts which sit outside of their original contexts.

As a method for dissemination, I intend on sharing this research through oral presentations at academic conferences as well as through peer-reviewed journal articles.

6.3 Future recommendations

The purpose of this project was to understand how Māori identify with haka in sport and explore the benefits and risks associated with its use in sport contexts. There is a growing need to evaluate and better understand the place of haka in sport and this research contributes to the empirical evidence base. This research encourages a call to review policies surrounding haka, with Māori exponents at the centre of the discussions. A lack of understanding of haka is evident, which is creating added pressure on Māori to decide when haka is appropriate and inappropriate, calling for further work to be done by New Zealand sports organisations to support Māori better. Therefore, this research also advocates for a review of the changing face of kaitiakitanga, to better reflect a Māori worldview in contemporary times.

This study identified other critical areas of research, which emerging scholars could consider for future projects, such as, exploring haka and its impact on sporting performance. For example, research questions could include:

- How might we explore the similarities and differences between ihi, wehi, wana in Te Ao Māori and arousal in Te Ao Pākehā?
- What is the relationship between arousal and the quality of sport performance when considering the role of haka as a pre-game ritual?
- What should authentic haka performances look like within the context of sport?
- A comparison study of Rugby vs. Netball: Are haka performances transferable off the field and onto the court?

The findings of this study also warrant further research about haka from an indigenous perspective both nationally and internationally. For example, research questions could include:

- What are the challenges and complexities surrounding kaitiakitanga of haka in sport, in contemporary times?
- How does haka in sport compare with other indigenous rituals, when it comes to cultural preservation and revitalisation?
- How might haka pūrākau strengthen intergenerational knowledge transfer for Māori in sport settings?
- Using a whakapapa approach, what strategies can provide guidance around the place of haka at sport spectacles, or within sports organisations?

It is critical for us to reflect on how we perceive the cultures that we are representing, as well as consuming. Dominant cultures are encouraged to become educated about the cultures they are 'borrowing' from, to understand how to treat them with respect. Similarly, there is a need to consider the effect of the actions of dominant cultures, whether positive or negative, on identity formation.

Rather than explore all the different ways in which Māori culture is utilised within the context of sport, this study attempts to incorporate Māori thinking and understanding into ways in which the haka serves as contested terrain of Māori cultural identity. In a wider sense, this study intends to explore the interface between Māori philosophies and identity. Māori values, concepts and worldviews may be able to help New Zealanders better understand the place of Māori culture, specifically haka, at sport spectacles, or within sports organisations, rather than exclusively Western ideals.

6.4 Kōrero whakamutunga

Throughout this Master's journey, I have attempted to dive deeply into exploring my participants, my whānau and my own experiences with haka. In doing so, I have critiqued, reflected and analysed the role of haka today and the relevance of the haka

in sport. The Pūkōrero shared with me highlight that at the very core, for Māori, whakapapa is the reason for its existence and relevance in contemporary today. I started this thesis with an introduction and explanation of the journey of the waka Tākitimu, as the common thread which binds my whakapapa and links all known and unknown phenomena in the living and spiritual worlds.

Similarly, I wish to complete, my thesis with an excerpt from my personal diary, which tells a story of how haka continues to be a vehicle for discovering and strengthening the notion of whakapapa, in my world:

Today I experienced an overwhelming series of events that on reflection, I can only attribute to one word 'whakapapa'. In the weeks and months leading up to today, my wairua has been more in tune, than ever before, with what is happening around me. I am often told by friends that I concentrate too much on what is in my head when in fact I should lead with what is in my heart and spirit. While my thesis writing continues to guide me down the road of intellectualising Māori perspectives on haka in sport, it has also encouraged me to unravel layers of my whakapapa, which has been a real spiritual journey.

In writing about identity in my thesis, I have been having an internal conflict of late, with learning to appreciate and be proud of all that makes up 'me'. I find it easy to whakapapa to my Māori side and then feel conflicted to be proud of my Pākehā heritage. This has been intensified in the last couple of months after discovering that many years ago, one of my tupuna Lieutenant Henry Colin Balneavis was sent from Europe to reinforce the campaign against Hone Heke and Kawiti in the engagements of the northern war. He led the assault by the 58th Regiment No. 9 Company at Ohaeawai and Ruapekapeka. I assume he led much of the devastation that occurred during the northern wars, impacting many whānau and friends I have now. However, Lt. Henry Colin Balneavis, born

in Ghent, Belgium, was many things: Governor and Commandant of Malta, Consular Agent for the government of Italy, Sheriff for the district of Auckland, Mason of the Irish constitution, Parishioner of St Stephen's Anglican Chapel (Parnell), a Musician and one of the most accomplished Linguists in Australasia (he could speak 9 languages). He sounded like a rangatira of that time, one I wish I would've had the chance to meet, and one I hope that I carry characteristics of today! Nonetheless, I have in the past, found it easy to blame Pākehā for the historical trauma that Māori, including myself, face every day and I have often disregarded my Pākehā genealogy and preferring my Māori whakapapa for this reason.

For the last three months, I have sacrificed my weekends and time with family and friends to write my thesis. However, my friend was up from Taupo last night, and so she ended up staying at our house. In the morning, she asked if I could drop her into Parnell to meet her mum, so we headed out there early. While I have lived in Auckland all my life, Parnell is not a place I have spent much time. Probably because there are stark differences between South Auckland and Parnell. I was in two minds with wanting to spend time with my mate versus knowing I needed to be home writing. I dropped her off in Parnell and on my way back home, I saw a church on my right. The church reminded me of the research I had done into my tupuna Henry Colin Balneavis about a month prior. I instantly had the urge to pull over. I parked to stop and gather my thoughts when I got a toot from behind and quickly realised, I was parked in a bus lane. So, I drove off and proceeded down Parnell Rd. I was no less than 50 metres down the road, and again I had the urge to pull over. This time my Aunty Gaye [deceased] came to me, she didn't say anything, and I couldn't see her, but I

could feel her. She had come to me twice in the past two weeks, so it was a familiar feeling, albeit still confronting.

I spoke to her and said 'hi Aunty'... I asked her 'what do I do now?'. Then I remembered that I had sent an email to my brother and a first cousin with all the whakapapa research I had done over the last few months. I searched my 'sent mail' on my phone and found all the information I had emailed them a few weeks prior. The last sentence of the second page read:

'...Balneavis an active parishioner of St Stephen's Anglican Chapel in Parnell; was buried in its graveyard after his death on 26 August 1876'.

