Māori Men's Positive and Interconnected Sense of Self, Being and Place

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Abstract

Māori[1] men are on the wrong side of the ledger when it comes to illness and crime rates. Correspondingly, there is a significant amount of research into issues such as abuse and premature death involving Māori men, who are also often characterised in public discourse as inarticulate, deviant and incapable of maintaining positive relationships. There is very little research on positive practices among Māori men who are caring and expressive, and who do not harm their partners, families, and communities. This thesis explores how Māori men negotiate a positive sense of self, relationships and a place in our society, which is awash with negative characterisations of Māori men. I document how Māori men's identities are pluralistic and on-going projects. These identities are negotiated within the settler society through interactions with other people and media characterisations. These identities are also negotiated within the Māori world through interactions with *whānau* (immediate and extended family) and participation in cultural rituals, including *tangihanga* (traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process). This research involves two separate, yet interrelated studies, and is guided by *kaupapa* Māori research, Māori cultural concepts, Māori relational understandings of being and health, and relevant social science theory and research. Study one explores Māori men's relationships with other men, their families and media depictions of men in the settler society. The participants from study one are working class men who were also part-time members of a Territorial Army unit within which Māori and Pākehā[2] men come together through mutual interests and negotiate meaningful relationships, and various cultural similarities and differences. Study one drew upon an ethnographic orientation that included direct observations, narrative interviews, media diaries and photo elicitation projects to understand the everyday lived realities of participants' in settler society. Study two explores the constructive engagement of working class ex-Army Māori men back in their communities of origin in order to

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[1] Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand

[2] New Zealander of British and/or European descent

investigate key aspects of their identities and relationships as men within the Māori world. An ethnographic approach was also used in study two and involved direct observations, participation in shared practices and narrative interviews. Overall, findings from these studies demonstrate how Māori men construct a positive sense of self that extends beyond the deficit-orientated characterisations offered by academic research and mainstream media depictions. In constructing understandings of themselves and their place in the world, my participants emphasise their meaningful relationships with partners, children, colleagues, friends and communities. These men invoke a positive sense of self through accounts of belonging, reciprocity, dialogue, intimacy, and care for themselves, their whānau, and traditions. Participants' positive Māori self-constructions are fundamentally interconnected with other people, cultural traditions, physical and symbolic places, and shared practices. My research sheds light on Māori men's ways of belonging and being that span, but manifest in unique ways within, the settler society and the Māori world. This research also contributes to scholarship on men that takes a strengths-based approach by considering the valuable everyday functions men serve within their families and communities.

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Chapter 1: Background to research and men

Men's identities and relationships have been the focus of social science research internationally for some time (Beynon, 2002; Connell, 1995; Ford & Hearn, 1989; Hokowhitu, 2004, 2012; Kimmel & Aronson, 2004; Kimmel, 1987a, 1987b; Komorovsky, 1976; Law, Campbell, & Dolan, 1999; Pleck, 1981; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Smith & Winchester, 1998; Tengan, 2008; Whitehead, 2002). Current scholarly writing has rightly sought to address the negative activities of, and violence perpetuated by, some men on themselves, their families and communities (Law et al., 1999; Worth, Paris, & Allen, 2002). Psychology has a tradition of researching negative aspects of men's shortcomings (Levant, 2011; O'Neil, 2008). Due to the problem orientation of our discipline we focus primarily on men who are sick, abusive, in prison or engaged in anti-social behaviour (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). This deficit orientation is reflected in the type of articles published in *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* (PMM) since its inception in 2000 (Wong, Steinfeldt, Speight, & Hickman, 2010).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori men in particular embody some of the worst socio-economic and health profiles, and often die significantly younger than Māori women and non-Māori generally (Ministry of Health, 2010a, 2010b, 2013b). As a result, research on Māori men is often characterised by negative accounts of Māori men's failings where blame is apportioned to individual self-negligence with little regard to the long term impact of colonisation and the social determinants of health (Durie, 2003; Marmot, 2005; Rankine, Moewaka-Barnes, Borell, et al., 2011; Wilson & Baker, 2012). According to Stanley (2002), psychology has tended to see Māori men "as the perpetrators of the problems. There is very little focus on finding solutions for Māori men, with Māori men" (p. 81). In this regard, psychology has been harmful, in many respects, given that the dominant disciplinary focus is driven by the Anglo-American cultural construct of an independent and self-contained individual that differs markedly from traditional Māori notions of interconnectedness and interdependence (Durie, 2002; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Levy, 2007; Nairn et al., 2011; Nikora, 2007b; Waitoki, 2011). Psychologists have paid even less attention to the positive

relationships and community contributions of working class men generally and Māori men in particular. These relationships are important, as they can buffer whānau living in economic hardship from adversity, such that people with strong relationships are less likely to become ill (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). Nonetheless, there have been attempts in psychology to address the paucity of holistic and strengths-based research on Māori men (Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011; Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010; Hutchings & Aspin, 2007a; Stanley, 2002). More generally there have been important inter-disciplinary explorations of Māori men from outside of psychology (Cragg, 2010; Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012; Hona, 2004; Kara, Blundell, & Gibbons, 2011; Kidd, Gibbons, Kara, Blundell, & Berryman, 2013; Mana Tane Ora o Aotearoa, 2011; Pirret, 2000). However, much more needs to occur if we are to better understand the dynamics of Māori men's sense of place and position in society.

Research Focus

This thesis explores how Māori men negotiate a sense of self, identity and place, and what it means to be a man in today's society, which is awash with characterisations (positive and negative) of men. I will document how Māori men's identities are plural, ongoing projects that are negotiated both within the settler society through interactions with other people and media characterisations of men, and in the Māori world through interactions with whānau and participation in cultural rituals such as tangihanga (traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process). Of particular interest is the ways in which men construct a sense of self, identity and place, and how their relational activities contribute to health for themselves, their families, and the people in their wider social networks and communities. Māori men forge their identities within the settler society, but many are also influenced by and remain anchored in the Māori world, and *iwi* (tribal) ways of being. Clearly, diversity exists in relation to the extent and frequency of Māori men's engagements with Māori cultural practices (Durie, 2006). However, as I will demonstrate, Māori culture remains a crucial anchor point for the formation of my participants' identities and relationships that can

lead to positive health outcomes. My thesis draws from international literatures on men and related issues from Māori scholarship.

This thesis is based upon two separate, yet interrelated studies. In the first study, my supervisor and I conducted research with working-class Māori and Pākehā men interacting through a part-time Territorial Army Unit. This part-time Army Unit is a bi-cultural space textured by both Māori and Pākehā cultures. Māori men forge part of their identities through their interactions with Pākehā in the settler society and have been doing so for around 200 years. Consequently, Pākehā and Māori men's identities are juxtaposed in society in some senses and overlap in everyday life in others. Study one also explores how men from different cultural backgrounds (Māori and Pākehā) can come together to negotiate a common space. This adds to understandings of the ways in which Māori men negotiate different experiences of self and daily life in a bi-cultural community and a media-saturated settler society. I illustrate how these men often appropriate aspects from both contemporary media deliberations and the Army unit as a community of practice regarding what it means to be a man in order to make sense of their own lives, relationships and well-ness. Such communities of practice provide an alternative to the over-representation of men in our prison and mortality statistics with a particular emphasis on Māori men positively contributing to their whānau.

After completing the first study, it became apparent that not only do Māori men take their ways of being into the Army context, but that the Army also contributes to how these men engage in the Māori world. The second study explores how a group of working class Māori men who are ex-soldiers, understand their cultural roles back home interacting with whānau. Study two also explores how Māori men actively and constructively participate in, engage with, and contribute to their whānau and communities in the Māori world. These overlapping roles are particularly evident during tangihanga, a prominent Māori cultural institution that is enacted by communities of practice (Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). The underlying premise of study two is that Māori men's sense of self, identity and place in the world is shaped within their relationships with others, or their *whakawhanaungatanga* (process of

establishing relationships; relating to others), and in culturally patterned relational contexts.

The concept of a community of practice (Levine & Perkins, 1997; Paechter, 2002; Wenger, 1998; Wenger et al., 2002; Wenger & Snyder, 2000) provides insights relevant to both studies one and two. Local ways of being a man are learnt through shared enterprise and practices central to community participation where community membership enhances a person's sense of health and well-being (Bess, Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002). Performance of life as a man is the product of personal enactments of various 'stylisations', including gestures and ways of acting and doing that are commonly associated with 'manliness' within specific communities and contexts. As Paechter (2002) writes:

> *We do not just get up in the morning and decide that today we will be particular kinds of men and women; we slip into our roles, so imperceptibly that most of the time we do not even notice. It is only when we find ourselves performing, or attempting a masculinity or femininity that for some reason fails to "fit" a particular social situation (being a non-macho man in a pub full of rugby players, to coin a stereotype) that this performative aspect is brought home to us as we subtly change our behaviour to fit in better with the situation in which we find ourselves (2002, p. 69).*

Paechter highlights the proposition that men can enact different versions of what it means to be a man in different situations (McDowell, 2003). Because ways of being a man are seen as socially constructed across work, family and social contexts, these stylisations are also positioned as being open to revision. Our identities as men are not end products, but rather ongoing accomplishments (Gutmann, 1996; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Hokowhitu, 2007), which are formed and revised at the coalface of daily life through our participation in social practices.

The notion of social practice is concerned with how people engage in shared activities that situate them within and, in doing so, reproduce their shared cultures (Bourdieu, 1977). It explores how people are shaped by and shape the cultural

milieu within which they reside and grow (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002). Social practice offers insights into the complexities surrounding how men come to understand themselves, others and their place in the world through actions. Halkier and Jensen (2011, p. 104) note that, "The most basic theoretical assumption is that activities of social life continuously have to be carried out and carried through, and that this mundane performativity is organised through a multiplicity of collectively shared practices". A dynamic nexus of social practices constitutes the everyday conduct of life (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). These practices comprise activity structures and can be understood as routine forms of human action that involve bodies and physical acts, knowing how to get by, the use of material objects, the conduct of relationships both interpersonal and structural, and emotional experiences (Reckwitz, 2002). With regard to this thesis, the men's identities are formed through social practices that constitute ongoing interactions with other people and the world. These practices work in concert as men constitute their lives, social relations, and selves. Māori men construct themselves within their communities of practice and in relation to symbolic resources available to them in society via the media.

Combined, both studies give us a richer, strengths-orientated understanding of Māori men's relationships within both settler and Māori societies. By exploring the positive and relational dimensions of men's lives I draw attention to the resourcefulness and resilience of Māori men in navigating the complexities of contemporary society and the Māori world, and in making positive contributions to their families, communities, and society. Alongside a focus on relationships, in this research there is also an interest in everyday practices and the places in which these occur. Drawing on the notion of social practice, this research considers the ways in which Māori men reproduce relationships in larger collective formations beyond communicative practices to include their materialistic practices as well (Bourdieu, 1977; Breiger, 2000). Māori men are not passive to the spaces they enter but through agency they recreate them through their actions. Considering social practices provides a more tangible and holistic understanding that is compatible with a Māori worldview.

The remainder of this chapter engages with literature of direct relevance to this thesis. It is structured into three main sections. Section one explores research

on men in Aotearoa/New Zealand as it relates to the expansive international literature. Here, I consider the prominence of overtly negative characterisations of men in the academic canon, and the importance of moving beyond this fixation to also consider the positive dimensions of men's lives through scholarly research. In this section I also explore research on the typified portrayals of men in Aotearoa/New Zealand media, which includes deficit orientated portrayals of Māori men. Accordingly, media are viewed as key storytelling institutions in contemporary society and the spaces in which we come to know ourselves and others (Silverstone, 1999, 2007). This section is concluded with my reflections on the colonial gaze or the ways in which Māori men have and continue to be negatively constructed as the *Other*. Of particular note is how highly racialised caricatures of Māori men have functioned historically to limit Māori access to, and participation in, the Pākehā world through economic and social exclusions.

Section two considers the implications of colonialism for the socio-economic status, education and labour force participation and health of Māori men. To further set the context for this thesis, I first consider the contemporary demographic profile of Māori men and the challenges they face with regard to social stability indicators like housing, employment, income, homelessness, and incarceration (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell, Durie, & McGee, 2006; German & Latkin, 2012; Kidd et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2010a, 2010b, 2013b; Te Puni Kokiri, 2009). I then reflect upon Māori models of health that are inherently relational in an attempt to understand how colonialism and the current demographic profile of Māori men impacts upon health. This section is concluded with an exploration of social determinants of health and associated health inequalities, which is compatible with Māori models of health and identity (explored in section three) in order to demonstrate how relationships shaping Māori identities and health are not simply interpersonal but also intergroup and structural.

Section three concludes this chapter with an engagement with a Māori way of understanding the self or identity that is fundamentally relational and interconnected. Here, a distinction is made between individual and collective identities where the Māori sense of self exists in relation to other people and the environment, physical and spiritual domains, history and the present (Durie, 2012a), and extends beyond the individual body (Hermans, 2001, 2013; Hermans

& Gieser, 2012b). Drawing on collective understandings of the self, it situates the issues addressed in this thesis within a relational approach that is grounded in Māori culture. This chapter concludes with a brief outline of subsequent chapters.

Research into men

Media representations of men: Local depictions reflecting international trends

Media deliberations regarding what it means to be a man are not simply a product of the new millennium and digital technologies. Jensen (1996) proposes that several generations of Aotearoa/New Zealand literary figures have engaged overtly with issues of male identity and the historical emergence of the archetype of the 'Kiwi male'. Early work legitimated physical labour and shared endeavours as key indicators for 'real men' who were depicted as self-reliant, 'outdoorsy', single, stoic and inherently rugged individuals who communicated through enactments of 'mateship', rather than open conversation (Phillips, 1987). Today, this image of men is recognised in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand state-funded television programmes such as *Country Calendar*, *Outdoors with Jeff, Gone Fishing*, *Big Angry Fish* and *Hunting Aotearoa,* all of which involve farming, recreational hunting and fishing. This traditional bloke is not the only type of man identifiable in contemporary media. Following trends in other Western nations, after World War II, a range of social changes in Aotearoa/New Zealand, especially increased urbanisation, has led to the evolution of a new middle class, and the archetype of the respectable family man. Reflecting the contested nature of media constructions of 'Kiwi' men, there has been a reconsideration of the appropriateness of overly negative critiques of working class or lower socio-economic status men[3] (Connell, 2000).

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[3] I am referring to working-class men in general here as Māori men are more likely to exist in this sector of society due to the ongoing consequences of colonialism discussed later in this chapter.

Over the last few decades, considerable attention has been devoted to what it means to be a man. Scholars have initiated critiques of hegemonic masculinities identified by Jensen (1996) and explored the negative implications of such masculinities for men, their families, and their communities (Armengol-Carrera, 2009; Beynon, 2002; Faludi, 2000; Ford & Hearn, 1989; Fox, 2008; Kimmel & Messner, 1995; Kimmel, 1987b; Komorovsky, 1976; McKinney, 2013; Nardi, 1992; Pleck, 1981; Worth et al., 2002). Researchers have suggested a 'crisis in masculinity' where the patriarchal status of men's roles has been destabilised as a result of out-dated attitudes, reduced job security, men's emotional detachment, changing family structures and the threatening of men's positions of power and privilege (Clare, 2000; Gee & Jackson, 2011; Kimmel, 1987a; McDowell, 2003). Correspondingly, researchers have focused on problems such as high rates of crime, violence, abuse and premature death among men (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002; Law et al., 1999; Worth et al., 2002). This problem-focused work is crucial because men in Aotearoa/New Zealand have the worst health statistics. For example, in Aotearoa/New Zealand men have a life expectancy of only 77 years, while women's life expectancy is 81.3 years. Men are most likely to suffer and die from major illnesses including heart disease and cancer and from motor vehicle accidents and self-harm (intentional). Over 80% of fatal accidents involve men and almost all occupational deaths in Aotearoa/New Zealand are among men. Men are also three times more likely to die from suicide, while 81% of Aotearoa/New Zealand prison inmates are male, and men are generally less likely to use health services (Department of Corrections, 2003; Johnson, Huggard, & Goodyear-Smith, 2008; Ministry of Health, 2010a, 2010b, 2013b).

Although there are some men who engage in abusive and criminal activities, the majority of men do not. Even so, research tends to paint an overly bleak picture (Hammond & Mattis, 2005) with a focus on the implications of negative characterisations of men. Little is known about how men develop supportive and emotionally rich relationships with each other, and with their partners and family (Brickell, 2012; Clare, 2000; Fox, 2008; Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010; Jewkes, 2002). Reflecting both the importance and limitations of existing research, some scholars have begun to promote the need to explore wider and more positive dimensions of men's lives (Clare, 2000; Fox, 2008; Hodgetts & Rua, 2008;

Jewkes, 2002). Likewise, Hammond and Mattis (2005) emphasise the need for psychological research into the social construction of manhood. This involves the rejection of an overly individualised 'attributes' perspective and instead adopting a focus on the everyday social interactions through which men's identities are constructed.

Concerns about the narrow focus on problems and 'men in crisis' are also played out in popular culture and media. Society is saturated with representations of what it means to be a man today. These representations are often at odds. The positive characterisations of 'new' domesticated and sensitive men are frequently juxtaposed with negative characterisations of men as undomesticated and emotionally stunted individuals. Hopkins and Riley (2001) make the point that men who are not in trouble are often absent in media reports. With reference to such men they write, "He isn't a murderer or a drug dealer or a wife beater or a child abuser… He isn't the exception, he's the rule... [*He is*] pigeonholed and misrepresented too often" (Hopkins & Riley, 2001, p. 5). These authors reflect upon dominant public stereotypes of blokes [4] as inarticulate, emotionally repressive and relationally naïve individualists (Armengol-Carrera, 2009). In their photographic exposition of men's friendships in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hopkins and Riley (2001) depict men in an alternative frame as caring community members.

Academic literature tends to lack an in-depth understanding of working-class and Māori men's relationships and sense of self and community. Some academic research even perpetuates erroneous and harmful depictions of working-class men (Gutmann, 1996). Consequently, masculine notions of identity tend to reinforce universal notions of male inexpressiveness and the strictly instrumental nature of men's friendships (Beynon, 2002; Nardi, 1992; Worth et al., 2002). The seminal collection by Nardi (1992) and the work by Williams (1992) twenty years ago brought into question rigid notions of timeless and fixed male identities. For instance, Williams (1992) illustrates how Native American men construct intimate and emotionally expressive relationships with each other. The emphasis is on a close and intense emotional bond, which Williams describes as a deep friendship

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[4] Bloke: A term with positive connotations often used to refer to men engaged in manual occupations and pursuits.

that for early Western explorers appeared closer than a marriage situation. Thus, for First Nations men, deep friendships were socially honoured and the expression of intimate feelings between men towards each other was considered normal and appropriate (Nardi, 1992; Williams, 1992). However, indigenous men continue to face challenges in redefining colonially constructed male identities (Hokowhitu, 2012; Lee, 2013; McKegney, 2014; Tengan, 2008; Walker, 2011).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand over the last 10 years, media items have combined aspects of the traditional inexpressive bloke and the family man to present a hardworking, ingenious, strong and caring, communicative and domesticated bloke (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). These characterisations are important because they are part of the symbolic environment which men draw upon to construct themselves. For instance, advertising campaigns have drawn upon men's 'hankering' for the good old days of traditional bloke culture where men had a 'do-it-yourself' (DIY) attitude, playing rugby and drinking beer (Penwarden, 2010; Phillips, 1987). Drawing upon a list of characteristics in an attempt to celebrate the various traits of Kiwi manhood, Ellis and Haddrell (2010) provide a descriptive guide to the many 'good fullas' they have engaged with and encountered over the years. These authors have adopted the label good fullas as a way to reflect upon men's "eccentricities, idiosyncrasies, preferences and character" (Ellis & Haddrell, 2010, p. 11) in an attempt to highlight a version of the stereotypical but often heterogeneous nature of Kiwi men. A good fulla label includes a range of sub-archetypes such as: the adrenaline junky (the daredevil risk taker); the 'funny whaka' (the carefree Māori fulla who laughs a lot and can play any musical instrument); the Bogan (the lover of loud music and loud cars); the Caveman (CAVE – Citizens Against Virtually Everything); the Cocky (farmers); the Cardycrat (cardigan-wearing bureaucrat); the Henanigan (mischievous fulla); the Scarfie (carefree and sometimes irresponsible university student), and the Thrumpet (a straight shooter who calls a spade a spade) to name a few.

The ambiguity surrounding male identities is recognised and leveraged by various advertisers to promote their products. A distinct marketing approach known as 'man-vertising' has become a popular approach for advertisers recently as men respond to competing masculinities (Harvey, 2011). Man-vertising is

targeting men using humour as a way of "taking the piss a little bit" according to Dr Michael Lee, senior lecturer in marketing from Auckland University (McKinney, 2013). The use of humour, according to Lee, is to avoid being too patronising and offensive and quite possibly to articulate nostalgia for the traditional 'Kiwi male'. In 2011, a viral man-vertising campaign was highly successful in re-engaging the traditional New Zealand bloke. Old Spice's *'Smell like a man, man'* campaign has ensured the recent resurgence of Old Spice antiperspirant, deodorant and body wash products. It too uses self-deprecating humour to play with traditional notions of being a man.

> *What does it take to be a kiwi man? Kiwi men are men of action. They were the first to climb Mount Everest. The first to split atoms. The first to be able to fix anything with a single piece of this (holds up a No.8 wire[5]). Kiwi men might prefer hugs over handshakes but don't be fooled. New Zealand is the only country in the world where the cauliflowered[6] ear is celebrated and revered like a chiselled set of abs...that's right. In New Zealand the grass is soft but the man is hard. And now that Old Spice is available in NZ you can finally smell like a man, man.*

The bloke ideal is up for interpretation and it appears that being a bloke is okay again. The sanitised number 8 wire version of the 'Kiwi male' reflects a traditional DIY (do-it-yourself) attitude. The advert reminds Aotearoa/New Zealand men of their masculine past, although it overlooks the domestic abuse and misogyny that also exists as a part of this history.

Tensions between different ways of being a man and public deliberations regarding both the negative and positive implications of various masculinities are often played out via various media forms (Connell, 2000; Levant, 2014; Moss, 2011). In understanding the processes at play, Silverstone's (2007) work on the mediapolis is directly relevant. Silverstone proposed that in many respects media

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[5] In reference to a gauge (number 8) of wire that was adapted for many purposes. Reflects Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial culture of inventiveness and ingenuity

[6] External part of the ear has swollen and hardens over time making it look like a cauliflower – this image is associated with some of Aotearoa/New Zealand's most celebrated rugby players such as the All Blacks' Sir Colin Meads and Buck Shelford.

technologies combine to form a public space today that resembles that of the Polis in ancient Greece. The mediapolis is restrained by power inequalities in society since some perspectives are given more currency than others. It is the space in which groups in society witness versions of themselves and other groups. Therefore, the mediapolis is where many attempts to make sense of what it means to be a man are played out.

The research literature contains insights into the media's role as a site for multiple and often conflicting representations of men. For instance, images of men as stoical, inarticulate and undomesticated abusers exist alongside newer images of men as sensitive and domesticated social actors who are often in touch with their feminine side or SNAGs (sensitive new age guys) (Craig, 1992; Hodgetts & Rua, 2010; McDowell, 2003). Accompanying shifts in gender roles, media images of 'supermen' who embody success, aggression and strength are contrasted with the 'feminised' representations of men as domesticated partners and child carers (Giles, 2003; Jones, 2013; Pompper, 2010). While informing our understanding of wider public deliberations, such research tells us little about actual links between patterns in media representations and how men attend to, and make sense of, representations in their everyday lives. This omission is extraordinary given the wide recognition that men must respond to competing public (media) ideals when making sense of their own situations (Beynon, 2002; Jewkes, 2002).

In contemporary societies, men's daily engagements with the media are multifarious and interwoven with the fabric of their lives. At various times, their engagements may include men's reactions to characters in specific media stories, and can involve the sharing of personal sentiments and passions, and the strengthening of familial ties (Hodgetts, Bolam, & Stephens, 2005). For instance, watching their favourite rugby team on television in Aotearoa/New Zealand might be an intensely emotional experience for a male fan, while for his daughter it might be an opportunity to simply spend time with dad and share in his passion. Media can also provide focal points for men to engage in sharing rituals outside of the domestic realm through which fellowship, a sense of belonging, and shared vocabularies for understanding one's self and contemporary issues can be cultivated. In this regard, media are seen to be embedded in the interlocking fabric

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of socio-cultural life (Couldry, 2004). Further, experiences of oneself as a family man, friend or community member are often framed in relation to mediated representations. The very "…process of self-formation is increasingly nourished by mediated symbolic materials, greatly expanding the range of options available to individuals and loosening – without destroying – the connection between self-formation and shared locale" (Thompson, 1995, p. 207). Men can enact different versions of what it means to be a man across different situations (McDowell, 2003). Because ways of being a man are seen as socially constructed across work, family and social contexts these stylisations are also positioned as being open to revision.

Although Aotearoa/New Zealand men's identities are more complex than the man-vertising examples suggest, certain masculine traits are still viewed as being more legitimate characteristics of 'real' Kiwi men. Man-vertising positions men discursively and constructs notions of masculinity in relation to which men respond and negotiate their sense of self (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). These media constructions are limited since they tend to depict men as only capable of expressing a very narrow range of emotions, and they are disconnected from the realities of men's lives (Veldre, 2005). As will be shown in this thesis, men are a lot more sophisticated in their consumption of media than is often assumed. This argument is reflected in a study by Penwarden (2010) which considers the way in which young men respond to, resist and challenge the hyper-masculine discourses. Penwarden highlights the struggles, difficulties and limitations these young men encountered in drawing upon alternative masculine discourses. Such limitations are particularly evident for Māori men as they try to respond to New Zealand's hegemonic forms of colonial masculinity, where much of what is regarded as manly is defined by Pākehā men (Gee & Jackson, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2007, 2012). Colonisation has restricted Māori male identities to a narrow space where fixed colonial subjectivities have framed Māori culture as primitive and Māori men as inferior (Hokowhitu, 2007). Such positioning is promoted by mainstream media depictions that present Māori as the *Other*. It is at this point that I turn my attention to the role of media in defining the Māori male, and the implications this has for how Māori men see themselves and are seen by others.

Particularly noticeable in previous research is the emphasis on negative accounts of Māori in the mainstream media. Historically, coverage of Māori issues predominantly reports failings in education, unemployment, crime, health, high prison rates, stereotyping and the negative characterisation of Māori people generally (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Liu, 2009; McCreanor et al., 2010; McCulloch, 2008; Rankine, Moewaka-Barnes, Borrell, et al., 2011; Sullivan, 2008; Wall, 1997). According to McCreanor et al (2010), this type of coverage is a likely contributor to people's negative attitudes towards Māori because Māori are often "…under-represented, negatively depicted, and less likely to find stories that affirm themselves or their communities" (p. 236). Such framing is not limited to mainstream media according to Liu (2009) who claims that Māori are "…seriously misrepresented in the local Chinese media…reporting provocative stories and relying heavily on the mainstream media to get information" (p. 426).

The fixation on negative images of Māori men as unemployed, violent and criminal are summed up by the following highly offensive joke, "What do you call a Māori in a suit? The Defendant" (Quince, 2007, p. 1). This dominant framing is evident in the book and 1994 hit movie *Once Were Warriors* (Duff, 1994; Lambert, 2008; Tamahori, 1995) and its sequel *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted* (Duff, 1996; Mune, 2001). Such characterisations are also reflected in the films *Crooked Earth* (Pillsbury, 2001) and more recently Taika Waititi's movie *Boy* (Waititi, 2010). Wall (1997), in particular, considers four types of predominant stereotypes of Māori men in mainstream media as the culture-defining group. The first is the simple comic other, or the mischievous and slightly unlawful character; Billy T James, Prince Tui Teka and Pio Terei have exemplified this stereotype, and more recently, Tammy Davis' character 'Munter' from Outrageous Fortune (Levant, 2014) and cartoon character 'Jeff the Māori' from TV's bro'Town (Tolerton, 2011). The second stereotype is the primal Māori natural athlete, which I consider in more detail in the next section. The Māori athlete is perpetuated and embraced by teams like the New Zealand All Blacks rugby team and the New Zealand Warriors rugby league team, where the sports field is the war zone, ideally suited for the 'violent' and 'primitive' Māori to

perform. The third stereotype of Māori is the radical political activist encouraging *noho whenua* (land occupations) and *hīkoi* (marching) protests (Harris, 2004). The Māori men invoked by the latter category in particular are often framed as social deviants and as menacing criminals who create divisions and invalidate Māori political struggles. The fourth media stereotype is of the quintessential Māori, which reasserts feminine aspects of the Māori male character. This stereotypical figure recognises the importance of cultural traditions, land and family and is often depicted as residing in rural spaces free from Pākehā incursion. This fourth construction reflects romantic notions of Māori as a genial rural people, which stands in sharp contrast to the reality that over 80% of Māori people live in urban settings (Guerin, Nikora, & Rua, 2006; Nikora, Guerin, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2004; Nikora, Rua, Te Awekotuku, Guerin, & McCaughey, 2008).

In general, mainstream media characterisations tend to perpetuate a somewhat patronising or negative view of Māori people, while Māori voices are more often than not undermined and marginalised. The silencing of the Māori voice forms a part of the ongoing colonial oppression of the Māori world (Barclay & Liu, 2003; Fox, 1992; Hokowhitu, 2007; Stanley, 2002). As a result, Māori are often framed through mainstream news media using cultural constructs from the settler society which give little regard to the historical, social and cultural context of the issues being reported on (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Miller, 2011; Mutu, 2011; Nairn et al., 2011; Walker, 2002), or the impact of colonisation on Māori (Kawharu, 1975; King, 2003; Orange, 1987; Smith, 1999; Walker, 1990).

Despite these critiques, it is crucial to note that not all media depictions of Māori are negative. The scholarly work covered above on negative media representations of Māori is warranted. However, these arguments fail to acknowledge the positive reflections of Māori evident on TV, in radio, film, Māori Television, Facebook and the Internet. It is also important to emphasise that existing research fails to account for the broader mediascape that includes Māori men as leaders, role models, professionals and entrepreneurs. The mediapolis is a contested space (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Tankel, & Groot, 2013; Hodgetts, Stolte, Nikora, & Groot, 2012; Silverstone, 2007) and stereotypical images of Māori are both questioned and reinforced across a range of symbolic locales (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). There has been a strengthening of Māori media, which is

often overlooked in critical scholarship on media depictions of Māori. Māori are using mass media to present celebrations of Māori culture and achievements beyond nightly news bulletins and 'reality crime shows'. Over the last two decades, there has been a burgeoning of Māori media led, arguably, by Māori radio (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Stuart, 2003), but also by mainstream broadcasts from Radio New Zealand, which has a range of Māori-focused content including programmes such as *Te Ahi Kaa, Te Manu Korihi,* the *Macmillan Brown Lectures* and *The Treaty Debates* (Radio New Zealand, 2013). There has also been a small yet valuable contribution by Māori print media such as *Mana Magazine* and *Tu Mai* magazine.

Māori Television, launched in 2004, has become the most comprehensive vehicle for showcasing Māori stories and histories from a Māori perspective where "indigenous identities are (re)constructed at multiple levels" (Smith, 2011, p. 719). As Aotearoa/New Zealand's first indigenous television channel, Māori TV privileges the Māori and indigenous voice (Abel, 2013; Prentice, 2013; Smith & Abel, 2008). The network provides a range of comprehensive shows highlighting the positive contributions of Māori and offering an indigenous perspective on Waitangi Day, ANZAC Day, current affairs, cooking, documentaries, feature films, kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts), sports, language, lifestyle segments, youth shows and other special events like the annual Māori Sports Awards (Maori Television, 2013). The evolution of Māori media has ensured that the historical characterisations and stereotypes of Māori are openly questioned on a national scale. Today, a wide range of Māori media are used for self-determination purposes, influencing the Māori narrative and promoting the language and culture, in an obvious challenge to mainstream media's historical coverage of Māori issues (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Stuart, 2003). Although discriminatory coverage still exists for Māori the mediascape is not as negative as the literature suggests.

Whilst there has been progress in media depictions of Māori men, it is also necessary to acknowledge the ongoing presence of the colonial gaze (or the ways in which Māori men were objectified as part of the colonial project). Efforts of decolonisation are foundational to developments such as the Māori Television Service. Scholarship on the colonial construction of Māori men is also relevant to

understanding the implications of continued public characterisations of Māori men as *Other*, which has implications for the social, economic and health inequalities faced by Māori today. Negative depictions have a history and political purpose after all. It is to these issues and the influences on contemporary Māori men's identities that we now turn.

Colonial construction of Māori men

Early European observations of the Māori population suggested a physically robust people in good general health relative to the recorded standards for that period (Lange, 1999). According to Salmond (1991), "European accounts from the early contact period suggested that compared with Europe, Māori domestic life was relatively free of casual violence, for children were rarely hit" (p. 422). This peaceful day-to-day existence was also endorsed by Ritchie and Ritchie (1979) in their book on child rearing in early Polynesia. Nonetheless, the first explorers of Aotearoa/New Zealand, inspired by the enlightenment ideas of the noble savage (Salmond, 1991), sought to classify Māori within a Western racial hierarchy, stereotyped and profiled as primitive and simple (Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004). Colonisation also categorised Māori as the racialised 'Other' facilitating what Wall (1997) describes as "ideological sovereignty over the Other" (p. 40). This ideological sovereignty dehumanised Māori. Thereby, Pākehā superiority was confirmed, which further justified suppression of Māori and the material exploitation of land and resources as part of the colonisation agenda.

Early 19th Century European traders and missionaries regarded Māori as inferior, barbaric, as the warrior or cannibal, and as wild and untamed (Hokowhitu, 2004; Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2007; Wall, 1997). Nonetheless, many colonisers held to the view that Māori could become civilised members of the British Empire through a process of racial amalgamation:

> *The 'permanent welfare' of the Māori included the abandonment by them as soon as possible of their own customs in favour of English law, and the adoption by them of such European skills as would command the respect and outweigh the prejudices of the incoming settlers. The*

saving of the Māori race involved the extinction of Māori culture (Ward, 1974, as cited in Williams, 2001, p. 1)

The civilisation of Māori through these amalgamation policies had three key drivers: commerce, Christianity and colonisation (Williams, 2001). Māori were not submissive in their commercial dealings and conversion to Christianity, however. In terms of Christianity, Māori revered multiple Gods, and saw the introduction of the Christian God as one that sat alongside a host of traditional Māori deities. Initial contact with settlers also saw extensive trade and goodwill between Pākehā and Māori. Māori trade and commerce became highly developed and successful, and so the presence of Pākehā was seen as beneficial (King, 2003). As the number of settlers grew, demand for land and unscrupulous land dealings also increased, and settlers became increasingly unruly. The 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was seen as way of ensuring Māori sovereignty over land, resources and taonga (a treasure, anything prized that is either tangible or intangible), alongside an allowance for Pākehā settlement and governance (Orange, 1987). By the 1850s however, the material circumstances changed in Pākehā favour. This imbalance, along with inter-tribal musket wars, violation of the Treaty of Waitangi and the subsequent breakout of war over lands between Māori and the Crown (Salmond, 1976) meant Māori were increasingly characterised as the savage warrior with an "inbred desire for bloodshed" (Wall, 1997, p. 41). This re-representation removed Māori agency in the colonisation process and provided the Crown moral justification for armed conquest of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Wall, 1997).

Following the Aotearoa/New Zealand land wars of the 1860s, Māori were so subdued and demoralised that they no longer posed any threat to Pākehā colonisation. The Māori population was approximately 100,000 upon Captain Cook's arrival in 1769, but reduced to 80,000 around the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and then dropped to only 42,000 by 1896 (Kukutai, 2011; Pool, 1991). The diminishing Māori population stemmed from a number of complex issues including introduced diseases, to which Māori had no immunity, land alienation to meet the exponential growth of Pākehā settlers, and subsequent land wars. The overall result was a collapse in Māori socio-cultural and economic life

(Pool, 1991). At this point, Māori appeared doomed to extinction with many in the settler population convinced of a Māori demise. Consequently, Māori images were reframed away from the simple, primitive, savage, to the 'noble, dying race' (Blackley, 1997; Te Awekotuku, Nikora, Rua, & Karapu, 2007; Wall, 1997). The paintings of elderly Māori by Charles Goldie reflect the view of the time with titles such as *Last of the Cannibals*, *A Noble Relic of a Noble Race*, and *Calm Close of Valour's Various Day* (Blackley, 1997). The sentimental and romantic vision, as well as the dejected poses in Goldie's elderly subjects was symptomatic of the idea Māori were dying out or with those few remaining being assimilated by the end of the 19th Century (Te Awekotuku, 1997). The only way to 'save' Māori according to colonial authorities of the time was to assimilate them into the virtues of British civilisation (Williams, 2001).

As the Pākehā settler population grew, Māori health status declined. In the 1900s this trend partially reversed and incremental gains in health and mortality rates occurred. The Māori population began to increase ever so slightly from 42,000 in 1896 to 45,000 by 1901 with a continued upward trend thereafter (Pool, 1991). This population increase came as a result of intermarriage with Pākehā, a developed immunity to introduced diseases like typhoid fever and dysentery, as well as increased birth and life expectancy rates (King, 2003). Māori also adapted themselves to the Pākehā world, arguably led by the Young Māori Party (1897), a group of prominent Māori men who focused their attention on improving the position of Māori (King, 2003; Nikora, 2007b).

The Young Māori Party consisted of Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata, considered by many Māori today to be the most prominent Māori politician to have ever served in parliament. His achievements are remarkable since he was also the first New Zealander to gain a degree in politics at Canterbury University (1893) and a degree in Law at the University of Auckland (1896). Other members of the Young Māori Party included Sir James Carroll or Timi Kara, Minister of Māori Affairs (1912), Sir Peter Buck or Te Rangi Hiroa who had a career in health and medicine, Sir Maui Pomare (also a doctor and politician), and Paraire Tomoana, a significant rangatira (authority) of the Hawkes Bay. The Young Māori Party was not a political party as such but had combined their personal and individual initiatives for the betterment of Māori. Their view was that for Māori to survive

and strive, Māori needed to adopt European ways as reflected in the message Ngata wrote in a young girl's autograph book:

> *E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tō ao; ko to ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ora mō tō tinana; ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga o ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga. Ko tō wairua ki tō Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.*
>
> *Grow and branch forth for the days of your world. Turn your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body. Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornments for your head. Your spirit with God, who made all things (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 48).*

Recognising a dispossessed Māori population (Nikora, 2007b; Walker, 2001), these words have come to influence generations of Māori where advancement lay in applying the teachings of both worlds. Members of the Young Māori Party were important early Māori male role models whose good work and *mana* (Māori term used to describe power/authority) is still evident today. Things may have been different for Māori today if these men had not challenged assimilation, racism and discrimination, and had not advocated for better health and social services for Māori. What is important for this thesis is not so much the politics of the Young Māori Party's agenda, but the resilience shown in countering colonial constructions of Māori in general, and Māori men specifically with all the associated racial stereotyping that persisted through the 1800s and early 1900s.

The education system in New Zealand has also played its part in reducing the role of Māori culture in society. Historically, the emphasis has been on British and European knowledge and practices, along with monolingualism and the exclusion of Māori epistemologies (Black & Huygens, 2007). Hokowhitu (2004) highlights the role State Education and Native School educators and inspectors had between 1850 and 1940 in the engineering of Māori boys as manual labourers. Intellectual subjects were removed for Māori boys and replaced with non-academic manual and agricultural subjects, effectively engineering the 'practical Māori man'. Hokowhitu (2004) claims that this was a conscious effort to meet the manual labour demands of a developing country and prevented Māori boys from white-collar career opportunities as had been achieved by the Young

Māori Party members. By the middle of the 20th Century, Māori had been effectively re-characterised as simple, unintelligent and practical-minded (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007). This process has led to generations of New Zealanders (including Māori men themselves) thinking of Māori men as being 'only good with their hands' and 'not university material'. This historical engineering continues today where Māori learners are unfairly classified as kinaesthetic learners by well-meaning teachers who have unconsciously prejudiced Māori students in providing 'hands on' learning environments (Ministry of Education, 2013). This approach restricts Māori students' opportunities to develop higher-level cognitive skills crucial to educational achievement. This 'good with their hands' stereotype is reinforced by publishing companies selling books for the New Zealand curriculum claiming Māori are kinaesthetic learners (Ryan Publications, 2013). Consequently, the potential of Māori boys and men has been limited and they are excluded from intellectual pursuits and occupations, whilst having only conditional access to the Pākehā world (Alton-Lee, 2005; Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2013). More insidiously, many Māori men have internalised these colonial constructions and stereotypes of themselves as less intelligent, less capable, and less deserving than people in the dominant group (Alton-Lee, 2005; Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2013).

