

Māori men, relationships, and everyday practices: towards broadening domestic violence research

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Abstract

Relationships are central to the health and wellbeing of Māori (indigenous people of New Zealand). Through processes of colonisation, cultural ways of relatedness embedded within Māori social structures experienced disruption and were reshaped over decades of assimilation. Māori knowledge and everyday practices that assisted in protecting Māori from societal problems, such as domestic violence, began to dwindle. In contemporary New Zealand, Māori are over-represented in domestic violence statistics. Utilising an auto-ethnographic approach and case studies, our research focuses on five Māori men's experiences within intimate relationships and whānau (extended family) life. A significant feature of this research is that it provides insights into the ways Māori men draw on their cultural ways-of-being to enhance intimate relationships and maintain bonds within whānau and community life to forge new ways-of-being. Such insights have the potential to inform preventative measures against domestic violence within Māori communities.

Keywords

Māori, domestic violence (DV), everyday life, colonisation, culture, ways-of-being

The health and wellbeing of Māori (indigenous people of New Zealand) is inherently relational (Durie, 1994; Rua, 2015; Walker, 2004). The concepts of whanaungatanga (to maintain and build relationships), manaakitanga (caring for others) and wairuatanga (spirituality) facilitate the reproduction of relationships in everyday life and bond Māori together within their social groups (Mead, 2003). The holistic ways in which people and relationships are understood from a Māori perspective stands in direct contrast to the reductionist and atomistic approaches that dominate colonial scholarship about marginalised social groupings, like Māori (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Morgan, in press). In order to understand and respond to domestic violence within Māori communities, it is important that domestic violence is not seen as a discrete issue, but rather, is situated within the broader context of social and everyday life (cf. Højholt & Schraube, 2016; Ritchie, 1992).

With the advent of colonisation came changes not only to the physical and political landscapes, but also to the social landscape of the Māori world. Processes of colonisation dispossessed Māori of land, access to resources, and economic participation (Jackson, 1992). Like the land, the culture of the indigenous people was seen as something needing to be conquered and civilised to aid in processes of assimilation into a new dominant colonial ideology of individualism (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Nikora, 2007). Among other things, this meant extinguishing what was once called the “beastly communism” of the Māori (Richmond, cited in Sinclair, 2014), by individualising land title, redefining the family

unit, and creating a hitherto unknown distinction between the public and private domains. As noted by Mikaere (1999), such a distinction could not be made in pre-European contact Māori society. An example of this can be seen in the architecture of living spaces, that is, the marae (communal complex used for everyday Māori life) consisting of communal living spaces, meaning that intimate relationships were situated within the purview of the wider social group (Jenkins, 1986). However, as European cultural norms, which place particular emphasis on the family as a nuclear unit, were imposed in Aotearoa New Zealand, everyday life for many Māori shifted towards being conducted behind closed doors, away from the wider family unit.

This re-definition of whānau (extended family) was accompanied by a re-engineering of gender roles and gender identity (Jenkins, 1988; Te Awekotuku, 1996). In an article on the imposition of patriarchy on Māori during colonisation, Mikaere (1999) cited a traditional Cheyenne saying, “A Nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground. Then it is done, no matter how brave its warriors nor how strong its weapons” (p. 34). This

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quote was used to demonstrate the shift in the status of indigenous women from pre-European contact to the imposition of colonial social structures on indigenous societies. In this context, the overlay of patriarchal thinking on traditional cultural practices can give rise to what the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence described as “imposter tikanga (custom)”, the use of “bastardised or mutated” cultural constructs to justify violence (Kruger et al., 2002, p. 25). Perhaps the most dramatic portrayal of this was the iconic film *Once Were Warriors* (Tamahori, 1995). Based on the novel of the same name (Duff, 1990), the film reinforced certain constructions of the Māori man as violent, aggressive, and abusive—a man who lets his fists do the talking. The reality is that this is the archetypal Māori man that we must contend with when deconstructing Māori masculinity in modern day New Zealand.

As other researchers have pointed out, gender-specific research focused on men tends to highlight problematic and anti-social behaviours, such as violence and crime, while largely ignoring men who contribute positively to families and communities (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). In particular for Māori, there has been a pattern of relying on stereotyped and negative archetypal images of Māori men as inherently violent and aggressive that ignores the dynamism of Māori masculinity as an ongoing process of development that is contextual, situational, and pluralistic (Rua, 2015).