I fast realised that this was the reason why I had the urge to pull over. I entered St Stephen's Anglican Chapel into Google Maps, and it said that it was a 3-minute drive away. While my head was saying 'it's pouring down with rain and you need to be home writing' my heart was saying 'you're here for a reason'. I decided to follow Google Maps and see where it took me. I continued down Parnell Road, and then it told me to turn right down Garfield Road. It was at this moment where I became completely overwhelmed with emotion. The only road I know in Parnell is Garfield Road because my Aunty Gaye's ex-husband lived on this road and I remembered visiting my first cousin Clinton there, twice as a child. It confirmed for me that Aunty Gaye was with me and guiding me at this moment.

I followed Google Maps all the way to the Chapel. I parked up and looked around to see that I was amongst extravagant houses overlooking the Auckland port, over towards Rangitoto and it was still pouring down with rain outside. I was still in shock with how I had ended up here, and again spoke to my Aunty and asked for her guidance. I could see the graveyard at the entrance of the Chapel, and

so I decided to walk through the aisles to see if I could find my tupuna. I walked down the first two rows and noticed that all the headstones were very old. When I walked down the third row, the first headstone I saw read:

HENRY COLIN BALNEAVIS



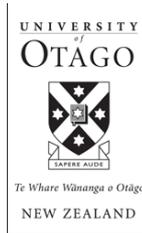
Figure 7: Headstone of Henry Colin Balneavis, Sourced from Personal Collection. Photo taken, May 2015.

This moment was surreal for me. Tears ran down my face. I was standing next to my 5th generation grandfather who lived over a century and a half ago and had been buried here for 142 years. At this moment I felt heaps of things; numb was one of them. I didn't really know what to say, but I did speak to him. I said 'Hi', and then after a long pause, I said 'I found you'! In this moment, I held my heart as it was racing, I felt a deep sense of aroha and an even stronger

connection to my whānau both in this world and in the spiritual world. I sat with him for a while to take everything in. I didn't really have words, the only one that could half explain what was happening in that moment was 'whakapapa'. (Personal diary entry, 12/5/2018).

In trying to unpack this deeply intimate and spiritual experience I have shared with you, I have come to realise that my focus on haka for this Master's journey provided me with an opening to explore my whakapapa. Haka can be a vehicle for our children to encourage them to seek to know their heritage, their culture, their identity. Haka as taonga tuku iho provides the space for intergenerational knowledge transmission and the sharing of the stories of our ancestors to strengthen identity. Knowledge of whakapapa brings about a sense of grounding, an anchor upon which you can draw on for support in times of confusion or crisis. This is the legacy of haka and the reason why it will continue to be relevant across settings including sport into the future. While I don't currently possess the skills to compose a haka about the journey I've been on, I choose to write about it in my thesis as a way of putting a spotlight on the extraordinary, taken for granted, power of haka as a vehicle for the transmission of whakapapa for my children, your children, their children and generations to come.

Appendix A – Information Sheet



'The contested terrain of the use of haka within New Zealand sport'

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part, there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and I appreciate you considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Master of Physical Education programme.

The statement of aim for the study is:

To explore the contested terrain of the use of haka within New Zealand sport.

To help direct this overarching statement, the following three sub-questions were developed:

What perspectives exist regarding representation(s) of haka within sport?

What are the perceived 'benefits' associated with the use of haka within sport?

What are the perceived 'risks' associated with the use of haka within sport?

What Type of Participants are being sought?

Purposive sampling (i.e. key informants based on strategic positions within NZ sport and/or experience/understanding of the topic).

What will Participants be asked to Do?

This study will use qualitative research framework part of which includes a kaupapa Māori perspective and kaupapa Māori philosophies such as manaakitanga (cultural and social responsibility) and kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face interaction). Data will be collected primarily using korero captured in semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Content analysis will be used as a secondary approach including an analysis of documents, images and text related to the topic. Should you agree to participate in this project you will be required to participate in either a one-on-one interview or as a part of a larger focus group.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

In order to address this research question, both semi-structured interviews and focus groups will be carried out.

Semi-structured interviews – as a participant you will be asked a series of questions using an interview guide approach. This will include pre-determined questions, but the majority of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance but will depend on the way in which the interview develops.

Focus groups – as a participant you will be asked a series of questions directed by an external facilitator, as a part of a wider group of participants, using an interview guide. This will include pre-determined questions, but the majority of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance but will depend on the way in which the interview develops.

Data collected from interviews and focus groups will be recorded, later transcribed and returned back to the participants to edit, comment or correct before data analysis can begin.

If you have any concerns about the line of questioning or any other part of the study you will be free to ask for clarification, decline to answer and/or withdraw from the project at any time.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the library, but your identity will remain anonymous. You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project when completed.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will be able to gain access. At the end of the project, any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Nicole Timu

or

Professor Steve Jackson

School of Physical Education

School of Physical Education

University of Otago

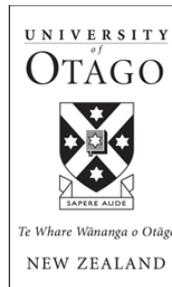
University of Otago

Email: ntimu@unitec.ac.nz

Telephone Number: (03) 479 8943

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix B – Consent Form



'The contested terrain of the use of haka within New Zealand sport'

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

Personal information [audio-tapes, observations] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed.

This project also involves a series of formal and informal questions about my experiences and opinions related to the use of haka within sport. This will include pre-determined questions, but the majority of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable, I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the library, but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
(Signature of participant)

.....
(Date)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee.

Appendix C – Interview Guide

The contested terrain of the use of haka within sport

1. What representations exist around the use of haka in sport?
2. What are the perceived risks associated with the use of haka in sport?
3. What are the perceived benefits associated with the use of haka in sport?
 - What is your understanding of haka?
 - What experiences have you had with haka in sport?
 - What are your thoughts around how others (team, colleagues, friends, whānau) view performances of haka in sport?
 - What are your thoughts on women performing haka in sport?
 - What are your thoughts on how haka is represented in this platform?
 - What feelings does the use of haka in sport invoke in you?
 - What perceptions do you have regarding how non-Māori/international audiences view haka in sport?
 - Have you had any negative experiences with haka? If so, what were they?
 - What preparation goes into haka performances in the lead up to an event?
 - What does the haka in sport do for our national image?
 - What experiences have you had with the production of haka?
 - What is the impact of haka in sport on whānau?
 - What experiences have you had in relation to haka in sport, at school?
 - Do you feel as though haka belongs in sport? Why/why not?
 - What are your thoughts around ownership/kaitiakitanga?
 - In your opinion who owns haka?
 - The haka has been criticised as being overdone/overused, what are your thoughts on this?
 - Haka is a traditional Māori ritual used in contemporary today, what are the benefits/risks associated with this move/shift?
 - Do you see there to be any benefits associated with the use of haka in sport?
 - What do you think are some risks associated with the use of haka in sport?
 - Do you have any further comments you wish to add?