Māori men are over-represented as unskilled labourers, and even our achievements in sports such as rugby, that allow Māori men to compete with Pākehā on a 'level playing field', have given further rise to the myth of Māori men as natural sportsmen. Sport offers Māori men some salvation (Wall, 1997) and comparative status through rugby, which reflects British heritage and is a game Pākehā are proud of (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). Through this success, Māori men have also accepted some Pākehā forms of male identity that value physical, stoic, rugged and sports-orientated practices, as a way of integrating into the dominant Pākehā culture. Despite this comparative success, there has been little change in the dominant discourses about Māori as inferior. Māori success against Pākehā on the rugby field was simply reframed as the primitive, naturally physical athlete. This archetype has its origins in the 'noble savage' ideal where the supposedly natural Māori sportsman lives closer to nature than his Pākehā counterparts.

Hokowhitu draws on the work of Bhabha (1994) and Foucault (1972) to suggest that the overwhelming Māori sporting success provides a 'regime of truth.' Dominant discourses cast successful Māori sportspeople as having innate physical attributes that require minimal intellect compared with Pākehā athletes, who achieve through human endeavour, intelligence and strategy. This regime of truth is summed up by the following, "Māori, by their savage nature, were supposed to fight – in war or its peacetime substitute, rugby football. Neither required intellect" (MacLean, 1999, as cited in Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 269). Similarly, in 2003 the former head of Sky Cricket and former New Zealand cricket captain Martin Crowe, a man of power and influence, drew upon these colonial constructions to publicly state, "…not many Māori make good cricketers because they don't have the patience or the temperament to play through a whole day, leave alone over a test match" (Hoby, 2003). Such statements are rooted in colonial discourses that continue to hold sway in contemporary society. Crowe's pronouncement sits within a context of nineteenth and twentieth century patterns of racism and ethnicity where Māori men are marginalised, undermined and considered inferior (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999a; Hippolite, 2010; Hippolite & Bruce, 2010; Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004, 2007; Spoonley, 1990).

The documenting of these historical and societal developments has also been complemented by a number of Māori scholars who have engaged in studies of Māori men's lives (Davis & Crocket, 2010; Edwards, McCreanor, Ormsby, & Tipene-Leach, 2009; Pirret, 2000; Stanley, 2002). For example, Rhys Jones and colleagues have led the Hauora Tāne study, a national project begun in 2006 that examined the health of Māori men (Mana Tane Ora o Aotearoa, 2011). Wayne Johnstone of the Waikato District Health Board led the New Zealand Health Research Council-funded *He Oranga Tāne Māori* project, in which I participated as an academic advisor (Kara, Blundell, et al., 2011; Kidd et al., 2013). Hokowhitu (2003a, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012) has researched Māori men's masculinities for some time now. Other publications and reports of such work appear on websites, in institutional publications and in conference proceedings (Nikora et al., 2010; Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1998).

Such research concludes that a general construction of Māori men as the *Other* continues today. Māori men are scripted as a particular masculine type that

is derived from a colonial discourse. The implications for Māori men's health are not fully understood except to say that racialised and gender specific stereotypes of Māori men persist. This can include socially constructed roles and stereotypes of men as avoiding emotional expression and being risk takers. Gendered stereotypes also position men as emotionally stable, unresponsive to pain and not concerned with minor symptoms of illness (Lee & Owens, 2011). This can be problematic and linked to negative health outcomes for Māori men especially given that many, though clearly not all, avoid seeking health support or health services unless in crisis (Adams, 2012; Edwards et al., 2009; Hodgetts et al., 2011; Jones, Crengle, & McCreanor, 2006; Ministry of Health, 2010b, 2013b).

Some Māori men appear to be restrained and limited by dominant discourses and stereotypes. However, many Māori men are not (Hodgetts et al., 2011; 2008, 2010). Māori men's 'felt identities' (Goffman, 1959) are more complex, culturally anchored and richer than those offered by the colonial gaze (Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004). Despite colonial repression, Māori men's identities remain influenced by Māori culture and interactions with grandfathers, fathers, brothers, cousins, women, children, and traditional Māori concepts of being a man. Hokowhitu (2007) also describes Māori men's masculinity as pluralistic and *in process* in contrast to the colonising agenda. The last 50 years has evidenced Māori development and politicisation toward a positive social and cultural identity (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999b; Harris, 2004; Nikora, 2007b). This period of political activism has seen the rise of Māori education institutions like *Te Kohanga Reo* (early childhood education services), *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (total immersion Māori primary schools), *Wharekura* (total immersion Māori secondary schools) and *Whare Wānanga* (Māori tertiary institutions). Here, as in Māori health service provision, Māori knowledge and culture have been repositioned as central to health and well-being, learning and identities (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007; Durie, 1985, 1998, 2005; Hemara, 2010; Penetito, 2010; Te Awekotuku et al., 2007). As such, the colonial characterisation of Māori generally, and Māori men in particular, is being challenged across Aotearoa/New Zealand society. Māori men have an opportunity to construct their sense of self and consider their health and relationships from a Māori cultural perspective where, according to Hokowhitu (2004), they may "…find what it truly means to

be a Māori man, freed of the dominant construct, permeated instead with humility, intelligence, creativity, love and compassion" (p. 277).

To recap, many aspects of pre-contact notions of Māori men's identities have been eroded and largely replaced by colonising settler notions of what it is to be a man (Pirret, 2000). This, in turn, inhibits the finer emotions of pre-contact Māori men and some of the non-genderised roles they assumed as nurturers and caregivers (Hokowhitu, 2004; Jackson, 2009; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979, 2002). Māori men's identities can take the form of the caregiver derived from the traditional pre-contact tribal groupings; yet, simultaneously, Māori men may also contest and negotiate their sense of self between and across different cultural groups (George, 2012; Hodgetts et al., 2011; Holmes, Vine, & Marra, 2009; Hook, Waaka, & Raumati, 2007; McIntosh, 2005; Rangihau, 1992). Inter-marriage, friendships, social worlds, sporting commitments, professional lives and occupations all influence who Māori men are today and what they can become in the future. However, Māori men's sense of self and their place in society is still often constructed in relation to the socio-economic hardship and ill-health that is associated with colonialism and socio-economic exclusion. These issues warrant further consideration in setting the context for this thesis and the lives of the Māori men who took part in my research.

'Profiling' Māori men: demographic indicators

Despite the strength based approach of this research and the resilience exhibited by the participants in this thesis, it is important to outline some of the current challenges in terms of harmful social indicators affecting Māori men. Māori men are disproportionately worse off compared with non-Māori men and women. The life expectancy of Māori men today is approximately 70 years, which is five years less than Māori women, eight years less than non-Māori men and 13 years less than non-Māori women (Ministry of Health, 2010a, 2010b; Te Puni Kokiri, 2009). Māori men also die from potentially avoidable deaths two and half times more often than non-Māori males (Ministry of Health, 2010b).

A disparate number of Māori men are convicted in New Zealand Courts and Māori men are over-represented in prison populations (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; McCreanor et al., 2010; Ministry of Health, 2010b; Quince, 2007; Stanley, 2002; Webb, 2009). The leading causes of death for Māori men include circulatory system problems such as ischaemic heart disease, cancer (lung and prostate cancer in particular), respiratory diseases, diabetes, transport accidents and death by suicide (Johnson et al., 2008; Kidd et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2010b, 2013b; Robson & Purdie, 2007a). Chronic disease is the main cause of death for Māori men (Kidd et al., 2013).

For young Māori males aged between 15-24 years, the rate of suicide in 2007 was 40 per 100,000 compared with young non-Māori males who had a rate of 19 per 100,000 (Suicide Prevention In Maori Youth, 2010). These Māori men were more likely to be hospitalised for intentional self-harm, and were twice as likely to succeed at dying by suicide compared with non-Māori men in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Baxter, 2007). Māori men also have a higher prevalence of anxiety and depression. In a 2003-2004 mental health survey in Aotearoa/New Zealand, over 50% of Māori were shown to have at least one mental health disorder over their lifetime and almost 30% had a disorder in the 12 months preceding the survey (Baxter et al., 2006). Māori men are also three times more

likely to smoke daily compared with non-Māori men (12.6% compared to 4.2%). Twice as many Māori men drink large amounts of alcohol (31%) and use cannabis (32.6%) compared with non-Māori at 13.6% and 16.3% respectively, and Māori men were almost twice as likely to be obese (Ministry of Health, 2010b, 2013b).

Research also shows that approximately 80% of Māori men are poorly informed when making appropriate health decisions compared with non-Māori men (50%), and are reluctant users of health services relative to need, which contributes to the premature death of Māori men (Hodgetts et al., 2011; Kidd et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2010b, 2013b; Neville, 2008; Robson & Purdie, 2007b; Stanley, 2002). Further, when Māori men (particularly those from the working classes), report attending a doctors' surgery they talk about not wanting to admit weakness by being ill. They are also more likely to report being treated in a poor manner, which causes reluctance to seek further assistance from medical staff (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002; Hodgetts et al., 2011; Ministry of Health, 2013b).

The poor state of Māori men's health is both a personal and institutional issue, and has been directly attributed to the long term impacts of colonisation (Durie, 2003; Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004; Wilson & Baker, 2012). However, public deliberations about the health disparities of Māori men through mainstream corporatised media coverage often blame these on individual Māori. There is little regard for the structural inequalities that exist in Aotearoa New Zealand (Rankine, Moewaka-Barnes, Borell, et al., 2011). There is considerable evidence to support the assertion that the most powerful determinants of health for modern urban populations are not individual and medical concerns, but are instead related to social, economic, political and cultural spheres of life (Bambra, Fox, & Scott-Samuel, 2005; Hall & Lamont, 2013; Marmot, 2013; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). It is important to note here that economic positioning is increasingly recognised as the key driver of health inequalities (I explore explanations for and responses to health inequalities faced by Māori in a later section).

If the account to this point was not negative and depressing enough, there is more bad news. Māori men also figure poorly in educational, labour force, economic and prison population profiles in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For instance: Māori men are least likely to have completed Level 2 Certificate or higher at

school; are more than two times more likely to be unemployed compared with non-Māori men; almost one in four Māori men (22.8%) earn less than $10,000 per annum compared with 16% of non-Māori men, and are twice as likely to receive a welfare benefit. Unemployment is significant, as financial stress has a detrimental effect on the physical and mental health of the unemployed. The unemployed have higher mortality rates, higher psychological stress, less self-esteem and lower job search self-efficacy than their employed counterparts (Cullen & Hodgetts, 2003; Maguire, Hughes, Bell, Bogosian, & Hepworth, 2013).

Two thirds of Māori men live in homes they do not own, compared to less than half of non-Māori men, and they are three times (22%) more likely to live in a crowded household compared to non-Māori men (7.9%) (Ministry of Health, 2010b). Research has shown that people living in over-crowded housing are more likely to experience poor mental and physical health. There is also the increased likelihood of contracting infectious diseases in over-crowded homes (Howden-Chapman & Wilson, 2000; Ministry of Health, 1999). The statistics on low rates of home ownership and high rates of overcrowding point to an impoverished population, which can result in an over-representation of Māori in the homeless population (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Leggatt-Cook, 2011; Johnson, Hodgetts, & Nikora, 2013). This is prevalent in Auckland city central where Māori represent at least half of the homeless population, of whom over 80% are men (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011). The effects of being homeless include stress, stigma, financial problems and social exclusion, which affect a person's physical, psychological, emotional and social well-being (Johnson et al., 2013). Being homeless also incurs a greater tendency to suffer from mental and physical illness, and increases the risk of suicide and being fatally assaulted compared with the domiciled population (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011).

Māori men feature prominently in the prison population. In 2005, 49% of the prison population was Māori although Māori men only made up 10% of the male population over the age of 15 in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2008). Two thirds of Māori men in prisons smoke tobacco and almost half (47%) have been diagnosed with a chronic disease like asthma (21%). Māori men in prisons also have a higher prevalence of obesity, high blood pressure and cholesterol levels, and are the highest users of needles and drugs (Ministry of

Health, 2008). Likewise, at an international level, indigenous Australian men also face ongoing "structural issues such as systematic racism, history and the ongoing impacts of oppression and dispossession" that continue to entrench health inequities for indigenous Australians (Carson, Dunbar, Chenhall, & Bailie, 2007a, pp. xix-xx).

To recap, the physiological and psychological health statistics for Māori men are very negative, but care must be taken to acknowledge the full humanity of Māori men. The striking disparities in life expectancy, ill-health, socio-economic position, education, labour force participation and imprisonment rates between Māori and Pākehā men are commonly viewed as lifestyle diseases; and therefore, the product of individual choice, diet, stress and excess (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006; McCubbin, 2001; Rankine, Moewaka-Barnes, Borell, et al., 2011). The individualised focus on illness is in part due to the dominance of biomedical and lifestyle understandings of health in Anglo-American approaches to health care (Bambra et al., 2005). Instead, health disparities in Aotearoa/New Zealand need to be understood as an outcome of the lower socio-economic status of Māori that has resulted from colonisation (Te Puni Kokiri, 2009). Indigenous understandings of health for Māori place more emphasis on the importance of relational, emplaced, economic, cultural and spiritual dimensions of health. By linking to Māori models of health and wellbeing for Māori men, I can transition towards the overall understandings of health that underpins my thesis, which is culturally located and collectively orientated.

Holistic and Māori models of health

For Māori, health is a holistic concept that encompasses biological, social, environmental, cultural and spiritual dimensions. Health involves the quality of the functioning of bodies and minds. But more than this, health also involves the quality of relationships between each of us and with people from who we can gain support in times of need and who can rely on us in turn (Durie, 1985). Consequently, health involves the quality of both the physical and social settings in which we conduct our everyday lives (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). Reflecting a view of people as interconnected beings (see Chapters Two and Three also), this

thesis takes a holistic approach to Māori men's health that is primarily informed by Māori notions of health.

First, it is important to acknowledge that a holistic and relational approach is also reflected in the World Health Organisation's (2012) efforts to define health in a broad aspirational sense as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of infirmity". This definition was designed to deviate from the traditional bio-medical model of health, which narrowly describes the essence of health as the physical absence of disease (Chamberlain & Lyons, 2006). The WHO definition is designed to move understandings of health beyond the physical body, and extend to social, mental, environmental and societal aspects of health. For instance, ensuring health for a person in the longer term requires more than biomedical treatments, and is linked to the elimination of poverty and a more equal distribution of resources in society (Chamberlain & Lyons, 2006).

This broad orientation to health in the WHO has, however, been criticised for not engaging enough with cultural processes and issues such as spirituality (Bircher, 2005; Colomeda & Wenzel, 2000; Huber, Knottnerus, & Green, 2011; Saracci, 1997). Indigenous health models are often more inclusive than those offered by institutions such as the WHO. In considering their own understandings in relation to such global models, indigenous researchers propose that Anglo-American and European models tend to over-emphasis personal autonomy and individualism (Colomeda & Wenzel, 2000; Lavelle & Poole, 2010; Tonmyr & Blackstock, 2010). This is particularly so for Aotearoa/New Zealand's health system that has long privileged individual well-being over collective well-being (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). Such approaches can be contrasted with the emphasis Māori place on relational understandings of health and the well-being of the collective unit over the independent person (Durie, 1985, 2006).

Alongside indigenous scholars, I am not suggesting that personal or individual aspects of health are unimportant for indigenous people. My argument is that a focus at the personal level or individual behaviour often serves to obscure the structural inequities in society faced by indigenous peoples that undermine their health (Bambra et al., 2005; Hall & Lamont, 2013). The socio-economic hierarchies imposed by colonialism have resulted in relative deprivation amongst

indigenous people, which means that personal autonomy is often limited by social positioning. The available financial and social resources for indigenous people are stymied by structural systems that favour dominant group members and their cultural ways of being (Hodgetts et al., 2011; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006; McCubbin, 2001; Neville, 2008). A focus on relational and collective aspects of health provides an alternative framing, and is central to efforts to ensure the long-term well-being and survival of indigenous groups (Tonmyr & Blackstock, 2010).

A collective and relational approach is evident in the North American indigenous concept of Seven Generation Teaching (Lavelle & Poole, 2010), which promotes the idea that decisions made today affect the next seven generations. This concept reflects clear relationships across generations, and gives an insight into the collective nature of indigenous health. Such indigenous understandings of health are discussed below in relation to two prominent Māori models of health.

Durie's (1985) Whare Tapa Wha health model compares Māori health to the four sides of a traditional Māori meeting house (see Figure 1). This model has four key components; *taha tinana* (bodily/physical component), *taha wairua* (spiritual component), *taha whānau* (family/social dimension) and *taha hinengaro* (psychic/mental component). These components interact and, similar to a house, each side requires strength and stability. If one side is unstable or compromised, the overall strength and integrity of the building is vulnerable. So it is with a person's health and well-being.

Figure 1: Whare Tapa Wha Health Model[7]

Māori perspectives on health also include spirituality (wairua) as an important component of health and well-being, a dimension not mentioned by the WHO definition of health. Spirituality is not limited to religious doctrine (although this can be important), but is a wider notion that carries personal attributes like authority, sacredness, spirit and life essence that link the living person with the Māori cosmos and gods (Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003). These spiritual and genealogical connections with 'ngā atua' (the Māori gods) is gifted as a birth right and manifests through material cultural practice and language (Durie, 2012a). This spiritual connectedness with Māori cosmology also assists in developing a secure Māori identity beyond superficial knowledge of one's hapu (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe).

The Whare Tapa Wha model is similar to the North American First Nations people's Medicine Wheel philosophy on health. According to Dapice (2006), the Medicine Wheel has four primary aspects – mental, physical, emotional and spiritual. Like Durie's framework for understanding a Māori person's health, the Medicine Wheel depends upon all four aspects constantly interacting and finding balance and wholeness. If there is an overemphasis on one part of the Medicine Wheel then the other parts may be compromised, and consequently, a person's health and well-being can lack balance and wholeness. Though the Medicine

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[7] Source: Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand. (2012). Māori Health: te whare tapa wha model. Retrieved from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/diagram/31387/Māori-health-te-whare-tapa-wha-model

Wheel can be interpreted differently by various indigenous groups, the common principles are inter-relationships and the idea of balance (Verwood, Mitchell., & Machado, 2011). A further extension of the interrelationships of health is Pere's (1982, 1991) Te Wheke framework. Pere uses the metaphor of an octopus to depict Māori health and well-being (Love, 2004; McNeil, 2009; Ministry of Health, 2014; Pere, 1982, 1991).

Figure 2: Te Wheke[8]

The head and eyes represent the Whānau (the family) and close relationships with others, as well as *Waiora* or the total well-being for the individual and family. The eight tentacles represent specific dimensions of health that are inter-connected, including *Wairuatanga* (spirituality), *Hinengaro* (the mind), *Taha tinana* (physical well-being), *Whanaungatanga* (extended family), *Mauri* (life force in people and objects), *Mana ake* (Unique identity of individuals and family), *Hā a koro ma, a kui ma* (breadth of life from forebears), and *Whatumanawa* (the open and healthy expression of emotion) (Love, 2004; Ministry of Health, 2014; Pere, 1991).

Both these models emphasise Māori holistic notions of health and the interrelationship between various support structures. I will not explain each dimension of the aforementioned Māori health models in detail as they have been covered extensively within the health literature (Durie, 1985, 1998, 2006; Glover, 2005; Love, 2004; McNeil, 2009; Pere, 1991; Pitama et al., 2007; Wenn, 2006). However, it is important to note that these models move away from the individualised focus on illness and afflictions and illustrate the broad, relational,

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[8] Source: Ministry of Health. (2012). Māori Health Models – Te Wheke. Retrieved from http://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/Māori-health/Māori-health-models/Māori-health-models-te-wheke

integrated, situational, historical, economic and comprehensive nature of health for Māori. This broad focus is important as it aids us in keeping the health inequalities and social determinants of health faced by Māori today in focus. Māori health is not simply a personal issue over which individuals exercise complete control. Health is also a structural issue and is related to inter-group relations, patterns of work, conditions in life and inequalities in society, or what are generally termed social determinants of health (Hodgetts et al., 2011; Kingi et al., 2014; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006; McCubbin, 2001; Neville, 2008). It is to these notions I now turn my attention.

Health inequalities: addressing the social determinants of health

Key concepts for understanding Māori health include health equity, health inequalities and the social determinants of health. Braveman and Gruskin (2003) define health equity as "the absence of systematic disparities in health (or in the determinants of health) between different social groups who have different levels of underlying social advantage/disadvantage – that is, different positions in a social hierarchy" (p. 254). From this equity perspective, health is influenced by intergroup relations and the distribution of resources in society and social determinants of health that are not under the control of individuals. Correspondingly, health is influenced by economic, social and health policies and values in society (Reid & Robson, 2007). Health inequalities across social groups are unjust as they tend to reflect the inequitable distribution of resources, and generate divergent ethnic, gender and class positions (Braveman & Guskin, 2003; Carson, Dunbar, Chenhall, & Bailie, 2007b; Hodgetts et al., 2011; Kawachi, Subramanian, & Almeida-Filho, 2002; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006). This inequitable distribution of resources and health in society is a concern for many regional and national administrations in Aotearoa/New Zealand; in particular where improving Māori health outcomes and inequalities are government priorities (Ministry of Health, 2008; Richardson, Pearce, & Kingham, 2011). Of central concern here are social determinants of health:

The social determinants of health are the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age, including the health system. These circumstances are shaped by the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels, which are themselves influenced by policy choices. The social determinants of health are mostly responsible for health inequities - the unfair and avoidable differences in health status seen within and between countries (World Health Organisation, 2012)

As suggested by the above quote, health disparities between groups are not solely reducible to individual lifestyle choices or individual resilience (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). The environments we grow up in, and the extent to which we can develop, flourish and maintain our potential for health are just as important (Marmot, 2006). Marmot and Wilkinson (2006) highlight the increased number of studies showing how societal factors are the primary cause of health inequalities. Improving the social determinants of health, or the circumstances in which people live, work and grow, is just as important as treating individual patients with specific diseases (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Marmot, 2005; McCubbin, 2001). Groups, such as Māori men, that are impacted by social determinants of health require a greater range of initiatives beyond the administration of one-to-one medical attention. Health care needs to occur within a broader vision of public health, and needs to include holistically orientated interventions across communities and advocacy to reduce negative social determinants of health. This broader vision is reflected in the Māori health models identified earlier (Durie, 1985, 1998; Pere, 1982, 1991). For example, a patient's respiratory problems may not be solved in the longer term by continually prescribing antibiotics, especially if they live in a house that is cold, has no insulation and high levels of mould (Howden-Chapman et al., 2007). Overcrowding in homes, poor nutrition levels, food insecurity and poor access to quality education all contribute to negative health outcomes.

Life expectancy is a key measurement of the health and survival experience of a population (Ministry of Health, 2010a). The life expectancy gap, such as that between Māori men and the rest of the population in Aotearoa/New Zealand, is

evident for marginalised populations in other countries (Carson et al., 2007b; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006). As with health in general, life expectancy follows a social gradient. The higher the social position of a person the better their health and the longer they are likely to live:

> *This social gradient of health is a remarkably widespread phenomenon. It changes both the scientific questions and the policies that are needed to address the problem...one of its nastier effects is that on health. But the social gradient in health is not confined to those in poverty. It runs from top to bottom of society, with less good standards of health at every step down the social hierarchy. Even comfortably off people somewhere in the middle tend to have poorer health than those above them (Marmot, 2006, p. 2)*

Social determinants of health reflect the relevance of social and economic factors for health (Marmot, 2006). Therefore, health is determined by a range of social, cultural, economic and environmental factors. Good health is more likely to be fostered in societies that reduce extreme poverty, increase access to better food, reduce overcrowding in homes, offer cleaner and safer work environments, have better rates of pay and work conditions, and have a functioning welfare system to support vulnerable people (McCubbin, 2001; World Health Organisation, 2013).

Despite growing evidence regarding the impacts of social determinants of health, the core focus of health interventions remains individualistic, and preoccupied with factors such as diet and exercise that are attributed solely to the personal sphere of decision making and control. Reducing health to a matter of individual responsibility is also reinforced by a capitalist approach that frames human beings as individual units of 'consumption and production' (McCubbin, 2001). This focus has been criticised as overly narrow, ineffective and missing major factors impacting health, such as colonialism and intergroup relations, social inequalities, poor housing and food insecurity (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2010; Kawachi et al., 2002; Marmot, 2005; World Health Organisation, 2012). The quality and nature of these wider relationships in a society can either enhance or undermine people's health (MacDonald, 2011). Although individual life style

choices play a part, it is important to consider the poor health outcomes of Māori men as a result of inequalities in our society as well as the key forms of social determinants of health (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003).

The assertion that 'context', in terms of history, place and social processes, matters for people's health is not new (Gilson, 2003). Social scientists (Cummins, Curtis, Diez-Roux, & Macintyre, 2007; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010), as well as advocates of Māori health (Durie, 1985, 1998; McNeil, 2009; Penehira, Smith, Green, & Aspin, 2011; Pere, 1991; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003) and indigenous health, have long talked about place and environments as spaces for social relations and the importance of these in influencing health (Dapice, 2006; Lavelle & Poole, 2010; Tengan, 2008; Tonmyr & Blackstock, 2010; Verwood et al., 2011). Moreover, places and communities that can foster stronger interpersonal networks and supports allow people to be more resilient in the fact of the consequences of social determinants of health; people in such contexts do not get as sick or die as early as people with similar demographic profiles from communities that lack such networks (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010).

The serious inequalities between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa/New Zealand have been a topic of discussion in many meetings and conferences, and an early example was in 1984 as part of Hui Whakaoranga (Māori Health Conference, Auckland). However, the injustice of health inequalities was downplayed by the then Minister of Māori Affairs, the Honourable Ben Couch, who claimed that there was "no such thing as Māori health or Pākehā health; there is only people health" (Durie, 2006, p. 66). Such pronouncements function to shift the discussion of Māori health away from considering the effects of colonialism or Māori socio-economic status, to instead focus on individual motivation, choices and behaviour. Māori models of health were developed to challenge such narrow views of individual causality of ill health and inequalities (Durie, 1985, 2006; Love, 2004; McNeil, 2009; Pere, 1991; Pomare et al., 1995). One of the first meetings to focus on the inequalities evident in Māori men's health specifically was Te Hui Hauora Tāne: The Health of Māori Men (Te Wahanga Hauora, 1991). The objective of this *hui* (meeting) was to promote healthier Māori men and their

whānau through lifestyle changes and attitudes. The idea was to build a greater partnership between Māori and health authorities and providers of the time. Recommendations included the provision of Māori health services by Māori themselves.

Despite the different positions on causality and solutions, there is now a widespread consensus that Māori men are at greater risk of poor health than almost all groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand today (Durie, 2001a; Ministry of Health, 2010a, 2010b, 2013b), since this is clearly reflected in demographic information. Nonetheless, very little academic literature deals directly with Māori men and health and the research that does exists tends to be quantitative, sporadic and virtually invisible in the public and academic domains (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011; Ministry of Health, 2008, 2010b; Te Puni Kokiri, 2009; Webb, 2009). Jones, Crengle and McCreanor (2006) observe that in health research on Māori men "there is a paucity of qualitative information about the aetiology of this status, its experiential dimensions and the contemporary issues influencing the health of Māori men from their own perspective" (p. 63).

Recent interdisciplinary research into men's health points to the importance of positive relational factors in maintaining and fostering men's wellness in the face of adversity and social determinants of health (MacDonald & Brown, 2011). Social structures and relationships (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010) can significantly affect the wellness and capacity of Māori men to make positive and critical contributions to whānau and their communities. Consideration of Māori men's relational health and wellness must also consider their relationships with women, children and/or partners, as their well-being and lives intertwine with and impact on each other. Māori men face many challenges in developing and maintaining meaningful and culturally-patterned relationships, which can have implications for their health and the health of those around them. With strong social networks and relationships, Māori men may build a greater resilience to the issues that arise from colonialism.

As has been discussed, addressing the health of men is no longer the specific domain of the health sector (Durie, 1985, 1998; McNeil, 2009; Pere, 1982; World Health Organization, 2012). There are many factors that affect men's health and by responding to the health inequalities and the social determinants of

health, the negative statistics experienced by Māori men may be better addressed. Māori men's health, and their social relationships, can be viewed as resources for everyday life that can be cultivated and preserved over time (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010), and which provide "the capacity or ability to engage in various activities, fulfil roles and meet the demands of daily life" (Williamson & Carr, 2009, p. 108). Health can also be approached as a type of resource we as individuals and as a society can invest in for positive health outcomes (Williamson & Carr, 2009). To understand health we must also consider personal, relational and societal factors and people's ability to fully participate in social life (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). Internationally, there are significant developments in this direction in men's health research and policy. For example, Macdonald (2011) refers to the Australian Government's 2010 Male Health Policy, which avoids the dominant deficit model of health that pathologises men by explaining health inequalities with references to lifestyle choices. MacDonald (2011) notes how the history of health policy for men has been anything but strength based. The focus has been predominantly on "…physical pathologies or ailments or psychological or social pathologies: depression, lack of control, anger or need to improve men's behaviour, or their relationships particularly with women" (2011, p. 86). Despite this, we still know little about how friendships, trust, and supportive networks evolve and influence the lives and health status of working-class men (Sixsmith & Boneham, 2003). The inequities in health experienced by men generally and Māori men in particular are a result of an unequal distribution of resources and inequalities in society; consequently, men's health is an issue of social justice.

Briefly, over the last decade there have been some admirable attempts in Aotearoa/New Zealand to rectify the dearth of research on the health inequalities endured by Māori men (Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010; Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012; Hona, 2004; Hutchings & Aspin, 2007a; Kara, Blundell, et al., 2011; Kidd et al., 2013; Mana Tane Ora o Aotearoa, 2011; Pirret, 2000). Māori health models emphasise the need for balance between the person, their environment and whānau and reflect a strengths-based approach to positive change (Durie, 1985, 2006; Johnson et al., 2013; McNeil, 2009; Panelli & Tipa, 2007; Penehira et al., 2011; Pere, 1982, 1991). A key distinction in Māori models

of health is a different view of the self. Instead of the autonomous, self-actualised and separate individual, *te ao Māori* (the Māori world view) positions the self in relation to other people, whānau (immediate/extended families), and the environment as exemplified by the government's Whānau Ora policy on health, to which I now consider.

Whānau Ora

Whānau Ora (well-being of the family/extended family) provides a framework for an inter-agency approach to working collaboratively with whānau in navigating the range of health and social services available to them (Durie, 2013; Te Puni Kokiri, 2014). Fundamentally Whānau Ora is targeted towards caring for the needs of Māori families from a Māori cultural perspective (Boulton & Gifford, 2014). Whānau ora (well-being of the family/extended family) is informed by a holistic Māori health perspective and seeks to build the capacity of whānau to respond to physical, relational and social determinants of health (Te Puni Kokiri, 2014).

As a programme, Whānau Ora emerged out of the 2002 He Korowai Oranga[9]: Māori Health Strategy which set the primary direction of Māori health over a 10-year period (Ministry of Health, 2002). The principal goal of He Korowai Oranga was Whānau Ora, that is, to maximise the health and well-being of Māori families. To achieve this, He Korowai Oranga aimed to affirm holistic Māori approaches to health and wellness and also to improve Māori health outcomes through the reorientation of service provision that reflected the needs and aspirations of Māori (Ministry of Health, 2002). Since He Korowai Oranga, Whānau Ora has been further embedded into health and social service delivery through a report by the Taskforce for Whānau-Centre Initiatives (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2010). The Taskforce made six key recommendations including: establishment of an independent Trust to govern Whānau Ora with its own Minister; an integrated and comprehensive approach to service provision to whānau; Whānau Ora services influenced by Māori world

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[9] "The cloak of wellness"

views; total commitment by all government agencies responsible for whānau to supporting Whānau Ora; and the establishment of regional panels that can reflect and respond to needs of local communities (Durie et al., 2010).

Whānau ora is about whānau well-being and although individual well-being is important, the key to whānau ora is "the ways in which the group operates as a whole to achieve health and well-being for its people" (Durie et al., 2010, p. 29). The idea is that collective strength and well-being of the whānau will facilitate individual strength and well-being. Whānau Ora is based upon traditional notions of Māori health (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Durie, 1985, 2006; Pere, 1991) that manifest through the collective whānau unit (Boulton, Tamehana, & Brannelly, 2013; Chant, 2009; Durie, 2013; Kara, Gibbons, et al., 2011). The understanding is that optimum health for whānau occurs through connectedness to extended family, health, education and social service providers (Durie, 2006; Kara, Gibbons, et al., 2011) and reflects the view that people are interconnected beings and that responding to health needs to occur in a holistic and relational manner (Hermans & Gieser, 2012b; Marsden, 2003).

Providers of health and social services have been mandated to work collaboratively and across agencies, with the whānau at the centre of all care plans (Boulton et al., 2013). Such care plans are measured against whānau outcome goals such as:

- Self-managing
- Living healthy lifestyles
- Participating fully in society
- Confidently participating in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world)
- Being economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation
- Being cohesive, resilient and nurturing (BPAC NZ, 2011; Durie et al., 2010; Te Puni Kokiri, 2014).

The above goals are whānau-centred in that health and service interventions with whānau are measured against the outcome goals. For instance, whānau self-managing relates to empowering whānau to eventually determine and manage their personal affairs. Living healthy lifestyles can be about developing 'codes of conduct' which set consistent values about safe practices in the home (Durie et al.,

2010). The key here is recognising whānau health and well-being beyond physical illness but influenced by the collective and the importance of the environment and social settings in which whānau conduct their everyday lives (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Kara, Gibbons, et al., 2011). Such programmes also seek to mitigate the impact of the health inequalities faced by Māori today. However, in order to further understand Māori sense of health and self, we need to be cognisant of Māori understandings of personal and group identities.

Māori sense of self

When Māori think about themselves they often do so with relation to a collective body where Māori identities "exist in relationship to something else" (Durie, 2012b, p. 157). This 'something else' is the environment we inhabit and are part of, the people within that environment, and the objects we hold dear. Māori tend to understand the self in relation to external relationships; for instance when trying to connect with another person the first question might be, *nō hea koe?* where are you from? Followed by the answer *nō Tūhoe ahau*, I am from a tribe called Tūhoe. For Māori, the self is not simply knowable at an individual internal level. Instead their association with the group is a central part of knowing the self and reflects what is "typical of the Māori view, looking outwards to understand someone or something" (Durie, 2012b, p. 159). In this regard, the Māori sense of self is fundamentally relational in terms of being embedded within engagements with other people, social practices and the environment.

A Māori sense of self is also situated within Māori cosmology. Here identities are linked to *Papatūānuku* (primal Earth Mother) with relation to *whakapapa* (ancestral genealogy), history of intergroup relations, connectedness, and sense of well-being (Durie, 2012a). The first human female form in the Māori cosmological sequence was *Hineahuone*, fashioned from the clay of Papatūānuku by her son *Tāne Mahuta* (God of the forest) (Marsden, 2003). Tāne Mahuta and Hineahuone then produced *Hinetītama* (the dawn maid) with whom Tāne Mahuta had a relationship bearing more children, including those manifesting human life as we know it today. In this regard, Māori see all human life as coming from the womb of Papatūānuku and as such human kind is part of life's natural order,

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which includes an inextricable obligation to care for and protect Papatūānuku (Marsden, 2003). To neglect such obligations is to undermine one's very sense of self.

To extend this relationship with Papatūānuku further, another Māori word for land besides Papatūānuku is *whenua*, the same name used to describe the placenta or afterbirth. This is a reminder for Māori that they are of the earth. In fact, it is common for Māori to take the whenua of a newborn and bury it in a place of significance. These burial sites are often whānau and tribal lands, thus strengthening the physical and spiritual connectedness of the child with their *turangawaewae* (traditional place to stand) and Papatūānuku. This connectedness with Papatūānuku, Tāne Mahuta and Hineahuone exemplifies the importance of spirituality in a person's sense of self as already noted in Māori health models, and are reflected in cultural institutions such as tangihanga (see Chapter Four). Consequently, a person's life force or *ira tangata* is seen to derive from not only their biological parents, but also from *ira atua* or the life force of the Gods (Mead, 2003). In this regard, a Māori sense of self is not restricted to individual bodies, but exists in the natural world rooted in Papatūānuku and symbolically through the cosmological *whakapapa* (genealogy) of the gods.

Beyond cosmological links, whakapapa as a cultural institution allows one to lay claim to kin and tribal ancestral lines and group identities. Here, each Māori person belongs to a locale, and the people who dwell there, through whakapapa. These connections afford legitimate rights to hapu and iwi resources (Mead, 2003). An exclamation of whakapapa is often made through one's *pepeha* (tribal formulaic expression, motto or slogan). Through the communication of pepeha the speaker is literally identifying and asserting their sense of self. The listener can then make connections to the speaker, often genealogical, historical and geographical (Mead & Grove, 2001). In the process, the person becomes the manifestation of the group identity, or the living face of it (*kanohi ora*). An example of pepeha as a self-identifying marker is to use one of my own (recognising I have claims to multiple tribal groups and pepeha):

Ko Parekohe te maunga   Parekohe is my ancestral mountain range
Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa   Ōhinemataroa is my ancestral river

Ko Waikirikiri te marae	Waikirikiri is my sub-tribe's ceremonial courtyard
Ko Hāmua te hapu	Hāmua is my ancestral sub-tribe
Ko Tūhoe te Iwi	Tūhoe is my ancestral tribe
Ko Tūhoe-Pōtiki te tangata	Tūhoe Pōtiki is the eponymous ancestor

A recitation such as this tells the reader and listener many things about me, and my interwoven personal and group identities. My pepeha reveals the geographical features and boundaries that locate me and my people. It highlights my sub-tribe and tribal links and the original ancestor to whom I can trace my genealogical ties. In terms of my identity, this pepeha highlights features of value to my personal sense of self. Here, my identity as a Māori person is fundamentally relational to someone or something beyond myself (Durie, 2012b). Māori notions of interconnectedness through whakapapa (genealogy) are very similar to the Chinese tradition of the cobweb self where according to Li (2013) the self "is an indispensable vehicle for achieving societal goals and the self is a team player in society" (p. 30). In this regard, the self is a cobweb that connects to others who are themselves a cobweb. As such, the cobweb self is at the "centre of a bundle of relationships that link a person's action with the environment and beyond" (Yang, 2006 as cited in Li, 2011, p. 27). So to privilege the Chinese cobweb self or Māori whakapapa, is to privilege the pluralistic nature of what it means to be human (Durie, 2012a; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003).

The individualism of the dominant Anglo-American psychology (Freeman, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) is foreign to traditional Māori intellectual narratives of the self as exemplified by pepeha and whakapapa and connections to the natural Māori world and the Māori cosmological realm. However, less individualistic accounts have been available in our discipline for some time. The notion that Māori identity is relational and emplaced resonates with William James' (1890) argument that the self is not just located within the skin of a person or separate from the environment and other people (Hermans, 2012, 2013). James argued that the self-relevant parts of the environment belong to the self, promoting the notion that the self extends beyond the body – the extended self. The extended self stands in contrast to the Cartesian dualistic notion of the self as

a separate entity from the environment and other people. The extended self challenges psychology's focus on the self as largely ego-centric, preferring a more "ex-centric" approach (Freeman, 2014). The ex-centric self moves beyond our mind and body to include our environment, activities and whatever else draws the internal self outward.

Hermans (2001, 2012, 2013) argues that we can only understand the self when we realise we are living both in an internal space (inside our minds or in our skin) and an external or extended space (the space outside of our body); in other words, the *dialogical self*. The word dialogical means 'relating to' (Ho, Chan, & Ng, 2001) so in this sense the self is 'relating to' the internal and external space. Here dialogical refers to conversation as well as a range of shared social practices (Bourdieu, 1977; Breiger, 2000; Reckwitz, 2002). The extended space is larger than ourselves and includes the many people who occupy that space and 'populate' our mind as well. The extended self is consistent with Cooley's (1902) 'looking glass-self' where our sense of self as an individual is derived from the perception of others (Cooley, 1902). Similar to a reflection in a glass or mirror, we are interested in the perceived response of other people. Cooley claims that "we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on and are variously affected by it" (1902, p. 184). An interpersonal interaction with other people is how we can come to know how other people see us. This imagined judgement from the other, especially significant others such as whānau, work colleagues, friends and our own children, can influence the identity of the self (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010).