For Hokowhitu (2007), “Māori masculinity is in crisis” (p. 73). He locates this crisis in the narrowing of space available for Māori men to express their masculinity and agency within the world, namely, the “humble Māori man” and the “violent Māori man”. Through this narrowing of space, the plurality of Māori masculinities is reduced by the dominant colonial discourse to a narrow binary. Attributes such as compassion, affection, creativity, and caring, particularly towards children, are seen as non-characteristic of the Māori man, more suited to that of the female counterpart. Colonial narratives reinforced the positioning of Māori as simple, physical beings, which entrenched the false belief that Māori, particularly Māori men, were inherently animalistic, aggressive, and violent by nature (Hokowhitu, 2004).

There is now an extensive body of work which has linked colonisation with the emergence of domestic violence within Māori communities (Koziol-McLain, Rameka, Giddings, Fyfe, & Gardiner, 2007; Kruger et al., 2002; Robertson & Oulton, 2008). A study of women attending a Māori health service in Auckland reported that 23% of them had experienced domestic violence in the previous year (Koziol-McLain et al., 2007). A general population survey of women in the Auckland/North Waikato area showed that 58% of the Māori women had experienced domestic violence during their lifetime (Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle, & Perese, 2010). Furthermore, the lifetime prevalence of domestic violence for Māori women has been reported as being three times that of their non-Māori counterparts (McMurray & Clendon, 2010). Robertson and Oulton (2008) report that women are more likely to experience sexual violence from a partner than a non-partner. In relation to Māori men, questions need to be raised about the

impacts that the redefining of the family unit and the disruptions in Māori masculinities (and gender in general) by colonial activities has had on the emergence of domestic violence within contemporary Māori communities. This could prove beneficial when examining everyday practices that have resulted in healthy, violence-free intimate relationships that can be promoted as a preventative measure against domestic violence within Māori communities.

Our research centres on Māori men’s experiences within intimate and whānau relationships. Of particular interest is what these men do right within these relationships and how they understand, negotiate, and enact the plurality of Māori masculinities in their everyday lives. We moved away from a deficit-focused research orientation concerning Māori men to explore and promote positive behaviours within the everyday lives of Māori men in response to the social issue of domestic violence. In light of colonial processes that have disrupted everyday cultural practices that aided in protecting social groups against issues like domestic violence, our research explores the ways that Māori men draw on these values and knowledge to forge new ways of enacting culturally patterned relationships that protect and care for their families within a landscape that has experienced significant cultural and political shifts while under colonial control.

Our approach

Our fieldwork began within an existing network of relationships established and maintained by the lead author with other Māori men within the Auckland and Waikato regions of New Zealand. These relationships emerged primarily from studying and working together—as is the case with Kōkako, Ruru, and Pukeko—and meeting through “friends-of-friends”—Tiwaiwaka and Hākioi. Being Māori men and engaging in extended conversations, over a period of years, with one another regarding Māori issues in general and what it means to be a Māori man today in particular were common threads that ran through this network. Centralising these relationships enhanced our research approach in that the trust and rapport necessary when conducting research with Māori (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, & Smith, 2010) had already been established prior to the commencement of the research and was the basis of including participants into our research. After initial informal conversations between the lead author and each member of this network, a formal invitation to participate in our research was extended to five Māori men, all of whom accepted. These Māori men were aged between 21 and 45 years, and came from a wide range of occupations, including the social services, full-time student, education, and Māori arts. Pseudonyms were used to ensure these men remained anonymous. Prior to the commencement of our empirical work, information sheets were provided to the men giving a detailed explanation of the research project. The lead author went through the information sheet with each of these men to ensure that they were adequately informed about the research project and potential outcomes, such as conference presentations and publications.

Our approach was twofold. First, an ethnographic approach was employed to situate the men's accounts within the frameworks of their own everyday lives (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012; Rua, 2015). As a member of the social group at the centre of this research, the lead author was able to connect with and document events that Māori men can sometimes be closed to discussing with outside researchers. For example, the following quote from Ruru (participant) reflecting on the way he seeks help when experiencing personal issues, such as when in relationships, exemplifies this point:

Because I'm a guy, I'll go talk to other guys, depending on what it is. If it's just something that you get a little bit whakamā [shy, embarrassed] about, you know who to talk to, and who not to talk to. Usually, it's just about likeness meeting likeness. I'll probably more than likely go to another Māori individual. And it's more likely to be a guy.