Appendix D – Ethical Approval



D14/068

Academic Services
Manager, Academic Committees, Mr Gary Witte

10 March 2014

Professor S Jackson
School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences
Division of Sciences
46 Union Street West

Dear Professor Jackson,

I am writing to confirm for you the status of your proposal entitled "The contested terrain of the haka within New Zealand Sport", which was originally received on February 20, 2014. The Human Ethics Committee's reference number for this proposal is D14/068.

The above application was Category B and had therefore been considered within the Department or School. The outcome was subsequently reviewed by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. The outcome of that consideration was that the proposal was approved.

Approval is for up to three years from the date of HOD approval. If this project has not been completed within three years of this date, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Gary Witte'.

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 8258
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

Appendix E – Māori Ethical Approval

Wednesday, 19 February 2014.

Professor Steven Jackson,
School of Physical Education, DUNEDIN.

Tēnā Koe Professor Steven Jackson,

The contested terrain of the haka within New Zealand sport

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (The Committee) met on Wednesday, 19 February 2014 to discuss your research proposition.

By way of introduction, this response from The Committee is provided as part of the Memorandum of Understanding between Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the University. In the statement of principles of the memorandum, it states "Ngāi Tahu acknowledges that the consultation process outlined in this policy provides no power of veto by Ngāi Tahu to research undertaken at the University of Otago". As such, this response is not "approval" or "mandate" for the research, rather it is a mandated response from a Ngāi Tahu appointed committee. This process is part of a number of requirements for researchers to undertake and does not cover other issues relating to ethics, including methodology they are separate requirements with other committees, for example the Human Ethics Committee, etc.

Within the context of the Policy for Research Consultation with Māori, the Committee base consultation on that defined by Justice McGechan:

"Consultation does not mean negotiation or agreement. It means: setting out a proposal not fully decided upon; adequately informing a party about relevant information upon which the proposal is based; listening to what the others have to say with an open mind (in that there is room to be persuaded against the proposal); undertaking that task in a genuine and not cosmetic manner. Reaching a decision that may or may not alter the original proposal. "

The Committee considers the research to be of interest and importance.

As this study involves human participants, the Committee strongly encourages that ethnicity data be collected as part of the research project. That is the questions on self-identified ethnicity and descent, these questions are contained in the latest census.

The Committee notes and commends the establishment of an advisory group including Professor Wally Penetito (Victoria Uni) Dr. Ihirangi Heke (Māori and Physical Activity Consultant) Dr. Farah Palmer (Massey Uni) Joseph Waru (Auckland DHC) and strongly recommends contact with Ngāti Toa Rangatira and the Hapū and whānau of Te Rauparaha regarding this study as they are the owners of that haka.

The Committee suggests dissemination of the research findings to Ngāti Toa Rangatira and the Hapū and whānau of Te Rauparaha.

We wish you every success in your research and the Committee also requests a copy of the research findings. This letter of suggestion, recommendation and advice is current for an 18-month period from Wednesday, 19 February 2014 to 7 August 2015.

Nāku noa, nā

Mark Brunton
Kaiwhakahaere Rangahau Māori Research Manager
Māori Research Division

Appendix F – Tīmatanga (full version)

I te Tīmatanga	In the beginning
Ko te Kore	there was nothing
Ko te pō nui	the big darkness
Ko te pō roa	the long darkness
Wehega mātua	the separation of Rangi and Papa
Herenga tangata	formed man/people
He toa rangatahi	formation of young warriors
He toa rangatira	formation of young chiefs
Whakakai kit e Maunga	If you aim for the mountains
Tae kit e whenua	you will hit the plains
Hoki ki te rangi	If you aim for the sky
Tae ki te pukerunga	you will hit the mountain peaks
Piki ake pike ake	Climb high, thrive
Ki te ara poutama	to the pathway of knowledge
Ki ngā taumatanga e	to achieve excellence
Wairua hinengaro tinana	spiritually, mentally, physically

Composed by Whetu Tipiwai

Source: Mulholland, M. (2009). *Beneath the Māori moon: An illustrated history of Māori rugby*. Huia Publishers: Wellington, New Zealand (p. 247).

Appendix G – Ka Mate (full version)

*Kikiki kakaka kau ana!
Kei waniwania taku tara
Kei tarawahia, kei te rua i te kerokero!
He pounga rahui te uira ka rarapa;
Ketekete kau ana to peru koi riri
Mau au e koro e – Hi! Ha!
Ka wehi au a ka matakana,
Ko wai te tangata kia rere ure?
Tirohanga ngā rua rerarera
Ngā rua kuri kakamu i raro! Aha ha!
Ka Mate! Ka Mate!
Ka Ora! Ka Ora!
Ka Mate! Ka Mate!
Ka Ora! Ka Ora!
Tēnei te tangata
Pūhuruhuru nāna nei i tiki mai
Whakawhiti te rā!
Upane, ka Upane
Upane, ka Upane
Whiti te ra!*

Composed by Ngāti Toa Rangatira chief, Te Rauparaha

Source: Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Incorporated. (2014). *Haka Ka Mate Attribution Act 2014 Guidelines*. Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment: Wellington, New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://www.Ngātitoa.iwi.nz/ka-mate/ka-mate-guidelines> (p. 5).

Appendix H – Uhia Mai (full version)

Kaea: Ko ngā Mamaku o Aotearoa Kia mau	Leader: Black Ferns of NZ be ready and alert
Katoa: Hi	Everyone: Ready
Kaea: Torona titaha	Leader:
A uhia mai	Let it be known
Ko wai ngā Hine	Who are these women
Ko wai ngā Hine	Who are these women
Katoa: Ko ngā Mamaku e ngunguru nei	Everyone: Tis the Black Ferns rumble
Hi au, au, aue ha	
Kaea: Ko Hineahuone	Leader: From Hineahuone, Hinetitama, and Hinenui te pō we came
Ko Hinetitama	
Ko Hinenui te pō	
Katoa: Ki te whaiao, ki te ao marama	Everyone: To transfer from the void (supernatural world) to the World of enlightenment
Katoa: Hi a haha	Everyone:
Mauri ki te rangi	Life force from above – the heavens
Me te whenua	Life force from below – the land
Ngā kapua whakapipi	The gathering clouds
Mai ngā Maunga titia e	The mountains that pierce the sky
Hi a haha	
Kaea: He tia he tia	Leader: Let us proceed
Te Moana nui – a – Kiwa	To the seas
Mai ngā tōpito	From the corners of the island (NZ) to the neighbouring islands (Pasifika)
Ki ngā moutere	
O te ao whānui e	And around the world
Katoa: Hi a haha	
Tūmai rā koe	You stand tall and proud women of strength and prestige
Te mana wāhine	
Te Wharetangata	Who will bear the future
Ngā Mamaku o Aotearoa	The Black Ferns of NZ
He tia he tia	Let us proceed
He ranga he ranga	Press on, press on
Kaea: Turuki turuki	Leader: Yes, move it, move it
Katoa: Paneke, paneke	Everyone: Move forward, forward
Kaea: Turuki, turuki	Leader: Move it, move it
Katoa: Paneke, paneke	Everyone: Yes, forward, forward
Haere mai te toki	When the challenge arrives
Haumi ee, hui e	We will gather and unite together strength together
Taiki ee	
Hi!	It will be done!

