SPEAKING THE UNSPOKEN:
MAORI EXPERIENCES OF RACISM IN NEW ZEALAND SPORT

by

H. Raima Hippolite

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Sport & Leisure Studies

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

_____

The University of Waikato
2010

ABSTRACT

This research explores how being Maori influences Maori participants' sport experiences and offers a critical Maori perspective on New Zealand sport. Ten experienced Maori sport participants were interviewed using Kaupapa Maori Research Methods which involved research performed by Maori, about Maori being Maori. This research grew out of discussions with Maori participants and explores their experiences as athletes, coaches, administrators and spectators, focusing on their interactions with Pakeha in Pakeha-dominated sport. Their experiences demonstrate personal, cultural and institutional racism in New Zealand sport and indicate how the power differentials in society impact on the ability of Maori to practice important cultural values in Pakeha-dominated contexts. I argue that racism is a factor affecting the relationships of Maori with Pakeha in key functionary positions in sport and identify a culture of denial that operates to marginalise discussions about racism generally. These participants' experiences reflect cultural incapacity and blindness (Cross, Bazron, Dennis & Isaacs, 1989) by the dominant culture which have negative effects on the Maori participants including decisions to opt out of sport, feelings of hurt and frustration, a reduction in their commitment to national identity and a general sense that they are not considered as equals. The conclusion considers what is needed for New Zealand sport to become fully culturally inclusive; a situation desired by the participants and which has the potential to benefit everyone in sport.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

FIGURE 1

Figure 1. Map of tribal areas. Accessed at http://www.takoa.co.nz/media/rohe_iwi.pdf

GLOSSARY

Ahua	Shape, nature, aspect or countenance
Ariki	person of high inherited rank from senior lines of descent, male or female
Aroha	compassion, tenderness, sustaining love
Atua	ancestors with particular influence over domains (e.g. the oceans), also spoken of as gods.
Haere mai!	Welcome! Enter! Come forth/here
Haka	vigorous chant with dance for the purpose of challenge
Hapu	clan, tribe, independent section of a people; modern usage –sub-tribe; to be born; to be pregnant
He	(language particle) a, an, some
Honore	honour, prestige, majesty
Hui	a meeting of any kind, conference, gathering
Huihuinga	introduction
Ihi	power, authority, essential force
Ingoa	name
Iwi	people, nation; modern usage – tribe; bones
Ngai Tahu	South Island tribe (see map)
Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	Face to face engagement
Karanga	To call; the ceremony of calling guests onto a marae or venue
Katoa	everybody
Kaumatua	elder or elders, senior people in a kin group
Kaupapa	purpose; policy, rules of operation; agenda, philosophy
Ki	(language particle) in, into, towards
Koha	gift, present, contribution (usually money, can be food or precious items, given by guest(s) to hosts)
Kororia	glory, majesty
Maioha	first call from the hosts during a powhiri, specifically during the karanga
Mana	authority, power; secondary meaning: reputation, influence
Manaakitanga	respect for hosts or kindness to guests, to entertain, to look after, nurture
Manuwhiri	guests, visitors
Marae	the area for formal discourse in front of a meeting house, sometimes a term applied to a whole marae complex, including meeting house, dining hall, forecourt, etc.
Maungarongo	peace
Mauri	hidden essential life force or a symbol of this
Nau mai!	Welcome!
Nga Puhi	an upper North Island tribe (see map)
Ngati Koata	an upper South Island tribe (see map)
Ngati Toa	a lower North Island tribe (see map)
Pai	good
Pakeha	derivation is obscure; the Maori word for people living in New Zealand of British/European origin (originally it would not have included, for example, Dalmatians, Italians, Greeks, Indians, Chinese, etc.)
Powhiri	invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae

Rangatira	person of chiefly rank, can include an elder, employer, business owner etc.
Raupatu	confiscate, take by force
Reo	language
Rohe	boundary, a territory (either geographical or spiritual) of an iwi or hapū
Tamariki	children
Tane	man/men; husband(s)
Tangata	person(s), people
Tangata whenua	original people belonging to a place, local people, hosts
Tangi	to cry, to mourn
Taonga	treasured possessions or cultural items, anything precious
Tapu	sacred, not to be touched, to be avoided because it is sacred/taboo
Tapu	sacred, taboo, power derivative from atua
Tau utuutu	reciprocal speech making during powhiri – your turn, my turn
Te Ao	the world; usually the human world (of light)
Tena koutou	formal greeting to many people
Tena tatou katoa	formal inclusive greeting to everybody present, including oneself
Tikanga	the correct way to do something
Tino rangatiratanga	the highest possible independent chiefly authority, paramount authority, sometimes used for sovereignty
Tipuna/tupuna	ancestor
Tiwaha	Call in reply
Toku	my, mine
Tuarangi	gentry; esteemed person (1)
Turangawaewae	a place to stand, a place to belong to, a seat or location of identity
Utu	the concept of reciprocity; paying something back
Wahine	woman, wife, wives)
Waiata	song or chant which follows speech
Waka	canoe, canoe group (all the iwi and hapū descended from the crew of a founding waka)
Wero	challenge
Whaikorero	the art and practice of speech making
Whakaaro	thought, opinion
Whakahihi	conceited
Whakapapa	genealogy, to recite genealogy, to establish kin connections
Whakatohea	a North Island east coast tribe (see map)
Whakawhanaungatanga	(noun) process of establishing relationships, relating well to others
Whanau	nuclear family
Whanaunga	kin, relatives
Wharenui	literally 'big house', referring to a meeting house
Whenua	land, homeland, country; also afterbirth, placenta

Sources:

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Maori culture*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Matenga-Kohu, J., & Roberts, J. (2003). *Huihuinga: Collective gatherings*. Cambridge, New Zealand: Kina Films.

Ryan, P. M. (1999). *The Reed pocket dictionary of modern Maori*. Birkenhead, Auckland: Reed Publishing.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

He honore, he kororia ki te Atua

He maungarongo ki te whenua

He whakaaro pai ki ngā tangata katoa

Ko Raima toku ingoa

Ko Tainui, Ngati Koata, Kai Tahu, Ngati Toa, Whakatohea, me

Ngā Puhi oku iwi

No reira tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

As a Maori growing up in New Zealand, specific racial experiences have impelled me to consider the status of Maori in New Zealand society. With sport as an integral part of my family life, I was led to a more detailed analysis of how being Maori influences experiences in New Zealand sport.

I have chosen to construct this thesis as a metaphorical *hui* (meeting) between the research participants, academics and theorists. Hui are "open-ended meetings" and a customary way of discussing and "resolving issues of community concern" (Robinson & Robinson, 2005, p. 2). Hui generally take place on *marae* (a traditional meeting place and symbol of tribal identity), with "no predetermined outcome" or "time constraints" (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2006; Robinson & Robinson, 2005, p. 2). As standard practice, hui open with a *powhiri* which is the practice of "welcoming and hosting of visitors on the marae" (Barlow, 1991, p. 99). Breaking it down, the term *Po* means a "venture into the unknown" or a "new experience" and "*whiri* is derived from the word '*whiriwhiri*' which is the act of "exchanging information and knowledge" (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2006, p. 6). This practice fulfils the "important task of recognising the relative *tapu* (specialness; being with potentiality for power) and *mana* (power) of the two sides, the hosts and the visitors" (Bishop, 2005, p. 122).

Powhiri begins with the *karanga maioha* (first call) from *tangata whenua* (hosts). This will include a description of the *kaupapa* (purpose for the gathering) and *whakapapa* (geneology) to commonly held *tipuna* (ancestors) (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2006). The karanga maioha invites *manuwhiri* (visitors) to proceed as a group on to the *marae atea*. Listening intently to the first call, manuwhiri

respond with a *karanga tiwaha* (reply) informing their hosts who they are, and from where they come, as they walk on to marae.

At this thesis hui manuwhiri will be welcomed straight into the *wharenui* (meeting house). The *tangata whenua* are the research participants supported by indigenous theorists and academics, and the *manuwhiri* (visitors) are Pakeha and other non-New Zealand theorists and academics. The hui takes place inside the wharenui, rather than on the atea, because it is here where the female theorists/academics speak so as the mana of tangata whenua will be upheld.

The wharenui is "regarded as representing important tribal ancestors" and all who enter are protected under the *tapu* (power and influence of the gods) of the wharenui (Barlow, 1991, p. 179). Inside the wharenui, the order of the speakers is determined by tangata whenua (Barlow, 1991). The research was performed within Tainui tribal boundaries meaning that the format followed for this hui is *tau utuutu*. This means the tangata whenua and manuwhiri will take turns to speak, but the first and last speaker will always be tangata whenua (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2006). These protocols are followed during the powhiri to ensure that the balance of *mauri* (life force) and order is maintained. The actual hui within the wharenui is where discussion and debate, including on sensitive topics, take place.

This thesis intentionally foregrounds the Maori research participants' stories. The power differential that presently disadvantages and marginalises Maori in contemporary New Zealand society is felt by the research participants and underpins many of their experiences. For the duration of this thesis at least, the power differential may be inverted as Maori will be heard. Pakeha readers might experience an unequal positioning within the virtual marae context, but can feel comforted by the fact that at the end of our 'hui' they may return to their lives as members of a dominant culture that affords them privileges many Maori have been excluded from. This hui challenges the status quo of injustice and endeavours to hold the power-brokers in society honest and accountable.

The objective behind this research is not to attack Pakeha but to challenge the dominant mentality and ways of being that are hurtful and debilitating to New Zealand society, and most particularly to Maori.

Kaupapa: The Purpose of this Hui

> *Haere mai ra*   Come forward
>
> *Nga manuwhiri tuarangi e*   Visitors from afar
>
> *Haere mai, haere mai*   Welcome, welcome

The idea for this research emerged from a Television One News item on 23 March, 2006. An incident was reported from the Commonwealth Games in which the New Zealand cycling team was implicated, with two male cyclists alleged to have stripped a female cyclist naked and then urinated on her. There was name suppression for the Pakeha cyclists involved in this Pakeha-dominated sport[1].

I began to question whether the same protection had applied to Maori and Polynesian athletes. For instance, over the space of three months in the same year, six Maori and Polynesian athletes were named and shamed in the media: In March, Jerry Collins and Lome Fa'atau were reported fighting at a nightclub in Bloemfontein (Kayes, 2006). Two weeks later on Dobbo's 'Sports Tonight', a follow-up reported on how things were between them. In April, it was reported that Rua Tipoki was suspended after elbowing an opponent and breaking his cheekbone (Gray, 2006). In May, Chris Masoe and Tana Umaga received widespread coverage after a bar incident where Umaga hit Masoe with a handbag (Booker, 2006). Later in May, Norm Hewitt (a Maori and ex-All black labelled a 'reformed alcoholic') was asked to comment on the fine imposed for the Chris Masoe incident (Hippolite, 2006).

Even though some of these incidents did not break the law, and were less problematic than the cycling incident, I construed that these Maori and Polynesian men were named and portrayed as violent, unruly, alcohol-abusers, for doing what many men of all ethnicities their age do every Saturday night. The media coverage of these incidents feeds ideas about Maori and Polynesian men having a disposition towards violence and alcoholism, a concept espoused in the controversial 'aggressive gene' theory (Hokowhitu, 2007). These selective journalistic processes reinforce the historical stereotypes of Maori and Pacific Island men as violent and lacking in intelligence (Hokowhitu, 2004b). Several local and international surveys illustrate the importance of sport and sporting

---

[1] Details of the incident were finally revealed on the nzherald.co.nz website Sunday, May 21, 2006

heroes to young people (Melnick & Jackson, 2002). Yet these studies, coupled with the constant negative reports of high profile Polynesian sportsmen, perhaps steer young people in this country to grow up with a narrow, limited vision of the way 'brown sportspeople' are.

This piqued my interest in how racist attitudes and practices have impacted on New Zealand society, particularly on Maori in sport. Research on racism at a global level reveals patterns of inequalities between colonising peoples and indigenous populations, with the latter suffering economically, socially and culturally (Battiste, 2000, 2005; Daes, 2000; Josephs, 2008; Tauli-Corpuz, 2001). In New Zealand society, racism is demonstrated in the power differentials throughout institutions and structures between indigenous populations and the dominant culture (Ballara, 1986; Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988; Smith, 1999). At the individual level, racism disempowers and prevents equal and equitable contributions from all members of society (Daes, 2000).

Sport provides opportunities to understand both race and sport in more depth and to "challenge misplaced common-sense assumptions" (Carrington & McDonald, 2001, p. 2). Further, examining the role of racism reveals the power of dominant ideologies (Miles, 1989) that perpetuate the institutionalised denial of racism pervasive in New Zealand culture. Many of the research participants' experiences in this study support Jones (1999) when she says:

> I realise in New Zealand you no longer talk about 'race' but about 'ethnicity' instead. I would just like to say that even though you don't mention the word 'race' anymore, doesn't mean that racism no longer exists in New Zealand. (p. 14)

The issue of racism has not reached the level of open public discourse in New Zealand and there is a noticeable lack of directness which appears to forbid a robust discussion about racism in sport (Boock, 2008). Whenever racism is claimed in New Zealand contexts, the 'accusers' of racism are targeted with numerous labels including 'stirrers', 'activists', 'terrorists' (see Wall, 2007). This was noted recently when Andy Haden (a former All Black[2]) accused the Canterbury Crusaders (Super 12 rugby's most successful franchise) of a racist selection policy (Hampton, 2010). The media (newspapers, radio talkback,

---

[2] New Zealand national men's rugby team.

4

television news) instantly sought responses from the Prime Minister, the Chief Executive Officer of the New Zealand Rugby Union, the Canterbury Crusaders franchise Chief Executive Officer and its coach. All condemned Haden for personal racism, and he then faced pressure to resign as a Rugby World Cup Ambassador. Yet, the whole saga blew over without any balanced debate around the broader issues of institutional and cultural racism.

In contrast, this hui takes a broad view, focusing on personal, institutional and cultural racism in sport and its impact on the Maori research participants. It explores how racism towards Maori operates on multiple levels in New Zealand and identifies discriminatory patterns in sport which are generally characteristic of New Zealand society (Crampton, Salmond & Kirkpatrick, 2004; James & Saville-Smith, 1999; Jones, 2001). Further, this exploration augments the debate around the relationship between the colonised (Maori) and the coloniser (Pakeha), and analyses the way that broader societal racism appears in sport. Underpinning this relationship throughout the hui (research process) will be consideration of:

- The extent to which the concept of Maori identity is under-rated in Pakeha-dominated contexts;
- The forms of racism that receive more attention and those incidents people choose to ignore, minimise or fail to recognise;
- the mechanisms used to conceal racism;
- the social and cultural costs of racism in New Zealand sport; and
- the status of the Treaty of Waitangi and its relevance to the New Zealand sport context.

Although there is a lack of literature on *racism* and Maori experiences in sport, there are Maori theorists and academics (e.g., Hokowhitu, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008; Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; 2005, 2007; Smith, 1999, 2005) whose contributions to academia assist in making sense of the research participants' experiences.

In seeking open discussion on this kaupapa, the process of powhiri (which is underpinned by tikanga) holds that "tangata whenua are in charge of events that occur on their marae and home ground" (Mead, 2003, p.19). Thus, the proceedings will open with *Te Ao Maori* which foregrounds Maori worldviews (Chapter Two). This creates a context to which all else is compared, as opposed to

the status quo where the dominant (colonising) culture is held as the benchmark. Chapter Three discusses manuwhiri perspectives (predominantly Pakeha academics and theorists). These highlight fundamental differences between Maori and Pakeha in Pakeha-dominated contexts. Chapter Four is a literature review where tangata whenua and manuwhiri academics and theorists share their ideas and findings in the sport context. Chapter Five discusses the Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology utilised for the research. Chapter Six shares aspects of tikanga Maori that appeal to the research participants in sport. Chapter Seven then illustrates the research participants' experiences of racism in New Zealand sport. Chapter Eight discusses theories that explain racist attitudes and practices, and the concluding chapter presents ideas for future research and practice.

CHAPTER TWO: TE AO MAORI WAYS OF BEING AND SEEING

The first speakers in this hui are tangata whenua (Maori academics and theorists) who provide insights into Maori ways of seeing, knowing and being by explaining fundamental principles of Te Ao Maori. Although Maori "share a great number of common beliefs and perceptions, which collectively have become a Maori ethic" (Parata, 1987, p.13), Maori are not homogenous. Maori have a different personality pattern and outlook on life "but how different, and among how many Maori no one knows, and how many Maori there are who have 'transition personalities', neither uniquely Maori, nor uniquely Pakeha, no one knows either" (Beaglehole, 1968, p. 352).

However, even attempting to categorise Maori into a 'tidy box' is typical of imperial power that "attempts to essentialize and define indigenous cultures in relation to the West" (Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008, p. 249). Linda Smith (1999) implies that Pakeha allow themselves the right to be changeable as a 'norm' and then measure indigenous Maori in relation to Pakeha-ness.

Obviously, all of Maori culture and ideologies cannot be covered in as limited a form as a Master's thesis. However, I will attempt to explain fundamental concepts of tikanga Maori that relate to the research participants' experiences. Charles Royal (2004) describes tikanga Maori as "ethical behaviour" based upon fundamental principles or values (para. 20). There is a universal connectedness in a Maori worldview that is "holistic and cyclic" (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 13). The underlying principles comprise values such as whakapapa, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, mana and utu (Gallagher, 2008), each of which is discussed next.

Whakapapa

In Maori society, the social structure is based on whakapapa which is the geneology of all living things (Barlow, 1991; Rangiahua, Kohu & Rakuraku, 2004). Quince (2007) explains that "whakapapa links human beings to the natural and spiritual worlds, so that people are related to all aspects of the environment" (p. 5). This explains why Maori cultural perspectives are inclusive and relational (Morice, 2006) as acknowledged by the research participants. Whakapapa is "the

heart and core of all Maori institutions" that establishes identity, offering a sense of belonging which is highly valued in Maori culture (Mahuika, 1998, p. 219).

The creation narrative had set precedents for a Maori way of life and for Maori communities to live by (Mikaere, 2002). The geneology of the gods begins with Papatuanuku (earth 'Mother') and Ranginui (sky 'Father'), the first parents, who clasped each other so tightly that there was no day (Barlow, 1991; Rangiahua et al., 2004). Many children were conceived but surrounded by the darkness and resenting their "cramped existence", they collectively decided that their parents must be separated (Mikaere, 2002, para. 4). Throughout the separation process, "collective decision-making" became the common problem-solving technique (Mikaere, 2002, para. 7). Settling disputes through collective decision-making is an aspect of Maori culture and has become well established in marae protocol (Ballara, 1986; Mikaere, 2002). In the marae context, the art of whaikorero is used by speakers to establish their identity and their whakapapa, their right to be present and for whom they speak (whanau/hapu/iwi) (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2003). Speakers indicate their loyalties and support, all essential parts of the political processes affecting the decision-making. Although "disagreements and frictions" are accepted as "normal elements of social interactions", "the collective good must ultimately prevail" (Mikaere, 2002, para. 7; Rangiahua et al., 2004). In this thesis, the different viewpoints may conflict and add to existing tensions, but it must be remembered that the end goal is for Maori to have been heard. This hui provides that opportunity.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is fundamental to who Maori are. It focuses on relationships, including these which extend to others who have "developed close, familial friendships or reciprocal relationships with the whanau" (Rangiahua et al., 2004, p. 52; Mead, 2003; Williams, 1985). The capacity for Maori to engage with their environment in ways that are spiritually and politically powerful and nurturing is derived from whanaungatanga (Rangiahua et al., 2004). A collective mode of operation as found in the whanau or extended family is fundamental to Maori culture (Te Whaiti, McCarthy & Durie, 1997). Hence, Maori are connected and accountable to the collective they represent, based upon ancestry, iwi, hapu and whanau principles (Te Rito, 2006). Expectations of Maori by Maori include

multiple outcomes being met, due to feeling responsible to so many people (Te Rito, 2006).

Mauri and Tapu

Maoritanga is underpinned by metaphysical principles where traditionally all human activities were "heavily governed by spirituality" (Te Rito, 2006, p. 4). Underpinning the social understandings of whanau, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and mana whenua are the metaphysical concepts of mauri and tapu. Mauri is the active element that indicates a person is alive or the life force within everything both animate (alive/seen) or inanimate (unseen) (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2003; Mead, 2003; Ngata, 1994; Williams, 1985). In a person, "the mauri becomes an attribute of the self, something to nurture, to protect, and to think about" such as when a person is "physically and socially well, the mauri is in a state of balance" (Mead, 2003, p.53).

Tapu is a "principle that acts as a corrective and coherent power within Maori society" (Best, as cited in Rangiahua et al., 2004, p.57). Tapu is the sacred life force that supports the mauri and, in terms of an individual, reflects the state of the whole person (Mead, 2003). It is used interchangeably with *mana* (honour) which has to do with "the place of the individual in the social group" (Mead, 2003, p. 29). Tapu is likened to a force-field which can be felt and sensed by others and, as Mead (2003) describes, it is everywhere in the world, "present in people, places, buildings, things, and in all tikanga" (p.30). There exist levels of tapu which increase in special cultural, historical and spiritual contexts that require a change in behaviour from the observers or participants in a ceremony (Mead, 2003). Thus, in tapu contexts, a level of appropriate behaviour is required to protect the mauri of the marae which combines the spiritual, intellectual and physical potentials of all people that produce a state of mana (honour). Mana can be "observed, detected and/or expressed by the people and their leadership" (Rangiahua et al., 2004, p. 43). Mana can also be defined as an outcome that is "effectual, binding, authoritative" (Williams, 1985, p. 172) and that depends on community recognition for its effectiveness (Mead, 2003).

Mana, Mana Tangata, Mana Whenua

Mana can be described as prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power and charisma (Moorfield, 2010). *Mana* goes hand in hand with

9

tapu, one affecting the other, and is inherited at birth from *atua* (deities) (Moorfield, 2010). As mentioned previously, tapu is the potentiality of power (Bishop, 2005), mana, a spiritual gift, is the actual power (Mead, 2003). Mana bestows a person "the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities and to make decisions regarding social and political matters" (Moorfield, 2010, para. 1). The salience of this point will be demonstrated in later chapters.

In addition Maori have a strong metaphysical relationship with the land (Barlow, 1991; Mahuika, 1998; Rangiahua et al., 2004). Therefore, Maori see themselves as custodians with authority (both spiritual and political) to nurture the land and water (Rangiahua et al., 2004).Thus, the land has spiritual significance providing Maori with:

> A sense of identity, belonging, and continuity... It is proof of our continued existence not only as people, but as tangata whenua of this country. It is proof of our tribal and kin group ties…It is proof of our link with the ancestors of our past, and with the generation yet to come. It is an assurance that we shall forever exist as a people, for as long as the land shall last. (Legislative Review Committee, 1980, p.1)

It is whakapapa that determines "mana rights to land, to marae, to membership of a *whanau* (family), *hapu* (wider family), and collectively, the *iwi* (tribe)" which further determines "kinship roles and responsibilities to other kin, as well as one's place and status within society" (Mahuika, 1998, p. 219). Therefore, the loss of land directly impacts on mana tangata, mana whenua and turangawaewae, which are all inherited whakapapa rights (Mahuika, 1998). This leads to "the loss of iwi mana by being reduced to a landless people" (Mahuika, 1998, p.220). Who then are Maori without mana? The impact of the loss of mana to Maori in New Zealand society will be demonstrated in historical context in later chapters. Mahuika (1998) offers an insight into the tensions behind race relations in New Zealand over historically confiscated land explaining that: "It will not be possible to focus properly on a positive future because Maori will always take up from where their forebears left off" (p.220). Acknowledgement of the past is a fundamental epistemological distinction of Maori culture.

Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga is a generosity in relationships, and practices a quality of hospitality that could cause hapu/iwi to gain or lose mana (Matenga-Kohu & Roberts, 2006; Mead, 2003). Mead (2003) explains that Maori values or tikanga are "underpinned by the high value of manaakitanga - nurturing relationships, looking after people and being very careful about how other people are treated" (p.29). Sharples (2007) describes manaakitanga as:

> a sharing of resources to assist and show support for the efforts of your fellowman, so we all have and possess in common… literally – to manaaki or feed the spirit – is a way of living which acknowledges the mana of others as having equal or greater importance than one's own....A philosophy that the act of giving, of aroha, of hospitality builds unity. (para. 220)

Part of whanau, hapu or iwi ability to manaaki is their mana whenua and means of manaaki. Without that, mana is diminished.

Utu

Utu is referred to as the principle of reciprocity and equivalence in relationships that must be maintained (Mead, 2003). Reciprocity underpins the giving and receiving of good will and good works. When examined in its entirety, it becomes clear that utu is "concerned with reciprocity and maintaining the balance of social relationships" (Ministry of Justice, 2010, para. 14). The "aim of utu is to return the affected parties to their prior position" (Ministry of Justice, 2010, para. 50). Many pathways may be culturally appropriate for this practice.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino Rangatiratanga is Mana Maori: The right to be Maori. It ensures the preservation of a culture which not only has a different worldview but also possesses the power to live as Maori (M. Wilson, 1997). In pragmatic terms, tino rangatiratanga means: "The wise administration of all the assets possessed by a group for that group's benefit: In a word, trusteeship in whatever form the Maori deemed relevant…*the Maori people define for themselves and for Parliament the rangatiratanga guaranteed for them by the Treaty of Waitangi*" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1983, p.5, italics added). Importantly, this research attempts to assert a

form of tino rangatiratanga by giving voice to Maori being Maori in sport and critiques the negative reactions from Pakeha toward Maoriness[3].

Summary

The concepts discussed above, while not exhaustive, will be used later in the thesis to illustrate the epistemological differences that inform Maori thinking and being. At this stage of the hui, the speakers have attempted to explain the Maori worldview that underpins the research participants' lived experiences. These experiences contrast with those experienced within Pakeha-dominated contexts. The following chapter explores the effects of a Pakeha worldview, which includes the impact of colonisation on mana Maori.

---

[3] According to Eketone (2008), personal struggle against oppression along with personal whakapapa is a signifier of 'Maoriness'.

CHAPTER THREE: MANUWHIRI WAYS OF SEEING AND BEING

 At this stage of the hui, *manuwhiri* academics and theorists elucidate Pakeha worldviews. In some aspects, a Pakeha worldview (built on individualism) is diametrically opposed to Maori worldviews (built on collectivism and whanau as the fundamental social unit) (Mahuika, 2008; Smith, 1999). These ideological differences provide a basis upon which the research participants' sporting experiences can be understood in later chapters. hooks (2000) links difference to power and argues that racial difference is equated with different levels of entitlement (see also Hall, 1997). The manuwhiri will demonstrate how power affects such entitlements in society generally and then in specific New Zealand structures and institutions. Social theories provide a framework for the research participants' experiences that involve issues of power, prejudice, stereotyping, racism, colonisation and mechanisms of white privilege. A culture of denial (Cohen, 2001) is discussed which explains why racism persists in a society that has earned itself an international reputation for strong race relations based on supposedly egalitarian values.

Difference

Despite this reputation, racial difference does matter in New Zealand. Our understandings of difference stem from systems of representation that attach meanings to those differences (Hall, 1997). "Meaning depends on the relationship between people, objects and events, (real or fictional) and the conceptual system, which can operate as mental representations of them" (Hall, 1997, p. 18). Fundamental to the production of meaning is the way we mark difference within language (Culler, 1976 cited in Hall, 1997). Difference matters because meaning would not exist without it, as it signifies and carries a message (Hall, 1997). For example, Hall (1997) suggests that using binary opposites of black (associated with 'bad') and white (associated with 'good') are simplistic ways of establishing difference, but have value in capturing diversity within their extremes. The danger is that binaries are a "crude and reductionist way of establishing" and oversimplifying meaning (p. 235). Hall (1997) discusses the idea that binary oppositions always involve a relationship of power and posits that binary

oppositions should be written as follows: "**white**/black, **men**/women, **masculine**/feminine, **upper class**/lower class" (p. 235, bold in original).

In classifying differences between human beings, scientists have categorised sets of people according to phenotypical characteristics such as skin colour, hair type, or eye shape: Caucasian (white), Polynesian (brown), Mongoloid (Asians), and Negroid (black) (Hall, 1997; Haney Lopez, 1994; Miles, 1989). This classification uses 'types' of people. A type "is any simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized characterisation in which a few traits are foregrounded and change or 'development' is kept to a minimum" (Dyer, 1977, p. 28 cited in Hall, 1997, p. 257). Without types it would be impossible to make sense of the world (Hall, 1997).

The difference between type and stereotype is that the latter "reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes 'difference'" and also utilises a strategy of 'splitting' that "divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal" (Hall, 1977, p. 258). Marking differences involves the ways we are taught to think about, speak about and behave in relation to the differences (Ballara, 1986; hooks, 2000; Hall, 1997). Bireda's (2010) experience as a counsellor suggests that stereotypes influence relationships between people and outcomes in society because they shape beliefs and behaviours.

Stereotypes, Prejudice and Racism

According to Hall (1997, p. 257), "stereotyping as a signifying practice is central to the representation of racial difference" and serves an intentional function (see also Bireda, 2010). It excludes everything ('them') that is different from 'us' who are normal because 'they' or the 'other' does not fit (Hall, 1997). Prejudice, which precedes racism, is based on stereotypes and most commonly refers to "a negative, or unfavourable attitude toward a group, or its individual members" (Scott & Marshall, 2009, p. 595). Prejudice is succinctly described as "ill-thinking of others" (Tatz, 2008). 'Race' works by "attributing meanings to certain phenotypical and/or genetic characteristics of human beings in such a way as to create a system of categorization, and by attributing additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics to the people sorted into those categories" (Miles, 1989, p. 3). "Racism is 'legitimated' acting" on prejudicial thoughts" (Tatz & Adair,

2009, p. 21). The dimensions of difference recognized in racism occur amongst a web of complex social relations (Hall, 1997; Miles, 1989).

Claiming that preference is not prejudice is "an explicit justification of a process of inclusion and therefore of exclusion: To prefer is to rank and to choose to value something or person or group, and therefore necessary to preclude some other thing, person or group" (Miles, 1989, p. 8). The differences between populations on the basis of race and colour reflect the way we are taught to think about racial difference, including how some differences matter more than others (Ballara, 1986; Hall, 1997; hooks, 2000; Jensen, 2005).

Aside from the emotional and psychological effects of racism that offend "the target's dignity or moral equality" (Freedman, Waldman, de Pino, Wirth, Mushtaque, Chowdarry, & Rosenfield, 1999, p.101), racism also produces inequality. Racial stereotyping manipulates the allocation of resources and services by constructing a hierarchy for establishing measures that includes or excludes groups of people (Miles, 1989). For example, the medical sector seeks correlations between race and health or medical care, race and intelligence, and race and behaviour, among other variables (Hoberman, 2008; Tatz, 2008). These correlations often result in racial profiling, medical profiling, and discriminatory employment and housing practices, which not only helps to maintain the status quo in the racial hierarchy but may actually work against minorities (Cross et al., 1989; Hoberman, 2008; Tatz, 2008). Many have argued against early scientific studies validating the biological basis for race (Haney Lopez, 1994; Hokowhitu, 2003; Tatz, 2008). Data compiled by various scientists demonstrates that greater genetic variation exists within the populations typically labelled Black and White than between these populations, refuting the belief that racial divisions reflect fundamental genetic differences (Haney Lopez, 1994). Hence, race is not a biological fact but a "socially constructed and politically constituted phenomenon" which society has indulged as fact (King, 2004, p. 13; Haney Lopez, 1994, 2006; Miles, 1989). For example, some stereotypes prevalent in New Zealand are that Maori are seen as dumb and lazy, Asians can't drive properly, and every Indian owns a dairy, but Pakeha are normal (Kite, 2002). Prejudice underpinned by racial difference assists in the formulation of

stereotypes, which then works to justify the unequal distribution of economic, political and social power in many areas of society, including sport.

Stereotypes of Maori

In New Zealand, stereotyping has become a way of fixing beliefs about Maori. For example, in a study of 164 predominantly Pakeha (76%) students from a Dunedin high school, Holmes, Murachver and Bayard (2001) recorded the effects of stereotyping by using people's accent, appearance and ethnic stereotypes to rate the variables of earnings, education, social class, and intelligence of different ethnic groups. One finding was that speakers who looked and sounded Maori were rated significantly lower than other speaker combinations. Yet speakers who looked Pakeha and sounded Pakeha were generally rated more favourably (but not always significantly so) than the other speaker combinations. These findings emphatically showed that negative stereotypes of Maori are "currently present in New Zealand's youth" (Holmes et al., 2001, p.83). Similar to other indigenous peoples, Maori are stereotyped in ways that frame them as lower than Pakeha, even to the point where Maori themselves may internalise these beliefs (Daes, 2000).

In terms of educational achievement, Maori continue to perform poorly within New Zealand's schooling system (Zwartz, 1998). Holmes et al. (2001) state that studies on stereotypes associated with Maori since the 1950s,have consistently demonstrated that Maori have been viewed as troublemakers, lazy, unintelligent, dirty, aggressive, easy-going and friendly; Pakeha are regarded as successful, hardworking, intelligent and self-centred. Holmes et al. (2001) argue that low teacher expectations of a Maori child's academic success have been a contributing factor to the findings. Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003) explain this deficit theorising as developing within a pattern of power imbalances that

> favour cultural deficit explanations (victim blaming) of Maori students educational performance that perpetuates the ongoing colonising project of pathologising the lives of these students....This pattern of power imbalance is one of dominance and subordination and has developed as the result of the heritage of colonial dominance in this country. (p. 5)

16

Consequently, stereotyping informs the type of thinking that results in discriminating actions which are oppressive. Hall (1997) suggests that stereotyping assists in maintaining the social and symbolic order and tends to take place where gross inequalities of power exist. Racism becomes a key expression of such thinking.

History of Racism

This section explores the history of racism to assist in understanding how racial categories were established and have changed over time. Smith (1999) suggests that Pakeha have made many assumptions in their interactions with other nations, particularly indigenous cultures, which are underpinned by Eurocentric thinking. Eurocentrism is the practice of placing emphasis on European (generally Western) concerns, culture, beliefs and values at the expense of other cultures (Ballara, 1986; Consedine & Consedine, 2001; Yensen, Hague & McCreanor, 1989). Henderson (2000) suggests that the 'State of Nature' theory is the prime assumption of modernity[4] (p.11). This theory of difference assumes superiority of Europeans over 'others' which justifies colonialism around the world (Henderson, 2000).

Colonialisation can be traced back as far as the 1400s after the military encroachment of Portugal on the African continent (Russell-Wood, 1978). Slave trading commenced after Spain, England, Holland and France encroached into America (Loewan, 1995; Zinn, 2003). In the early 16th Century, the Spanish "assumed their innate superiority over the American Indians by virtue of their Christendom" (Ballara, 1986, p. 170). Following years of abuse by the Spanish conquistadors, Indians as the non-white 'other' became victims of countless atrocities, even extermination (Loewan, 1995; Zinn, 2003). Although Bartolome de las Casas (a Dominican priest) influenced a ban on Indian slaves in 1542, paradoxically he suggested that the African blacks could make up the labour shortfall from Africa (Tickell, 2007). Finally, in 1550, the Spanish administrators of the New World called a (now famous) debate at Valladolid in Spain (Wagner & Parish, 1967). A BBC documentary (Tickell, 2007) highlights this particular debate, because it discussed race, and the system of colonisation. Such debates

---

[4] A shorthand term for modern society, or industrial civilization (Giddens, 1998, p. 94).

"fix" peoples as objects of investigation where differences (especially if 'proven' to support negative beliefs) become immutable (Hall, 1997, p. 258). This subsequently operates to justify the unequal treatment of such 'races'.

Racism is also experienced by Arab and Islamic cultures in the 'East', forming the basis for a system of scholarship called Orientalism (Windshuttle, 1999). Born in the early 14th century, the purpose of Orientalism was to promote an understanding of the orient by the Europeans. Orientalism comprised "philology, linguistics, ethnography, and the interpretation of culture through the discovery, recovery, compilation, and translation of Oriental texts" (Windshuttle, 1999, para. 4). However, Said (1979) claims that Orientalism "functioned to serve political ends.... helped define Europe's self image....and has produced a false description of Eastern culture" (cited in Windshuttle, 1999, para. 5, 6, 7). Thus, Said (1979) claims Orientalism facilitated stereotyping of Black and Asian cultures as 'primitive' and under developed in comparison with the West. This became a 'common-sense' justification for colonialism and racism (Said, 1979).

Colonisation

Around the world, the indigenous peoples share similar histories of colonisation, and racist ideologies created to "maintain their dominance and hegemony" (Tauli-Corpuz, 2001, para. 4). It begins with the belief that the colonisers are inherently superior (Tauli-corpuz, 2001, para. 4). Battiste (2000) claims that "the systemic nature of colonisation creates cognitive imperialism, our cognitive prisons" (p. xvii). A fundamental strategy utilised by colonisers against colonised peoples is to "isolate the colonised from all outside sources of information and knowledge – and then feed them with carefully aimed messages convincing them they are backward, ignorant, weak, insignificant, and very, very fortunate to have been colonized" (Daes, 2000, p.7).