In this regard, we are never alone since we can have thoughts and feelings about other people all the time. Because we each have many people populating our minds, we can say that we live in a 'society of minds' (Hermans, 2001). From this perspective, the self is part of a society and we simultaneously live in a larger society, thereby acknowledging the self as an extension of the environment. The environment and the self are mixing with each other where dialogical relationships occur, further avoiding the self as a self-contained entity in isolation from society and culture. According to Hermans (2001), one can study "the self as 'culture inclusive' and...culture as 'self inclusive'" (p. 243). Therefore, the self and culture are inextricably entwined and each co-exists and gains meaning from

this co-existence (Ho et al., 2001). Consequently, identity is more than something a person possesses and which dictates behaviour. Our identities are ongoing projects (Gutmann, 1996; Hokowhitu, 2007), which are constantly reviewed and formed through our daily interactions with our personal, social and cultural environments. This view is supported by Hodgetts and colleagues (2010, p. 287) who argue that a person's sense of self is "malleable rather than fixed…ranging over one's internal voice, body, clothing and possessions, to habits, friends and family, and physical environment". Identities are formed through situated social interactions and against the backdrop of symbolic systems, facilitating exchanges between people and their environments (Durie, 2012a; Hermans, 2013; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b). These systems include language and the content of cultural institutions such as the mass media (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010; Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Silverstone, 1999, 2007).

We can often engage and identify with multiple social and cultural groups, which contributes to the construction of multiple identities beyond mere affiliations and alliances (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). For instance, I have a range of selves that includes being a father, partner, sports coach, academic, friend and fan of the Māori TV shows *Hunting Aotearoa* and *Code*. I also have a range of tribal identities including *Ngāti Awa* and *Ngāti Whakaue*, however, Tūhoe is my primary anchor point. At different points in time, and in different contexts, these range of identities can be triggered and engaged according to my relationships with other people, places and objects. These identities are extensions of myself where boundaries are constantly negotiated, formed and reformed (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Gutmann, 1996; Hermans, 2001, 2012, 2013; Ho et al., 2001). The reviewing of ourselves also includes the physical and symbolic environment of the media, which offer various versions of ourselves that we respond to in making sense of ourselves (Thompson, 1995; Wall, 1997). Relatedly, Smith (2011) highlights the use of Māori media in particular to reconstruct indigenous identities at multiple levels. In this instance, the narrative challenges historical and stereotypical characterisations of Māori identities (Smith & Abel, 2008; Stuart, 2003).

In summary, my key assertion at this point is that Māori men's sense of self and well-being is fundamentally bound to their relationships with other people

and the environment. When it comes to understanding Māori men, our efforts are hampered if we focus on the overly negative and deficit orientated health statistics without linking Māori men's experiences to broader relational, historical, socio-political and symbolic environments.

Outline of subsequent chapters

Drawing on insights from across this chapter to inform my explanation of how men negotiate their sense of self across settler society and the Māori world, this thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter two explores the methodological approach to this research. I outline the research methodology that enabled me to engage with people in context and investigate men's stories of belonging, mattering to others, support, reciprocity, and inclusion. This contextually-orientated research methodology was drawn on to consider the socio-cultural and historical context within which participants and researcher are situated. Theoretical insights regarding the conduct of everyday life are applied through a combination of qualitative techniques to investigate how elements of competing male identities are incorporated into the family, work, cultural and social lives of participants. Observational, visual and verbal methods were used to explore practices through which these men make sense of their lives in a society replete with media images of men (Luders, 2004).

Chapter Three relates specifically to study one and explores working class Pākehā and Māori men's relationships within the context of a part-time Territorial Army unit. This chapter investigates how elements of media characterisations of men are incorporated into the everyday lives of the men in study one. Given the extent of the engagement of media in everyday life in the settler society, the focus on the media is a vital, but largely neglected, component of research into men's daily lives in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The analysis in this chapter opens a new line of research by exploring how Māori and Pākehā can commune and negotiate shared and divergent ways of being a man within contemporary media-saturated society (Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010). Chapter Three also documents public deliberations regarding men's interactions with children; in particular, in media coverage of an incident brought to the attention of my research participants. In

this coverage, a man was asked to shift seats on an aircraft due to an airline policy prohibiting men from sitting next to unaccompanied children. Media framing of the controversy surrounding this incident provides a useful case for revealing tensions between negative and positive constructions of men that are played out today.

The focus of Chapters Four relates specifically to the Māori men who participated in study two. All of these men are engaged to varying degrees in working class occupations and traditional and more contemporary Māori cultural practices that are distinct to Māori. Although many traditional Māori cultural guiding principles remain, Māori culture has been forced to adapt to the challenges of colonialism and urban migration (Metge, 2001; Nikora et al., 2004; Nikora et al., 2008; Pool, 1991). The traditional Māori concepts discussed in this chapter are evolving in the context of massive social, cultural and economic changes endured over a two-hundred-year period of colonisation. Chapter Four explores the relational notion of Māori men's ways of being and health within the wider context of their relationships with whānau (immediate or extended family) and everyday practices. Chapter Four also examines Māori men's relational practices as they are played out in a community context and tangihanga, as a ritualistic process for the passing of loved ones. I consider how Māori men engage in tangihanga and the importance this has in building whānau well-being through inter-connected practices.

Drawing on the analysis and arguments presented throughout this thesis, Chapter Five concludes with a discussion of key findings and the broader contributions made from this research. This chapter also considers a new research project for which I am co-principal investigator. This new line of research extends upon this thesis with a specific focus on Māori men's health with three naturally-occurring groups of Māori men.

Chapter Two: Research Setting and Methodology

This chapter extends the conceptual basis of the research to include methodological issues. I outline how the thesis draws on two interrelated studies. The first study offers insights into the everyday relationships of working class Māori men in the context of a part-time Territorial Army unit as a particular community of practice within the settler society. Here, working class men from two interrelated cultural backgrounds (Māori and Pākehā) engage to negotiate a sense of commonality and to create the third space of an Army unit. Clearly, this is not the only world in which Māori men dwell. The second study moves more fully into the Māori world and considers a group of working class ex-Army Māori men actively contributing to their whānau (immediate and extended families) and communities. They do this in the context of lessons learned from their time in the Army and from ongoing involvement with whānau and *marae* (ceremonial courtyard and ritual arena specific to the socio-cultural history of a sub-tribe and or tribe). Both studies involve men who have served or continue to serve part-time as soldiers within the New Zealand Army because Māori men have been involved in this organisation for better and worse for over 150 years (Souter, 2008). The New Zealand Army is also an environment that increasingly, although not always, embraces Māori culture (Gardiner, 1992; New Zealand Army, 2012; Souter, 2008; Walker, 2001). I explain each study and how these are woven together in this chapter.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section one considers the modes of enquiry used to inform my approach to generating empirical materials for analysis. Here, I discuss the use of an ethnographic orientation through fieldwork to understand my participants within their own life-worlds or everyday settings (Bordens & Abbot, 2002; Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2012; Rachel, 1996; Singer, 2009). The use of ethnography highlights the need for context-sensitive information about my participants' life circumstances with relation to their narrative stories. In addition, and reflecting the shift away from ethnography as a technology of colonialism, my approach to this research was informed by kaupapa

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Māori research where the Māori world view and epistemology provides a core framework for understanding, engaging with and analysing my participants' experiences and life-worlds (Jones et al., 2006; Levy, 2007; Smith, 1999). In addition, the holistic understanding of the self as outlined in the previous chapter is compatible with Māori understandings of subjectivity and indigenous notions of health (Dapice, 2006; Durie, 2006, 2012a; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Li, 2011).

Section two reflects upon the research setting, the participants, recruitment processes, fieldwork procedures and the research ethics. The men involved in study one were all part a New Zealand Territorial Army unit. The 12 working-class Māori, Pākehā/Māori and Pākehā[10] men came together and engaged in areas of interests through a shared community of practice that reflects their diverse identities (Stephens, 2007; Wenger et al., 2002). My engagement with the men from the Army unit was facilitated by my chief supervisor (Professor Hodgetts), who was a training officer with this unit. My focus is on how Māori men make sense of themselves and their relationships with other men in the context of our contemporary media-saturated society. Study two engaged five working class ex-Army Māori men either living back in their traditional homelands or in constant contact through various familial and tribal events such as tangihanga. My focus here was on how these men come to value and contribute to relationships with others and how these relationships foster whānau health. Communing with others invokes the notion of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998, 2000) to reproduce the institution of tangihanga where collective grieving practices and relational connections are central. The men in study two were mostly related to me or known members of the wider Mataatua waka (tribal groups who trace their ancestry to the ancient voyaging canoe, Mataatua) region where I am from.

Section three reflects upon the observational, visual and verbal methods used to explore practices through which both groups of men make sense of their lives in a society replete with public expectations and media images of men (cf., Luders, 2004). Narrative methods were employed to reflect the understanding that

[10] This is how the men identified themselves as noted in Table 1

the participant accounts are embedded within on-going and inherently communal storytelling processes and shared practices through which these men make sense of life (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a; Lyons, 2003; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002). The use of media diaries allowed the men to reflect on media material they engaged with in their day-to-day lives (Breakwell & Wood, 2003; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2013). The use of cameras to take photos of their life-worlds (or going through their photo albums) allowed the men to 'turn upon' their life-worlds and give an account of who they are and what is important to them from their own perspectives (Foster-Fishman, Nowell, Deacon, Nievar, & McCann, 2005; Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005). Direct observations of the men in their community surroundings added further depth to my understanding of them (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2013) beyond their media items and narrative accounts. A combination of these research techniques enabled me to engage with the inter-related and relationally-constructed nature of these men's identities and health.

Section four outlines the analysis process used to interpret the identities, relational practices and everyday lives of the participants in this research. The use of a 'text and context' approach allowed my analysis to consider the literature and men's narratives against their lived social and cultural worlds (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003, 2013). This analytic orientation is appropriate in relation to the broad methodological framework for this research. In adopting a text and context approach the analysis involves going beyond simply documenting what is evident in the empirical data. There is a deeper interpretative process that involves weaving together the complex interconnections of the participant lifeworlds, their relationships, and the collective meanings evident in their social practices and culturally textured spaces such as the army hangar and the marae.

Modes of inquiry

This thesis draws upon an ethnographically-orientated approach within a broader kaupapa Māori research tradition in order to understand the experiences and everyday relational practices of my research participants. This style of research is concerned with the lived realities of the people concerned, and their engagements

with the world around them. The ethnographic orientation taken allows for a degree of participation in the field of investigation (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2012; Rachel, 1996) to observe and understand the interrelatedness of everyday practices that at first glance may seem small and unremarkable, but which often have implications for wider collective processes in society (Uzzel, 2003). An ethnographically-orientated approach allows for "the analysis of the way in which collective relations between people at large inform what particular persons, considered as historically located subjects, do and say" (Toren, 1996, p. 104).

As a Māori man, I am seeking insights firstly to enrich my own understanding of Māori men's lives and relationships and secondly, to gain insights into my participants' experiences (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2012; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). To improve my understanding of the two communities of practice, I invested periods of time with them in order to understand their life-worlds from within their frames of reference (Singer, 2009). As Rachel (1996) explains:

> *Being physically, verbally and emotionally present, moving among their interactions, joining in their discourses, using their objects and technologies and becoming part of their economy of things, values, morals and money (p. 114).*

The ethnographic orientation adopted for this research allowed me to investigate the processes by which a group of men organise themselves and maintain social relations within their communities of interest (Griffin, 2000). Luders (2004) proposes that during such studies the researcher "…concentrates on those aspects of reality that participants, so to speak, take for granted, namely the practices of their 'creation'; it then asks how participants manage to create themselves and others in the face of social facts" (p. 225). Such considerations align with the focus of this research in which attempts are made to engage with and understand people's life circumstances and their everyday practices. My research orientation is also informed by kaupapa Māori-focused research practices.

The methodological framework of 'kaupapa Māori' research guided both studies, and the ways in which I adapted ethnographic methods. Kaupapa Māori

can be literally translated as "Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society" (Moorfield, 2011, p. 65). Henry and Pene (2001, p. 235) describe kaupapa Māori as "the Māori way or agenda…traditional Māori ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in a Māori world view or cosmology". Kaupapa Māori research stems from the largely adverse influence of Eurocentric research that has dehumanised and dispossessed Māori people. A kaupapa Māori research approach therefore legitimises Māori ways of being, values, core assumptions, ideas and knowledge as important aspects of research (Jones et al., 2006; Smith, 1999).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, mainstream psychology is heavily reliant on American and British-based theories and quantitative methods that promote the individual over the collective (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Levy, 2007; Nairn, 2012). The use of a kaupapa Māori approach has allowed me to position myself more critically within the discipline, given that dominant Eurocentric knowledge has been regarded as being superior to indigenous worldviews, and as such is rooted in European imperialism and colonialism (Cooper, 2012; Jones et al., 2006; Pihama et al., 2002; Smith, 1999). A kaupapa Māori approach does not, however, mean discarding all European knowledge, but instead views Eurocentric ways of knowing as possessing some insights whilst being generally relative to the cultural context of its development.

The need for kaupapa Māori research is particularly evident today because of the failure of 'mainstream' psychological research to respond openly to indigenous knowledge and the survival or well-being of indigenous people (Sefa Dei, 2013). Such Eurocentric research is particularly relevant to Aotearoa/New Zealand, where social scientists have redefined and distorted Māori ways of being for their own academic advancement (Stewart-Harawira, 2013). Smith (1999) has long advocated for the decolonising of Eurocentric theories and research methods by prioritising indigenous worldviews, which still continue to be marginalised as inferior and rejected as 'non-scientific' and superstitious nonsense (Cooper, 2012; Sefa Dei, 2013). The decolonising of Eurocentric research also requires us to challenge colonial notions of the individual, as the decontextualised and autonomous self, and to instead advance the notion of the self as the relationally and collectively situated person. As indicated already, this challenge is embedded

in both indigenous (Dapice, 2006; Lavelle & Poole, 2010; Tonmyr & Blackstock, 2010; Verwood et al., 2011) and Māori models of being and health (Durie, 1985, 2006; McNeil, 2009; Penehira et al., 2011; Pere, 1982, 1991). Of central importance to such health models are the understandings of balance between personal, familial, cultural, social, spiritual and environmental dimensions of the self and the reciprocal nature of wellness.

The issue of power is another key concern in kaupapa Māori research. Historically, research has been "done on the relatively powerless for the relatively powerful" (Gibbs, 2001, p. 674), and in accord with the worldview and values of dominant groups. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Pākehā worldviews have been imposed on Māori, to the socio-cultural and historical disadvantage of Māori (Cooper, 2012; Stewart-Harawira, 2013). Consequently, many Māori have become suspicious of researchers and their agendas due to a history of research that perpetuates colonial cultural superiority, resulting in negative Māori stereotypes and the perpetuation of myths (Bishop, 1998; Gibbs, 2001; Smith, 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2013). As Bishop writes:

> *...many misconstrued Māori cultural practices and meanings are now part of our everyday myths of New Zealand/Aotearoa, believed by Māori and non-Māori alike, and traditional social and educational research has contributed to this situation. As a result, Māori people are deeply concerned about who researchers are answerable to. Who has control over the initiation, procedures, evaluations, construction, and distribution of newly defined knowledge? (1998, p. 200).*

In many regards, kaupapa Māori research is a form of colonial resistance where Māori attempt to reclaim the indigenous research space (Cooper, 2012; Stewart-Harawira, 2013). Bevan-Brown (1998) reflected on 10 key components to Māori research and although this work was published over 16 years ago, these components are still relevant today and central to this thesis.

In summary, kaupapa Māori research needs to be undertaken within a Māori cultural framework where the Māori worldview is prioritised. Māori research should also be conducted and guided by those with Māori cultural expertise. It

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should reflect the needs and aspirations of Māori people. My research was conducted according to culturally appropriate methods and assessed by relevant Māori standards (Bevan-Brown, 1998). The goal for this kaupapa Māori research was to achieve 'indigenisation from within' where the theoretical framework and methodological orientation emerges from the culture of concern (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

Of key importance is that Māori research is accountable to those people being researched and therefore "should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Māori people. It should arise out of their self-identified needs and aspirations" (Bevan-Brown, 1998, p. 235). This form of accountability to the people is evident in the approach taken by the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU) at the University of Waikato, in which I am a principal investigator. The MPRU's core statement is that any research done with Māori has to have at its centre "the psychological needs, aspirations, and priorities of Māori people" (Maori & Psychology Research Unit, 2013). Advocating a Māori way of researching for this thesis challenges the "normal" research approaches and instead legitimises a Māori worldview (Bishop, 1998, 1999; Moewaka-Barnes, 2000).

Briefly, kaupapa Māori research does not necessarily prescribe the methodological strategies for collecting empirical materials. It can, however, prescribe rules of engagement with Māori around what research is required, the implications of the research to both researcher and researched, the benefits of the research to the research group and the compensation of time and expense. The key point in this approach is the centrality given to Māori culture, customs and language (Bishop, 1999; Cooper, 2012; Levy, 2007; Nikora, 2007b; Pihama et al., 2002). This is best described through what Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) refer to as a 'consciousness' where the advancement of Māori notions of knowledge are valued and Pākehā hegemony is decentred. In this thesis, a kaupapa Māori approach is an important standpoint from which to challenge colonial traditions of research that have positioned Māori men as being inferior and defective.

Ethical approval for both study one (2005) and study two (2011) was provided by the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee at The University of Waikato. This ensured that both studies were conducted in

compliance with the ethical guidelines outlined by the New Zealand Psychological Society, the New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists and the New Zealand Psychologists Board (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2012). All interviews were recorded and each participant was informed of their right to withdraw from the research. A copy of the interview transcript was sent to each participant for proofreading, at which stage they could add, delete and amend their narrative as appropriate before returning the final copy for analysis. The audio files, consent forms, transcripts, media files and contact information were stored either digitally and password protected on the University of Waikato server or securely filed in my office at the University of Waikato. Any publications or presentations resulting from the study guaranteed the anonymity of my participants (unless requested otherwise) and they had a right to request a copy of the material, with the originals held by me as the researcher.

Upon completion of all interviews and data collection processes, participants in both studies were thanked and handed a small gift (*koha*) as a token of my appreciation. These gifts were made in recognition of the work involved in participation at both an individual and collective level. This practice assisted in the establishment of more reciprocal relationships between myself as a researcher and participants, and attempted to demonstrate the value attached to participants' knowledge of the issues investigated (Hodgetts, Cullen, & Radley, 2004; McDowell, 2003). The exchange of *koha* is a typical function of the Māori world and working-class Pākehā culture (Hodgetts et al., 2013), and affirms the Māori principle of *manaaki tangata* (caring for others) (Mead, 2003). This type of exchange promotes co-operation and reciprocation. Koha is seen as a dialectical process where the gift of a research participant's time, knowledge and personal narrative is reciprocated with a gift from the researcher (Hodgetts et al., 2013). Koha reflects the value of gift exchange as an ethical principle of participative social science research (Hodgetts et al., 2013) and the anchoring of this research project within a kaupapa Māori research approach.

Study One: research setting and process

Study one explores the role of the media in public constructions of what it means to be a man today for Māori and Pākehā men's own self constructions (Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010). Study one (Chapter Three) is based upon previous research my supervisor and I co-worked on during 2005 - 2007, and was funded by a Royal Society of New Zealand Marsden Fast Start grant. My PhD thesis draws upon the two articles (Appendix A) published from the Mardsen funded project, but I have reworked them by returning to the raw data to produce a new analysis that better aligns with the purposes of this thesis. In this thesis, there is a specific focus on men who promote their Māori or Māori/Pākeha whakapapa and cultures as their primary identities (Durie, 2001b; Webber, 2008). Self-identifying as Māori/Pākeha is an attempt by some participants to locate themselves within multiple whakapapa (genealogies) and cultures (Webber, 2008).

The original Marsden funded study involved me speaking and interacting with working class men who were also part-time members of a Territorial Army unit. While I have never served in the Army, my whānau (immediate and extended families) have a history of military service going back to my immediate grandfather and several *koroua* (grandfather/s) serving in the Māori Battalion's B Company during World War Two (Souter, 2008). These men set a trend that included a number of my uncles serving in places like Vietnam and more recently cousins who have served in Bosnia and East Timor. My older brother also served in the Army for 12 years, including two years at New Zealand's Singapore defence base. This meant I could appreciate the history of the New Zealand Army and the participants could relate to me in this regard. This also afforded me a perspective through immediate family experiences spanning 70 years. Although I did not serve myself, I could appreciate the hierarchy and culture of the organisation in a way that people without this history may not necessarily have been able to do. This was reflected in my interactions with the men when discussing their experiences. They would say things like, "your brother would

know" or "our korouas (grandparents) in the Māori Battalion" indicating a sense of camaraderie through a shared whakapapa and history or family service in the Army. Despite the fact I was an 'outsider' in terms of the Army, my long-term family service ensured I could relate to the men's experiences and a genuine relationship was fostered.

The need to develop knowledge of on-going interactions between Māori and Pākehā was central to the development of the original Marsden funded study which included twelve Māori, Māori/Pākehā and Pākehā men in all facets of the research planning, conduct, and reporting. My approach emphasised an on-going open dialogue between myself as the researcher and the participants about the focus and conduct of the project in order to ensure the research met the interests and needs of participants (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). A powhiri/whakaeke (Māori ritual of encounter) approach, which emphasises an on-going open dialogue between researchers and participants for the conduct and shaping of the project, guided the recruitment of and formal interactions with participants. In the process of recruiting participants, I had the opportunity to engage with them individually and assess the extent to which they were comfortable operating within a culturally-orientated Māori framework. The emphasis was on engaging openly with men and producing material that would inform joint interpretations of their own lives. The bi-cultural nature of this project was reflected in the use of the same participative approach with both Māori and Pākehā participants.

The part-time Territorial Army unit represents a community of practice (Paechter, 2002; Stephens, 2007; Wenger et al., 2002) within which working-class men come together through shared interests. The unit concerned resembles men's groups in that it provides a bi-cultural space in which Māori and Pākehā men can share their concerns and negotiate supportive relationships. However, for working-class men the association seems more functional than the type of men's support groups often convened by psychologists. These men did not join the association to simply confront personal issues, reflect and grow. They joined the unit to participate in the shared enterprise of being part-time soldiers, where establishing "…friendships and sharing just happens to be part of it" (Rīhari, participant study one). This recruitment site enabled me to investigate the lives of men from different ethnic and familial backgrounds in relation to a shared

community of practice. This includes analysis of the men's interactions with media across their different cultural, domestic, employment and social spheres of life.

At this point the wider historical context for the association and these men's interactions warrants brief mention. It was through interaction between indigenous Māori and settler peoples (Pākehā) arriving in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the early 1800s that the modern nation state of Aotearoa/New Zealand was forged (King, 2003). Central to this interaction were well-documented processes of colonisation and the suppression of Māori culture by the settler or Pākehā culture (Hokowhitu, 2004; King, 2003). By the 1970s, a Māori renaissance of identity, values, practices and institutions had gathered momentum. The character of contemporary Māori and Pākehā relations is one of multiple tensions and aspirations forged through on-going interactions that are influenced by a range of considerations including gender, generation, class, geographical locale, political power, and sexual orientation (Hokowhitu, 2004; Levy, 2007; Meredith, 1998; Mikaere, 1999; Nikora, 2007b). Previous research has tended to focus on differences and conflicts arising from processes of colonisation. While I acknowledge the importance of such work, my primary focus in study one is on the affinities between Māori and Pākehā, not the conflicts. Likewise, Meredith (1998) suggests that we move away from a solely 'us/them' dualism between Māori and Pākehā to a sense of 'both/and' where negotiations occur on differences and affinities across cultures. In order to represent the complexity of relations between Māori and Pākehā men, Frame (2002) invokes the equation of one plus one equals three. Although the two encountering cultures remain they are mutually influenced and a new third culture gradually appears alongside them. This new culture is not formed instead of the two original cultures but exists *as well as*. In this regard, the unit's culture that was negotiated through the interactions of a group of Māori and Pākehā working class men was documented in the development of a 'third space' of social and cultural interaction.

Volunteers were recruited throughout 2005 using a snowball technique that sought to include diverse voices from younger and older, single and partnered men who had participated in the association for various lengths of time. All the Māori, Māori/Pākehā and Pākehā participants agreed to participate, and it was apparent that ethnic identification was not straight forward. Several men who we knew as Māori and who 'looked' Māori also identified strongly with their Pākehā culture. Two participants who looked 'Pākehā' also identified strongly with their iwi (tribal) and Māori ancestries. The privileging of one ethnic and cultural identity was not necessarily at the expense of the other, but reflected a complex interplay of personal, social and cultural pressures (McIntosh, 2005; Webber, 2008). Further, all participants sought to emphasise similarity and co-operation, rather than differences and conflict between Māori and Pākehā. Twelve participants ranging in age from 22 to 49 years (Table 1) took part in life narrative interviews, photographic exercises, collating media items and follow-up discussions (see following section for more detail on particular methods used). All participants are identified by pseudonyms and the photographs depicting people have been altered to ensure confidentiality. For the purposes of this thesis however, I primarily draw upon the extracts of the nine men who self-identified as either Māori or Māori/Pākeha.

Table 1: Demographic details for Participants of Study One

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	Partner	Kids
Horo	38	Māori	Plasterer	Yes	Yes
Kereopa	44	Māori	Security	No	Yes
Tāhere	40	Māori	Unemployed	Yes	Yes
Rāna	49	Māori	Prison officer	Yes	Yes
Ivan	45	Pākehā	Farmer	Yes	Yes
Hēmi	29	Māori/Pākehā	Truck driver	No	No
Jack	27	Pākehā	Labourer	No	No
Muri	22	Māori/Pākehā	Rafting guide	No	No

Ox	24	Pākehā	Labourer	No	No
Puhi	33	Māori/Pākehā	Police officer	Yes	Yes
Larry	24	Māori/Pākehā	Draftsman	Yes	No
Rīhari	31	Māori/Pākehā	Mechanic	Yes	Yes

The empirical materials for study one were derived from direct observations, individual interviews, photo-elicitation projects and media items selected by participants from their daily lives, and follow-up interviews with each participant. Phase one consisted of spending regular time with participants and conducting life narrative interviews. These interviews explored the men's sense of self as a man, influential figures in their development, and their media habits. At the end of the first interview, phase two of the study was explained in more detail. This involved participants taking a disposable camera and photographing events, places and people of importance to their lives as men. Participants were also asked to collect any media items that they felt were relevant to their experiences of manhood. Participants were encouraged to make breaches in the 'taken-for-grantedness' (Chaney, 2002) of their lives, and then to reflect on their reasons for having selected certain objects, or images and media representations of events, spaces and people.

The inclusion of visual images and media representations reflects the extent to which these pervade contemporary society (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). The cameras and media items were returned after two weeks. The phase two interviews entailed discussions of the photographs and media items. During these discussions each participant was asked to describe what was occurring in each photograph or item and their response to the person, object, place or issue being depicted. Participants were then asked to identify the photographs and media items that were particularly notable and explain their reactions to these artefacts. All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed for analysis. These two data collection phases were designed to reveal links between self-understandings, interpersonal relationships, media representations and communal practices.

The men were also given consent forms prior to interviews, and we discussed topics for discussion as part of the interview process. This process ensured the men understood the nature of the entire project and their role as

research participants. I would often refer to the objective of the research throughout my discussions with the men to ensure a sense of transparency of the research focus. It was also important that the men understood their right to withdraw and that the research endeavour was responsive to their needs.

In addition to the procedure outlined above, I also conducted a media content analysis as phase three of the research. The reason for this was that many of my participants raised concerns regarding men's interactions with children and an incident that received wide coverage at the time. These specific concerns were sparked by a news report where a male passenger was prohibited from taking a seat next to an unaccompanied child (Thomson, 2005). Although this incident was not a part of the original study, I followed up these participant concerns regarding the airline incident and obtained as much media coverage of the controversy as possible. News items were collected from the highest rating television network (TVNZ) (N=2), national public service radio (N=2), articles, commentaries and editorials from two national daily broadsheets (N=20), letters to the editor from the same newspapers (N=39) and a two-hour conversation on a national talkback radio network. Audience letters and radio conversations are particularly important data sources because they constitute reactions to media reports, and reflect how personal understandings of specific issues re-enter public deliberations via the media. The sample of broadcast texts was compiled from searches of TVNZ and Radio New Zealand archives. Press coverage was obtained from manual searches of the newspapers. Talkback radio conversations were recorded while monitoring the network in January 2005.

Although the airline story was prominent on television for two days, debate continued in radio and print outlets for nine days and was subsequently referred to in related stories involving the regulation of men's interactions with children in schools and public swimming pool settings. The analysis highlights dilemmas within popular knowledge regarding children's safety and discrimination against men. Over half of the twelve participants in study one, which included those men who self-identified as Māori or Māori/Pākeha, raised concerns regarding men's interactions with children. They invoked a social climate where public anxieties and tensions men face when interacting with children. Of particular note are the

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ways in which these men used media items as shared reference points for making sense of their own situations and relationships.

Study Two: research setting and process

The research for study two extends the work begun in study one with a specific focus on Māori men, their relationships and health within the context of whānau and Māori spaces. Participants in study two either lived in their traditional homelands or visited regularly. Communication and engagement with these men occurred more often than not in their personal homes, the homes of their relatives or on their marae. In contrast to study one, I am more of an 'insider' to this community, not as a former soldier, but as a relative and friend who is familiar with the marae and community these men frequent. Here, I would often engage with participants individually and at varying events in a formal and informal manner. The emphasis was on engaging openly with these men and producing material that could inform a joint interpretation of their lives, rather than simply obtaining information to be analysed solely by researchers. This approach ensured an open and constant dialogue that moved beyond the one-to-one narrative interviews (see following section). In one case, this meant discussing the experiences of both of our children's time at kohanga reo (early childhood centre) or kura kaupapa (total Māori immersion primary school). On another occasion, this could mean participating in a 'whānau-building exercise' golf day or the dismembering of a beast (cow) together in preparation for a family tangihanga (traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process). Tangihanga as a cultural institution is used by the men as an exemplar for reconnecting with whānau and the communal sharing of grief where their sense of self is connected to others and their presence and participation is valued. Drawing on Wenger's (1998, 2000) notion of a community of practice, whānau, hapu and iwi come together as a community of practice to ensure the institution of tangihanga occurs. People coming together through shared concerns, a set of problems, or a passion about an issue accrue value from activities attributed to communities and networks (Stephens, 2007; Wenger et al., 2002; Wenger, Trayner, & de Laat, 2011).

The research setting was rarely a static space with recorder and pen at hand. My research engagements were woven throughout the intersecting life-worlds of the men involved, and sought to avoid 'disrupting' their everyday lives. Since I am of the same ethnic and cultural group as my participants, I am well versed in both the Western academic research world and the Māori cultural world. A kaupapa Māori approach demands that I have the health of the participants as my primary concern. This focus was crystalised through obligations to my community of concern, through my whakapapa links to those participating and with guidance from cultural experts from the Māori world. This sits alongside my ethical obligations as a researcher.

Research Participants and procedure

Study two focused on the positive and constructive engagement of five working class ex-military Māori men within their whānau and communities. The primary method used with the Māori male participants for study two was direct observations and individual life narrative interviews, where some participants pulled out their photo albums. These interviews informed follow-up conversations at cultural activities such as tangihanga.

The participants (see Table 2) for study two were contacted via my personal networks using the snowball sample technique (Fife-Schaw, 2003) where initial contact was rather informal (Stringer, 2007). This type of approach provides a context for community-wide conversation and endeavours to stimulate participants to invest time and energy. Following initial conversations explaining the research and their roles as participants, some were keen to be interviewed straight away. All of these men, apart from Awa, are related to me through whakapapa. However, I was raised with many of Awa's whānau and he knew my older brother and cousins through their time together in the Army. These family links were crucial in establishing rapport, given that it is difficult to research in the Māori world without sharing whakapapa or some source of connectedness (Gibbs, 2001; Levy, 2007; Smith, 1999). With such connections and relationships

comes an increased obligation for a researcher to be accountable to the research participants and their families.

Table 2: Demographic details for Participants of Study Two

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	Partner	Kids
Waka	36	Māori	University student	Yes	Yes
John	44	Māori	Fencing/Spraying Contractor	No	Yes
Paora	45	Māori	Security/Business Owner	Yes	Yes
Awa	38	Māori	Operations Manager	Yes	Yes
Tame	40	Māori	Manager	Yes	No

All of the participants were provided with a formal letter of invitation (Appendix E) and an information sheet (Appendix D) outlining the aims and objectives of the project and their role as participants. Prior to the interviews, I also gave the men additional documents like the consent forms (Appendix G) and interview guide (Appendix C) with likely areas of conversation and discussed these documents with them. This allowed the men time to understand the purpose of the study and the type of information I aimed to collect. These documents also outlined their expected level of participation and raised an awareness of ethical issues they needed to consider as participants. In addition, such documents defined my role as researcher and theirs as research participants in a clear and transparent manner. I did not just hand these documents over to participants. We talked this project through step-by-step, including the background information of my PhD. At this point their right to withdraw their participation and information was emphasised. I also discussed a mutually agreed-upon set of procedures for engaging these men into the research. The purpose of this practice was to ensure the men had some control over the process and they could dictate the time and venue or even the areas of discussion. This was intended to make these men feel at ease and safe

with the research process and eventual outcomes. I also made it known that their information could only be used according to what was set out in the letter of invitation, consent form and information sheet. Engaging these men in this way ensured that the research procedures were sensitive and responsive to their personal, familial and cultural needs. Some men were interviewed immediately following my personal request while for others, we negotiated a time and place for formal one-to-one life narrative interviews to occur.

The majority of the life narrative interviews occurred in the participants' homes though one was done at my place of work. Prior to the formal interview process a period of *whakawhanuangatanga* (process of establishing relationships; relating to others) occurred to reconnect through whakapapa (genealogy) and establish a relationship with each participant and reaffirm relationships with the other participants participating in the research. This whakawhanuangatanga often commenced over a cup of tea and *kai* (food) to reduce any anxiety around the formalities of an interview process. The process was as beneficial to me as the researcher as it was for the participants. It allowed participants to ask additional questions about the research prior to commencing the interview. At this stage I also asked the men to produce any photos they had which prompted them to discuss issues canvassed by the interview schedule.

During the interviews, the men's family or children would sometimes involve themselves in the interview and this helped my participants reaffirm their sense of being a man in relation to their roles as fathers, partners, husbands and family members. For example, a child cuddling up to her father provided an impromptu discussion and further reflections beyond the male participant's own personal life narrative. In another interview, one man's wife started cooking dinner and he would often defer to her for help in not only recalling specific events significant to his narrative, but also in retelling and re-interpreting events. This meant a co-construction of the self with significant others where the retelling of a story was in partnership with others as opposed to a singular experience. Such links to significant others is unsurprising since our identities and sense of self are shaped by interpersonal relationships (Neimeyer, Prigerson, & Davies, 2002). In this regard, dialogue with intimate others can contribute to particular versions of

who we are or who we want to be. Here the men would recraft themselves in relation to the experiences they shared with others.

Following the interview I discussed the research process to come, which meant continued discussions either in person or via email and telephone. Transcripts of the interviews were returned to each participant for comment and changes were made where appropriate. This also provided an opportunity to follow up with each participant. Because most of the men are from the same family or marae (ceremonial courtyard and ritual arena specific to the socio-cultural history of a sub-tribe and or tribe) or iwi (tribe), I would often meet them at Māori cultural events and we would continue to discuss the research and they would take the opportunity to reflect on further issues of relevance and deepen their accounts. The men would also use the surroundings at the time, often the marae or school, to describe their sense of manliness with relation to their environment. In this case, an impromptu walk-along interview (Chilisa, 2012; Evans & Jones, 2011) would occur. I was prepared for such spontaneous engagements and reflections by constantly having my PhD notebook on hand to write down the points covered.

I would also observe my participants during functions like tangihanga, birthdays, tribal events and discuss these observations with them. The use of direct observations as a technique is explained in detail in Section Three of this chapter. This technique was an important part of reconciling my participants' narratives with their social and cultural worlds (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2012). Such discussions sometimes took place with other relatives around. For the participants, having family members close by allowed them to share ideas or recall occassions, activities, events and or experiences relevant to my thesis topic area. Family members would help recall specific people or moments my participants were trying to recapture and on occasion those reflections would happen as an impromptu family conference about people or moments in time. For some, these "family" discussions were about pivotal events or activities and at other times such stories provided opportunities to simply recall loved ones who have passed on. All the while, I made notes about these discussions and what this meant for my participants and how this information could be incorporated into my research findings.

Observations

The ethnographic approach to this thesis included careful observations of people in their natural settings as opposed to a laboratory, interview room or a controlled and manipulated environment (Griffin, 2000; Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2012; Miller, 1997). In this research, it was not enough to simply interview participants without noting the settings in which their lives take place. In this regard, an attempt was made to observe my participants within their everyday contexts through observations and by participating in shared practices (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2013; Bourdieu, 1977). For study one, I met with several of them in their roles as soldiers and in their civilian lives. For the men in study two I engaged in observations of participants as they engaged in cultural activities in places like the marae. The general use of observations was not necessarily about data collection but was an attempt to understand my participant's environments and build rapport with them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003c; McCurdy & Uldam, 2014).

As a method, ethnography and direct observations allowed me to understand the worldviews of the men from their perspective and their lived realities. Direct observations also allowed me to reflect upon, and show an inter-connectedness between, my participants' narrative stories and their social and cultural worlds (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2012). By drawing upon direct observations, I could adjust the needs of my research to the priorities and practices of the men being studied. My own experiences as a Māori man became a resource for understanding my participants' collective narratives as well as their cultural and social milieu and associated practices. Observations occurred prior to the interviews and throughout the research process. These observations also allowed us to engage in reflective conversations about events, such as tangihanga (traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process) as they unfolded.

Using observation as an empirical strategy meant the recording of these experiences became a challenge. It was not appropriate, nor practical for me to carry around a recording device and turn everyday actions and events into a formalised interview situation. In this regard, I used a note pad to record my interactions, experiences and observable activities after the fact. These reflective notes would also include informal conversations and some early and preliminary analysis for further debate at a later stage. I witnessed the actions of participants during tangihanga on marae, for example, and considered the roles and social practices in these contexts alongside their earlier narrative interviews. The use of direct observations also raised ethical issues around me as a researcher and me as a whānau member discharging my familial obligations, especially at tangihanga. Consequently, it was important that the notes and observations I made were raised with the participants concerned, and that permission was granted to use these observed experiences and reflections as part of my research activities.

In short, repeat interactions with the men in my thesis through observations and follow up conversations allowed for a greater level of engagement beyond formal interview techniques. In this regard, I witnessed the multiplicity of roles my participants held and how these roles would sometimes converge, overlap or remain separate. Thus, the observations looked locally at particular events in order to understand the broader systemic elements of people's socio/cultural worlds (Simmel, 1997).

Narrative, semi-structured, and walk along interviews

Initial interviews were used in both studies to get to know participants and to establish background information on their histories and media use for study one in particular, and their sense of self as men. The first cycle of my research process was to gather "information about participants' experiences and perspectives and to define the problem/issue in terms that "make sense" in their own terms" (Stringer, 2007, p. 65). This interview process constituted a form of guided reflection where the:

...interview provides opportunities for participants to describe the situation in their own terms. It is a reflective process that enables the interviewee to explore his or her experience in detail and to reveal the many features of that experience that have an effect on the issue investigated (Stringer, 2007, p. 69).

This narrative approach ensured I gathered "rich or 'thick' descriptive accounts of men's identities relationships and wellness. A Kaupapa Māori orientation was integrated throughout my engagements with the participants and the use of various qualitative techniques in order to enable open dialogue with participants. For example, the individual narrative interviews offered opportunities for the men to import meaningful information about their lived experiences as well as rich accounts of the issues under consideration (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003b; Lyons, 2003; Smith, 2003). These interviews provided a means of uncovering the personal narrative in response to interview inquiries (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003b; Murray, 2003). The semi-structured format of the interviews allowed me the flexibility to ask for clarity around answers that were unclear or ambiguous (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister, & Zechmeister, 2006), and provided an opportunity to ask supplementary questions (Murray, 2003) around their narrative accounts.