Composed by Whetu Tipiwai, 2006

Source: Palmer, F. R. (2016). Stories of Haka and Women's Rugby in Aotearoa New Zealand: Weaving Identities and Ideologies Together. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33(17), (p. 2180).

Glossary – Huinga Kupu Māori

Term	<i>Definition</i>
Ako Māori	<i>Kaupapa Māori research principle which promotes teaching practices that are unique to tikanga Māori.</i>
Aotearoa	<i>Used as the Māori name for New Zealand.</i>
Aotearoa Māori Netball National Tournament	<i>A network of waka throughout Aotearoa who encourage kotiro and their whānau to engage in a national netball tournament annually.</i>
Aroha ki te tangata	<i>An ethical principle of research involving respecting the participant's decision to define their own space and meet on their own terms for research.</i>
Atua	<i>Ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god' and now also used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over domains. These atua also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world. Normally invisible, atua may have visible representations.</i>
Atuatanga	<i>Māori philosophical practice which acknowledges Ngā Atua Māori, whakapapa, kaitiaki and tipua and embodies the standards of living and expectations of excellence that would deem all persons to be of 'boundless-potentiality' in all aspects of life.</i>
Awanui	<i>A historical river port in the far North of New Zealand.</i>
Haerenga	<i>Journey, trip, parting.</i>
Haka	<i>To dance, perform the haka, posture dance performance - vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances.</i>
Haka peruperu	<i>War dance - leaping haka performed with long weapons to intimidate the enemy. The men leap off the ground left to right in unison.</i>
Haka pōwhiri	<i>Welcome haka - ceremonial dance performed to welcome visitors. Sometimes leaves are waved by the performers as a symbol of death.</i>
Haka taparahi	<i>Ceremonial haka - posture dance performed without weapons. At some stage during this type of haka the men</i>

	<i>descend to the ground.</i>
Haka tautoko	<i>Support haka</i>
Haka whakaari	<i>Haka theatre.</i>
Hapū	<i>Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe - section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. It consisted of several whānau sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. A number of related hapū usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (iwi).</i>
Haumiatiketike	<i>Atua of fern root and uncultivated food - one of the offspring of Rangi and Papa. Also known as Haumia, Haumia-tikitiki and Haumia-roa.</i>
Hawaiki	<i>Ancient homeland - the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to some traditions it was Io, the supreme being, who created Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao and Hawaiki-tapu, places inhabited by atua. It is believed that the wairua returns to these places after death, and speeches at tangihanga refer to these as the final resting place of wairua.</i>
He kanohi kitea	<i>A noted strength of Kaupapa Māori research whereby the seen face is valued and a dedicated audience is present.</i>
He Oranga Poutama	<i>Supports Māori wellbeing through sport and active recreation in ways that are culturally appropriate for Māori.</i>
Hineahuone	<i>The female element who comes from the soil, who Tāne-mahuta breathed life into.</i>
Hine-marekareka	<i>Part of Te Kahui Tau (see below) One of the women sent by Tinirau to capture Kae.</i>
Hine-nui-te-pō	<i>Hine-tītama was the eldest daughter of the atua Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Hine-ahu-one. She had several children to her father, but on learning that her husband was her father, she fled to te pō (the underworld) where she receives the souls of the dead and is known as Hine-nui-te-pō.</i>
Hine-rau-kata-mea	<i>Part of Te Kahui Tau (see below) One of the women sent by Tinirau to capture Kae.</i>
Hine-rau-kata-uri	<i>Part of Te Kahui Tau (see below). Atua of flute music who is personified in the common bag moth.</i>
Hine-raumati	<i>One of the two wives of the sun, with whom the sun spends the summer months.</i>
Hine-ruhiruhi	<i>Part of Te Kahui Tau (see below) One of the women sent by</i>

	<i>Tinirau to capture Kae.</i>
Hine-takurua	<i>Sirius - this star is seen on the eastern horizon in the month of Pipiri before the sun rises. It is considered to be one of the two wives of the sun, with whom the sun spent the winter months.</i>
Hine-te-iwaiwa	<i>An atua regarded as the exemplary figure of a wife and mother. According to some narratives, she married Tinirau and gave birth to Tūhuruhuru.</i>
Hine-te-otaota	<i>Part of Te Kahui Tau (see below) One of the women sent by Tinirau to capture Kae.</i>
Hine-tītama	<i>Hine-tītama was the eldest daughter of the atua Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Hine-ahu-one.</i>
Hononga	<i>Union, connection, relationship, bond.</i>
Hui	<i>Gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.</i>
Hula	<i>A Polynesian dance characterised by rhythmic movement of the hips and mimetic gestures with the hands and often accompanied by chants and rhythmic drumming.</i>
Ihi	<i>Essential force, excitement, thrill, power, charm, personal magnetism - psychic force as opposed to spiritual power (mana).</i>
Io	<i>Io-the-parentless-one - one of the names for the supreme being, the omniscient, otherwise known as Io-matua-kore</i>
Ira atua	<i>Supernatural life, atua genes.</i>
Ira tangata	<i>Human genes, human element, mortals.</i>
Iwi	<i>Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.</i>
Iwi of Origin	<i>An urban inter-iwi Māori sports festival held in Auckland annually.</i>
Iwipūpū	<i>The wife of Tamatea Pokaiwhenua otherwise known as Tamatea-ure-haea.</i>
Ka Mate	<i>The most well-known haka composed by Chief Te Rauparaha and performed regularly by the All Blacks before a rugby match. Ka Mate is a story about a celebration of the triumph of life over death.</i>