Although there are similar characteristics in the pattern of racism that has spread globally, the history of racism and oppression against Maori in Aotearoa has its own peculiarity from that of other indigenous peoples. Maori too became objects of racial classification similar to Indians and Africans in Europe and America. For example, Maori were categorised as non-Western: "Non-Western peoples [defined as blacks] are racially different from Europeans, and this difference is hereditary… therefore, the cultural inferiority is also hereditary"

(Curtin, 1971, p. xv). Ballara (1986) claims that Europeans pre-1840s were influenced by their own intellectual and religious traditions, and regarded all 'coloured' peoples as 'lower' than themselves by virtue of their nature. The following editorial is reflective of the attitude of Pakeha in the early 1840s:

> The native race is physically, organically, intellectually and morally, far inferior to the European. No cultivation, no education will create in the mind of the present native race that refinement of feeling, that delicate sensibility and sympathy, which characterize the educated European… the Maori is an inferior branch of the human family. (Southern Cross editorial , 1844, as cited in Ballara, 1986, p. 18)

It is suggested that these Eurocentric assumptions justified the historical attempt to create a homogeneous society in New Zealand through assimilation (Ballara, 1986). Accordingly, racism and discrimination clearly underpin the colonisation and marginalisation of Maori in Aotearoa which gained momentum from 1840.

The Treaty of Waitangi and Colonisation

In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Maori and the British Crown. Previously, European settlement had taken place on Maori terms, with Maori in control of the process (King, 2000). Article One of the Treaty gave the Crown (Pakeha) the right to set up a government, establish laws, rules and procedures for a new society in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Article Two of the Treaty guaranteed protection of Maori sovereignty/tino rangatiratanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Article Three guaranteed equal rights for both Maori and Pakeha as British subjects (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). At the time, Maori owned 66.4 million acres of land with a population of approximately 255,000 and only 1% of New Zealand's population identified as Pakeha (Palmer, 2000). The Treaty of Waitangi allowed the safe passage of Pakeha settlement to New Zealand, while Pakeha were still the minority (Yensen et al., 1989).

What actually resulted was the Treaty of Waitangi proclaiming British sovereignty over New Zealand (King, 2000). In the 19th century New Zealand witnessed masses of white settler immigration that eventually saw them outnumbering Maori. Consequently, the balance of power shifted and by 1858, European immigrants had soared to 50% of the New Zealand population

(Spoonley, 1990) and Maori numbered 56,049 or 48.54% of New Zealand's population (Ryan, 2007). By 1936, Maori constituted only 5.23% of the total population (Ryan, 2007).

According to the Waitangi Tribunal[5], the greatest disadvantage Maori people had in coping with the influx of settlers was that they accepted the Treaty, relying on the honesty and honour of the Queen and her representative, and believing that chieftainship of their properties was guaranteed to them unreservedly with no hidden conditions or reservations. Yensen (1989) argue that the Treaty was used as an instrument of domination and that the Crown has honoured its obligations only when it resulted in gaining or retaining control. The following presents how political, economic and military power was used to gain advantage for Pakeha over Maori.

Political, Military and Economic Power

Access to state power in Western societies is facilitated through the mechanism of democracy. Taken from its Greek origins, democracy means 'Rule of the citizens' and is a form of government in which the people directly or indirectly take part in governing (Rousseau, 2003; Scott & Marshall, 2009). Regardless of the many definitions that exist, democracy is supposedly based on two principles. The first principle is that all members of the society have equal access to power, and second, that all members enjoy universally recognised freedoms and liberties (Dahl, Shapiro & Cheibub, 2003). Yet Sale (1980) suggests that equal access to power in any society is difficult in groups larger than 10,000, and impossible in populations above 50,000.

However, establishing microcosms of European society in colonised countries required the establishment of structures and institutions based on European beliefs and values. New Zealand's government and legislative system were recreated from the British Westminster model of politics and administration. Begaye (2008) suggests that because of historical experiences with oppression and religious persecution in England, the colonists had an understanding of inclusion, equal

---

[5] The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims brought by Maori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi (http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/).

participation, and freedom of expression that applied only to white settlers.

The laws passed since 1840 effectively facilitated the dispossession of Maori from their lands due to Maori having no input in constructing or implementing those laws (Ballara, 1986; Palmer, 2000; Yensen, 1989). The *New Zealand Constitution Act 1852* for example, allowed only men aged over 21 years, who possessed at least a small amount of individually owned property, to vote, thus reducing the numbers of Maori men eligible to vote (Yensen, 1989).

The Native Lands Act 1862, set up a Land Court to individualise Maori land ownership as a prerequisite to sale, knowing that Maori tended to own the land collectively. The process, which proved too costly for Maori, resulted in forced sales of land due to the expense of meeting court costs and expenses incurred by living away from ancestral homelands (Consedine & Consedine, 2001; Yensen, 1989).

The Native Lands Act 1865 allowed European settlers to apply through court for a determination of title, and gave title to Pakeha if there was no challenge from Maori – even if Maori were not aware of the case being brought. *The Maori Representation Act 1867* legally established four Maori seats, with the intent of limiting the political power of Maori (Yensen, 1989). Under a majority governance structure, created by Pakeha, Maori political representation was grossly under-represented, rendering them powerless to retain their land against the legal and lawful yet immoral land acquisitions.

The Rating Act 1882, under which the Property Tax Department was found to be rating Maori land at three times its market value on government instructions, was used to take Maori land (Ballara, 1986; Yensen, 1989).

Land confiscation was also used against 'rebellious' tribes (Ballara, 1986; Consedine & Consedine, 2001; Yensen, 1989). By the early 1900s, there had been "widespread land loss and alienation" (Kingi, 2007, p. 148). Maori land was removed from Maori ownership, and Maori capacity was further destroyed as bank credit was withheld from Maori communal enterprises (Yensen, 1989). Maori were also excluded from political decision-making and became a cheap labour alternative due to being paid lower than Pakeha. Further control was exercised through the use of imperial troops and a police force under the instruction of government ministers, which operated to maintain the continuing

domination of Maori by Pakeha (Ballara, 1986; Consedine & Consedine, 2001; Yensen, 1989).

Thus the beliefs, laws and practices of Pakeha in relation to Maori have produced a legacy of inequality which I will argue (later) is symptomatic of racism. Although extensive evidence of racism exists, eliminating racism is a major challenge. At the global level, an attempt to promote equality by eliminating racism is a praiseworthy ideal. Under international law, "the term 'Racial Discrimination' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has *the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life"* (International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965, Part 1, Article 1, Para. 1, italics added). Mai Chen[6] says "the United Nations Organisation is often a first step toward binding conventions" (Hill, 2010, para. 9). However, it is debatable whether these conventions have real 'teeth' to enforce any member nation's compliance to their international agreements. For example, although the New Zealand government decided to support the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People in 2010 (see United Nations, 1965), Prime Minister John Key played down the significance of the declaration, saying it would have "no practical effect" (Hill, 2010, para. 5). Further, "the Government says the declaration is just "aspirational" and New Zealand's laws would determine how much of it would be implemented" (Hill, 2010, para. 6).

Although racial discrimination is illegal in New Zealand, I suggest that these laws amount to 'lip service' with minimal effect, especially in the sport context, which leads to questions about the effectiveness of laws such as the *Human Rights Act 1993*.

Contemporary Racism

Racism can be explained in three broad forms: Personal, cultural, and institutional (Ministry Advisory Committee, 1986). The one most easily confronted is *personal racism* which is "manifested in attitude or action" (Ministerial Advisory

---

[6] Prominent New Zeland Public Law expert

Committee, 1988, p. 19). The effects of racism at the individual level see colonised people "learn to hide their real feelings and sincere beliefs" because they have been taught that "their feelings and beliefs are evidence of ignorance and barbarity" (Daes, 2000, p. 7). Consequently, a lack of confidence prevails as well as a fear of retaliatory action. Personal attitudes then become institutionalised.

Institutional racism ignores and excludes all minority culture values, systems and viewpoints in submission to the system of the dominant culture (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). That system is an invisible power of racial hegemony that is built into the structures of colonial power of the dominant culture (Jensen, 2005). Institutional racism normalises Pakeha as the authority to maintain a social order that is accepted because it is natural (Hepburn, 2003).

Cultural racism is manifested by "negative attitudes to the culture and lifestyle of a minority culture, or the domination of that culture and its efforts to define itself by the dominant culture" (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 19). The dominant culture selects which aspects of the minority culture are useful or acceptable. In New Zealand, Maori athletes in national teams are useful when haka, or waiata are required by the dominant culture but the rest of their 'Maoriness' can be left at the door (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988; Wrathall, 1996). [7]

These forms of racism reflect differences that occur amongst a web of complex social relations (Hall, 1997; Miles, 1989). The formulation of these differences become critical as considerable influence is then exerted by individuals and groups on others' perceptions about these differences. These differences are then equated with levels of entitlement (Lerner, 2002). However, the ability to convert such thinking into reality is known as power. Rosado (1996) argues that prejudice and racism is underpinned by power, which is fundamental to the organisation of society.

---

[7] A detailed commentary and enquiry into racism within New Zealand society written by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective pointing out the harmful effects of colonisation on the well-being and socio-economic status of Maori people.

Power

A discussion about power assists in explaining the status of Maori in contemporary New Zealand society. It considers the impact on Maori of unequal and inequitable power in societal institutions, structures and processes. Power is an essentially contested concept but can be described as "the probability of persons or groups, carrying out their will even when opposed by others" (Marshall, 1998, p.519). Casey (1984) discusses power in three very broad categories: philosophical; power in the context of society and the state; and the exercise of power in the context of an organization. Whatever the discourse regarding power, we are affected either directly or indirectly by its use every day.

Foucault (1977) argued that knowledge, which is linked to power, "not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make it true" (p.27). Knowledge functions as a form of power, and disseminates the effects of power which leads one to consider forms of domination (Foucault, 1980). When only certain people or groups of people control knowledge, oppression can be the outcome.

In the context of society and the state "...power tends to get translated into a structure of dominance, enabling the powerful to write their advantages into the system's very structure" (Sage, 1998, p.234). Consequently, those who have power over resources can "shape societal attitudes, values and beliefs and thus influence all the social institutions and cultural practices including sport" (Sage, 1998, p.18). These social and institutional arrangements hold the power and resources which almost makes questioning unthinkable (Freedman, Waldman, de Pinho, Wirth, Mushtaque, Chowdarry & Rosenfield, 2005).

Because New Zealand exercises democracy as an instrument in its societal processes, the implicit belief is that equality is the result. Equality commonly refers to the idea of equal treatment or to egalitarianism, "a doctrine which sees equality of condition, outcome, reward and privilege as a desirable goal of social organisation" (Scott & Marshall, 2009, p. 207). Although the dominant theory prevails that New Zealand is an egalitarian society, there are many Pakeha who acknowledge that some groups are persistently excluded from many of the resources in our society (James & Saville-Smith, 1999; Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005).

Key functionary positions are centers of power and control due to their location within a social system (Evans, 2001). Generally, these positions control resources such as time, money, or human resources; and outputs such as services and activities delivered such as training sessions, publications, workshops, and media releases with outside environments (Evans, 2001). Others serve as channels for the flow of information among the system's parts (Evans, 2001). Every social system depends on the adequate performance of these positions for its overall operations, and so people in key functionary positions are capable of wielding considerable power.

A question of *who* gets into power through pathways open to some and yet restricted to others suggests that those at the top of an organisation or society in key functionary positions are more credible than those at the bottom. The meritocratic belief is that appointments are made and responsibilities are assigned to individuals based on demonstrated intelligence and ability. Success depends on what one does in terms of effort, hard work and sacrifice (Hochschild, 1995). Meritocracy regards every individual as being born with equal life chances and equal opportunities where everyone competes on a level playing field (Smith, 1992). Thus, all participants in society can reasonably anticipate success (Hochschild, 1995). Similar to the functionalist perspective, meritocracy assumes that the 'system' works universally and is equivalently effective (Cross et al., 1989). Failure is then reduced to an individual lack of will and talent (Hochschild, 1995). Meritocracy is an incredibly powerful ideology offering no excuse for failure except on the part of the individual. The role of gender, class, race and ethnicity are downplayed where there is a strong emphasis on individual responsibility (Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004).

These ideas about power are explained in the New Zealand context where Maori are denied access to key functionary positions through complex decision-making processes and networks in Pakeha-constructed institutions (Palmer, 2007). Minimal Maori representation impacts on the ability of Maori to influence policy formulation, decision control and decision management.

Impact and Effects of Colonisation

Education

Maori language and education have also been deeply impacted by colonisation. The significance of language in Pakeha terms is identity. Whilst addressing the Waitangi Tribunal during the Maori Language Claim, Sir James Henare stated "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori. (The language is the life force of the mana Maori)" (New Zealand History Online, 2010, para. 1). A question of language is a question of power: No language, no power. Bell (1990) suggested, "Attitudes to the language reflect reaction not to language itself, but to the people who speak it" (p.19). Therefore it follows that "Pakeha reaction to the Maori language is a mirror of Pakeha attitudes to the Maori people" (Ka'ai, 2004, p.202).

   The history of education in New Zealand reflects an attitude based on Eurocentric views which implemented a programme that effectively decreased the use of 'te reo Maori' (Maori language) in New Zealand, especially after 1900 (Ka'ai, 2004). It is argued that the focus of missionaries, who established the first schools in 1816, was upon the two key agendas of civilising and christianising Maori people (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Ka'ai, 2004). The 1847 Education Ordinance (which may be viewed as the first legislative expression of Pakeha control of the education system) created a national system of Native schools that legitimated the structures and curriculum under missionary control (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Ka'ai, 2004). "Management positions of each school ….could only be held by Pakeha men" (Johnston & Pihama, 1994, para.33). The denial of Maori language in school contexts was part of an assimilationist policy which was like others, underpinned by discriminatory attitudes. These attitudes served to deprive Maori of their cultural identity by 'civilizing' 'backward' indigenous peoples through "integrating them into more 'superior' or more 'civilized' societies" (Tauli-Corpuz, 2001, para.18).

   Ka'ai (2004) explains how racism and colonisation impacts on Maori children in the New Zealand context. A middle-class Pakeha child acquires messages from the dominant culture that are reproduced in mainstream education. Subsequently, any other group whose culture is not embodied in the school is disadvantaged. Historically, the reality for Maori children is that "there has been a discontinuity

between home and school, between the academic knowledge of the school and the everyday knowledge of the home and community" (Ka'ai, 2004, p.212). The dominant culture dictates the curriculum, methods, and ethos in mainstream education which up until the 1970s had almost no Maori language (Ka'ai, 2004). Further, the history that is not taught in primary, intermediate and high school mainstream education from a Maori perspective denies the opportunity for balanced debate. The ramifications for New Zealanders begs the question of how New Zealand society expects to raise generations of critical thinkers, when our education system is unable to confront what it has historically chosen to ignore: the unpleasant truths of the debilitating effects of colonisation in New Zealand.

Wealth

Further effects of colonisation are observed in wealth statistics. It is well documented that great inequalities in socioeconomic position exist between Maori and non-Maori in New Zealand (Crampton, et al., 2004; Howden-Chapman, & Tobias, 1999); such extremes exist in other western capitalist nations (Eisenstein, 1998). A capitalist free-market economy is based on *individualism*, private ownership, and hierarchy of class, profit making, and competition (Wilkes, 1990). Although capitalism offers the opportunity to succeed, the flipside is that this social system based on competition, individualism and class distinctions, produces economic, social and cultural inequalities and inequitable outcomes. According to Perkin (1996), this widening gap between the rich and poor is "the fundamental contradiction at the heart of extreme free-market theory. Far from allocating society's resources equitably, it tends to reinforce success and failure exponentially and so, to produce an even wider gap between the rich and poor" (p.192). Hayek (1976) suggest the inevitable outcome of capitalism is inequality which is an "inescapable outcome and an essential condition of its successful economic functioning" (cited in Gindin, 2002, p. 3). The irony of capitalism with its individualistic, competitive, class-based philosophy is that it exists in democratic countries, suggesting that the majority populous prefer the trade-off between inevitable inequalities rather than equality for all. Further, individualism, meritocracy and competition are diametrically opposed to Maori culture and

values of collectivism, an emphasis on shared mana and cooperation (Smith, 1992).

Historically, the effects of capitalism have severely disadvantaged Maori. Although the rhetoric of equality and egalitarianism are lauded, a large-scale systemic analysis demonstrates otherwise. For example, data from the Net Worth of New Zealanders Report reports that a single Pakeha was worth over three times more than a single Maori; and married Pakeha couples' assets were worth over 1.6 times more than the married Maori couple (p. 31). Europeans had by far the highest median net worth, followed by Asians, and then Maori and Pacific people (Cheung, 2007). The inequalities are passed down through social institutions and the 'spatial divisions of uneven capitalist development' are also reproduced inter-generationally and inter-regionally (Kaufman, 2001). This in turn leads to inequality of opportunity and exclusion. Not only are inequalities well documented but under a western democracy where a capitalist economy is the norm inequalities are deemed necessary, inevitable and, thus, ultimately acceptable (Miles, 1989). Jones (1999) claims that, "socio-economic status should be viewed as a symptom of contemporary structural factors that perpetuate historical injustices ... we must address the underlying structures that cause Maori to be over-represented in poverty while Pakeha are over-represented in wealth" (p.35). Studies show "ethnicity and racism to be influences that are interrelated but have powerful actions independent of the influences of poverty and class" (Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006; Blakeley et al., 2008 cited in Ballard, 2008). Darder and Torres (2004) claim that "race was birthed by racism and subsequently has been used as a tool to justify the way jobs, power, prestige, and wealth are distributed" (as cited in Dunbar, 2008, p. 94). Better (2002) claims that "racism persists because it provides an avenue of advantage and profit for those who engage in individual racist actions. It persists because it provides a mechanism for constant privilege for the dominant group through individual practices" (p.24).

Similar patterns of a capitalist structure are manifest in sport which are seen to be operating at many levels. Competition is considered a positive, necessary for survival and a way of proving one's worth, similar to sport (Huizinga, 1955).

As competition is a fundamental tenet of capitalism and a necessary characteristic of sport (Woods, 2007) it can be argued that, inequalities and inequitable outcomes in sport are too inevitable and ultimately acceptable. Miles (1989) posits that in a capitalist society, it requires a mechanism of inclusion/exclusion to allocate scarce resources, and racism becomes one of those mechanisms.

Health

Wilkinson (2005) suggests that life expectancy in health and epidemiological research is regarded as a key indicator of how well a society cares for its people. In the case of Aotearoa/New Zealand, The Public Health Commission (1994) reports the belief that in 1894, Maori were a 'dying race' as a result of the fatal impact of colonisation. Although the word genocide is generally reserved for the deliberate extermination of the Jews by the Nazis during World War II (1939-1945) the Maori population going from 200,000 in 1860 to 60,000 in 1900 equates to almost 70% of a population dying over a period of forty years (Tariana Turia cited in Josephs, 2008). "Whether intentional or not, it is still genocide" (Gellately & Kiernan, 2003, p.135).

In the 21st century, Maori health is still comparatively poor. For example, in the data taken between 2000 and 2002, Maori males have a life expectancy 8.9 years less than that of non-Maori males, whereas Maori females have a life expectancy 9.4 years less than that of non-Maori females (Bramley, Herbert, Tuzzio & Chassin, 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2004). Maori people also showed the highest prevalence of smoking (48.6% of adults) – twice that of the majority population (Bramley et al., 2005).

There are many explanations for how racism affects health, including differential exposure to determinants of health, such as socioeconomic status, environmental and behavioural factors, differential access to and quality of health-care services, and direct effects of racism such as trauma and stress (Jones, 1999; Karlsen & Nazroo, 2003; House & Williams, 2000). But socioeconomic explanations do not fully account for the health disparities between Maori and non-Maori, since they do not take into account the factors that lead to marginalisation of Maori and unequal distribution of socioeconomic resources by ethnicity in the first place (Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys & Waldegrave, 2006; Harris,

Tobias, Jeffreys, Waldegrave, Karlsen & Nazroo, 2006). Personally mediated and institutionalised racism as explanations are illustrated in the 2002/03 New Zealand Health Survey. For the first time, this survey included a series of questions on people's experiences of racial discrimination. Analysis showed that self-reported experience of racial discrimination was highest among Maori; further any such experience was strongly associated with negative health effects among all ethnic groups (Harris, et al., 2006). Researchers from the Ministry of Health and University of Otago Report (2006) claim that, "discrimination and socio-economic position are closely intertwined" and that particular forms of "structural inequality", "produce and reproduce" a "racialised social order" (p.4).

New Zealand's Racialised Social Order

According to the Social Report (2009) Maori make up 14.6% of New Zealand's population. However, Maori are over-represented in negative statistics such as drug use, teenage pregnancy, welfare-dependency, crime rates, imprisonment, unemployment, and domestic violence, supporting the dominant belief that Maori are the cause of major social problems, as with African-Americans in the United States (Smith, 2004). Conceptualising a racialised social order using wealth/income levels, health, education, prison and crime statistics in New Zealand, would rank races as follows: First, Pakeha; Second, Asian; Third, Maori; Fourth, Pacific Islander.

Jones (1999) argues that the status of Maori within New Zealand society is a result of institutionalised racism. The problem is that no institution or one person is culpable because no one is able to identifying the perpetrator/s (Jones, 1999). Institutional racism looks like differential access to sound housing, quality education, employment opportunities and income according to race (Jones, 1999). The statistical evidence (see under education, wealth and health) indicates that Maori have historically been and presently are discriminated against in New Zealand society. The limited political, economic and cultural resources that Pakeha have afforded Maori have severely compromised Maori ability to contribute equally and equitably to society. The status of Maori in contemporary New Zealand subsequently restricts the capacity for Maori to live their tikanga and uphold their mana as individuals in a culture based on collective responsibility. Maori identity and mana was (and still is) highly valued in Maori

culture. This is reflected in its inclusion in the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi that is guaranteed to Maori under Article 2. Mana allows an individual, whanau, hapu, or iwi to contribute towards the nurturing process in society, and all aspects of the environment (Quince, 2007). Sharples (2007) suggests that one must be sure of one's identity in order to manaaki or nurture the aspirations of others. Maori, then, have an obvious motivation to remove oppression but at the other end of the racial hierarchy, who is being privileged?

White Supremacy and Privilege

Exploring racism in New Zealand society requires an awareness of the ways in which members of the dominant culture are implicated. White privilege refers to hidden rights and advantages afforded to white people on the basis of skin colour (McIntosh, 1990). These privileges reinforce and maintain the construction of predominantly white society that suggests White is normal and preferable (Jensen, 2005). Although invisible, white privilege essentially means power. It is suggested that race and racism was invented to protect that power, through which white people have accepted privileges they receive from the system they have helped to maintain (Jensen & Wosnitzer, 2006). Describing the New Zealand context, Ballard (2008) explains that "for those of us who are white …each community setting that we enter, we take our white colour as a cultural, hegemonic signifier of normalcy, privilege, and power" (p. 17). As a white person, Kaufman (2001) states: "The more the privilege we have, we tend to see our life situations as created by ourselves through the force of their own wills (p. 33). This leads to a refusal to acknowledge that their society "is structured along racial lines" and the part white people play in its structuring (Kaufman, 2002, p.33).

Whiteness is manifest in most aspects of society. Jensen and Wosnitzer (2008) claim that the ideology of white supremacy helps white people ignore and/or rationalise disparities in the distribution of resources. White privilege or supremacy many not be apparent until any serious change is proposed that reflects other minority cultures (Jensen & Wosnitzer, 2008).

The New Zealand Nursing Council is an example of an organisation that, in 1988, added a cultural safety component to the nursing curriculum in an attempt to redress the disparate status of Maori health "and education was an obvious

place to begin" (Papps & Ramsden, 1996, p.492). The Council demonstrated a commitment to the 1840 Treaty agreement, requiring people in nursing education, teachers and students to become aware of their social conditioning, how it has affected them, and impacted on their practice. The negative views of Maori had impacted on the quality of care for Maori health (Papps & Ramsden, 1996). Because of media attention, the publicized resistance to this change from Pakeha in 1993 and 1995 resulted in four major inquiries into cultural safety in nursing education as well as three appearances by the Nursing Council of New Zealand before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education and Science (Papps & Ramsden, 1996). The outcome was that the cultural safety component remained in the curriculum.

It is predominantly Pakeha that hold the key functionary positions in New Zealand politics, education, corporate organisations and business. The present system of majority rule in New Zealand was derived from a historical process, securing economic power for Pakeha that appropriated the authority to create the structures, processes and policies that assured and maintained advantage for Pakeha. Jensen (2005) suggests that the core problem in society is not intolerance but the way that white people accept white supremacy and the unearned privileges that it brings based on the suffering of others. The following examples of white privilege indicate similar elements of white privilege in New Zealand, the most relevant of which have been adapted from McIntosh (1990, pp. 2-5) from an American context:

> "White people have made [New Zealand] the great country it is today";
> "A White person is pretty sure of having his/her voice heard in a group in which he/she is the only White person";
> "A White person may be casual about whether or not to listen to a [Maori] in a group where there is only one [Maori]";
> "A White person can count on his/her skin colour not to work against the appearance of his/her financial reliability";
> "A White person does not have to educate their children to be aware of systemic racism to explain harassment";
> "A White person can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting their race on trial";

"A White person can criticise their government and talk about how much they fear its policies and behaviour without being seen as a radical, activist, potential terrorist or just a cultural outsider" (see also Wall, 2007); "A White person can go home from most meetings of organisations they belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance or feared"; "A White person can feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social".

One mechanism that has strongly influenced the normalisation of this situation is the media, which heavily influence what society considers or ignores (Fernandez-Balboa, 1993).

Whiteness in the Media

*White people have power and believe that they think, feel and act like and for all people; white people, unable to see their particularity, cannot take account of other people's; white people create the dominant images of the world, and don't quite see that they thus construct the world in their image. (*Dyer, 1997, p. 9)

In New Zealand, the ownership of the media is concentrated in the hands of large overseas media organisations (Rosenberg, 2003). This is a significant factor in determining content and emphasis. Cosgrove and Bruce (2005) claim "the impact is that, while claiming to speak for all New Zealanders, much of mainstream media coverage is by Pakeha, for Pakeha and about Pakeha" (p. 340). Conversely, the representation of Maori in the mainstream media is predominantly negative. Rankin, Nairn, Moewaka Barnes, Gregory, Kaiwai, Borell & McCreanor (2004) study found a prevalence of negative representations of Maori relating to crime and conflict, an under-utilisation of Maori news sources and very low levels of use of the Maori language. Rankin et al., (2004) suggests this seems to undermine efforts to increase te reo spoken through initiatives such as the introduction of Maori Language week and the increased use of Maori language on National Radio in recent years. Negative messages may be conveyed through societal structures and media such as television, columnists, editorialists and magazines which become a part of the 'conceptual maps' of the undiscerning public (Boock, 2008; Hall, 1997; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006). Rankin et al., (2004) suggests the mass

media shapes and mirrors public discourses of Maori/Pakeha relations, modelling the ways we represent and experience our worlds. Mainstream media appears to frame and represent Maori through a Pakeha worldview, often misrepresenting them (McGregor & Te Awa, 1996). "The practice is so pervasive in New Zealand mainstream media that one veteran Maori journalist has labeled the national broadcaster 'Pakeha television'" (Walker, 2004, p. 334 cited in Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005, p.340). As in the introduction to this thesis, the power of the media has assisted in the reinforcement of negative stereotyping of Maori, in a similar way to the representation of Aborigines in Australia (Mellor, 2003). Hall's (1997) ideas argue that the "conceptual systems....concepts organised, arranged and classified into complex relations with one another" or between the races are just different" (p.18). Unfortunately over time, the dominant conceptual systems regarding Maori as less than/least preferable/inferior become natural and fixed.

Therefore, because of a lack of awareness, equality or even neutrality where Maori are concerned does not appear to have been a high priority in mainstream media. Thus the media has inadvertently become a mechanism of white privilege that presents and perpetuates negative stereotypes of Maori in a society that frames Maori as undeserving (Rankin et al.,, 2004). The construction and maintenance of racist images and the effects of such practices continue to be experienced by Maori in many contexts of New Zealand society.

However, although studies continue to identify anomalies or racial disparities in society, a culture of denial seems to prevail over acknowledging the existence of racism and the extent of its pervasiveness in New Zealand.

The Politics of Denial -'Eyes Wide Shut'

> *"To know and not to act is not to know"* (Wang Yang-Ming cited in
> Cohen, 2001, p.23)

Cohen's (2001) framework for analysing forms of denial offers an approach that explains this social and psychological phenomenon. Denial is a coping strategy for disturbing knowledge that involves: "cognition (not acknowledging the facts); emotion (not feeling, not being disturbed); morality (not recognizing wrongness or responsibility) and action (not taking active steps in response to knowledge)" (Cohen, 2001, p.9). Researching denial describes a "study of giving and receiving accounts: how accounts enter the culturally available pool, how they differ over

history and social context, when they are accepted or rejected" (Cohen, 2001, p.63). Where there is no acknowledgement, there is no need to bear moral responsibility or culpability for something that never happened. At the core of the denial concept is the "paradox of knowing and not-knowing", but "some information is always registered" (Cohen, 2001, p. 22). Cohen (2001) describes three possibilities that appear to relate to the New Zealand context: *Literal denial* is "declaring that a statement about a factual reality is untrue" (Cohen, 2001, p.21) such as, 'There is no racism in New Zealand'. *Interpretive denial* does not deny the raw facts, but "gives them a meaning different from what seems apparent to others" (Cohen, 2001, p.7) such as, '*We prefer the term 'ethnicity', but we are all New Zealanders'*. It uses euphemisms, or technical jargon, and may change words; *Implicatory denial* does not overtly deny the facts or the meanings attached to the facts but moreso the moral repercussions that may follow from the facts (Cohen, 2001) such as, '*As long as we are all New Zealanders, nothing else matters'*.

There are different levels of denial understood as personal, psychological and private or those that are shared, social, collective, and organized (Cohen, 2001). *Personal denial* is an individual reaction or at least an action that can be studied at the psychological level. *Official denial* is public, collective, and highly organized. Denial here is "built into the ideological facade of the state" (Cohen, 2001, p.10). Even a study of Indigenous people's rights and grievances is concurrently a study of the official techniques that are used to deny these realities, not just to observers but also often to perpetrators themselves (Josephs, 2008). *Historical denial* is the denial of the connection between past injustice and present disadvantage. Masalha (2003) claims that denial is a key component in a political strategy that denies any wrongdoing or historical injustice. For example, "Ours is a new world...That was then and this is now" (Tatz, 2008). *Cultural denial* is where whole societies disavow public acknowledgement of what it collectively chooses to ignore (Cohen, 2001). For example, the denial of racism justifies resistance to discussing the advantages that Pakeha have, and continue to gain, at the expense of Maori.

In New Zealand racism is a dirty word and is often marginalised as an explanation in discourse (Cormack, 2006). Although the concept of racism is not new, New Zealanders understand that overt forms and images only take place in

35

other countries, like America. If there is acknowledgement of racism, it is all in the past. For instance, "social barriers and prejudices might have existed in New Zealand's wider society throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but not in rugby" (Paul, 2007, para. 36). In New Zealand racism is more subtle and covert, thus harder to challenge. Augoustinos and Every (2007) discuss the discursive patterns of formal and informal talk about race and ethnicity that functions to negatively position minority out-groups. In New Zealand, Wetherell and Potter (1992) point out, many Pakeha have attributed divisiveness and the collapse of the ideal of multiracial harmony to the actions of Maori and other groups contesting discriminatory practices: "Over and over again we are told that it is Maori groups who initiate friction, division and disruption and who thus disturb the harmonious 'resting state' of New Zealand society" (p. 158). This treatment of Maori disavows the dominant culture from taking action for racist attitudes and practices that continue to marginalise Maori: no evidence, no case, no problem. Jesson cited in Mikaere (2004) stated about New Zealand that:

> as a society we have this amazing capacity for self-deception. For more than a century, we smugly believed that this country was a model of racial harmony, that we were one people. Maori radicalism has put an end to that particular delusion and we are now in the process of putting down new layers of hypocrisy. (cited in Mikaere, 2004, p.1)

Although the dominant culture may underrate the value of minority cultures, it does not diminish the importance of Mana Maori to Maori.

Culture Counts

Culture is "a group's knowledge and expectations about appropriate modes of interaction and the patterns of activities that are common to the group" (Bireda, 2010, p. 19). These become cultural norms that reflect cultural values and standards for accepted or suitable behaviours (Bireda, 2010). The conflict underpinned by cultural dissonance may arise when people behave in ways consistent with the unseen cultures of their homes and communities, which often may be different from the dominant culture that is deeply-rooted within social institutions (Bireda, 2010; Ka'ai, 2004). Using Bireda's (2010) ideas, three things may happen: the social institutions "may devalue" and penalise individuals for displaying certain cultural values; those in key-functionary positions may

structure contextual "interaction patterns that violate the invisible cultural norms of" minority groups, and thirdly, "such conflicts may not be recognised as cultural because of their invisible nature" (p. 19). These ideas will be illustrated using the research participants' experiences later in the thesis.

The Cultural Competence continuum (Cross, et al., 1989) is a model that offers insight into how individuals, groups, and organisations are accepting of minority cultures.

CULTURAL	*CULTURAL*	*CULTURAL*	*CULTURAL*	*CULTURAL*
DESTRUCTIVENESS	*INCAPACITY*	*BLINDNESS*	*PRE-COMPETENCE*	*COMPETENCE*

←---------1---------------2---------------3---------------4---------------5---------→
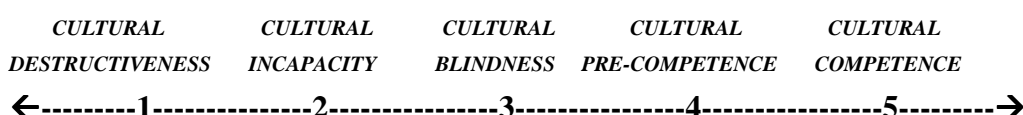
Fig. 2. Cultural Competence Continuum (Cross et al., 1989).

Figure 2 illustrates cultural destructiveness at the negative end of the continuum which moves through the different stages toward cultural competence. Along the continuum are specific positions where forms of personally mediated, cultural and institutional racism have been identified and obscured behind structures created by the dominant culture (King, 2004).

Cultural destructiveness is defined as "attitudes, policies and practices that are destructive to cultures and consequently to the individuals within the culture" which is underpinned by the assumption that one race is superior "over a lesser culture" (Cross et al., 1989, p.14). Consequently the minority culture is viewed as inferior.

Cultural incapacity is described as a system or organisation that is "extremely biased, believes in the racial superiority of the dominant group, and assumes a paternal posture towards lesser races" (p.15).

Cultural blindness functions "with the belief that colour or culture makes no difference and that all people are the same" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). This effectively encourages assimilation whether implicitly or explicitly.

Cultural pre-competence "implies movement" and is characterized by the desire to deliver greater services to minorities (Cross et al., 1989). Unfortunately efforts in this phase face the dangers of tokenism.

Cultural competence is "a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals and enable that

system or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations"
(Cross et al., 1989, p. 13). Examples of these will also be illustrated later in the
thesis.

Summary

In this chapter, I have used sociological theories to attempt to explain the status of
Maori in contemporary New Zealand. The focus is the power imbalance
underpinned by racial differences which currently benefit Whites/Pakeha and
disempower Maori. The conceptual maps that mark difference underpin the
assumptions based on Eurocentric thinking which is posited to have set the stage
for exploitation of forms of power that undergird prejudice and racism. These
forms of power are based on a set of beliefs and values that are historically based.
Eurocentric attitudes have set a precedent for the legitimated colonising process in
New Zealand that oppressed and attempted to assimilate Maori. Within the
obvious cultural differences, Pakeha are pinpointed as the beneficiaries of
colonisation. The reality of a strong cultural denial of racism in New Zealand
permits a refusal to acknowledge white privilege, paradoxically supporting the
rhetoric of democracy, equality and legislative mechanisms that make racism
illegal. All these factors will be shown to impact on the sporting experiences of
the research participants.

CHAPTER FOUR: MAORI AND SPORT

In this chapter I explore relevant literature relating to how being Maori influences experiences in sport. This entails consideration of literature that relates to the general ideas about sport including functionalist versus critical perspectives. Outlining the significance of sport to Maori and Maori culture will assist me in explaining fundamental differences between Maori and Pakeha-dominated sports. Following this outline, I examine stereotypes of Maori in sport and then move to discuss specific research exploring Maori experiences in sport. Examples of racial vilification and exclusion are presented followed by a discussion of power issues, and financial barriers that affect Maori participation in sport. I conclude by giving an overview of the 'state of play' in Aotearoa, providing media examples of the current contexts in which Maori participate in sport. Noticeable is the limited range of literature regarding racism in New Zealand sport. So, research from Australia, the UK and America relating to minority and indigenous groups has been included where relevant.

Functionalist versus Critical Theory in Sport

Sports are studied in terms of their contribution to the integration, equilibrium and stability in society (Coakley, 2004). Sport is a specialized and higher order of games that has specific characteristics: 1) a physical component, 2) a belief that competition outcomes reflect skills and training in determining a winner 3) the necessity of specialized facilities and equipment, and 4) an outside group or institution that governs/controls the conduct and results and enforces the rules of the sport (Woods, 2007). These characteristics will be discussed from different theoretical perspectives that underpin the different worldviews in sports and society.

Functionalist theory is a traditional sociological approach that looks for stability, consistency and order in people's attitudes and accounts (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Sale, 1999). Functionalist theory assumes that shared values provide the basis for social order, which is seen as rational and normal (Coakley, 2004; Jarvie & Reid, 1997). Thus, the needs of the people in sports are the same and all social groups (racially different groups included) benefit equally from sports. Similar ideals are reflected in the discourse of the Olympic movement that competition "shall be fair and equal" with "no discrimination on grounds of race, religion or

politics" (Arnold, 1992, p. 238). A functionalist perspective of sport is seen to be the embodiment of a "character training" vehicle, a social agency perpetuating the values of conformity (Crawford, 1999, p.5). Social behaviours that are encouraged include fair play and patterns of behaviour in sport which are characterised by justice, equity, benevolence, and good manners while striving for athletic superiority (Lee & Cockman, 1995). Possessing a good disposition, accepting bad luck with the good, accepting defeats and demonstrating positive behaviours towards opponents are tenets of the amateur, upper class model which modern sport symbolised. Those with power and influence prefer this theory and have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. This theory de-emphasizes power, failing to recognize that sports are social constructions that privilege or disadvantage some people more than others (Coakley, 2004).