For some of the participants, interviews also took the form of walk-along discussions where participants were prompted by the meanings of their surroundings and environments with relation to the topic at hand (Evans & Jones, 2011). This technique allowed participants to draw upon their webs of connectedness with people and their surroundings in a dialogue (Chilisa, 2012). This was particularly meaningful considering the nature of culturally-patterned spaces (Carpiano, 2009; Evans & Jones, 2011) such as the Army hangar and marae based reflections. By engaging with participants in this manner, I was able to gather a "richer" account of their lives in context. In this regard, participants are brought to the fore as participant experts in terms of exploring and reflecting upon their experiences within their localised contexts (Carpiano, 2009; Garcia, Eisenberg, Frerich, Lechner, & Lust, 2012). Also the mundane or taken-for-granted aspects of their everyday lives are engaged to help make meaning of their lives (Chaney, 2002).

Ready-made social narratives or shared frameworks of meaning (Durham, 1998) drawn on by participants in the interviews contain assumptions about what it means to be a 'legitimate member of society' and how 'one should behave'. By exploring these narratives, I began to unravel the ways in which personal situations are related to wider social contexts (Bourdieu & Accardo, 1999). The men storied their worlds and experiences by exploring both public narratives offered in the media and personal stories, allowing me to situate my participant's stories within their broader symbolic environments. The analysis of these wider processes provided an insight into the ways in which people draw upon collective understandings or narratives to characterise themselves and develop their own stories of what it means to be a man. In doing so I followed Georg Simmel's analytic orientation whereby close examination of the particular and the local provides a means to understand the broader systemic elements that make up people's socio-cultural worlds (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012; Simmel, 1997). Consequently, the detailed study of the participants' lives (Stringer, 2007) provides a way of understanding the workings of a social system within which issues of male identities are negotiated and how elements of characterisations offered by the workplace, media, home and community are appropriated by participants as they conduct their own lives (de Certeau, 1984; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003).

Media diaries and photo-elicitation

The concept of mediation was central in this research because it bridges distinctions between media and face-to-face communication, and situates interactions between men and media as routine practices central to contemporary life and the daily negotiation of popular knowledge (Hodgetts, Bolam, et al., 2005). The concept of mediation refers to on-going, uneven and dialectical processes through which media such as newspapers, radio, television and the internet, circulate narratives regarding what it means to be a man in everyday life (Silverstone, 1999, 2007). This circulation does not necessarily replace face-to-face communication (as reflected in the research interviews), but is interwoven with interpersonal interactions. Men often explore the wider social world through

shared experiences and personal biographies. In this way, mediated experiences inform our on-going efforts to develop a sense of self as a man and the various ways in which men participate in community life.

To explore the complex and organic role of media in men's daily lives, I did not fixate on specific 'moments of reception', during which men digest isolated media representations that have been pre-selected by academic investigators (Gill, McLean, & Henwood, 2000; Jewkes, 2002). In using media diaries as a method I sought to trace the ways in which media depictions become interwoven within the domestic, work and social spheres of men's lives (Couldry, 2004; McDowell, 2003). In study one, the men logged the media they came into contact with, such as magazines and newspaper clippings, over a two-week period. Participants were also asked to construct a media scrapbook by collecting specific representations which they thought informed their own experiences of being a man today. These participants also recorded their media use and collected media extracts at the completion of their initial interviews. These materials provided part of the focal point for subsequent interviews. This data collection strategy was appropriate because it enabled an engagement with the media forms men actually interacted with in their daily lives, rather than pre-selecting all representations for analysis (Breakwell & Wood, 2003; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2013).

Taking photographs and collecting media representations were activities that encouraged my participants to engage with their own situations in novel ways (E. S. Bell, 2002; Dewey, Grey, Minnion, & the Residents of Ruffle Street Hostel, 1994; Hodgetts, Cullen, et al., 2004). This aspect of the research design was influenced by research on photo-voice in community psychology which emphasises the benefits for participant empowerment and 'conscientisation' (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). By engaging with participants on multiple occasions and by offering them cameras and diaries to picture and record their life-worlds, the men in study one were given the opportunity to 'turn upon' their environment and to provide an account of how and why they did so (Radley et al., 2005).

In study two, the men were not expected to take photographs or compile media items, but several did produce photographs as discussion points, or discussed media representations. My participants took these opportunities to

openly reflect on their life situations while engaging in dialogue and support with mates and family regarding their aspirations. In the process, I witnessed benefits for participants (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005; Stein & Mankowski, 2004) in reinforcing their sense of legitimacy as men who are willing to communicate, share and support others. Combined, the photographic and media exercises and associated discussions enabled participants to organise their experiences and provide coherent reflections on their lives as men. The use of exercises requiring my participants to draw upon their relationships with their surroundings and family as well as present photographs for discussion added depth (Radley et al., 2005). These exercises comprise 'breaching experiments' in the ethno-methodological sense, designed to render the taken-for-granted tangible (Garfinkel, 1967) and the cultural and health significance of men's relationships intelligible.

The use of multiple methods provided insights into community life beyond the photographs, media items or accounts given (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). As a result, the research was able to demonstrate how each participant's knowledge about being a man was constructed communally within a society saturated by media depictions of men. This focus on personal and collective meanings was also influenced by the theoretical work of Blumer (1969) who proposed that understanding people's social worlds requires an engagement with the meanings people impute to the objects, spaces, places, and actors that inhabit their life-worlds. From this perspective personal life-worlds do not exist independently of processes of collective meaning making, which shape mundane social interactions. An exploration of the collective meanings, interactions and everyday practices of our participants occurred by encouraging them to *show* their world as well as *talk* about it (Radley et al., 2005). Similarly, Chaney (2002) proposes that "…in order to understand a topic we have to be able to grasp it, or we could say picture it or represent it…" (2002, p. vii). To produce and talk about photographs or to select media items is to make claims for them – to explain, interpret and to ultimately take responsibility for them. This process allowed an exploration of how participants see through their photographs, verbal accounts and selected media items to events, relationships and practices that give meaning to their lives.

Interpretative framework

The analysis process was guided by the research corpus and shaped by a Māori knowledge paradigm, Māori cultural concepts and relevant social science theory and research. My analysis was framed by the notion of researchers as bricoleurs (Kincheloe, 2005) who can operate inter-disciplinarily to combine methodological and analytical strategies required for a specific project. This analytic strategy engages with the critical nature of everyday life and the complexities of men's interactions, relationships and well-being. This is reflected in the use of the same 'text-and-context' approach to narrative analysis across all of the empirical materials. My analysis moved beyond the description of specific stories to make broader observations about the ways in which social relationships and practices are rendered meaningful through these narratives (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2013). The narrative approach proved particularly useful because the localised stories presented by the workplace, media or evident in the literature do not occur in social isolation. These stories emerge within a larger universe of beliefs, values, and worldviews that transcend specific representations.

Because I live in the same socio-cultural environment as many of the participants in both studies, the analysis involved a general process of defamiliarisation by which I worked to render the familiar or ordinary extraordinary (Chaney, 2002). Throughout the analysis process I used the existing literature to aid movement beyond the level of categorisation and description to interpretation. This involved re-establishing distance between the participants' concerns and my analytic concerns by situating extracts from participant accounts in relation to previous research and theory regarding men's lives and the role of media in society (cf., Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2013; Stein & Mankowski, 2004) and the colonial discourse around Māori masculinities (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007, 2012). Men retell media stories from the perspective of their social and material positioning in society and according to their existing views. By appropriating media images, men link their own experiences and lives to wider social contexts.

Specifically, I read the entire corpus of media coverage and materials produced by my participants in order to identify emerging issues and to establish general trends across these materials. Here media items and participant accounts

were explored as specific sites within a societal dialogue through which men's relationships with children are rendered meaningful, and from which society's response to emerging issues is impacted. Each of these sites was treated as an instance of social practice (Bourdieu, 1977; Breiger, 2000; Couldry, 2004; Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002) that reflects wider social narratives central to the construction of expectations surrounding men's participation in society. This approach is appropriate because the localised stories presented by the media do not occur in a social vacuum. Rather, stories emerge within a larger universe of public knowledge that transcends specific news reports (Collier, 2001; Jovchelovitch, 2006).

For both studies, selected participants would often be involved in the analysis to discuss emerging issues in order to establish the currency of these interpretations and clarify analytic points of interest (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005; Sixsmith & Boneham, 2003). More specifically, the research focus and specific questions asked of participants were used to guide the development of an initial coding frame. For study one this meant reflecting upon the role of media in men's self-constructions and sense of community participation. For study two this meant exploring the notion of Māori men's relational health within the wider context of whānau and community. Core themes for the analysis included the relationships between media items and men's sense of self, and participation in family and community life. By drawing upon the interview transcripts, observation notes, media items, on-going relationships and photos, I was able to account for the resilience that working-class Māori men in particular have shown against a backdrop of colonisation. I explored the varying opportunities my participants had to participate and build relationships in traditional and contemporary settings that are critical to their own wellness and the wellness of their whānau. As is common practice in qualitative community research (Stein & Mankowski, 2004), the reading of transcripts, observational notes and viewing of photographic and media material occurred with the themes of both studies in mind and examples of each theme were selected.

Chapter Three: Men and media: implications for the self and relationships

Media infiltrate the very fabric of mundane social life (Couldry, 2004; Silverstone, 1999, 2007), with lines from movies or events from news reports being reproduced in daily conversation. It is unsurprising that many of us structure our days, in part, according to the scheduling of favoured television shows, and take time to read newspapers, scan emails, engage in Facebook and meet online to play games with others or chat about health and community concerns (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006, 2013). Media also have a range of depictions of what it is to be a man (Armengol-Carrera, 2009; Fox, 2008; Hopkins & Riley, 1998, 2002), and these depictions are actively drawn on by men in forging their relationships and understandings of themselves. It is with regard to changing media representations and roles for men in contemporary society that this chapter sets out to explore some of the complexities surrounding what it means to be a man in Aotearoa/New Zealand today.

This chapter focuses on study one, which documents the ways in which nine men who self-identify as either Māori or Māori/Pākehā negotiate common ways of being a man and their relationships within the context of contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society. The chapter shows how these men, who are all engaged in traditional working-class occupations, can build relationships and thereby contribute to the development of relationships and the cultivation of healthy communities of practice (Paechter, 2002; Wenger et al., 2002). The emphasis on social relationships is important because it is well documented that people from communities with strong social ties are more likely to live long, healthy lives (Campbell & Murray, 2004; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Nonetheless, we know little about how friendships, trust, caring roles and supportive networks evolve and influence the lives of men (MacDonald, 2011; Sixsmith & Boneham, 2003). We know even less about how media images can contribute to or undermine such relational and community processes (Silverstone, 2007; Wallack, 2003).

The analysis for the chapter is based on the proposition that experiences of oneself as a man and one's relationships with others are often framed in relation to

media representations (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). This chapter draws on the excerpts from books, print articles and television programmes that were selected by the participants. These items are used to briefly illustrate the ways in which media outlets can function as cultural forums through which images of men are reviewed, reflected upon and extended. By appropriating these media items, men link their own experiences and lives to wider social and community contexts. Such thinking requires us to consider the function of media portrayals and competing media characterisations as important elements in the social negotiation of personal identity and social relations in contemporary societies. I will document some of the complexities involved, and the potential for change associated with media characterisations of men. Men also talk and negotiate their identities across ethnicities in the settler society. I also provide some extracts from the accounts of Pākehā participants as these extracts also reflect and elaborate on points made by Māori and Māori/Pākeha participants and are part of the dialogues within which Māori men consider their own situations and identities as community members, friends, partners and fathers. However, the primary focus is on the accounts of Māori and Māori/Pākehā participants.

This chapter is presented in two sections, each exploring aspects of the function of media in how men come to understand themselves, their relationships and place in the world. The first section focuses on the ways in which media portrayals of men inform participants' understandings of changing public expectations, domestic relationships and community practices. This section briefly considers prominent patterns across each participant's media selections as a reflection of wider public deliberations regarding what it means to be a man. It is argued that these media items function as sites for the working through of various issues surrounding life as a man today, both prescribing and revising men's identities and relationships. This section also documents some of the ways in which participants draw upon aspects of media images of men when accounting for and picturing their own lives. The analysis suggests that media deliberations can open up spaces for participants to reflect, often through dialogue with others, on their sense of self, family and community.

The second section provides an example of media deliberations that can disrupt the relationships and interactions of men with their own and other people's

children. Social relationships, especially kinship relationships, are a foundational part of many people's everyday lives. However, as a response to community concerns related to sexual abuse, men's interactions with other people's children have become subject to considerable scrutiny.

Section two draws on news coverage (identified specifically by over half of the participants in study one) of an incident where a man was asked to shift seats on an aircraft due to an airline policy prohibiting men from sitting next to unaccompanied children (Thomson, 2005). This media controversy, which played out during the time of the interviews with participants from study one, is discussed to demonstrate the legacy of media and community deliberations in the accounts and relational practices of men. Coverage revealed tensions between negative constructions of paedophiles and positive constructions of family men. All of the men in study one expressed concerns about being mistaken for a paedophile and about constraints on their social interactions with children.

Appropriating media ideals to build relationships, identities and community

Participants in study one were well aware of negative images of men. In response, these men selected many of their media items to consider positive aspects of their lives. However, their accounts reveal more than the prominence of various contemporary media characterisations. Accounts of these items reflect how these media infiltrate the very fabric of mundane community events, such as when friends converse about shared projects or a father and son discuss how they express affection towards one another. In addition, the men in study one did not need to engage directly with specific media deliberations; they often learned about new ways of being a man when media accounts were taken up in conversations with parents, partners and mates. Further, the men in study one were cognisant of hyper-masculine notions related to emotional expressiveness. Adopting a position of 'toughness' for some men ensures that they are not seen as weak, but self-reliant and masculine (Creighton, Ollife, Butterwick, & Saewyc, 2013). Consequently, the public display of emotion, particularly crying, for some men is discouraged and often compared to feminine notions of dependency (Burke, Maton, Mankowski, & Anderson, 2010; Connell, 1995; Davis & Crocket, 2010;

Hockey, Katz, & Small, 2001; Lee & Owens, 2011; Mankowski & Matonm, 2010). Men who fail to embody hegemonic masculine norms of emotional control, rationality, stoicism and emotional avoidance can sometimes become negatively judged and marginalised (Burke et al., 2010; Connell, 1995, 1998; Creighton et al., 2013; Lee & Owens, 2011). However, men and emotional expressiveness are more complex and negotiated than previous research suggests (McKenzie-Norton, 2010; Wong, Steinfeldt, LaFollette, & Tsao, 2011). Work by Robertson and colleagues (2001) as well as Armengol-Carrera (2009) challenges the stereotype that men do not experience significant levels of emotional expressiveness. Seidler (2007) also believes the stereotype of men's inexpressiveness is a result of comparing men with women. However, men can have their own way of expressing emotion that is meaningful and valid for them (Armengol-Carrera, 2009; Seidler, 2007) as this thesis will attempt to show. As a result, media deliberations provide part of the symbolic landscape within which participants assign meaning to their experiences, relationships, evolving gender roles, emotional expressiveness, and community participation.

All participants reflected on the role of media in cultivating specific ways of being a man and related these to their own sense of self and place. Particular emphasis was placed on evolving relationships with others, where men are becoming more openly emotionally expressive. Media were repeatedly presented as facilitating change and portraying men's efforts to engage meaningfully with the significant people in their lives. For instance, in the following extract Muri (Māori/Pākeha participant) recounts an instance when he was driving a truck for his father and listening to a talkback radio discussion of the emotional inexpressiveness of men. Muri also presented a photograph depicting his friends sitting around watching television and the importance of men simply being present in each other's lives. He refers to both the talkback radio and photograph during his interview. The appropriation of such mediated discussions became apparent when Muri discusses the content of a subsequent conversation he had with his father about issues raised in the item:

> *Muri: One of my items was from the talkback radio on the kiwi male and*
> *comparing us to Europeans [from Europe] who hug each other and how*

we don't hug each other. A lot of these guys [Points to a photograph of men watching television] would fit that stereotype. They don't hug each other. They're not touchy feely.

Interviewer: Does that mean they don't care about each other?

Muri: No certainly not. Yeah they care about each other a lot.

Interviewer: So how do they show that?

Muri: Just being there I guess. Like if you don't like the person...then you just don't bother seeing the person... They [the talkback radio show] opened up the lines...and a lot of women were ringing up and saying they like to be hugged because it makes them feel good. A lot of the men rang up and said yeah that is the situation. A lot of men don't want to be seen as soft or gay or whatever... But guys were ringing up and saying they don't mind hugging their kids and their family like, you know, their sons that are 20 or 30 year olds... My thoughts on it though are yeah there is that image, but I'm not a touchy feely person. A handshake is good enough for me... I was talking to my dad about it and he was like 'yeah that's because you've got this stupid tough image about you'. I said 'no way' it's just I'm not a touchy feely person'. And I'm like 'do you think you are?' And he's like 'yeah. And I'm like 'you've never hugged me before'. And he's like 'you've never gone away anywhere' [laughter]. He reckons he hugs my brother who lives over in Australia... I've never seen it but he probably does. He doesn't feel awkward about it, but he doesn't hug his friends...

Through this account, Muri invokes the mundane nature of men spending time together, talking, or watching television as a social practice for the expression of care and connection. Simply being there and spending time communicates friendship and support for these men in a more subtle manner than a hug. This extract contains references to social practices associated with men who are more likely to give handshakes and men who are comfortable giving other people hugs.

Muri distinguishes the nature of men's expressions of caring towards others in a manner that invokes the relevance of both social repertoires in relation to different interactive contexts. When relating to mates a handshake is often enough, whereas when it comes to one's girlfriend, wife, mother or children then perhaps a hug is warranted.

The discussion with Muri also demonstrates how media deliberations can open dialogue between men. Here a radio deliberation stimulates a conversation between father and son about their relationship. These men know they care about each other and the discussion of the radio programme allows them to discuss how they should express their affection. The importance of such seemingly mundane interactions with media and with other men was repeatedly raised by participants in a manner that highlights how media provide a common vocabulary for exploring the wider social world and legitimising different ways for men to be caring and intimate with others.

The men in study one did not always accept and in fact actively resisted the relevance of some media portrayals to their own sense of self and daily interactions (Penwarden, 2010). In particular, participants repeatedly distanced themselves from negative media portrayals of violent, criminal, and emotionally inexpressive men. The importance of emotionality and importance of family life as a fundamental aspect of manhood was evident in Horo's (Māori participant) account. Horo included a photograph in his media diary from a newspaper which depicts a happy couple with their new born baby (Figure 3).
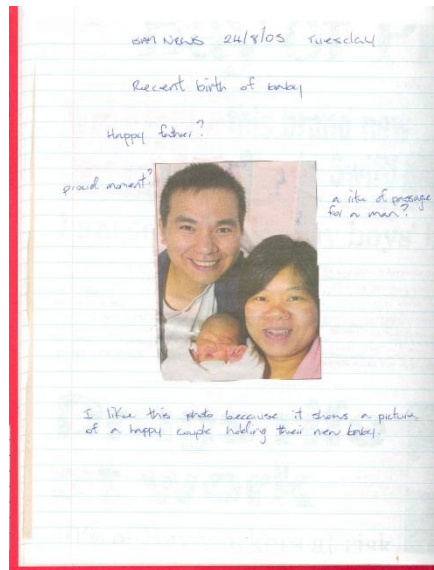
Figure 3: Happy couple and new-born child

Horo wrote a series of comments to reflect that childbirth is a happy and proud moment or rite of passage for a man. In his interview, Horo reflects on how he understands manhood and the evolving nature of his understanding,

> *There are so many traits a man should have but for me it's humility really. That's got to be my biggest one. Passion, drive, vision. An objective. A purpose. For men, a vision and a purpose changes as you get older. When you're young your vision or purpose is to have fun but then you get married, your vision and objective changes. When you have children it changes again. There are certain levels of manhood that you go through. That you enter into. So what makes a man? Humility is my biggest thing….. (A man is) Somebody who could say sorry to his wife. Someone who plays on an even playing field as his wife (Horo).*

Horo's account provides an alternative frame to the traditional characterisations of men as emotionally inexpressive, distant and lacking in outward affection for their wives and children. In contrast to a taken-for-granted backdrop of negative portrayals of Māori men, participants present themselves as committed family members who are resilient, self-reliant, expressive and caring.

The men in study one also frequently presented themselves in the frame of a positive alternative to the violent Māori patriarch evident in movies such as *Once Were Warriors* (Duff, 1994; Tamahori, 1995). For instance, when talking about media portrayals of men, Rāna (Māori participant) stated:

> *Rāna: As a Māori, you know, I hear a lot about 'the Māori was a warrior', but, you know, the Māori person he was also spiritual, very much so... He thought a lot about what he did. He wasn't just a warrior.*
>
> *Interviewer: The aggressive guy with the 'taiaha' [wooden staff]?*
>
> *Rāna: Yeah, exactly there was more to it than that...It's not that to be a man you've got to be violent like the 'Once Were Warriors' programmes and all that showed. And it's not like that at all, you know.*

Although the relevance of a specific style of portrayal is discussed, such extracts reflect another variant of the use of media as a shared backdrop against which men can communicate and construct a sense of self. In this case, the self-identification is constructed in opposition to dominant public expectations of a 'truth' discourse (Focault, 1972, 1980) created around the Māori warrior and 'warrior gene.' Recently, medical researchers hypothesised a 'warrior gene' that could pre-dispose Māori men to aggressive and violent behaviours, thus constructing high Māori criminality as a pathology that requires treatment (Chant, 2009; Hook, 2009). Although the research was eventually denounced as flawed and irresponsible (Perbal, 2013), racial stereotypes of Māori men persist and the extract by Rāna is an attempt to distance himself from such racial profiling. His excerpt reflects an alternative image recently promoted by scholars of pre-colonial Māori society who propose that Māori men were more openly emotional (Jackson, 2009; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; Salmond, 1991). Images from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries depict men and children embracing and exhibiting open displays of friendship and caring (Hokowhitu, 2004). Rāna projected this earlier image when he was interviewed at his daughter's house while cuddling his

mokopuna[11] (grandson). He worked to differentiate himself from violent criminals by presenting himself as a caring domesticated *koro* (grandfather).

Rāna's account also reflects contemporary media coverage of 'stay-at-home dads' who care for and openly cuddle children and have no problems talking about it. Rāna spoke openly about his relationship with his mokopuna with reference to a project that he and some mates were working on. The timber-built castle depicted in Figure 4 is literally a physical expression of Rāna's love for his mokopuna.

Figure 4: Photograph of a grandson's castle

In the photo-based discussion Rāna stated:

The unit boys helped me lift it onto its foundation on the weekend. My love for my grandson holds no bounds. My thoughts are of him getting great pleasure playing in it... It's neat; it's got two bunks, a ladder, a trapdoor to the roof. He can sleep out there. You know there will always be a strong closeness between father, son and grandson...

The photograph of the castle and associated commentary reflect how men can be physically expressive towards family members and also express themselves through the products of their labour. A dialogical relationship (Hermans & Gieser, 2012b) is sustained between Rāna and his mokopuna through an object imbued

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[11] Mokopuna can refer to a grandchild or grandchildren of either gender. In this instance, mokopuna is referring Rāna's grandson

with personal meaning significant to their relationship. From a Māori health perspective, the castle is a relational outcome that is permeated with a life force or *mauri* (life principle) shared by the people concerned (Mead, 2003; Moon, 2004). The castle is an object of care that anchors shared relationships and identities as part of inter-connected beings in the Māori world (Durie, 2012a; Marsden, 2003).

References to the positioning and features of the castle also invoke elements of men's culture where 'projects' have to be carried out competently. It is not enough to build a castle. It has to be functional, sturdy and showcase some innovations which can be 'mulled over' with mates. Building and discussing the castle opens up a space for shared enterprise and sharing between men (Hopkins & Riley, 1998, 2002). During the building and positioning of the castle 'the boys' from the part-time Army unit (which Rāna belongs to) became well acquainted with the castle's features and similar structures are now on the drawing board. This shared project, and its significance in building the relationship between Rāna and his mokopuna, also demonstrates that men have varying modes of expression that are often overlooked by clinical understandings of emotion that emphasise a feminine talk-therapy approach (Wong & Rochlen, 2005). Men can be intimate while also expressing their relationships by doing things or through shared activities (McDowell, 2003; McKenzie-Norton, 2010; Nardi, 1992; Wong & Rochlen, 2005). Issues of evolving men's relationships are explored further below.

Evolving gendered relationships across life spheres

For the men in study one, distinctions between the gender roles for men and women were not as rigid as they may have once been for some families. Further challenging the findings of previous research (McDowell, 2003), the men in study one were not disparaging about women. Instead, women were considered partners and peers in vocational and domestic domains. Tāhere (Māori participant) states that the functioning of a whānau is through a respectful partnership with his wife, "I say partnership because raising kids and running a household and providing for the family works both ways". The importance of egalitarian partnerships between men and women was particularly evident during interviews with participants in

their homes and is consistent with Māori notions of health that emphasise extended family and the care of children as important components in men's well-being (Durie, 1985, 2006; Love, 2004; Pere, 1991).

Puhi (Māori/Pākeha participant) was first interviewed at his home while his wife was at work and he was looking after their four children and preparing dinner. Reflecting male involvement in domestic tasks, the interview was paused several times so that Puhi could change a nappy, put topping on a bun, make a sandwich, find the television remote, and clean up a spilt drink. When emphasising men's domestic contributions, such participants referred to wider economic and social transformations. For instance, Puhi explains that

> *...things are changing cos we're getting more involved in the upbringing of children because what traditionally happened is men didn't have a chance and now they want to relate to their kids.*

Such references to 'stay-at-home-dads' and men's contributions to domesticity appeal to wider patterns of social change and can invoke a sense of participation among men. Allan (1998) has documented how working men's friendships and contributions to family life in Britain changed between the mid and late 20th century. Likewise Rehel (2014) argues that men are embracing increased child care roles more than ever before; a point reinforced by Tāhere (Māori participant) as he reflects upon his life as a family man: "I think to be a man today firstly you need to be a family man, which supersedes everything". Family coming first for Tāhere means "spending time with the whānau, putting aside time each week, each day I try and put time aside with the kids, helping them with their homework, doing the dishes…" Tāhere points out that the traditional gender-role of men being the providers, and women doing the domestic work at home, is outdated and he wants his children to know this through role-modelling different practices within the home. This is his attempt to instil a set of values about team work and partnerships where chores in the house are not just mum's or dad's job but a collective team effort from the entire whānau. "If they see me doing the dishes, which isn't a traditionally man's job or role, then they look at me and say, 'ah yea if dad can do it, then we can do it" (Tāhere). The shift in gender roles

from what was considered largely the role of women reflects changing family structures and the increased participation of women in the workforce since the 1970s (Marshall, 1998).

The kitchen is another area in the home where men in general are cooking more than men did in the past. This is seen in younger men in particular, compared to older men (Szabo, 2014). Meah and Jackson (2013) refer to contemporary households as 'crowded spaces' since men are increasingly asserting their presence in domestic spaces alongside women, thereby challenging traditional gendered roles and responsibilities (Rehel, 2014). Wider economic and social transformations that often require two parents to work outside the home are associated with working men spending more time with family and experiencing opportunities for familial intimacy, self-expression and self-realisation. This includes men increasingly searching for work-life balance as they negotiate time for household and childcare activities (Vandeweyer & Glorieux, 2008).This is not to suggest a fundamental shift in domestic equality in the home. Far from it, as women continue to do the majority of unpaid work around the home. Nonetheless, societal changes mean that some men's lives are becoming increasingly 'home-centred' (Meah & Jackson, 2013; Rehel, 2014).

Consequently, the men in study one could imagine a social context in which it is acceptable for men to nurture as well as preserve a sense of self-reliance and fortitude. Being more involved in the crowded domestic spaces does not detract from being a man. For example, Kereopa (Māori participant) embraced home life when he said, "I love doing the domestic stuff at home. The ironing, the cooking, I love gardening and in the same breath I love to renovate homes, work on the car…" Participants openly questioned the dominant assumptions of clearly defined gender roles and the notion that the public realm is for men and the private realm is for women. They reflected on their sense of self across different contexts. Like their female partners, these men appeared to develop and transform their identities in the home as much as the office, factory, pub or sports field (Allan, 1998; Gutmann, 1996; McDowell, 2003). In the process, the men in study one challenged the fundamental notion of a single authentic masculinity (Moffatt, 2012), and instead manhood was presented as a somewhat fluid process that can

develop over time through a range of relational practices (Hammond & Mattis, 2005) that span various situations:

> *Ivan (Pākeha participant): ...So when I am at home I probably am a different person from what I project when I'm at work. As I probably do cut my harder exterior back to a softer exterior when I'm at home and try to teach my children to be more rounded, rather than the father and the boss sort of attitude... It's a joint effort, but I don't want to portray myself as being a SNAG because I don't consider myself a SNAG. I don't even tend to come across them.*

> *Interviewer: How do you know about them?*

> *Ivan: Through the media, magazines where I read about them, Cosmopolitan... They had that thing on Campbell Live[12] and the three SNAGs couldn't even change car oil. They weren't very practically minded and didn't have a clue. Too busy having lattes and moisturising... Shocking really...*

Two contrasting media ideals are positioned in Ivan's reflections as offering repertoires that can be drawn upon in different life spheres. Being a caregiver does not mean that such men are no longer blokes. Work environments continue to encourage them to align themselves with hegemonic masculinity (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009; Smith & Winchester, 1998). Conversely, at home they have more possibilities to align themselves with 'alternative' male identities. It is important to note that although the participants emphasise how they care for children, cook and clean, men have always done 'unpaid' domestic work, such as house and vehicle maintenance (Gutmann, 1996; Meah & Jackson, 2013; Rehel, 2014). Ivan's reflections cross the borders of familial and traditional male employment domains in a conscious effort to illustrate the hidden nature of men's contributions to family life.

Previous research into multiple masculinities and changing roles for men has focused on the efforts of men to negotiate various contradictions (Clare, 2000;

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[12] Half-hour long New Zealand current affairs programme on TV3 and is hosted by John Campbell

Jewkes, 2002; McDowell, 2003). Diverging from the findings of such research, increased domestic participation among the participants did not undermine their involvement in public lives (Allan, 1998; Rehel, 2014; Szabo, 2014). These men saw few obstacles to maintaining relationships across life spheres and did not find this to be an arduous task. Rather, it was an almost seamless process. In daily practice, multiplicity and contradiction are accepted because of the demands of a working-class existence. Flexibility, in terms of roles and responsibilities, is necessary for parents to cover for one another when juggling childcare and hectic work schedules. Managing the children's activities for Tāhere (Māori participant) has always been about negotiating with his wife, "I used to be involved with my daughter's Girl Guide nights and just sit there and watch when my wife couldn't do it…I'm also looking at getting involved in the high school cadets. They're screaming out for instructors so I'm looking at that for my daughter." Tāhere began attending his daughter's Girl Guide nights because his wife was unable to attend, and he is now considering more active involvement in his child's after-school activities. This reflects how men like Tāhere are negotiating multiple roles in the household and in the public sphere.

While men are engaging in more domestic chores in the household, women are also stepping outside of stereotypical gender roles. It is acceptable for women to contribute to the mentoring of boys. For instance, during the photographic discussions, Puhi (Māori/Pākeha participant) presented an image of his Aunty and his son sitting on a four-wheel farm motorbike (See Figure 5), as part of a series of photographs of a "…visit to the family farm".

Figure 5: Photograph of an Aunty and son doing farm work

Puhi describes the photograph as follows:

> *Puhi: …That's ___ (refers to his son on the motorbike) and my Aunty and they're going out to fix the water pump… That's _____ getting his indoctrination into being a bloke, being a hands-on guy, rather than sitting around playing play station all day…*
>
> *Interviewer: You'd almost expect a guy on the bike?*
>
> *Puhi: My uncle is actually selling real-estate now and they've changed roles a bit and she's got to take on a lot more of that responsibility and therefore she's on the motorbike.*

Puhi discussed the importance of traditional 'bloke' practices for enabling both boys and girls to develop practical skills. Spending time learning from Aunty is considered to be preferable to a sedentary urban lifestyle, and is crucial for developing a self-reliant and independent approach to life. Puhi presented tinkering with machines and spending time outdoors or in sheds as quality family time. "It's about spending meaningful time and doing things with your kids so that they develop skills for later in life" (Puhi).

This section has shown how men exhibit multiple and evolving gender roles when engaging in various relationships with work, partners, children and whānau. In recounting this the men drew upon media examples. The next section explores how the ways of being a man contribute to the construction of an organic community of practice in the army unit.

Creating a community of practice

The men in study one expressed a sense of responsibility, caring and belonging that extended beyond the domestic and family domains to other social spaces. The men repeatedly talked about the part-time Territorial Army Unit as a domain in which they experienced a sense of participation and identity through engagements in shared practices. In the following quote, Jack (Pākeha participant) discusses the significance of the 'bloke culture' (community of practice) he experiences with the other men in the unit:

> *Bloke culture is your particular group that you do things with: fixing cars, fishing that sort of stuff. It comes back to that common ground and common interests… See our bloke culture is when we all come together and we know what we're doing… It's us down the Hangar… It's having people know you and accept you for who you are. You get to take part, basically (Jack).*

When discussing the function of this group, Jack invokes a description of a community of practice based on shared enterprise, competency and belonging (Paechter, 2002; Parker, 2006; Wenger, 1998). Participation in shared practices and ritualised activities is presented as giving coherence to the group. Mundane acts such as fixing cars, fishing or just hanging out down at the Hangar together provide opportunities for maintaining relationships and cultivating a sense of trust, support and belonging. Participants often discussed how a sense of community is felt through contact with, or recollections of specific places, such as the Hangar where members meet or a project vehicle is being rebuilt.

For these men in study one, the Hangar represents a memorable site where community is realised through simple acts such as a smile or impromptu welcomes. As Rīhari (Māori/Pākeha participant) states: "It's as easy as when you turn up down the Hangar and the boys say 'how's it', 'good to see you'. It fits, you're acknowledged, you know. Ah I'm back into it". A similar account was made by Horo (Māori participant) when he returns to the unit and the hangar, "How's it bro? The bro thing…(the) unit is more of a family than it is a unit". One prominent assumption in the academic literature and media deliberations is that working class men do things together rather than talk (Hopkins & Riley, 1998, 2002; Williams, 1992). However, support and caring is enacted in this community of practice through both physical activities and talk. Intimacy can be expressed through shared enterprise and the participants readily identified such communal practices as a means for emotional connection:

> *I think there is a camaraderie there and we can talk about stuff. In a way it is like one of those cheese dick men's groups you see on TV. But it's more real than that. It's about being there, but it's also about getting on with a job and getting things done and feeling part of something. Like you belong and matter to each other… It's having the space to get on with it… (Rīhari).*

The primary concern is not exactly what is stated between men or the content of their speech. More often it is the act of being there that communicates a lot. However, the activity orientation expressed in this extract does not exclude men from sharing through dialogue and mutual understanding. Just because men's relationships often revolve around 'doing things' or simply 'hanging out', 'spending time' and 'getting on with it', does not mean they are less intimate or emotionally expressive (Hopkins & Riley, 2002). While engaging in activities together, men can share their joys and sorrows and a "sense of trust and friendship is important because you always need someone to talk to..." (Puhi). The participants' accounts reflect how working class men's interactions involve much more than opportunities for posturing and displaying aggressive hyper-masculinities (Connell, 2000; Hickey, 2008; Vokey, Tefft, & Tysiaczny, 2013).

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Interactions between these men provide opportunities for support, caring and community. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) acknowledge, masculine notions of being are constantly reconfigured and reconstructed to reflect a multitude of identity layers and do not reflect a unitary and inexpressive masculinity.

Most of the men in study one had Māori ancestry, were raised in Māori contexts, had Māori family or friends, and had familiarity with Māori traditions, practices and worldviews. Consequently, Māori cultural concepts offered an important frame in study one for interpreting the collectivist orientation and emphasis placed on open dialogue evident throughout these men's accounts (Durie, 2006; Love, 2004; McNeil, 2009; Pere, 1991). One illustration of this is the way new members of the unit are encouraged to immediately engage with each other and offer some personal anchor points for others to relate to them. This includes introducing themselves by holding an object and taking the floor to talk uninterrupted for five minutes. At social events, such as dinners, this practice is repeated so that any member of the unit can contribute to the proceedings and experience this form of open communication. This practice stems from ritualised patterns of communication within Māori culture (Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003). Rāna explains this practice in relation to the image presented in Figure 6:

Figure 6: Photograph of a Māori stick used during formal speeches

That's my mau rakau korero (talking) stick on top of the pou (intricately carved post)... It gives me my heritage...and a sense of protection... The korero stick...I'll hand it around and say 'well this is what we'll do'. Cos there's a lot of people...and they don't want to talk. So I'll say. 'Look this is a mau rakau korero stick. If you get it handed to you just have a little talk about yourself' or the event that we're at. We do it in the [Unit] when we get new guys to stand up and tell us about themselves... Get them used to talking... It's not a hostile environment and you get everyone coming in and joking... That becomes part of the culture of the military itself...(Rāna, Māori participant)

This extract exemplifies how Māori cultural backgrounds can contribute practices in the settler society through which men can learn to communicate and construct common ground. The korero stick allows the audience to make connections with the speaker through such things as whakapapa, geography or history. Authors such as Walker (2001) and Soutar (2008) have recounted the influence of Māori

culture on the evolution of the New Zealand military as a shared cultural space for Māori and Pākehā. Here, we see the manifestation of this in a simple practice that signals openness and expressiveness among men that was recognised by all participants as being crucial for building relationships and community. The korero stick is a reflection of whanaungatanga (relationship building) or mihimihi (introductions) where a sense of interconnectedness is recognised and the establishment of a pluralistic identity between self and group is established (Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003). These shared rituals are used to build and maintain relationships by crystallising an obligation of support, dialogue, respect, and understanding during face-to-face interactions.

In summary, it is through mundane social interactions with media images, friends and family that these men's sense of self and relationships appear to be cultivated and revised. Like the working-class men investigated by Hammond and Mattis (2005), the men in study one's identities were relationally constructed in that they defined themselves in terms of their relationships with children, partners and mates. The men in study one discussed the multiplicity of their identities as evolving and malleable (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2010) with relation to others and their environments. Of key importance for them were opportunities for dialogue, intimacy, emotional expressiveness and affection, and meeting one's responsibilities towards others in the face of critique and public contestation. In a letter to me that accompanied the return of a camera for processing, Tāhere (Māori participant) summed up one manifestation of the relational notion of these men's identities: "If I could sum up in 3 words what it means to me to be a kiwi bloke it would be '**love your family**'" (Tāhere). Such statements reflect the finding that self for these men is an interdependent process and a web of connections (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b; Li, 2011), which often involves meeting one's obligations to family and community. Likewise, Sixsmith and Boneham (2003) illustrate how both manhood and health are experienced in the context of friendship, family and community. Participant accounts invoke a sense of inclusion, trust and reciprocity that has been linked to improvements in men's health (MacDonald, 2011). The analysis illustrates how insights into the social negotiation of such community ties (Campbell & Murray,

2004; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010) can be gained by exploring men's mundane experiences of belonging, sharing and support.

In the next section I document how media openly negotiate between positive and negative identities for men by exploring one controversial example further exemplifying media role in these processes. The airline case was identified by several of the men in this study including the Māori, Māori/Pākeha participants, and serves to illustrate the opening up of a rhetorical space within the mediapolis (Silverstone, 2007; Simmel, 1997) by juxtaposing two distinct characterisations of men in the settler society; the family man and the paedophile.

The social negotiation of public anxieties regarding men's interactions with children

The second section of this chapter focuses on a media controversy surrounding an airline incident in 2005 involving Qantas Airlines. This case was raised by the men involved in this thesis without prompting, as an exemplar of the kinds of characterisations that affect all men, including Māori men, in everyday life. Māori men face many challenges to their sense of self, place and relationships in settler society, and the airline case is a pertinent example of such challenges. The case involves a male passenger, Mark Worsley, a father of two, was sitting next to an unaccompanied child on a flight from Christchurch to Auckland when a Qantas flight attendant asked Mr Worsley to swap seats with a female passenger. Qantas has a policy that only women can sit beside unaccompanied children on flights. This incident was raised by study one participants to question the assumptions made about men as threats to children that underlie such policies. This section explores the significance of such media controversies as a barrier to the positive development of men's social relationships. Amongst the participants in study one, the airline incident disrupted their view of themselves as carers and nurturers of children. In exploring these concerns, it is possible to address interrelated issues surrounding the function of news media in men's lives, relationships and identities. First, I document the media controversy surrounding the airline case and consider the role of coverage in community reconsiderations of normative interactions between men and children. Second, I consider the ways in which men

draw upon contrasting characterisations of men as trusted parents and untrustworthy paedophiles when making sense of their own lives, relationships and roles in community life. The participants invoked a social climate where public anxieties associate men with danger to children.