We employed a case-based approach in our research that is characterised by meaningful engagement with research participants (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot, & Tankel, 2014). Unlike more reductionist forms of psychological research that attempts to distance researchers from the researched, in our study, the maintenance of relationships with our participants was our main priority: research followed as a result (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu, 2015). Genuine engagement with these men through ordinary everyday practices, such as gardening, hunting, and just spending time with each other, facilitated a more reflective account of their experiences and perspectives, while also centralising relationships as the focus of our research activities. This type of engagement allowed the men to communicate their thoughts, feelings, and perspectives on their own terms and in their own spaces.

In the tradition of narrative research, semi-structured interviews were used to document participants' experiences, employing a "story-like" format taken from their own perspectives (Breakwell, Hammond, Fife-Schaw, & Smith, 2006). Further impromptu questions were used to gain a deeper, more reflective understanding of the men's experiences but any steering of the discussion by the interviewer was done with a "soft touch" to allow the participants to shape their account as they wished. Setting was also an important aspect of our research. As the spaces we dwell within are textured by cultural, historical, and political events, social actors both actively shape the spaces they occupy while simultaneously being shaped by the space itself (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). This means that we cannot isolate the actions of people from the spaces in which they dwell, and vice versa, in any meaningful way (Heidegger, 1927/1967; Tilley, 1994). The interdependence of space and action was embraced in our research approach and is exemplified in the case of Tīwaiwaka. Much of the interaction with Tīwaiwaka took place in his place of work, an art studio. As a Māori artist, his work space is more than a place of beauty and employment: it embodies the very essence of who he is as a person who is Māori. This particular art studio was also a place where a number of people close to the lead author have received traditional Māori tattooing. Thus, the

lead author, as well as the interviewee, has a personal connection with this space and the people who dwell within it, independent of the research project. This emphasis on space meant that the men could speak and share their experiences within a space of comfort and safety.

The interviews were comprised of general themes that covered Māori culture, intimacy, and healthy relationships. Face-to-face interviews began with a shared meal, provided by the lead author, to observe Māori tikanga surrounding hui (meetings/gatherings) and bonding (Walker, 2004), and to also show participants appreciation for being involved in the research. The interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. During the course of the research, contact was maintained with each of the men and they were invited to comment and provide on-going feedback as the research progressed.

Interview summaries were drafted from the transcripts and presented to the men for their review. The lead author worked closely with each of the men to ensure their korero (oral account) was respected and presented in a way that honoured their cultural ways-of-being. A thematic analysis was conducted with each of the transcripts to identify common themes and patterns within the participant accounts (Breakwell et al., 2006). The themes presented in our research came out of detailed examination of the transcripts, engagement with our participants after they received their interview summaries, and through an emic/etic (cf. Hodgetts et al., 2010) process of the second author asking probing questions of the lead author to aid with the analysis. Furthermore, personal reflections and on-going conversations were had with all of the men throughout the course of the analysis to ensure that the nuances of their experiences were not stripped away during processes of theorising and analysis. Throughout our interpretations of the research findings, we drew on Māori literature to inform our theoretical approach. This allowed culturally specific knowledge to be shared and analysed within a framework that acknowledged the legitimacy of Māori knowledge and did not attempt to fit it into a Western based knowledge system (Smith, 2012). The significant themes that emerged from our analysis are presented in the following section.

Re-membering the whānau

Whānau is about whakapapa (genealogy, system of kinship), connections, relationships, and locating the self within a complex and meaningful socio-cultural world (Mika, 2011; Nikora, 2007). In the wake of colonial practices that have fragmented Māori social grouping, many Māori have been left in a state of dislocation from both the wider whānau unit and Māori culture itself. In this section, we explore the diverse ways in which our participants connect to the Māori world. For some of the men in this research, the Māori ways of doing things were a matter of every day normalcy. However, for others, the Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) world was the normal, with the Māori world being something familiar yet still distant. For these men, there has always been a desire to connect back to their Māori cultural roots. Kōkako explains,

There is also a yearning for me to get back in touch with my whakapapa, get back in touch with te ao Māori [the Māori world] . . . But it's actually being able to implement it into everyday life, which I have found really hard. It's like exercising every day, if you don't have people who like to play sports around you every day you find it hard to exercise.