The functionalist theory in action promotes and develops organized sport and increases sport participation opportunities that foster individual development (building character through sports); increases the supervision and control of athletes; mandates coaching education programs; and highlights success in elite programs (Coakley, 2004). The dominant way of thinking about sport is grounded in the functionalist position and its values are espoused by governments, sports organisations, religions and most societal institutions in New Zealand. However, one criticism of functionalist theory is that it overstates the positive consequences of sport in society. Although it is assumed that sport unites people (the Olympics are supposed to be somehow connected to peace), they are organised around the binary concepts of "otherness" (foreigner) and "togetherness" (compatriot) that nation states give rise to (Coakley, 2004; Hall, 1997). As for the research participants' responses, they challenge the applicability of the functionalist theory in their sporting experiences, which align more with critical Indigenous theories.

Critical theories deal with relationships between culture, power and social relations (Coakley, 2004). Research within this framework focuses on the meaning and organisation of sports as sites for cultural transformation, reproduction and transformation (Hall, 1997). Considering the skewed ways that institutions operate in New Zealand society, it would be naive to assume that sport would be organised in ways that transcend race or cultural differences (James & Saville-Smith, 1999). Critical theory also challenges the ideological implications

of the stories told about sports in a culture and challenges the voices and perspectives of those with power in sports and society (Coakley, 2004). Using critical theories in this study, sport becomes a platform for Maori perspectives to challenge and transform exploitive and oppressive practices.

The Significance of Sport to Maori

In the early twentieth century, with Maori culture on the brink of extinction, sport was a welcome salvation (Hokowhitu, 2004a). Maori participated in a range of competitive sports such as boxing, cycling, tug-of-war and river regattas (King, 1984). Rugby union and league were played by Maori in the 19th century, even overseas. For example, a Maori football team is documented as having played Surrey Club at Richmond, 3 October, 1888 as reported by the London News (McConnell, 2000). Maori attitudes to sport have always been positive (Smith, 1998) perhaps due to Maori achieving "more in sport than in any other area of New Zealand society" (Hokowhitu, 2004a, p. 209).

The significance of sport to Maori is reflected in their levels of participation, even as volunteers. Volunteering is a cultural norm for Maori where supporting and giving back to others is an aspect of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga (SPARC, 2006 and SPARC, 2008 cited in Palmer & Marsters, 2010). Te Puni Kokiri (2006) claims that almost all Maori adults (97%) participate in some form of sport or active leisure over the course of a year. On average, Maori adults take part in between five and six different sports and leisure activities each year, with men participating more than women. In sport participation alone, Maori men and women are more likely to participate than men and women of other ethnicities. Yet some have argued (as discussed in Chapter 2), that sport has been part of the processes of imperialism and colonisation (Rigney, 2003, Hokowhitu, 2004a). Hokowhitu (2007) suggests the prevailing attitudes toward Maori proficiencies in physical activities are responsible for the 'channelling' of Maori into sport "without the economic or political threat that Maori success in commerce, for instance, may have posed" (p.85).

In the larger scheme of things, sport has been viewed as an opportunity to compete on a level playing field (Coakley, Hallinan, Jackson & Mewett, 2009; Eitzen, 2006). This should not be an extraordinary expectation in New Zealand considering its strong egalitarian culture (Hokowhitu, 2007). Although this belief

in egalitarianism in sport is fraught with contradictions (Vidacs, 2003), Maori became successful in European-introduced competitive sports, which became an integral part of many Maori communities (Hokowhitu, 2007). Through sport, these communities nurtured and maintained important relationships along with a sense of tribal identity (Hokowhitu, 2007). According to Palmer (2005) "...Maori values are an important part of the culture of [Maori] sports clubs and the kawa (rules) from which they operate. Whanaungatanga and manaakitanga for instance are often elements of tikanga Maori incorporated into the culture of sport teams, clubs, and organisations" (p.78). Other factors of importance to Maori in sport are "competition, the pursuit of excellence, being a member of a team, the value of hard work, and demonstrating leadership" (Palmer, 2005, p.78).

Maori Experiences of Cultural Differences in Sport

A qualitative study by Wrathall (1996) of 13 Maori women at elite level in softball, netball, touch, basketball, golf, athletics, hockey and rugby revealed key issues pertaining to their experiences in sport. Most of these athletes came to their sport by following parents or brothers, sisters and other whanau around sports grounds. Whanau support was the prime motivator behind their success and whanau support was valued highly. Te'evale (2008) concurs with this finding for Pacific Island adolescents living in New Zealand, finding that her study participants needed "friends or family members to train with or to join teams with" (p.8). Other key issues for Wrathall's participants (Thompson, Rewi & Wrathall, 2000) included cultural insensitivity and intolerance because non-Maori coaches and administrators had little understanding of Maori ways and values and often were not interested in them as people other than what they could produce on the playing field. The consensus was "you either did it their way or you were out'" (Thompson et al., 2000, p.246). This led to an overall sentiment that only one culture was taken into account most of the time except when the teams had to sing at after-match functions at which point Maori had to take a leading role (Thompson et al., 2000). Another finding in Wrathall's research was related to a difference in communication styles and the use of language that favoured the administrators' ways of thinking. This resulted in a lack of understanding between the parties with the athletes feeling disadvantaged and unable to explain themselves. Wrathall's participants also highlight the cultural differences in Maori

contexts, such as being taught to not question the kaumatua and so when they made the top team they just did as they were told, not necessarily being happy about everything. One participant said: "Pakehas are very forward and are taught to question….while Maori kids are ignored and tend to drop back and ask no questions even when they don't understand" (Thompson et al., 2000, p.247).

Another factor affecting these Maori women athletes was a lack of information, especially when it came to funding. There seem to be disparate levels of knowledge that informed good decision-making. For example, one of Wrathall's participants made inquiries about funding but was spoken to in "big words" she couldn't understand and ended up being more confused and feeling "too 'whakama' [shy or embarrassed] to say anything" (Thompson et al., 2000, p.247). Manipulation, isolation and exploitation were also areas of concern for study participants, from "the selection criteria to veiled threats of being dropped from the team, to being asked to organise team songs and after-match presentations" (Thompson et al., 2000, p.249).

This feeling of isolation in Pakeha-dominated sport contexts is also experienced by black participants in their transition from players into coaching management in Britain and highlights the ways that racism operates (King, 2004, p.32). King describes how "black ex-players begin to experience white men disassociating themselves from them and denying them access to spaces where their privilege is affirmed through the structure of the [manager's qualification] course" (King, 2004, p.32). King (2004) also raises the point about the control white men have over people of colour and how white men will question the authenticity of anything that is not carried out by a white man. This colonising mentality that legitimates superiority of whites over people of colour (Rigney, 2003) is supported and even unwittingly facilitated in sport through stereotyping.

Stereotypes of Maori in Sport
Generally, Maori are stereotyped as having less intelligence than their Pakeha counterparts (Hokowhitu, 2004a; Holmes et al., 2001). Unfortunately, the over-representation of Maori in sport reinforces the association of Maori with physicality (which is seen as lesser on the body/mind hierarchy) (Hokowhitu, 2003). The concern expressed by Hokowhitu (2007) regarding the belief that Maori excel in sport is that it may channel Maori and Pacific Islanders into sport

as a viable career choice, believing this is "one of the few areas where they can succeed", at the expense of academics (p.91). However, sport was [and still is] seen positively as an area where the attributes of Maori physicality are highlighted (Hokowhitu, 2004a). As seen in other countries where blacks are perceived to be more naturally athletic than whites (Hoberman, 2000), Maori are too perceived as natural athletes (Hokowhitu, 2004a).

Other stereotypes are that Maori lack punctuality, lack discipline and are unorganized, "lazy and fickle" (Palmer, 2000, p. 274; Hokowhitu, 2007, p.87). As cited in Bruce and Saunders (2005) players who can be "characterised as white were more often identified as leaders and hard workers while players identified as black are represented as physically talented with little reference to hard work or intellect" (p.61).

Media sport may be blamed as "one of the most powerful cultural arenas for naturalizing gender and racial differences that are, in fact, socially constructed" (Bruce & Saunders, 2005, p.59). High profile sports personalities even buy into these same erroneous racist beliefs such as Grant Fox (ex-All Black) claiming that "Polynesian players were naturally superior to us in talent, but a lot of them aren't there now because they didn't have the discipline…They lacked the right kind of mental attitude" (cited in Hyde, 1993, p.67). Pakeha ex-New Zealand cricket captain, Martin Crowe has even claimed about a Maori cricketer, "Tuffey is a Maori and traditionally not many Maori make good cricketers…they don't have the temperament or the patience to play through a whole day let alone over a Test match" (Booth, 2003, para. 8). Even some Maori buy into these stereotypes: US Open golfing champion and Maori, Michael Campbell stated, "A lot of Maori people as well as Pakeha, especially Maori I think, are quite lazy…" ("Maori quite," 2005, para.4, cited in Bruce & Saunders, 2005).

An extension of this misconception is that Maori do not possess the cognitive abilities to perform in certain positions that are suited to 'white' people (Melnick &Thompson, 1996). These are similar to attitudes toward Maori cognitive abilities in education where up until the 1940s, State education overtly discriminated against Maori through curricula based on manual instruction (Hokowhitu, 2004a). Simplistic assessments according to stereotypes have some coaches making choices based on false conclusions (Coakley, 2003). Although the practice of

'stacking' or positioning players consistent with racial stereotypes is not as obvious in New Zealand (Melnick & Thomson, 1996, in rugby), there are some New Zealanders who still believe anecdotally that this is a fact (Palmer, 2007; Thompson, et al., 2000). For example, award-winning sports columnist Richard Boock (2008) received a letter saying:

> The team was doomed to fail because the brown brothers couldn't read the game as well as the honkies. Let them range wide and use their speed, by all means…but, for goodness sake, make sure some white brains were picked inside them. (para.3)

This letter-writer asserts that it was the same with the tight five:

> Not enough of the old Anglo-Saxon yeoman; that stoic breed who enjoyed nothing more than dull, grinding, labour, too much flashy, Islander stuff. When did Canterbury last field a team that didn't have three or four Caucasians in the front and second rows? Ditto for the Warriors: too few white New Zealand players in the decisive positions. I'm sure you've heard it before. It's the on-going debate the rugby fraternity refuses to acknowledge. The "too many coconuts" syndrome (Boock, 2008, para.4)

Boock's response that "Non-Caucasian sportspeople" are being "continually and unfairly pigeon-holed on account of lazy thinking and unsophisticated reasoning" is an example of a white male journalist challenging dominant ideologies about Maori and reveals that stereotyping of Maori and Polynesians is prevalent (para. 9). But even more telling is Boock's certainty of the cultural denial of racism in New Zealand: "Over here it's whispered among friends and behind backs, and rationalised into a language that attempts to deodorise the stench of the core message: that it's OK to judge folk on the basis of race" (Boock, 2008, para. 11).

In New Zealand, society accepts, at least superficially, that racism is ethically and morally wrong. Yet in sport, Hokowhitu and Scherer (2008) suggest that an "unofficial segregation" between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand society was mirrored in rugby yet masked by "tokenistic performances" such as the haka and Maori motifs which were "held up as signifiers of a racially inclusive imperial nation" (p. 252).

Racial Vilification

One mediated example of racial vilification was in 2008 through a TV interview with Kevin Tamati, a former Kiwi rugby league representative. He related the deeply felt pain caused by racist taunts resulting in a violent clash on the sidelines of a test match between Australia and New Zealand. Kevin Tamati was part of an historic win for the Kiwi League team in 1985 that was overshadowed by his public fight with Greg Dowling, a white Australian rugby league representative. When asked what triggered the fight, Kevin Tamati described being called "You F***IN NIGGER!" and "F***IN BLACK BASTARD!" (Parahi, 2008). Tamati claimed that racism is common in all aspects of sport and that "sledging is just another hidden term for racial abuse" (Parahi, 2008). He relates how the opposition spectators would call out "You monkey! You nigger!" Tamati would then "beat the shit out of their players" (Parahi, 2008). However, this type of response leads to the reinforcement of stereotypes of "Maori savagery, aggression and physicality" (Hokowhitu, 2004a, p.212). Kennedy (2000) explains that "the word nigger to coloured people is like a red rag to a bull" (p.89). Middleton (2005) claims that

> historically, nigger defined, limited, made fun of, and ridiculed all Blacks. It was a term of exclusion, a verbal reason for discrimination. And so, whether 'nigger' is used as a noun, verb, or adjective, it strengthens the stereotype of the lazy, stupid, dirty, worthless nobody (para.4).

The fact that it took 23 years for Kevin Tamati to break his silence on the incident may be reflective of the discomfort that New Zealanders feel in speaking openly and frankly about racist experiences.

Economic Barriers in Sport

Although sport has been embraced by Maori, Rewi (1992) reports in a study of Tainui iwi physical activity that 74% of the respondents believed that Māori faced barriers which limit their involvement in sports or physical activities. One main factor was affordability, where "almost all stated that the cost associated with participating in organised sport was the main barrier" (Rewi, 1992, p. 59). Te'evale (2008) concurs, in that one of the barriers to sport participation for Pacific Islander adolescents was that there was "no money for sport fees" (p.8).

Coakley et al. (2009) claim that "the most significant forms of racial and ethnic

exclusion today occur at the community level where they are hidden behind policies that tie sport participation to fees and access to personal transportation" (p.302). In terms of operating a fully functional sport organisation, Maori struggle to finance their initiatives due to competing with other health and sporting organisations, even though human resources are obtained on a voluntary basis (Ellis, Sperling & Toma-Dryden, 1999). Coakley et al. (2009) suggest there is a tendency for class-based patterns of exclusion to impact more on racial and ethnic minority groups. But even though classism is a different form of exclusion, the "effects are much the same, thus, making it more difficult to attack on the grounds that [it] violates civil rights" (Coakley et al., 2009, p.302). If poverty is the basis of exclusion then Maori families are more susceptible to being excluded from sport participation. Describing the United States experience, Eitzen (2006) discusses how children from affluent families are advantaged over their peers in several ways. Firstly, schools in wealthy areas are better resourced and capable of providing more sports opportunities, better facilities and equipment than in poorer districts. Secondly, these children can afford the sports camps/clinics and participate in travelling to tournaments and competitions. Third, they have access to private coaches and facilities that are vital to the success of performance in individual sports (golf, tennis, gymnastics and swimming). Fourth, success in some sports requires many years of training at a cost of as much as $60,000 a year such as in ice skating coaching, ice time, travel and costumes (Eitzen, 2006). Maori participation in New Zealand's 'high-end' sports such as yachting, motorsports and equestrian is rare due to financial constraints.

Exclusion

Historically there are examples where Maori have been overtly excluded from participating in sport because of their race. In rugby union, for example, George Nepia was omitted from the 1928 New Zealand All Blacks team to tour South Africa, and in a 1960s an 'all white' All Black team played in South Africa (Nauright & Black, 1999).

In December 2008, the NZRU (New Zealand Rugby Union) decided that the New Zealand Maori rugby team would not assemble in 2009 and would instead be replaced in the Pacific Nations Cup by the Junior All Blacks (later cancelled as well) which last assembled in 2007 (TV3 News, 2008). The rationale behind such

a decision was due to the global economic downturn, which required a "deliberately cautious approach" to its 2009 budget (TV3 News, 2008). The NZRU Board and management had "taken the opportunity to review all costs to ensure that spending was contributing to the key priorities and targets set by the Union" (TV3 News, 2008). Clearly, Maori rugby, which provides a conduit for Maori cultural expression was not a key priority in the scheme of the NZRU's collective thinking. These debates are generally decided at board level, but how much participation/representation do Maori have on these national and international boards?

Power in Sport

Maguire, Jarvie, Mansfield and Bradley (2002) suggest that sociologists of sport not only investigate the values and norms of cultures in sport but they "explore how the exercise of power and the stratified nature of societies place limits, and create possibilities, for people's involvement and success in sport" at all levels (p.xviii). The significance of understanding how power operates by those who have it is the way that they "shape societal attitudes, values and beliefs", thus influencing "all the social institutions and cultural practices including sport" (Sage, 1998, p. 18).

Using Britain as an example, Hall (1998) illustrates how blacks are invisible at decision-making levels: "Are blacks in the boardrooms of the clubs? Of course not. Are they relatively powerless in the institutions which organise the game? Of course" (p. 43 cited in Carrington & McDonald, 2001).

In the USA, Evans (2001) suggests that although African-Americans seem to have overcome the barriers of breaking through to professional sports as players, they face challenges in securing proportional representation in positions of control. Coakley et al. (2009) claims that in the USA, Australia, and New Zealand, "Generally Anglo males are over-represented in every power position in the major sports" (p. 305). In New Zealand there is a low percentage of Maori involved with administration and coaching in sport (Rewi, 1992). Palmer (2007) mentions that in rugby, Maori players are well represented but there is little transfer to the same representation at governance level. Eitzen (2006) suggests that if sport offers social mobility for minorities, then minorities should be found throughout the social structure, not disproportionately at the bottom.

Attempts to break down these barriers remain difficult. King's (2004) study of black soccer players in England attempting to transition into manager's positions discusses this type of exclusion using Goffman's (1956) idea of a 'front stage'. The front stage shows a public face that is white which then links whiteness with leadership and expertise. The back stages are locations unknown and closed to black players. It then becomes difficult to challenge the rationale of decisions made by those at the back stage that exclude blacks, without any level of accountability (King, 2004).

Generally, Palmer (2007) makes clear that there is very little information gathered regarding Maori in sport management and governance at the elite level. The absence of Maori in key decision-making positions can impact on Maori participation and involvement in sport in significant ways, which will be explored in Chapter Six.

Sport, Media and National Identity

The idea that sport can create or foster a sense of nationhood is popular and Smith and Porter (2004) suggest that international competition generates a "seemingly endless number of occasions when nations are embodied in something manifestly real and visible" (p.1). Hall (1992) argues that the nationalist discourse is a way of constructing meanings that organize the actions and conceptions of citizens. Meanings of the nation are contained in the stories told about it, "memories which connect its present with its past, and images that are constructed of it" (Hall, 1992, p. 239). The hoisting of New Zealand's flag supposedly projects a collective recognition of unity. Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC, 2006-09) has recently stated that winning is important in international events and it is implied that winning creates a strong sense of national identity, pride and social cohesion.

Falcous (2007) sees nationalist discourse as a structure of cultural power and suggests that sport is a key site for the construction and promulgation of nationalist discourse. Such mythologies are critical to "the subsuming of cultural difference in favour of unity" but "rarely does this consist of equal partnership between component cultures" (Falcous, 2007, p.376). Other postcolonial and cultural studies writers "stress the imaginary and material interaction between people who were and still are, excluded from white privilege and power" (Andersson, 2007, p.66).

Okoli (2007) discusses the evidence that patriotism is becoming peripheral to some Americans. These particular citizens are in many ways dispossessed, disenfranchised and marginalized resulting in a cynicism about the principles of freedom and equality that supposedly established America. Consequently, they believe the freedom they possess is more symbolic than substantive. On the other hand, patriotism is believed to be fundamental to well-established groups because they have fully participated in the benefits of the American ideals, thus perceiving that they have a higher ownership than the marginalised group. Hence, the freedom they possess is both symbolic and substantive, and they are able to exercise it as they wish (Okoli, 2007).

It is argued that sports effectively serve as a cultural signifier of national identity (Hall, 1997). Melnick and Jackson (2002) found that in a New Zealand high school, a greater percentage of athletes were seen as heroes than found in other countries, which the authors attributed to the importance of sport to New Zealand identity. The most popular of New Zealand choices was John Timu (Maori ex-all black and professional rugby league star), which may suggest that the media is an institution that, in its whiteness, has promulgated the powerful construction of the Maori as a physical being (Hokowhitu, 2004a; Hokowhitu, 2004b).

Bruce and Saunders (2005) argued this was related to the way athletic success was glorified by the mass media. Cosgrove and Bruce (2005) argue that it is whiteness that prevails in mainstream media images of nationalism and that there are "historically dominant but increasingly contested notions of national character that are synonymous with whiteness" (p.336).

Palmer (2005) suggests that Maori have played a significant role in the creation of New Zealand's identity as a sporting nation. But what about the creation of what constitutes a New Zealander? The privilege of defining what a New Zealander is seems to be a recurring theme in Maori-Pakeha discourses. The intention to homogenize is perceived by many Maori as part of the colonizing process which continues today. Yet wishing that Maori were more like Pakeha is as silly as the song sung by Higgins in My Fair Lady, when he plaintively asks 'Why can't a Woman be more like a Man?'" (Verma & Darby, 1994, p.ix).

Using the Australian context, Coakley et al. (2009) argued that when indigenous athletes do well they are celebrated as national icons, which amasses solid support for national identity, but are re-characterised as 'aboriginal' when less successful. The parallel for Maori is that when they are successful they are elevated to the status of New Zealanders. If they fail, they are Maori.

Tino Rangatiratanga in Maori Sport

Alternative sporting models that reflect the fundamental tenets of Maori epistemology are manifested in Maori sport initiatives such as Maori sport (i.e. Maori Rugby, Maori Rugby League, Maori Netball, Maori Tennis, Maori Touch and 'Pa wars', Iwi games such as Tainui games and the 'Marae games' (Ellis, et al., 1999). These events are all part of the vision of what Tino Rangatiratanga is: Maori sports *for Maori, by Maori, being Maori.* They offer opportunities to showcase the 'Maori-ness' of indigenous New Zealanders attracted to sport for the relational aspects it provides. A fostering of identity and pride is further celebrated through whakawhanaungatanga (relationships), tikanga (customs) and te reo rangatira (Maori language) (Ellis et al., 1999). Kaumatua (elders) are involved as role models who are viewed as taonga (treasures) for the rich reservoirs of knowledge that they possess, particularly in things Maori. Maori sport offers the opportunity to exercise sovereignty/tino rangatiratanga that is inclusive and reflective of an autonomy that is practiced within Maori culture such as on marae. Aside from the actual competition, success is ultimately celebrated by the kotahitanga or unifying and coming together of people representing their marae, hapu, iwi, waka or region.

As discussed earlier, between Maori and Pakeha one fundamental cultural difference is 'collectivism' and individualism respectively (Ellis et al., 1999). For example, Ellis et al. (1999) suggest that in Maori netball, the focus is on "participation for all" rather than on a "win/lose mentality" (p. 53). Ellis et al. (1999) also highlight the differences between Maori and mainstream netball: mainstream netball has separate age group national tournaments but Maori netball runs all the age groups at the same tournament where kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (seeing faces) breeds familiarity and strengthens whakapapa ties; mainstream netball has large regional boundaries but Maori netball increases the number of regions at the requests of the regions (allowing inclusion of more teams encourages more

participation); The decision-making body for Maori netball is a collection of at least one representative for every region in the country (representation for all areas is made at national level), whereas mainstream netball's national decisions are made by a board where the decision-making processes are out of the hands of the regions; and the mainstream structure limits the representation of Maori at top levels whereas decision-making is an important aspect of sport involvement for Maori.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature about Maori participation in sport. However, it has also raised issues relating to the racialised social order in New Zealand society that has impacted on Maori in their sporting experiences. The following chapter will explain the importance of investigating these types of issues using a Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology.

CHAPTER FIVE: KAUPAPA MAORI RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter begins with explaining the purpose of this research and its importance to Maori in New Zealand society. This is followed by a discussion of Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology (KMRM) and the rationale for its use in this study. I discuss the philosophical aspects that make KMRM the most appropriate and effective approach to research in this field of study and in relation to these research participants. I then describe the step by step methods of data collection and analysis. Finally I detail how the research participants were chosen, where they are from and what their involvement in sport is.

Purpose

Sport is often seen as a microcosm of society (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). However, the cultural assumption in New Zealand is that sport brings people together. In general conversations with many other Maori about prejudice in everyday contexts, they shared similar experiences about prejudice and bias in sport against Maori individuals, Maori teams and Maori organisations (see also Hippolite & Bruce, 2010). This provided the impetus for research that investigates assumptions of the unifying power of sport and explores the undercurrent of discontent of Maori sport participants.

As King (2004) argues about Britain, there has been very little research in New Zealand into how racism operates in sporting contexts, at either an institutional or individual level. Therefore, this research is a first step towards understanding how these Maori participants experience sport as athletes, coaches and administrators, particularly in relation to how racialised thinking affects their opportunities. It includes pilot interview material gathered during a 2008 summer internship[8] (with permission of the five participants for inclusion in the thesis) and expands upon it, by including interviews with another five participants; one woman and four men. The purpose of the research is to record and record the experiences of Maori in sport. Research in this area will assist in forming strategies to change the

---

[8] Funded by Nga Pae o te Maramatanga.

dominant ideologies that continue to negatively impact on Maori sport participants. Acknowledgement and awareness is a beginning step toward eradicating racism (Josephs, 2008), where racialised thinking and practices continue to marginalize Maori involvement in sport.

Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology

Since emerging as a legitimate approach to research, a sizeable amount of literature about Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology has been written (Bishop, 2005, 2008; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Smith, 2000; 2005) and used in research by many up-and-coming Maori academics. Linda Smith (1999) argues that KMRM is a Maori response to the discontent with traditional Western research practices that fail to encapsulate and include the richness of Maori language, culture and concepts in the experiences of Maori researchers and participants. However, describing the philosophical meaning of what KMRM does for Maori is perhaps less problematic than describing what it actually is. Although KMRM continues to evolve, it is largely theoretical which makes it less prescriptive than other traditional Western approaches. This allows the researcher to operate under broad guidelines that are underpinned by tikanga principles. It does not give license for the researcher to improvise throughout the whole process but offers a framework for the researcher to be led by whakapapa, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga principles to perform research for reasons that may not be understood fully until further into or even after the data has been collected, analysed, or even after being written up.

A fundamental difference between KMRM and conventional research approaches (primarily informed by Eurocentric ideas) is the privileging of Maori ways to perform research by Maori, about Maori, through culturally appropriate ways (Bishop, 2005; Smith, 1992; Smith, 1999). Hence, qualitative research becomes the tool of choice that allows researchers to "wage the battle of representation" (Fine, Weiss, Weseen & Wong, 2000, p. 103, cited in Smith, 2005); "unravel competing storylines" (Bishop, 1998, cited in Smith, 2005, p. 103); and "provide frameworks for hearing…and listening to the voices of the silence" (LeCompte, 1993, cited in Smith, 2005, p. 103). The salient point regarding the nature of KMRM is that it centralises the participants' experiences in a journey that involves a connecting or reconnecting to their own truths. Just as

important is the fact that there is no one way to perform KMRM. I argue that if that were the case, it would define Maori as fixed in time and place which contradicts Paparangi Reid's conceptualisation of who and what Maori are: "We are complex, changing, challenging and developing – as is our right" (personal communication, 2008; see also Reid, 2005).

In this thesis I have attempted to meet the KMRM criteria of being ethical, performative, decolonizing, and participatory that facilitates a process of healing and transformation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). These criteria were the basis for beginning this metaphorical hui with a Te Ao Maori worldview that facilitates the process of spiral discourse, "a culturally constituted discursive practice" (Bishop, 2005, p. 122). Further, the metaphorical hui also elucidates the epistemological positioning of the research participants and forms a foundation upon which Pakeha culture and concepts are compared. In this study, the research participants' voices are foregrounded and they are legitimated as the authority on their own experiences, rather than seeking validation from Pakeha who traditionally act as the authority and adjudicator of indisputable knowledge (Bishop, 2005).

As a form of resistance to colonialisation, KMRM allows Maori to initiate a process of self-determination in the powerful community of academia (Smith, 2000). Although it may appear as a small part of redress for the social injustice experienced in wider New Zealand contexts, KMRM allows Maori a form of tino rangatiratanga that frees Maori "from neo-colonial domination in research" (Bishop, 2005, p. 109). For both Graham Smith (1992) and Linda Smith (1999), tino rangatiratanga in academia means Maori are in charge of the research process.

Research becomes the medium to draw solutions from Maori which are appropriate and necessary (Smith, 2000). A KMRM approach naturally sees justice as being determined by Maori who in terms of a racialised social order in New Zealand are perhaps most experienced with injustice (Duncan-Andrade, 2010). Although Maori appear as victims of a colonising legacy, choosing to step out of victim mode by drawing attention to the problems Maori encounter in society is one empowering proactive way to fight injustice. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic of racism, particularly in cross-cultural contexts, this study seeks to give voice to Maori participants in sport (see also Hippolite, 2008;

Hippolite & Bruce, 2010). Speaking their stories is important in a society that has marginalised conversations about racism and concealed them behind a culture of denial (Josephs, 2008). It is about giving voice to Maori and ultimately about Maori determining their own destiny by identifying ideologies that entrench the power of the dominant culture (Smith, 1992; Smith, 1999).

KMRM was therefore the logical, common sense approach in researching as sensitive a topic as racism and to draw on experiences from the Maori participants. KMRM uses a collaborative approach that exemplifies power-sharing between the researcher and the participants (Kana & Tamatea, 2006). This means that it uses key criteria to legitimate their representation within a Maori context – initiation, benefits, representation, legitimacy, and accountability – to conduct research by Maori and for Maori to take Maori forward to retrieve their space in the powerful research communities (Bishop, 1998). In the next section I explain each criterion separately, followed by the methods section in which I include examples of how each was utilised.

Initiation

The concern with initiation in KMRM focuses on how the research was created and whose interests and concerns are considered to drive the research as well as who decides what particular approach to use (Bishop, 2005). To perform research about Maori experiences using traditional clinical quantitative or qualitative methods (statistical analysis, surveys, and questionnaires) tends to subjugate mana Maori ways of seeing and doing, thus making it an inappropriate fit.

Initiation also "addresses the ownership of knowledge…both the participants and researcher benefit from the research project" (Kana & Tamatea, 2006, p. 10). KMRM facilitates a collaborative approach, as the research is "participatory as well as participant-driven" with the subsequent result being the 'buy-in' from the participants (Bishop, 1998, p. 204). As these are their stories, the researcher must treat their words with respect, retaining the mana and integrity of the participants. Whakawhanaungatanga becomes a necessary tool for building relationships and shared understandings between researchers and participants (Kana & Tamatea, 2006). These could include whakapapa of not only bloodlines, but also of time, places, and or experiences.

Benefits

The question of who benefits from the research also raises who will be disadvantaged (Bishop, 2005). According to Smith (1998) the maximum benefits accrue to Maori when research about Maori is carried out by Maori and the process of researching Maori is undertaken in ways that align with Maori values (Smith, 1992). These values include tikanga such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, koha, aroha and tino rangatiratanga, to name only a few (Bishop, 2005). My research is intended to benefit Maori by helping us to understand what underpins discriminatory practices at every level in sporting experiences, and to move Maori to create strategies that transform not only their positioning in sport, but also in the wider social, cultural, economic and political context.

Representation

Smith (1999) writes scathingly of the 'coloniser' as the 'authoritative' researcher of Maori who has historically portrayed Maori as 'colonised' subjects incapable of making sense of their own experiences in their world. An example is Beaglehole's (1968) book in which he describes a research study based on two Pakeha researchers who lived among Maori but whose positioning became obvious when they described Maori as inferior beings with an inferior culture. This kind of thinking is counter-productive to Maori self-determination and efficacy. Beaglehole's (1968) work perpetuates the deficit theorising of Maori, thus raising legitimate concerns that KMRM attempts to address. As a researcher I am not averse to Pakeha speaking their truths or their stories but I think Pakeha should speak about and denigrate themselves rather than turning their 'gaze' on cultures they fail to understand (see also Smith, 2005). Having said that, I agree with Smith (2005) and do not discount the possibility that non-Maori are capable of performing KMRM with Maori. Essentially, the question asked of every KMRM researcher is whether he or she is able to portray "an adequate depiction of social reality" from the participants' stories (Bishop, 2005, p. 112). My research involves representing the stories of research participants, who, like me, have many years in sport and live in Tainui rohe.

Legitimation

Legitimation concerns the researcher's authority to represent the stories of the participants.Within KMRM, "meanings are negotiated and co-constructed between the research participants within the cultural frameworks of the discourses within which they are positioned" (Bishop, 2005, p. 125). Kana and Tamatea (2006) argue that legitimation is accomplished through a "process of checking and supporting shared visions" (p. 10). As Bishop (1999) describes it:

> The Kaupapa Māori position regarding legitimation is based on the notion that the world is constituted by power differentials, and that there are different cultural systems that legitimately make sense of and interact meaningfully with the world. Kaupapa Māori research, based in a different worldview from that of the dominant discourse, makes this political statement while also acknowledging the need to recognise and address the ongoing effects of racism and colonialism in the wider society. (p. 5)

Legitimacy in KMRM takes the Maori voice as the authority (Bishop, 2005). Identifying Maori as being in control of the research process empowers all who are involved with the shared understanding that having Maori voices in the texts is a signifier of power. Thus, the researcher achieves legitimation by a spiral process of "continually revisiting the agenda and the sense-making process of the research participants" (Bishop, 2005, p. 125). In this research, I provide opportunities to discuss and co-construct meanings kanohi-ki-te-kanohi. I also consider ethical responsibilities (see below).

Accountability

According to Bishop (2005), accountability refers to the responsibilities of the researcher to the researched. Kana and Tamatea (2006) define it as ensuring the participants have control over access to and distribution of the findings. Bishop (2005) critiques traditional approaches by arguing that often "the research has served to advance the interests, concerns, and methods of the researcher" with "other benefits being of *lesser concern*" (p. 111, italics added). However, tikanga Maori is about the nurturing of relationships through manaakitanga (based on respect) which adds to the mana of each individual, whanau, hapu and iwi katoa.

Thus, in this research, I understand accountability to not only represent my responsibility to accurately represent the participants' stories but also to ensure that their koha (stories orally shared in a spirit of goodwill) are gathered and shared in a way that respects their desire that something valuable should result from telling their truths.

Methods

The methods for the research were approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education ethics committee. The main method was in-depth interviewing and the format of the interviews was kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face to face), semi-structured and open-ended, which represents cultural norms in a hui format. Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi is necessary to establish familiarity and trust that makes people feel safe to tell their stories and believe that researchers will "respectfully sanction the sharing of their stories with others" (Kana & Tamatea, 2006, p. 15). The interviews were similar to a conversation and each participant was aware that he/she was being videotaped and audiotaped. A question sheet (see Appendix B) was used to guide the interview process and explored issues related to the main research questions:

   a) Do Maori experience discrimination in sporting contexts?
   b) How is this discrimination demonstrated – in structures, practices and processes?
   c) How does racialised thinking show itself in sporting contexts?
   d) How well do sport coaches, administrators and selectors understand a Maori worldview?

I indicated that I wished the participants to share their experiences of discrimination in sport. In relation to the time spent with the participants, as long as the participants wanted to share their stories, I was prepared to listen. The interview finished as soon as they felt it was time to finish. In general, the interviews averaged one hour.

Initiation

In deciding who the participants would be, I considered my own networks in various sports and key people in relation to their demonstrated commitment and levels of achievement in numerous roles over the years. Out of 60 possible

participants, I chose 10. Whilst including only10 participants may be viewed as one of the limitations of this study, observations based on my own extensive experiences and informal discussions with other Maori involved in sport throughout the research period were used as an informal method of triangulation which helped legitimate the emerging themes. Although the research was initiated by me, it emerged out of shared experiences I had with other Maori about their experiences in sport and broader society. Further, the importance of this issue to Maori was clear when I spoke with the participants, as well as other Maori throughout the research period. Many informally spoke with me about their experiences of racism, suggested potential participants, and reinforced my sense that this issue is relevant to many in the Maori community.

The research participants were chosen according to a list of priorities, including that each participant identified as Maori, had been deeply committed and involved in sport from childhood, was fairly prominent and a transformational figure in his or her spheres of responsibilities, was willing to speak his or her stories, and lived in Tainui rohe (region).

Tainui is the fourth largest Maori tribe in the country (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, 2010). Briefly, Tainui whakapapa informs us that Tainui was the name of an infant who did not survive childbirth. At the child's burial site grew a great tree. This tree was used to build the voyaging canoe, *Tainui*. Led by the chief Hoturoa, the Tainui waka was one of the migratory canoes that voyaged from Hawaiiki across the Pacific Ocean to Aotearoa over 800 years ago (Jones & Biggs, 2004).

There are four principal tribes that comprise the Tainui Waka. They are Hauraki, Ngaati Maniapoto, Raukawa and Waikato (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, 2010). Unlike district or city council boundaries, the geographical tribal boundaries are "designated by prominent features such as land and waterways" which is explained in the following pepeha with the Pakeha version alongside:

Mokau ki runga (Mokau above), Tamaki ki raro (Tamaki below)

Mangatoatoa ki waenganui (Mangatoatoa in the centre)

Parewaikato, Parehauraki (Parewaikato, Parehauraki)

Te kaokaoroa o Patetere (The extended arms of Patetere). (Kana & Tamatea, 2006, p. 11)

These geographical boundaries are described in relation to the way Te Ika a Maui (the North Island) is positioned (Kana & Tamatea, 2006). The head of the fish (ki runga/above) represents the Wellington region; the tail of the fish is the Northland region (Kana & Tamatea, 2006) (Refer to map, Figure 1).