In considering this case, the participation of men in community life is the product of on-going socially and culturally constructed prescriptions regarding appropriate gender roles, relationships and risks (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Levant & Wong, 2013; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). I start this analysis with the assertion that tensions surrounding relationships between men and children in public life are worked through, in part, via media reports. News media provide civic forums within the mediapolis through which restraints on men's participation can be legitimised and enhanced or questioned and revised (Critcher, 2002; Cross & Lockyer, 2006; Kitzinger, 1999). To further contextualise the airline incident, a brief review of evidence for the risk men pose to children in public spaces is considered along with the role of the mass media in both cultivating community anxieties regarding child abuse and the development of policy responses. As already mentioned, research into men highlights problems such as higher rates than women for criminal offending, violence and abuse (Beynon, 2002; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; McKinney, 2013). Psychology journals contain numerous studies of men's negative influences on their families and communities (Levant, 2011; Wong et al., 2010). As valuable as such problem-focused work is, it is important to remind ourselves that not all men are abusive or present a danger to children (Fox, 2008; Gutmann, 1996; Harper, 2004). Despite this fact, many institutions in our communities have developed policies based on the assumption or at least the balance of probability that men pose a direct risk to children (Collier, 2001; Collins, 2012; New Zealand Government, 2012).

News media deliberations regarding child protection and stranger danger

The airline story began on 29 November 2005 with the publication of items in the press and on radio and television. From the beginning, items criticised Airline policies for discriminating against men and contained interview extracts from the man at the centre of the controversy. Mark Worsley was characterised as an

aggrieved family man. Additional sources questioning the policies included school principals, a former human rights commissioner of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the CEO of Big Buddy (male mentoring service for children), the Dean of Education at a major university, and a former Children's Commissioner. Those supporting the policy included spokespeople from Airlines and the then Children's Commissioner. Coverage contained audience feedback from the beginning; for example, dialogue between Radio Live callers epitomised perspectives in the emerging debate regarding the importance of men's rights versus the safety of children. Newspapers also printed reader responses, the majority of which criticised the policy for assigning 'guilt by association' to all men. As coverage evolved, articles and letters begin to provide satirical views on the so-called 'political correctness', underlying the regulation of men's interactions with children. The policy was generally positioned as an over-reaction due to the lack of evidence for stranger danger or risk to children by men on public transport (Chenier, 2012; Lee, 2005). When considering predictors for offending, Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2005) identify deviant sexual interests, especially in children, as being almost exclusively exhibited in secret by someone known to the victim, not in a public place by a stranger on an aeroplane. The focus of the evolving media story moved beyond the airline policy to reflect how society constrains interactions between men and children by constructing all men as actual or potential paedophiles. This broader discussion considered the negative implications for men and children's relationships, the lack of role models for boys in institutions such as primary schools, and hysteria surrounding child abuse.

In light of the lack of statistical evidence for actual risk to children posed by strange men on aircrafts, one must assume another basis for the advent of the airline policies. Community anxieties regarding paedophilia cultivated via sensationalist media reports (Cross & Lockyer, 2006; Kitzinger, 1999) present a possible explanation. Over the previous few decades news media had promoted a collective climate of fear of the paedophile as the shadowy stranger or outsider who infiltrates public spaces and stalks children (Blair, 2014; Collier, 2001; Critcher, 2002; Meyer, 2007). Community anxieties about men and associated policies restricting men's interactions with children support the existence of links between such media constructions, community perceptions and policy formation.

News media are recognised as primary sources of taken-for-granted frameworks for understanding, identifying and defining public concerns about children and legitimating responses (Cross & Lockyer, 2006; Lonne & Parton, 2014; Saint-Jacques, Villeneuve, Turcotte, Drapeau, & Ivers, 2012). Tester (2001) makes a similar observation in relation to the notion of the CNN effect, which refers to a link between images of children as victims on television news and more sustained and aggressive policy initiatives to address the 'needs' of such children. According to Chenier (2012) the discourse around stranger danger externalises the sexual threat to children by maintaining the family as safe from sexual grooming and paedophilia. This in turn fails to appreciate the evidence indicating that offenders are generally those known to children (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005).

Moral panics and campaigns to out, name and shame offenders have led to the introduction of policies aimed at containing 'stranger danger' (Collier, 2001), which do not resolve actual dangers to children, but rather institutionalise 'responses' and appease public hysteria regarding stranger danger (Critcher, 2002; Greer & Jewkes, 2005). Below I document the tensions and contestations of negative characterisations of men emerging with the evolving media story regarding the airline case and my participants' reactions to it.

Returning to the specifics of the airline incident, an 'Our View' section of the New Zealand Herald (1 December 2005) reviewed the early controversy surrounding the policy as a "predictable response" based on the airline's reading of what customers demand to 'protect children':

> *In many ways, indeed, an airline flight represents a real risk if an abuser was to be seated near a child. Passengers are crammed together, usually for at least an hour, in a situation that demands interaction. It could be an opportunity for contact to be made which might lead to grooming of a child (The New Zealand Herald, 2005, p. A14).*

The policy is presented in this item as epitomising a situation where 'the rights of the community are balanced against those of an individual'. This perspective justifies the airline policy as a 'reasonable' response to risks posed by strange men

and a means of protecting children. This perspective was increasingly questioned as coverage developed to emphasise the discriminatory nature and consequences of associating all men with the actions of a minority of men. For example, in "Guilt by Association" (Dominion Post, December 1, 2005) a former Race Relations Conciliator comments on the consequences of the stereotyping of all men as risks to children in airline policies:

> *We can never fix one evil with another evil. We cannot defend one freedom by trampling on the very freedoms we cherish. By all means (in fact it is your duty to), protect the rights of our precious children, but don't label me a paedophile simply because I'm male (Fortuin, 2005, p. B5).*

Such items position criticisms of the airline policy as reasoned responses to discrimination against men and the removal of men's freedoms. In another opinion piece The Dominion Post's Linley Boniface continues the theme of challenging the appropriateness of airline policies in her article "Men – the real abuse victims" (Boniface, 2005). The point is made that:

> *Men, it appears, are such filthy, immoral, perverted beasts that even those who appear relatively decent on the surface cannot be trusted to withstand the temptation of being seated next to young flesh……we've allowed our fear to outweigh our common sense. My son is four. I'd like to ask Dr Ciro [Children's Commissioner who supported the airline policy] at what age she'll stop regarding him as a potential victim of sexual abuse, and start regarding him as a potential abuser. Because apparently, those are the only two options left for men.*

This extract poses a direct challenge to the notion that airline policies simply comprise a pragmatic response to the risk posed by strange men and that child safety justifies universal discrimination against men. It is important to note that such items did not directly challenge public concerns regarding sex offenders. Rather, they questioned the extension of these concerns to all men. What is questioned is the conflation of the image of the paedophile with the family man

within a history of 'stranger danger' education and a spike in the reporting of sexual offending since the 1990s (Chenier, 2012; Fox, 2013; Moran, Warden, Macleod, Mayes, & Gillies, 1997).

Subsequently, the framing of the controversy increasingly reflected what Cross and Lockyer (2006) refer to as an 'injustice news frame', where stories promote civic concerns regarding social injustices and appeal to a public's sense of fairness. In this case policies aimed at regulating 'decent men's' interactions with children were increasingly presented as being simply unfair. In terms of wider social processes underlying such framing, this development reflects how news coverage can function to allow for the renegotiation of public sensibilities regarding issues of public concern and the characters involved. As Greer and Jewkes state, "The boundaries separating different categories of deviance and dangerousness are not fixed and immutable, but fluid and permeable; they constantly change as a function of shifting cultural sensibilities and public concern" (2005, pp. 22-23). Because the airline policy transgresses distinctions between prominent contemporary characterising of men as caring fathers and men as paedophiles it warrants reconsideration and some thought being given to broader relationships between men and children. It is important to note that within such deliberations not all media constructions are negative. Along with depictions of men as criminals and paedophiles who are disinclined to contribute positively to family and community (Faludi, 2000), are more positive depictions of family men, as those who care for and support others, contribute domestically as 'stay-at-home dads' and are positive influences in children's lives (Beynon, 2002; Connell, 2000; Rehel, 2014). The promotion of the family man is a basis for highlighting the unfairness of regulating all men's interactions with children in order to control the shadowy figure of the monstrous stranger (Chenier, 2012; Kitzinger, 1999; Lee, 2005).

For instance, the highest-rating network television current affairs programme of the time (Close Up, 29 November 2005) presented an interview with Mark Worsley, who is introduced as a "father of two" and who is portrayed recounting the personal consequences of this discriminatory policy in terms of personal stigma and frustration:

...I was embarrassed, you know, being hauled up in front of every other passenger, and basically everyone looks at you, 'you must be a kiddy fiddler'! We're not leaving him sit by a child so I moved and then I started getting angry thinking, this can't be right. We've got rules against this sort of thing it's discriminatory and no matter how you paint it...

The host of the programme continues the consequences theme:

Interesting email I've got here...from Darrel Ward who says, several months ago I was sitting on a train on the way home from work. A school girl had been bullied by another girl and was sitting in a stairwell crying. As a father of two daughters I instinctively wanted to go and comfort her and make sure she was alright. Looking around the carriage I can see many other men who were obviously fathers who wanted to do the same. He said, 'we could not follow our natural instinct though as we have as fathers to protect children much like those few remaining male Primary School Teachers who are afraid to close their classroom doors. We knew we couldn't go near her, because of the reprehensible belief of a few that men in general are a danger to children. Sad isn't it.'

The feedback from the email above is consistent with Bell's (2002) argument that the male paedophile is depicted as simultaneously everywhere, living outside of the home where the majority of offending occurs. Throughout the coverage, the fear of accusations of child abuse is presented as leading to restricted interactions between men and both their own and other people's children in the domestic environment, education system and recreational settings.

The men in study one also reflected on how men are reluctant to join the teaching profession, or engage in aspects of daily parenting such as bathing and toilet training their own children for fear of being accused of abuse. In his media diary, Horo (Māori participant) included a letter to the editor titled "Anti-male stance hurting schools" (Appendix H) and a newspaper article titled "Where are the men?" (Appendix I) Both of these newspaper items highlighted the

disappearance of men from the teaching profession due to concerns about their interactions with children. Horo included these items and wrote comments to express his concerns about children missing out on having male role models in the school environment.

In questioning discriminatory policies and raising public concerns, coverage reflects a coming together of media and community activism. The efforts of journalists and concerned citizens combine to raise issues regarding the regulation of men's interactions with children. Such media advocacy has been associated with campaigns to 'out' and 'exclude' paedophiles from local communities (Cross & Lockyer, 2006; Fox, 2013). What became obvious in the present case was the combined efforts of journalists and audience members to question why men are marginalised and stigmatised. In an opinion piece towards the end of the story, radio personality and newspaper columnist Kerre Woodham reflects on the debate regarding the policy and whether all men should be treated as potential paedophiles. She makes the point that:

> *...though some people find it hard to accept, most men aren't paedophiles. They accuse me of naivety when I say the only men I know well are good, kind, loving men who would no more harm a child then they would cut off one of their limbs. I would accuse those on 24hour paedophile watch of lacking perspective. Working in an industry where the men they meet are bad does not ipso facto make all men bad (Woodham, 2005).*

Such items rely on the juxtaposing of the family man with the paedophile and work to construct proponents of the airline policy as 'zealots,' opposed to 'common sense' regarding men's participation. They exemplify how journalists often operate from what has been referred to as a "sphere of consensus" (Schudson, 2003) where a common ground is negotiated around an issue, often in relation to audience opinions. The process of cultivating such a consensus is evident in the appeals for and use of audience input.

Newspapers went so far as to ask for letters from their readerships on the topic and talkback radio stations canvassed public opinion. In the context of a NZ

Herald article "Airline ban on men sitting next to children" (Thomson, 2005) outlining the case of Mr Worsley, readers were offered the opportunity to "Have your Say: What do you think of the airline's policy?" Subsequently the newspaper published responses the following day. 'Readers respond: Airlines demonise male passengers' contained 16 responses. The first response states:

> *I am tired of seeing all men marginalised because of a few. It is not only political correctness gone wrong, it is discrimination on the basis of gender… Will movie theatres be required to allocate seats so that I cannot sit next to a child in a movie theatre? (Fed-up Father).*

The proposition that policies punish the many for a few was continued in several other letters that broadened the frame of reference, thus positioning men as one among many groups facing discrimination:

> *…To base this policy on the grounds that some men do molest children is as absurd as it would be to ban Muslims from sitting next to Christians (or even from boarding the plane) because some Muslims are terrorists (Dr Volker Knuefermann).*

It would be misleading to propose that all letters were critical and fitted with the emerging sphere of consensus. The minority of items supportive of the policy relied on the conflation of the image of the paedophile and the family man. Supportive items positioned strange men as outside the bounds of the family and community:

> *If the article had not stated Mark Worsley was traveling from Christchurch to Auckland I would have said he lived on another planet. I applaud Qantas and Air New Zealand for doing their bit to try to keep our children safe (Dianne Kendall).*

The inclusion of such items reflects the attempts of news outlets to attract audience interest through controversy (Smith, McLeod, & Wakefield, 2005) and to simulate some balance through the juxtaposing of perspectives (Schudson, 2003). Here we see an example of the use of recourse to emotional concerns

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regarding the safety of children as a means of legitimating airline policies (Spicer, 2014). It is important to reflect on who the 'our' refers to in this letter. It is unlikely to be men such as Mark Worsley. Letters to the editor and talkback radio calls have been identified as sources of community sentiment and a basic vehicle for media advocacy or active involvement of concerned citizens in public debate regarding a specific issue, where reference to personal and collective identities is a core means of legitimatising one's perspective (Smith et al., 2005). Recourse to the collective identity of the family man provides a means for legitimatising the questioning airline policy while those supporting it do so in relation to collective anxieties regarding the shadowy figure of the paedophile.

Letters, pages and talkback conversations were used to construct a shared agenda between journalists and audiences in opposition to dissenting voices and in pursuit of common sense. They provided forums within which public deliberations and popular knowledge could be negotiated with relation to equity of the policy and where notions of men's threat could be deliberated upon (Smith et al., 2005). In the process the airline case was linked to readers' and callers' own life-worlds and experiences. Thus, such letters reveal aspects of how restraints on men's interactions are experienced, engaged with, and adjusted to in everyday life. For instance, the Radio Live (29 November, 2005) conversation hosted by Michael Laws contained some 49 callers and additional emails, through which audience members related the controversy to their own life worlds:

> *Fraser: I have been a house husband for 6 ½ years and involved in caring for children and that sort of thing and I think that I'll be highly offended if I was asked to move on an aeroplane because that might give me a bad name with people who might know me and implicating me in the future. I don't see how they can get away with the liability of defamation of character and that sort of thing. What if one of my associates happens to see that and think, 'well what is this guy doing. What do they know that we don't know?' That could be putting my future at risk and my career...I would definitely go back to them (the airlines) and question their motives.*

Such callers draw on their own experiences to point out that men are involved with nurturing and raising children and that this makes policies restricting our involvement problematic. They invoke poignant examples to promote problems with the general regulation of men's participation in children's lives. A central strategy here is to establish the direct relevance of one's experiences and therefore a position of authority from which to promote a perspective. In this case, the caller presents himself as the primary caregiver of children who considers how he, and by default other men, might respond to situations where their interactions with children are regulated.

Both critics and supporters of the airline policy were able to draw upon moral concerns regarding men and the safety of children on the one hand and discrimination and marginalisation on the other. The ensuing debate focused on establishing the authority of one position over the other. In the end it was critics of the policy who succeeded in positioning themselves as the majority perspective that spoke for 'us' the general public against 'them' as advocates for the policy. The analysis of such aspects of mediated public deliberations presented in this section establishes aspects of public discourse regarding men's identities and associated participation in society, and provides some insights into the experiences of men depicted in media coverage. It goes some way to highlight audience reactions, but only begins to inform us about how the links between patterns in media representations and what men make of these representations in their everyday lives are expressed spontaneously in conversation (Beynon, 2002; Jewkes, 2002). This reinforces the notion that men can retell media stories from the perspective of their social and material positioning in society and according to their existing views. These latter processes are explained in relation to my participants with regard to the airline case and how they understood their place in society and relationships with children.

Men's concerns regarding mediated accusations of 'kiddy fiddling'

The airline case embodies complexities and contradictions surrounding the contemporary place of men in family, community and public life. In this case, there appears to be a conflation of the paedophile and the family man, and

treatment of all men in airline policy as if they were threats to children. This was resisted by some contributors to the media story and my participants. The juxtaposing of contrasting depictions across media items allows for the working through of broader issues surrounding men's interactions with children. Mark Worsley's experience with Qantas and being asked to move away from an unaccompanied child provided an anchor point for the men in study one to invoke and reflect upon their own sense of self, relationships and sense of place in society. The vilification of all men as paedophiles problematises men's interactions with children, their own children and children of friends and family.

Despite the prevalence of negative media portrayals of 'stranger danger', the majority of the study one participants identified with the image of the family man and positive interactions with children were often invoked as central to these men's sense of self. This was particularly prominent in the images and associated account provided by one participant, Rīhari (Māori/Pākeha participant), who reflects on his sense of self and relationship with his children. This reflection is anchored in an image of himself playing with his children:

> *...This photo is basically on one day where we just did our usual Sunday thing, we'd go for a walk up along the Port and get an ice cream, you know. Go over to the park and clown around for the afternoon... The time I have got is precious to me for the fact that I want to be a role model in their lives... So that was sort of why that photograph was taken... It was just a special moment, you know, being a dad. It's probably one of the biggest things for me in my life at the moment are those two special little kids... All they do is want me to be dad... I don't have to be anybody else (Rīhari)*

This account occurred in the context of Rīhari questioning the depiction of men in the airline case as threats to children. Rīhari links the image mentioned above with wider media constructions of family men and works to normalise the image of men as positive and supportive influences on children, which contrasts with the image of men as objects of risk and danger for children. Such extracts reflect the

use of media as a shared backdrop against which men can communicate and construct a sense of self. An inference promoted by the men involved in study one is that if men can look after and not pose a threat to their own children then why should an assumption be made that they pose a risk to other children. Such extracts reflect links between a man's sense of self and media constructions and provide support for the assertion that social communication processes provide a basis for men's identities. This assertion dates back to Aristotle and has been developed by philosophers such as Hegel and social scientists such as Mead (Thompson, 1995). Experience of oneself as family man is often framed in relation to specific media characterisations. In constructing positive self-images, participants retell media stories from the perspective of their social and material positioning in society and according to their existing views. By appropriating media images, men link their own experiences and lives to wider social change.

Reflecting trends in news coverage, the men in study one juxtaposed the family man with the paedophile and in the process questioned why all men are stigmatised by being under suspicion as potential child abusers. Even single men without children talked about how the fear of being held under suspicion affected their relationships with nephews and nieces, the children of friends and 'local kids'. While participating in extended families and communities, these men were overtly aware of the accusations associated with their interactions with other people's children. They questioned the applicability of these accusations to their own situations and interactions. In the following extract, Jack (Pākeha participant) refers to aspects of the airline case in a manner interwoven with his own experiences, aspirations, and sense of mediated accusations:

> *In the media we are either conceived as the kiddy fiddlers or the rapists or murderers, drunken louts or wife beaters… It's not a good picture… It's like we're a threat to the community not a part of it… And, I think if you want to be say, a primary school teacher you get looked at in not a nice light. And, if you want to take that down a step and you're a male and you want to be a kindergarten teacher then there is something wrong with you. And, if men have children, that restricts men's ability to get involved with them and their friends… It's like that one where the*

guy was traveling and the kid got taken away from where he was sitting (airline case), you know... That sort of thing just gives me the shits...

This participant questions the construction of men as sources of risk rather than support for children. When Jack went on to discuss his photographs he raised the point that he did not take as many photographs of men and their children interacting as he would have liked. These photographs were not taken because he did not want to be accused of prowling or posing a stranger danger threat:

...I wanted to take photographs of like, fathers and kids to show a positive picture... Even like if you took a camera down the lake if you took the camera down there you'd be classed as like a pervert, 'who's that weirdo guy taking photos of those kids?'...

A local recreational lake reserve is mentioned by Jack as a public space in which such positive interactions are publicly displayed. The extract reflects men's concerns about their interactions with children in such public spaces. The seriousness of the regulation of men's participation in public relations with children is invoked by reference to a local example that extends the media controversy focused on air travel. In the process, men like Jack link their life-worlds to the wider social context and in turn come to understand their own situations and experiences as part of a wider social patterning of relationships and 'appropriate' interactions between men and children. Although men are often assumed to dominate the public sphere, Jack's anxiety about his conduct in a public park demonstrates the functioning of social power to marginalise men in a recreational setting by making them feel uncomfortable, as not belonging or as suspects. This example reflects how a sense of collective marginalisation and stigmatisation of men can crystallise in public spaces, interactions and interpersonal practices, which erodes the sense of shared interest and community membership for the majority of men who are not a danger to children.

The routine marginalisation of men in public spaces frequented by children supports Sibley's (1995) proposition that boundaries between the 'self' and 'other' can be formed through cultural representations associated with specific public spaces. In presenting such examples, these men contested their positioning

as strangers who do not belong. They questioned the regulation of public spaces in a manner that reduces social opportunities for them to reaffirm themselves as responsible adults and community members who can have positive rather than destructive interactions with children. The lake reserve is presented by four participants as a public site for positive interactions between men and children. Nonetheless, the site is also socially regulated in a manner that can contribute to the social exclusion of men. When discussing Figure 8, which depicts the lake, Hēmi (Māori/Pākeha participant) states:

> *Ah the lake there. I'm keen on model boats. I've got a big model boat that I sail down the lake... And it's great because sometimes the kids come down and any kid will walk up to you and start talking to you or people will start talking to you, you know. It's no longer than a 10 minute conversation. I mean they'd ask 'how much was that?, you know... Need to be careful though. Society can take that the wrong way and think you're a kiddy fiddler. You know, sometimes I avoid the conversation with a kid and that's not fair on them or me... It's that wider context. Like the media is always focusing on the negative side. The predator, sex offenders and therefore they look at guys as predators... How can we as a society go back to being trusted as a male?... You've got to be bloody careful about what you do especially around other people's kids cos they don't know who you are. They'll probably watch you more if you're a guy, basically because of all the hype and...all these sex scandals...*

Figure 7: The lake

Hēmi linked his face-to-face interactions beside the lake with media depictions and associated accusations about men with restraints on face-to-face interactions with children. Participants identified the mistrust of men as a core concern when deciding on career paths and whether to interact with children. Blair (2014) recently wrote about the paranoia towards men in the company of children and recounted an occasion when a man was forced out of a park because he was alone. After being forced away from the park by angry parents, Blair approached him and asked what he was doing. He failed to see the sign excluding adults with no children. The man had recently emigrated from Oman to study for his Master's degree. Homesick for his own children he watched the kids play and took photos of the trees and birds to send back to his family. Likewise, my participants invoked a sense of banishment from educational and primary care professions, echoing core concerns as were evident in the particular airline media controversy and previous research (Blair, 2014).

Several participants went on to consider the implications of media coverage of the airline case as promising hope for change in popular perceptions of men as risk. As Ivan (Pākeha participant) states:

> *At the end of the day having that controversy is good cos we start to question the 'man bashing' tendencies and there's an acknowledgement that it's not right. You're getting a bit more of a perspective on that fear*

of males are bad guys and that's gotta lead to us having more chance of time with them [children]. It's good for us and kids, you know… We've got to get back to a time when we trusted and supported men.

Such extracts demonstrate an awareness of the function of media processes in social change. Of particular note is the reproduction of core themes from media coverage such as the airing of controversy surrounding the need for trust in and the participation of men in children's lives. They present hopeful accounts of overcoming stigma and discrimination leading to the acceptance of positive elements of men's interactions with children as a result of reasoned public deliberations via the media. These men are well aware of contrasting media depictions of men. In response the participants question negative images by invoking positive aspects of their lives.

This case exemplifies how media often include reflexive engagements that appear to legitimise and enhance men's participation in public life. It is when the image of the paedophile is imposed on men in general and good fathers in particular that it is challenged. After all, the good father or family man personifies the community and family life. This reflects ways in which processes of mediation can encourage complex engagements with men's lives that do not simply pathologise men as a threat and restrict their relationships with children. The airline case provides a means of raising questions regarding public anxieties over the safety of children and it is timely to rethink the basis on which men's interactions with children are being regulated. Shelton and McKenzie (2012) consider the inadvertent consequences for children who have never been abused. These consequences arise via institutional policies on how adults, generally men, interact and engage with children. Men may think twice about hugging and touching either their own children or others in public in case they are accused of being a child molester or paedophile (Shelton & McKenzie, 2012). A broader impact of the media deliberations reported in this chapter is that the scrutiny of men touching children or even being alone with children is one of the reasons behind the world-wide shortage of male teachers (Cushman, 2010; Weaver-Hightower, 2011). This is concerning, as a balance between female and male teachers is important to all children. In Aotearoa/New Zealand the airline case

contributed to the relaxing of policies banning male teachers from coming into physical contact with students to support and comfort them. As a newspaper item at the time reported: "The old code of conduct really turned all teachers into potential paedophiles and just reinforced social anxieties. This does not do that, so I'm delighted at the shift" (The University of Auckland Professor of Education Alison Jones as cited by Trevett, 2006).

In summary, participants repeatedly distanced themselves from negative media portrayals of paedophiles and related moral panics. However, their accounts revealed more than the prominence of various contemporary media characterisations. They also illustrated how media depictions of men infiltrate the very fabric of mundane community events, such as when men play with their own children or converse with other people's children by a lake. Like ripples in a pool, once entering social dialogue fragments of media deliberations take on a life of their own moving out through life-worlds (Couldry, 2004). As a result, wider public (media) deliberations about the role of men in society provide a backdrop to the meanings the participants assign to their routine interactions with children and invoke a sense of mistrust. Documenting participants using contrasting media images of men as a basis for self-presentations constitutes a partial response to psychologists' calls for research into the social interactions through which men's identities are socially constructed (Connell, 2000; Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Moss, 2011).

Chapter summary

In focusing on the mediated environment, I have shown that my participants can reflect openly on the role of media in the cultivation of specific ways of being a man and relate news images to their own sense of self and place. Drawing upon the accounts of Pākehā participants alongside Māori, Māori/Pākeha participants reflects the environments in which Māori men engage as friends and colleagues in a shared community of practice (Levine & Perkins, 1997; Paechter, 2002; Wenger, 1998; Wenger et al., 2002; Wenger & Snyder, 2000). Particular emphasis was placed on changing roles and relationships between men and with children. Media deliberations appear to open dialogue between men and stimulate

conversations regarding the nature of men's relationships. Casual references to media examples highlight the taken-for-granted function of media in providing a common vocabulary. Participant accounts regarding the importance of positive interactions between men and children are also supported by research highlighting the health benefits of community participation for men (Durie, 2006; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Sixsmith & Boneham, 2003). This chapter documents how men partially forge a sense of self in relation to contemporary media deliberations. Participant references to specific media characterisations of men illustrate how media influence is apparent beyond specific moments of reception where men are confronted with contrasting masculine ideals (Hodgetts, Bolam, et al., 2005). The concept of 'appropriation' or 'discursive elaboration' can be used to explain how aspects of media portrayals are adapted to men's life-worlds, refined, criticised and extended (Thompson, 1995). The process of appropriation involves efforts 'to make one's own' something new or strange. The appropriation of media images of men and the discursive elaboration of these is an on-going and socially negotiated process. My participants work to contextualise common depictions of men in a manner that qualifies any relevance to their personal experiences. They engage reflexively with media portrayals and use many of these to question negative assumptions regarding men and to articulate positive caring and supportive aspects of their own lives. By documenting such practices, insights relevant to psychological research are provided where "…there remain large areas that are still little known". Such areas include knowledge of "…individuals' uses of media references in telling stories about themselves…" (Couldry, 2004, p. 126).

This chapter also explored a specific event that attracted intense media interest and which was referred to spontaneously by research participants. The incident where Mark Worsley was asked to shift seats on an aeroplane (Thomson, 2005) became a shared reference point (Kitzinger, 2000) from which men participating in this research discussed the imposition of barriers to their interactions with children. References to the incident were used to crystallise feelings of exclusion. When cast as potentially dangerous threats to children, men experience stigmatisation as strangers whose lives are subject to constant scrutiny and regulation (Hunter, 2008; Shelton & McKenzie, 2012). The controversy

surrounding the airline illustrates the social contestation of constructions of men in popular knowledge (Chenier, 2012; Collier, 2001; Connell, 2000; Lee, 2005).

By engaging with media content that is actually consumed and highlighted by men in daily life (Schooler & Ward, 2006), this chapter also promotes a contextually relevant approach to the relationship between media portrayals and men's identities. This involved talking to men about issues of concern to them and then exploring the media examples they raised in such discussions. This strategy demonstrated the legacy of media and public deliberations in the accounts, understandings, and relational practices of individual men. The results suggest that media do more than simply transmit stereotypes. Media also provide forums for the social negotiation of relationships in society and are central to 'the politics of characterisation' (Hunter, 2008; Kitzinger, 2000), which inform men's lives and the lives of their families, neighbours and communities.

Previous research has tended to focus on tensions and conflicts between Māori and Pākehā. This is because of the way in which many Pākehā have attempted to assimilate and dominate Māori (Hokowhitu, 2004; Walker, 2001). This chapter points to instances of co-operation and dialogue through which men from both ethnic groups can negotiate a shared community of practice and in doing so, highlights the importance of supplementing 'us/them' dualisms with notions of 'both/and' (Meredith, 1998). It appears that one plus one can equal three (Frame, 2002), at least in some community contexts. This is also reflected in the self-identification of some participants as Māori, Māori/Pākehā and Pākehā.

Chapter Four: The interconnected Māori self: traditional places and practices

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that research into Māori men's lives and relationships remains sporadic and overly negative in focus. Available research often takes a deficit orientation to focus on men in troubled and strained relationships (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010; Hodgetts, Rua, King, & Te Whetu, 2015; Jones et al., 2006; Levant, 2011; O'Neil, 2008; Stanley, 2002). In part, the deficit focus reflects negative statistics for Māori men including high unemployment and imprisonment rates, higher illness loads and a shorter life expectancy than almost all other groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2008, 2010b, 2013b). The negative and overly individualised focus that dominates research in the area often ignores positive relational practices amongst Māori men (Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010; Stanley, 2002). More research is needed into the everyday cultural dimensions of Māori men's relationships and identities. I explored some of these issues in the context of Māori men's participation in the broader settler society in Chapter Three. This chapter extends the focus more into the Māori world, to consider what happens when men temporarily leave settler society to go 'home' to their marae (ceremonial courtyard and ritual arena specific to the socio-cultural history of a sub-tribe and or tribe) and tribal areas.

This chapter documents how the Māori men in study two draw upon their Māori culturally-patterned relationships with other people, traditions, places and media to construct their sense of self and well-being. The chapter is underpinned by Māori relational understandings of being and health that were outlined in Chapter One and explored in Chapter Three. This orientation allows me to document and interpret the socio-cultural, integrated, situational and historical nature of my participants' identities and well-being. Of particular importance is how Māori men's very being and relationships are cultivated via multiple interactions, cultural practices and values that underlie the interconnected Māori self (Durie, 1985, 2006; Henare, 1988; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2015; Marsden, 2003; McNeil, 2009; Pere, 1991; Wenn, 2006).

The chapter is presented in four sections that explore the ways in which the men in study two foster the interconnected Māori self in different spheres of their

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lives and through a range of Māori relational practices. In a manner congruent with the accounts of the participants in study one, this chapter begins with a section that highlights the role of media as a contested space in which the men in study two can also reflect upon negative coverage and offer up alternative representations of themselves (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010; Wall, 1997). The second section of this chapter considers the importance of the interconnected Māori self as it is expressed through whānau (families), whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (relationships) with significant others from whom wellness can be derived (Cooley, 1902; Durie, 2012a; Hermans, 2013; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Li, 2013; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Section three focuses on the interconnections with place and Māori selves as expressed through the men's connectedness to turangawaewae (traditional place to stand, place where one has the right to stand) and their marae. Section four explores the exemplar of tangihanga (traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process) as a key cultural institution and expression of the interconnected Māori self. Tangihanga provide the space for a community of practice (Wenger, 1998, 2000) where people's relationships with significant others and a significant place are enacted.

Māori men and media

Coverage of Māori issues in the mainstream settler society media often focuses primarily on Māori in terms of their perceived failings in education, unemployment, crime, health and prison rates (McCreanor et al., 2010; Sullivan, 2008). In considering the media's obsessive focus on Māori men's failings, Stanley (2002, pp. 84-85) writes:

> *Throughout any day at least in my life, I am surrounded by Māori men who have and are continuing to achieve great zeniths in their lives, yet sadly we hear very little of their achievements in mainstream media.*

This tension for Māori men between how they are depicted in mainstream media and their everyday experiences of the more positive and heterogeneous actions of

Māori men pervaded the accounts of participants in study two. The prominence of negative stories and images of Māori men in the mainstream media also reflects what Hokowhitu (2007) refers to as the silencing of Māori men where: "the dominant constructions of Māori masculinity do not include the talkative, flamboyant, creative, feminine and deeply humorous performances of masculinity by Māori men" (Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 74). I document my participants' concerns regarding this issue and then offer insights, based on participant accounts, into more positive aspects of Māori men's everyday lives that are all but absent in mainstream media. More positive depictions are, however, increasingly evident in Māori media.

As discussed in Chapters One and Three, the mediapolis (Silverstone, 2007) provides a contested space with both positive and negative characterisations of Māori men. This section continues the themes raised in Chapter Three, however, it has a specific focus on the depictions of Māori men in the news media. My participants make an effort to differentiate themselves from negative media depictions by countering these with positive portrayals of Māori men from their own communities and everyday experiences. A distinction is made by participants between the preponderance of stereotypical images in the mainstream media and the more humane, accurate and responsive images they see in Māori media, produced by Māori for Māori. Participant accounts of media depictions of Māori men highlight the tensions for Māori men living with negative depictions of themselves in the settler society, and explain why they often feel more at home with the way they are imaged in the Māori world, where they find refuge from such stigmatisation.

While a range of media depictions of Māori men exist, the men in study two were concerned about the persistent negative characterisations that are circulated via mainstream media. Key concerns related to depictions of Māori men as unemployed, drug using, violent, and drunks engaged in criminal activities:

> *If a Māori man today picked up a newspaper or watched the news, being a Māori man today means being unemployed, you're an alcoholic, you're involved in drugs, you're a beneficiary, you beat up your wife, kill your*

kids, you're a criminal and that's all the messages they get with being a Māori man (Tame)

Participants such as Tame recount how Māori men are framed as deviant and menacing criminals who are socially divisive. John is also critical of such stereotypical media portrayals, which he suggests are a highly prevalent part of the symbolic environment: "…Everybody knows they [mainstream media] blow it out of proportion unless I personally know the people than I'm not sort of affected by it…I don't really pay attention to it truthfully" (John). Waka agrees and expresses his concern with the detrimental effects of negative media depictions and how this leads to racial profiling: "From my perspective it's imagined. It's a self-fulfilling prophecy sort of a thing. If you say it then it becomes more highlighted and things like that" (Waka). A key assertion here is that such depictions reproduce, and can support, prejudiced perspectives in the settler society. Similarly, Paora describes the trends in some mainstream media coverage as disappointing and intentional in reproducing colonial relations of dominance and subordination:

> *They like to paint a real ugly picture of Māori and a lot I feel are viewed as 'good for nothings, useless, koretake (hopeless), not worthy of a job, they don't deserve whatever they own'. So they sensationalise things and they paint a really negative picture in my view, perhaps not all (media) but I put one and one together you start to see a theme (Paora).*

Negative media items promote the assumption that all Māori are homogenous and share the same negative thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours (Coxhead, 2005; Wall, 1997).

A particularly prevalent proposition among these participants is how consistently negative characterisations of Māori men can perpetuate a self-fulfilling prophecy where being Māori is often interpreted by others through physical appearance and social practices. Concerns regarding racial profiling raised by my participants are not unfounded. A recent cartoon published by the Marlborough Times regarding the government's food in schools policy depicts a rotund brown family celebrating the government's initiative because it allegedly

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frees up the family's money for alcohol, cigarettes and gambling (McLeod, 2013). This cartoon was widely criticised as racist and appealing to anti-Māori sentiment (Jackson, 2013). The Māori family are depicted in Nisbet's cartoon as being brown, with big lips and obese. While these physical characteristics are not offensive in themselves, the issue is that people with such characteristics are being singled out and typecast. The right to stereotype Māori for ridicule has a long tradition in New Zealand. A 1960s newspaper column, by-lined with the derogatory name Hori, was supposed to reflect the thoughts of a "blubbery-lipped, chubby brown character" (McLeod, 2013). After fifty years, the physical characterisations of a Māori man and his whānau in Nisbet's cartoon continue to denigrate Māori.

The continuation of such characterisations and racial profiling reflects the ongoing colonial positioning of Māori men as deviant, unemployed and lazy (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; Wall, 1997). Many Māori men have internalised such stereotypes and therefore think they are somehow lesser people than members of dominant groups (Alton-Lee, 2005; Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2013). Awa argues that negative media characterisations: "are a reflection of the fringe…don't reflect who I am". Awa's account exemplifies 'differentiation' (Reber, 1995) in that the men in study two invoke negative depictions and then differentiate themselves from these stereotypical images. Subordinated groups subject to the symbolic power of dominant groups often engage in processes of differentiation to carve out alternative selves that are defined in opposition to colonial characterisations. By rejecting dominant media stereotypes in settler society, the men make reference to dominant media characterisations that have common currency in settler society, but simultaneously distance themselves from these negative depictions.

Such processes of differentiation constitute forms of resistance that aid these men in challenging dominant characterisations by focusing on more positive elements in the lives of these and other Māori men. For example, Tame states that there "are good fathers, strong role models who contribute to their communities." Māori men occupy a wide range of positive positions in society as fathers, whānau members, community leaders, role models, health professionals, managers, teachers, entrepreneurs, social workers, employers and productive members of

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society (Te Puni Kokiri, 2012). Paora reiterated that, "there are some Māori out there that are awesome role models that do really well. Fine examples, good providers". When asked what a good role model is or looks like he states:

> ...for me a role model isn't a person or a successful person, isn't someone who has a fat wallet. It's a person who can provide a safe and happy environment for their family. And there are a lot of them around...they are just the average Māori man who do really well and those ones there I feel are missed out. So a large proportion of Māori they don't get that recognition (Paora).

Characterisations offered by mainstream settler society media did not align with participant experiences of the diversity of Māori men and they could not affiliate with or see themselves as fitting such stereotypes.

Throughout this chapter I will highlight images of Māori men that do not fit the mainstream stereotypes. To pre-empt this focus, it is important to note that while problematising stereotypical depictions of Māori men in mainstream media, all my participants show a general dissatisfaction with trends in mainstream media and note how Māori media outlets provide more balanced and diverse characterisations of men. As John states:

> Māori media, no matter what type, offer more positive depictions of Māori men and Māori people. They really focus on success stories and the hard work men have gone through to get to where they are. They are proud of their iwi [tribe] and where they have come from. An example of this is our sporting programme Code, which has a lot of successful Māori men appearing on it. They, firstly, introduce where they are from and which Iwi they are from. I feel that when I hear what their Iwi is that gives a lot of Māori men bragging rights amongst their friends of their successful whānau member even though he may not even be whānau just the same Iwi. I think the positive effect of this coverage has a massive influence on our youth mainly and Māori people, these success stories offer inspiration and motivation to myself and I'm sure to a whole lot more people. It is great to watch successful Māori people

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especially men, as I'm sure a lot of people worldwide would picture Māori men from the movie Once Were Warriors. I feel a lot of Māori men's success has been through the coverage and help of Māori media, this may open doors to meet other successful people in their chosen careers… Māori media is success driven as to mainstream media which is driven by negativity (John).