Ka Panapana	<i>Well-known Ngāti Porou haka performed predominantly by wāhine.</i>
Kae	<i>Tohunga who ate the pet whale of Tinirau who killed him in revenge.</i>
Kahungunu	<i>Grandson of Tamatea-arikinui, Son of Tamatea-ure-haea and leader of Ngāti Kahungunu.</i>
Kaiawhina	<i>An assistant, helper, support person.</i>
Kai tahi	<i>The act of sharing food.</i>
Kai Tahu	<i>The principal tribe of the southern region of New Zealand. Otherwise known as Ngāi Tahu.</i>
Kaihaka	<i>Performer of kapa haka.</i>
Kaitaia	<i>Known as the gateway to the far North district of New Zealand.</i>
Kaitātaki wahine	<i>Female lead performer, women leader, leader of haka.</i>
Kaitiaki	<i>Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward.</i>
Kaitiakitanga	<i>Guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee.</i>
Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	<i>Face to face, in person, in the flesh.</i>
Kapa	<i>Team, group, company of people.</i>
Kapa haka	<i>Concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.</i>
Kapa o Pango	<i>A pre-match haka performed for the first time in 2005 by the All Blacks. Composer by Derek Lardelli designed this haka to reflect the multi-cultural makeup of contemporary New Zealand.</i>
Karakia	<i>Incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity.</i>
Karakia tohi	<i>Baptism ceremony</i>
Karakia whakamutunga	<i>Ancient incantation to close</i>
Karanga	<i>Formal call, ceremonial call, welcome call, call - a ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri. The term is also</i>

	<i>used for the responses from the visiting group to the tangata whenua ceremonial call. Karanga follow a format which includes addressing and greeting each other and the people they are representing and paying tribute to the dead, especially those who have died recently. The purpose of the occasion is also addressed. Skilled kaikaranga are able to use eloquent language and metaphor and to encapsulate important information about the group and the purpose of the visit.</i>
Karitāne	<i>Seaside settlement located in Dunedin.</i>
Kaua e māhaki	<i>An ethical principle of research which serves as a warning against flaunting your knowledge as the 'expert'.</i>
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	<i>An ethical principle of research which serves as a warning not to trample on the dignity of a person.</i>
Kaumātua	<i>Adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the whānau.</i>
Kaupapa	<i>Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative.</i>
Kaupapa Māori	<i>Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice, Māori institution, Māori agenda, Māori principles, Māori ideology - a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.</i>
Kaupapa Māori movement	<i>The introduction of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga as Māori language immersion schools with the aim of revitalising Māori language, knowledge and culture.</i>
Kawa	<i>Marae protocol - customs of the marae and wharenuī, particularly those related to formal activities such as pōwhiri, speeches and mihimihi.</i>
Kia Ora	<i>Hello, cheers, good luck, best wishes.</i>
Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga	<i>Kaupapa Māori research principle of socio-economic mediation. It asserts the need to mediate and assist in the alleviation of negative pressures and disadvantages experienced by Māori communities.</i>
Kia tupato	<i>An ethical research principle warning the researcher to be cautious, culturally safe and reflective in their practice.</i>
Kia Whakatāne au i Ahau	<i>The call from Wairaka to her ancestors advising that she will act the part of a man.</i>

King Potatau	<i>Ngāti Mahuta; leader and fifth King of the Kīngitanga.</i>
Kīngitanga	<i>King Movement - a movement which developed in the 1850s, culminating in the anointing of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as King. Established to stop the loss of land to the colonists, to maintain law and order, and to promote traditional values and culture. Strongest support comes from the Tainui tribes. Current leader is Tūheitia Paki.</i>
Kī-o-rahi	<i>A traditional ball game - played with a small round flax ball called a kī. Two teams of seven players, kioma and taniwha, play on a circular field divided into zones, and score points by touching the pou (boundary markers) and hitting a central tupu, or target. The game is played with varying rules (e.g. number of people, size of field, tag ripping rules, etc.) depending on the geographic area it is played in. It is played for 4 quarters or 2 halves of a set time, teams alternate roles of kīoma and taniwha at 1/2 or 1/4 time.</i>
Ko uhia mai	<i>Haka composed by Whetu Tipiwai for the Black Ferns women's rugby team. The haka references prominent female atua such as Hineahuone, Hinetitama and Hine-nui-te-po.</i>
Koha	<i>Gift, present, offering, donation, contribution - especially one maintaining social relationships and has connotations of reciprocity. In the modern context, in many tribes, the koha is laid down on the marae by the visitors' last speaker in the form of money collected prior to going onto the marae at the pōwhiri, but not all tribes agree with this practice. Such koha would be intended for the marae and to be reciprocated at some time in the future, but koha given quietly to a leader in person (kōkuhu) would be intended to defray the costs of the hui.</i>
Kōhanga Reo	<i>Māori language preschool.</i>
Kōkirikiri (poutahi, pourua etc).	<i>Te Whare Tu Taua footwork drill, to move very fast and swiftly, to advance, to dart about, to attack.</i>
Kōpere	<i>Dart propelling sling, dart - a traditional weapon consisting of a sling that propelled a dart.</i>
Kōrero	<i>Speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information.</i>
Koro	<i>Elderly man, grandfather, grandad, grandpa - term of address to an older man.</i>
Koroua	<i>Elderly man, old man, elder, grandfather, granduncle.</i>

Korowai	<i>Cloak ornamented with black twisted tags or thrums.</i>
Koru	<i>Fold, loop, coil, curled shoot. Also known as silver fern.</i>
Kua tu te haka a Tāne-Rore	<i>The dance of Tāne-Rore has begun. Signalling that the hazy days of Summer are upon us.</i>
Kuia	<i>Elderly woman, grandmother, female elder.</i>
Kura	<i>School, education, learning gathering.</i>
Kura Kaupapa Māori	<i>Primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction.</i>
Kurawaka	<i>The name of the place in the creation narratives where the first woman was created.</i>
Mahinga kai	<i>Garden, cultivation, food-gathering place.</i>
Mana	<i>Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana.</i>
Mana motuhake	<i>Separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority - mana through self-determination and control over one's own destiny.</i>
Manaaki ki te tangata	<i>An ethical principle of research referring to sharing, hosting and being generous to people. This is the value that underpins a collaborative approach to research.</i>
Manaakitanga	<i>Hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.</i>
Manawawera	<i>Type of haka with no set movements performed especially at tangihanga, unveilings and after speeches.</i>
Mangatawa	<i>Where Tamatea-arikinui settled and built a Pā.</i>
Manu Samoa	<i>The Samoan Rugby Union team who perform the Siva Tau (Samoan war dance) before a game.</i>
Manu tukutuku	<i>Kite-flying activities.</i>
Manuhiri	<i>Visitor, guest.</i>