New Zealand is a relatively small sporting community. There exists potential harm to the participants if they are identified which may impact on future research participation and future aspirations in their chosen sports as players, coaches or administrators. Thus, the anonymity of the participants is paramount due to their current participation as coaches, administrators and parents of up-and-coming athletes. This risk is minimized by changing the names of the participants, and not naming their sports. In order to maintain anonymity, the notation [sport] is inserted into quotations to replace the specific sport and other changes related to confidentiality are also identified by the use of square brackets. To further protect the confidentiality of the participants, their information will be kept in a secure storage area.

The reasons for interviewing only ten participants were practical, including cost of travel, time constraints and the need to limit the number of participants to a manageable level. Each participant has extensive experience in his or her respective sports which include two individual and five team-based sports. Their experience equates to over 360 years of participation in sport as players, coaches and administrators from the 1950s to the present, illustrating the extensive collective pool of knowledge present in this study. Another relevant factor was to ensure there was gender balance in the study; thus, six women and four men were interviewed. They included one in the 30s age bracket; six in their mid- to late 40s; two in their 50s and one in the 60s age bracket. The participants are family/whanau oriented, and certainly projected themselves as knowledgeable, self-motivated people. Each has a strong desire to further his/her knowledge by actively seeking out mentors and opportunities to learn more and impart that knowledge to others. The participants were committed and passionate about their involvement in their respective sports.

The following is a brief background of each participant's sporting involvement. In order to protect their identity, each participant is known by a pseudonym (some of which were chosen by the participants and some suggested by the researcher):

Tipene has extensive experience as a coach being involved with athletes who have competed at national level in individual water sports, two team water sports, and two land-based team sports. At the time of interview he was coaching a first division team in a popular sport based in a region that is traditionally very strong in that sport.

Maui has a coaching career that spans over 33 years, with extensive overseas and international experience, having won every national title in almost every category of his land-based team sport.

Teone has been a player and a coach in New Zealand and overseas. When asked whether he loved the land-based team sport he was involved in, Teone replied, "*Oh passionate about it, it's been my life*".

Tony has a long history in his land-based individual sport which he still plays. He is involved at the highest administrative position at a national level in his sport.

Ruhi has played her land-based team sport since she was a young child, achieved representative honors as a player and a coach, refereed, raised her children in the same sport and is now following the progress of her own mokopuna.

Teira has represented her region at national level as a player of a land-based team sport, won many national titles as a coach and is currently coaching a team that has defended a national title for consecutive years in that same sport. Her children play the sport she coaches and represent New Zealand at age group levels.

Atiria has represented her region at national level as a player in a land-based team sport, and won national titles as a player. Her children represent New Zealand at age group levels.

Miria has played from youth and all her children have achieved New Zealand selection in three different land-based team sports. She also coaches.

Heni has represented New Zealand at age group levels in a land-based team sport and is still playing and coaching.

Reka has played since a young child, and coached and administered in her land-based team sport for decades. Her children and grandchildren have represented New Zealand age groups and national teams.

The participants were initially approached either face-to-face or by telephone. Nine were identified through my own involvement in different sports, and one was identified at a Nga Pae o te Maramatanga seminar[9]. I followed up with each participant by telephone to explain the purpose of my study and, with their permission, to arrange a convenient time to sign the informed consent form (Appendix A) and conduct the interview. I explained that if there were any disputes, they could first discuss the situation with me or with a third party present (someone both the participant and I would be comfortable with) such as my supervisor or a local kaumatua. Smith (2005) argues that the apparently universal value of respect (apparent in this stage by the informed consent form and issues such as dispute resolution) can be a "complicated matter" in different cultures (p. 98). Thus, issues such as having participants sign consent forms that involve written agreements specifying how their rights will be protected became somewhat problematic for me because their formality and language disrupted the expected process of exchange for some participants. However, each participant agreed to sign, recognising my responsibility to comply with university regulations. Each was busy with multiple responsibilities of whanau, work, sport, church and community involvement. I initiated appointments around their schedules and preferred locations. All the participants had the right to decline to participate and the same right to withdraw at any time.

Conducting the Interviews

The five women who were interviewed as part of a summer research internship pilot study through Nga Pae o te Maramatanga were asked for permission to also include their interviews in my Master's thesis research. All agreed. All six women were all interviewed in spaces where they could be available to other 'interests' (such as children, partners, parents, and even co-workers) who may have required

---

[9] I presented my work at this seminar as part of the Nga Pae o te Maramatanga scholarship requirements in 2008.

their attention at any given time. Three of the women were interviewed together in the dining room of one participant. During this interview, for example, various family members came and went, stood and listened or contributed their own experiences and opinions that reinforced the participants' korero. In contrast, the interviews with the four men were all one-on-one interviews in private spaces. Interviews were organised specifically to accumulate evidence based on the personal experiences of the research participants. The interviews were recorded on videotape and a digital voice recorder in order to increase the chances of transcribing correctly (although in one case the voice recorder did not work). The use of the video was to interpret any cues from the participants' body language, and capture any nuances that may have been missed in their korero. This was an important step: as I viewed the videos, I became fully immersed in their korero, and the emotion and passion which reflected in their ahua. What resulted was my appreciation and a deep respect for the years of contribution each participant has made not only for their sports, but toward the countless number of people they have affected. Each has formed a legacy for their whanau of the present and for posterity. The use of the video added depth and dimension to the analysis. Following the analysis, I deleted the video interviews to protect the identity of the participants. Each participant was provided with a typed copy of the interview transcript.

Whakawhanaungatanga

An important aspect of interviewing was the whakawhanaungatanga (linking and familiarising) that I, as the researcher, needed to do before engaging in the actual purpose of the interviews (Bishop, 2005). Bishop (2005) explains the process as a means of "bodily linkage", "engagement", "connectedness" and, therefore, of my "unspoken but implicit commitment to other people" (p.119). This process was about my positioning as the researcher, and developing a relationship of trust with participants that their stories would be forthcoming with the belief that I would value these experiences as taonga. Whakawhanaungatanga was a natural step in the process of interviewing before the 'official' recording took place (Bishop, 2005). This exchange is an example of powhiri being mirrored in informal contexts and an "acknowledgement of the tapu (sacredness) of each individual by means of addressing and acknowledging the specialness, genealogy, and

connectedness of the guests with the hosts" (Bishop, 2005, p.128). The participant was the host and I, as the interviewer, saw my role as the guest. When coming onto a marae as a guest, respect is established between the parties, but it is understood that although everything is shared, the guest is there by the grace of the host.

Representation and legitimation: Data Analysis

From each of the transcripts I analysed the data by searching for common themes in the participants' stories, grouped them, and used their words as evidence that racism toward Maori exists in New Zealand sport contexts. I then researched theories to explain the participants' experiences and used their ideas to suggest two models of sport governance contained in the conclusion.

In terms of representation, the researcher must be able to portray "an adequate depiction of social reality" from the participants' stories (Bishop, 2005, p. 112). Thus, all participants were asked to read the transcript and confirm that they were satisfied with the contents. At this point they could alter, delete or further expand upon any points in the interview, although none chose to do so. In addition, to ensure the experiences of the participants were not misconstrued, taken out of context or manipulated incorrectly (i.e., as part of the process of representation), I returned to the participants to explain where I had included their stories as findings. Although one participant was concerned about the verbatim transcript, she chose not to make any changes once she saw how her words and stories would be included in the thesis itself.

Benefits and Accountability

The information collected was used to support my thesis but the intention is that the benefits are broader than this. It will be used to support my commitment to engage the Maori community in the research findings and to make sure the project contributes to the body of knowledge that is concerned with Maori development. Because the research was conducted using a KMRM framework, one element of my accountability was to make sure that the research benefitted more than just me (see Bishop, 2005). A key benefit for the participants was the chance to tell their stories about something that had deeply affected them; they

had something to say because racism had happened to them. As people who love sport and have devoted their lives to it, they also saw this as an opportunity to tautoko (support) the raising of awareness about this issue. At least one participant reported individual benefits in terms of the chance to talk about her experiences and to see how they were shared with others. Others encouraged me to continue this research and one requested that I share solutions not just report findings; and I have attempted to address this element of accountability in the conclusion. My primary accountability to the participants in this study lies in my responsibility to complete the thesis and share the results as widely as possible while respecting their stories and protecting their individual identities. The transcripts and original audiotapes remain under my control, with the permission of the participants. They are stored securely so that only I and my supervisors are aware of the true identities of the participants.

Summary

As this chapter has indicated, a Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology focuses on research by Maori, about Maori and for Maori to highlight the issues affecting Maori. It is a response to Maori discontent with traditional Western research practices (Bishop 1999; Walker et al., 2006). Although KMRM allows the use of traditional methods, such as interviewing, research must be conducted in culturally appropriate ways. The privileging of Maori perspectives and voices must be paramount.

In the remainder of the thesis, I address the main research questions:

    a) Do Maori experience discrimination in sporting contexts?

    b) How is this discrimination demonstrated – in structures, practices and processes?

    c) How does racialised thinking show itself in sporting contexts?

    d) How well do sport coaches, administrators and selectors understand a Maori worldview?

Chapters Six and Seven continue the hui metaphor by foregrounding Maori voices as the participants speak about their experiences. Chapter Six emphasises the importance of a Maori worldview that the participants bring to sport, such as their beliefs and values, many of which reflect tikanga Maori. In Chapter Seven, they speak explicitly about how they are treated by Pakeha in mainstream sport.

Chapter Eight reflects the next stage of the hui, where tau utuutu invites manuwhiri to contribute their explanations and theories about the korero shared by the tangata whenua (participants), and for all sides to consider why the participants are treated as they are. In Chapter Nine, I conclude the thesis by focusing on what New Zealand sport could look like if everyone in sport was culturally competent (Cross et al., 1989) in te ao Maori. This approach reflects my accountability to the participants who want solutions as well as the reporting of their experiences.

CHAPTER SIX: MAORI PERSPECTIVES IN SPORT

In this part of the hui, the participants and, where relevant, tangata whenua help describe what aspects of Maori culture are important to them. The sentiments expressed by these participants reveal multi-dimensional aspects of their experiences, which will be explained from a tikanga Maori perspective.

FINDING 1: The Love of Competition in Sport

Sport competition was a multi-dimensional experience incorporating the nurturing of relationships with opponents, friends and family rather than just individual success. This finding arose from the discussion of what made the participants' experiences enjoyable.

> *…That's how you look after one another... You know it's all about bringing your wero [challenge] and I'll bring mine and see how good it is up against mine, and whoever wins, well we'll celebrate that. (Tony)*

In Tony's comments above, he has drawn upon values (wero and mana) that emerge from within Maori culture. Wero can be defined as the art of determining the challenge (Macfarlane, 2009). Competition is one characteristic of sport that appeals to and engages Maori participants (Te Rito, 2006). In the context of Tony's comments it means to compete in the hope that each brings his or her best form so that the mana (respect) of each other may be added to, and the standard of excellence is celebrated. This is clarified in the rest of the quote:

> *We're not there to be whakahihi [conceited] or anything like that or to show off. We're there to compete and may the best man or woman win.*

The participants expressed the view that winning was an aspect of their sporting experiences which was important to them. Tony stated, *"It's all about competition"*. When asked 'if you've got the goods to win, should you expect to win?' Atiria responded: *"Yeah definitely, you should win"*. Teone also shares his view by saying, *"We all wanna win, wanna beat each other and have the last word yeah, but we're all very passionate"*. However, it was also apparent that for the Maori participants competition was not totally focused on winning. Several participants saw the value of competition as relational rather than combative. The relational aspect of whanaungatanga creates a capacity to connect with their environment in ways that are spiritually and politically influential and nurturing (Rangiahua et al., 2004). In these situations, the process of participating in a

competitive atmosphere was more important than the outcome. For example, while reminiscing about how she loved her sport and had aspirations for success from the time she was young, Ruhi described being *"dragged off"* to Maori tournaments when they were played on grass and how *"awesome"* those tournaments were:

> *Very, very competitive. Almost like you'd have people around the courts almost verging on the team, jumping up and down. That whole kind of enthusiasm that you saw in those days was just really great. Something that you don't see as much of now… So those days, my memories of [sport] with my children and my early days of playing [sport] were more of a social, competitive nature without too much officalism.*

Memories of these competitive experiences from a very young age appear to have ignited a passion in this participant for her future involvement in sport, which has continued throughout her life. It is clear that competition is a key attraction for these participants and offers intrinsic benefits, such as the relational aspects, as incentives to continue, which will be discussed in the next section.

FINDING 2: Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga in Sport

The concept of whanaungatanga is closely tied to identity, an important element of these participants' sport involvement. A theme that came through quite noticeably and was discussed specifically by four of the participants is that of whanau and the importance of the whanau philosophy within the sport context. It seems that a familiarity with others brings comfort and offers a safe environment in which to perform at one's best. Tony describes it as follows:

> *It's about collegiality. It's about being able to walk the walk with someone beside you, someone that you know, someone that's from home, all those sorts of things. I think sometimes with Maoris, that's what's lacking. It's about the whanau behind them that they miss.*

Maui also spoke about how he brings the whanaungatanga and manaakitanga concept to his coaching and explained that,

> *you could teach them x's and o's but if you don't want to live their life with them and help with their life with them you tend to just be a coach. I'm more than a coach to people I coach.… One of my players rang up and said "I'm going to a tangi, so I'll be late to the game." So I said*

> *"Who is it?", and he said "It's my brother's wife". "Where's the tangi? I might come along just to show support". He said "That'll be great coach if you could." Now I know him and his wife but I don't know his extended family. So they endear themselves to you and you endear yourself to them because it's like the old days. If you show that you really care for them in their life, they're gonna do anything for you.*

When participants were asked what was different about what they did as coaches or managers, all the male participants expressed a difference in their use of practices that reflect tikanga values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. Tony suggests one way this takes place in his role as an administrator:

> *Respect I think is the word, respect for one another...I think it's about enjoying one another and enjoying one another's company. We set some pretty good hard ground rules. It's about behaviour, about manners.*

Tony not only speaks of respect for people, he speaks of respect for the land he plays on and for previous events that may have taken place there. For example, when Tony and his son play at a different *whenua* (field) they do a *karakia* (prayer) before stepping on to the land to acknowledge any unknown *whakapapa* (genealogy/ histories) that may have left *mamae* [pain or hurt] around the land. He teaches his son to approach new places with caution and respect because the land does not belong to him:

> *When you come to this place, be careful. It's not your place. You gotta be asked to come on this land because if something happens we know straight away you've done something wrong in that place.*

Tony implies that this level of care is necessary to safeguard the players, himself and his whanau because doing something wrong

> *...doesn't mean just disrespect[ing] the land but also the people who are there. Because they're caretakers. You know, they may be Pakehas but they're the caretakers of that land for that time. Sometimes they may not be the right caretakers but at least they are the caretakers. So it's all about respect for the whenua and the people who look after it.*

The participants also endeavoured to explain manaakitanga as a part of Maori sporting culture. For example, Tony claims his "*...organization is based on whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha and all those main concepts that Maori*

have" and he has *"tried to instil those basic core values".* He makes the comparison between events that are organised and attended predominantly by Maori and events that are predominantly attended by Pakeha:

> *When you go to a Pakeha one, it's very…it is cold. It's a cold atmosphere. People don't talk to you as readily as they would in a Maori environment. In a Maori environment, it's based on people coming together. It's marae-based, whanau-,hapu-,iwi-based. The competition is always there even though we still practice those concepts of Maoritanga.*

These responses highlight a difference in philosophy where collectivism underpins a Maori worldview. A Maori environment is conducive to building team spirit, love and unity through waiata, karakia, kotahitanga and basically working together spiritually, mentally, physically and socially. The result is apparent when the athletes meet up with each other. For example, *"It's just a natural magnetism that they link together. When they see one another they'll congregate with one another" (Tony).* Whanaungatanga is also about sacrifices made by the whanau to ensure the success of one of its whanau. This is supported by Tony's comment:

> *One thing that we realize is that any child that gets to go away has to recognize that they're a part of the team… they have to be told that it's a team effort and it's like a triangle. While they might be leading the way through, behind them it's Mum and Dad that pay for everything and their brothers and sisters have to go without so they can go in.*

The reciprocity of whanaungatanga is the accountability to the whole group (the collective) they represent, based upon ancestry, iwi, hapu and whanau principles (Te Rito, 2006). This is also reflected in the obligations Maori may feel toward their iwi. Harmsworth, Barclay-Kerr and Reedy (2002) explains that Maori organise their responsibilities, function, purpose and ultimately leadership qualities, in very different ways when compared with non-Maori organisations. The major difference is the expectation and requirement to achieve multiple outcomes due to feeling responsibility to so many people (cited in Te Rito, 2006). For example, when one participant was phoned up by a kaumatua (elder) to take a Maori representative team he felt he could not refuse:

What can I do? My wife's mouthing saying, "No". I know I should say no
because I'm sick of it. "Yep, I'll do it, sweet." And I put the phone down
and I think, 'shit'. There's thousands of Maori that'll do that. Tawera
Nikau [prominent Maori sport personality] knows that. If you put the
screws on them and they know that there's good iwi backing, they might be
able to say no to you and I, [but] they wouldn't say no to their own.
Mahanga [a subtribe], all different hapus inside Tainui, they don't say no
to those kaumatua who are now coming knocking on your door saying,
"we need you to do this boy". You won't say no, you'll just do it. (Tipene)

Tipene recalls how whanaungatanga was demonstrated when one of his players taught his team a haka. The shock he got was the response from the Pakeha players:

The white boys who said, "Mate, we've never had the chance to do a
haka. We'd love to do the haka"... We did this Ngapuhi haka...at the
beginning of the game and then at the end of the game when we
won...bought them all over and they haka'd the supporters. And I heard
these white people say "Man, that's a good idea." Y'know, they're
thanking the supporters for their support throughout the year. Talked to a
lot of the white fullas that were in the team, they were stoked, y'know.

This reaction suggested that the widespread nature of racialised thinking normally attributed to Pakeha was not representative of all Pakeha. Tipene was *"always impressed in places like Tokoroa, Mangakino, the coasties. The Pakehas that come from there have been around Maoris all their lives and they've got different attitudes."*

Teone described how he also successfully utilized the whanau concept whilst coaching overseas in Europe. He claims that one of the most effective things they did as a team was to have family days. His reasoning was that *"you find the whakawhanaungatanga about the family, the structure and you're brought up in [team sport]. It's huge"*. Teone discussed other aspects of manaakitanga that he applied as a coach to all players in his teams. He would greet his players according to their ethnicity. For example,

You gotta get to know your people; a simple "malo le lei" to Tongans,
Talofa lava, Kia orana and simple greetings and stuff like that as family,

especially with the Polynesian boys and being sorta Maori myself, it sorta
breaks that barrier right down, and then you can get on with trust and they
come and you talk to them like they're your own. It's an aroha thing.

Teone even made an effort in showing respect by learning French when he was
coaching in France. He claims, *"They saw I was making an effort, they were very*
good, they accepted me".

Tipene has an inherent faith in the ability of Maori athletes and uses relevant
cultural symbols as metaphors that connect them back to the past. For example,
when coaching a predominantly Maori secondary school team against a
predominantly Pacific Island college team who were *"miles bigger",* Tipene drew
on the historical migration of people throughout the Pacific saying: *"'Boys, they*
stopped paddling the waka long before we did. Just keep smacking them over,
they'll give up' and they did". He draws on their whakapapa, *"...their warrior*
spirit, their clanship, their kinship where they will die for one another". He
suggests that there are *"a whole bunch of other things that are not necessarily*
found in a white team, I know definitely aren't found in a white team". These
differences are expressed by the participants in sport contexts that illustrate how a
Maori worldview underpins specific tikanga Maori practices.

FINDING 3: Cultural Differences

These responses highlight a difference in philosophy where collectivism
underpins a Maori worldview. Whilst exploring differences between Maori and
Pakeha sport, Tony describes how Maori tournaments practice the protocol of
powhiri [welcoming] and that:

> *everything is practically in Maori whether it's te reo, and all other*
> *aspects. We have haka, we have waiata…. The mornings always start off*
> *with karakia each morning before the [start of tournament] normally. It's*
> *done by a kaumatua…. We value our uniqueness, we value our*
> *tangatawhenua-ness here. I think that's really what identifies the*
> *difference between Pakeha [sport] and Maori [sport] real Maori [sport]...*
> *I think the main thing is we look after one another.*

Tony continues to elaborate on how 'Maori' coaching is about immersing their
Maori athletes in a totally Maori environment:

... because you can't learn the sport in isolation. You have to have more important things that will help them. Simple things like singing a song, singing a waiata, doing a haka or kapahaka, is so important. Kids just love singing and we just love hearing them sing. And then you teach them things like what happens on a marae. Then you teach them simple things like powhiri and why you welcome people. Why someone's called tangata whenua, why someone's called manuwhiri, all those things are very, very important. And we've experienced it at the Junior tournaments over the last seven years and the children now own it. They own that process, they want that process and they are so proud to do it. Then they get out and play and you can see it in their body language that they just love[it]...

These comments highlight the salient connection to identity by practicing Maori things that remind Maori of what being Maori feels like. Tony suggests this is what is missing in many Maori sport participants' experiences.

We've got to celebrate being Maori because I think that's the deficiency that we see in Maori who don't actually excel a little bit better. (Tony)

Along the same lines, Tipene describes an example of how he thinks Maori should be treated differently from Pakeha because they are different. Tipene talks specifically about how he approaches his Maori players in a dressing room by joking with them, using a tone so the mana of the person is not diminished in front of his peers. He firmly believes "*you get more flies, mate, with honey than you will with vinegar*". He goes further to explain that "*sometimes the Pakehas when they're coaching they just wanna tip the vinegar down all over the place. And then they wonder why some of the Maori boys blow off*". Tipene suggests an approach that suits his players rather than the universal approach of 'one size fits all':

I think, to be honest a lot of coaches would do better to forget the tactics and just take one seminar off somebody who'll come in and say, "Listen, here's what Maoris are like. You see for us we have music in our dressing room ... Our fellas like to be relaxed. Our jokers don't like to be locked up for an hour before a game and grilled and grilled and grilled. ... Ten minutes before kick-off, turn the motor on, we're ready to go. Pakehas want to be doing it for flippin' 50 minutes, you know. We don't wanna be

locked up for 50 minutes. That means we've played for 30 minutes, we've already played that game. We're over the top, we've overexcited ourselves. We're now flat. Y'know, have you ever gone out on a game and been flat or you can hardly wait for the whistle to start because my legs feel like they're lead? It's because the coach has locked you up too early. He's hammered you too much. You've played the game 50 times in your head and you're still 20 minutes from kick-off. So we have music, we're laid-back. Our physiotherapists now have worked it out. They're laid back. Our doctor... he's laid back. Everyone's laid back, then about the 15 minute mark, somebody will say "Let's get excited now" and the fellas start to turn the motor on. You can't turn the motor on too early on the Maori boys. They just won't do it, they'll just choke. I think coaches will do better to get an understanding of how Maori are, especially if they've got a big Maori segment in their team.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the research participants elucidated the multi-dimensional aspects of sport incorporating Maori values of manaakitanga, whakapapa and whanaungatanga. These translate to basic core values of identity and mutual respect for each other that are very much a part of what they bring to and desire in their sporting experiences. Undoubtedly these participants thrived on the wero (challenge) through competition that has a relational rather than just combative appeal. The participants also provided contrasting perspectives of Maori-dominated sport contexts and Pakeha-dominated sport contexts. Most importantly, this portion of the hui described a Maori view of sport participation that acknowledged cultural differences, thus suggesting different approaches for Maori athletes. While this chapter has focused primarily on a Maori perspective of sport, the next chapter moves to explore in more detail these participants' understandings of playing in Pakeha-dominated environments.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MAORI EXPERIENCES OF RACISM IN SPORT

"... athletes may be equal on the starting line but the social, economic, political and emotional struggles that any given athlete had to overcome to reach the starting line were far from equal" (Jarvie & Reid, 1997, p.218).

In this part of the hui, the participants share their stories about Pakeha and being involved in mainstream sport. While the voices of manuwhiri (Pakeha academics) and other tangata whenua (Maori academics) may occasionally appear, the focus is on Maori participants' perspectives and experiences. Although these may be uncomfortable to hear, the emphasis is about the hui process of sharing experiences as people perceive them regardless of disagreements that may arise from them (Robinson & Robinson, 2005).

The researchers and at least three participants suggest racism as the predominant factor underlying the treatment these participants have experienced in Pakeha-dominated sport. As discussed in Chapter Three, "racism is 'legitimated' acting" on prejudicial thoughts' towards unfavourable groups or members of those groups (Tatz & Adair, 2009, p. 21). Each research participant is acutely aware of the racial discrimination that exists in sport at various levels, sometimes subtle and other times blatant. Their experiences challenge the dominant ideology that the sport context is a neutral space, which transcends the pervasiveness of racism seen in every other area of society (Jordan, 1980). The common threads amongst the participants' interviews articulate the frustrating effects of racial discrimination.[10]

The first section of this chapter relates ways in which stereotyping of Maori in sport is a key part of the injustice that exists in the sport context. While it is clear that many of the beliefs that underlie stereotypes and the processes that emerge from them overlap and intersect, I endeavour to identify them separately using the cultural competence continuum (Cross et al., 1989) that ranges from cultural

---

[10] Although not part of the formal data gathering for this thesis, informal discussions with other Maori involved in New Zealand sport reinforced the themes identified here.

destructiveness to cultural proficiency. As mentioned in Chapter Three, a variety of possibilities exist between these two extremes. The characteristics exhibited at each position of the continuum will be described and the participants' experiences classified accordingly. I will then discuss where relevant the effects of discriminating practices on these participants which influence their continued participation in sport. This chapter concludes with possible solutions suggested by the participants to deal with race-related issues in sport.

FINDING 1: Maintaining Maori Stereotypes

Without awareness, some sports organisations may act as agents of oppression, which according to Cross et al. (1989) includes "maintaining stereotypes" of people of colour (p. 15). The conceptual maps that categorise certain groups in a degrading way provide a foundation upon which stereotyping gains traction. The research findings suggest that stereotyping is present in Pakeha-dominated sport organisations at coaching, officiating and administrative levels. Pakeha coaches'negative attitudes toward Maori were reflected in denigrating comments about discipline and commitment such as:

> *Your people don't play good defence, your people are lazy. When there's a game on your people only want to play, they don't want to train. (Maui)*

> *Maoris are hard to coach because they're not disciplined. (Atiria)*

The stereotypical beliefs about the way Maori play sport included aspects of aggression:

> *comments about us being like Maoris and rough.(Ruhi)*

> *They're a pretty rough lot, rough and tough lot, don't train but have the skills, natural ability.(Heni)*

> *too aggressive. (Teone)*

> *[Maori] were seen as too fiery and no one could control them. (Maui)*

The participants found that even officials and referees displayed attitudes that reflected a belief in the stereotype of Maori. For example: *"officials treating us and speaking to us differently.… 'That' tone of voice to us" (Ruhi).*

Tipene claims Pakeha think differently about Maori abilities to focus mentally which impacts on their selection processes. For example,

> *... their long-held beliefs that Maoris can't concentrate... they can't be restricted to a rigid game plan... they run out of puff. They're only good for flippin 60 minutes..all these pre-conceived things. And so when you're selecting players,"Whitey runs longer than darkey, he's got no skills so he will stick to the game plan, ummm - I think I'll pick whitey". And that's how it goes.*

However, Tipene refutes these attitudes, claiming that Maori do have the *"staying power"* to last longer than they are given credit for because there is something in a Maori athlete he can draw out more than from a Pakeha. This relates back to the relational aspects of competing and the whanaungatanga discussed in previous chapters. He absolutely believes that *"When they got nothing left, you can still draw one more shot"*. Although Tipene claims that many Maori are weaker at fitness and discipline he suggests that with better coaching he could "...*take on anybody, 'cause you'll get 80 kgs who will deliver 120kg hits until their shoulders break, because their mates are doing it. They don't wanna be the one that ...falling off the pace or...he's not doing his share"*.

Teone's experience of working in schools suggested that Pakeha did not see Maori kids as trustworthy and consequently treated them that way. At one school, Teone recalls how he was putting a team together for an intermediate schools competition. He sent a newsletter to all the staff about when the training was to take place, and 30 boys turned up. He sent their names in and some of the teachers emailed back and said *"Why are all the naughty boys and Maoris playing [sport]…Why is it all the naughty boys?"* Tipene reasons that these attitudes held by Pakeha "*are ill-founded or ill-conceived"* and that these long-held beliefs were about ignorance or prejudice:

> *...if it's not ignorance, it's prejudice because some Maori ripped your car off, or someone broke into your house, and so you now hate all Maoris... People make generalized tones...I know that they do that out at [sports club], the old time ones. Y'know, you see them park their flash bloody cars. They'll say, "Oh lock it up boys, we're at [sports club]".*

Tipene defends Maori by stating "…*not all Maori are gangsters. We don't all go around beating up little ole white ladies, jumping into cars"*. He also remembers other colleges saying they could only have home games because Maori students

could not be trusted to behave properly on field trips which would reflect badly on their schools. Stereotyping of Maori in the sport context is for the most part negative. He mentions that scholarships from good schools are offered to *"the brown boys"* but

> *…when the chips are down, you watch them…The grumblings all start off, 'That black bugger this'…long held attitudes… . They may only manifest themselves under stress, but they will manifest themselves...You watch when things don't go right in the heat of it… something will come out. I think,'well that was off the wall'. But that tells me what that man really is thinking.., 'Oh that black bugger'- Oops I shouldn't have said black bugger. 'Bugger that winger'... But you hear the first attitude, that's the real attitude.*

One stereotype that these Maori participants seem to positively buy into is the dominant cultural belief that Maori are naturally talented in sport. The 'natural' athlete tag, which was perceived as a positive trait were supported by statements made by Pakeha coaches such as, *Maori are the most natural athletes at this game" (Tony).* When asked in what way, Tony explained, *"Well, hand-eye coordination… It's timing, it's understanding, it's about being competitive. It just seems they do things quicker and faster than other people they've taught".* Atiria shares the same view. She states that, *"I guess Maoris, we have natural ability".* Atiria goes further to say that, *"Yes definitely, their genes suit the activity".* She then compares Maori directly with Pakeha people, *"You see a white person and you see a Maori person, and by far the skills, you can soon see the balance that Maori are more skilful. There's no two ways about it".* However, Tony also believes that environment has got to have some impact on performance.

While highlighting the dominant ideologies that Maori are naturally talented in sport, the implicit belief is that Maori then lack intelligence when compared to Pakeha (Hokowhitu, 2003). These ideologies are even accepted by Maori. One of the participants expressed a view that reflected the dominant ideology of non-whites being less intelligent (Hoberman, 1997; Hokowhitu, 2003) believing their strengths lie in physical pursuits:

> *…our people, some of them are not, not all of them, but some of them are not education, y'know got that education IQ to be the business leaders and*

administrators in the communities and workplace…their gifts are sporting

gifts… (Teone).

FINDING 2: The Devaluing of Maori

The devaluing of Maori may be characterised by an assumed "paternal posture

toward lesser races" (Cross et al., 1989, p.15). Some sport organisation hierarchies

demonstrated such an attitude, as Maui claims that Maori were '*shunned'* and *"No*

one respected us in terms of what we could do". Tony's comment reflects the lack

of respect by some Pakeha toward Maori: *"My experience is that Pakehas don't*

like Maori people telling them that they're wrong. What they especially don't like

is Maori people proving it. And that's my experience".

   In some of the interviews, sentiments were expressed indicating an ignorance

of things Maori by Pakeha. For example, obvious cultural Maori aspects were

often overlooked and disregarded. Maui's experiences reveal themes that reflect a

disregard for Maori ways of being and may suggest intolerance for difference. At

the administrative and board level of decision-making the devaluing of Maori was

evident. Maui relates an experience of when he tried to register a New Zealand

Maori team to compete at a Polynesian tournament held in New Zealand.

Unfortunately the national body revealed a fear that entering a Maori team may be

labeled *"racist or separatist"*. However Maui and his colleagues "*fought really*

hard" and continued to organise their teams. He states,

> *It took a tonne of meetings with [the national body] to convince them that*
>
> *they should put Maori teams, men and a women's and some junior women*
>
> *and junior men in this South Pacific tournament.*

But then the national body said, *"You can't have any of the [current New Zealand*

representatives] because …then it's demeaning to the[m] if you guys use them as

Maoris and that sort of thing". This devaluing of being Maori suggested that

being Maori is less than being a New Zealander. This statement clearly

demarcates a racial hierarchy where Maori are set below Pakeha. After Maui had

organised the teams, the national body then asked, *"Well how are you going to…*

accommodation and pay for all of that?" That question indicates an ignorance of

Maori custom. Maui explained, "…*This is a Maori team so we'll stay on a marae*

and the home people on the marae will feed us etcetera, and we will give them a

koha [donation] to the marae and that sort of thing." The marae environment is

the appropriate, common-sense, cost-effective solution. Logistically, and consistent with a collectivist philosophy, the function of Marae is to accommodate large groups of people. They are fed and slept during the given purpose of the stay whether for sports tournaments, tangi (funeral), weddings, or hui (meetings) for tribal issues to be discussed (Williams & Robinson, 2004). Each marae is autonomous but is generally aligned to the protocols of its hapu and iwi (Mikaere, 2004).

The next objection raised was: *"They didn't want us to use the fern on our uniforms..."* This highlighted an issue of ownership over symbols that embody national identity. Maui identified reluctance by the national body to endorse the wearing of the silver fern on the uniforms of the Maori players at this South Pacific tournament. It is understood that the silver fern is a national icon that carries a core message of unity which is generally accepted by the majority of the New Zealand public. The denial of the fern as an emblem suggests that Maori teams are not generally accepted as representing all New Zealanders. In Maui's sport, there are no legal structures with licensing systems or protocols established over the use of the silver fern on its own, even though their logo has a fern in it. Another concern the hierarchy voiced was: *"...because I was the bad boy of New Zealand [sport] they said, "You'll be representing New Zealand and we don't want you to explode and give New Zealand [sport] a bad name'."* In this example, the dominant culture is dismissive of the opportunities that Maori choose to celebrate their cultural unity, especially if it disrupts their notion of national unity. Although the Maori teams swept all the prizes, the national body were reluctant to allow New Zealand Maori teams back into that tournament.

It seems obvious to some of the participants that the sports with high participation rates of Maori are either ranked lower, not recognised or are not controlled by Maori at national level. Although Teone's sport has gained prominence over the years and experienced great success at an international level, he finds there is still a resistance to the sport from mainstream schools:

> *We are so discriminative in school... I'll give you an example ... prizegiving we had three people make the New Zealand Under 16s...They went to the prizegiving...and every sport got mentioned except for these three boys, and the head boy got up at the end and said 'There's some*

> *other boys, three other boys, who did very well in another code ... and*
> *everyone knows what that code is, they're not mentioned here today'.*

Another example was when Teone approached a prominent high school in another region. He asked the Principal if it was possible for him to start up his sport. The reply was: *"... as long as I draw breath into my body, there'll be no [sport] at this school ever"*. When questioned why this was the reaction, Teone stated:

> *Because it challenged their traditions. They wouldn't come out and say*
> *[that] because it was predominantly Maori and a physical sport and stuff*
> *like that. They didn't want it because they thought we were all stiff arms,*
> *head-highs and gonna rip them off [steal] and stuff like this.*

When asked how these reactions made him feel, Teone responded,

> *I actually take it as a compliment because they feel threatened by us, they*
> *feel threatened by [sport]. If it was kick-boxing or, I dunno, tiddly-winks*
> *or whatever, they probably wouldn't mind but probably because we were*
> *[sport] and probably all the brown faces, they didn't wanna know.*

Teone suggests that schools feel threatened because the students would want to play his sport instead of the other code:

> *I've got kids that will come and play for me from other colleges in town*
> *and say, "Can you put another name on the teamsheet because we don't*
> *want our school to find out that we're playing because we'll get in*
> *trouble?". And they had to play under different names and sneak out,*
> *unbelievable stories... because it was [sport].*

He states that there are all kinds of obstacles put in the way. There could be five fields at a school, and his sport team will be given field five, *"way down the end, right down the end and we're a first [team]"*.

Maori-ness to Maori-less

What became evident in the interviews was that 'Maori-ness' was considered a negative attribute by many Pakeha. It was as though being Maori was under-rated and under-valued. The participants' perception was that Pakeha do not bother to learn about Maori 'ways', or to understand Maori athletes. The participants felt that they had to adjust to conform and/or comply with Pakeha ideas, no matter what the emotional cost. Ruhi explained that:

> *We had to have little discussions about the misunderstandings that people may have of us as a club, as players, as Maori.*

Tipene believes that *"Maoris have a different way of expressing things"*. At times communication between two cultures can be strained and lead to misunderstandings. Tony explains that on one occasion: *"two Maori boys were dropped from the [regional representative team]. They made the team okay, and they got dropped. The coach's reason was because they were an enigma...they were a mystery."* Tony argues that the Pakeha selector did not want to speak to these boys because they were an enigma to him. However, rather than perceiving this as something the coach needed to overcome, the deficiency shifts to the 'enigmatic' Maori who is seen as problematic. In Tony's opinion, what it really meant was that the selector did not understand them because they came from a different culture, thus they were an enigma. But Tony argues that the coach *"...was arrogant because he should've learnt about their culture"*.