Such participants present Māori media as an alternative to the mainstream media, and as a way of challenging stereotypes by offering more positive alternative characterisations of Māori men. These participants allude to issues of symbolic power (power to name and define groups of people) between the overlapping settler society and the Māori world (Couldry, 2004). The men in study two recognise the cultural, social and economic power of settler society to characterise Māori as the 'other' (Hokowhitu, 2003a; Wall, 1997), whilst also drawing upon Māori Television as a broadcaster to "share in economics of representation and expression" (Smith, 2011, p. 721). That is, my participants see the benefits of Māori media outlets in representing and expressing diverse alternatives to colonial stereotypes, which they appropriate and draw upon to question the discrimination and racism mainstream media still engage in towards Māori. For example, John invokes the group-based nature of Māori identities in his observation that positive images of Māori men presented in outlets such as Māori Television are picked up by whānau and used as a source of pride and connection. Māori Television projects the Māori world into the broader society. Men like John identify with these alternative images, which offer some respite from the colonial stigma that is reproduced via some mainstream media outlets. Although the media do not tell people what to think, they can set the agenda for what people think about. In this regard, Māori Television has agenda-setting powers within the mediated public landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Smith, 2011).

In summary, the picture of Māori and the media is complex when one considers the entire mediapolis (Silverstone, 2007; Stuart, 2003). Although mainstream media may still promote discriminatory characterisations of Māori men, negative portrayals are not all-encompassing. For example, the broader mediascape includes Māori TV, Māori magazines, Māori radio stations and the

recent use of Facebook. In these forums, Māori views are privileged in a way that can shape information, power relations and minority group participation in society (Hodgetts, Cullen, & Radley, 2005; Loto et al., 2006). Māori media forums are also used to promote te reo Māori (Māori language) and *tikanga* (correct procedure, custom, practice, lore), and thereby serve to create more positive Māori identities (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013; Stuart, 1996, 2003). New media forms also provide men with the possibility of staying in touch with whānau (immediate or extended family) and operate as a vehicle for exchanging cultural knowledge. While negative constructions remain, the mediapolis also provides a space for the development of more positive identities. In the process, the men can build a stronger sense of the interconnected Māori self that draws upon intimate relationships linking the men to other people, places and histories (Durie, 2012a; McIntosh, 2005; Mead, 2003; Ritchie, 1992).

Whakapapa as a relational construct

Opportunities to solidify quality relationships with others occur through my participants' participation in whānau life, cultural events, and traditions (Durie, 2006; Henare, 1988; Kingi et al., 2014; Marsden, 2003; Pere, 1991). The social bonds fostered through whakapapa (genealogy/genealogical ties) and whanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships/relating to others) (as discussed in chapter one) are critical to the Māori self, and for enhancing the participants' wellness. In valuing their social networks, the men define themselves with relation to others in ways that reflect their relational being, where broader processes shape their identities (Li, 2011; McIntosh, 2005). Opportunities to participate and build relationships or whanaungatanga allow the men to respond to the socio-cultural challenges facing Māori in contemporary times, where cultural isolation and fragmentation can lead to identity loss and ill-health (Metge, 2001; Nikora et al., 2004; Nikora et al., 2008).

Whakapapa as a cultural concept emphasises the importance of the interconnected self in terms of being part of a larger social group where "human life is woven into relationships and situations and is not independent of context" (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010, p. 140). Whakapapa often invokes an affiliation to

whānau, hapu and iwi membership through birth-right and broader whanaungatanga (relational) networks and associated practices (Durie, 2006; Kingi et al., 2014; Mead, 2003). In study two the men's identities are relationally embedded into their whakapapa (Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991) and the "social and cultural structures that connect them to others in multifaceted ways" (Hall & Lamont, 2013, p. 49).

Building and maintaining a cobweb of relational links through family and community ties is a sacred process through which bonds of association and obligation are developed and practiced (Ritchie, 1992). A connectedness to family networks and support systems offers a 'multiplier effect' (Hall & Lamont, 2013) by which the men in study two link with others and benefit from the people and resources held in this social system in responding to life's ongoing challenges. Pere (1982) made clear the importance of whakapapa:

> *Traditionally, every adult person was expected to know and to be able to trace descent back to the tribal ancestor, or back to at least the common ancestor after whom the group with whom one lived was named. The rights and claims that an individual could make to the resources of the group she or he related to, or identified with, depended on such knowledge (Pere, 1982, p. 11).*

In this regard, the men are always part of a 'social whole' where a sense of pride, belonging, connectedness and support occurs. Whakapapa offers the men a set of relationships they can draw upon for comfort, support, and identity so they need never feel alone (Mead, 2003).

The importance of whakapapa as a social tool that binds people together is reflected in Tame's comments: "for me personally being a Māori man today is remaining connected with my whānau." Waka experienced the importance of developing a meaningful relationship to his whakapapa through the decision-making of his step-father who ensured that he remained connected to his biological father. Knowing the totality of a person's whakapapa was the intention of Waka's step-father. As Waka recalls:

My biological father is Tūhoe. My step dad who's Ngāti Porou, pretty much brought me up as his son, was legally adopted too. (He) wrote to my biological dad and said, 'Your son's here if you want him to come home for holidays, come pick him up'. So it was actually the step dad that made the contact and wanted me to go (Waka).

Such extracts speak to how whakapapa is an anchor point for Māori society that holds people together and governs the relationships between kin (Ritchie, 1992; Webber, 2012). Even if a person does not know their whakapapa today, someone else may and this relationship transcends personal identity to bind them to larger group-based identities (Ritchie, 1992). Waka's step-father wanted him to know his whakapapa intimately, and physically experience it through time spent with his biological family via kanohi kitea, the *seen face*. Kanohi kitea provides a cultural guideline towards ongoing and meaningful contact within the Māori world (Buck, 1950; Dansey, 1995; Herbert, 2011; Ngata, 2005).

Waka's example reflects the point that the interconnected Māori self is not simply a cognitive psychological process, but one that must be experienced materially. The Māori world expects people to enact their whakapapa through seeing each other physically, allowing opportunities for relationships to be established and to be reaffirmed through the *seen face* or kanohi kitea (Webber, 2012). Processes surrounding whakapapa evolve and are negotiable. Whakapapa always requires nurturing (Diamond, 2003; Mead & Grove, 2001). In the Māori world, kanohi kitea (seen face) also involves seeing the ancestors, since whakapapa links those living today with earlier generations and thus extends beyond the notion of the separate Cartesian self. The contemporary Māori self thus reflects the living face of the ancestors (Këpa, Reynolds, & Walker, 2006) and their associated stories. Consequently, through kanohi kitea the Māori interconnected self provides the men with a historical sense of relatedness to their whānau (family/families) and a manifestation of collective identity (Mead & Grove, 2001). As is the case with all participants in study two, Waka's experience of his entire whakapapa moves beyond simply acknowledging bloodlines and demonstrates how a meaningful and realised relationship with his whakapapa was encouraged.

The notion of 'seeing more than the individual' is not unique to Māori, and is shared by many cultures. These ideas of fundamental relationality are held by the majority of the world's population, but have become marginalised in mainstream psychology because of an emphasis on the cultural archetype of the socially isolated lonely thinker that is the core subject of North American psychology (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). Orland Bishop, founder and director of Shade Tree Multicultural Foundation (Los Angeles) provides another way of thinking about the self and being seen, which aligns with Māori understandings of the interconnected self. Bishop reflects on the African Zulu greeting sawubona (we see you):

> *Sawubona is one of those primal words when people were still able to really see each other. In other words, we see you, so it's not a single I person. That my eyes are connected to a dimension of reality we call ancestors. So my seeing includes my ancestors. My seeing also includes the divinities that are part of the celestial spheres of reality. So sawubona says 'we see you' and the response is 'yes we see you too'. Because it's a dialogue. Seeing is a dialogue (Orland Bishop cited in Global Oneness Project, 2013)*

Sawubona, as a cultural concept, allows people to locate themselves across time and place and is similar to whakapapa in terms of connectedness with generations past, present and in the future (Hook et al., 2007; Nikora, 2007b). Like whakapapa, sawubona connects the men's sense of self and the relational dimensions of their identity that extend beyond the individual self (Freeman, 2014). As a dialogue with ancestors, sawubona is reflected in the way people in the Māori language traditionally engage with each other for the first time. A Māori greeting may often begin with the words, 'nō hea koe' (where are you from) or 'ko wai to whānau' (who is your family [wider/extended])? These questions are an attempt to locate the person through whakapapa and the spaces that whakapapa inhabits. This is an effort to 'see' the individual in the totality of their ancestral whakapapa (genealogy/genealogical ties). This includes a person's waka (canoe), iwi (tribe), hapu (sub-tribe), marae (ceremonial courtyard of the hapu) and whānau. These are

points of narrative reference for creating connectedness to that person's ancestral and interconnected self by recounting links both current and past. So the simple questions 'nō hea koe' and 'ko wai to whānau' are endeavours to "see them" within their familial and celestial totality. The individual is valued within that larger context of their whakapapa and the question 'what is your name' may come later, after connectedness and familiarity is formed with the person's whakapapa.

A further extension of the men's whakapapa is the role kaumātua (elders) play in their lives. Kaumātua are seen as pillars of tradition within Māori culture who offer wisdom, humility and a living link to the past (Chalmers, 2006) as exemplified by the following *whakataukī* (proverbial saying) "he kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro – to see a face is to stir the memory" (Dyall, Skipper, Kepa, Hayman, & Kerse, 2013, p. 65). This whakataukī emphasises the important role kaumātua have in recounting lived connections with those ancestors long past and the traditions associated with their lived memories. The cultural strength of Māori communities comes from kaumātua who hold the knowledge of Māori cultural lore/law, act as the primary practitioners of cultural practices (since they have the strongest links to the past), and are the cultural face of the marae. Durie (2003) states, "the standing of the tribe, its mana [power/authority], as distinct from its size, relates more to the visible presence and authority of its elders than to the vigorous activities of its younger members" (p. 76). Pere's (1991) Te Wheke Health Model has a dimension called 'ha a koro ma, a kui ma' which can be translated as 'breath of life from forebears' (Ministry of Health, 2013a). Pere (1991) proposes that well-being comes from a positive awareness of elders and the influential role they play in the whānau and community and also in the transmission of traditional and historical knowledge (Durie, 2006; Pere, 1991).

According to John, when he considers his identity as a Māori man he immediately states, "To respect your elders" (John). For the participants, to respect one's elders is to acknowledge one's whakapapa. The presence of kaumātua (elders) enhances the importance of the interconnected self. The reverence held by the men towards their elders is reflected in comments about cultural practices and contributions to events at the marae:

I know my role at home [on the marae] is to do the kitchen role because I know I'm not up to that calibre of my uncles and all the rest [of the elders] at home (Waka).

There is an expectation here that kaumātua roles occur within religious or cultural contexts, where their advice and wisdom is a taonga (tangible or intangible thing of value) to be appreciated and respected (Dyall et al., 2013; Stephens, 2002). While kaumātua assume these positions of responsibility, they are also watchful and mindful of people showing leadership within the whānau by engaging in expected practices by which they can make contributions to the group effort in spaces such as the marae. Awa, for instance, comments:

Some of the kaumātua want me to be there [on the paepae tapu; sacred oratory space of the cultural experts], but my role is really around the functioning of the marae so they [kaumātua] can focus on the tangihanga. So I'm just trying to help that come together (Awa).

This quote reveals how Awa's kaumātua see his leadership potential. However, Awa thinks he still needs to increase his cultural knowledge to attain the status of someone who can operate confidently in the ritualised spaces of the marae. Instead, he offers his skills in other ways and more in terms of the daily management of the marae.

Both Waka and Awa are middle-aged men and they understand the demands placed on kaumātua, so to support these elders, they provide what Durie (2003) calls 'industrial and executive leadership'. In this regard, Waka and Awa lead the day-to-day affairs of the whānau, marae and hapu, but their kaumātua retain the status, tradition and integrity of their people. Without kaumātua leadership "a Māori community will be the poorer and at least in other Māori eyes, be unable to function effectively or to fulfil its obligations" (Durie, 2003, p. 76). Consequently, when the participants talk about 'respecting your elders', they are referring to the cultural health of their community. Their *mana* (power/authority) or identity as Māori men is related to the health of kaumātua who represent their tribal identity. Having kaumātua present in their lives, and the authoritative knowledge kaumātua are seen to hold, reaffirms the interconnected view of the self. The more practical

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industrial and executive leadership offered by men such as Waka and Awa combined with that of kaumātua and other whānau preserve the mana (power/authority) of a well-functioning and integrated hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe).

The participants in study two reflect on the importance of regular everyday engagements with their kaumātua as a way of being present with their kaumātua. For example, Waka commented, "Because we were always over their place mowing the lawns doing whatever because they couldn't do it…help out with their gardens." Such mundane activities or socio-cultural practices are important to whanaungatanga as they can build and maintain relationships (Ritchie, 1992). Such representational enactments of connectedness are reflected in Rangihau's (1992) consideration of whanaungatanga in that "…whenever a person feels lonely he will go round and visit some of his kin and it is just as enjoyable for the kin to receive a visit as it is for the person" (p. 184).

When Tame returns to visit his grandfather, who raised him, there is no expectation that he will be treated any differently to his experiences during childhood when the home was full of whānau. Tame states: "I'm 40 years old and I'm still sleeping on my grandfather's couch even though I've got a wahine (female partner)". He laughs at this notion, but for him where he sleeps is irrelevant as being home and embracing his whakapapa and associated whanaungatanga is more important than his own personal comfort and needs. Tame seamlessly moves back into the space as if nothing has changed, since Tame and his grandfather have an interconnection that always exists. Connectedness in these moments reflects a 'natural rhythm' of people's everyday practices which act as pointers to understanding the importance of such innocuous activities (de Certeau, 1994; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Jacobson, 2009) in relation to sustaining one's whakapapa and whanauangatanga. Building and maintaining these relationships in these moments is a sacred process as bonds of association and obligation are developed and practiced (Ritchie, 1992). It is a process that connects generations and keeps core values of respect, connection, reciprocity and support within Māori culture – from which these men construct much of their core selves and sense of belonging – alive into the future.

In my on-going engagements with the men in study two there were constant references to their partners and children as significant to their sense of who they are. In fact, all but one of the men was interviewed in their homes where partners, children, and/or aunties were present. Family members would often be involved in parts of the interview as they busied themselves with everyday routines that involved cooking meals, making cups of tea, cuddling their babies, and reassuring the older children as they played outside. Having family members around allowed the men to call on them as a sounding-board for recalling events, people and practices. The men would also be corrected or reminded about specific or even unremarkable and taken-for-granted events of their lives. The presence of whānau also triggered specific comments about important people at that point in time. Paora, for example, talks about the balance he has with his wife, the support she provides for him and their children. When Paora's 14-year-old son walks past us in our interview, he is prompted by his son's presence. Paora claims his son sometimes snuggles up to his parents at night to feel assured and connected:

...he's loved to the max by his mother, his sisters they spoil him and he's not whakahihi [vain or conceited]...He's all respect when he talks to people. Quite a humble boy and for us that's the boy we want. Even at 14, 15 in a month, sometimes he'll jump in between me and his mother at night and sleep with us bro. Which isn't really romantic, but that's who he is and for us as whānau we're cool with that (Paora).

A sense of humility, kindness and regard for others are values the men highlight as important features for who they and who their children are. It is consistent with Pere's (1991) reflections on *aroha* (love/support) being at the core of whanuangatanga (relationship/sense of family connection). As a fundamental Māori concept, aroha (love/care/support) underpins relational care through actions and everyday practices as a contribution towards the well-being of whānau (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Durie, 2013; Te Puni Kokiri, 2014). In talking about his son and associated relationships, he presents himself as a caring Māori father who is a key link in whakapapa. In this way, aroha is central to Paora's sense of self and parenting and nourishing the psyche or spirit of whānau as a way of

honouring and reaffirming whakapapa. The concept of aroha (love/support) extends beyond words. It entails actions, in that "each person respecting and caring for the other engenders a climate of goodwill and support" (Pere, 1991, p. 6). Even though Paora's son is no longer a child, Paora is reassured that his son has retained closeness with his parents and siblings.

Such intimacy in interconnectedness is important to the men in study two, especially those who have a large whānau. Kinship binds these men to their *whanaunga* (relative, relation, kin), where they draw warmth, aroha and resources from their entire family and extended whakapapa. Paora and John are first cousins and they share over 80 first cousins with whom they are in constant contact. Awa is one of seven siblings as well. Tame has five other siblings, and was raised by his grandfather among his uncles, aunties and cousins. Waka reflected upon the importance of his extended family,

> *Definitely the whānau, mother, dad, brothers. That's the influence really. My mum has 11 brothers and sisters...I thought that was usual until you move away from your home and you think, 'ah, 11's a humungous family'. I thought everyone has 11. The old man has 14 brothers and sisters so it's like that was the norm. Big families, heaps of cousins was the norm...*

A collectivist approach to the men's sense of self is lived through connections with whānau. Subsequently, the men find well-being within collectivist groupings or whānau beyond their immediate selves. Oishi and Diener (2009) have shown how different cultural groups appear to derive well-being by different means. These authors compared the well-being of Asian and European Americans and found that:

> *European Americans appear to gain and maintain their well-being by achieving goals that they pursue for their own enjoyment and fun. On the other hand, Asian Americans seem to attain and maintain their well-being by achieving goals that they pursue to make important others happy and meet the expectations of others (Oishi & Diener, 2009, p. 104).*

The Māori men in study two identify with their cultural and whānau groupings, and to the associated obligations to each other as a pathway to enhanced health for themselves and the other people with whom they share whakapapa. Whakapapa can also be understood beyond ancestral and tribal genealogies as suggested by Waka

> *I suppose one other trait of the Army is that there are big families in there. So my step father was in there and so was his dad and his dad. So my step dad, his dad was in the Army with this other fulla named Cairns. And then, their son, my dad, and then his son…they were in the Army together and so it went on to the next generation as well. So me and this other guy called Cairnsy, who was the grandson, we were in there together.*

Waka extends the traditional notion of whakapapa to show a long term connectedness with one of his former Army colleagues that stretches four generations. In highlighting this whakapapa, Waka enhances his relationship with Cairnsy and affirms a historical sense of place, identity and affiliation with Pākehā men in the New Zealand Army.

Briefly, whakapapa is associated with relational, psychological and material resources, but it also relies on cultural knowledge of how to be and act as part of the network. Relationships with significant others are beneficial to people's physical and mental health (Vaughn & Hogg, 2005) as they can help make sense of the world by ordering it and reproducing it in meaningful ways (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). Such relationships can also provide what Stone (2005) calls a 'perceptual position'. That is, the men can use the perspectives of various people to generate insights and understandings of the world and their place in it through other whānau members. Knowledge of reciprocity, expectations, roles and responsibilities to the whānau are gained by being an active member and through caring practices associated with whanaungatanga and whakapapa. If whakapapa is not nurtured through regular caring practices, and the physical practice of 'seeing', or kanohi kitea, disruption of the interconnected Māori self may follow. The Māori interconnected self relies on social relationships. However, it is also

sustained by people's relationships to culturally-textured places, such as tribal lands and marae (Durie, 2006, 2012a; Mead, 2003).

Turangawaewae/land/environment and the self

Being Māori is felt, embodied, and emplaced. The men in study two argue that their sense of self is culturally, relationally and geographically located within their turangawaewae. Turangawaewae means 'a traditional place to stand', where the men can say: "I belong here. I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand tall here" (Mead, 2003, p. 43). Connecting to the place of one's ancestors is important for Māori to sustain whakapapa as a core part of the Māori interconnected self. For John, his sense of self as a Māori man is "to know where you're from". To know who you are and where you are from constitutes an embodied and enacted form of knowledge where whanaungatanga (relationships) and whakapapa (genealogy) are embedded in place and layered with various forms of cultural knowledge, practices, expectations and obligations important to traditional notions of Māori health (Durie, 1985, 2006; Henare, 1988; Pere, 1982, 1991).

John's turangawaewae is in Te Urewera, a national park in the central North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Te Urewera is known as 'Tūhoe country' that is Te Urewera is occupied by John's tribal people, Tūhoe. John's sense of belonging is inextricably connected with this landscape: "…with the bush, how you live in the bush and obviously living up here [in Te Urewera], that's a big part of your life". John also describes the importance of hunting and farming in this area where he is enculturated into his tribal whakapapa. One of John's aspirations is to ensure he passes on his practical skills and knowledge of 'the bush' to the younger generations, most of whom now live in urban centres. By bringing nephews, nieces and his own children out of the daily 'humdrum' of life in the settler society and back to spend time in Te Urewera, John can ensure these younger whānau have an embodied and emplaced experience of their belonging in this place as their turangawaewae.

When John talks about Te Urewera and all the hunting and camping, he reflects upon his origins, which are ancient. These landscapes are sustained by

personal and regular visits where positive experiences are derived for John and his whānau (Conradson, 2005). Intimate knowledge of the landscape ensures that the place lives within them as much as other people live within them. The attachment John has with Te Urewera is what Nikora and Te Awekotuku (2003) refer to as the 'Tūhoe–Te Urewera synonymity'. This is the notion that, "people make places just as much as places make people. People and places derive their identities from each other to a significant extent" (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003, p. 11). The synonymity between people and landscapes can provide beneficial qualities for men who are part of a broader cultural narrative regarding what it is to be a Māori man. To separate the human and physical environment is to transgress traditional notions of the interconnected Māori self as Te Awekotuku and Nikora (2003) explain:

> *Tūhoe retain a strong sense of being Tūhoe, and a very deep sense of attachment with Te Urewera. This attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience. It is both an actual and symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to Te Urewera forged through genealogy, cosmology, pilgrimage, narrative and economics (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003, p. 15).*

Engagement with the ancestral environment, including stories relating to the creeks, hills, ranges, ridgelines, rivers, flora, and fauna in Te Urewera, is associated with the geography of my participants' identities as Māori men connected to their turangawaewae (Mead, 2003; Panelli & Tipa, 2007). A sense of well-being materialises in the physical and cultural elements of Tūhoe's ancient relationship with Te Urewera.

The interconnectedness with a place, such as Te Urewera, creates an enduring bond through whakapapa (genealogy) with turangawaewae (traditional place to stand) and sustains one's cultural identity as *tangata whenua* (original inhabitants of the land) (Durie, 2006; Henare, 1988). Within the vastness of the Te Urewera landscape, the other significant places are the marae, which exist as important cultural institutions in this landscape. The marae is the heart of a hapu

(sub-tribe) and is the epitome of collective identity. The marae is the ceremonial courtyard and the ritual arena specific to the history of the hapu (Sinclair, 1990). Marae are important socio-cultural spaces, as is summed up by Rangihau: "The marae is the repository of all the historical things, of all the traditions, all the mythology and other things which make up the tangibles of Māoriness…" (1992, p. 186).

A sense of well-being is derived in the cultural space of a marae where an interaction between Māori people and with the physical environment occurs. For example, Tame talks about his sense of self as "being involved with the marae when I can". Participating in marae affairs affirms Tame's identity as a hapu and tribal member where heritage, care, respite, belonging and the cultivation of relationships are enacted. Through participation in whānau activities, events and cultural institutions at the marae, belonging and a sense of community occurs for these men (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Kingi et al., 2014). Without relegating all Māori cultural knowledge and practices to this space, the marae does provide the men with a cultural bastion that strengthens their identity as Māori interconnected selves (Durie, 2006).

Various scholars have argued for the importance of addressing indigenous health through culturally holistic approaches that emphasise the health-enhancing impacts of community ties and secure links to place (Durie, 2003, 2006; McNeil, 2009; Penehira et al., 2011; Pere, 1982; Wilson & Baker, 2012). Māori models of health emphasise the complex interplay between people and their environments (Durie, 1985, 2006; Love, 2004; McNeil, 2009; Pere, 1991). As such, the health of a person includes the places in which they reside and the relationships in these places. The men's engagement and emplaced practices reproduce a shared cosmological bond with their marae and turangawaewae (place to stand) by reminding these men that they are a product of their environment and that they can draw strength from their history and from belonging in such places (Miller, 2005; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003). This connection between social activity and the physicality of marae can be so 'taken-for-granted' that one can forget how culturally distinctive the marae can be for one's sense of being Māori. This was particularly so for Waka:

To put it into context, you don't know you're Māori until you step out of the game. So when we went to Hong Kong, we didn't realise how small New Zealand was and you didn't realise how distinct you were. Just, for example, a tangihanga. Grew up around the marae, somebody passes away, they come to the marae and groups come on and all that.

'The game' to which Waka refers is the Māori world and its cultural mores. In using this metaphor, Waka alludes to the taken-for-granted Māori ways of being and interacting in spaces such as the marae, knowledge of which is cultivated through regular engagements at marae and turangawaewae. Waka reflects on how this taken-for-granted world was ruptured when he travelled overseas. Having a strong association with whānau, hapu and iwi and being involved in associated tribal practices is considered a central element in a person's Māori identity and competence in the Māori world (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010).

Remaining connected to the Māori world also depends upon access to key cultural and geographical features such as land, and marae (Durie, 2001b). Being geographically disconnected from one's turangawaewae (traditional place to stand), as many 'urban Māori' who reside primarily in the settler society are, does not make these people any less Māori. It can, however, make it more difficult for people in such situations to realise their cultural selves in traditional ways (Durie, 2006; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Regular visits to one's ancestral land, for those who know where it is, provide one means of reconnection to and exploration of the self and ancestral place to belong. For example, Awa has been taking his children back to the marae to participate in working bees. During these visits his children have the opportunity to explore and discover who they are as members of their whānau and hapu:

I've been taking my kids back (to the marae) and they go, "…Koro"[grandfather/elder/kaumātua] to my father, "…Koro, there's someone with our name over there", and my dad goes, "…that's my father, that's your great grandfather" and the connection I've seen in them. The rest of the day I see them sitting around that headstone, touching it and "…why does he get this big monument dad?" and I go

"...because he was a chief for our people and because they thought he was special they put him there".

For Awa these visits have ensured the cultural connectedness of his children, "I'm confident my children under my guidance, I can get them to close the [cultural] gap, I'll push them across to close the gap". Awa's actions are opportunities for making whakapapa connections and represent one aspect of a cultural process towards a vibrant Māori identity (Durie, 2006; Kingi et al., 2014). For the children, being with their koro (and kaumātua) on the marae and being able to ask questions ensures intergenerational connectedness. Their koro represents the living face of those ancestors who have passed and affirm the children's sense of connection and belonging in place (Chalmers, 2006; Dyall et al., 2013; Mead, 2003).

For all my participants, their sense of being a Māori man also includes their cultural status as tangata whenua and the implications of this standing. Tangata whenua means original inhabitants or people of the land and includes the political and territorial rights associated with the wider environment and its resources (Henare, 1988; Orange, 1987). Tangata whenua status is also a cosmological whakapapa to the Māori gods such as Papatūānuku (Earth mother), ensuring obligations as kaitiaki or guardians of the land (Henare, 1988; Kawharu, 2000). Awa's status as tangata whenua is clearly important as is sharing that knowledge and responsibilities as a host, "I think we've got a lot to be proud of actually because this is our country. In my job, I'm proud to say we're tangata whenua anywhere we go in New Zealand" (Awa). Awa's sense of self is related to his indigeneity to Aotearoa/New Zealand and the complex history of Māori self-determination that recognises his rights as tangata whenua (Orange, 1987). By positioning themselves as tangata whenua, my participants (including Awa) distinguish themselves from Pākehā (settler society) and tauiwi (immigrants or foreigners) who cannot claim the same indigenous links to Aotearoa/New Zealand as they trace their whakapapa elsewhere (Henare, 1988). Notions of indigeneity as expressed by Awa have become common since the Māori renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s (George, 2012):

In my job, for instance, we've got people from America, South Africa, Canada, England, Malaysia and they're very very smart, but they've all left their homeland. So for me, for them to come here is a sign of how lucky we are in this country and I'm just proud that we're first nation and I can stand and say, "...this is my home and it's now your home" and it just makes a bit of a difference and that's what it (being Māori) means to me (Awa).

The statement, 'this is my home and it's now your home' is a cultural affirmation in Awa expressing his status as tangata whenua. He presents himself as connected to his international colleagues but different. Awa's sense of self as tangata whenua takes form here in relation to visitors. Awa invokes traditional notions of manaakitanga (nurturing relationships/caring) as an important principle for human relationships (Mead, 2003). The expression of manaakitanga manifests in a variety of ways, from taking people into their homes to welcoming visitors into the country. Awa is bound to care for his co-workers as their welfare as manuhiri (visitors) is of importance until such time they are settled (Mead, 2003). The point of Awa expressing his manaakitanga is to affirm the sense that he and his colleagues are now part of one another (Ritchie, 1992). There is a relationship that extends beyond the workplace to acknowledge Awa's presence as tangata whenua and the rights afforded by his cultural identity. Awa is expressing his identity from a Māori worldview and encouraging a whānau approach to relationships. In so doing, Awa orientates himself to a complex web of social relationships within a larger collectivist group (Brougham & Haar, 2012).

In sum, my participants' sense of belonging is bound to their ancient sense of geographic place(s) as much as it is to their whakapapa. Places like Te Urewera are proverbial constants in their lives and reinforced by the whakataukī (saying) "Whatu ngarongaro te tangata, toitu te whenua - People perish but the land is permanent" (Durie, 2001b, p. 115). The permanency of place, like the marae, is a helpful notion for these men against a backdrop of colonial destabilisation in their lives. The marae is an everyday institution for these men. Not all Māori have retained such connectedness. However, these men have. Connectedness to their turangawaewae (traditional place to stand) provides strength and cohesion for

these men as well as their past and future generations (Durie, 2001b). Connections to place, the past and cultural institutions in the present provide a sound relational and material basis for ensuring whānau health. Tangihanga, as an example of a cultural institution, are particularly important in the lives of the men in study two, and provide a significant cultural space textured with the cultural values and meanings for the people who participate and reconnect there.

Tangihanga as an exemplar for the enactment of a Māori community of practice

The primary purpose of tangihanga is to provide stability during the loss of a loved one through engagement in prescribed cultural practices that ensure grief is shared, aroha (love) and manaakitanga (care) are discharged, and tikanga (proper etiquette) is followed. As a ritualistic process, tangihanga are communal in nature, involving relational aspects and practices where people are reconnected, memories are shared, and comfort is taken in each other's company (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1945; Dansey, 1995; Nikora, Masters-Awatere, & Te Awekotuku, 2012; Nikora et al., 2010; Sinclair, 1990). The human experience of losing those people we love and care for is a relational one.

This section examines the cultural institution of tangihanga, the traditional Māori process of grieving the death of a loved one, as a whānau backdrop for Māori men's relational, material and emplaced practices of Māori identity construction. Throughout their daily lives, the men in study two may engage in a range of communities of practice such as those located within military, religious, sports, workplace and educational settings. In this section, however, the focus is on tangihanga as an exemplar of a distinctly Māori community of practice that takes shape within the Māori world in the context of the marae. After all, tangihanga is the most enduring and resilient bastion of traditional Māori practices that has largely escaped colonial influence. Consequently, tangihanga support relationships and interconnections, but also replenish the Māori cultural self. This section has been separated into two parts. Part one considers ways in which these men actively and constructively participate in collective tangihanga practices to reconnect, remember and sustain relationships with whānau, turangawaewae and themselves. Part two considers the communal mourning practices of men in tangihanga that include the outward and public display of emotion as well as the cultural and material practices involved in responding to grief and loss. Tangihanga then provide a socio-cultural space within which my participants find a sense of reconnection and belonging, and their loved ones gain some respite and care.

Most tangihanga occur on marae for the simple reason that marae are culturally anchored places where the men and their whānau can connect through whakapapa (Nikora et al., 2012; Walker, 1992). Their collective identities, cosmological links to Papatūānuku (Earth mother to whom the deceased's body is returned), and traditional cultural relationships with other people are strengthened on the marae (Durie, 2006; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). Tangihanga and the marae are culturally textured and emotive spaces (Conradson, 2005; Milligan & Wiles, 2010) where Māori cultural ceremonial practices of care are performed and *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (the Māori language and its customs) are privileged and prioritised, providing a positive sense of self for Māori people who participate (Durie, 2006; Sinclair, 1990). Cultural practices include rituals, but also the more everyday and mundane shared roles and practices ensure that all people present for the tangihanga are well cared for on the marae. Consequently, tangihanga provide an exemplar of a community of practice (Stephens, 2007; Wenger et al., 2002; Wenger et al., 2011), involving specific cultural practices that take place on the marae and, in the process, construct this 'heart of a hapu' (Rangihau, 1992) as a space for care.

My participants singled out tangihanga as key events for reconnecting with whānau, which even include family members who return from overseas to grieve together. Participation in tangihanga also affords opportunities for Māori men to deepen their cultural knowledge and expertise in the communal sharing of grief and relational connectedness. In this space, the men's participation and contributions are valued. As Waka explains:

> *When you go home [to the marae], you go to a tangihanga and catch up*
> *with what everyone's doing…That's where all the community is actually.*

Community in this regard is important in the sense that people come together for a common cause, which contributes to individual and collective well-being (Carson et al., 2007b; Chamberlain & Lyons, 2006; Johnson et al., 2013; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006). Tangihanga create a socio-cultural space in which my participants feel they belong and their identities as valued members of that group

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are re-affirmed. This is important as the men in study two mostly live away from their marae and homelands, but move between locales to remain connected (Nikora, 2007b; Nikora et al., 2004). Tame recounts the importance of reconnecting:

> *When you're living away and you hear people have passed away you go back home to rekindle those connections and to remember those times you were with them. Because you're so far away you don't get the chance to spend time with them. Not like the people who are at home have. So it's really important coming back and to make those connections.*

The act of returning home is central to self-preservation in a Māori interconnected self for these men. It re-locates them within their tribal lands and histories, their turangawaewae (place to stand and be nourished by whānau relationships). This is especially so for Waka "…it's good to go home, catch up with all the cousins and everyone. It's probably one of the best aspects". Tangihanga for these men is as much about social support as it is about death and grief (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1945; Dansey, 1995; Nikora et al., 2010; Sinclair, 1990). Reconnecting promotes their resilience during times of loss and contributes to a broader experience of interpersonal care. Spending time with the 'home people' also re-invokes metaphoric expressions such as kanohi kitea (being seen) as mentioned earlier in this chapter, "Nothing can really replace the fact of a relative or visitor actually being seen at the tangi" (Mead, 2003, p. 133). 'Being seen' participating at such events demonstrates connection and care. As John relates, "If they see you there they'll think, ah well, this person cares".

Care through the cultural process of tangihanga is multidirectional. That is, both recipient and providers are involved in caring for each other in a network of relationships that are physical, spiritual, affective and reciprocated over time. Research has shown that caring for others is just as beneficial for the person providing care (Le, Impett, Kogan, Webster, & Cheng, 2013). This point was emphasised by Paora, "Yeah it's good to know you're all on the same path. That you're there for the same cause, that you're all about whānau. That's a beautiful

thing". By caring for others in a communal setting these men are offered positive personal and interpersonal processes to build stronger relationships (Le et al., 2013). Communing allows the men to express their extended and interdependent self as identified in Māori models of health and well-being (Durie, 2006; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b; Marsden, 2003; Pere, 1991). In this regard, the communal orientation of care through tangihanga fosters relational connectedness (Afifi, Felix, & Afifi, 2011), which the men draw upon to help shape and enhance their personal well-being. Although care is often associated with paternalistic notions of dependency, care can be defined here as practical, material, emotional, cultural and spiritual support (Durie, 1985, 2006; Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Pere, 1991). It enables participants to do more than mark the passing of a loved one and to share their grief. As I document below, it enables them to reconnect, reinvigorate their resilience and renew their sense of belonging, connection and place.

Tangihanga, which are enacted by the community of practice, are fundamentally about relationships and culturally rich interactions (Seibert, 2014). For these men, tangihanga offer support with resources through a web of individuals and groups who enact a community of practice (Lee, Arozullah, & Cho, 2004; Li, 2011; Wenger, 1998, 2000). In the reminiscing and returning to tangihanga, participants feel valued and connected within the Māori world (Durie, 2006; Hammack, 2008). As Waka states, it is "…rejuvenating to go home and reminisce and remember things that have happened". When returning to tangihanga, Waka reflects upon the importance of being remembered and reconnecting with specific whānau members:

> *Mainly the aunties really, all the uncles are doing the speaking; it's really their wives, the aunties, because they remember you. I really catch up with the aunties. Because they're also milling around the kitchen and all that and they're easier to catch up with and the uncles they're controlling whatever's happening on the paepae [sacred oratory space of the cultural experts] welcoming groups...*

Waka's reference to his aunties "milling around" and the comment "…because they remember you", reflects the traditional role Māori women play in linking the

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past, present and future (Mikaere, 1999). The women of our communities, particularly the kuia (female elders) or "aunties" in the kitchen are often matriarchs, community leaders and key repositories of knowledge (Mahuika, 1992; Te Awekotuku, 1991). For Waka, his aunties have a nourishing role in helping him re-enter his community and reconnect. Remembering and relational nourishment are crucial to Waka feeling part of the whakapapa and a part of the community's extensive fabric. A sense of well-being, connection and place is realised by these men in such moments as when they catch up with an aunty whilst doing the visitors' dishes after dinner. In these moments their identities are re-embedded within their communities of practice. To remain known and remembered, when present at tangihanga, allows the men to retain relationships with significant others and a spiritual connection to marae that they are part of and which are part of them. Being a member of this community of practice also reflects the men's dialogical selves (Hermans, 2013; Hermans & Gieser, 2012a, 2012b), as exemplified by Awa:

> *...It's easier for me to sit down with an aunty, '...aunty, who are they again? How am I related to them?' And that's been mind-blowing bro. I can't really explain it, the feeling of connecting and raising my self-esteem in Māoridom[13] has been huge because I've got high self-esteem in the Pākehā world[14] (Awa).*

In this context, Awa's community cares for his whakapapa by opening extended familial networks during times of need. Awa's account reflects the men's personal narratives generally where their extended selves find connectedness, meaning, value, belonging and membership to their hapu through birth right and material presence (Cooley, 1902; Freeman, 2014; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). The men are drawn outward beyond their internal self to connect with people who occupy both their minds and ancestral spaces (Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Gieser, 2012a). Awa also invokes how positive experiences of

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[13] Common reference to the te ao Māori (Māori world/communities)

[14] Settler society characterised by colonial institutions and laws

participation at tangihanga can recharge one's batteries and spill over into their lives in the settler society or 'Pākehā world'.

Beyond the care men provide and receive through personal connectedness, community and the invocation of whakapapa is the notion that a tangihanga at the marae constitutes a space for care. This space pulsates with the mauri or life presence of historical interconnectedness, allowing the men to trace their sense of belonging to ancestral whakapapa. Milligan and Wiles (2010) employ the notion of a *landscape of care* to unpack the social spaces and environments that allow for caring interactions to occur. 'Landscapes of care' is a useful concept in depicting tangihanga and marae as places and spaces that can assist with health enhancement. This approach considers the significance of geographic, social and cultural spaces where positive interpersonal interactions with others occur. In these landscapes, caring interactions can occur informally through material practices such as working in the kitchen and the provision of food and more formally through culturally prescribed roles as orators and keepers of traditional cultural practices and the links between these informal and formal spaces to effectively carry out the tangihanga process. According to Milligan and Wiles (2010), "landscapes of care are thus spatial manifestations of the interplay between the socio-structural processes and structures that shape experiences and practices of care" (p. 739).

Considering a marae as a health-enhancing space for care draws upon a cultural narrative enmeshed with the men's personal interactions within this culturally significant space. Waka referred to this earlier when he talked about how he is rejuvenated when he returns 'home' to the marae, a space which is enhanced by interpersonal whānau contact. For Awa this space of care has assisted him in recalibrating his life in response to the stressors of settler society:

> *Mentally, I've been a lot more stable. I've got quite a pressurised job so this has helped me feel a lot better mentally because I have something other than mahi (work) to focus on and the return, the happy buzz I suppose, warm fuzzies I get from going through that process all the time gives me perspective on how lucky I am. So for years I'll soldier away in the corporate scene, feel like I'm hard done by because of this and that*

and it's quite humbling to go back to my whānau and make me realise how lucky I am so that brings everything back into perspective for me so it's made me mentally a lot more stable.