This yearning to connect to Māori ways-of-being is a common sentiment shared by many Māori who have experienced disconnection from their ancestral lands and tribal communities, language, and culture. Scholars have used the term “re-membering” to evoke a form of remembering through a practical re-joining in everyday practices (Sutton, 2015). The desire to re-member his Māori ways-of-being in this way is evident within Kōkako's statement above, but, as he notes, it is hard, if not impossible, to re-member in isolation. As re-membering in this way is a public practice, re-membering Māori ways-of-being cannot be seen as a simple cognitive task, but rather, must be understood as a set of everyday practices that bond people together through collective enactments.

As outlined by Rangihau (1992), the constant togetherness of Māori whānau can facilitate the sharing and transmission of knowledge and collective memories. Tīwaiwaka was raised in this way, deeply immersed in the Māori world, learning by being in place. In contrast to Kōkako, being Māori for Tīwaiwaka was an everyday thing. He explains,

I think one of the things that I was blessed with was that I was a whāngai [fostered/raised by grandparents]. In a Māori sense, I was one of those ones that was looked after by the grandparents. And so, my elk of people was the old fellas, the older guys, and we used to hang around the kitchen cooking kai [food] for various tangihanga [traditional Māori death ritual] or hui.

Tīwaiwaka considered his position as whāngai a blessing. Within the Māori world, there is a wisdom that comes with the kaumātua (male elder) and kuia (female elder) status. Tīwaiwaka viewed being raised as whāngai to be beneficial in his cultural education within the Māori world. This education took place “on-the-job” while performing collective activities that support the wider social group. Within the Māori world, mundane and banal tasks, such as peeling potatoes and shucking oysters, are necessary and valued aspects of communal life that aid the functioning of the marae (King et al., 2015), which Tīwaiwaka alludes to in his account above with reference to “hanging around the kitchen” and cooking food for others. Such tasks also provide opportunities to spend long periods of time with friends and whānau that help to bond whānau members and facilitate the sharing of knowledge, whakapapa, and stories (Rua, 2015).

As Māori knowledge originates from within an oral tradition, stories and mythology serve an important part in processes of knowledge transmission (Karetu, 1992; Te Awekotuku, 1996). As Ruru understands it: “Everybody else calls them little stories, but if you have a look at it and if you just listen for the subtle things, there are cultural archetypes that can say ‘this is a concept around wellbeing

and intimacy”’. Ruru expanded on this point by drawing attention to the Māori creation story. For him, there are stories that teach Māori positive relationships, such as Ranginui (sky-father) and Papatūānuku (Earth-mother)—a story of two lovers who were separated and mourn their isolation—and inappropriate relationships, such as Tānemahuta (god of the forest) and Hinētītama—a story of incest.

From these stories told, time spent with whānau, and being in place, these men learn, reinforce and maintain social links to the Māori world. The men in this research locate their identity as Māori men within the social relationships where they are located (Nikora, 2007), which are enacted and manifest in diverse ways. They draw strength and support from the group while feeding strength and support back into the group in a reciprocal, dialectic fashion (Bowlby, 2011). When these bonds are severed, the strength of the individual is diminished. Hōkioi elaborates,

Some people are lost and need a template, they need their cultural identity, and the marae is the identity, and it's up to you to maintain it. Being on the marae is good for you, the kai, the people, being part of the whakapapa and the knowledge, you know? Where I'm from, there is one style of learning [collective learning through active participation], but many ways of understanding. The time you spend with whānau carries you through to the next encounter, that's manaaki [care for others]. It's how you look after each other, feed them, make sure they've got a mean [colloquial phrase meaning good] bed and gas to get home, you know? Consider everything they might go through, and awahi them. Mā te manaia, ka tū te whakairo—Without the people, the leader has no mana [authority/influence/spiritual power]. They are just an individual, almost a nothing.

Hōkioi's korero exemplifies how he locates himself as a Māori man within the world. Central to this are the people that make up his life-world and the cultural principles that underlie the conduct of everyday life (cf. Højholt & Schraube, 2016). Hōkioi's account suggests that the re-membering of whānau is an ongoing process that takes continuous effort to maintain and preserve Māori ways-of-being. Although the whānau has undergone dramatic change during colonisation (Mikaere, 1999), it has not been forgotten. As our participant accounts show, for those entrenched within te ao Māori, these practices persist within daily life. For those who have experienced disconnection and displacement from their homelands and their wider whānau, these practices have become difficult to enact in everyday life, yet there is still a yearning to re-connect with, and to re-member, Māori ways-of-being.