Tony mentioned another Maori athlete who had a big reputation for a particular strength in his sport, the best in New Zealand. He made New Zealand teams twice, and competed overseas but he was labelled an enigma and the New Zealand selectors dropped him:

> *that really hurt him. But they don't tell you why...Even selectors don't know why they dropped him. And they said 'we can't talk to him'. Well that's exactly right. The same thing happened to a young girl [Maori from the Bay of Plenty]. She was one of the best in New Zealand. They rated her as being the most powerful woman in [sport]. The only difference is that cultural difference that they've got to get through. (Tony)*

These cultural differences place Maori as the problem without even a suggestion that Pakeha coaches could utilise different methods to engage Maori athletes. Atiria explained the difference between coaches who work players around *their* system as opposed to working a system around the type of players who make up a team:

> *It's only from one coach, a coach that...ha[s] a certain way that they coach, and if those kids don't fall in under that thing, whether they're good players or not, then they'll put them aside, and they'll take ones which they can mould already. I think maybe they feel Maori are a threat,*

because they have flair, they're good to watch, as opposed to white genes,
they're not as nice to watch. It's all structure. Maori can do structure too
and look good, where you get a damn ugly [Pakeha] player that's straight
up, not as exciting to watch. But they'd rather go spend time developing
that.

Miria describes how a Pakeha style of coaching limits Maori creativity, locks out flair and unnecessarily suppresses untapped potential. For example,

They [Pakeha] sorta want a structured play, there's no room for the flair
that the brown girls have, the Maoris and the [Pacific Islanders] have.

When asked what flair looks like, she replied:

Flair, well they have that extra.... something that can't be taught.
Y'know.... guess it's what... 'ihi' I 'spose.

Verbal abuse and Second-Class Status

It is universally accepted that language plays a critical role in shaping how people distinguish and understand the world (Muru-Lanning, 2007). The binary thought process of associating the colour white with good and black with bad is only one simplistic way of establishing difference (Hall, 1997). Yet in New Zealand sport stereotypes have become so ingrained that in match contexts, racial vilification is used to provoke violent reactions resulting in the targets being ordered off. Tipene described racial abuse at a national tournament that was directed at his team which was conspicuous in a Pakeha-dominated sport:

It's like spot the brown brothers...we were the only Maoris in there for a
start... a whole team full of Maoris. ...Man you should hear the crap that
goes on...

After one game where racial comments were directed at Tipene's team, Tipene and the head coach went to the opposition dressing room to complain. The opposition coach approached them saying:

'Look, I know why you're here. I'm really really sorry. I just ripped into
them'. We said, 'Well mate, they're only reflecting an attitude. You keep
calling people niggers and black bastards. How long do you think they're
going to take that for? Then somebody dongs somebody and everyone gets

> *upset. They don't see the 20 minutes of verbal diarrhoea that went ahead beforehand'.*

Tipene explains the players' physical reactions to racial abuse:

> *We have a different way of doing things. We don't actually get into a lot of that verbal stuff but we'll react with our fists. ...they [Pakeha] will just goad and goad and goad our fullas to the point where we really need to be on top of our whole game, the whole tournament.… But all-white teams, white teams, they're terrible, terrible.*

These verbal attacks that mark racial difference are used deliberately to remind Maori of the socialised racial order and that Maori are "lower" and should "know their place" (Cross et al., 1989, p.15). Woven throughout the interviews was that the participants felt they were treated like second-class citizens. Maui claims:

> *You always knew that you were the second-class citizen. No one said it but you were treated like that.*

Media: a Mechanism of White Privilege

The media is a primary source of narratives around the way Maori are portrayed in New Zealand society. Mainstream media has the ability to influence perceptions of Maori that either enhance or undermine who and what Maori represent. The media contributes to the devaluing of Maori in the wider context of society through negative messages (Abel, 2010) which is also apparent in sport. The responses from participants generally reflected an attitude that the media did no favours for Maori:

> *I don't think the media portray Maori in an endearing light. I don't think they do enough. (Tipene)*

> *Media only want to know Maori when Maori suck. (Tony)*

Tipene thinks that the media reflects society in the way that it discredits Maori by highlighting their failures yet escapes accountability for the ways in which it frames Maori. He explains:

> *Now they'll select what they want and they'll select things that – I guess if you looked at a hundred articles about Maori on the week, 70% of it would be negative of some sort. They do print up some good stuff but they're inclined to focus on the negative real quickly.*

He does not think the media would implicate Pakeha rugby star Daniel Carter in anything negative. He makes a comparison with Maori and Pacific players:

> *But when Jerry Collins and old flippin [Chris] Masoe went and swapped handbags, it was big news forever and a day. I remember even one time, Tana [Umaga] was videoed drunk in Christchurch. He come out and said, 'yeah I got pissed, yeah I fell down, I shouldn't have done it'. They kept at that sucker for a week. What more can the man do? ... What are you gonna do? Crucify him?*

Ruhi's experience suggested that the hierarchy in her sport were cognizant of the influence that the media has on societal attitudes. She recalls that when she was the manager of a regional team at national level she was required to do media training. She remembers asking,

> *'What do I need media training for?' My coach is like, 'You might say something that you don't really want to say'…I said 'What sort of things? Wouldn't I just say no comment, no comment, no comment?' (Ruhi)*

She realized: *"I was not to say something out of context or something that may reflect on [national governing body] in a bad way, honestly"*. She felt that because she was Maori the hierarchy feared she might say something that reflected badly on the organisation. However, Ruhi did make comments that suggested she was capable of exercising sound judgement and discretion:

> *I think I'm intelligent enough to understand that if I'm gonna say, "Oh they suck, they were pretty terrible, their umpiring was shit," they might not ask me to do any interviews.*

This "lower expectation" of Maori intelligence justifies the belief in the supremacy of the dominant culture within Pakeha institutions (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). It potentially steers many Maori away from pursuing key functionary positions internalising beliefs that Pakeha are more competent and should be in charge.

FINDING 3: Pakeha in Charge (Institutional Racism)

> *"Yes I've seen that quite a few times…I guess the law about the top administrators, Europeans…they control minds, they rule by a control mentality. To many people, they try to micromanage a lot of things." (Tony)*

This section relates attitudes and behaviours towards the research participants that have contributed to their feelings of inferiority and powerlessness in navigating their pathways through sport. The assumed privileges by Pakeha to monopolise decision-making limit the Maori participants' power to make decisions (Pihama & Gardiner, 2005). This cultural incapacity is characterised by a belief in the supremacy of the dominant culture to take the leadership role (Cross et al., 1989). The decision-making positions in most Australasian sports organisations are occupied by whites or Pakeha (Coakley et al., 2009), privileging their thinking and ways above all others. The participants discussed the issue of a racial hierarchy and identified the unequal positioning of Maori compared to Pakeha throughout the sports hierarchy. Atiria claims there has never been a Maori female or male head coach in a sport at national level that is predominantly played by Maori. When asked why, she responded, "*Maybe they're not in the right circles*". Maui recalls in the late 1970s "*There wasn't a lot of Maori coaches at any sort of significant level*". Yet Teira claimed that Maori work hard, often as volunteers, behind the scenes to ensure their whanau and sport was successful:

> *Admittedly in a lot of areas it is Pakeha, but behind that Pakeha is probably two or three really good Maori who have been supporting them all the way through.*

However, this work seemed not to translate into decision-making positions afforded to Maori:

> *You do have Maori in there but they're not the decision-makers. (Atiria)*

Tony stated that in his sport, "*The selectors have always been Pakeha*". As administrators he said there is one Maori out of 12 administrators. Maori are missing in the key-functionary areas such as administration/board, national bodies, and sport selection panels. The absence of equal and/or equitable representation of Maori in sports leadership seems normal, even expected. But without Maori in key functionary positions they are unable to exert meaningful influence in the same way that their Pakeha counterparts do. For example, without Maori in key positions such as selectors, there is a lack of influence over who makes representative teams and who does not. This is why one participant perceives she never made national honors: "*It was a 'who you know' in the sport at that level*" (Heni). When asked who was pulling the strings in his sport, Tipene

replied, *"White people, white people"*. Tipene makes clear that whoever controls the money generally controls the decision-making process: *"It's the golden rule 'who's got the gold, they make the rules'.* In Tony's sport "w*e're controlled by those who have the money. That's really the basics of it"*. He claims that Pakeha administrators manage the money and that it does not *"come to Maori, and they dictate who's going to make the teams and who's going to travel" (Tony).*

FINDING 4: The Un-Level Playing Field, a Biased System

While the current laws such as the New Zealand Bill of Rights (1990) and the Human Rights Act (1993) make it illegal and unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of race and ethnicity, these participants perceive that there is one (unspoken) rule for Pakeha and another for Maori. This sends "subtle messages to people of colour that they are not valued or welcome" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15).

Reflecting a functionalist view of sport to some extent, the participants had strong beliefs in the ideal of fairness and equality, yet their experiences in sport were markedly different. When questioned whether sport is a level playing field, Ruhi reflected on her treatment from officials and the governing body, then responded: *"No, never has been, never will be"*. Especially confusing for these participants is the way that the rules in and around sport appear to change. For example, Ruhi's team elected to have home games at the local total immersion Maori school in their own town. The governing body's assumption was that Ruhi's facilities would be substandard and after being reassured by the school office that the facility was regulation size with an adequate surface, then sent someone to investigate. However, the same questioning of facility standards was not imposed on the Pakeha-run city teams which were sometimes much worse. Ruhi recalls that same season that her team went to a city team's home ground which was an inside venue where *"the floor was filthy which means…it's… very unsafe and one of the goals at the particular end was bent down so far that was like tipped right over"(Ruhi)*. Despite the unsatisfactory standard of the facility, the host team insisted they play due to high numbers of players with regional representative commitments in their team. The officials then gave Ruhi's team an ultimatum to play or default, rather than insisting on the host team rectifying the problematic facility.

Setting Maori Up to Fail

In this study, unfair treatment of Maori in sport includes undermining the efforts of Maori. Teira discussed the feeling of abandonment in relation to a Maori representative team being left overseas by a Pakeha-dominated national body when international travel plans organised by the national body fell through:

> *They didn't give us enough time to prepare ourselves and they didn't give us enough information. They put us in positions, put us on the plane, sent us over there and it was sink or swim.*

When I asked, "Do you think they would've done that with a Pakeha team?" Teira replied, *"No, they wouldn't have!"* When asked why it was okay to do this for her Maori team, she responded, *"Because I don't think they wanted to see us be successful"*.

In the top levels of sport, particularly in the prominent sport with which Tipene is involved, he believes that Maori are being set up to fail through a lack of support by Pakeha-led sport organisations. One example was when he encouraged the Maori players in his club team to play in a representative Maori team. They were keen until they were threatened with the cancellations of their professional contracts. He emphasises the tokenism that the national governing body shows for Maori in his sport. He points out that although the national governing body say "*oh bloody grand stuff*" to the idea of a Maori team, at the regional level they say:

> *'Oh yeah well we don't get involved in that Maori stuff'. But they do! They do by telling their elite Maori players 'you can't play'.*

Threatening Maori players with the cancellation of their contracts if they supported the Maori organisation means:

> *they've already stuffed us so then now we've gone from 3rd level, 4th level, 5th level players. 'Oh well, Maori's take that – sweet as'[11]. Now you've got clubs that will say, 'If you don't turn up to our pre-season, mate, geez I can't guarantee you your game, can't guarantee your jersey. You've got to come and play for the club'. (Tipene)*

---

[11] 'Sweet as' is a slang term meaning good or everything is OK (urban dictionary, 2010). www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=sweetas

Denying support for Maori in Maori teams undermines their identity and ability to represent with mana. Tipene describes the treatment that the Maori team received from a regional governing body that left the Maori team with:

> *the fifth or sixth rate jerseys when we went to the tournaments, ones that were all ripped up. Shorts are ripped up, shorts never fitted, the jerseys had been washed so many times, they were shrunk. They would only fit under 12s or something like that. It was a joke.*

When the team asked for *"a better set of gear"* they were refused because the organisation claimed the jerseys did not come back the last time they were used, so Tipene had to buy the team jerseys out of his own pocket. The same regional body was reluctant to be involved with Maori sport until the last Maori management team had been audited. Tipene felt that was "*a prudent enough decision"* but if the last management team refused an audit then it remained an excuse to not budget for or outfit the current team as each year rolled by.

Tipene also claims that Maori players in his sport are paid less than Pakeha players because he actually asked the Pakeha and Maori players what they earned. *"They discriminate. I'll guarantee you now, the Maori boys that have come in, they'll be on the bottom level, lower"*. From Tipene's experiences, it seems that the national and regional governing sport bodies offer the appearance of support for the Maori sport programme but deliberately schedule it during the season at a time when it clashes with franchise and regional obligations. Maori players are then forced to choose. The scheduling of priorities clearly shows a lack of commitment by the hierarchy to Maori sport which suggests that Maori sport is not important. Is this intentional? Tipene claims this is another subtle example of *"stuffing Maori [sport] up"*. He absolutely believes that if Maori became as competitive as or even potentially better than the mainstream, the national body would sabotage it.

Levelling the Playing Field (in reverse)

Because sport has been recognised by Maori as an area of competence for Maori (Palmer, 2000), some aspire to make playing sport their primary source of income:

> *…we have that natural ability there already and then it was just using it into whatever sport we're going to pursue as a career. (Atiria)*

Tipene claims that he has always felt there have been severe racist policies in sport but they are hidden behind the high number of Maori that play the game. One sport Tipene is involved with implements and legitimates exclusionary practices because Maori boys supposedly develop at a younger age. This is perceived to be a physical advantage in his sport. He suggests that in one region, weight restrictions on 12- and 13-year-old boys effectively eliminated many Maori and Polynesians who are heavier than the restricted weight at this age:

> *I absolutely believe it with all my heart. It allowed Johnny 'whiteboy' to get up and play.*

By the time these players had reached 14 (when there are no weight restrictions) the sport had lost most of its Maori and Polynesian players in this region. It produced a huge disparity when playing against other provinces that had retained their Maori and Polynesian players:

> *So they had these 110kg monsters at under-14s coming at us. We had our 55kg white boys who had now graduated to 69 trying to stop twice their weight.....They [white hierarchy] couldn't see and, if they did, they wanted to persist with their white boy under-55kg stuff.... It's a white under-55 kg tournament. The [traditional under-44kg tournament], it's a white tournament. There's a few brown kids running around, skinny enough to make it. But, by and large, you missed out on the Huntly, Ngaruawahia kids, the Tokoroa kids.*

This effectively omitted players from the small towns that were predominantly Maori or Polynesian. Tipene reasons that the white hierarchy wanted to give their *"white boys"* representative opportunities later on. But he explains that the correlation between those who played at under-16s and those that made a province or region under-21s, B or A side was very low. He used to keep the statistics: *"Of 22, or say 25, players in the under-16s, there might be six that go through to the province or regional As in five or six years time, 10 years time"*. He thinks they should forget the weight restriction and let the boys play on their ability. He relates how some Maori parents put jackets on their sons to make them sweat the weight off by running, in the hopes they would be eligible to make the weigh-ins:

91

"*starving their kids.. smashing themselves, trying to make it.* Tipene claims there were "*lots of Maori kids from [small town] ... that never made the [under- 55kg tournament] and so the pull to leave was that much easier...* Tipene claims that there were also many Polynesian players being lost to the other major code in his region because there was nothing else for them to play. He felt that weight restrictions were another tool of exclusion for Maori and Polynesians.

Unfair Selection Processes

The selection process is an area in which many of the participants have experienced a bias against Maori. The existing power structure is seen as privileging whites because they are already in positions of power: a situation which is made worse by what the participants see as nepotism in sport:

> *Just because it's so- and- so's daughter on the committee. It used to run like that, 'Oh my daughter's on the committee. Therefore, I should get in' or 'my father's the big sponsor.... so I'll get in the rep team'. It used to run like that. That's bullshit, bullshit. (Miria)*

Feelings of anger and frustration were expressed by most of the participants that despite being extremely talented, Maori athletes seem to be rejected from selection for weak or inadequate reasons. These included not talking enough, lacking confidence or having *"attitude"*, reasons some of these women participants felt would not stop a Pakeha player being selected. Maui mentioned another Maori youth who didn't "*really fit the style"*. Atiria described how the continued omission of her daughters from national teams after attending the camps ended up seeming like a waste of time and money:

> *It was a dream of theirs, but they've just been mucked around the whole time. If they know already who they want to pick for these teams and they've already picked their teams, why are they even bothering to waste our time and money to bring these girls to these camps to just say 'no'?*

Ruhi described one experience of trialling and how it felt wrong, as if Maori were pushed to the side. A personal approach had been made by a 'scout' requesting that the only Pakeha in her team attend an open provincial trial. Ruhi said, "*She was probably one of my worst players in terms of skill level"*. So Ruhi attended the trial with her Pakeha player and "*three Maori girls... very talented young*

players". During the first trial, the Maori players got on court a couple of times but *"nobody barely passed the ball to them which didn't make them look so great"*. In contrast, her Pakeha player *"played more often and because she knew some of the other players she obviously was getting passed the ball quite a bit more"*. Although they were asked to go back to the next trial, the Maori girls didn't even get on the court. Her players were shy, didn't know many of the other girls on a social basis and didn't feel welcome, so they stuck together. Even though the Maori players had played at representative age group levels, and had beaten the other trialists, Ruhi said it felt like:

> *...look at those 'hick' girls y'know. And then somebody had said, 'Can I get the girls to come over here because it looks like they're not interested?' I said, 'They don't know anybody'... 'Oh yeah but it looks like they're setting themselves apart from all the rest'... I mentioned it to the girls and in the end we just turned around and said 'We're gone, we're done, don't waste our time'...I think it hurt them, it hurt them. It's like they weren't there.*

Based on that experience, Ruhi's Maori players refused to go back. They felt that the trials were not about skill or ability but who you know and that being Maori from their town was a disadvantage. I asked if this was representative of her experiences: *"Only in one particular area... only since moving from a small place to a big place where it's been predominantly run by Pakeha"*. Tipene also illustrates the impact that race appeared to have on selection of players when he left coaching secondary school at representative level,

> *White coaches came in, and we're talking the players who had been involved in [province] secondary school team for three years, benched five of them, Maori...White boys got put in their place. I had some Pakeha people come up to me saying, 'What the hell's happening?'*

Tipene would respond, *"New coach mate"*. Tipene goes on to recount how a Maori coach then became the regional selector and *"a lot more brown brothers got involved"*. When this same Maori coach became the New Zealand secondary school selector, there were a lot more *"brown brothers involved"*. But when the Maori coach was replaced by a Pakeha coach it seemed like a predominantly Pakeha provincial team was picked. Tipene complains: *"You tell me that's a level*

playing field. Oh bullshit. That ain't a level playing field...The times when the field got levelled was when there was a Maori regional coach". Tony agreed that if someone doesn't fit into the system that selectors prefer, it is likely that he/she may not progress on to higher levels. He makes the point that selectors do not explain themselves, offer no clear criteria for selection, do not explain to the players where they have fallen short and fail to see why they should do this. Thus, there is no accountability. Even pursuing a pathway of ensuring accountability from those who make decisions can be a complicated exercise. With regards to the way decisions are made at committee or board level, Tony perceives the process as follows:

> *You have to be able to speak freely and things need to be confidential so it depends on the things that you're gonna say that you don't want other people to hear...but I'm more concerned about transparency and fairness. If the child can see that's the way things are done, that's how they select people who represent New Zealand, and this is the process, step 1, step 2, step 3 and if you get through those hoops you'll get in, and that's what happens, then I think that child will be fine.*

But then Tony points out the confusion experienced by Maori participants and their families:

> *But that transparency is elusive because they change it all the time. They always find a way sometimes to upset people trying to trial, people trying to qualify for New Zealand or even the regional teams because they're not transparent and they don't have fair processes.*

When asked what the process comes down to, Tony attributes the unfair processes to power structures that are dominated by Pakeha:

> *It's really about favouritism. Y'know in the boardroom, that's where the confidentiality thing comes up. They'll talk about, not only the child but the impact on the brother. 'Oh we don't want that family to come and play for us'. I'm sure a lot of people have experienced that, yet the child is being judged by his family, or the people he gets around with or the school he goes to.*

From the participants' perspectives, there appears to be a disparate Maori representation at governance level. Tony explains the disparity in numbers of Maori representing at board levels which means Maori have very little influence:

> *They don't have a say, you're just one. You're a whipper-snapper in a shark pond and there's the situation so you really can't make change that way.*

All the participants recognize that the higher levels of sport are administration, committee or board level:

> *Yeah, that's where we need to get in, that admin (Heni)*

> *That's where we need to get, in the top. We've noticed that, so we need people in there (Reka)*

Although Ruhi recognizes the 'power in numbers' concept at committee and board level, she tends to be cynical about the potential influence their candidates would have and argues that they would probably end up *"toeing the line"*: *"We're very hesitant about becoming involved at a high level because we feel we'll be just the same as the ones that are already there, to be honest"*. Teone also refers to the type of influence required in decision-making that affects his sport, such as in the allocation of council-owned facilities and fields. He suggests that because Maori are missing on either District or City councils and within funding agencies, they lack the influence to initiate changes at the macro level. He claims:

> *The closest we come to it is [ex New Zealand player] who had an association with SPARC. We don't have the Wilson Whinerays and all these other rugby people and the other sportspeople that are on there, mak[ing] those decisions on the councils...the Brian Lochores and all those sort of people, ...on the funding agencies and stuff. There's not one person [from his sport]...So we don't have access and networks like those other people do, like other sports do.*

When Atiria was asked why she thought Maori are not in decision-making positions at top level in her sport she reasoned:

> *I know Maori have forwarded their names in there. Some have been successful ...You do have Maori in there but they're not the decision-makers.*

Teone describes his sport as having Maori involved at all levels except in the national body. And yet the sport is made up of at least 85% Maori participation in most areas with which he has been associated. These participants recognise the importance of Maori representation in key functionary positions which would open up more opportunities for Maori advancement in sport. Maui concedes that Maori are present, but they are constantly being overlooked:

> *…They have the odd token Maori here and there scattered amongst the NZ programmes but I don't know what it is. We're just not good enough but they'll hire on Australians and Americans and all that. That's just the way it is.…That's their mentality.*

Closer Scrutiny, Biased Referees

One impact of racism is noticed by the participants at flaxroots[12] level where growing tensions develop between players/teams and referees. One example given was the noise restriction enforced on Maori spectators, implying that their verbal support was too loud. Ruhi suggests that Pakeha interpret their shouting as *"They think we're physically gonna bash them"*. For example, one of their supporters was told to discontinue cheering by an umpire who thought their supporter was being abusive. When asked to explain the difference between that kind of cheering at club level and then cheering at international level where everybody is unrestrained, she replied, *"I think we've been made to restrict things that we do and expressing ourselves in particular areas of sport because it's not appropriate. It's been looked or frowned upon...by officials"*. Ruhi felt that the negative stereotypes of Maori teams *"led to officials treating us and speaking to us differently. That tone of voice to us"*. I asked her what being 'treated differently' looked like and that 'tone of voice' sounded like:

> *In a particular game, the umpire might pull up an infringement and the umpire will say [infringement] [grumpily]. The same thing would happen at the other end and they'll say [infringement] [lightly].*

Ruhi explained that she knew her players had noticed the regular occurrence of differential treatment:

---

[12] A NZ/Aotearoa contextually specific version of 'grassroots'.

> *Our girls are not silly. They pick up on things like that...but it got to the stage where it was constantly happening. If they just open their mouths to make a comment at a player to 'get on defence', or 'get out' or 'hey you', they [the officials] take it as if it was a comment to them.*

According to Ruhi, they had to restrain themselves because everything they did reflected on the team and where they were from. She explained that *"they became this little mute team"*. She coached her players to display good sportsmanship, *"shake their hands even though they sucked, or were terrible, go up and thank the umpire...even though you don't want to"*. Her reasoning was that she didn't want her girls to be seen as inferior or to let officials know that her team was offended by what was happening to them. Yet she felt that what was expected of them was not imposed on other teams in the same way. They felt harassed by the administration in a range of ways such as the threat of fines, umpires being sent to watch their games because they were 'rough', their team cards being checked every week at disruptive times like just before they were warming up, regular questioning of whether her captain was actually the captain (even though she had been all five years), and their concerns being dismissed as unimportant: *"Another player asked for clarification, she was the captain at the time. She said, 'Could I have clarification about the score?' 'Oh don't worry, you guys aren't in the final anyway'. Is that racist? Biased? That was a male ref that one...He was Pakeha.... It's just annoying"*.

The deeply entrenched belief that arguing with a referee or umpire is never justified and that their decision-making is sacrosanct appears to place officials above reproach. To these participants the officials are not scrutinised or held to the same level of accountability that Maori are subjected to.

FINDING 5: Socio-Economic Influence on Sport Participation

Teone claims that discrimination against his sport was common because of its association with low socioeconomic groups, which happen to be predominantly Maori and Pacific Islanders. To counter this predicament there is available funding for increasing sport accessibility for Maori from SPARC. But access to that funding for Maori may be a different story. Two participants specifically spoke about the funding that is supposedly targeted for Maori to increase participation in sport. Ruhi relates that her sport requires players to give their

ethnicity on registration forms in their region: *"I don't think people actually understand why they're filling out their registration form when they're asking for their ethnicity. I'm just querying 'why do you want to know that?' 'Why do you want to know our occupation?'"* Ruhi is cynical about the funding that Maori could get and yet are not getting. She suspects that funding from SPARC is calculated according to the number of Maori playing in that area for that sport and those questions assist in compiling statistics for that funding:

> *I'm thinking you would get more money because we are a lower socio-economic people and for health with Maori and all these health issues, then they want to see more Maori women in sport.*

But Ruhi asks, "*And what do we see of that money?*" She believes that funding should go to the clubs and not the regional body.

Tipene also describes how funding was declined to grow a particular sport for Maori and Pakeha in a large city. Although the sport was, and still is, predominantly played and administered by Pakeha, the only high school with predominantly Maori students had a strong and proud history of playing it from the 1960s. Funding had been sought to promote the sport to more Maori and Polynesian players. He said:

> *tried to get funding from the [sport] national body to foster things...Got turned down time and time again. Yet they'd go and foster [sport] at [private Catholic school], they had nothing [talent]. And they had an American coach here at that time and he was seconded to bring that school up to speed. We had all the natural athletes...we were talking about knocking over Aussie. We found out, they're not interested in knocking over Aussie. They don't want Maoris to play so they'll let Aussie whip our butts every year but they'll keep the brown fullas out.*

Tipene explains his understanding of the funding process for Maori in the sport in which he is currently involved:

> *We … pay taxes and national bodies...get funded. One of the big statistics in [national governing body] is they try to get as many players as they can playing the game because they get paid so much….*

He claims that when you ask for specific details like: *"How many Maoris are actually playing?"* The response is: *"Why is that mate?"* He suggests,

> *'Maybe we'll just take the $50,000 and do it ourselves'. [Governing body]*
> *'Ooh, we don't wanna do that.' 'Oh, I see, alright, well you take the*
> *$50,000 then for Maori aye mate.... Ends up $23,000'. 'Where the hell did*
> *the other 27,000 go?'[Governing body]'Oh you'll find that out at the*
> *AGM'. Get to the AGM. Well, who the hell can understand the accounts at*
> *the AGM? Half of them are accountants and they can't understand it... So*
> *it just gets lost... more and more things Maori. (Tipene)*

All participants indicated that socio-economic levels strongly dictate the choices or lack of choices available to Maori participants such as which sport to play, the level they may attain, and the longevity of their sport involvement. The participants understood that Maori are over-represented in the lower socio-economic group and, based on their long-term involvement, have become aware of the economic resources required that limit individual sport involvement and certain sports' sustainability. Tipene believes that *"...sport is not a level playing field, the economics of it is bad"*. He explains himself by stating that,

> *It's a pyramid at the top that sucks all the resources on the bottom; tax*
> *structures, society, sports structures, they're all the same. All pyramid-*
> *shaped, they all suck up from the bottom.*

Tipene explains that there are sports where Maori have very high participation rates, but that these also happen to be the sports where there is no money at flaxroots level. He offers rugby league as an example: *"...Outside of the Warriors, and this Pakeha joker [owner] slipping all the money in and they've turned it into a pretty good business, it's falling down all over the place. It's a financial thing"*. He suggests that some sports with high Maori participation rates such as woodchopping should have developed further from where they are but that they struggle to get sponsors: *"We got some of the best woodchoppers in the world. They gotta go overseas to make a living, gotta go overseas to get sponsorship. So a level playing field, no"*. Waka ama [outrigger canoeing] also struggles for a national sponsor. He claims that the national body have had people come in and say, *"Yes I'm definitely interested. How many Maoris are involved in this sport?"* When told 85%, *"inevitably within a really short period of time of their initial, 'Yes', 'Oh, Won't get my money back outta that, sorry'"*. Tipene explains the rationale behind the change of mind: *"Maori are the main backbone*

of this deal and it's not Maori that come and visit my shop so I don't want to sponsor you".

Teone also believes it is financial constraints that prevent the growth of his sport: *"Oh yeah, if we didn't have the financial barriers, we'd be huge".* Atiria emphasised, *"Money. Money's always an issue".* Tony claims that his sport *"is limited to only those who can afford it".* The same issues affect participation. Tipene claims that, *"There's too much economics that prohibits our kids".* This finding concurs with Rewi (1992) who found in a Tainui survey that the cost of sport limits Maori participation levels. For example, Atiria says that when people ask her children to play she has to ask how much it costs first, and then replies, *"'Sorry my child can't come, we can't pay'. And that's been a downside for large families, families that don't have a great income. They have to say we can't afford to send our kids to play their sports".* Atiria gave a breakdown of what was required (e.g., travel, accommodation and food). She also mentioned that in her sport, the funding from higher levels normally went towards the male representative teams in the same sport, because the men are *"in the spotlight more…Because they pay imports, by the time it gets to the women's team there's less money left for them".* Reka was also candid in her assessment of the cost barrier to achieving higher representative honours in the sport she coaches: *"You ain't got enough money, well you're not in".* Even waka-ama, a Maori-dominated sport at all levels in New Zealand, risks being out of reach for those Maori who are struggling economically. Tipene elucidates, *"…increasingly, the sport is becoming middle-class brown and we're losing our ability to touch all segments of Maori society".* He details the costs of canoes as being between $12,000-14,000 along with *"paddles worth $300, life jackets $150, trailers that are worth $10,000 that's got to be pulled around by a truck that's worth $20,000".* Teone expresses the same sentiments*:*

> *I knew schools that were having a sub to play rugby or basketball, $150-160. In [sport] a club's subs is $10 per player. And it's because if we put those subs up, they won't play. People won't be able to afford to play. The other thing is that in [sport]… you get supplied shorts, socks and jersey. Every club is responsible for that. You just gotta turn up and all your*

gear's given to you. That's because unfortunately a lot of our people are a
bit pohara [poor].

While discussing 'accessibility' to sport, Tony claims that in general his sport:

…is limited to only those who can afford it…it will probably cost you $100
to join a club in the [city] area and now that's quite cheap…you're limited
to what you can do on a [sport field]. I'm talking about a junior person, if
a young child wants to play then that's how much it costs them. Then the
lessons and that are normally free because they have junior programs
running.

Tony claims they are free because the sport needs to be promoted and there has
been a decline in playing numbers, which means his sport is not generating
enough income. He reasons that,

there's so much sport around. In my day we only ever played basketball,
rugby and a little bit of squash. But now people are doing waka-ama,
they're doing karate. The kids are riding around in cars, doing other
things other than sport.

However, he still maintains that access to his sport is for those who can afford
travel expenses, coaching and cost of equipment. He gives a breakdown of the
cost of equipment and emphasizes that an athlete is at a disadvantage without the
top equipment which may cost in excess of $1,200 for one piece of equipment. He
then discusses the cost of playing at any venue and for a sport specific training
programme and facility (up to $20,000 per year). He then explains the role of
technology:

…If you don't have the top equipment, then you're at a disadvantage to
other people. So you can't go out there with a tool that's ancient and
somebody's got the latest technology because they'll beat you with that
technology…. Technology had such a huge impact on the game…. The
skill is there but generally if you have a real good skill base and old
technology, you're gonna be governed primarily by the old technology
whereas if you got new technology or new equipment, that levels the
playing field for those who aren't as skilled (Tony).

Levelling the playing field through technology means those who can access
financial support are able to take a step up a level enabling them access to more

opportunities. However, those who have more skill and no financial support are left behind. Who knows how many potentially exceptional players miss out on opportunities due to financial hardship.

However, Tony believes the top Maori players are marketable and good enough to be picked up by sponsors. I asked Tony how much it would cost to pursue the professional circuit. He responded:

> *I think one year on the professional circuit you'd need to have probably $80-90,000 and that's if you don't make any money at all.... Probably NZ, you'd probably need 50-60,000 US dollars just to get you through. The pathways would be, if they're any good they'd be picked up by sponsors, probably sporting sponsors or management sponsors, like the big sports firms like Nike...*

FINDING 6: Actions/Reactions

Clearly, the participants felt that Pakeha did not understand how cultural differences impacted on their sporting experiences. Over time, the participants in this research have formed their own perceptions of the way that the sport context works for and against them. The effects of racism in sport has led to reactions which include verbal abuse, withdrawal, feelings of hurt and frustration, and restricting their aspirations (e.g., choosing not to coach Pakeha teams). These types of attitudes have impacted on these Maori participants' levels of involvement. For some, the discriminating actions towards them have provoked reactions, sometimes in ways that reinforce the stereotypes of Maori as angry, aggressive, violent and undisciplined.

The following example describes how one participant became so sick of the racial innuendo from a Pakeha head coach that it provoked a physical outburst:

> *'Your people don't play good defence, your people are lazy, when there's a game on your people only want to play, they don't want to train' and all that sort of thing ...We were in the States and I said to him, 'Look, you say that again, and tell me to take care of my people and I'll drop you!' So we were in a tournament... in the United States on tour with the New Zealand team and one of the Maori boys stuffed up and he said 'I'm sick and tired of this. Tell your people to do things right. Are they stupid?' …So I just hit him with a chair(Maui).*

102

Ruhi relates how one of her players (her daughter) was ordered off the court. She described her daughter as being *"very, very competitive….She's had good coaching in Auckland in the age-groups, she comes from a good school background"*. When her daughter told one of her players to leave the ball, get on defence and get up, the umpire said to her, *"What'd you say?",* to which her daughter replied, *"I didn't say anything to you"* and the umpire told her *"Get off"*. Her daughter then turned around and said, *"Stuff you, f___ you, I didn't do anything"* and walked off. As indicated in this experience, referees and umpires have power and authority to arbitrate however they please, regardless of being right or wrong and this becomes the source of enormous frustration experienced by these participants. When I asked if Ruhi reacted she replied,

> *No, I didn't make any waves, we didn't complain about anything. We just continued even though I saw things that I felt were biased, biased. Yeah, and like I said, even after a game that was probably rough… I'd always make sure that I went up to the manager and the coach and thanked them for the game, whipped over and thanked the girls and also thanked the umpires even when they were shit, to that extreme. Because I felt like I didn't want them to kinda beat us, I didn't want them to think that it had affected us.*

However, when I asked how it had affected her and her players, Ruhi explained:

> *It must have been frustrating for them, because it was totally frustrating for me to have to watch them and then they look at me, appeal to me, what can I do? And if you haven't got the answers, when you want to say, 'It's not you'. How can you improve a player if you can't say to them, 'This is what's happening. This is what you need to do, when there's nothing happening? Those kinda things, and it just wore them down.*

Ruhi felt like they were playing a game they could never really win:

> *That's right… No matter how hard you tried, you just couldn't beat it and it kinda just started eating away at the girls. They were really awesome, y'know, they just carried on no matter what but it was frustrating.*

Opting Out of The System

Opting out of sport was one reaction to biased treatment, rather than enduring long term discrimination and continuing to participate in a system that refuses to address the problem of racism. While lengthy, this quote encapsulates the frustration resulting from the powerlessness of discriminatory practices in sport that led to the withdrawal of Ruhi's team:

> *… we had two very young umpires, qualified umpires in their whites. Now I have a good understanding of the rules… a good understanding of position where you're able to visually see what's happening on the court and … where your blind spots are…whether you're able to control the game from whatever area and I was adamant that the calls she was making from where she was, she was unable to see it…She was umpiring from up here [pointing at one end] and seeing a contact that was happening from way down there [pointing at the other end]. She was nowhere near in line with it, she was making an assumption.*
>
> *I can't talk to the umpires ever, only a coach can do it on a break and so I yelled to [team captain], 'Could you ask the umpire on this side what her interpretation of the infringement, what is she actually calling her up for?' And then I was getting quite frustrated and I said, 'Could you ask her again, (of course she's right there) could you ask her again what is her interpretation of this?'… I was getting quite agitated by then but keeping calm. I don't usually get, that was the first time… I never even raised my voice to somebody to ask something else and that was ok.*
>
> *Then the game progressed and… because the umpires were unable to control the game, it made the game look very scrappy. ..Lots of constant pinging of defence, ping, ping, ping. And then there was one particular player, our goal keeper… the umpire had said to her, [stand still] … so she stood there. And …the goal went in….the umpire said to her 'You didn't [stand still]' And our player said, 'Yes I did. Have you finished?' And she walked away. And [the umpire] said, 'Come back, I haven't finished'. And [team player] said, 'I asked you, had you finished?' And*

[the umpire] said, 'No, I asked you to [stand still]'. It was a kind of bantering thing. And so after about 2 or 3 inquiries, [the umpire] sent her off for three goals, which had a devastating effect on the whole team.

We were playing against a premier team and after the game I was just spewing, I'd just had a gutsful. I'd had it up to here - not for me, I couldn't 'give a stuff' about me. I was concerned for them as players and I thought to myself, I really need to talk to you's [the umpires] after the game.