Mānuka	<i>Mānuka, tea-tree, Leptospermum scoparium - a common native scrub bush with aromatic, prickly leaves and many small, white, pink or red flowers.</i>
Manurewa	<i>A suburb in South Auckland, New Zealand.</i>
Māori	<i>Māori, indigenous New Zealander, an indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand - a new use of the word resulting from Pākehā contact in order to distinguish between people of Māori descent and the colonisers.</i>
Māori Battalion	<i>An infantry battalion consisting of Māori members of the New Zealand army that served during the Second World War.</i>
Māori Movement	<i>A unique health and wellbeing programme that brings together the traditional training of warriors (both male and female) into a modern interpretation around the knowledge of Atua.</i>
Māoritanga	<i>Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māoriness, Māori way of life.</i>
Marae	<i>Courtyard - the open area in front of the whareniui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.</i>
Marae ātea	<i>Courtyard, public forum - open area in front of the whareniui where formal welcomes to visitors take place, and issues are debated. The marae ātea is the domain of TūmataueNgā, the atua of war and people, and is thus the appropriate place to raise contentious issues.</i>
Māreikura	<i>Nobly born female, an order of female supernatural beings corresponding to the male whatukura.</i>
Mātaatua	<i>Migration canoe which landed at Whakatāne and finally ended at Hokianga before being dragged overland to Tākou.</i>
Matatini	<i>A significant cultural festival and the pinnacle event for Māori performing arts.</i>
Mātauranga Māori	<i>Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori worldview and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices.</i>
Mātauranga-ā-iwi	<i>Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors of a particular tribe.</i>
Mau rākau	<i>Māori weaponry, armed, wielding weapons.</i>

Mauao	<i>Mount Maunganui, Tauranga, New Zealand.</i>
Maunga	<i>Mountain, mount, peak.</i>
Mauri	<i>Life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions - the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located.</i>
Mere	<i>A short, flat weapon of stone, often of greenstone.</i>
Mihi	<i>Speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute.</i>
Mita	<i>Rhythm, intonation, pronunciation and sound of a language, accent, diction, elocution, dialect, register.</i>
Moana	<i>Sea, ocean, large lake.</i>
Muriwhenua	<i>Wife of Rongokako, mother of Tamatea-ure-haea otherwise known as Tamatea Pokaiwhenua.</i>
Mutōrere	<i>Ancient Māori board game involving a wheke (octopus)</i>
Ngā Atua Māori	<i>Māori gods, deities.</i>
Ngā Hau e Wha	<i>Annual Māori Squash Tournament.</i>
Ngā kete o te wānanga	<i>The three baskets of knowledge attained by Tāne in his ascent to the twelve heavens.</i>
Ngā mahi a te rēhia	<i>The pursuit of pleasure, recreational activities, entertainment.</i>
Ngā taonga tākaro	<i>Traditional Māori games</i>
Ngā whetū	<i>The stars, cluster of stars, constellation.</i>
Ngangahu	<i>To make a shrill, high-pitched noise (in a haka or wero), dilate the eyes and perform exciting movements to inspire the performance group.</i>
Ngāpuhi	<i>Tribal group of much of Northland.</i>
Ngāti Awa	<i>Tribal group of Whakatāne and Te Teko areas.</i>
Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa	<i>One of the six tribal groups of Muriwhenua, Northland.</i>
Ngāti Kahungunu	<i>Tribal group of the southern North Island east of the ranges from the area of Nūhaka and Wairoa to southern Wairarapa.</i>
Ngāti Porou	<i>Tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau.</i>

Ngāti Ranginui	<i>Tribal group of the Tauranga area.</i>
Ngāti Te Aho	<i>Tribal group of the central North Island.</i>
Ngāti Toa	<i>Tribal group south of Kāwhia, the Kapiti-Ōtaki area and parts of the northern South Island. A Tainui tribal group, some of whom moved with Te Rauparaha to the Kapiti coast area.</i>
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	<i>Tribal group of the Lake Taupō area.</i>
Ngāti Wai	<i>Tribal group of the East Coast of the Northern region.</i>
Ngāti Whakaaue	<i>Tribal group of the Rotorua Lake area.</i>
Ngāti Whātua	<i>Tribal group of the area from Kaipara to Tāmaki-makau-rau.</i>
Ngeri	<i>Short haka with no set movements and usually performed without weapons.</i>
Noho Marae	<i>To sit, stay, remain, settle and learn about Māori culture, traditions and protocol.</i>
Nukutaurua	<i>Otherwise known as Māhia Peninsula where Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine met and married.</i>
Opotaka	<i>Home of the haka on the edge of Lake Rotoaira, which is south of the Lake Taupō.</i>
Pā	<i>Fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city (especially a fortified one).</i>
Pā Wars	<i>Inter-tribal, inter-marae rivalry competitions involving sport and celebrating family values and kinship.</i>
Pākehā	<i>New Zealander of European descent. English, foreign, European, exotic - introduced from or originating in a foreign country.</i>
Pakeke	<i>To be grown up, adult, mature.</i>
Papakāinga	<i>Original home, home base, village, communal Māori land.</i>
Papatūānuku	<i>Earth, Earth mother and wife of Ranginui - all living things originate from them.</i>
Patu Aotearoa	<i>High intensity training programme, incorporating Māori language and tikanga related to Atua.</i>
Pepeha	<i>Tribal saying, tribal motto, proverb, set form of words, formulaic expression, saying of the ancestors, figure of speech, motto, slogan - set sayings known for their economy</i>

	<i>of words and metaphor and encapsulating many Māori values and human characteristics.</i>
Piupiu	<i>A waist-to-knees garment made of flax - has a wide waistband and is used in modern times for kapa haka performances.</i>
Pō whakangahau	<i>Night entertainment, amusement.</i>
Poi	<i>Ball on a string used to toss up, swing the poi, toss up and down, toss about.</i>
Poi toa	<i>Games and exercises involving poi used to sharpen reflexes, increase flexibility and improve coordination.</i>
Ponga rāua ko Puhihuia	<i>A love story which talks about how Puhihuia and Ponga were captivated by each other and their performances of haka.</i>
Pōtētē	<i>To close the eyes - when performing haka and waiata. Often followed immediately by pūkana.</i>
Pounamu	<i>Greenstone, nephrite, jade.</i>
Pōwhiri	<i>Invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome.</i>
Pūhuruhuru	<i>Hairy, covered with hair</i>
Pūkana	<i>To stare wildly, dilate the eyes - done by both genders when performing haka and waiata to emphasise particular words and to add excitement to the performance.</i>
Puketeraki Marae	<i>Kai Tahu marae located in Karitāne, Dunedin.</i>
Pūkōrero	<i>Well-informed, speaking with authority, articulate, orator, announcer, spokesperson, speaker, historian.</i>
Puku	<i>Stomach, abdomen, centre, belly, tummy.</i>
Pūrākau	<i>Myth, ancient legend, story.</i>
Pūtere takitahi	<i>Te Whare Tu Taua movement. To move together as one, with few people on the grid together.</i>
Rākau	<i>Tree, stick, timber, wood, spar, mast, plant.</i>
Rangatahi Tū Rangatira	<i>Encourages Māori fitness, health and physical wellbeing for Māori youth using concepts such as Atuatanga.</i>
Ranginui	<i>Atua of the sky and husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, from which union originate all living things.</i>