The plurality of Māori masculinities

Building on the previous section that ended with a brief discussion on identity, this section will examine in more detail the ways in which our participants negotiate, struggle with, and shape their masculinity as Māori men. As argued by Hokowhitu (2007), the space for Māori masculinity has narrowed through our history of colonisation. The men in

our research can be seen to recognise this dilemma, and they discuss how they have attempted to widen the available space in which they can be Māori men. They draw on culturally germane knowledge to help them cope with the ways colonial practices have influenced and fragmented their Māori masculinities. In this way, they challenge the negative mainstream stereotypes of Māori men by contributing positively to their intimate, familial, and community relationships. Tīwaiwaka provides a brief account of the kinds of messages he received about being a Māori man throughout the course of his life:

There's the Māori man of the 1970's and 1980's that's a very macho Māori guy, very into drinking, into boozing. I think very much a product of the six o'clock closing. Six o'clock closing sort of encouraged binge drinking. You know, people finished [work] at five and had an hour to drink their amount of alcohol so it was how much you could drink, in the shortest amount of time. Being intimate to your wife or to your kids was seen as a weakness in a lot of instances. In our days, we're probably reverting a little bit more back to the way we used to be, especially with those people that are connected to the culture.

Macho, aggressive, and emotionless; these are all qualities that mirror the archetype of the “violent Māori man” outlined by Hokowhitu (2007). Echoed within other participant accounts was the idea that “more alcohol makes you more of a man”. Particularly during their late teenage years and early 20s, masculinity, alcohol, and intimacy were all important issues in these men's lives. Tīwaiwaka, however, did not ascribe to the notion that alcohol was an integral marker of masculinity. As noted earlier, Tīwaiwaka was whāngai. Compared to his peers, he was raised by an earlier generation and, accordingly, received a different kind of education about what it meant to be a Māori man. Tīwaiwaka's thoughts are paralleled in the account provided by Kōkako when reflecting on the way he navigated romantic life as a young Māori man:

To be honest, over the last relationships that I've had I was actually quite shocking at it [intimacy, affection]. I was quite like my father, where I was quite reserved. I'm not saying that I didn't love that person. I just wasn't as affectionate, and I think over time I realised that you had to be expressive with your emotions. Even if you didn't want to, for me it felt like it gave them peace of mind.

Kōkako described his father as a “bush-baby” who had a hard, violent upbringing, and spent many years in the military. As he explained, his mother was able to penetrate his father's tough exterior and they shared a loving, caring, and affectionate married life. In his early intimate relationships, Kōkako mirrored the staunch qualities of his father, while overlooking the kind and sensitive sides. But as he notes, there was eventual movement within his current long-term relationship towards balancing out the polarised perception of what he thought a Māori man could be. For Kōkako, Māori men can be tough and kind, staunch and affectionate, all at the same time. Once these men carve out spaces where their masculinity is no longer governed by a narrow binary,

they are able to engage with the plurality of Māori masculinities that allows them to flourish as men who contribute positively to their intimate partners, whānau, and communities. An example of this, and an extremely common one within the Māori world, is the provision of food through hunting and fishing as acts of manaaki to wider social groups (Rua, 2015). Pukeko provides his insights on this:

Being out on the water with other Māori men, it's just different, it's about bonding, even if you're talking shit, who cares? I have a connection to the sea through my tupuna [ancestor] Ika Nui, to Tangaroa [god of the sea]. It's just part of me. And we know if we get some fish, we've got a feed for the whānau and our mates, and that's the way we take care of them. Filleting and gutting, and sharing the skills that one has. You always got a big head when you've got a big feed, it's that manaaki, when it comes down to it, it's about manaaki.

A major theme contained within this korero is the notion that “to provide more means you're more of a man”. This stands in direct contrast to equating masculinity to the amount of alcohol one can consume. Furthermore, the former example speaks to the concept of manaaki and contributing to others, whereas the latter is a more individual act. Māori masculinity then becomes more about the social ties that are maintained rather than individual performance. These Māori men demonstrate their plurality of masculinities in everyday life through broadening their understanding of what it means to be a Māori man and enacting these cultural understandings accordingly. This not only enriches their lives; it also challenges the dominant discourse surrounding Māori men by bringing to the fore positive ways-of-being a Māori man that are often hidden within mainstream New Zealand. Particularly in their younger years, and for those more disconnected from their culture, there is sometimes a difficulty in navigating manhood. However, the manner in which the men draw on their cultural ways-of-being to go beyond the individual self of colonial construction in order to reclaim their masculinities are inherently relational and distinctively Māori.