So after the game I went up to the umpires and I said to them both, 'I'd like to speak to you when you're finished.' They had to sign their team cards. And they made me wait on the side of the court for a good 5-10 minutes after the game, which is unusual to have to wait that long after a game. And I said, 'I just want to know what your clarification is for you sending off my player for three goals? It had a detrimental effect on the game itself, the outcome of the game, also the morale of my whole team.' And she turned around sarcastically and said, 'I could have sent her off for more if I felt like it. If you got a complaint, go up there.' I said, 'No, I want you to know how I feel, how you've treated my team. I want you to know exactly what it feels like. I feel like your umpiring was biased. You were in no position to read the game efficiently and effectively. All the player asked you was had you finished and you took some kind of, it was a problem for you. I thought that was the most shocking umpiring I've ever had in my time of [sport].' And the girls were standing behind me as if to say 'yeah, yeah' which is normal for Maori to do that. And I'm trying to hold them back, don't get violent, come on we don't need that, then it will really be [team name] in the paper. So just remember, calm, calm, calm. So we went home and we had a bitch session.

As an interviewer I was interested to know the umpire's and referee's reaction:

They both walked away, laughing all the way…That was really annoying and when I saw that and I looked at the other team and, although they didn't say it, they were nodding their heads about the calls. They were saying to my players, 'What was that for?'; 'Gee that was a bit hard.'

I then asked if they were Pakeha referees.

Yes, both Pakehas. One umpire we had constantly and had nothing but issues and issues with that one. We found the young ones were, I dunno, arrogant...asserting their power letting you know 'I don't care what you say, I'm in charge here mate and I've done what I've done, too bad, too bad guys, you lost.'

And that's how we felt it, so we went back and talked about it. Same old thing that you do, analyse what happens in the game and y'know I try not to be biased in the way I think about things, I see things from both sides. I can see if they've done something wrong. 'Well that's because you did that mate, that's why you got that.' There were a lot more things that weren't there that they said were there. If you're hammering one team it's just that balance in their umpiring....I don't think there's fairness. And I've seen it, umpires tend to get a bit personal. They tend to get this personal hate of a particular player. If you did something and said something, then there's a likelihood that you'd get picked up quite a few times in a game because of one issue.

It's how you portray yourself and, like I said, Maori just say [rolling their eyes] and I had a player that went like [making faces], and they advanced the play. You don't see many Pakehas doing that. That might be why, I'm not sure. Anyway so that's where it was, we discussed it and I said 'nah we gotta have another session, have another meeting and get together and have a bitch'. We feel better after that, and what we gonna do. I said to them 'I'm tired.' I've been in [sport] such a long time and these five years has probably been one of the worst experiences I've had of all my [sport] life. I said 'I feel for you's. I'm feeling like I'm an emotional wreck.'

It was so demanding. We had players there that organized their kids to football, to netball on the way, they traveled to [city], they bought all the bloody kids with them, y'know the kids were running all over the place. This is what they went to, to get there. It wasn't like just get in my car and away I go, toodly woodly woo. They had to do some damn shit before they

got there. And well to me that was a bloody good effort. I couldn't believe that they did all that stuff and then after that, they'd go and support their men at rugby league, take all the kids along there. That was their day. That was their Saturday.

And I just said to them, 'Look, do you wanna do this? Are we gonna carry on doing this? Do we wanna pay six hundred and something dollars plus to be abused? We can just stay home and we won't get any of that.' I was honest as anything about this. It was just too much, it was just too frustrating and it was too much to continue. I said 'Everybody's got to agree. If one person doesn't agree, we continue.'

So after all the emotion was all calmed down, we had another meeting to make sure it was ok. I told them this was how I feel as a coach. 'I don't want to persuade you because of my emotions for you guys, you have to decide yourselves.' And I said 'Have a think about what's happened over the period that we've been here and I'm sure you can decide.' And so they all in the end decide, 'Neh, that's us. We're done. Neh, we've had as much as we can cope with, no matter what we do'.

And I wrote a letter, my first official letter of complaint. I wrote to the association to say about the umpiring and I said to them straight, I felt the umpiring was biased. At times the umpires were not in a position to be able to see what was happening and I felt that most of the time it was just like assumptions of what had happened and I felt like it had a detrimental effect on our team's morale and personally they're just worn out and tired. We've met together and they've decided as individuals they do not wish to continue playing…at this stage and we will not be continuing [sport] this year. And just said we'd appreciate a response to this letter. And we did get a letter back saying that the umpires that were umpiring us had just recently umpired at the national age groups…. they were at a very high caliber and … at the time they were playing, they were being coached by an umpire. Well what are they being bloody coached for? So it was just like 'oh we had these official people watching' and then they wrote this

little 'thank you very much, we wish you well for the future'. And that was
it. That was the end of that.

I asked Ruhi about the prospect of setting up their own league, instead of relying
on the city competition. Her reply was,

Yes…we've thought about that…. I think it's about 'when your time is up,
your time is up' in terms of [sport]. If we were to start some [sport] up,
it's got to be the next generation of parents that have got to take that on
board for it to have some kind of future.

During the interview Ruhi's feelings of hurt and disillusionment were quite
apparent. I asked how deeply this had affected her:

Very deeply. I don't think they really realize how hurtful they are to us
first as…individuals, as people, as Maori, just the respect is not there, it's
not the same. To me, I'd call it racism. And you can say I don't look like a
Maori but it's how you feel that you're Maori. If I was with a group of
Pakeha, then I would be classed as a Pakeha but if I'm a coach and I look
like a Pakeha but I'm involved with a team who are predominantly Maori
then there is a big significant difference between how they're treated. They
don't realize what they're doing to you. They just think it's nothing.

This is a key point in that Ruhi named the treatment as racism, and described the
debilitating effects of such treatment on an individual level. She stated that the
quality of her team's play was good but the emotional damage was escalating due
to the constant unfair treatment of bad calls over a long period of time:

Emotionally it appears like everything is against you. You feel like no
matter what you do, no matter what you try, no matter how nice you are
and you smile even though they've just bashed you, even though somebody
contacted you and pulled you over and you don't say 'stuff you' and you
sit there and go [rolling eyes]. They learnt to do that well. They learnt to
ignore everything happening around them and get on with the game.
They'd get on with the game and just nothing changed. They'd … been …
tarred already. …How long does it take to get bashed and bashed and
bashed, getting pulled up and pulled up and pulled up, and spoken to and
spoken to and spoken to, that you're a dumb Maori, Maori, Maori, that

you're dumb, dumb, dumb? How long does that take before it actually has
an effect on you?

Unfortunately, the conscious decision by these participants to 'opt out' of sport due to unfair treatment reinforces the stereotypes that Pakeha have of Maori not having the 'staying power' or 'stick-ability' and that Maori 'give up easily'. However, to Ruhi, the rationale for 'opting out' is clear: why persevere with discrimination in what she perceives as a system that offers little hope for change?

Native Resistance

Although opting out of the system was the chosen action against the discriminatory treatment experienced by Ruhi's team, it was that type of treatment that made Tipene choose to stay. He explained:

> *I got involved in coaching at [sport club] because of the number of Maori [school] kids that were involved. I wanna make sure they're getting looked after, they weren't getting screwed over like my sons were getting screwed over, like I've been screwed over. I wasn't gonna let that happen.*

Tipene claims it can be difficult as a Maori in predominantly Pakeha teams. He reasons that selectors go back to what they feel comfortable with. Maori will coach Maori because they think the same but Tipene states that "*Not many brown fullas will get up and coach a white team*". When asked if he thinks the Pakeha athletes will give their permission to be coached by a Maori, he responded:

> *I think a Maori coaching a lot of Pakehas, he's gotta be really strong in what he's doing, he's gotta know his stuff. He's gotta know stuff more than the Pakeha. He has to otherwise he'll be chopped liver....when a Maori is involved with a whole lot of Pakehas, he has to be right on his game, and he has to know more. He has to have the ability to say, 'nah, we're gonna do it this way mate. If you don't like it, change me but I'm gonna do it this way'. And I think if you're never afraid of being sacked or never afraid of saying 'hey, I've had enough, I'm gonna go do something else' you'll be fine. If you're frightened of being sacked or you're frightened of confronting a whole lot of white people, you'll be chopped liver.*

Tipene believes that in sports he's been involved with, there is a subtle attempt to assimilate Maori into compliance to the Pakeha systems which selectively ignore the 'Maoriness' of Maori participants:

> *I honestly think that they just try to integrate us. They need us as sportspeople. They flat out do. They don't want us as people though... And then the Maori that actually ends up as a potato [brown on the outside and white on the inside], that stands there like a nigger boy and says, 'yeh, yeh, whatever'. They love those fellas, because they can control those fellas.*

Tipene suggests that requiring compliance to a discriminatory system is unfair. He had coached his provincial secondary school side to the only finals they'd ever played but was clearly told in regards to his coaching future, "*That's as far as you're gonna go....*" He rejected operating under a system that has an A team coach with a pool of 40 players yet only required 22 for Saturday's game. Five of those 40 A squad players were injured but Tipene knew that as the B coach he would have 10-15 A squad players dropped down to his B team squad in the final training before the weekend game. This was frustrating for Tipene as a coach who was expected to start the players that had been dropped down from the A squad, and then reorganize his B team players and patterns for his game. He felt that the A team coach should pick his top 22 players, leave him with the next 22 and if the A team needed anymore, to call on him and the Under 21's coach. So, he was then offered the youth (which he was keen to do), yet that programme operated under the same system which he rejects. Tipene again refused explaining his rationale:

> *If I'm gonna be a coach and my ability to rise through the ranks is going to sink or swim on my ability to win games, then I'm definitely going to pick the players I'm going to pick to win me those games. I'm not gonna have you pick nearly half or over half the team and I'm going to play them and my ability to coach at a higher level is now dependent upon your selections, not mine.*

On another occasion, Tipene was invited to speak to a body of stakeholders due to his proven track record as a coach who reached the finals of a national tournament three times, and won once. He explained:

If it was a Saturday to Saturday I would've picked a different type of team. But I knew what was required to last Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday off, Friday, the final placings. By Wednesday, most teams are down to almost nothing, even with all the draught horses they've picked. We're playing banged up, but I made finals based on just that, what I've told you because these kids could get up and take the hits better than these white boys. They didn't wanna hear that. So then [representative] from [prominent high school] tries to shut the meeting down halfway through it. Whoever heard of being invited to a meeting and then you get 20 minutes of speaking and at the ten minute mark, 'Thanks very much mate, please sit down'. Stick it, I'm gonna have my say bro, I don't care".

He defends his selection processes and states: *"I'm not gonna stand there and be a nigger boy. I'm not gonna stand there and say, 'Yeah, sweet as' when I know it's not sweet as"*. Nevertheless, Tipene claims that he is committed to changing things because *"We have to fix it now before our mokos [grandchildren] have to face it as well"*. Maui has the same approach and confidence in his ability to stand up for himself:

Obviously I don't fit some of those criteria, because of my forthright attitude, etcetera, and I just don't suffer fools lightly, and I'm a winner. People coaching New Zealand teams now, they haven't done anything, they haven't won anything, they kiss arse, they do all the right things, they're politically correct. That's great, that's good for them... a lot of them are [pc] because all they're interested in doing is making sure they tick the boxes and that's just not me. I learnt early on in my career, I just wasn't gonna let them push me around ... because I was Maori, I was behind the 8-ball right from the word go.

Taking it even further by building on the approaches of Tipene and Maui, Tony was very clear in his strategy of pursuing 'tino rangatiratanga':

Only way I could make change was to make a stand; I'm gonna be pro-Maori in everything I do in terms of Maori [sport]. I had an opportunity to do that and so I am.

111

National Identity: The Illusion of Inclusion

One outcome of racism is that national identity has become less of a priority to three of the research participants. Two participants expressed an openness to coaching a national Australian team and a third participant sent Maori athletes to play in, and if possible for, Australia. The reasons cited related to the exclusionary practices that have unfairly limited their opportunities in New Zealand on the basis that they are Maori. One participant commented that, *"My ultimate goal would be to be coaching either as an Assistant or a Head coach, or at some capacity even at the Olympics" (Teira).* Whether for New Zealand or Australia, it did not matter.

As a result of continued exclusion from national teams after three of her children being invited to national trials, Atiria expressed disillusionment with the way that the New Zealand national governing body has treated her family. When asked if her daughters would be in national teams if they were white, Atiria said *"yes"*. She went on to say that: *"A lot of players going offshore, that's what the girls will do now. They can't even make it here in New Zealand. That's as far as they go in [sport]"*. Atiria agreed that the exclusion of very good Maori players was generational, meaning the same thing that happened to her is now happening to her girls. At the time of interview, Atiria and her husband were seriously considering moving to Australia as a family to further their children's opportunities. Teira concurred with these sentiments and mentioned: *"You only have to have a look at the Maori people doing well overseas in Australia because the opportunities are there. They're just flourishing"*. Tipene too is sick of the way that the Maori players get treated by the 'system' in which he coaches:

> *My experiences…are the dreads. I never promote any of our kids to [Province] now… I'll tell this thing now [pointing at the video] we got kids that we're gonna send to [Australian franchise]. We've already sent some to [another Australian franchise… all trying out for [Australian franchise] next year… the Aussies will look after our people better than we will.*

Speaking the Unspoken

"Y'know that there is racism in New Zealand, that it's all undercurrent. Nobody has the nuts to hop up and say, "All you black buggers get out, we're not interested in you" (Tipene).

One of the advantages of Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology is that as a Maori interviewing Maori, there is more likelihood that responses relating to racial discrimination would be forthcoming as opposed to the silence which generally prevails around 'race talk'. The denial of racism was identified as a part of New Zealand society. The participants suggested that Maori know it exists but conversations about it occur within homogenous groups, such as all-Maori or all-Pakeha, about other groups. Their experiences suggest that what is said *about* each other is rarely said *to* each other. For example, Miria makes it clear that she could openly discuss issues of discrimination on the basis of race with other Maori involved in the sport context, *"Like I said, they walk the same lines"*. But when asked if they could discuss them with Pakeha, the three women in one interview all spoke at once, *"No, no."* This was further supported when Miria was discussing the reaction of a group of Pakeha parents to the success of a predominantly Maori girls' team. She said, *"It was the most annoying thing. [Pakeha parent after returning from a barbecue with just Pakeha parents] was telling us that "oh they won't last long, all those Maori girls, they'll be pregnant."* Both Miria and Heni reacted negatively to this view: *"I said 'whatever...' That was a stupid thing to say."* Miria agreed: *"For an adult to say something like that was just stupid."* When asked if the pregnant comment was amongst Pakeha, Heni replied, *"Yeah amongst themselves"*.

This finding is particularly pertinent in the context of Maori seeking social justice in Aotearoa. Without acknowledgement of racism in New Zealand sport, then eliminating its effects through changes at macro and micro levels becomes almost impossible.

Solutions Suggested

Although at times the unfair treatment of the participants was disappointing and discouraging, the participants had contemplated possible solutions. For Maori to overcome barriers of exclusion, Tipene suggests:

We as Maori have to get organized better, get more vocal and our
organizations gotta be well run and well funded so we have the staying
power to say, 'Alright, 20 years time, our moko will never suffer this. Let's
do it'. And we stay the distance…. I think until Maoridom can rectify that
themselves, there will always be racism.

One solution suggested is that iwi take on a governing role over sport for Maori.
Tipene suggests that all the iwi convene, support and divide up the Maori
tournaments for different sports such as rugby, league and netball, etcetera. He
suggests that when the iwi start running sport: "*I believe that whatever funding is*
available, they'll draw from it on a national body and supplement it out of
income". For example, Tipene breaks down the $75,000 cost to run the national
secondary school waka ama championships over four days. Enrolments provided
$40,000 and the national body was going to cover the shortfall of between $30-
40,000. He claims that a national sponsor could do that considering the control
that such a company has in determining the amount of tax it pays. He explains
that,

You and I pay taxes, we have no idea, it goes to roading, hospitals or what
proportions. We just pay our tax. A national company could come in and
write off $40,000 and say, 'yeah, I helped waka ama'. It didn't go on some
mystery blinkin' tour to China, or a phantom bloody road that no longer
exists. This 40 grand went to do something positive.

But some sports struggle to continue. The particpants' experiences suggest that
fundamental skills in administration and management, such as sourcing
knowledge of how to access and utilise funding for optimal efficiency may be the
difference between a sport organisation's sustainability or demise. Ignorance of
policy and process is a barrier to many Maori participants in terms of how their
sport organisations operate. Acquiring such knowledge provides an opportunity
for more leverage that may see Maori competing as equal participants. Teone
identifies that ownership over land is an issue because they are dictated to by
external boards that restrict usage of council-owned land:

The best thing is to get the structure right and probably get the land back
so the council can't close it and you're not on ground number five and you
don't get told, 'Hey it's too wet and you can't use it' or fees going up

every year. Once you own the land, that's the taonga, put a clubrooms up or whatever it is on the field.

In recognizing the costs of sport participation to be out of reach for some Maori, one way that Maori parents have identified to overcome the economic barriers is through scholarships. It is believed that scholarships allow accessibility to the 'exclusive' and privileged sectors of society where the ability to facilitate and influence success for Maori people is greater. Obviously, scholarships cannot be a solution for everyone but for the participants it is a serious consideration for those parents of children who display talents and gifts in their sporting abilities as a pathway for upward mobility. Commenting on the extended benefit of scholarships for some Maori and Polynesian students attending private, high status, Auckland colleges, one participant stated that,

> *I think more are getting in [because] they see the potential and the size. Even though they're predominantly white schools, the sports teams are brown. And they're using our kids and that's good. I wouldn't call it exploiting but I would just say making the most of those kids and giving them also an opportunity to have a good education... In that case I think that's why Maori are getting better opportunities because schools that do want to be successful see the talent and the skill that our kids have (Teira).*

Tony recognises this avenue for Maori athletes and advocates for Maori to become cognisant of processes within the Pakeha system: "*it's just a way to play the game. You gotta understand how to play the game and play it*". He emphasises the importance of understanding processes:

> *In the sporting context... You get to understand what makes things tick, how process works, how the government works. And to help Maori that way in terms of scholarships, seeking for funding, writing proposals, ... those proposals, trying to stay within the boundaries of the law so that you're a good credible organization. You've got good financial structures, you've got good processes, you've got good marketing processes so people will buy into what you're trying doing.*

Tony has advised many Maori organisations *"to become an entity to become an entity in its own right, not so much a Trust but an incorporated society. People recognize that and they will tend to favor these rather than a group of people who*

want to come together to have a meeting". Although the system is under a Pakeha umbrella he suggests safety as a key component in administering and managing sport:

> *Whilst it's a Pakeha process, it's a safe process because in terms of dealing with finances and money and processes, you've got to be safe, you've got to try and keep yourself safe. It doesn't happen all the time, but you follow what they call the Incorporated Societies Act, and you've got a good constitution that can put policies and processes in place, you'll be safe. And if people see that, they'll support it.*

However, when asked if a constitution based on tikanga would provide safety he added:

> *Yeah, because that's a point of difference between doing things Maori. Obviously a key of our constitution is to promote Maori [sport] throughout society so a very simple statement that's so broad allows us to operate in so many ways.*

SUMMARY

This chapter has given voice to the participants who relate their experiences of discrimination in the New Zealand sport context. Given their extensive backgrounds, their perceptions showed how racism has impacted on their involvement in sport because they are Maori. Their experiences reveal institutionalised discrimination through actions and processes that have stemmed from stereotypical beliefs about Maori. In the next part of the hui, the participants, the tangata whenua academics and the manuwhiri theorists metaphorically enter into discussion in order to understand why these discriminatory practices occur in a country that has a reputation for its exemplary race relations.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

Although New Zealand has moved on from its colonial past, the reality for participants in this research project is that the dominant beliefs emerging from colonisation are operating on multiple levels in sport. In this part of the metaphorical hui I draw together the theorists and academics (both Maori and Pakeha) to discuss the experiences of the research participants.

Firstly, the chapter considers the current status of New Zealand sport in terms of race relations by using the cultural competence continuum (Cross et al., 1989). This continuum assesses cross-cultural relations by considering the ways that the dominant culture responds to cultural differences.

Woven into the discussion will be consideration of the three broad forms of racism (personal, institutional and cultural) that are reflective of prejudice. I explore the dominant ideologies relating to stereotyping, key-functionary positions and power which are key factors within social institutions that teach us to think in particular ways which then impact on the mana Maori of the participants. I discuss the research participants' responses to Pakeha perceptions of Maori which influence interactions between Maori and Pakeha in sport. Although the dominant ideology of sport is grounded in the functionalist perspective, the research participants' experiences of racism prove that dominant ideologies continue today.

I then explore the cultural denial that is embedded in the social psyche of New Zealanders as a strong reason why racist attitudes and practices transpire in sport. This links to the way society denies racism and how this denial operates to marginalise the discussion of racism (Cohen, 2001). The divergent cultural worldviews between Maori and Pakeha and the devaluing of Maoriness in Pakeha culture are also key reasons as causing tensions between Maori and Pakeha in sport.

Cultural competence, (the preferred state of New Zealand sport), will be discussed in the closing chapter where I will describe sporting environments that demonstrate cultural capacity through embracing tikanga principles that can benefit both Maori and Pakeha.

Current Status of New Zealand Sport

The structure of this section includes a description of each stage of the continuum using examples from the participants' stories beginning with cultural destructiveness.

CULTURAL	CULTURAL	CULTURAL	CULTURAL	CULTURAL
DESTRUCTIVENESS	INCAPACITY	BLINDNESS	PRE-COMPETENCE	COMPETENCE

←---------1---------------2---------------3---------------4---------------5---------→
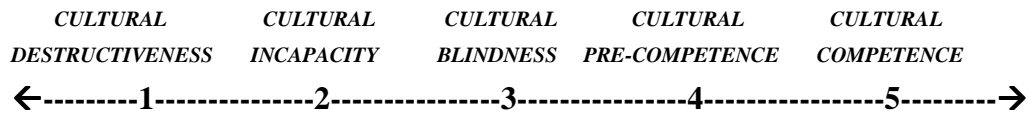
Fig. 2. Cultural Competence Continuum (Cross et al., 1989).

At this stage of the hui it became apparent that the cultural competence continuum (Cross et al. 1989) could be a useful tool in categorising the participants' experiences to present an overview of the state of New Zealand sport from the perspectives of Maori participants. Figure 2 illustrates cultural destructiveness at the negative end of the continuum which moves through the different stages toward cultural competence. Cultural competence signifies where our participants would like to see New Zealand sport progress to. Along the continuum are specific positions where forms of personally mediated, cultural and institutional racism have been identified and obscured behind structures created by the dominant culture (King, 2004). I argue that New Zealand sport operates between cultural incapacity and cultural blindness, left of the centre of the continuum.

Cultural Destructiveness

Within the interviews, only a few participants shared experiences that reflected cultural destructiveness, represented by "attitudes, policies and practices that are destructive to cultures and the individuals within the culture" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 14). This type of "bigotry coupled with vast power differentials allows the dominant group to *overtly* disenfranchise, control, or exploit (abuse), the minority population" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 14). Such attitudes and practices are underpinned by the assumption that one race is superior "over a lesser culture" (Cross et al., 1989, p.14). Examples could include using Maori motifs for merchandising (Hokowhitu, 2004a) thus promoting franchises in sport with little to no benefit to Maori. Such practices are arguably exploitative. Racial vilification

is also culturally destructive and affects its targets in ways that not only undermine the mana and well-being of Maori individuals and Maori culture, but at times leads to extreme overt reactions. One instance was when Tipene's Maori players had been subjected to a barrage of racial abuse; being called *"niggers and black bastards"*. Tipene said, *"Then somebody dongs somebody and everyone gets upset. They don't see the 20 minutes of verbal diarrhoea that went ahead beforehand"*. Bireda (2010) has observed that "stereotypes most often operate at a programmed, unconscious level and generate an automatic response" (p. 41). In the heat of the action, reactive, bad sports behaviour such as, Maui hitting a Pakeha head coach with a chair after he insinuated that Maori were stupid reflect culturally destructive attitudes and behaviours of Pakeha toward Maori. The results are often predictable in the form of self-fulfilling prophecies that reinforces the stereotypes of Maori as aggressive, wild, defiant or angry. Such behaviours are claimed by quasi-scientists as being genetic (Abel, 1996; Hokowhitu, 2007; King, 2004). This anger and resentment may come "from the knowledge that they have been and continue to be treated differently" (Bireda, 2010, p. 49), not only in wider society but even in sport. Referring to the American context, Kennedy (2000) discusses the "stratification in the stigmatizing of various racial insults that roughly mirrors the hierarchy of racial groups within the society" (p.88). If 'nigger' implies that Maori are second-class citizens in New Zealand, the statistics in health, education, housing, employment, and wealth concur: Maori have been treated like second-class citizens. The participants' responses suggest that in sport it is the same: *"You always knew that you were the second-class citizen. No one said it but you were treated like that" (Maui).*

Cultural Incapacity

Most of the findings displayed the cultural incapacity of the dominant culture. Cultural incapacity is described as a system or organisation that is "extremely biased, believes in the racial superiority of the dominant group, and assumes a paternal posture towards lesser races" (Cross et al., 1989, p.15). The concept of "maintaining stereotypes" sits within this position on the continuum with other characteristics that include discriminatory practices such as "disproportionately applying resources" or discriminating against people of colour on the basis of

119

whether they "know their place" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). Although not intentional, or perhaps not overt, discriminatory practices are "subtle messages to people of colour that they are not valued or welcome, and generally involve lower expectations of minorities" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). Most of the findings fall into this category. I now discuss stereotypes as instrumental in keeping Maori stereotypes fixed, thus maintaining the social order. This is followed by the marginalising of Maori in accessing key functionary positions in sport depending on their position as either 'good niggers' or 'bad niggers' (King, 2004).

Stereotypes

One of the challenges within the discourse of racism is being able to identify the 'everyday' things that conceal the depths of racism (Jensen, 2005). Stereotypes are one of those 'everyday' things which generally operate without awareness but strongly affect thinking on both conscious and unconscious levels (Bireda, 2010). It is suggested that through everyday language practices, both formal and informal, "that relations of power, dominance, and exploitation become reproduced and legitimated" (Augoustinos & Every, 2007).

How Maori stereotypes were formed may be explained through a historical context where the ownership of 'knowledge' was believed to only come from Pakeha (Ballara, 1986; Consedine & Consedine, 2001; Yensen, 1989). Eurocentric thinking, which underpinned colonisation, devalued Maori worldviews and diminished Mana Maori (Ballara, 1986; Waitangi Tribunal, 1985). King (2004) discusses the British context in which white men not only demonstrate control over non-white people but question any actions and practices that are not done by white men. This colonising mentality legitimates superiority of whites over people of colour (McLean, 2003; Rigney, 2003). Similarly in New Zealand it may seem that nothing is a good idea unless it is a Pakeha idea or endorsed by Pakeha because "being Pakeha [is] normal" (Consedine & Consedine, 2001, p. 218).

But stereotyping is the result of "faulty assumptions and erroneous beliefs" about people of colour "based upon historical myths and stereotypes" (Bireda, 2010, p. 41). The research participants were clearly aware of the stereotypes placed on them which are then indulged as fact. These include *"enigma", "can't concentrate", "they run out of puff", "dumb", "aggressive", "lack*

communication skills". The messages and stereotypical attitudes about Maori are fixed and framed as being typical of 'Maoriness' which generally impacts negatively on Maori-Pakeha relationships.

One sport specific stereotype about Maori is that their 'strengths' lie predominantly in physical pursuits, leading to beliefs that they are naturally 'gifted', even privileged (Hokowhitu, 2003; 2004). The research participants acknowledge the apparently natural physical talents in many Maori. But if Maori are so gifted in sport, and sport success is supposedly determined by talent, then why are Maori not representing disproportionately in all national teams?

These genetic or natural abilities that Maori supposedly have appear to sustain the scientifically constructed racial arguments that ignore and under-rate the influence of hard training and culture (Palmer, 2007). Believing in naturally gifted Maori suggests that Maori do not have to work as hard or train as hard as white people do, which supports the stereotype of the 'lazy Maori'. This in itself is a subtle form of racism and an example of how sport perpetuates the myth of race (Hoberman, 1997). James and Saville-Smith (1989) claim that Maori (and Pacific Islanders) being represented as privileged in sport is just a strategy to disguise the social disadvantage of ethnic minority groups in New Zealand.

Yet focusing on the Pakeha stereotypical perception of 'Maoriness' (e.g. enigmatic, lazy, aggressive, lacking in communication skills) as the 'problem', deflects attention from the inability and inadequacies of the dominant culture to understand cultural differences. Eyler, Cook and Ward (1983, cited in Bireda, 2010, p. 14) report that many teachers with socially heterogeneous populations "feel ill-equipped to respond with behaviour that conflict with their values" when faced with other cultures. Accordingly, teachers judge on the basis of ignorance, creating a barrier for people of different racial/ethnic groups to not interact with each other in a meaningful and positive way, which further perpetuates this ignorance of groups (Rosado, 1996). Consequently, misinterpretations may occur in two ways (Bireda, 2010). Adapting Bireda's (2010) ideas to a sport context, Pakeha coaches, or referees may misinterpret cues from Maori athletes. Firstly, during interactions between Pakeha coaches or referees, if a Maori lowers his/her head with eyes cast down without speaking, the behaviour may be misinterpreted as one who is 'defiant'. This behaviour is judged solely on the basis of Pakeha

cultural standards (Bireda, 2010). Wrathall's (1996) findings mentioned a difference in communication styles that resulted in a lack of understanding from the Pakeha hierarchy with the Maori athletes feeling disadvantaged and unable to explain themselves. But the effects are felt at an individual level in ways that leave these participants feeling deeply hurt: *I don't think they really realize how hurtful they are to us first as…individuals, as people, as Maori, just the respect is not there, it's not the same. To me, I'd call it racism".*

Secondly, projection occurs where inappropriate and lowered expectations are held for the behaviour of Maori. This construction of lower expectations of Maori is characteristic of cultural incapacity (Cross et al, 1989). This is similar to Fanon's (1967) idea that both the superiority complex of the colonizer and the inferiority complex of the colonized are pathological: "the Negro enslaved by his inferiority and the white man enslaved by his superiority alike, behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation" (p. 60). Both become unaware of their positions and subsequently play their part.

Stereotyping in New Zealand may inadvertently become part of two salient strategies for asserting and maintaining power (adapted from Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006). Firstly, those in key functionary positions (predominantly occupied by Pakeha) get to influence the policy-making process. Maori are discredited and pathologized justifying their exclusion from key functionary positions in society and sport (Hokowhitu, 2003). In Pakeha society, where Maori are placed down the racial hierarchy, Maori lack the mana (power and authority) to speak and represent themselves with credibility, unless they relinquish their Maoriness, unlike a Pakeha who "...can feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social" (McIntosh, 1990, para. 7). Stereotyping that frames Maori as problematic may be a consideration in determining suitability for inclusion on teams, or occupying key-functionary positions such as coaches, or on committees, or boards and administrative areas in Pakeha-dominated sports contexts.

Secondly, and no less important, is that the first strategy allows for those in key-functionary positions to dominate and shape societal attitudes, values and beliefs (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006; Sage, 1998). Similarly, because Pakeha dominate key functionary positions in society, and sport, they have power to

influence societal attitudes and institutions, including the discourse about Maori and failure. This 'system' is an invisible racial hegemony that is built into the structures of colonial power (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988).

Stereotyping reflects cultural incapacity in that it creates a strong reluctance on an institutional level to allocate resources to a stigmatized group (Cross et al., 1989). It becomes an effective tool of exclusion that rationalises the unequal and inequitable outcomes constantly being reproduced in society (Miles, 1989). For example, some participants were denied access to quality practice and match facilities; such as being left oversees without governing body support, and Maori teams being denied new uniforms whilst funding specifically for Maori was swallowed up in the mainstream budget. Those in key functionary positions on the boards, or on committees that mandate allocation of resources may see Maori as undeserving. In New Zealand sport, what follows is that Maori deserve less, and get less. Yet resisting or reframing stereotypes can be difficult when they are so deeply embedded in the social psyche of New Zealanders. Consequently the effects of stereotyping limit expectations and aspirations of Maori (Zwartz, 1998) which impacts on their participation in sport. This type of exclusion is legitimated as normal (Miles, 1989). The research findings suggest that in decision-making contexts, Maori worldviews continue to be disregarded; particularly in Pakeha-run sports organisations.

The following section discusses the political power of Pakeha in sport that enables them to exert influence in ways that limit Maori aspirations and keep Maori compliant to the dominant culture. This undermines values important to Maori and in effect, restricts Mana Maori.

Pakeha In Charge

The findings of this study suggest that the underlying issues are not only about race but also about power. 'Pakeha in charge' is reflective of a cultural incapacity that restricts access to key-functionary positions for Maori (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). Maori are missing in key functionary positions as coaches at national level, selectors, officials, administrators at board level (Rewi, 1992; Palmer, 2000), suggesting that the power base generally held by Pakeha in society is mirrored in sport (Coakley et al., 2009; Evans, 2001). This may suggest that Maori are marginalized at the highest levels and due to their social positioning, they struggle

to be heard. The research participants claim that management and leadership in their sports do not reflect the diversity of its sports participants. Eitzen (2006) suggests that if sport offers social mobility for minorities, then minorities should be found throughout the social structure, not disproportionately at the bottom.

However, any analysis of the unequal access to power also involves how relationships are formed and experienced (Ballard, 2008). Power in key-functionary positions may be acquired through knowledge of processes and policies. Smith (1999) argues that "knowledge, the production of it whether new or old, the nature of knowledge and the validity of specific forms of knowledge became a commodity as other natural resources, from colonial exploitation" (p.59). The participants' responses allude to the disparate knowledge of such processes and participation within those processes by Maori, in comparison to their Pakeha counterparts. It is argued that Pakeha are able to access pertinent knowledge through networks with those in key functionary positions that create advantage in securing opportunities before and over Maori. The networks at the top levels seem to be where Maori are lacking: *"We don't have access and networks like those other[Pakeha] people do, like other sports do"*.

The research participants' imply that there are types of structures that allow privileged groups of individuals to disregard ethics of fairness and transparency. For example, Tony is *"more concerned about transparency and fairness"* but finds *"transparency is elusive because they change it all the time.....and they don't have fair processes....It's really about favouritism"*. Cohen (2001) explains the micro-cultures of denial within particular institutions that contain groups who learn to censor themselves "and learn to keep silent about matters whose open discussion would threaten its self-image" (Cohen, 2001, p.11). They sustain vital lies and cover-ups which are neither personal nor the result of official instruction (Cohen, 2001). How does this happen and then continue? In Britain, when blacks seek qualifications as managers of soccer teams, King (2004) explains "unconscious processes" by whites in power that bias or distort perceptions of the suitability or quality of black managers. Black athletes are then marginalised through practices constructed and obscured by a colonising class on the basis of race (King, 2004). Similarly, the research participants identify unfair selection processes for higher honours in national teams or as coaches for national teams

and experienced similar scenarios in New Zealand sport that affected their upward mobility. As with the participants in King's (2004) study, Maori participants were left unsure how to act and how to integrate during representative trials or whilst applying for higher coaching positions. High profile sportspeople (Maori and Pakeha) have inadvertently justified these processes by reinforcing Maori stereotypes with their beliefs about Maori (e.g., Grant Fox, Martin Crowe and Michael Campbell). Although these research participants have proven records winning national tournaments, they are consistently passed over for Pakeha coaches who have comparatively substandard performances. This seemed to contradict the meritocratic belief that appointments are made and responsibilities are assigned to individuals based on demonstrated intelligence and ability. The participants seemed disillusioned and reasoned that the criteria changed without consultation, accountability or rationale. The decision-making process appears to be compromised in ways that reveal a degree of subjectivity by those in key-functionary positions (Coakley et al., 2009). Drawing on King's (2004) research, these were comfort zones for whites/ Pakeha who have constructed the processes behind closed doors in the 'back stages' unknown and closed to Maori. Not knowing the processes behind these 'back stages' lessens the confidence of Maori to question the fairness of Pakeha or consistency and accountability in their systems.

However, to challenge such structures requires numbers at high levels. Just as Coakley (2004) describes minorities in the American context, Maori struggle to effectively challenge the voices and perspectives of those with the power in sports and society. Tony believes that often a Maori representative is *just one. You're a whipper-snapper in a shark pond … so you really can't make change that way"*. Greaham Smith (1992) explains that Pakeha have the power to "co-opt construed democratic principles based on majority rule and 'one person, one vote' to prioritise their own interests" (p. 10). Although he was discussing Maori language and the Treaty of Waitangi, his comments apply in sport, even where Maori demonstrate high levels of participation: meaning that in the current "social context of unequal power relations" those "co-opted democratic principles" allow Pakeha to dominate and control (Smith, 1992, p. 10).

This suggests that white privilege is connected to power which seeks to protect and maintain its own supremacy regardless of the economic or political gaps in society (Jensen, 2005; Smith, 1992). The principle of social justice is essential but the practice is less important to the extent that it does not threaten the status quo of those with the power who continue to benefit from systemic economic, political and social gains (Jensen, 2005). A more equitable and just redistribution of resources becomes a legitimate fear for those accustomed to material comfort and wealth (Jensen, 2005). This fear becomes a rationale for the 'privileged' people to maintain their prejudice and not interact with those who look different and are less fortunate than themselves in spite of the baselessness of their reasoning (Jensen, 2005; Rosado, 1996).

'Good Nigger'

Characteristic of cultural incapacity is that "the system remains extremely biased, believes in the racial superiority of the dominant group, and assumes a paternal posture towards "lesser races" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). The findings suggest that institutionalised attitudes such as the 'White way' being the 'right way' are built into the structures of a larger system. These have been formed, influenced and preserved by Pakeha. Speaking about education, MacFarlane (2004) suggests that if organisations in New Zealand are designed to serve the majority then the minority are likely to be marginalised. Sport is no different (see B. Wilson, 1997).