Rohe	<i>Boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land).</i>
Rongoa Māori	<i>Māori remedy, medicine, drug, cure, medication, treatment.</i>
Rongokako	<i>Son of Tamatea-arikinui, a tohunga who could take giant strides.</i>
Rongomaiwahine	<i>Woman of great status, wife of Kahungunu, populated Wairoa, Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa.</i>
Rongomaraeroa	<i>Atua of the kūmara and cultivated food and one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, he is also known as Rongo-hīrea and Rongomaraeroa-a-Rangi.</i>
Rongomatāne	<i>Atua of the kūmara and cultivated food and one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, he is also known as Rongo-hīrea and Rongo-marae-roa-a-Rangi.</i>
Rōpū	<i>Group, party of people, company, gang, association, entourage, committee, organisation, category.</i>
Rotorua	<i>Town renowned for its geothermal activity located in surrounding Lakes in the North Island.</i>
Ruatoria	<i>Town located in the Gisborne region on the northeastern corner of the North Island.</i>
Rūaumoko	<i>Atua of earthquakes and the youngest child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.</i>
Tā moko	<i>To tattoo, apply traditional tattoo, apply moko.</i>
Tahu	<i>Commander of Tākitimu on its voyage to the South Island in search of pounamu.</i>
Taiaha	<i>Long wooden weapon - of hardwood with one end carved and often decorated with dogs' hair.</i>
Tākitimu	<i>A migration canoe - the crew of this canoe from Hawaiki are claimed as ancestors by Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Ranginui.</i>
Tama-nui-te-rā	<i>Sun - personification and sacred name of the sun.</i>
Tamatakutai	<i>First husband of Rongomaiwahine.</i>
Tamatea-arikinui	<i>Captain of the Tākitimu canoe.</i>
Tamatea-pokai-whenua	<i>Son of Rongokako, legendary traveller, born in Hawaiki during the period of the great migration.</i>

Tamatekapua rāua ko Whakatūria	<i>A story about brothers, Tamatekapua and Whakatūria who were out stealing breadfruit from a tree. Whakatūria is caught by Uenuku. When night sets in and the evening starts, Whakatūria taunts the performers and performs a haka which mesmerises the iwi and allows him to escape.</i>
Tāne-mahuta	<i>Atua of the forests and birds and one of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.</i>
Tāne-rore	<i>Son of Tama-nui-te-rā, the sun, and Hine-raumati, the Summer Maiden. Tāne-rore is credited with the origin of haka and is the trembling of the air as heat haze seen on hot days of summer, represented by the quivering of the hands in haka and waiata.</i>
Tangaroa	<i>Atua of the sea and fish, he was one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and fled to the sea when his parents were separated.</i>
Tangata whenua	<i>Local people, hosts, indigenous people - people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried.</i>
Tangi	<i>Rituals and rites for the dead, funeral - shortened form of tangihanga.</i>
Taonga	<i>Treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques.</i>
Taonga tuku iho	<i>Kaupapa Māori research principle related to cultural aspirations. Whereby, Te Reo Māori, mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori are actively legitimated.</i>
Tapu	<i>To be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection - see definition 4 for further explanations.</i>
Tapuwae	<i>A customary practice performed by ancestor Rongokako which featured giant strides that mimicked flying from one place to another.</i>
Tāwhirimātea	<i>Atua of the winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and storms, he was also known as Tāwhiri-rangi and Tāwhiri-mate-a-Rangi and was one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who did not want his parents separated.</i>
Te Ahikaaroa	<i>Manurewa High School Kapa haka group.</i>

Te Ao Māori	<i>A Māori Worldview.</i>
Te Ao Marama	<i>The breath, the energy of life.</i>
Te Ao-nui	<i>The bright light.</i>
Te Arawa	<i>People descended from the crew of this canoe from Hawaiki who form a group of tribes in the Rotorua-Maketū area.</i>
Te Aute College	<i>An all-boys, Anglican missionary school in the Hawkes Bay region, which aims to build strong Māori leaders.</i>
Te Haka a Wairangi	<i>A story about how Wairangi, grandson of Raukawa (Ngāti Raukawa), uses haka as a means of surprising the enemy.</i>
Te Huinga Taurira	<i>Te Huinga Taurira o Te Mana Ākonga is an annual event that advocates the enhancement of our fundamental Māori values and in doing so strengthens our reo, tikanga, whakapapa and mātauranga Māori while networking with other Māori students from all around Aotearoa. It is usually a 4-day event that includes an AGM and activities such as Kapa haka, Waka Ama, Manu Kōrero speech and debating competitions and much more.</i>
Te iwi Māori	<i>Refers to Māori as a collective group of people.</i>
Te Kāhui Tau	<i>Refers to Rau-kata-uri and Rau-kata-mea who sing, play on instruments, or do posture dances.</i>
Te Kete aronui	<i>Held all the knowledge that could help mankind.</i>
Te Kete tuatea	<i>Held the knowledge of evil which was harmful to mankind.</i>
Te Kete tuauri	<i>Held the knowledge of ritual, memory and prayer.</i>
Te Kore	<i>Realm of potential being, The Void.</i>
Te Māori exhibition	<i>A milestone in the Māori cultural renaissance of the 1970s onwards.</i>
Te Maraenui-atea-o-TūmataueNgā	<i>The larger marae of TūmataueNgā.</i>
Te Marama	<i>The moon.</i>

Te Mātārae i Ōrehu	<i>Te Arawa based kapa haka group. Two-time champions of Matatini, renowned for their expertise in weaponry and haka.</i>
Te Pō	<i>The night, darkness, setting of the sun.</i>
Te Pō-nui	<i>The great darkness.</i>
Te Rā	<i>The sun, day.</i>
Te Rangikoa	<i>Wife of Chief Te Wharerangi who permitted Te Rauparaha to enter the kumara pit beneath his wife to hide from the approaching enemy.</i>
Te Rauparaha	<i>Ngāti Toa Chief, descendent of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui canoe, born the 1760s at Kawhia, composed the well-known haka Ka Mate and died 1849 at Ōtaki.</i>
Te Reo Kori	<i>Māori movement activities used as part of the Physical Education curriculum in New Zealand since 1989.</i>
Te reo Māori	<i>Māori language.</i>
Te reo me ona tikangā	<i>Māori language integrated with social and cultural contexts.</i>
Te Rongo-Tū-Taua	<i>Honouring both the male and female elements.</i>
Te Roroa	<i>Tribe located between the Kaipara Harbour and the Hokianga Harbour in Northland.</i>
Te Wehenga	<i>The separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.</i>
Te Wero o Tūmatauenga	<i>The challenge of TūmataueNgā as the deity of war and conflict.</i>
Te Whare Tū Taua	<i>The house of Māori weaponry, involving training in the ancient art of Māori weaponry such as mau rākau.</i>
Te Wharerangi	<i>Chief of Lake Rotoaira, who assisted Te Rauparaha in his escape from a nearby war party. Husband of Te Rangikoa.</i>
Teka	<i>Dart, crosspiece (lashed on a pole to make a rough ladder), foot piece (of a kō).</i>
Tikanga Māori	<i>The general behaviour guidelines for daily life and interaction in Māori culture.</i>