By re-entering the Māori world, Awa draws upon tangihanga processes at the marae to reconnect with his sense of who he is and to draw strength from the ancestral connections that come to life in this space (Hodgetts et al., 2015). Awa recognises the health-enhancing aspects of a space characterised by social bonds of inclusion, respite and well-being, and this challenges the Cartesian notion that separates person and place (Freeman, 2014; Hermans & Gieser, 2012a, 2012b). As physically located and culturally-textured spaces, marae and tangihanga, as a cultural institution, are where health-enhancing practices are interwoven into the physical and social dimensions of these men's accounts. These spaces provide a regular dwelling for the men to inhabit and draw upon as a source of strength where communing occurs through simple acts such as washing dishes and preparing meals with loved ones. The space is imbued with a cultural etiquette that encourages relational affiliations and cooperation to occur.

The men in study two do more than simply enter the Māori world and spaces for care by attending tangihanga. The marae, as a space for care, engenders specific practices of mutual care through events like tangihanga. It is through material practices central to tangihanga that these men relive and realise their community ties, cultural obligations and Māori selves. The men involve themselves in shared activities as a basis for whanaungatanga (relationship building) (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010; Walker, 1994) that are grounded in a shared cultural history of giving and receiving support during tangihanga in this place. Participating in shared material practices also provides these men with opportunities for them to re-member heritage beyond emotional and cognitive processes (Fortier, 1999). Re-membering in this regard allows the men to not only cognitively remember influential people and those who cared and nurtured their sense of self, but also engage in those physical activities and shared practices that texture their sense of being a Maori man today. Given the significance of actions and 'doing', the act of re-membering through shared materialistic practice is a process to simply be and belong to a place. Re-membering family and cultural

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connections through material practices can give the men order, structure and meaning and circumvents the threat of being disconnected and dislocated from their places of belonging that can have negative implications for the men's overall health (Fortier, 1999; King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu, 2015). Through re-membering, a common expectation of what Chaney (2002) calls 'a normality' exists in cultural practices on the marae, which provides the men's lives with order and stability (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1945; Edwards et al., 2009). Subsequently, tangihanga becomes a space for recognising one's self beyond being a connected whānau member, as a contributor, a resource and a man with practical skills and knowledge.

In preparing for and during tangihanga, my participants re-enact valued aspects of Māori culture in the form of mundane or taken-for-granted practices of care (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Milligan & Wiles, 2010), such as preparing the marae, mowing lawns, cleaning bathrooms, sweeping sidewalks, killing cows and pigs for feasting and gathering food for catering (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003; Salmond, 1976). Waka and John are quite clear about their roles during tangihanga:

> *I know my role at home [on the marae] is to do the kitchen role because I know I'm not up to that calibre of my uncle and all the rest at home [who engage in formal welcomes and speeches]...In fact, I haven't graduated from the tea towel and the dishes yet back home or cutting the meat. Even getting a knife is hard sometimes (Waka).*

Similarly, John comments:

> *Nothing at the front of the marae...unless I'm mowing the lawns. Mainly at the back, washing dishes, peeling potatoes, all the kitchen work...you can never forget how to use the butcher knife.*

Waka and John both allude to how people's responsibilities on the marae follow a progression over time from more mundane acts to the more advanced ceremonial practices that require the extensive cultural knowledge and experience of the tribal elders. Nonetheless, the mundane and everyday activities like peeling

potatoes and washing dishes also have significance and symbolic meaning in terms of the care of the *whānau pani* (bereaved family) and *manuhiri* (visitors). Enacting heritage through the preparing of meat and cleaning of dishes is regarded as important despite their simplicity. There is a level of conformity in these jobs as a way of ensuring social cohesiveness within the group (Berry et al., 2002; Vaughn & Hogg, 2005). This conformity relates to the men discharging their material roles influenced by the relationships, both intimate and extended (Berkmen, 2000), in a ritualised community of practice.

To participate in tangihanga at a marae is to involve oneself in the texturing of a space; to belong and to solidify one's Māori identity by 'doing' culture through shared practices. For example, I observed John kill a cow and a pig in preparation for catering during one tangihanga at his marae. He worked with several of his whānau to dismember and prepare the animals for cooking meals throughout the tangihanga. During my observation of John preparing the animals, I queried his involvement in the mundane practices of preparing food during tangihanga. He reinforced the cultural importance of feeding the manuhiri and how the work he does in the kitchen supports the tangihanga process. Similarly, Paora also uses his skill as a seafood gatherer to 'do' culture through shared practices,

> *I'll put my hand up and say, how many crays (crayfish/lobster) do you want? How many bags of kinas (sea egg or sea urchin) do you want or how many bags of mussels (form of marine clam or bivalve molluscs) do you want and I'll go get it (Paora).*

John and Paora's accounts reflect the crucial role of sourcing food prior to tangihanga. In particular, beef, pork and seafood are culturally significant foods that embody manaakitanga and associated principles of generosity, hospitality and care for those present on the marae. In this regard, the cultural and material interconnect (Breiger, 2000), rooted in a socio-historical context and a collective commitment towards ritualised and material practices of care. Tangihanga provide opportunities for the men to reaffirm their interconnected selves, as the men are caring for others, and they are in turn being cared for themselves. These men's

actions are altruistic and reflect their regard for the welfare of others (Baxter, 2005). For example, John states: "people do good things, they don't care about their time and the money they're losing not going to [paid] work". Giving to others can generate positive emotions about oneself (Le et al., 2013). As this case demonstrates, positive emotions in caring for others through mundane material practices are not limited to the personal sphere, since caring for others also engenders greater social support, purpose in life, and an enriched sense of belonging, interconnectedness and self (Cooley, 1902; Hermans & Gieser, 2012a; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010).

Landscapes of care offer arrangements to accommodate the Māori cultural performance of both mundane and more ritualised care. Being involved with others during tangihanga permits the manifestations of social practices that enhance the cultural integrity of the marae as a space for care to which one belongs. Awa comments on the renovation work he conducted for the marae wharemate[15]:

> *For instance the wharemate was [previously] a tarp[16] with no walls. The concrete was all broken up and today it's now enclosed, still no front doors though but the roof's not leaking, no tarps required and a nice tidy wharemate…now the kuia (elderly women) are much warmer and our paepae [sacred oratory space of the cultural experts] looks a bit more professional for our kaumātua [elders].*

Caring for, and about, the tūpapaku (deceased), whānau pani (bereaved family), kuia (elderly women) and kaumātua (elderly) through renovation work on the wharemate is an investment that can involve emotional and practical care simultaneously (Bowlby, 2011). The linking of health here between keeping kuia warm and a sense of professionalism in marae (communal courtyard) operations contributes to traditional notions of Māori health that extend to the material state of the marae itself (Durie, 1985, 2006; Pere, 1982, 1991). Since all things in the

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[15] A wharemate is a structure on the marae built to house tūpapaku (deceased) and female members of the whānau pani (grieving family).

[16] Tarp is an abbreviated term for tarpaulin, large waterproof sheet that is flexible and water resistant

Māori world are connected and imbued with a mauri (life force) (Moon, 2004), so is the wharemate. A well-constructed wharemate, in turn, creates a positive mauri or life force for the occupants of the wharemate and the marae generally. The renovated wharemate embodies a psychological sense of pride and the people's health is enhanced by the literal 'building' of a cultural space for caring interactions and practices to occur during tangihanga (Hodgetts et al., 2015; Milligan & Wiles, 2010).

A lack of access to the socio-environmental setting of the marae and the institution of tangihanga can compromise a Māori person's identity if they lack "access to both cultural and physical resources such as Māori land, Māori language, marae and whānau" (Durie, 2006, p. 197). The sense of disconnection was evident in Awa's account. Awa seemed to lack the social and cultural knowledge demonstrated by other participants when they engage in marae activities, as evidenced during his brother's tangihanga:

> *I'd easily say decades I was disconnected. I'd be coming back for a tangi for my brother, do the dishes and leave, you know. And that was my brother! I didn't even know that you should actually stay there the whole time, you know, so that's how shallow my knowledge was.*

Awa knew his marae and knew large social gatherings occurred at the marae. However, he did not understand the extent of his responsibility as whānau pani (bereaved family), and the cultural expectation to be close and vigilant throughout the tangi (Herbert, 2011; Mead, 2003; Ngata, 2005). This includes not leaving before the end of the tangihanga. Not understanding the extent of his role as whānau pani made Awa feel disconnected and *whakama* (embarrassed), around his whānau, hapu and marae (Metge, 1995, 2001; Nikora et al., 2004; Nikora et al., 2008). Despite this disconnection, Awa was still present for the tangihanga. When he refers to going there, doing the dishes and leaving, he still enacted the expectation of kanohi kitea or the seen face, even if he did not fully enact a relationship in a way accepted by others.

Awa's cultural knowledge gap became even more profound following the subsequent passing of his mother:

> *...yeah I thought my mum actually deserved a bit better...and in order to get that bit better you can't stay away [from the marae and hapu]. If you want better you've got to go and help and do your bit.*

If a Māori person does not participate in marae activities and the associated cultural practices of whanaungatanga (relationship/sense of family connection) then the level of cultural reciprocity can be compromised. Awa was a little concerned that his mother did not receive the tangihanga he felt she deserved. Awa realised that he needed to be more involved in his whānau and marae. Such a realisation encouraged him to actively reconnect with and participate in whānau and marae activities, which also enhanced his cultural growth and sense of self:

> *...my reo has picked up tenfold by being around there [marae]. I was quite nervous about some of the gaps I had and now I feel quite comfortable in saying, "what did they mean, what did you just say" and now that they're comfortable with me we can have this easy learning environment. So we're doing both things that are contributing to my tikanga (correct procedure, custom, practice, lore), my reo (language), my whakapapa (genealogy), telling me what's what and showing me how to do it easier (Awa).*

In their involvement with marae, the men in study two derive opportunities to participate in and learn from cultural activities in an ongoing fashion. The marae, as a socio-cultural space and place, can also assist with increasing the men's sense of interconnectedness and provide a context for caring interactions and health enhancement (Conradson, 2003, 2005; Milligan & Wiles, 2010).

In short, being on the marae and engaging in tangihanga processes allows the men to reconsider their place in society and the importance of belonging to the Māori world. The value of manaaki tangata (care for others), and the nurturing of relationships (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003; Ritchie, 1992) occurs through both ritualised and mundane material practices (Chaney, 2002; Durie, 2006; Hodgetts et al., 2015; McIntosh, 2005). The space of the marae reflects a therapeutic landscape of care where compassionate interactions and practices occur (Conradson, 2003; Milligan & Wiles, 2010). This is consistent with Māori

understandings of the self and health, which emphasise the inter-relational and emplaced aspects of the interconnected Māori self (Durie, 1985, 2006; Pere, 1991).

Grieving and showing emotion during tangihanga

The men in study two were aware of colonially constructed characterisations of Māori men as hard, tough and silent, rarely showing public emotion (Davis & Crocket, 2010; Hokowhitu, 2003b). They were cognisant of the constructed expectation for men to maintain emotional control during funerals, leaving it for women to mourn and grieve (Hockey et al., 2001). According to Vogel and colleagues (2011), young men and boys have been taught from an early age that men should not cry, and help-seeking is frowned upon or seen negatively. When public displays of grief and mourning occur it is often psychologised as an individualistic process that can only be resolved through counselling and psychotherapy (Neimeyer et al., 2002). In contrast, the institution of tangihanga provides a collectively orientated space where the sharing of grief and loss is experienced within the extended whānau and community (Buck, 1950; Dansey, 1995; Edge, Nikora, & Rua, 2011; Nikora et al., 2012). In this shared space, men are expected to display grief.

John reflects on Māori men and outward emotional expressions: "[An uncle] told me when his father died he cried. So a lot of staunch Māori men up here do cry, but not often" (John). The *not often* statement is pivotal to the men's conversations about how open grief relates to the significance of the loss and how intimately they knew the deceased (Dunne, 2004). Hokowhitu (2004) and Jackson (2009) write more broadly about the ways Māori men express themselves and argue that colonisation has inhibited the finer emotions of pre-contact Māori men and restricted the gender roles of nurturers, caregivers and grievers to women only. Tame expresses views that concur with the analysis from Hokowhitu and Jackson, and he believes that Māori men should challenge the colonial construction of the male archetype:

I think one of the things we need to get over as Māori men is this idea that it's manly not to cry. That's its manly not to shed tears when your best mates are there, you staunch it out (Tame).

Awa reflects on the importance of public expressions of grief: "I'm actually doing it [crying] now, because obviously I've got no issues with that so hopefully if I role model that behaviour enough they'll [other Māori men] normalise to it" (Awa). Like Awa, Paora is aware of the expectations on Māori men to assert emotional control, however, he is encouraged by the Māori men he has seen at tangihanga: "You can see by their looks and expressions on their face that they're hurting and they're crying and they openly express that." This expression is a sign of strength, rather than weakness he said: "I think that's a beautiful thing. To have a man actually cry and feel your pain. That's a sign of a strong man and I really admire that" (Paora). Unsurprisingly, Paora is open about his feelings and grieving in public, "I like to be open and probably I am too open…but I try and express what I'm feeling". John is also comfortable with men crying at tangihanga and thinks it should be supported, "If they want to cry they cry." John is open about his grief when his grandparents who had raised him passed away: "when Koro and Nanny died I cried." Despite such admissions and encouragement of others, Tame is conscious of the construction of men's gender roles and how they differ from women's roles, especially in relation to public displays of grief (Hockey et al., 2001). Tame reflects upon the stories of his *tīpuna* (ancestors) to reinforce his point about traditional notions of Māori men's practices:

We look at the examples of our tīpuna (ancestors) that we talk about. We're talking about guys who could kill people at the drop of the hat if you look at them funny, but when you read about what they do and how they express their emotion when someone close to them passed away or they greeted a friend and they'll sit there and tangi for 20 minutes with tears coming out. You couldn't tell me those guys weren't men. I suppose they are more men then we'll ever be (Tame).

Awa understands the colonial history and the importance of Māori men's self-expression as a way of moving through grief. The therapeutic landscape of the

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marae and the institution of tangihanga provide a collective and socially supported space for the grieving process and emotional expression to occur:

> *I'm trying to get them [other Māori men] to express… the compassionate side, it actually makes you feel better once you've got it out. Leave it behind and go again bro (Awa).*

For Awa, 'going again' is about allowing grieving to occur as a part of the life process so that one can re-engage with life following loss. Awa's quote reflects the traditional concept of *mauri tau* (to be composed, deliberate, serene, or without panic). The public expression of emotion is a vehicle for achieving mauri tau. A person who realises "mauri tau is able to function and contribute fully as an individual and as a member of a collective, despite, or even strengthened by, their loss" (Edwards et al., 2009, p. 134). In other words, attaining the state of mauri tau involves restoring a deliberate, composed and settled self. When death occurs, those close to the person experience a disruption to their mauri tau. As a result their human potential becomes vulnerable, which can destabilise individual lives, families and communities (Anderson, 2010; Edge et al., 2011; Jacobs, Nikora, & Ritchie, 2012). The institution of tangihanga provides a collectively and culturally based framework for restoring the interconnected self while being immersed within the support of whānau, which includes the immediate and extended whakapapa (present and ancient family connections). This ensures the bereaved do not feel an overwhelming sense of isolation detrimental to a positive recovery or mauri tau (Edwards et al., 2009).

The material and cultural practices engaged in by the men during the course of the tangihanga are essential for providing manaakitanga, but they also serve other functions in terms of responding to grief and loss. Traditional Māori mourning practices can involve rituals such as haehae (the lacerating of the body to cause long-term scarification), cutting of hair, whaikōrero (formal oratory), karakia (incantations), preparation of the tūpapaku (deceased) and the manaaki of manuhiri (caring for visitors). These cultural practices materialise the community of practice of a tangihanga and contribute to a communal space for grieving. The emphasis on collective and material grieving suggests the landscape around

emotion and grief is a lot more complex than crying and talking as individually performed practices.

Collective and material grieving practices are recognised in John's reflection, "Talking to a lot of guys around the back [the informal spaces of the marae]…They'll probably work harder" (John). The 'back' refers to the functioning of the kitchen or wharekai (marae dining hall) during tangihanga. Time spent 'at the back' according to John, are more than opportunities to contribute in tangihanga, but opportunities for support, care and community (Connell, 2000; Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). The notion of working at the back is an indirect form of communication through mutually beneficial activities towards collective resolve of grief (Afifi et al., 2011). Hopkins and Riley (2002) argue for the importance of men simply 'doing things' or 'hanging out' and 'getting on with it'. What may appear to be less intimate forms of emotional expression are instead legitimate ways for men to express themselves through communal practices, rather than conversation (Jensen, 1996). Through their embodied and material practices the men take comfort in other people's presence. This suggests grieving is not a linear process, and reflects that men's emotional expressiveness is responsive to the mode of expression available to them (Wong & Rochlen, 2005).

The men in study two consider their contributions to tangihanga as a way of symbolically supporting the collective mourning through the personal enactment of ritualistic practices (Doss, 2002; Romanoff & Terenzio, 1998). Paora likes to express his sense of loss through actions as well, "not just looking sad faced…And not just being there but also, 'what would you like me to do?' Sometimes you don't even have to ask, you just do it." During tangihanga work needs to be done and that is what the men do. These materialistic practices are used to strengthen social ties after a loss and reflect collective expressions of grief which can have direct benefits for personal well-being (Afifi et al., 2011; Xu, 2013). These material practices where the men get on with what needs to be done reflect the idea "that men are generally more willing to report emotions nonverbally rather than verbally" (Wong & Rochlen, 2005, p. 64). Nonetheless, these men do talk, but according to John, "…not necessarily about the funeral, maybe talking about hunting …" The hunting talk is often done with others in a form of therapeutic dialogue (Buitenbos, 2012) where discussion between trusted

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friends or whānau members occurs for emotional support. The absence of verbal communication directly in relation to the men's grief does not indicate a deficiency of the intimate and emotional capacities of these men (Walker, 1994). This is not to diminish the importance of discussing one's feelings. However, according to Durie (2006) physical communication is just as important as words and in some regards words are unnecessary. Here, subtle gestures, expressions and ways of being face to face can be just as powerful in showing care, affection and support. Consequently, shared practices in a Māori cultural and communal context are an important resource for these men as a way of materially embodying grief and mourning.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the importance of the men's relationships with the mediapolis that spans settler society and the Māori world in terms of people, places and culture. Much of what is discussed in this chapter is in stark contrast to how Māori men are often characterised by mainstream media and literature since it offers alternatives to the negative portrayals and stereotypes of Māori men. Negative characterisations of Māori men largely draw on colonial discourses (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007; Nikora et al., 2007; Phillips, 1987; Wall, 1997), and the Cartesian view of the independent self (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Smith, 1999) that constructs men as separate from other people and the material, cultural and social worlds around them (Cooley, 1902; Hermans, 2001, 2012, 2013). In contrast, this chapter has demonstrated how the Māori men in study two experience the self as relational, emplaced and interconnected (Durie, 1985, 2006; Henare, 1988; Pere, 1991). These elements contribute to a positive sense of self as a Māori man and the relational notions of health derived therein.

For the men in study two, their interconnected Māori self reflects knowing who they are in relation to other people, and the claims they derive from acknowledging interdependence through a shared whakapapa (genealogy) (Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). The men's identities extend to people like kaumātua (elders) who can often represent their tribal identity and the Māori cultural health of their community (Chalmers, 2006; Durie, 2003; Dyall et al., 2013). Fostering

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whakapapa through whanaungatanga (shared relational bonds) and kanohi kitea (the seen face) enhances the men's sense of Māori interconnected self beyond the individualised Cartesian self, promoted in Aotearoa/New Zealand's settler society (Durie, 2012a; Freeman, 2014; Hermans & Gieser, 2012a; Mead, 2003). A core part of the Māori interconnected self is being connected to turangawaewae (traditional place to stand, place where one has the right to stand) and having an ancestral place to call home (Mead, 2003). The men's turangawaewae is sustained by going back to the marae or the surrounding areas, and by engaging in practices that strengthen their connection with this environment (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Durie, 2006). Turangawaewae provides the men in study two an ancient and cosmological bond where they can draw strength from belonging to this place and their cultural identity as tangata whenua (original inhabitants of the land) endures beyond their selves and on to their children and their children's children (Henare, 1988; Kawharu, 2000; Miller, 2005). Being present in these 'home' spaces provides a therapeutic landscape of care (Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003), which allows the men's cultural and social potential to be realised.

As a key cultural institution, tangihanga are central to sustaining the interconnected Māori self. Tangihanga offer the men in study two a sense of place and a community of practice that allows them to reconnect, re-member, achieve mauri tau and sustain relationships (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1945; Dansey, 1995; Edwards et al., 2009; Fortier, 1999; Nikora et al., 2012; Nikora et al., 2010; Sinclair, 1990). During tangihanga, practices of care are performed and the Māori language and its customs are privileged and prioritised, providing a positive sense of self as an interconnected Māori person. The institution of tangihanga encourages the men in study two to participate in collective Māori grieving practices. They are secure in their Māori selves and outward displays of emotion do not necessarily detract from their masculine selves. In fact, the actions of the men in grieving practices direct us away from the colonially derived essential masculine core that has undermined Māori men's roles as nurturers, caregivers and grievers (Hokowhitu, 2004, 2012; Jackson, 2009). Material and cultural practices engaged in by the men contributed to tangihanga as a space for communal mourning (Dansey, 1995; Durie, 2006; Hodgetts & Rua, 2010).

Through work in the kitchen and 'out the back', the men take the opportunity to spend time with whānau and friends for support and care.

Chapter 5: Concluding Comments

In this thesis I have explored how Māori men negotiate a sense of self, place, and what it means to be a man in today's society, which is awash with a range of positive and negative characterisations. Of particular interest has been the ways in which men construct and foster a positive sense of self by drawing on their relational networks, shared practices, culture and physical and symbolic places in their everyday lives. A positive sense of self is focused on the men's strengths and their constructive engagements and contributions to their families, wider social networks and communities. The positive Māori self is also one that is interconnected with other people, places, settler society and Māori culture. In completing my thesis, this chapter is presented in three sections. Section one presents key insights from across studies one and two. Section two positions my research conceptually within psychology, previous research into men's identities, masculinities, discussions of interconnected selves, and indigenous psychologies. Section three briefly considers avenues for future research.

Insights from studies one and two

This in-depth qualitative research was not designed to engage in the search for universal truths (Flyvbjerg, 2001). The research provides initial insights into what it means to be a Māori man in the context of intergroup, cultural, media and societal influences. These men's accounts are systemic, not representative, in that they constitute instances through which everyday life is rendered meaningful (Fiske, 1999). The ways in which 'being a man' is socially and culturally constructed by these men can be generalised, not directly to other men, but to the workings of the social system within which men's identities and relationships are forged (Nardi, 1992; Parker, 1998; Simmel, 1997). In addition, knowledge generated by my participants is applicable to settings in which their social thoughts and actions are given prominence (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg, Landman, & Schran, 2012). The corpus of participant accounts and empirical materials can be seen as instances of particular 'communities of practice' (Stephens, 2007;

Wenger et al., 2002); the army unit (study one) and whānau at the marae and tangihanga (study two).

Literature on men's lives and health tends to focus on the negative aspects (Beynon, 2002; Worth et al., 2002) with characterisations of men as inarticulate, deviant and incapable of maintaining positive relationships (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010; McKenzie-Norton, 2010). Ill-health is positioned as the product of men's deficits (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002). The men in study one demonstrated something more. They often defined themselves in relation to their positive relationships with others including their partners, children, work mates, friends and community. These relationships allowed the men to fulfil their obligations as well as engage in dialogue, intimacy and care for others. Hammond and Mattis (2005) present manhood as an interdependent socio-cultural process linking identity with one's obligations to family and community. In accounts of belonging, inclusion, trust, reciprocity and support, these men invoked a sense of wellness and self that is broader and more dynamic then the picture painted in academic research or mainstream media portrayals.

Study one, which formed the basis of Chapter Three, illustrated the participants' efforts to cultivate a positive sense of self in the context of contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society. There was a particular focus on media characterisations of men. Chapter Three also considered how media intersected and overlapped with other aspects of the lives of the men in study one. These men drew on both positive and negative media images as starting points to open up dialogue about what it means to be a man today. Talkback radio and movies, for example, provided avenues for the men to talk about more emotional, political or intimate topics that they might not otherwise discuss. This allowed participants to express themselves more openly, to share and to cultivate connections. Study one also explored Māori men's relationships with each other, their whānau and Pākehā men. I considered how elements of media characterisations of men were incorporated into my participants' daily lives and very sense of self. This allowed for an exploration of how men negotiate shared and divergent ways of being a man within our media-saturated society.

The men in study one drew on media characterisations to tell stories about themselves, and to cultivate and revise their sense of self. The men saw

themselves in some media stories, but resisted other media portrayals that they did not relate to. These men also reflected upon how they forged their sense of self against contemporary deliberations regarding what it means to be a man in the media. The men often referred to specific styles of media depiction and how influential this was in shaping their sense of self. This appropriation of media images of men was often ongoing and negotiated across various social settings and groups (Hodgetts, Bolam, et al., 2005). The participants would often qualify media images against their personal experiences and by engaging reflexively with media portrayals. They would then use these portrayals to either augment their identities as caring, responsible and supportive family men or question negative accusations. Consequently, these men used media both to cultivate a sense of self and to differentiate their sense of self. The airline case provides a clear example of the process of differentiation. The participants distanced themselves from negative characterisations evident in such negative stories by showcasing alternative examples of themselves and other men who showed love and care for children.

The public deliberations regarding the boundaries for men's interactions with children in the airline case revealed tensions between negative constructions of paedophiles, positive constructions of family men, the dilemmas arising in popular knowledge regarding children's safety, and discrimination against men. The incident helped crystallise feelings of exclusion for these men as they are generally portrayed as threats to children and therefore subjected to inappropriate scrutiny and regulation. By talking to the men and exploring the media coverage, the media became a forum for highlighting ill-informed stereotypes. Moreover, media also function as a framework for socially negotiating relationships in society that impact on the men's lives and the lives of their families and communities. The media were used to contest constructions of men in popular knowledge (Collier, 2001; Connell, 2000) through reflexive engagements. The men used the media images to tell stories about themselves (Couldry, 2004). By interacting with media images, they constantly cultivated and revised their sense of self with family and friends.

Beyond the profile of paedophiles, there is also a range of other negative, pathologised and gender typecast media characterisations of Māori men. Study one participants discussed the aggressive Māori man as depicted in the movie

Once Were Warriors. The men also questioned the pathologised and gendered media characterisations of men as inexpressive and lacking in verbal communication skills. The examples of the talking stick, the castle and model boats were not directly related to specific media characterisations of men. Study one drew upon these examples of the men's relational practices and their efforts to speak beyond dominant media frames and to differentiate themselves from dominant characterisations of men as non-communicative and unemotional. In doing so, the participants revealed the active appropriation of aspects of the settler society construction of the stoic, independent, practical and resourceful bloke (Phillips, 1987). While the material practices such as sailing model boats or building a castle reflect typical 'bloke' activities (Hopkins & Riley, 1998, 2002), they are also vehicles for aroha (love, care, support), communication and connection with others. Such so-called masculine pursuits may not necessarily follow psychological conventions of expressiveness and the clinical preference for talk therapy, but expression through material practices is just as legitimate and health-enhancing for these men and their families.

In study one, the army hangar comprised the men's part-time worksite where a community of practice emerged that allowed the men to engage in shared material practices and dialogue. This space provided a setting for camaraderie, shared cultural enterprise, sense of belonging, ritualised activities, and opportunities for trust, support and belonging. A collective community self was constructed for these men when they were at the hangar. Whakapapa, as a traditional Māori framework for inter-connectedness, can be used here to understand the men in study one's sense of a 'collective community self' in the hangar and their place in it. Doing things and dialogue occurred in this space to build the men's connections with each other. The activities that took place within the unit as a community of practice, such as those involving the talking stick reflect the plurality of men's identities. The plurality that occurred in this space also extended to the participants' home life. Similarly, at home there were further possibilities for the participants to align themselves with alternative identities, such as the nurturer, home-centred and interconnected man. Their accounts demonstrated their gender roles were more overlapping and fluid than was

arguably the case in the past, reflecting broader changes in gender relations in society.

To recap, the men in study one negotiated their identities in response to negative or pathologised depictions of themselves in the public domain. These men drew on media characterisations, but they also thought about themselves in relation to other people, and used particular objects (talking stick) and social practices, which provided a means of expressing alternative selves. The men's efforts to cultivate and differentiate themselves from stigmatised others were important to their wellbeing. Through differentiation, the men in study one sought to extend the ways of being a man and their relationships with their families, social networks and communities. Congruent processes were also overtly apparent in the accounts of men in study two.

Chapter Four, which is based on study two, illustrated the significance of the interconnected Māori self, and how this is expressed and fostered through interactions with the mediapolis, whakapapa (genealogy), turangawaewae (traditional place to stand), and tangihanga (traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process). For these Māori men, the social and relational nature of Māori men's identities and wellbeing existed within the broader context of their everday lives as manifest in traditional and contemporary Māori cultural settings. Study two also explored how Māori men come to understand themselves in the context of the settler society and Māori world. They demonstrated the importance of culturally textured spaces such as the marae (ceremonial courtyard and ritual arena specific to the socio-cultural history of a sub-tribe and or tribe), and their participation in Māori cultural practices. Tangihanga allowed the men to re-gain a sense of belonging and place and preserve continuity in the collective Māori self for themselves and future generations.

The men in study two differentiated themselves from dominant negative characterisations of men in a manner similar to the men in study one. However, study two focused specifically on the largely negative accounts in mainstream media of the perceived failings of Māori men in Aotearoa/New Zealand society. The Māori men in study two did not accept and in fact problematised these negative characterisations, which they often see represented in mainstream media. The men also reframed themselves as Māori men by drawing on their

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relationships with whānau and the Māori cultural world, and by promoting a more positive account of their Māori interconnected self. They also problematised mainstream media depictions reflecting the colonial gaze on Māori men and in doing so referred to the more balanced and felt selves for men evident in depictions in Māori media and their own face-to-face experiences. This reframing allowed the men to construct an alternative narrative to the one they are too often confronted with in mainstream media.

Study two highlighted how whakapapa (genealogy/ancestral ties) is essential in relation to the interconnected Māori self. These men defined themselves relationally within whakapapa lines and through links they themselves have forged with other members of society. Cultural isolation and fragmentation are direct results of colonialism and have resulted in identity loss with negative consequences for Māori wellbeing. Whakapapa offers a framework to restore the interconnected Māori self, since there is an historical sense of relatedness and ancestral connection that transcends the individual self. In their whakapapa, the men in study two find a sense of connectedness, belonging and support because they are a part of a social whole. The interconnected self is a manifestation of the collective identity of the Māori self, and offers an alternative to the notion of the independent individual at the core of mainstream psychology (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010).

Chapter Four also considers how the men's sense of self is culturally and geographically emplaced and forms an enduring bond within the Māori world. These men derive their identities and sense of belonging as tangata whenua from particular environments and physical locales that relate to their whakapapa. This belonging is ancient and is sustained by regular visits to their turangawaewae, as the men move seamlessly between settler society and the Māori world. The men's identities as Māori are synonymous with their turangawaewae. As a result, their being physically present in such places is essential for reaffirming traditional notions of the interconnected Māori self (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003).

Marae are significant physical locations and socio-cultural spaces within the geography of a person's turangawaewae. Marae function as places of heritage where reciprocity, care, belonging and the cultivation of relationships or manaaki tangata are enacted for these men. Marae offer a sense of place for men who live

away from these sites. The marae are key spaces where men can engage in traditional Māori practices that reaffirm their collective identities as Māori men. The men are in sync within these settings and feel an emplaced and deeply felt connection with the Māori world (Hodgetts et al., 2015). For the men in study two, access to their marae and associated whakapapa is a significant contributor to their Māori cultural selves and thus their overall wellbeing (Durie, 2006). In other words, the men's sense of being Māori is appreciated, preserved and enacted, and continuity in identity occurs within these spaces toward the provision of care.

For the men in study two, the cultural institution of tangihanga provided the strongest call for them to return to the marae. When a person dies, the collective actions of the whānau constitute a community of practice, which manifests in the cultural institution of tangihanga. Tangihanga, which usually occur at marae, provide therapeutic landscapes of care for the bereaved in order that they may regain mauri tau (composed, deliberate, serene, without panic). Through participation during tangihanga, men can realise their Māori way of being. The men understand the importance of tangihanga and marae in so much as they contribute to these spaces, and they are in return embedded within a broader agenda of manaaki (care) and aroha (affection) toward their kin and themselves. They are immersed again in things Māori through their participation in material practices during tangihanga that span both sacred and mundane shared activities, and act as a basis for whanaungatanga and re-membering their heritage. Kanohi kitea, or being present and seen at tangihanga, reduces the sense of disconnection some of these men feel from the Māori world. This allows them to be nourished by relational connectedness with whānau, places and cultural practices, and, thus, tangihanga strengthen their extended and interconnected Māori self.

As a cultural process, tangihanga provide the men with a definitive form of Māori cultural expression unencumbered by colonial constructs and power (Edge et al., 2011; Nikora et al., 2010). Family relationships extended beyond the men's immediate life worlds and were expressed through their constructive participation and engagement with tangihanga. In return, the men re-member a sense of commonality, purpose and interpersonal connectedness that comes with participation in such events. Through quality time spent together during tangihanga, the men's relationships with their whānau help to strengthen their

resolve when it comes to grief and loss. By sharing the experience of tangihanga the men find opportunities for bonding and realising similarities that are conducive to emotional sharing in ways often obscured in international research into masculinities (McKenzie-Norton, 2010). Even if the men do not know the deceased, they are expected to contribute as their whakapapa runs across generations and these links are not forgotten even if they are not immediately known (Dansey, 1995).

Participants in study two recounted how they belonged to their whānau and cared for themselves and others in a relational way during tangihanga. These participants were not devoid of emotion, nor were they somehow incapable of feeling loss and sharing grief. There was considerable variability in the men's readiness to express their feelings. Sometimes their grief was shared openly and at other times grief and loss was shared through material practices like working in the kitchen, providing food and caring for visitors. The participants' emotional behaviour was not solely uni-dimensional, but usually formed part of contextualised, dialogical and shared processes. The men often responded directly to their environments by "doing" as much as by talking and crying (Hopkins & Riley, 2001; Wong, Pituch, & Rochlen, 2006; Wong & Rochlen, 2005). As a shared and communally ritualistic process, tangihanga helped the men understand their social and cultural memberships to their whānau and community and themselves within that group. Cultural events, including tangihanga, are important to the men's understanding of their interconnected selves and sense of place and wellbeing. Here, a sense of wellbeing comes from engagements in dynamic and respectful positive relationships within and between generations. Connectedness is about growing positive relationships.

The findings from both studies support the need for scholars to continue to do research that extends beyond the negative images of men and considers the positive practices among men, and the lives of men who do not harm their partners, families, or communities (Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010; Hokowhitu, 2004; Stanley, 2002). My findings extend present understandings of the nature of wellness-promoting practices within men's everyday lives, including how they forge supportive and positive relationships with each other, their families and communities. The findings suggest that when working to improve men's health

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psychologists should consider relational dimensions of daily life (Davis & Crocket, 2010; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). In addition to developing men's support groups, we should also engage with men's organically negotiated communities and support efforts towards civic participation that can enhance community health (Hodgetts et al., 2015; Wallack, 2003). This broader community health agenda involves exploring positive potentials for men and using insights from research with men who are not in trouble to inform the development of programmes for those men who are in trouble. Recent literature, in particular the *2011 Special Issue of the International Journal of Men's Health* also emphasises such strengths-based approaches and the importance of broader relational factors in fostering men's wellness (MacDonald, 2011; MacDonald & Brown, 2011). As has been suggested throughout this thesis, the wellness of men resides in their relationships with others and in culturally-patterned communal contexts. Positive relationships are important in maintaining and fostering men's wellness in the face of adversity and the social determinants of health (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002; MacDonald & Brown, 2011; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). My research has focused on men who enact healthy engagements in everyday relationships as an attempt to find balance and wellbeing with their whānau and communities (Hodgetts et al., 2011; Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010).

In sum, across both studies, the men talked about their identities as Māori men and how these are derived from their social, cultural, historical and physical environments. The men discussed the implications of media characterisations that construct them as inferior, derived from a colonial discourse with few challenges. They challenged such racialised stereotypes and the marginalising of Māori men to a particular stereotype (Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004, 2007, 2009; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Nikora et al., 2007; Wall, 1997). Despite the damning health statistics representing Māori men as poverty-stricken, unemployed, incarcerated, sick and at risk (Kidd et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2010b; Robson & Purdie, 2007a), these men suggest there is more to their wellbeing. They see their individuality as part of a larger web of relationships (Li, 2011) where their socio-cultural relations occur within a broader context of whānau, environments and spaces (Cummins et al., 2007; Durie, 1998; Gilson, 2003; McNeil, 2009; Penehira et al., 2011; Pere, 1991; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003). Their health as Māori

men is situated within their ability to make positive and productive contributions to their whānau and communities (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). While the current literature around Māori men's morbidity and mortality suggests that on average they are riddled with disease (Johnson et al., 2008; Kidd et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2010a, 2010b, 2013b; Robson & Purdie, 2007a), these men are not. We know very little if anything about Māori men who are not sick, who do not offend, and who are not in the justice system or prisons. We know even less about men who do not abuse their children and partners and do not have gang affiliations. This thesis constitutes one important step in addressing such gaps in the literature. In addition, this thesis has broader implications for work on indigenous men, health and masculinities as well as disciplines such as psychology that seek to identify and respond to the health and social issues faced by men and those around them. These issues extend out to the question of whose psychology is being employed to research groups such as Māori men? Further questions concern the broader developments in the discipline such as the turn to place and material practices, and the re-emergence of indigenous psychologies. It is to these issues that I now turn.

Situating the research conceptually within psychology

Going into this research, after reading the existing literature, I could easily have adopted a negative, bleak and problem-focused orientation to men's identities and masculinity (Hammond & Mattis, 2005). Despite the mostly negative dominant constructions in media and social science research, male identities as expressed by my participants are not incompatible with caring, nurturing and positive community contributions by men (Armengol-Carrera, 2009; Beynon, 2002; Faludi, 2000; Ford & Hearn, 1989; Fox, 2008; Kimmel & Messner, 1995; Kimmel, 1987b; Komorovsky, 1976; McKinney, 2013; Nardi, 1992; Pleck, 1981; Worth et al., 2002). Further, the participants reflected deeply on what it means to be a man, yet I found no evidence of a 'crisis in masculinity.' For these men, traditional men's roles are still in place, though in modified forms. These men also recount their efforts to be more than the stereotypes associated with masculinity and to develop supportive and emotionally rich relationships. They

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invoke the more positive aspects of their lives that are often overlooked in gender research (Brickell, 2012; Clare, 2000; Fox, 2008; Hodgetts & Rua, 2008, 2010; Jewkes, 2002). Contrary to some previous research, these men are not emotionally detached from their loved ones or engaged in violent behaviour (Clare, 2000; Gee & Jackson, 2011; Kimmel, 1987a; McDowell, 2003). The men in my thesis are constantly engaged in practices of whanaungatanga (sense of relational connectedness) with whānau, friends, work colleagues and communities. My findings are in keeping with the work of Nardi (1992) and Williams (1992) who illustrate how Native American men construct intimate and emotionally expressive and intense bonds with each other that are valued within the community.

My thesis contributes to the substantial literature on men's identities and relationships, and masculinities (Beynon, 2002; Connell, 1995; Ford & Hearn, 1989; Hokowhitu, 2012; Kimmel & Aronson, 2004; Kimmel, 1987a, 1987b; Komorovsky, 1976; Law et al., 1999; Lee, 2013; McKegney, 2014; Pleck, 1981; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Smith & Winchester, 1998; Tengan, 2008; Walker, 2011; Whitehead, 2002) in several ways. Firstly I have focused out beyond the preoccupation with masculinity as consisting of negative ways of being that contribute to phenomena such as violence (Law et al., 1999; Levant, 2011; O'Neil, 2008; Wong et al., 2010; Worth et al., 2002), to look at positive aspects of men's lives and relationships. In doing so, I have brought into question and problematised a focus on Māori men and masculinity as the source of social problems (Stanley, 2002). What is clear is that there is much more to the lives of Māori men than what is evident in the scholarly literature. These men are agentic in their capacity to articulate and present a more complex and humane version of themselves whilst questioning the negative stereotypes and characterisations afforded them by the media and academic literature.