Challenging the narrative

The negative aspects of Māori men within intimate relationships and whānau life are well-documented, both within the academic literature and the dominant New Zealand cultural narrative. Scarce in both discourses are examples of Māori men who do not adhere to these stereotypes, but rather flourish in the ways they express the plurality of Māori masculinities. In recognising the important role that narratives can play in bringing about positive social change, Rappaport (2000) poses the question: “Can such tales of terror be replaced with tales of joy?” (p. 20). In this section, we present and explore some positive aspects of Māori men in intimate relationships and whānau life, and how their actions enrich both their own lives and the lives of their loved ones. These men have sometimes struggled to find ways in which they are able to be articulate, emotionally expressive, and confident in who they are as Māori men. Kōkako explains,

Intimacy to me is when I can connect to someone, where we are both vulnerable. To me that's what intimacy is. It's being able to get close to someone, almost like, holding someone's life in your hands, holding someone's heart in your hand. You have that power to crush it, you also have that duty to take care of it . . . What I'm looking for is a safe place to be vulnerable, allowing it to be a safe place to truly show who you are, physically and also mentally who you are. And that intimacy allows that to happen and also allows that to flourish. Makes you feel good, makes the relationship feel good.

The notion of space emerges from this quote as a key dimension of Kōkako's intimacy. Space to be safe, open, and true to who he is as a Māori man. In this space, he is able to make fulfilling intimate connections that lay the foundations of loving, caring, and a violence-free relationship. As Kōkako noted, in previous relationships in his youth, the social pressures of maintaining a staunch persona conflicted with his ability to achieve the kind of closeness and intimacy he now enjoys. This suggests that the way we are within relationships is not simply about the beliefs within one's head, but also about the ways in which wider societal influences shape intimate relationships. Tīwaiwaka discusses how he challenges the dominant narrative surrounding Māori men:

Being unafraid of what people are thinking of you, because I call my wife my darling. And I probably say "I love you" to the kids, three to four times a day, each of them, as well as my wife, you know? I text her that sort of stuff. It's about desensitising it, not so it's ineffective, but so it's just a common thing you hear . . . I think it should become more normal now for people to say those sorts of thing, because I think our stories tell us of an older time when intimacy was a fact of nature.

Tīwaiwaka took the idea of normalising Māori men as being emotional and affectionate even further by telling his male friends in public that he loved them. The more embarrassment they showed indicated to him the more that they needed to know that it is ok to be a caring Māori man. In the quote above, we can see how Māori men can challenge the narrow binary, and the dominant narratives that surround it, that Hokowhitu (2007) outlines as being a crisis in Māori masculinity. For Tīwaiwaka, intimacy is about making expressions of affection a normal, everyday thing; an idea that he points to within Māori cultural narratives and stories, such as Hinemoa and Tutanekai. Again, the role of storytelling within the Māori world comes to the fore as a way of transmitting knowledge and continuing traditions surrounding the conduct of whānau life (Te Awēkotuku, 1996). Such stories provide cultural touch points that these men can look to when reflecting on what it means to be a contemporary Māori man. These stories are a part of broader cultural ways-of-being, which Hōkioi expands on below:

To re-establish the roots and keep the root system healthy with sufficient nourishment we need to look to marae; to the nucleus of our people. Attitude reflects leadership, so when I am lost, I address myself with the presence and guidance of my elders. We are the result of those above of us because they have the

mana. Our behaviour and knowledge are like our blood flowing through our veins, it's genetic, it's passed down.

Central themes within Hōkioi's account are humility and self-reflexivity. Recognising when he enters unfamiliar spaces and situations through continuous evaluation of the self provides the opportunity to seek the wisdom and guidance of his elders. As his elders have navigated many of these spaces and situations during their own youth, they are able to offer ongoing support for Hōkioi to develop into a Māori man who contributes positively to his whānau and wider community. Our participants' accounts challenge the dominant narrative surrounding Māori men. Such positive lived experiences need to come to the fore within research so that Māori communities are not reduced to a deficit. This will widen the considerations of theorists, researchers, and service providers when attempting to address the social issue of domestic violence within Māori communities.