Tinirau	<i>A rangatira in Hawaiki who killed Kae for eating Tinirau's pet whale, Tutunui.</i>
Tino rangatiratanga	<i>Kaupapa Māori research principle of self-determination. Relates to sovereignty, autonomy, control and independence allowing Māori to control their own culture, aspirations and destiny.</i>
Tipua	<i>Goblin, foreigner, demon, object of fear, strange being, superhero.</i>
Tirikawa	<i>Collection of rocks in the Tauranga moana, which are at the base of Mauao (Mount Maunganui).</i>
Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero	<i>An ethical principle that encourages the researcher to look and listen and then maybe speaking, developing understanding and finding a place to speak.</i>
Tohunga	<i>Skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer - a person selected by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation.</i>
Toi Tangata	<i>A Māori agency which develops delivers and champions kaupapa Māori based approaches to health, movement, and nutrition.</i>
Toroa	<i>Ngāti Awa chief, captain of the Mātaatua canoe, father of Wairaka.</i>
Toroparawai	<i>The art of footwork in Te Whare Tū Tauā.</i>
Tū kaitauā	<i>A characteristic of Tūmatauengā - Tūmatauengā the devourer of war parties.</i>
Tū kanguha	<i>A characteristic of Tūmatauengā - Tūmatauengā the fierce fighter.</i>
Tū kariri	<i>A characteristic of Tūmatauengā - Tūmatauengā of all anger.</i>
Tūhourangi	<i>Tribe located in Rotorua.</i>
Tuhuruhuru	<i>Son of Tinirau and Hine-te-iwaiwa.</i>
Tūmatauenga	<i>Atua of war and humans, he was one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who wanted to kill his parents for not letting the sun shine on their children.</i>

Tūpuna	<i>Ancestors, grandparents - western dialect variation of tīpuna. Also note: tūpuna – plural and tupuna - singular</i>
Tūrangawaewae	<i>Domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand - place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa.</i>
Tūtū ngārahu	<i>War dance - haka performed with long weapons in which the men jump up and down. Performed by the war party before going into battle, in front of elders and experienced warriors who judged by their performance whether they were ready to go into battle.</i>
Tutunui	<i>Name of the pet whale of Tinirau, which was eaten by Kae.</i>
Urupā	<i>Burial ground, cemetery, graveyard.</i>
Wāhine	<i>Female, women, feminine. Wāhine – plural and Wahine - singular</i>
Waiata tawhito	<i>Ancient song, lament or traditional chant.</i>
Waiata-ā-ringa	<i>Action song - a popular modern song type with set actions and European-type tunes.</i>
Waikato	<i>Collective name of the tribes living in the Waikato Basin. Also, the name of the river from which they take their name and who travelled on the Tainui waka.</i>
Wairaka	<i>The daughter of Toroa and ancestor of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūhoe - near Whakatāne.</i>
Wairoa	<i>Northmost town in the Hawkes Bay region - Ngāti Kahungunu.</i>
Wairua	<i>Spirit, soul - spirit of a person which exists beyond death. It is the non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and the mauri. To some, the wairua resides in the heart or mind of someone while others believe it is part of the whole person and is not located at any particular part of the body.</i>
Waitangi Day	<i>The anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, celebrated as a public holiday in New Zealand on 6 February since 1960.</i>
Waitangi Tribunal	<i>The Waitangi Tribunal is a New Zealand permanent commission of inquiry established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.</i>

Waka	<i>Canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium (of an atua).</i>
Waka ama	<i>Outrigger canoe racing, popular Māori sport.</i>
Waka hourua	<i>Double hull canoe.</i>
Waka taua	<i>War canoe.</i>
Wana	<i>Excitement, thrill, exhilaration, fervour, verve, gusto, zeal, zest, passion, energy, sparkle, liveliness, pizzazz.</i>
Wānanga	<i>To meet and discuss, deliberate, consider.</i>
Wehi	<i>Read, fear, something awesome, a response of awe in reaction to ihi.</i>
Whaikōrero	<i>Oratory, oration, formal speech-making, address, speech - formal speeches usually made by men during a pōwhiri and other gatherings. Formal eloquent language using imagery, metaphor, whakatauākī, pepeha, kupu whakaari, relevant whakapapa and references to tribal history is admired.</i>
Whakamana	<i>To give authority to, give effect to, give prestige to, confirm, enable, authorise, legitimise, empower, validate, enact, grant.</i>
Whakangahau	<i>Entertainment, concert.</i>
Whakapapa	<i>Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent - reciting whakapapa was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions.</i>
Whakarewarewa	<i>Haka as a show of force before an attack in battle.</i>
Whakatauākī	<i>Proverb, significant saying, formulaic saying, cryptic saying, aphorism. Like whakatauākī and pepeha they are essential ingredients in whaikōrero.</i>
Whakawhiti kōrero	<i>The interchange and exchange of conversation.</i>
Whānau	<i>Extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context, the term is sometimes</i>

	<i>used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.</i>
Whanaunga	<i>Relative, relation, kin, blood relation.</i>
Whanaungatanga	<i>Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.</i>
Whare Tapere	<i>House of entertainment, theatre, community centre, arena, auditorium - traditionally a place where people gathered for entertainment.</i>
Whare Wānanga	<i>University, place of higher learning - traditionally, places where tohunga taught the sons of rangatira their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices.</i>
Wharekura	<i>Secondary school run on kaupapa Māori principles - these schools use Māori language as the medium of instruction and incorporate Māori customary practices into the way they operate.</i>
Whatukura	<i>An order of male supernatural beings corresponding to the female Māreikura.</i>
Whenua	<i>Country, land, nation, state.</i>
Whētero	<i>To protrude (especially of the tongue), poke out the tongue.</i>
Whitiwhiti porotaka	<i>Te Whare Tu Taua movement involving the feet. Whitiwhiti is the crossing of the feet over a grid, while porotaka is twisting the body in circular movements.</i>
Wiki Hā	<i>A week-long bi-annual event which brings Māori immersion students together to compete across a range of sports.</i>

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