Even in sport, the ideology of white privilege allows the collusion of Maori with the forces of racism, similarly to Britain with blacks (King, 2004). Drawing from the Malcolm X analogy (1965 cited in King, 2004) of the 'house nigger' and the 'field nigger', the house (system) is under the rule of the master's (white) ways. In New Zealand, the 'house nigger' is the good Maori, the acceptable face of whiteness, more likely to be accepted as a "puppet" (King, 2004, p. 79), whilst the 'field nigger' is the bad Maori who is defiant and angry. As with black athletes in the British context, the acceptance or rejection of Maori is based on "the qualities of compliance and defiance" (King, 2004, p.81). The 'house nigger' [good Maori] complies with the master's system without questioning it, and prefers to not speak unless it is what his or her Pakeha peers are prepared to hear. The participants' responses indicate that their status in sport as Maori depends on compliance because *"Europeans…they control minds, they rule by a control*

mentality" (Tony). It is understood that "social approval is important in the link between power and control" (Casey, 1985, p.81). The 'house nigger' is personified in [Maori] doing all they can despite the emotional cost to be accepted, leaving their 'Maoriness' at the door (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). For example, Ruhi felt her team was subjected to racially biased refereeing yet no accountability was required from officials. But Ruhi wanted to continue playing in the competition and so was initially reluctant to complain to the governing body regarding their unfair treatment. Dixon (2003) suggests that expecting an athlete or team to be able to overcome bad calls by deflecting attention from referee's poor performances toward the team does not make the focal point of power and decision-making accountable. Insisting that referees' calls are final regardless of how biased and unfair their performance, "clumsily conflates power with infallibility" (Dixon, 2003, p.117). Ruhi finally complained, and they were ignored. This kind of inaction by the governing body exacerbates the powerlessness felt by the participants and feeds a distrust of the system. The message conveyed to this research participant is the same as in Thompson et al., (2000) findings: "you either did it their way or you were out" (p.246). Consequently, King (2004) suggests getting ahead in the system, even just staying there, becomes about "arse-licking" (p. 81). Understandably, tensions are heightened.

'Bad Nigger'

Juxtaposed with the framing of the 'good Maori' is the 'bad Maori' who questions the fairness of the master's structures and institutions. The 'bad Maori' rejects obeisance to the master's rules refusing to discard his or her 'Maoriness'. According to this description, Tipene and Maui are examples of 'bad Maori' who question the hierarchy and are subsequently positioned as the 'field nigger', angry, defiant and unable to be accepted into the white man's house (King, 2004). They refuse to "arse-lick" their way into acceptance by the master (King, 2004, p. 81). Although the research participants have been initially compliant 'inside the master's house', at various levels the unfavourable treatment has eventually become untenable. Hence, some Maori move outside the symbolic 'master's house' by 'opting out', which seems to be a common-sense solution. One form of opting out is exemplified by some participants rejecting a broad New Zealand

127

identity. The reproducing of national identity appears to be a privilege of the dominant culture. For example, noise is encouraged at international fixtures, which shows support and encouragement for our New Zealand athletes. Yet according to four participants, at school and club level where their children's teams (which are full of Maori players) are playing, noise levels are monitored and controlled by officials. This attempt at 'taming' the 'wild', Maori reflects colonial thinking where Pakeha assume a superior posture and are able to impose their rules in their house (Abel, 1996; Cross et al, 1989; King, 2004).

But these Maori participants are not the only ones whose ties to national identity have waned. The defection of prominent Pakeha skipper, Russell Coutts, and tactician, Brad Butterworth, in 2000 from Team New Zealand to Alinghi (Swiss syndicate), the 2003 America's Cup regatta exposed the tension between national ambition and commercial reality (Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005), especially from the public point of view (Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005): "Although Coutts was exercising his options as a professional athlete in a globalized marketplace, the public response in sports columns, letters to the editor, and editorials identified Coutts as deserting the nation" (p. 342). If money was the motivator for prominent New Zealand sailors to shift their loyalties, then it shouldn't be hard to understand that Maori in sport would shift their loyalties away from a country that has continued to treat them as second-class citizens through processes, policies and decision-making that reflect cultural incapacity.

Thus, I have argued, the cultural incapacity that is pervasive in Pakeha-dominated sport contexts seem to leave Maori with two choices - to take up the position of a 'good nigger' or a 'bad nigger'.

Cultural Blindness

The next stage of the continuum that is reflected in the participants' experiences is cultural blindness, which functions "with the belief that colour or culture makes no difference and that all people are the same" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). This effectively encourages assimilation, and in New Zealand, allows the dominant culture to disregard minority needs. One could argue that if Maori resist the way that Pakeha-dominated sport operates, then Maori may well consider finding somewhere else to participate. The problem is that when Maori do, (such as in

128

Maori rugby) they are accused of being racist and separatist. So Maori are expected to conform, or else come under fire for being socially divisive.

In New Zealand, the possibilities for defining or redefining what it means to be a 'New Zealander' are inextricably linked to what happens on the field eg, the All Blacks rugby team), or the court eg, the Silver Ferns netball team) and even the ocean (America's Cup challenger, Team New Zealand). Perhaps this is only on the condition that New Zealand is represented by one national team. In 2008, neither the men's Australian Indigenous XIII nor the New Zealand Maori teams who played each other in an exhibition match before the start of the Rugby League World Cup were considered in the draw of the World Cup tournament. Neither has played in the World Cup tournament before and as there has been controversy over whether the New Zealand Maori team should be considered to be an international team alongside the New Zealand rugby league team (Coffey & Wood, 2008). Durie (2004) states:

> Despite growing world-wide recognition of indigenous peoples as distinctive populations within nations, states are often ambivalent about creating options that could appear to favour them over other populations within a nation...and assertions of rights based on being indigenous is sometimes seen as contrary to the democratic principles of equality (p. 2).

Although equality is synonymous with sameness as indicated by laws and policy, Maori identity is not protected (Vogel, 1990). To date the public debates over Maori teams and tournaments are now meeting with resistance. Accusations are made by Pakeha New Zealanders that such teams are racist (Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Newman, 2009). Maui's experience of negotiating permission for Maori teams to participate in a Polynesian tournament demonstrated a cultural blindness by the national governing body. It is unfair that the dominant culture chooses the context in which national identity can be decided. This is indicative of a limited understanding of who and what being Maori in sport means. To many Pakeha, it appears that Maori being Maori is unnecessary because we are all New Zealanders. To some Maori, being 'New Zealanders' has an underlying meaning: 'Be more like Pakeha'. But what Pakeha-ness do Pakehas forgo in bridging the cultural gap? Being Maori is a threat to Pakeha institutions and believed to undermine national identity except as Thompson et al., (2000) claims, when the

teams have to sing at after-match functions at which point Maori are expected to take a leading role. But a key point is that these pathways have been opportunities for Maori to experience sport in a specific cultural environment. This is a guaranteed right under the Treaty of Waitangi, a point totally lost on many Pakeha New Zealanders, thus demonstrating their cultural blindness.

In New Zealand, some Pakeha view Maori teams as receiving special treatment and unfairly benefiting from structural interventions (Smith, 1992). In Australia, affirmative action policies are framed as disadvantaging the non-indigenous majority due to the indigenous minority supposedly obtaining more than their fair share (Augoustinos & Every, 2007). Affirmative action policies "are seen to contravene the principles of meritocracy and treating everyone the same" (Augoustinos & Every, 2007, p.138). This is a key issue in cultural blindness where Pakeha believe that "all people are the same" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 15). But members of the dominant culture use this strategy as "a common reversal move in contemporary race talk" by representing themselves as victims of discrimination (van Dijk, 1992, cited in Augoustinos & Every, 2007, p.138). Such protests "function to maintain the status quo by opposing change" (Augoustinos & Every, 2007, p.137). Some Maori may argue this strategy deflects attention from processes that have systematically produced inequalities and inequitable outcomes at varying degrees and levels for Maori (Consedine & Consedine, 2001). Pakeha however, refuse to recognise the hidden privileges that come with being Pakeha in New Zealand.

Effects of Cultural Destructiveness, Incapacity and Blindness

The effects of demonstrated cultural destructiveness, incapacity, and blindness, produce an unlevel playing field in sport that impacts more on Maori. These participants know that it is deception if people believe that irrespective of their colour or background they can "compete in an open system where talent is *the* determinant of success" (Jordan, 1980, p. 447). But success in sport for some Maori may symbolize rising above the negative stereotypes and societal beliefs that would place them at the lower end of New Zealand's racial hierarchy. Although not stated explicitly, the participants operated on the belief that in sport the 'natural' abilities that Maori have might facilitate "an opportunity to [momentarily] invert the actual power relationship reigning in the world" (Vidacs,

130

2003, p.151). At least there was more of a chance in sport than other aspects of New Zealand society (Hokowhitu, 2004a, 2004b). The belief is that sport affirms the "possibility and efficacy of action enabling an opportunity for justice…in the larger context of the world" (Vidacs, 2003, p.151).

The research participants' experiences are representative of the power differential that exists in sport. Cultural destructiveness and incapacity (Cross et al., 1989) tend to re-enforce the historic paternalistic nature of Maori-Pakeha partnerships in New Zealand. It seems that Maori require permission from Pakeha (the senior partner) for 'other' ways of doing that are contrary to conventional Pakeha methods (O'Sullivan, 2007). In this way, Pakeha maintain the social order because it is 'natural' that this hegemonic system of Pakeha ideologies are internalised by Maori (Hepburn, 2003). This systemic thinking dilutes culture to a cultural blindness where many may believe that all dominant culture systems are neutral and "that colour or culture makes no difference" because "all people are the same" (Cross et al., 1999, p. 15). But the careless treatment of cultural difference, even to the point of leaving culture out of the mix, allows Eurocentric attitudes to relegate the status of tangata whenua (Maori) to that of 'outsiders' in their own country (MacFarlane, 2004; Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1989). The research participants' experiences suggest that Maori custom and culture in sport is viewed as less important than Pakeha culture. Although the cultural dissonance experienced by these participants may be underpinned by ontological and epistemological differences in some instances, it is the power differential between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand society that dictates whose cultural practices and ideologies are most important. Toward bridging the cultural gap, the unspoken message is that Maori should let go of their Maoriness.

Cultural Pre-Competence

The next stage of the Cultural Competence Continuum is Cultural pre-competence which "implies movement" and is characterized by the desire to deliver greater services to minorities (Cross et, al., 1989, p. 16). Unfortunately efforts in this phase are in danger of being labelled tokenism, such as merely enlisting more minorities. This practice does not guarantee a culturally competent environment in sport if those minorities are being trained in the dominant society's frame of

reference (Cross et al., 1989). Realistically, allowing the token Maori to sit on a twelve member board offers minimal Maori representation where it is implicitly understood that the board remains a Pakeha space. Although sport organisations offer the appearance of partnership (a principle of the Treaty of Waitangi), Maori are not equal power brokers. The "real power" remains with the dominant group "who retain the ultimate control through controlling funding" (Smith, 1992, p. 9). For example, the funding for sport that Maori play is derived from Crown entitities such as SPARC and government agencies such as Te Puni Kokiri which is the Crown's principal adviser on Crown-Maori relationships. The over-arching power for resourcing in terms of allocation is ultimately decided by the Government who are predominantly Pakeha or minorities that are "trained in the dominant society's frame of reference (Cross et al., 1989, p.16). The participants' claim that the allocation of funding specifically targeted at increasing Maori participation in sport gets swallowed up in mainstream budgets, yet it seems that accountability for that funding is elusive. Even 'window-dressing' with Maori motifs or assigning the Maori members of teams to sing a Maori song whilst neglecting important values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga (which the participants suggest are missing in Pakeha dominated sport contexts) may be seen as cultural pre-competence. Being Maori is more than what Pakeha may understand it to be. The salient point must not be understated: Te Ao Maori worldviews and cultures are philosophically different from Pakeha worldviews.

Although there was little evidence of cultural competence or capacity that the Maori participants have seen in this study, their experiences in/of Maori sport and Maori worldview offers ways that New Zealand sport could move toward achieving cultural competency. These ways forward will be discussed in the Conclusion chapter. However, it is important to discuss the difficulties in addressing these experiences between Maori and Pakeha. Thus, the next section examines the culture of denial in New Zealand society that prevents open and frank discussions about racism.

Speaking the Unspoken: A Culture of Denial

These research participants' accounts demonstrate that they are subjected to racist behaviours and practices in sport. However, speaking about racism openly or

132

publicly is an uncomfortable topic "even though people do talk about it in private, often among friends from the same racial or ethnic background" (Coakley et al., 2009, p. 304). In New Zealand, conversations regarding the underlying sentiments of racialised thinking tend to be limited to the company of those of the same culture. Maori speak the words to each other, Pakeha speak the words to each other. As Boock (2008) claims, *"Over here it's whispered among friends and behind backs"* (para. 11) and so, effectively, it becomes a non-discourse, a non-conversation, with no dialogue and no discussion between Maori and Pakeha. So what justifications could there be for such actions/reactions? Through socialisation and cultural circulation, people learn what motives for these behaviours or practices are publicly acceptable, and what are not (Cohen, 2001). An explanation supported by moral accountablility is always required by the offender when social norms are transgressed (Cohen, 2001). This is where a denial of intent for unacceptable behaviours or practices is developed (Cohen, 2001). For example, New Zealand society publicly rejects the notion that people should be entitled to privileges over others on the basis of race. Yet research clearly shows that Maori are over-represented in the negative statistics in New Zealand society with Pakeha at the top of New Zealand's racialised social order. Rather than examining causal factors such as institutionalised racism, the stereotypical argument is that Maori deficiencies are genetic (Hokowhitu, 2007).

These racial privileges are the product of unjust practices and yet become defensible with theories such as the 'just world hypothesis' (Lerner, 1980, cited in Cohen, 2001) which asserts that people who believe society is just will less readily help victims of injustice if they believe that victims have done something to deserve their suffering. The research findings suggest that New Zealand has adopted a functionalist approach that views society as being just and fair and operating under a meritocratic system. So, if Maori allege they are victims of unjust practices, they are likely to be judged more harshly and their claims of racism are not believed. Through the eyes of the dominant culture these accounts of racism are deniable because, (as in the American context (Street, 2002)), New Zealanders are conditioned to believe that racial barriers are in the past. Therefore, Maori only have themselves to blame for their disproportionate presence at the bottom of New Zealand's racial hierarchy. For example, the meritocratic belief

that success depends on an individual's efforts, traits, hard work and sacrifice is an incredibly powerful ideology that offers no excuse for failure except on the part of the individual (Hochschild, 1995). Street (2002) claims this thought may lie at the heart of America's [colour-blind] racism; it may also be at the core of why many New Zealanders may feel hesitant to speak openly on race. Denial is fundamental to the narrative of New Zealand's race relations. "It begins with cultural silence and evasion... It doesn't happen here" (Cohen, 2001, p.56). King (2004) also discusses a cultural reluctance by British blacks to identify racism in their sporting experiences. This silence allows the dominant groups to shut out the injustice or sufferings of others around them (Cohen, 2001). Society may have access to reality but chooses to ignore it for convenience's sake (Cohen, 2001). Kevin Roberts cleverly describes it as 'an Abilene paradox' - "that situation where we know something is wrong, but we lack sufficient social process and openness - korero - which allows a profound mistake to keep on occurring" (Roberts, 2003, p. 7).

The resulting underlying tensions are shrouded by a reluctance to disrupt New Zealand's international image of strong race relations between Maori and Pakeha. These tensions may also stem from an ignorance of New Zealand history (Consedine & Consedine, 2001). Too many New Zealanders have become invested in this narrow history that touts the image of a small, isolated country built upon the image of the 'typical' hard-working, modest, 'she'll be right' farmer bloke who, without it being mentioned, is always white (Knight, 2010; McGregor & Te Awa, 1996; Consedine & Consedine, 2001). From the outset, the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) facilitated the colonial system of white privilege and power (underpinned by Eurocentrism) over Maori, setting a precedent for the paternalistic relationship between Maori and Pakeha (O'Sullivan, 2007). Colonisation also introduced a style of democracy and equality intended only for "human beings" [whites]; other people were "things" (Freire, 1997, p.39).

White privilege and white supremacy is built into the social psyche of New Zealanders although, as hooks (2000) claims, people struggle to believe that white people consciously change representations to justify their privilege. Yet a society cannot fix what it refuses to acknowledge. In New Zealand, most Maori know privilege and racism exist, many Pakeha don't. Many Pakeha have a limited

understanding of what racism feels like and so, logically, many Pakeha do not accept that racism is their struggle. For those Pakeha who believe that racism is just a Maori issue, Cohen (2001) argues that "The principle of social justice does not depend on your moral awareness of people like you-but your readiness to extend the circle of recognition to unknown (and even unlikeable) people who are not at all like you" (p.183). So who gets to decide when and where racism is discussed? Collins (1988) suggests that type of power is asserted by the culture with the ability to control the definition of the situation, or in other words: 'It's when I say we will discuss it'. And so, if or when Maori claim that racism has an impact on their sporting experiences, Pakeha may deny such claims by suggesting a more 'reasonable' explanation - anything but racism. Because Maori have taken on an unwanted perception (in Pakeha opinion), Pakeha then take on a denial of what Maori deduce to be racism (Cohen, 2001). Maori and Pakeha are drawn into this web of denial. Regardless of the fact that intuitively Maori know it is racism, most Maori either struggle to articulate what and how it can be racism, or have learned not to name 'it' (racism) at all. In sport, a functionalist view engages many to believe in the level playing field where all participants operate equally (Coakley et al. 2009). Combined with the belief that New Zealand is an egalitarian society, this view further serves a denial that racism operates at any level in sport. Who would risk naming racism in this country? (Newman, 2009). This was illustrated by the gendered difference in the participants' responses. The men were candid, definitive and clear: racism. The women appeared to be unwilling to use the term racism. Yet when asked if they felt that their children would have made New Zealand teams if they were Pakeha, they never hesitated to say, "Yes!" Although the interviewing environments may have influenced their responses[13] some of the participants may have internalised the potentially negative reactions from the dominant culture (McEldowney, 2001). But Pakeha can criticise their government and talk about how concerning its policies and behaviour are without being seen as radicals, activists, potential terrorists or cultural outsiders (McIntosh, 1990). Ironically, Pakeha blame Maori for the

---

[13] I interviewed the men alone in private spaces but five of the women interviewed were in the lounge, dining room, or shared spaces that allowed them to be available to others at any given time.

increasing racial divide that contradicts New Zealand's image of harmonious race relations (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The message is a clear disincentive to name racism in any context, and is underpinned by the strong denial of a double standard that exists in New Zealand society. Appropriating the language of racism, shaping its parameters of when and where racism should be discussed (if at all) is a privilege that Pakeha take for granted.

The fact that discourse about racism "is absent has set in motion exclusionary practices [economic, political, social, and cultural] which institutionalised that discourse" (Miles, 1989, p.85). For example, the research participants identified economic barriers to sport participation for Maori. There are important connections between race and class in sport sociology. Smith (1992) posits that "Maori cultural struggele (oppression) cannot be separated from the economic struggle (exploitation) (p. 2). Historically, as a result of colonisation and a legacy of racist policies more Maori than Pakeha have been disadvantaged in terms of their social and economic positioning in New Zealand society. This has impacted on their ability to access sporting opportunities. Due to financial constraints, access to high-end sport for many Maori is limited. Some may argue that the issue is preference. Coakley et al. (2009) claim racial ideology causes many people to overlook this fact: that where resources are scarce (as in the low socio-economic segments of society), the cost of participating in sport is at times prohibitive. Eligibility to participate in sport does not mean an absence of discrimination.

Cost influences decisions pertaining to the choice of sport, longevity in that sport and what the realistic, achievable levels are for Maori. The increasing costs to participate and then advance on to higher levels begs the question of whether New Zealand has produced regional and national representative teams with the best of those who can afford to play, rather than just the best. But economic status alone does not account for the disparate positioning of Maori in New Zealand sport. These research participants' who feel disempowered, "easily perceive social forces at work" (Kaufman, 2001, p.30).

Regardless of the reasons behind racist attitudes and practices, the next chapter describes what a culturally competent sport organisation could look like.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

Cultural Competence

The findings suggest that culturally competent sport organisations would produce better outcomes for society. Cultural competence is "a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals and enable that system or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations" (Cross et al., 1989, p. 13). Cultural competency is characterised by "acceptance and respect for difference, continuing self-assessment regarding culture, careful attention to the dynamics of difference, and a variety of adaptations to service models in order to better meet the needs of minority populations" (Cross et al., 1989, p.17).

Although there is very little evidence of cultural competence in the findings, this section draws on Maori perspectives and understandings of tikanga to conceptualise what cultural competence in New Zealand sport might look like. In doing so, it meets one criterion on KMRM to actively move toward solutions.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

There are on-going debates as to the implications and relevance of the Treaty principles to modern day society and, for the purposes of this study, sport. Opinions range from the Treaty principles as being antiquated and obsolete for modern times, to the need for the essential and full implementation of its principles (partnership, participation, and protection) in New Zealand sport (Oh, 2005). Exploring the status of the Treaty of Waitangi in sport reveals its lack of legislative power due to its lack of constitutional status (Oh, 2005). The public perception is that its power is arguably symbolic rather than substantive which may explain the challenge in translating the Treaty principles of partnership, participation and protection into meaningful reality for Maori in sport. New Zealand is one of three countries in the world without a full and entrenched written constitution (New Zealand Constitution, 2004, p.2). Here, I pose the question of whether a constitutional change to the status of the Treaty of Waitangi to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (drawing on the te reo Maori understanding of its

principles and practices) by entrenching it as law would give Maori legal status as true equal Treaty partners upon which to assert their rights guaranteed under Articles 2 and 3 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Mana and power have similar meanings in both Maori and Pakeha worldviews and may operate similarly. The entrenchment of the Treaty may give Maori power to freely express and practice their cultural ways of seeing, knowing and doing. This may reconcile the application of Treaty principles with the rhetoric of equality, thus providing Maori with the impetus for upward mobility as equal treaty partners.

Reconciling Maori Perspectives in New Zealand Sport: An integrated sport model

Currently, the existing power differential in New Zealand society regulates the ability of Maori to practice important cultural values in Pakeha-dominated contexts (Smith, 1992). Unsurprisingly, the unequal positioning of Maori in sport is reflective of their position in New Zealand society. Said (2002) insists that co-existence between peoples must be between equal peoples. A similar dynamic in relationships between Maori and Pakeha must be established to equalise power distribution in New Zealand society (Bishop, 2008). In the context of actualising justice for indigenous peoples, Josephs (2008) suggests that we need "a new relationship based on authentic power-sharing and recognition, validation, preservation, and development of their cultural way of life in an updated twenty-first century context" (p. 205).

Maori seek and should have equal opportunities as Pakeha do to engage in Maori practices within their sporting experiences, "recognizing that relationships with others need to be based on a foundation of mutual respect" (Sharples, 2007, para. 220). This would form the basis of a more integrated model of New Zealand sport. The inclusion of Maori perspectives in the existing system may provide a range of exciting possibilities in New Zealand sport. Under an integrated model of sport governance, recognition of the existing mana of Maori participants would be reflected in more Maori occupying key-functionary positions. As the Maori proverb states:

"Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, kia ora ai te tangata"

Literally, it translates as: "With your food basket and my food basket, we will cater for the people". In the context of an integrated model of sport governance, it means that in a partnership together, we will provide a culturally competent sport environment for all participants (Earp, 2004).

Culturally competent sport organisations should review their policies and processes by examining where the best-paid sports participants located are and in which sports. Culturally competent sport organisations would address disparities by questioning the distribution of power, asking questions such as "Who benefits from the current arrangements? Who is excluded or penalized?" (Nybell & Gray, 2004, p. 24). Transparency in decision-making built into structures and processes is another mechanism of accountability that would empower all participants equally.

Tino Rangatiratanga in Sport- An Iwi Model

An alternative to an integrated sport model, as suggested by one of the research participants, is for sport to be governed under iwi authority. This is consistent with tino rangatiratanga in sport. However, if iwi form the governing body for Maori sport, it is suggested that tikanga be the guiding principles for administrating and delivering sport. Charles Royal (2000) has described tikanga Maori as "ethical behaviour" based upon fundamental principles or values (para. 20). According to the research participants, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga values practiced in sport at all levels increase the mana of all. This would be a point of difference between Pakeha-dominated sports and a culturally competent model of sport. Manaakitanga would be an integral part of a culturally competent sport environment. It would be demonstrated through the sharing of resources within organisations and with other sports and treating each other as whanau. This nurturing of relationships is reflected through practices of aroha (love) and kaitiakitanga (care) (Williams & Robinson, 2004). In culturally competent sport environments, Maori would feel welcome and valued. "Close, familial friendships or reciprocal relationships" formed through whanaungatanga, develop capacity for Maori to "engage with their environment in a manner that is spiritually and politically influential and nurturing" (Rangiahua et al., 2004, p. 52; Williams, 1985). The relational aspect of whakapapa, highly valued in Maori culture, offers

identity and a sense of belongingness or inclusiveness which is essentially a collectivist philosophy. Maui's coaching philosophy reflects these set of values: *"you could teach them x's and o's but if you don't want to live their life with them and help with their life with them you tend to just be a coach"*.

A key issue in Maori culture is the responsibility and capacity to create sustainable outcomes and practice manaakitanga through the collective ownership of resources. Mana whenua refers to the ability and means of a whanau, hapu or iwi to manaaki. For example, *"Once you own the land, that's the taonga, put a clubrooms up or whatever it is on the field".* This approach bypasses having to comply with council demands that designate more 'preferable' uses of council lands and properties. A lack of resources impedes the means to practice manaakitanga which compromises the mana of individuals, hapu and iwi with others. Reciprocity underpins giving which is an important part of nurturing relationships in Maori culture (Williams & Robinson, 2004). When the mana of an individual or whanau, hapu or iwi is impacted negatively, the mauri (energy/life force) is also affected (Mead, 2003). The equitable distribution of economic resources and power in a wider context is required to sustain culturally competent sport organisations thus increasing possibilities to meet Maori aspirations generally and in sport. This becomes possible due to land and resource settlements between the Crown and Maori for compensation over historical grievances. Iwi (tribal) authorities are now emerging as economic powers in New Zealand.

Cultural competence also seeks continuous expansion of cultural knowledge and resources. This would include engaging Maori perspectives in academic discussions such as the origins of 'natural abilities or gifts', which Maori understood differently from the dominant culture. Maori believe that a human life is not just a collection of genes, but those gifts or 'natural' abilities are passed down, some as spiritual gifts (pumanawa) through ancestors from ira Atua, the Gods (Mead, 2003). Pumanawa generally refers to the pool of talents that come with whakapapa/geneology and it is assumed that parents pass on talents to their children through the priniciple of 'te moenga rangatira', the chiefly marriage bed which according to Mead (2003) "applies to everyone regardless of social position (p. 39). A person derives all their pumanawa from the womb, where the kakano

(seed) is from both parents, the [male] contributing his genes and the mother who nurtures it. The flaxbush (te pa harakeke) is used as a metaphor to represent the ongoing passage of attributes as new life comes out from inside the heart. The sheltering leaves in time fall and die away leaving space for the new leaves even though it is the same flax bush, and all leaves maintain more or less the characteristics of the whole pa harakeke (Mead, 2003). Therefore, it is suggested that Pakeha need to recognise that Maori knowledge should not be discounted. Thus, Maori should not be stereotyped as primarily physical beings.

Culturally competent sport governing bodies would not see tino rangatiratanga as threatening or divisive. Tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) in New Zealand sport is about expressing a relationship to power: a power that currently appears to attempt to repress existing differences between Maori and Pakeha whilst privileging Pakeha ways of doing. Many Pakeha misunderstand Maori calls for self-determination as a call for separatism or non-interference. The dominant discourse on self-determination speaks of self-determination in absolute terms which posits the meaning as "territoriality" (sovereignty over a space and all the constituent activities within a designated boundary) that broaches no interference from outside" (Bishop, 2008, p.440; Young, 2005). Yet Maori understand self-determination as autonomy being "relative, not absolute", an autonomy "in relation to others" (Bishop, 2008, p. 440). This is because self-determining individuals cannot ignore their interdependence with others or other individual's claims to their own self-determination (Young, 2005). The difference between territoriality and a Maori understanding of self-determination is autonomy over identity, culture and the right to think and be Maori through practices that reflect Maori values of collectivism rather than individualism.

In practice, Maori self-determination means that "individuals should be free to determine their own goals and make sense of the world in their own culturally generated manner" (Bishop, 2008, p.440). This would require a huge paradigmatic shift in New Zealand society, not to mention the re-structuring of relationships through negotiation, coordinating actions, and resolving of conflicts. In the sport context, it could mean Maori iwi authorities operating with accountability to the people they serve, and not the dominant culture who require compliance to their systems that protect and maintain their own power.

Conclusion

This hui has provided a context for attempting to untangle the complex web of influences that produce racist attitudes, behaviours and outcomes in sport. The stories of these ten Maori research participants are triangulated with the author's own experiences and general conversations with other Maori involved in sport. This means that the korero of the participants may well be reflective of many Maori participants' experiences in sport.

Since New Zealand exercises democracy as an instrument in its societal processes, the implicit belief is that equality is the result. Naturally, both Maori and Pakeha have expectations that demand equal standards of behaviour and conduct from every member of society. However, this study suggests that not all members of Western societies have equal access to power or to the same benefits and opportunities, or have been or are treated equally (Dahl et al., 2003; Okoli, 2003). Considering the state of Maori in contemporary New Zealand, if the principles of equality operate where all members of society have equal access to power, and all members enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties, this would suggest that Maori have chosen to be poor, unhealthy and at the lower socio-economic end of the scale. Clearly, this is not the case. Many Maori do not claim New Zealand as an egalitarian society except only in comparative terms to other democratic countries whose histories are worse.

The research participants have encountered racism at a personal level. These experiences may be expressions of cultural and institutionalised racism demonstrated through the devaluing of Maoriness and Maori culture, and exclusion of Maori from key-functionary positions and representative honours. Consequently, some participants opted out of a sport or felt a weakened loyalty to national identity, and are now speaking out about their experiences. According to the sentiments expressed by the research participants, there appears to be hypocrisy between espoused values in sport (expectations of fair play characterized by justice, equity, benevolence, and good manners) (Lee & Cockman, 1995) and their lived experiences of interactions with Pakeha in key-functionary positions in sport. Racism exists in sport; Maori feel its effects, are hurt by it yet find it hard to talk to Pakeha about it. This is understandable considering that these findings demonstrate that, in terms of cultural

142

responsiveness, the current Pakeha-dominated sport system sits in a state of cultural incapacity and cultural blindness. To date, there has been inadequate critique and inconsequential discussion about racism in sport. It is questionable whether laws against racism have been tested enough times for society to consider if racism in sport is a serious enough offence to change behaviour. There is scope in this area for future research in developing culturally competent sport organisations. Further, a study exploring the compatibility between best practice in culturally competent organisations that integrate Maori-Pakeha worldviews and successful winning outcomes at national and international levels may provide incentive for sport organisations to move toward culturally competent policies and practices.

Coda

Finally, as the person who called and organised this hui, I suggest that the main kaupapa is about utu, where the balance of social relationships has been disrupted and balance must be restored. To establish effective, long, lasting relationships between Maori and Pakeha requires a gift exchange which is a major component of utu that creates reciprocal obligations and responsibilities on the parties involved. The gift of truth telling or at least openly telling our accounts, versions or stories is one way that assists in making the kind of progress that teaches us all how to live with respect and celebrate our differences, and to learn and advantage everyone. In terms of future research this would mean engaging Maori and Pakeha stories to highlight successful examples of culturally competent sport organisations.

   Acknowledgement of the past is part of the cure for denial. Lack of acknowledgement of the past currently prevents critical and necessary debates but is essential if Maori and Pakeha are to move forward together (Josephs, 2008). New Zealand society needs to have open and frank discussions about racism. Marginalising discussions about racism is not a solution for eliminating racism. More Maori are becoming increasingly independent, confident in language culture, identity and education, so now is the right time to initiate the necessary discussions than in the past. As Ballard (2008) suggests:

...we are all involved. This means we are all responsible for supporting or opposing "the beliefs, values and ideologies that create inequality in economic and social practices...This implies that we should strive to be aware of how our interactions with others may be collaborative or oppressive (p.30).

Belief in change comes in small steps. All New Zealanders need to take responsibility to develop an awareness of each others' culture (i.e., becoming culturally competent) so that change can begin.

No reira, he aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata...

REFERENCES

Abel, S. (1996). 'Wild Maori' and 'Tame Maori' in television news. *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies, 3*(2), 33-38.

Abel, S. (2010, Tuesday, August 3). *A question of balance.* Paper presented at the University of Auckland Winter Lectures 2010: The End(s) of Journalism? Available from: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&ob jectid=10663343

Arnold, P. J. (1992). Sport as a valued human practice: A basis for the consideration of some moral issues in sport. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 26*(2), 237-255.

Augoustinos, M., & Every, D. (2007). The language of Race and prejudice: A discourse of denial reason, and liberal-practical politics'. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *26*(2), 123-141.

Augoustinos, M., Tuffin, K., & Sale, L. (1999). Race talk. *Australian Journal of Psychology 51,* 90-97.

Ballara, A. (1986). *Proud to be white? A survey of Pakeha prejudice in New Zealand.* Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann.

Ballard, K. (2008, November 26-27). *Teaching in context: Some implications of a racialised social order.* Keynote address presented at the Te Kōtahitanga Voices Conference. Hamilton, New Zealand: The University of Waikato.

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Maori culture*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Battiste, M. (2000). *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision*. Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press.

Battiste, M. (2005). Diagnosing colonialism. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 57-100). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Beaglehole, E. (1968). Postscript: The Maori now. In E. Schwimmer (Ed.), *The Maori people in the nineteen sixties* (pp.351-355). Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.

Begaye, P.T. (2008). Modern democracy: The complexities behind appropriating indigenous models of governance and implementation. In N. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln, & L.T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies* (pp. 459-470). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Bell, A. (1990). Audience and referee design in New Zealand media language. In A. Bell & J. Holmes (Eds.), *New Zealand ways of speaking English* (pp.165-194). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Better, S. (2002). *Institutional racism: A primer on theory and strategies for social change.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bireda, M.R. (2010). *Cultures in conflict: Eliminating racial profiling.* Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bishop, R. (1998). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A kaupapa Maori approach to creating knowledge. *Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(2), 119-219.

Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A kaupapa Maori approach to creating knowledge. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 109-138).Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bishop, R. (2008). Te Kotahitanga kaupapa Maori in mainstream classrooms. In N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln & L.T. Smith (Eds.), *The handbook of critical indigenous methodologies* (pp. 439-458). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing.

Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2006). *Culture speaks: Cultural relationships and classroom learning.* Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Tiakiwai, S., & Richardson, C. (2003). *Te Kotahitanga: The experiences of Year 9 and 10 Maori students in mainstream classrooms*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Boock, R. (2008, October 12). She'll be white bro. *Sunday Star Times*. Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz

Booker, J. (2006, May 29). *'All Black drama of handbags at dawn'*, New Zealand Herald online. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10384002

Booth, L. (2003, Tuesday, February 18). *Cow corner: Move over Geoffrey.* Guardian.co.uk. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2003/feb/18/thespin.cricket

Bramley, D., Herbert, P., Tuzzio, L. & Chassis, M. (2005). Disparities in indigenous health: A cross-country comparison between New Zealand and the United States. *American Journal of Public Health, 95*(5), 844-850.

Bruce, T., & Saunders, R. (2005). Young people, media sport and the physical education curriculum. *Physical Education New Zealand Journal, 38*(1), 51-66.

Carrington, B., & McDonald, I. (2001). *Sport, race & British society.* London, England: Routledge.

Casey, T. (1984). Within and without the organisation: The issues in perspective. *Asian Journal of Public Administration, 6*(1), 61-87.

Casey. T. (1985). Control in the organisation: Sinew or bindweed. *Asian Journal of Public Administration, 7*(1), 77-91.

Cheung, J. (2007, April). *Wealth disparities in New Zealand.* Paper presented at the Social Policy, Research and Evaluation Conference (New Zealand), Wellington, New Zealand.

Coakley, J. (2004). *Sports in society: Issues and controversies.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Coakley, J., Hallinan, C., Jackson, S., & Mewett, P. (2009). *Sports in society: Issues and controversies in Australia and New Zealand.* North Ryde, NSW, Australia: McGraw-Hill.

Coffey, J., & Wood, B. (2008). *100 Years: Maori rugby league, 1908-2008.* Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers

Cohen, S. (2001). *States of denial: Knowing about atrocities and suffering.* Cambridge, UK: Blackwell.

Consedine, R., & Consedine, J. (2001). *Healing our history: The challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi.* Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin.

Cormack, D. (2006, April). *Discourse representation, and ethnic disparities.* Proceedings from Mauri Ora Symposium conducted at *Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare.* Wellington, New Zealand.

Cosgrove, A., & Bruce, T. (2005). The way New Zealanders would like to see themselves: Reading white masculinity via media coverage of the death of Sir Peter Blake. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 22*(3), 336-355.

Crampton, P., Salmond, C. & Kirkpatrick, R. (2004). *Degrees of deprivation in New Zealand* (2nd ed). Auckland, David Bateman.

Crawford, S. (1999). Rugby and the forging of national identity. In J. Nauright & D. Black (Eds.), *Sports, power and society in New Zealand: Historical and contemporary perspectives* (pp. 5-20). Sydney, NSW, Australia: Australian Society for Sports History.