Discussion

The focus on the everyday lives of people has been embraced in areas of social science research, such as indigenous health (Rua, 2015), mental health (Johnson, Hodgetts, & Nikora, 2012) and homelessness (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Leggatt-Cook, 2011). However, the concept of everyday life is yet to gain similar traction within the area of domestic violence research, which has tended to focus on descriptive data (violence prevalence), and documenting instances of abuse and subsequent interventions. Our research attempts to incorporate everyday life as a focus of social scientists' attention, as this is the site where a majority of people's lived experiences and actions take place (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). A focus on everyday life, more broadly, has the potential to make significant contributions to the area of domestic violence research, as the contradictions, messiness, and lived realities of everyday life can sometimes be stripped away through processes of theorising. This can result in mismatches between the theoretical approach of researchers and the communities with which they attempt to engage (cf. Allwood & Berry, 2006). The concept of everyday life can provide an additional lens for researchers to understand the social issue of domestic violence within Māori communities by considering those who contribute positively to their communities through enacting culturally informed everyday social practices, and how such everyday ways-of-being can be promoted as a preventative measure against the emergence of domestic violence.

Our findings show that everyday collective tasks, such as going fishing and preparing food for others, are multi-layered, multidimensional, and serve an important role in the transmission of cultural knowledge, maintenance of social bonds, and the day-to-day functioning of social spaces (King et al., 2015). Participant accounts placed significant emphasis on the presence of multiple generations of men during such tasks that stand as a site for education into Māori ways-of-being a man (Rangihau, 1992). This generational stratum allows the individual to both teach and

learn cultural values simultaneously within the broader context of the social group. Storytelling, whether serious or humorous in nature, continued the oral tradition of Māori knowledge and cultural values that were lived out through everyday practices. Spending face-to-face time in this way emerges as a crucial element in Māori social exchange: as Rua (2015) puts it: “Simply being there and spending time communicates friendship and support” (p. 79). Mundane collective tasks and everyday cultural practices, therefore, must be seen by researchers as a valuable site of human existence and experience that can provide rich and useful insights when attempting to address the social issue of domestic violence.

Our participants demonstrate the plurality of their masculinities as an ongoing process of development and discovery by expressing their agency in who they are as Māori men. This reflects their being as an inherently relational concept, whereby social actors embody the people, places, and objects within their social world that makes them who they are (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Marsden & Royal, 2003). These men demonstrate their embedded social identities through their understanding of themselves through others, everyday practices, and connection to place (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Nikora, 2007). These spaces are textured by the actions and culture of the people who dwell within them (Heidegger, 1927/1967; Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Tilley, 1994), which provides guidance and education into appropriate social conduct for these men. Drawing on these cultural spaces and everyday practices, our participants can be seen to resist what Hokowhitu (2007) described as the stereotyping of Māori men into narrow spaces—while determining their own sense of masculinity within a Māori cultural framework.

For too long, domestic violence research concerning Māori men has been offender-focused. Through its reductionist, atomistic nature, such research has reinforced certain constructions of Māori men as violent and criminal. It has rendered invisible the ways in which colonisation has disrupted and altered the everyday practices of Māori that helped to protect members of the whānau against social issues, such as domestic violence. One of the implications of our research is that studying the everyday relationship practices of Māori men who are not violent can provide insights into how these “traditional” cultural values and practices have been re-membered, reproduced, and adapted to fit with the shifting context of Māori positioning within modern colonial society. Such research has the potential to contribute to the development of healthy, peaceful whānau.

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Glossary

haka	intense ceremonial dance
hui	meeting/gathering
kai	food
kaumātua	male elder
korero	oral account
kuia	female elder
mana	authority/influence/spiritual power
manaaki-(tanga)	caring for others/hospitality
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
marae	communal complex used for everyday Māori life
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Papatūānuku	Earth-mother
Ranginui	Sky-father
Tānemahuta	god of the forest
Tangaroa	god of the sea
tangihanga	traditional Māori death ritual
te ao Māori	the Māori world
tikanga	custom
tupuna	ancestor
urupā	cemetery
wairuatanga	spirituality
whakamā	shy/embarrassed
whakapapa	genealogy/system of kinship
whāngai	fostered/raised by grandparents
whānau	family (including extended family)
whanaungatanga	to maintain and build relationships

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