Cross, T.L., Bazron, B.J., Dennis, K.W., & Isaacs, M.R. (1989). *Towards a culturally competent system of care: A monograph of effective services for minority children who are severely emotionally disturbed.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Child Development Centre.

Curtin, P.D. (1971). *Imperialism.* London, England: MacMillan.

Daes, E.I. (2000). Prologue: The experience of colonisation around the world. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 3-8). Toronto, Canada: UBC Press.

Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., & Cheibub, J.A. (2003). *The democracy sourcebook.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Denzin, N.K.,& Lincoln, Y. (2008). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dixon, N. (2003). On winning and athletic superiority. In J. Boxill (Ed.), *Sports ethics: An anthology* (pp. 116-129). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Dunbar, C. (2008). Critical race theory and indigenous methodologies, In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 85-99). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Duncan-Andrade, J. (2010, September). *What a coach can teach a teacher: Toward effective teachers in every classroom.* Paper presented at Social Justice Education Symposium: Engaging youth and community. Te Whanau o Tupuranga & Clover Park Middle School Performing Arts Centre, Otara, New Zealand.

Durie, M. (2004, February). *Public sector reform, indigeneity and the goals of Maori development*. Paper presented at the Commonwealth Advanced Seminar, Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University. Retrieved from Massey University website: http://www.massey.ac.nz

Dyer, R. (1997). *White.* London, England: Routledge.

Earp, R. (2004, September 11). *The Treaty of Waitangi & Maori Health.* Paper presented at the National Forum on Indigenous health and the Treaty debate. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales. Retrieved from http://www.gtcentre.unsw.edu.au/publications/papers/docs/2005/6_RiaEar p.pdf

Eisenstein, Z. (1998). *Global obscenities: Patriarchy, capitalism and the lure of cyberfantasy*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Eitzen, D.S. (2006). *Fair and foul: Beyond the myths and paradoxes of sport* (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical underpinning of kaupapa Maori directed practice. *Mai Review* (1) 1-11. Retrieved from www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/98/106

Ellis, R., Sperling, A., & Toma-Dryden, N. (1999). Maori netball in Aotearoa/NZ:

Tu ora, tu kaha, tu mana, tu Maori be healthy, be fit, be proud, be Maori. In B. Grant & R. Pringle (Eds.), *Leisure experiences: Interpretation and action: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Leisure Studies* (pp. 49-55). Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.

Engerman, S. (2007). *Slavery, emancipation, and freedom: Comparative perspectives*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.

Evans, A.S. (2001). Blacks as key functionaries: A study of racial stratification in professional sport. In A. Yiannakis & M.J. Melnick, (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in sociology of sport* (pp. 211-217). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Falcous, M. (2007). The decolonizing national imaginary: Promotional media constructions during the 2005 Lions tour of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 31*(4), 374-393.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white mask*. New York: Grove Press, Inc.

Fernandez-Balboa, J. (1993). Socio-cultural characteristics of the Hidden Curriculum in physical education. *Quest* 45(2), 230-254.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish.* London, England: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977.* New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Freedman, L.P., Waldman, R.J., de Pino, H., Wirth, M.E., Mushtaque, A., Chowdarry, R., & Rosenfield, A. (2005). Who's got the power? Transforming health systems for women. *The Lancet, 365,* 997-1000.

Frey, J.H., & Eitzen, D.S. (1991). Sport and society. *Annual Reviews of Sociology 17,* 503-522.

Freire, P. (1997). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. Bergman Ramos, Trans.). New York, NY: Continuum.

Gallagher, T. (2008). Tikanga Maori pre-1840. *Te Kahui Kura Maori*, 1. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University. Retrieved from http://www.nzetc.org

Gellately, R., & Kiernan, B. (2003). *The specter of genocide: Mass murder in historical perspective.* Cambridge, UK: University Press.

Giddens, A. (1998). *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making sense of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gindin, S. (2002). *The terrain of social justice*. Toronto, Canada: CSJ Foundation for Research & Education.

Gray, W. (2006). Pictures of Tipoki's blow don't lie. *The New Zealand Herald.* Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz

Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held & T. McGrew (Eds.), *Modernity and its futures* (pp.273-327). Oxford, England: Polity.

Hall, S. (Ed.) (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London, England: Sage.

Hall, S. (1998). Aspiration and attitude: Reflections on black Britain in the nineties. *New Formations*, *33*, 38-46.

Hampton, J. (2010, May 26). Crusaders deny racist selection. In *Deaker on Sport*. [Television programme].Auckland, New Zealand: TV3 Network Services. Retrieved from http://www.3news.co.nz

Haney Lopez, I. (1994). The social construction of race: Some observations on illusion, fabrication, and choice. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, 29*(1), 1-62.

Haney Lopez, I. (2006). *White by law: The legal construction of race.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

Harris, R., Tobias, M., Jeffreys, M., & Waldegrave, K. (2006). Effects of self-reported racial discrimination and deprivation on Maori health and inequalities in New Zealand: Cross-sectional study. *The Lancet*, *367*(9527), 2005-2010.

Harris R, Tobias M. Jeffreys M. Waldegrave K. Karlsen S, Nazroo J. (2006). Racism and health: The relationship between experience of racial discrimination and health in New Zealand. *Social Science and Medicine, 63*(6), 1428-1441.

Harmsworth, G., Barclay-Kerr, K., & Reedy, T. (2002). Maori sustainability development in the 21st century: The importance of Maori values, strategic planning and information systems. *Journal of Maori and Pacific Development, 3*(2), 40-68.

Hayek, F. (1976). *Economic freedom and representative government.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.

Henderson, J.Y. (2000). Postcolonial ghost dancing: Diagnosing European colonialism. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp.11-38). Toronto, Canada: University of British Columbia Press.

Hepburn, A. (2003). *An introduction to critical social psychology.* London, England: Sage.

Hill, B. (2010, April 2, Wednesday). Argument over New Zealand affirming UN indigenous rights declaration. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Radio Australia.* http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/pacbeat/stories/201004/s2879204.htm

Hippolite, H.R. (2006, July 3). Holly Hippolite from off the bench. *Sportsfreak* [Online forum]. Retrieved from http://www.sportsfreak.co.nz/show-column.asp?ID=150

Hippolite, H.R. & Bruce, T. (2010). Speaking the unspoken: Racism, sport and Maori. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal,* 2 (2) 23-45.

Hoberman, J. (1997). *Darwin's athletes: How sport has damaged black America and preserved the myth of race*. Boston, MA: Mariner Books.

Hoberman, J. (2000). The price of Black dominance. *Society*, *37*(3), 49-56.

Hoberman, J. (2008, November 30). *Racial athletic aptitude and the new medical genetics: Black dominance and the future of racial politics*. Paper presented at Sport, Race and Ethnicity Conference. Sydney, Australia: University of Technology.

Hochschild, J. (1995). *Facing up to the American Dream: Race, class and the soul of the nation.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hodgetts, D., Masters, B., & Robertson, N. (2004). Media coverage of 'Decades of Disparity' in ethnic mortality trends in Aotearoa. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *14*(6), 1-18.

Hokowhitu, B. (2003). Race tactics: The racialised athletic body. *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue, 1*, 21-34.

Hokowhitu, B. (2004a). Physical beings: Stereotypes, sport and the 'physical education' of New Zealand Maori. In J.A. Mangan & A. Ritchie (Eds.), *Ethnicity, sport, identity: Struggles for status* (pp. 192-218). London, England: Frank Cass.

Hokowhitu, B. (2004b). Tackling Maori masculinity: A colonial genealogy of savagery and sport. *The Contemporary Pacific, 15*(2), 259-284.

Hokowhitu, B. (2007). Maori sport: Pre-colonisation to today. In C. Collins & S. Jackson, (Eds.) *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society* (pp.78-95). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore.

Hokowhitu, B., & Scherer, J. (2008). The Maori All Blacks and the decentering of the white subject: Hyperrace, sport and the cultural logic of late capitalism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *25*(2), 243-262.

Holmes, K., Marachver, T., & Bayard, D. (2001). Accent, appearance, and ethnic stereotypes in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 30*(2), 79-85.

hooks, b. (2000). *Where we stand: Class matters*. New York, NY: Routledge.

House, J.S. & Williams, D.R. (2000). Understanding and reducing socioeconomic and racial/ethnic disparities in health. In *Promoting health: Intervention strategies from social and behavioural research* (pp. 81-124). Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Howden-Chapman, P., & Tobias, M. (2000). *Social inequalities in health: New Zealand* 1999. Wellington: Ministry of Health.

Human Rights Act 1993, 1993 S.N.Z. No. 82. (New Zealand).

Huizinga, J. (1955). *Homo Ludens*. London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hyde, T. (1993, February). White men can't jump: The Polynesianisation of sport. *Metro,* pp. 62-69.

James, B., & Saville-Smith, K. (1999). *Gender, culture & power* (2nd ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Jarvie, G., & Reid, I. (1997). Race relations, sociology of sport and the new politics of race and racism. *Leisure Studies*, *16*(4), 211-219.

Jensen, R. (2005). *The heart of whiteness: Confronting race, racism and white privilege.* San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books.

Jensen, R. & Wosnitzer, R. (2008). "Crash" is a White Supremacist movie. Race, Racism and the Law website. Retrieved 11 February, 2009. http://academic.udayton.edu/Race/01race/whiteness19.htm

Jesson, B. (1999). *Only their purpose is mad.* Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore.

Jones, C. P. (1999). *Maori-Pakeha health disparities: Can Treaty settlements reverse the impacts of racism?* A report for the Maori Health Unit, Ministry of Health, Wellington. Accessed November 10, 2007 from www.fulbright.org.nz/voices/axford/jonesc.html

Jones, P.T.H., & Biggs, B. (2004). *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The traditional history of the Tainui people.* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Jordan, L.E. (1980). Folks won't turn out to see Grambling play: An examination of opportunity and adaptation in athletics. *Journal of Popular Culture, XIII*(3), 447-560.

Josephs, R.A. (2008). A Jade Door: Reconciliatory Justice as a way forward: Citing a New Zealand experience. In M.B. Castellano, L. Archibald, M.

DeGagne '*From Truth toReconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools.* (pp. 205-232). Healing Foundation: Ottawa, Ontario.

Johnston, P., & Pihama, L. (1994). The marginalisation of Maori women. *Hecate, 20*(2), 83-97.

Ka'ai, T. (2004). Te mana o te reo me nga tikanga: Power and politics of language. In T. Ka'ai, J. Moorfield, M. Reilly, & S. Mosley (Eds.), *Ki te whaiao: An introduction to Maori culture and society* (pp. 201-213). Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education.

Ka'ai, T. M., & Higgins, R. R. (2004). Te ao Maori – Maori world-view. In T. M. Ka'ai , J. C. Moorfield, M. P. J. Reilly & S. Mosley (Eds.), *Ki Te whaiao: An introduction to Maori culture and society* (pp. 13-25). Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education.

Kana, F., & Tamatea, K. (2006). Sharing, listening, learning and developing understandings of kaupapa Maori research by engaging with two Maori communities involved in education. *Waikato Journal of Education, 12*, 9-20.

Karlsen, S. & Nazroo, J.Y. (2004). Fear of racism and health. *Journal of Epidemiology and Public Health, 58,* 1017-1018.

Kaufman, C. (2001). User's guide to white privilege. *Radical Philosophy Review*, *4*(1-2), 30-38.

Kayes, J. (2006, March 7). Hurricanes teammates trade blows in nightclub. *The Dominion Post*.

Kennedy, R.L. (2000). Who can say 'nigger' and other considerations. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 26*, 86-96.

King, C. (2004). *Offside racism: Playing the white man*. Oxford, England: Berg Publishers.

King, M. (1984). *Maori: A Photographic and social history*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed.

King, M. (2000). *Maori: A photographic and social history*. Auckland: Reed.

Kingi, T. (2007). Maori land ownership and land management in New Zealand. In *Making land work, Volume two: Case studies on customary land and development in the Pacific* (pp. 129-151). Canberra, Australia: AusAID.

Kite, R. (Producer/director). (2002). *Chinks, coconuts and currymunchers* [Television series]. Auckland, New Zealand: Kite Productions.

Knight, W. (2010, August, 25). Special report: Innovation in New Zealand. *This New Zealand life.com* http://www.thisnewzealandlife.com/2010/08/special-report-innovation-in-new-zealand.html

Lee, M.J., & Cockman, M. (1995). Values in children's sport: Spontaneously expressed values among young athletes. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, *30*(3-4), 337-349.

Legislative Review Committee of the New Zealand Maori Council. (1980). *A Discussion Paper on the Future of Maori Development and Legislation*. Wellington: New Zealand Maori Council.

Lerner, M. (2002). Pursuing the justice motive. In M. Ross & D.T. Miller (Eds.), *The justice motive in everyday life* (pp.10-40). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Loewan, J. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me*. New York, NY: Touchstone.

MacFarlane, A.H. (2004). *Kia hiwa ra: Listen to culture: Maori students' plea to educators*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

MacFarlane, A.H. (2009, March). *Discipline, democracy and diversity: Creating culturally safe learning environments*. Paper presented at Taumata Whanonga Conference, Wellington, New Zealand.

McConnell, R. (2000). Maori: The treaty of Waitangi and sport. In C. Collins (Ed.), *Sport in New Zealand society* (pp. 227-239). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

McEldowney, T. (2001, August 13). Let's deal with crime causes, says Lashlie. *Marlborough Express*. Retrieved from White Pride Worldwide website: http://www.stormfront.org.

McGregor, J., & TeAwa, J. (1996). Racism and the news media. In P. Spoonley, C. MacPherson & D. Pearson (Eds.). *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 235-246). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

McGuire, M. (1985). Land of the long white cloud. *New Internationalist, 145*. Retrieved 20 November, 2007. http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~sai/NZracism.htm

McGregor, H., & McMath, M. (1993). Leisure: A Maori & Mangaian perspective. In H.C. Perkins & G. Cushman (Eds.), *Leisure, Recreation & Tourism* (pp. 44–57). Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.

McIntosh, P. (1988). *White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies*. Wellesley, MA:Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

Maguire, J., Jarvie, G., Mansfield, L., & Bradley, J. (2002). *Sport worlds: A sociological perspective*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Mahuika, A. (1998). Whakapapa is the heart. In K.S. Coates & P.G. McHugh (Eds.), *Living relationships* (pp. 214-221). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Mahuika, R. (2008). Kaupapa Maori is critical and anti-colonial. *Mai Review (3)* 1-16. accessed at www.review.mai.ac.nz

Marshall, G. (1994). *Oxford concise dictionary of sociology*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Marshall, G. (1998). *Dictionary of sociology*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Masalha, N. (2003). *The Politics of denial: Israel and the Palestinian refugee problem.* London, England: Pluto Press

Matenga-Kohu, J., & Roberts, J. (2003). *Huihuinga: Collective gatherings.* Cambridge, New Zealand: Kina Films.

Matenga-Kohu, J., Roberts, J. (2006). *Powhiri: Rituals of encounter*. Cambridge, New Zealand: Wotz Wot.

Mead, H.M. (2003). *Tikanga Maori: Living by Maori values*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.

Mearsheimer, J., & Walt, S. (2006). *The Israel lobby and US foreign policy*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Mellor, D. (2003). Contemporary racism in Australia: The experiences of Aborigines. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 29, 474-486.

Melnick, M.J., & Jackson, S.J. (2002). Globalisation American-style and reference idol selection. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport,* 37(3-4), 429-448.

Melnick, M.J., & Thompson, R.W. (1996). The Maori people and positional segregation in New Zealand rugby football: A test of the Anglocentric hypothesis. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 31*(2) 139-154.

Middleton, P. & Pilgrim, D. (2005). African American registry. Retrieved 27 February, 2009 from http://www.aaregistry.com/african_american_history/2420/Nigger_the_word_a_brief_history

Mikaere, A. (2002). *Maori concepts of guardianship custody and access: A literature review.* Report commissioned by The Ministry of Justice and Department for Courts from Strategic Training and Development Services.

Retrieved from http://www.justice.govt.nz/publications/publications-archived/2002/guardianship-custody-and-access-maori-perspectives-and-experiences-august-2002/maori-concepts-of-guardianship-custody-and-access-a-literature-review#7.2

Mikaere, A. (2004). *Are we all New Zealanders now? A Maori response to the Pakeha quest for indigeneity*. Paper presented at the Bruce Jesson Memorial Lecture. Accessed 10 August, 2010. Retrieved from www.brucejesson.com/JessonLecture_2004.pdf.

Miles, R. (1989). *Racism*. London: Routledge.

Ministerial Advisory Committee (1988). Appendix to Puao-te-ata-tu: Appendix to daybreak: The report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare: Wellington, NZ

Ministry of Health and University of Otago. (2006). *Decades of disparity III: Ethnic and socio-economic inequalities in mortality, New Zealand, 1981-1999*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Health.

Ministry of Justice. (2001, Marcht). *He Hinatore ki te Ao Maori A Glimpse into the Maori WorldTraditional: Maori perspectives on justice*. Wellington: Ministry of Justice. Retrieved from http://www.justice.govt.nz/publications/publications-archived/2001/he-hinatore-ki-te-ao-maori-a-glimpse-into-the-maori-world/part-1-traditional-maori-concepts/traditional-maori-concepts-introduction

Moorfield, J. (2010). *Maori dictionary: Te aka Maori-English, English-Maori dictionary*. Retrieved from http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz

Morice, M.P. (2006, November 3-5). *Te Whare Tapa Wha*. Paper presented at the MindBody Conference. Bruce Mason Centre, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.mindbody.org.nz/index.php?pageID=16

Muru-Lanning, M. (2007). Tupuna awa and sustainable resource knowledge systems of the Waikato river. *MAI Review, 1*(6), 1-6. Retrieved from http://www.review.mai.ac.nz.

Net worth of New Zealanders Report: A report of their assets and debts. (2001). Issued by the Retirement Commission and Statistics New Zealand. http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/households/net-worth-of-nzers.aspx

Newman, M. (2009, February 22). Time to face the truth. New Zealand Centre for Political Research Weekly, pp. 1-2. Retrieved from http://www.nzcpr.com/Weekly168.pdf

New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, 1990 S.N.Z. No 109. Retrieved from www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1990/.../096be8ed8009cd79.pdf

New Zealand constitution – Past, present, future [108237v1]. (2004). Retrieved from http://www.beehive.govt.nz/Documents/Files/NZ%20 Constitution%20Cabinet%20Office%20backgrounder.pdf

New Zealand History Online (2010). *Waitangi Tribunal claim - Maori Language Week*. Retrieved from http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-language-week/waitangi-tribunal-claim

Ngata, H.M. (1994). *English-Maori Dictionary*. Wellington, New Zealand: Learning Media.

Nybell, L. M., & Gray, S. S. (2004). Race, place, space: Meanings of cultural competence in three child welfare agencies. *Social Work, 49*, 17-26.

Oh, M. (2005). *The Treaty of Waitangi principles in He korowai orange-Maori health strategy: An effective partnership? A critique from the perspective of TB care*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Okoli, I. (2004). *Tribalizing America: The emerging national identity crisis*. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse.

O'Sullivan, D. (2007). *Beyond biculturalism: The politics of an indigenous minority*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Palmer, F. (2000). *Maori girls, power, physical education, sport and play: "Being hungus, hori, and hoha"*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Otago: Dunedin, New Zealand.

Palmer, F. (2005). Maori sport and its management, In S. Leberman, Chris Collins & Linda Trenberth (Eds.). *Sport Business Management in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 62-88). Nelson, New Zealand:Thomson Learning.

Palmer, F. (2007). Treaty principles and Maori sport: Contemporary issues. In C. Collins & S. Jackson (Eds.), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society* (pp.307-334). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Palmer, F. R., & Masters, T. M. (2010). Maori feminism and sport leadership: Exploring Maori women's experiences, *Sport Management Review*, 13(4), 331-344.

Papps, E. & Ramsden, I. (1996). Cultural safety in Nursing: The New Zealand experience. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care, 8*(5), 491-497.

Parahi, C. (Reporter). (2008, October 25). *TV3 News: Sports Report* [Television]. Retrieved from http://www.scoop.co.nz

Parata, H. (1987). Beyond tokenism: The Maori reality. *Parks and Recreation, 2*(4), 13-15.

Paul, G. (2007). Rugby: Pasifika players dominating the ranks. *New Zealand Herald [online]*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/gregor-paul/news/article.cfm?a_id=196&objectid=10426898

Perkin, H. (1996). *The third revolution: Professional elites in the modern world*. London, England: Routledge.

Pihama, L. & Gardiner, D. (2005). *Building baseline data on Maori, whanau development and Maori realising their potential.* Auckland, New Zealand: University of Auckland.

Public Health Commission Report. (1994). *Our health: Our future. Hauora pakari, koiora roa. The state of the public health in New Zealand.* Wellington, New Zealand.

Quince, K. (2007). Maori and the criminal justice system in New Zealand. In J. Tolmie & W. Brookbanks (Eds.), C*riminal justice in New Zealand* (pp.333-358). Auckland, New Zealand: LexisNexis.

Rangiahua, S., Kohu, J. & Rakuraku, W. (2004). *Te Ao Hou: New origins, old concepts.* Cambridge, New Zealand: Kina Film Productions Ltd.

Rankin, J., Nairn, R., Moewaka Barnes, A., Gregory, M., Kaiwai, H., Borell, B.,& McCreanor, T. (2007). *Media & Te Tiriti o Waitangi.* Auckland, New Zealand: Kupu Taea, media and Te Tiriti Project.

Reid, P. (2005). Contemporary perspectives. In Margot Schwass (Eds.) *Last Words: Approaches to Death in New Zealand's cultures andFaiths* (pp 45-47)*.* Bridget Williams Books and Funeral Directors Association.

Rewi, P. (1992). Maori participation in physical activity. In Hillary Commission, Ko te whai wahi ot e iwi Maori ki nga hakinakina (pp.46-105). Wellington, New Zealand: Hillary Commission.

Rigney, D. (2003). Sport, Indigenous Australians and invader dreaming: A critique. In J. Bale and M. Cronin,(Eds.). *Sport and Postcolonialism (*pp 45-56). Berg: New York.

Roberts, K. (2003, February 19). *The e*dge *of knowledge.* Speech given at the Knowledge Wave Leadership Forum, Auckland, New Zealand: University of Auckland. Retrieved from http://www.knowledgewave.org.nz

Robinson, D., & Robinson, K. (2005, January). *Pacific ways of talk: hui and Talanoa.* Social and Civic Policy Institute, Wellington, New Zealand. http://www.scpi.org.nz/documents/Pacific_Ways_of_Talk.pdf

Rosado, C. (1996). *The undergirding factor is power: Toward an understanding of prejudice and racism.* (Unpublished paper). Retrieved from Rosado Consulting website http://www.rosado.net/pdf/Under_factor_Power_article.pdf

Rosenberg, B. (2003). Who owns New Zealand's news media? Global peace and justice network, Auckland University of Technology. Retrieved 11 February, 2009. http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/03/07.htm

Rousseau, J.J. (2003). The social contract. In R.A. Dahl., I. Shapiro & J.A. Cheibub, (Eds.). *The Democracy Sourcebook* (pp. 1-5). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Royal, C. (2004). *Aspects of the traditional Maori worldview: Tikanga & Taonga. Matauranga Maori and museum practice*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Economic Development. Retrieved from http://www.med.govt.nz

Russell-Wood, A.J.R. (1978). Iberian expansion and the issue of black slavery: Changing Portuguese attitudes, 1440-1770. *The American Historical Review*, *83*(1), 16-27.

Ryan, G. (2007). Few and far between: Maori and Pacific contributions to New Zealand cricket. *Sport in Society, 10*(1), 71-87.

Sage, G. (1998). *Power and ideology in American sport: A critical perspective* (2nd ed). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism.* New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Said, E. (2002). Lecture at UCLA on 'Human Rights in the Middle East' Lecture 9, 6:48. Youtube video. Retrieved from www.youtube.com/user/mjerryson

Sale, K. (1980). *Human Scale*. New York, NY: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan.

Scott, J., & Marshall, G. (2009). *Oxford dictionary of sociology*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Sharples, P. (2007, April 5). *Manaakitanga: Service above self*. Speech made to Wellington North Rotary Club, Thorndon, Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington Bridge Club. Retrieved from http://www.maoriparty.com

Smith, A. (1998). Maori and leisure: A survey. In H.C. Perkins & G. Cushman (Eds.), *Time out?: Leisure, recreation and tourism in Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 51-63). Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.

Smith, A., & Porter, D. (2004). Introduction. In A. Smith & D. Porter (Eds.), *Sport and national identity in the post-war world* (pp. 1-9).New York, USA: Routledge.

Smith, E. (2004). The African American student-athlete. In CK. Ross '*Race and Sport: The struggle for equality on and off the field.* (Eds.). (pp.121-145). Jackson, Mississippi, USA: University Press of Mississippi.

Smith, G.H. (1992, November 20). *Tane-nui-a-rangi's legacy…propping up the sky: Kaupapa Maori as resistance and intervention.* Paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint Conference Melbourne, Australia.

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.

Smith, L.T. (2000). Kaupapa Maori research, In M.Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 225-247). Toronto, Canada: University of British Columbia Press.

Smith, L.T. (2005). On tricky ground: Researching the native in the age of uncertainty In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 85-107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Social Report. (2009). *Ethnic composition of the population*. Ministry of Social Development. Wellington, New Zealand.
 http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/people/ethnic-composition-population.html.

Sport & Recreation New Zealand (SPARC). (2006-09). Statement of Intent. *scribd.com/doc/26526054/SPARC-Statement-of-Intent-2006-2009*

Spoonley, P. (1990). The political economy of racism. In P.F. Green (Ed.), *Studies in New Zealand social problems* (pp. 128-144). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Statistics New Zealand (2004). *New Zealand life tables, 2000-2002*. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Statistics.

Street, P. (2002, January). Class, color and the hidden injuries of race: What studies reveal and leave out. *Z-Magazine*, *15*(6). Retrieved from http://www.zcommunications.org

Sweet as. (n.d). In urban dictionary online. Retrieved from www.urbandictionary.com

Sweet, J.H. (1997). "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *The William and Mary Quarterly, 54,* 143-166.

Tatz, C. (2008, December 1). *Coming to terms: Race, ethnicity and identity in sport.* Conference paper presented at Sport, race and ethnicity Conference. Sydney, Australia: University of Technology.

Tatz, C. & Adair, D. (2009). Darkness and a little light: 'Race' and sport in Australia. *Australian Aboriginal Studies, 2*, 1-14.

Tauli-Corpuz, V. (2001, August). *The resistance of the indigenous peoples of asia against racism and racial discrimination*. Paper presented at World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR), Durban, South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.tebtebba.org

Te Puni Kokiri. (2006, January). Nga Maori i nga mahi takaro: Maori in sport and active leisure. Te Ira tangata life quality. Fact sheet 25. Retrieved from http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/in-print/our-publications/fact-sheets/maorisport/download/tpk-maoriinsport-2006-en.pdf

Te'evale, T. (2008, October). *Physical activity key differences between healthy weight and overweight Pacific adolescents.* Paper presented at the Pasifika Medical Association Conference for the Pacific Obesity Prevention in Communities (OPIC) project, Auckland, New Zealand.

Te Rito, P. (2006). Leadership in Maori, European cultures and in the world of sport. *MAIReview, 1(3),* 1-8.

Te Rito, P. (2007). *Maori leadership: What role can rugby play?* (Unpublished Master's thesis, Auckland University Technology, Auckland, New Zealand).

Te Whaiti, P., McCarthy, M., & Durie, A. (1997). *Maii i rangiatea: Maori well-being and development.* Auckland, New Zealand: University of Auckland Press.

Thompson, S., Rewi, P., & Wrathall, D. (2000). Maori experiences in sport and physical activity: Research and initiatives. In Chris Collins (Ed.), *Sport in New Zealand society* (pp.241-255). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Tickell, P. (Director/producer) (2007). The colour of money. *Racism: A history* [DVD]. United Kingdom: BBC Active.

Towne vs Eisner [1918]. 245 US 418 (SC).

TV3 News (2008, December 18). No NZ Maori team for 2009 as NZRU makes budget cuts. Retrieved 19 March, 2009 http://www.3news.co.nz/National/Story/tabid/423/articleID/84927/cat/496/Default.aspx

United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD). http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_icerd.htm

Verma, G.K. & Darby, D.S. (1994). *Winners and losers: Ethnic minorities in sport and recreation*. London, England: The Falmer Press.

Vidacs, B. (2003). The postcolonial and the level playing-field in the 1998 World Cup. In J. Bale and M. Cronin, *Sport and postcolonialism* (pp.147-158). New York, NY: Berg.

Vogel, L. (1990). Debating difference: The problem of special treatment of pregnancy in the workplace. *Feminist Studies, (16)*1, 9-20.

Wagner, H.R., & Parish, H.R. (1967). *The life and writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas.* New Mexico, NM: The University of New Mexico Press.

Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated. (2010). Waikato Tainui. Accessed at http://www.tainui.co.nz/main.htm

Waitangi Tribunal. (2010). *Treaty of Waitangi*. http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/meaning.asp

Waitangi Tribunal (1983) Kaupapa-Te Wahanga Tuatahi, discussion paper,

New Zealand Maori Council Wellington, New Zealand.

Wall, T. (2007, October 21). The accidental terrorist – Tame Iti's story. *The Sunday Star Times.* Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz

Walker, S., Eketone, A., & Gibbs, A. (2006). 'An exploration of kaupapa Maori research, its principles, processes and applications', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 9*(4), 331-344.

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). Mapping the language of racism. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Wilkes, C. (1990). Class. In P. Spoonley, D. Pearson & I. Shirley (Eds.), *New Zealand Society* (pp. 67-81). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Wilkinson, R. (2005). *The impact of inequality: How to make sick societies healthier.* New York: The New Press.

Williams, T., & Robinson, D. (2004). Social capital and philanthropy in Maori society. *The International Journal of Not-for-profit Law, 6*(2) [online]. Retrieved from http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/ijnl/vol6iss2/special_4.htm

Williams, H.W. (1985). *A dictionary of the Maori language.* Wellington, New Zealand: Government Books.

Wilson, B. (1997). Good blacks and bad blacks: Media constructions of African-American athletes in Canadian basketball. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 32*(2), 177-189.

Wilson, M. (1997). The reconfiguration of New Zealand's constitutional institutions: The transformation of tino rangatiratanga into political reality? *Waikato Law Review* [Online] http://www.austlii.edu.au/nz/journals/WkoLRev/1997/2.html

Windshuttle, K. (1999). Edward Said's orientalism revisited. *The New Criterion Online,17*(5). Retrieved from http://www.newcriterion.com/articles.cfm/Edward-Said-s--ldquo-Orientalism-rdquo--revisited-2937

Woods, R.B. (2007). *Social issues in sport.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Wrathall, D. (1996). *Sports policy and the Maori woman athlete: From a Maori perspective*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.

Yensen, H. (1989). It went so well, so what went wrong. In H.Yensen, K. Hague, & T. McCreanor (Eds.), *Honouring the treaty: An introduction for Pakeha to the Treaty of Waitangi* (pp. 56-74). Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin.

Young, I.M. (2005). Justice and the politics of difference. In S.S. Fainstein & L.J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and planning: A reader* (pp. 86-103). New Jersey, NJ: Rutgers State University Press.

Zinn, H. (2003). *People's history of the United States*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.

Zwartz, D. (1998). *New Zealand Official Yearbook*. (101 ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: GP Publications.

APPENDIX A

Department of Sport & Leisure Studies
School of Education
Te Kura Toi Tangata
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4500
www.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

PART I: THE INFORMATION SHEET
(You will be given a copy of this Information Sheet and the Consent Form)

This informed consent form is for _____ who I am inviting to
participate in my research titled "How does being Maori influence sport experiences?"

INTRODUCTION
My name is Holly Raima Hippolite and I am enrolled in the Masters Programme 2008 with the
Sport & Leisure Studies Department. I am conducting research with Maori about their experiences
of being Maori in sport. I wish to give you information and invite you to participate in this
research. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate, so please feel free
to talk to others about this. If there is anything on this consent that you do not understand, please
ask me to explain further.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH

This study will examine the discriminatory practices faced by Maori in the contemporary New
Zealand sport context. Based on my own extensive involvement in organised sport, the research
objective is to give voice to and validate the often expressed beliefs regarding the barriers faced
by Maori in various levels and spheres of participation in sport e.g.; as athletes, administrators,
and coaches. Acknowledgement and awareness is a beginning step toward eradicating
discrimination where racialised thinking and practices continue to marginalize Maori
involvement.

TYPE OF RESEARCH INTERVENTION:
This study will be conducted using semi-structured interview techniques through the kanohi-ki-te-
kanohi method.

PARTICIPANT SELECTION:
You are being asked to participate in this study because your experience as a player, and/or coach,
and/or administrator, and/or parent of up and coming players can contribute much to our
understanding of Maori experiences of discrimination.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION:
Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether or not to
participate. You may choose at a later date to change your mind, even if you agreed earlier.

PROCEDURES:
I am inviting you to assist me in this research. If you accept, you will be asked to participate in an
interview with myself at a place comfortable for you. We will sit down together and I will ask a
series of questions. If you do not wish to answer any questions you may say so and I will move
onto the next question. The information will be confidential.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:
There is a risk you may share some personal or confidential information by chance, or may feel
uncomfortable about talking about some of the topics. I do not wish this to happen. You do not
have to answer any question if you choose not to or if it makes you feel uncomfortable. You will

also have the chance to read the transcript and listen to the interview and to decide at that time that certain information should not be used in the research.
BENEFITS:
There will be no direct benefit to you but the information you provide may assist our understanding of the discriminatory practices in sport and its prevention.

CONFIDENTIALITY:
Because of the potentially sensitive nature of the information you share with me, your name, sport and other revealing details will be kept confidential. You will be able to choose the name by which you want to be known in the research and all attempts will be made to disguise the sport and any individuals you talk about so that their confidentiality and yours is protected. We will not be sharing information about you to anyone outside the research team which consists of myself, and my supervisors. The information that will be collected will be kept private. Any information about you will have your 'chosen' name instead of your real name.

SHARING THE RESULTS
The knowledge gained from the information you provide will be shared with you before being published. It may appear in academic journals or research outlets or public presentations.

RIGHT TO REFUSE OR WITHDRAW
You do not have to participate in this research if you choose not to. You may stop participating at any time during the interview, or at any time until you have approved the transcript of the interview.

WHO TO CONTACT
If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you wish to ask questions later, please contact Holly Raima Hippolite on 07 824-7556 or 0276982843 or email me: mhrmorgan@xtra.co.nz My address is: 49 Durham St, Ngaruawahia.
This proposal has been reviewed and approved by the University of Waikato, School of Education Ethics Committee. Their task is to ensure that research participants are protected from harm. If you wish to find out more about them please contact my supervisor, Dr. Toni Bruce, Dept of Sport and Leisure Studies on 07 838 4466 extension 6529 or email: tbruce@waikato.ac.nz or if necessary, a senior Maori staff member in the School of Education, University of Waikato, to help resolve any possible disputes..

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

PART II: CERTIFICATE OF CONSENT

I have been invited to participate in research about Maori experiences of discrimination in sport. I understand that I will be interviewed on an individual basis by Holly Raima Hippolite and that there will be no personal benefit to me. I have been given her name and address if I need to make contact.

I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time, and from the research project at any time until I have approved the transcript of the interview..

In this research, I choose to be known by the name of: _____

Print name of applicant _____

Signature of participant _____

Age: _____

Sport: _____

Iwi Affiliation: _____

Date _____

A copy of the informed consent has been provided to the participant _____ initials of researcher.

APPENDIX B

PROPOSED QUESTIONS

This form contains an indication of representative questions that may be asked of the participants in my research. As the research is designed to be participant-driven, other questions may arise during the interviews and not all questions may be asked.

What is your commitment to your sport?
- Time & energy
- Training/upskilling
- Achievements

How much is your family involved in your sport?
- Partner
- Children

Where do you see Maori being involved in your sport?
- At what levels? Where are they most concentrated – what levels/positions? Where are they missing?
- Why do you think this pattern is occurring?
  o How good or bad is this for Maori?
  o What needs to change in order for things to change/improve?

Do you think sport is a level playing field for Maori?
- Where are Maori advantaged? Where are they disadvantaged?

Have you experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in sport?
  If no, do you know of other Maori women who have experienced this?

On what basis do you feel this discrimination occurred?
- E.g., as Maori, as a woman, etc.
- How does it make you feel?

Could you relate your most memorable experience of discrimination/unfair treatment?
- Why do you think you were treated in this way?
- How representative is this experience of your other experiences in this sport?
- How did you react in this situation? How did other people react?
- What longer-term effects did it have on your involvement in the sport?

Have there been any situations where you think you or your children were not selected because they were Maori?
- Can you tell me more about this?

What words have coaches used to justify their decisions?
- What kinds of 'logical explanations' have you been given for non-selection? Can you give an example?
- What about 'lazy', 'attitude', 'no discipline'? Have you heard these terms? Where and when have you heard them? How often do you hear them?
- What do you think coaches mean when they use such terms?

How do coaches and administrators react when you ask about the criteria for selection?

How are inquiries received if you ask questions after trials have finished?

Do you think having a Maori name is an issue in sport?
- Person's name, or team name? Where/when can it help or hinder?

How well do you think most coaches/selectors/administrators understand Maori players/coaches?
- What makes you think this? Can you give an example?

Do you think there is a 'Maori style' of playing or coaching?

What do you think about how some of the top Maori athletes have been treated?
- E.g., Piri Weepu, Temepara George, Buck Shelford, Troy Flavell…others?

Is there anything else you want to tell me about your experiences as a Maori in sport?