Second, and of particular interest, are the ways in which men construct a positive sense of self and place, and how their relational activities contribute to wellness for themselves, their families, and the people in their wider social networks (MacDonald & Brown, 2011). I have shown how men do their identity and relational work within the settler society and in a way that preserves and reinvigorates a Māori world and iwi (tribal) ways of being. I have demonstrated

diversity in terms of depth of understanding of traditional Māori knowledge and the men's engagements with Māori cultural practices and spaces. This dualistic focus also opens up a more dynamic and situated understanding of contemporary Māori men's identities and relationships that spans settler and Māori societies. In expressing themselves, my participants demonstrated considerable adaptability, agency and resilience on the part of themselves and their whānau. Readers are presented with a more lived representation of Māori men's lives.

To recap, these men are a lot more sophisticated than is often evident in public discourse or scholarly investigations. Rather than simply complying with or resisting various masculinities (Penwarden, 2010), my participants appropriate elements of male identities and social practices from both the settler society and Māori worlds. They combine these as part of their own identity work. In doing so, they move out beyond the restricted masculinity offered to Māori men by the settler gaze to create ways of being and self-understandings that are more dynamic and humane for themselves and others. Their accounts reflect how Māori men's identities are adaptive and constructed from symbolic resources that operate at historical, contemporary, institutional, interpersonal and intergroup levels. These 'felt identities' (Goffman, 1959) are culturally anchored, pluralistic and open up a space for richer and more positive relationships with whānau (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Diamond, 2003; Durie, 2001b; Tengan, 2008). These identities are also influenced by the cultural climate cultivated over recent decades as part of Māori development, political activism and renaissance (Durie, 2001b, 2005; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999b; Harris, 2004; Nikora, 2007b; Te Awekotuku et al., 2007). Particularly evident for the men in this research are identities that embrace culture, manaakitanga, intelligence, humility and compassion.

The self that is evident in the accounts of my participants is dialectical (relational), context-fluid and manifests relationally through cultural practices in particular places and in relation to particular objects. This focus on the self takes us out beyond the dominant disciplinary focus on the independent and self-contained individual, to instead explore and emphasise traditional Māori notions of interconnectedness and interdependence (Durie, 2002; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Levy, 2007; Nairn et al., 2011; Nikora, 2007b; Waitoki, 2011).

The social practice-orientated approaches to social research (Bourdieu, 1977; Breiger, 2000; Reckwitz, 2002) that inform my research offer a way of bringing together the mental, emplaced and material dimensions of men's experiences of self and relationships with other people, and traditions. As a way of understanding social practices, Actor Network Theory (ANT) is useful in informing my understanding of the broader implications of this thesis. In particular, this theory can inform our understanding of how these men and non-human objects (for example, the castle and the talking stick), are part of a network of interactions that give meaning to each other (Buchanan, 2010; Latour, 2005; Mayhew, 2009). According to Law (1999) ANT tells us "…that entities take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relations with other entities" (p. 3). In this regard, material objects and practices are not mute or neutral, and instead play a significant part in our social interactions over space and time (Latour, 2005). Material objects and traditions and ways of being are bound together through cultural practices like tangihanga. For example, a butcher knife gains meaning through its usefulness in the everyday and mundane practices of preparing food for a tangihanga, at a marae. The knife in this instance has meaning and this implicit knowledge is collectively shared within the network of actors. Recent discussions within psychology on inter-objective relations that are informed by ANT (Daanen & Sammut, 2012; Sammut, Daanen, & Sartawi, 2012) problematise divisions between active human beings and passive material objects. Such divisions become blurred as material objects are worked upon, enacted and re-enacted within everyday lives (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009). My participants constantly use material objects such as knives and tea towels to signify and solidify socio-cultural orders, relationships, shared practices and identities. In their engagements with such objects, their experiences, desires, frustrations and selves become anchored to particular items, giving these things socio-cultural and political significance within socio-political geometries (Latour, 2005).

ANT bears some similarity to traditional Māori models of health where all things tangible are interconnected. However, Māori world views move beyond the physical and include the metaphysical and cosmological realms where objects and places also interact and gain value through relational processes (Durie, 1985, 2006;

Marsden, 2003; McNeil, 2009; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1991). The Māori approach to interconnectedness reinforces the notion of *putahi*, that all things are connected in the Māori world and the understanding of matters is considered with the context of a whole (Ritchie, 1992). We see this in the way that material objects such as the tea towel, knife, talking stick and grandfather's castle, are less important in themselves compared to what they mean for these men. Meanings are ascribed to these objects through social and cultural interaction processes (Waskul, 2009) such as manaakitanga (provision of care to visitors), whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (relationship building).

In understanding such materialising of Māori identities, it is useful to distinguish between individual and collective identities because a Māori sense of self exists with relation to other people and the environment, physical and spiritual domains, specific objects, histories and the present (Durie, 2012a). It extends beyond the individual body through shared social practices, particularly using things in specific community spaces (Hermans, 2001, 2013; Hermans & Gieser, 2012b).

To inform the engagement in this research with the Māori men's sense of self it was important to draw on Māori understandings of identity that even at a personal level are anchored in group, physical, symbolic and historical contexts (Durie, 2012b, p. 157). In challenging the settler gaze, my participants drew out aspects of themselves formed in relation to the physical and symbolic environments, including institutions such as the Army, marae and mass media that offer characterisations of men (Thompson, 1995; Wall, 1997). Of particular note is how depictions in Māori media aided them in reconstructing aspects of indigenous Māori identities that occur at multiple levels through multiple relationships and in the process of resisting colonial stereotypes (Smith, 2011; Smith & Abel, 2008; Stuart, 2003).

Briefly, my participants came to understand themselves relationally through engagements with other men, partners, whānau, employment, marae and society at large. These men are part of a society that shapes their very being (Hermans, 2001), and they understand themselves through the eyes of others (Cooley, 1902; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). What is even more complex for my participants is that this shaping occurs in both settler and Māori worlds. Claims to belonging

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pervade my participants' accounts as a reflection of the importance these men place on whakapapa as a shared basis of identities that are anchored in and enacted through ongoing engagements with ancestral groups, places and histories (Mead, 2003; Mead & Grove, 2001). Whakapapa is also an understanding that is not incompatible with classic work in European and American approaches to the self, similar to that of William James (1896) and Cooley (1902), who saw people as literally sharing parts of themselves with the environment and those around them (Freeman, 2014; Hermans, 2012, 2013). That such identities are in play, demands the development of psychological understandings of the self, capable of generating a meaningful response. Indigenous psychologies offer an approach to understanding the self beyond the dominance of a Eurocentric approach to psychological knowledge.

Recent decades have seen a renewed emphasis on indigenous psychologies, the goal of which has been to develop psychological knowledge that is understood and experienced by, and native to the people it is designed for (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Kim, 1990, 2000; Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006; Levy, 2007; Ratner, 2008; Sinha, 1981). Such developments in indigenous psychology are also part of a response to the colonial tendencies of North American and European psychology today (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). More specifically, my PhD research contributes to work on indigenous psychologies that is anchored in a Māori understanding of being, which for Aotearoa/New Zealand emphasises the retention of an identity as Māori and the centralising of Māori aspirations and priorities beyond those set by mainstream psychology (Durie, 2005; Levy, 2007). According to Nikora (2007a) indigenous psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand is "…characterised by critical challenges to the dominance of American psychological knowledge, and by indigenous people's demands for a voice in decisions that impact on their future" (p. 80). With Nikora (2007a) in mind, I have drawn upon a kaupapa Māori framework (Bishop, 1998; Cooper, 2012; Gibbs, 2001; Jones et al., 2006; Pihama et al., 2002; Smith, 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2013), which emphasises the importance of environment and culture in understanding the men in this research as interdependent and interconnected beings as opposed to Euro-American psychology that emphasises individualism,

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independence and self-sufficiency (Freeman, 2014; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Levy, 2007; Nairn, 2012).

My research has also drawn upon Māori cultural knowledge as a key interpretative and analytic framework, thereby questioning the Eurocentric nature of psychology taught in Aotearoa/New Zealand that positions Euro-American psychology as superior to Māori worldviews (Cooper, 2012; Jones et al., 2006; Pihama et al., 2002; Smith, 1999). Advancing concepts germane to the men's Māori lived cultural identities, such as whakapapa, whanuangatanga and turangawaewae, provides a way for the men to be understood within the historical contexts of both the Māori world and settler society. By valuing Māori knowledge as the basis for understanding the psychology of Māori men, I recognise them as 'normal', and beyond the exotic and racialised other (Hokowhitu, 2004; Te Awekotuku et al., 2007; Wall, 1997). This is not to discard the dominant global approach to psychology, but to understand its usefulness within the cultural context of its own development and the possibility for the diversity that indigenous psychologists bring. Indigenous psychologists are in conversation with, but not dominated by, North American and European psychologies that are indigenous to their own societies.

My research is also congruent with the academic research of a small, yet emerging, number of psychologists who are increasingly indigenising the discipline of psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Gavala & Taitumu, 2007; Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Leggatt-Cook, 2011; Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011; Herbert & Morrison, 2007; Hodgetts et al., 2015; Hollis, Cooper, Braun, & Pomare, 2010; Hutchings & Aspin, 2007b; King et al., 2015; Levy, 2007; Levy, Nikora, Masters-Awatere, Rua, & Waitoki, 2008; Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh, & Teaiwa, 2005; Masters-Awatere, 2010; Masters-Awatere & Robertson, 2007; Moeke-Pickering et al., 1998; Nikora, 2007a, 2007b; Waitoki, 2011).

A key goal for many of these psychologists, as it is for my own research, is to promote an indigenous perspective of psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand that is legitimised as normal, culturally relevant and responsive to Māori psychological needs and aspirations. This is certainly the case for one indigenous psychological research unit at the University of Waikato, Aotearoa/New Zealand of which I am a principal investigator. The Māori and Psychology Research Unit

(MPRU) was established in 1997 in response to a lack of psychological texts, journal articles and other useful publications written about the Māori psychological world from a Māori perspective. With crucial support from Māori and non-Māori psychology colleagues, the MPRU has developed an international reputation as a successful indigenous research hub and leader of Māori-focused psychological research. The MPRU graduates the largest cohort of Māori PhD and Masters Psychology students in Aotearoa/New Zealand. These students benefit from MPRU's ongoing contact with the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (The University of Waikato), the Centre for Māori & Pacific Development Research, School of Māori & Pacific Development (The University of Waikato), Te Whakaruruhau Māori Women's Refuge (Hamilton), Te Runanga o Kirikirioa (Hamilton), numerous iwi groups, the Auckland City Mission, Ngāti Whatua ki Orakei (Auckland Central Iwi), Tūhoe ki Waikato Incorporated Society (Hamilton), Ngāti Maniapoto Kaumātua (Otorohanga), Massey University's Albany campus, Victoria University Melbourne (Australia), University of South Australia and the London School Economics. By situating my PhD research within the Māori and Psychology Research Unit, I unequivocally promote a unique cultural heritage of Māori-focused research toward a better collective future for Māori and indigenous psychologies.

Future research possibilities

It is customary at the completion of a thesis to outline future research possibilities. I am going to do this, but in a more concrete way than is typically done. I am currently a co-principal investigator exploring the relational nature of Māori men's health within the broader context of growing positive relationships within and between whānau members as manifest in traditional and contemporary settings. This project is funded by Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga, the centre of Māori research excellence, as an extension to my PhD research. It further explores the dynamics of Māori men's relationships and how these can promote health.

The intent of this project is to extend our understanding of the nature of wellness-promoting practices within naturally occuring groups that forge and support positive relationships for Māori men, their families and communities. To

sustain our uniqueness as Māori in all of our manifestations, we need to understand how relationships with each other are made and sustained. The men participating in this project reflect the considerable diversity that exists across groups of Māori today. All men are engaged to varying degrees in traditional and more contemporary cultural practices that are distinct to Māori. We employ a case-comparative ethnographic method to explore the relational health of Māori men engaged in traditional practices in their home settings (*Ngāti Maniapoto Pito ki te Paepae Kaumātua*); those men who have migrated to an urban centre and who work to maintain links back home (*Tūhoe ki Waikato*); and those men who are experiencing street homelessness (*Pani me te rawakore*). All three groups of men are engaged in practices that foster supportive relationships and positive social interactions. For each case we scrutinise the group and investigate the relationships among men, and with women and children. We also consider each group closely, comparing practices and processes and integrating insights from previous studies.

The aim of this Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga funded study is to explore the relational nature of Māori men's wellness within the wider context of Te Pā Harakeke (growing positive relationships within and between whānau members). Our intent is to develop an informed understanding of: a) the nature of wellness-promoting relationships, b) how these relationships are enacted, c) the opportunities or circumstances that make and support such relationships, and d) how and why men engage in these, or not. With three naturally occurring groups of Māori men, we will explore varying opportunities to participate and build relationships in traditional and contemporary settings that are critical to the wellness of men and their whānau. Health is relational (Bulman & Hayes, 2011; Golding, 2011; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2011) and a comprehensive study of Māori men's relational wellness must also consider their relationships with women, children and/or partners, as our wellbeing and lives entwine like rāranga (flax woven together) and impact on each other.

Final words

To conclude, my thesis exemplified ways in which Māori men's sense of self, identities and place is negotiated within the settler society, and in the Māori

world, and how this process contributes to a positive and interconnected Māori self. In this thesis, a strengths-orientated understanding of Māori men's positive relationships with significant others is shaped by constructive and relational practices between the men and their whānau and communities. My thesis also promotes the notion that research should embrace the heterogeneous character of Māori men both within and across the intersections that come with ethnicity, social class, culture and situatedness.

My thesis also demonstrates the potential for context-sensitive and culturally informed men's research, which I am developing further through the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga funded study mentioned earlier. This includes an appreciation of research methods conducted in Māori cultural settings that require adherence to ritualistic protocols of engagement. A culturally patterned approach to research includes spending time with participants and building relationships, where the research can sometimes become a secondary activity to the development of meaningful relationships that facilitate engagement (Hodgetts et al., 2013; Hodgetts et al., 2015; King et al., 2015). My PhD research therefore constitutes a process that "produces intimate knowledge of the localised understandings of subjective human relationships" (Flyvbjerg et al., 2012, p. 2). The idea that context matters has long been a part of research in the wider social sciences, where people are understood within their social context and their individual practices are not seen as being devoid of social meaning and culture (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg et al., 2012; Frohlich, Corin, & Potvin, 2001; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Psychological researchers are only beginning to reconsider the implications and potential of more context sensitive research strategies (Griffin, 2000; Luders, 2004).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Publications from study one

Hodgetts, D., & Rua, M. (2008). Media and community anxieties about men's interactions with children. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology: Special Issue: Mediated Communities, 18*(6), 527-542.

Hodgetts, D., & Rua, M. (2010). What does it mean to be a man today? Bloke culture and the media. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 45*(1-2), 155-168.

Bloke culture

Initial Interview guide

Fill in background sheet.

Introduction

Talk with participants and explain the aims of the initial interview. This primarily interview intends to enable me to get to know you and to explore <u>what you think it means to be a man</u>. You should approach this as an <u>informal discussion</u>, so relax, ask questions, and when talking about issues try to think of examples.

Background & bloke history

Are their any particular men or women who've had a major influence on your life and development as a man?

<u>What do you think it means to be a man today?</u>

- Are their different ways of being a man?

- What does the word bloke mean to you? / other men [who]?

I'd like to ask you to recall the first time you thought of yourself as a man. You could start by describing the experience and then take your time to fill in the details.

What was it about that situation?

Images of being a man today

What images do you think society promotes for men?

- Why these guy's/images?

If you were to pick an image of a man in the media what would it be?

- What messages or images are there in the media about being a man?

- What images are there of men like you?

- What images are there of men who are not like you?

- Which are positive and which are more negative?

- Can we sort of mix and match these images when creating your own image?

- When does Bloke culture enter the media? (comedy/sports)

Generally, what is your take on the role of media in lives of men?

Everyday life

In terms of a typical week when would you use, watch or read the media?

- Can you give me some examples?

- What media do you read or watch?

- What do you use media for?

- What media do you consume with others/alone? [men?]

The unit / men's groups [broadly defined] & relationships

Can you talk a little about how long have you been with the unit/group for, how you came to join and what you're here for?

I'd like you to talk about your involvement in family, community and social life [Social Participation]

- Do you belong or associate with any clubs or groups?

- Can you talk about how men relate to each other in these groups? [group of mates?]

What part do you think the unit/group plays in your life? [friendship / support / learning to be a bloke]

- How does this relate to other parts of you life [eg., job, family life]?
- Have both Māori and Pākehā soldiers, what do you think of the relationships / differences / similarities?

Do you have a sense of friendship and trust with other men?

- Why do you think that is or isn't important?

Closing the interview

Summarise the main points from the interview and encourage further input from the participant.

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?

- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?

Script for the Photographic Exercise

What I'd like to do now is to go over the second part of the study with you. Remember this is where you get to take photographs and think about media coverage. We would like you to take this camera and use it to record whatever places, objects or events seem important to you over the next week. You can also use photos you already have.

If you want to take photographs of a person you must ask that person first.

- Do you have any questions?

- You can also bring photo's with you….

Media Dairy

We would also like you to note any images of men in the media that seem relevant to you or the things we have been discussing. Collect or note what you can and

bring it with you for the session when we discuss the photos. If not just note it and we'll try and get a copy.

We will meet back here at …………………..so that I can collect the camera and have the photographs processed. We can finalise a time to meet up to discuss the photographs and media examples then.

We will meet again in a week's time to discuss the photos and media examples:
Location: …………………
Day: …………………...
Time: ………………….
- Any questions?

Bloke culture

Photo-based discussion guide

Notes:

- Identify photos on tape by describing them

- Consider what photos were / could not be taken

- Take a digital camera to photograph how they display their photos

Introduction

Talk with the participants and explain the aims of the second interview. This interview is:

- Designed to explore the photographs that you have produced

- Intended to provide you with the opportunity to recount the experience of taking photographs and what the images mean to you

- Discuss media images you selected

Again you should approach this as an informal discussion

The Experience of taking photographs

Place all the photographs on the table

How did you find taking the photographs?

Can you think back to when you began taking the photos and tell me a story about how you got started and what you photographed?

- Where you able to take photos of everything you wanted?

- What issues are not here then?

If you were to do this again what other things would you photograph?

Present each photograph to the participant

- What does this picture show?

- What does this picture mean to you?

- Can you tell me why you choose this image?

- Did the photographs turn out like you expected?

Out of all the photographs you took which best captures your understanding of what it means to be a man?

- Which photographs best capture the experience of community?

- What about friendship, relationships?

How do these images relate to images in the media?

- What is the same?

- What is different?

Media diary

What media images did you collect / come across?

- Can you provide a summary of these and why you singled them out?

- What media images are not here that you would have liked to have collected? [why]

- Were there any images you wanted to find but couldn't?

Closing the interview

Summarise the main points from the discussion and encourage further input from the participant.

- Would that be an accurate summary?

- Is there anything that you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?

- Do you have any questions concerning this study?

Give them the voucher

Remind them about the focus group in about a month.

Bloke culture

Participant Background Sheet

Interviewer: _____   Date: _____

Interviewee Name: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Age: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Location of the interview (brief description): _____

_____

_____

Impression of the interviewee: _____

_____

_____

_____

Impression of how the interview went: _____

_____

_____

_____

Initial themes to emerge in the interview: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Potential revisions for the interview guide: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Camera Collection

Date:_____   **Time:**_____

Second Interview

Date:_____   **Time:**_____

Duration of the interview: _____

Impression of how the interview went: _____

_____

_____

_____

Initial themes to emerge in the interview: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Potential revisions for the interview guide: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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Media diary recording sheet

In this part of the study we would like you to note any media content relating to what it means to be a man. For example, newspaper articles, billboards or television programmes. It would be ideal if you could collect the item and bring it with you to our next interview. If this is not practical then simply note down the details of the item and why you think it is relevant to this study. You can use these sheets.

Time, date and location in which you came across the item:

Why did you choose this image?

What are your thoughts on this image? (e.g., Is it realistic? Is it typical?)

What does this image say about men?

Any other comments you would like to make:

Aue Ha! Māori men's relational health

Interview Questions

Please note that the below are areas of investigation and not necessarily specific questions that will follow one after the other. The interview guide is intended to be "Semi Structured" with the below as interview prompts only.

Theme 1: Māori men in the Army:

- When did you join the Army, why did you join and how long were you in there for?
- How'd you get on with guys from other ethnic and cultural groups?
- Was the Army receptive to Māori cultural beliefs and values?
- Why did you move back to civilian life?
- Has the Army contributed to how you live your life currently in terms of relationships with your whānau, friends and wider community?

Theme 2: Being a Māori man today:

- What do you think it is to be a Māori man today?
- How does this play out for you?
- Are there any particular men or women who've had a major influence on your life and development as a Māori man?
- Can you describe for me the first time you thought of yourself as Māori man?
    - o What was it about that situation?

Theme 3: Historical and media portrayal of Māori men:

The mainstream media portrays Māori men in a particular way (uneducated, unemployed, violent, criminal or an overachiever in sport).

- How do you think the media portrays Māori men?
- Are these portrayals real or imagined?
- How do you respond to these media portrayals/characterisations?
- Do you think the man you are is reflected in the media? Why or why not?
- If you were able to pick an image of an ideal Māori man, what or who would it be and why?

Theme 4: Māori Men, relationships and tangihanga

4.1 Attending tangihanga
- Do you actively participate in or attend tangihanga?
- What are some of the tasks you carry out when
    - Attending tangihanga as part of an ope
    - Participating in tangihanga as part of the hau kainga?

4.2 Tangihanga provides men with an opportunity to catch up with whānau, work together and generally engage each other's company.

What it means to contribute or attend tangihanga
- What does it mean for you to contribute or attend to tangihanga both…
    - Personally?
    - For your wider whānau and hapu generally?
- Are there negative aspects to volunteering your time and energy into tangihanga? (don't dwell on this too much)

Building relationships
- Do you think attending or participating in tangihanga are good times to build or maintain relationships with whānau and hapu?
- What do you do to engage with whānau and hapu at tangihanga?
- How important is this to you and why?

- Do you pass this message on to other whānau, both immediate and extended?

  Health
- Do you get a sense of pride or value for contributing to tangihanga?
- Do you think it's a healthy part of being a Māori person to attend and contribute to tangihanga?
- Is it something you encourage your whānau to do, if so why?

4.3 Men and grieving during tangihanga?

  Expressing emotions
- How do you see other people express their aroha, awhi and manaaki at tangihanga?
- What do you think of this?
- How do you express your aroha, awhi and manaaki at tangihanga?
- What do you think others think of you when you're doing this?
- Further comments? Do you have anything else to add?
- What about humour?
- What are some ways people mourn or grieve during tangi at marae?
- Is it all about crying?
- Is it about doing the work is that more important?
- Why is the marae important?
- What about food
  - What sort of food due you expect to serve during tangihanga
  - Why is this particular food important?

End of the interview

1. Thank participant for their time, knowledge and assistance
2. Provide koha as token of appreciation (maximum of $50 voucher from The Warehouse)

3. Tell them that I will to maintain contact with them:
    a. Clarify points from the interview if clarity is required
    b. Help interpret the photos I have taken
    c. Their expertise will inform my findings and analysis
4. A letter of acknowledgement will be sent out thanking participants for their contribution reminding them of the aims and objectives of the study, their continued right to withdraw without penalty, dissemination of findings and expected outcome of the research in terms of a PhD thesis.
5. A copy of interview summary transcript will be sent back at which stage they can add, delete and amend as appropriate before returning the final copy to me for analysis and continued use in the project
6. CD with a copy of all photos will be sent back for their collection
7. Continued updates on the progress of the PhD.

PhD Study

Title: Men, everyday life and relational notions of health

Information sheet

PhD Candidate:

Mohi Rua,

Māori & Psychology Research Unit,

University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton. Phone 07-856 2889 ext 6187

Email mrua@waikato.ac.nz

Background

Men are often on the wrong side of the ledger when it comes to health statistics and crime and Māori men in particular often die too young. There is a significant amount of literature devoted to problems such as high rates of crime, abuse, and premature death among men generally (Law, Campbell, & Dolan, 1999; McDowell, 2003b; O'Neil & Hodgetts, 2003; Whitehead, 2002). As a result, the literature paints a rather bleak picture that often neglects positive practices among men, and the lives of men who do not harm their partners, families, or communities.

Project aims

There are two studies within my PhD project. Of interest to you is Study Two which focuses on Māori Men and relational notions of health.

Study One

Study One explored men's relationships with other men and their families. They guys from this study came from a Territorial Army reconnaissance unit within the New Zealand Army where Māori and Pākehā men come together through shared

interests and negotiate meaningful relationships, and various cultural similarities and differences. I was particularly interested in men and everyday life and how Māori and Pākehā men engage in two cultures. Study one has been completed with data analysed and published into two peer review journal articles[17] [18].

Study Two

Study two explores Māori men, their relationships with whānau, and health practices therein. Taking the institution of tangi as a whānau backdrop, I will examine Māori men's relational health practices as they are played out in a community context. It considers how Māori men actively and constructively participate, engage and contribute to their whānau and communities. The participants for Study Two will also come from the Army, albeit ex-army Māori men who have returned to civilian life.

> There are four broad themes to be investigated:
>
> Life in the army as a Māori man
>
> Being a Māori man today
>
> Reflections on how the media portrays Māori men
>
> Māori men, relationships and the institution of tangihanga

The fourth theme in particular is incredibly important. Taking the institution of tangihanga as a whānau backdrop, I wish to examine Māori men's relational health practices as they are played out in this community context. That is, consider how Māori men's role and identity relationships they engage in as part of tangihanga serves to maintain positive relationships and whether it engenders a sense of wellbeing within and between individual men and their whānau. These stories and experiences will help me to draw together and understand a contemporary perspective of Māori men's health and relationships.

Who is the research team?

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[17] Hodgetts, D, & Rua, M. (2010). What does it mean to be a man today?: Bloke culture and the media. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 45*(1-2), 155-168.

[18] Hodgetts, D, & Rua, M. (2008). Media and Community Anxieties about Men's Interactions with Children. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology: Special Issue: Mediated Communities, 18*(6), 527-542.

I am the only one involved in this project as a PhD Student. The information you provide will be viewed and analysed by me with assistance from my PhD supervisors, Prof Darrin Hodgetts (Kāti Mamoe/Kai Tahu/Pākehā) and Assoc Prof Linda Waimarie Nikora (Tūhoe/Te Aitanga a Hauiti). We are all responsible for the overall ethical conduct of the research team.

What am I being asked to do?

You are being asked to agree to be interviewed about the nature in which you actively engage and constructively participate, engage and contribute to your whānau and community.

I will make contact with you to arrange a time and place for an interview about your story. As I would like to audio-tape your interview and to take notes, a quiet place where we are unlikely to be interrupted is probably the most ideal. It is over to you to decide whether you want whānau or other people to be present. After the interview, I will complete an interview report for you to read, change, add to or to simply comment on. We will also maintain telephone contact or email with you to make sure that you feel okay about the interview, the project and your participation.

If appropriate I may also take photographs showcasing the points you make or highlighting particular items, people or places of significance relevant to your story. This will be negotiated with you at the time. This is not a significant requirement, just an option worth considering. These photographs will be added to my working archive for your particular story. If photographs are taken, these might be included in publications or exhibitions arising from the study.

To maintain anonymity in the photographs, I can "black out" people's faces or signs that could identify you or someone or something of significance that could compromise you and your personal wellbeing. I will discuss this with you at the time.

You can also withdraw the pictures at any time. Use of images by me as principle investigator, for purposes other than educational i.e. academic lectures, community or conference presentations will require your written permission. If you do not wish for photographs to be taken, but will still do an interview, that is fine too.

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What will I be asked in the interview?

The questions are based around the thematic areas described above. They are really conversation starters rather than questions that have an exact answer. I will ask you some general questions to prompt you to explore the nature in which you actively and constructively participate, engage and contribute to your whānau and community through the institution of tangihanga. I will also prompt you to talk more specifically about how Māori men's role and identity relationships they engage in as part of tangihanga serves to maintain positive relationships and whether it engenders a sense of wellbeing within and between individual men and their whānau. The thing to remember is that this is **<u>not</u>** a test. There are **<u>no</u>** right or wrong answers. It's your story and you tell it your way.

What will happen to my information?

All the information that people provide me with I will study to find commonalities and differences. I am interested in general themes and patterns as they relate to the experiences, the processes, the challenges, and the things that help organisations on their sustainability journey and beyond. I may use what you say to help illustrate some of these general themes.

Once I have finished studying the information that has been given to me, unless you tell me otherwise, I will store the summary of the interview, any images, interview audio-tapes, or other resources that are given to me, in a reputable archive for access and use by those to whom you or the principle investigator give consent.

Will other people know who I am?

Only if you want them to. If you want others to know that you participated in this study, and you wish your name to appear next to any published quotes or other information you provide, then I will do so. **BUT**, if you wish that others not know, then I will keep your identity anonymous. This means that I will make sure that no one can identify any information that might belong to you.

What if I agree to participate and then change my mind?

You can change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time. Any information, resources, recordings or images (in any form) that you have provided to me will be returned immediately (or destroyed if you so wish). This will not be held against you in any way.

How can I find out about the results of the study?

Once you have completed your interview, I will send you a summary report of the interview. Later, after I have completed studying all the information that people have given me, I will send you a summary report of the project. From time to time I will make community presentations which I may invite you to. I hope to also write a number of articles in magazines, and in academic journals. At anytime, you are more than welcome to contact me or my supervisors to find out about my progress.

Who can I speak with about my participation in this project?

If you have further questions or concerns, I will be happy to discuss these with you. Contact details for me are attached.

Will I be asked to sign anything?

Yes. Before the interview commences, I will ask you to sign a *consent form* acknowledging that you have been adequately informed about: a) the study, b) what you are being asked to do, c) what will happen to your information, and d) your right to withdraw without being disadvantaged or penalised. You will also be asked to read, alter if appropriate, and sign a *permissions form*. This clearly identifies those things that we can or cannot do with your information or resources.

Ethical approval

Ethical approval to conduct the research was approved by the University of Waikato's School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (21 September, 2011). The ethical approval is valid for three years from date of approval. For any questions or concerns regarding the ethical conduct of your study please contact:

Dr Lewis Bizo

Convenor of the Research Ethics Committee

School of Psychology

Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences

The University of Waikato

(07) 856 2889 ext: 6402

lbizo@waikato.ac.nz

If you wish to proceed to the interviewing stage, please let me know via email or phone.

I look forward to working with you,

Kia hora te marino,

Mohi Rua *(Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Whakaue)*

PhD Student

Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton.
07-856 2889 ext 6187,

Email mrua@waikato.ac.nz

PhD supervisors:

Prof Darrin Hodgetts *(Kai Tahu/Kāti Mamoe/Pākehā),* School of Psychology, University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton. 07-8562889 ext 6456,

Email dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz

Assoc Prof Linda Waimarie Nikora *(Tūhoe/Te Aitanga a Hauiti)*, School of Psychology, University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton. 07-8562889 ext 8200,

Email psyc2046@waikato.ac.nz

Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton.

Phone 07 856 2889 ext 6187 email: mrua@waikato.ac.nz

Men, everyday life and relational notions of health

Letter of invitation

Tenā koe,

I am writing to tell you of my PhD research project that I have begun to work on. My PhD is supported by the Māori & Psychology Research Unit, Department of Psychology University of Waikato. There is one aim for the research project:

1. Explore the nature in which Māori men actively and constructively participate, engage and contribute to their whānau and communities.

Taking the institution of tangihanga as a whānau backdrop, I wish to examine Māori men's relational health practices as they are played out in this community context. That is, consider how Māori men's role and identity relationships they engage in as part of tangihanga serves to maintain positive relationships and whether it engenders a sense of wellbeing within and between individual men and their whānau. This is what I want to talk to you about.

Māori men are often on the wrong side of the ledger when it comes to health statistics and crime and they often die too young. There is a significant amount of literature devoted to problems such as high rates of crime, abuse, and premature death among men generally (Law, Campbell, & Dolan, 1999; McDowell, 2003b; O'Neil & Hodgetts, 2003; Whitehead, 2002). As a result, the literature paints a

rather bleak picture, which neglects positive practices among men, and the lives of men who do not harm their partners, families, or communities.

All the information that you provide me with will remain **confidential** to this research. I may use what you say to help illustrate some of the general themes. Once I've finished studying the information that has been given to me, unless you tell me otherwise, I will store the summary of the interview, interview audio-tapes, or other resources that are given to me, in a reputable archive for access and use by those to whom you give consent (i.e. myself as a PhD student and my immediate PhD supervisors).

This research has received ethics approval from the Department of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee for a 3 year period from date of approval (21 September 2011). For any questions or concerns, please contact the following person:

Dr Lewis Bizo
Convenor
Psychology Research and Ethics Committee
School of Psychology
University of Waikato
(07) 856 2889 ext 6402
lbizo@waikato.ac.nz

If you wish to find out more about the study please contact me or my Waikato University supervisors Prof Darrin Hodgetts (Kai Tahu/Kāti Mamoe) dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz and Assoc Prof Linda Waimarie Nikora (Tūhoe/Te Aitanga a Hauiti) psyc2046@waikato.ac.nz. I will be in contact with you via phone or email in the coming days. If you know of another person who might wish to know about this study, then please pass this letter on to them.

Regards,

Mohi Rua *(Tuhoe, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Whakaue)*

PhD Candidate

Māori & Psychology Research Unit

School of Psychology

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Ψ **School of Psychology**

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
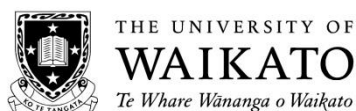
CONSENT FORM

A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant. [Note: you may delete or reword any items that are not relevant to your research and add items that are relevant to your research]

Research Project: _____

_____

Please complete the following checklist. Tick (✓) the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
1. I have read the Participant Information Sheet (or it has been read to me) and I understand it.		
2. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study		
3. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet		
4. I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty		
5. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study.		
6. I have the right to decline to participate in any part of the		

research activity		
7. I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.		
[**Other?**] **Adapt the consent form to suit your study – add or remove things from this list as appropriate – for example if you are doing interviews you may wish to include a statement about the interview being recorded, for example …..**		
I wish to view the transcript of the interview		
I wish to receive a copy of the findings		
I wish to view the summary report of my interview		

Declaration by participant:

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee (Associate Professor John Perrone, Tel: 07 838 4466 ext 8292, email: jpnz@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:

Men, everyday life and relational notions of health

Participant Consent Form

☐ I have read the information sheet for this study and have had the details of the interview and project explained to me. I have had a chance to ask any questions that I may have had. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask more questions at any time.

☐ I understand that I am free to withdraw from this interview at any time, and to later, withdraw any permissions, information, images or resources if I so wish without penalty or disadvantage.

☐ I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that they will protect my anonymity and not use any information, images or resources given to them for purposes outside of this project unless I have given my written permission.

☐ I understand and have completed the 'permissions sheet'.

Full name

Contact address _____

Phone no. _____

Email _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Interviewer	
Interviewer's signature	

Principle Investigators

Mohi Rua *(Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Whakaue)*, School of Psychology, The University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton. Phone 07-856 2889 ext 6187, Email mrua@waikato.ac.nz

This research has received ethics approval from the Department of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee for a 3 year period from date of approval (21 September 2011). For any questions or concerns, please contact the following person:

Dr Lewis Bizo
Convenor
Psychology Research and Ethics Committee
School of Psychology
University of Waikato
(07) 856 2889 ext 6402
lbizo@waikato.ac.nz

Letters TO THE EDITOR

Anti-male stance hurting schools

RE male teachers, surprise, surprise. There is a dearth of male teachers in our schools, as is the case in the field of childcare, or CYPS as it is known today.

The problem is to be found historically. In the policies of successive governments, dating from the mid 1980s, when staff selection based on race was introduced, to be followed with the programmes of social engineering and political correctness that have plagued this country since.

We are all aware of the situation in which any male today is placed, in their relationship with any child and, particularly young girls. As the grandparent of eight grand daughters, (let alone the grandsons), I am well aware of the disapproving glances of some females in our midst, should I display any sign of "familiarity" to a granddaughter in public.

The "dirty old man" label is applied.

Sadly, the damage that has accrued from the policies of politicians and their incompetent bureaucratic minions over the past 20 years, has led to the situation today.

So not only do we lack male teachers but how many male social workers are there in CYPS? My sympathies lie with the headmasters who struggle to find the resources (male), to address the needs of the male children in their charge today.

(Abridged)

[Handwritten annotations:]

Bay of Plenty Times 27th July 06

Yet Another article about the sexed shortage of men in schools & social work

Stereo typing the "dirty old man"

Stereo typing that men may have to face in schools (Teachers) by other teachers, students, perverts

WEEKEND SUN (TAURANGA) NEWS PAPER / SAT 23 JULY 05
Possitive man

Male Support

Male influences

Men
In high demand

Male
role Models
(or lack of)

Short supply!

Where are the men?

PARENTS are asking Bay primary and intermediate schools to put their children in male-taught classrooms amid fears they are missing out on positive role models. Education Ministry figures show there are just 355 male primary and intermediate school teachers in the Bay of Plenty compared with 1464 female — meaning males are outnumbered four to one. Tauranga Principals Association president and Otumoetai Intermediate principal, Henk Popping, said parents were frequently requesting their children be taught by a male teacher.

Balanced

Direction
driven by
Public (Parents)

Positive male impact

A need

Possitive identity

It seems that the demand for male teachers have dropped in years gone by that the children are lacking in the area of male influence eg: Solo mums, separated, etc who don't have male influence @ home?

Glossary of Māori Terms

Aotearoa	Māori word for New Zealand
Aroha	Love, support
Hā a koro ma, a kui ma	Breadth of life from forbearers
Haehae	The lacerating of the body to cause long-term scarification
Hapu	Sub-tribe
Hauora Tāne	Māori men's health project
He Oranga Tāne Māori	The health of Māori men project
Hīkoi	Marching, walking
Hineahuone	First female form in the Māori cosmology sequence
Hinengaro	The mind
Hinetītama	The dawn maiden
Hui	Meeting
Hui Whakaoranga	Māori Health Conference, Auckland
Ira atua	Life force of the gods
Ira tangata	Life force
Iwi	Tribe
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kanohi kitea	The seen face
Kanohi ora	The living face
Kapa haka	Traditional Māori performing arts
Karakia	Incantations, prayers
Kaumātua	Māori elder
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, subject, plan, agenda
Kaupapa Māori	A Māori topic, policy, subject, plan, agenda

Koha	Gift
Kōhanga reo	Learning nest; Early childhood education service
Koretake	Hopeless, no good, ineffectual, incompetent
Koro	Grandfather; grand uncle, elderly male
Koroua	Grandfather; grand uncle, elderly male
Ko wai to whānau?	Who is your family?
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Total immersion Māori primary schools
MAI ki Waikato	Support network for Māori PhD candidates at The University of Waikato
Mahi	Work
Mana	Power, authority
Mana ake	Unique identity of individuals and family
Manaaki	Care
Manaakitanga	Nurturing relationships, caring
Manaaki tangata	Caring for people
Manuhiri	Visitor(s)
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Marae	Ceremonial courtyard and ritual arena specific to the socio-cultural history of a sub-tribe and or tribe

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Mataatua ....Tribal groups who trace their ancestry to the ancient voyaging canoe, Mataatua

Mau rakau...Traditional Māori weaponary

Mauri..Life force in people and objects

Mauri tau ....Composed, deliberate, serene, without panic

Mihimihi ....Introduction(s)

Mokopuna ....grandchild; grandson for the purposes of this thesis

Ngā atua ....The Māori gods

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga ....The Centre of Māori Research Excellence

Ngāti Awa ....Tribal people descended from the ancestor, Toroa (Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island)

Ngāti Maniapoto Pito ki te Paepae Kaumatua ..Elderly Māori leaders of the Ngāti Maniapoto tribe, in the Central North Island

Ngāti Porou ....Tribal people descended from the ancestor, Porourangi (East coast of the North Island)

Ngāti Whakaue..Tribal people descended from the ancestor Whakaue Kaipapa (Maketu/Rotorua, Central North Island)

Nō hea koe..Where are you from

Noho whenua ....Land occupations

Nō Tūhoe ahau	I descend from the tribal group known as Tūhoe (Central North Island)
Paepae	Oratory space of the cultural experts
Paepae tapu	Sacred oratory space of the cultural experts
Pākehā	New Zealander of British and/or European descent
Pani me te rawakore	Māori homeless people
Papatūānuku	Earth mother
Pepeha	Tribal formulaic expression, motto or slogan
Pōhiri/whakaeke	Welcome, invitation, ritual of encounter
Pou	Wooden beam
Pūtahi	Everything is connected to everything else
Rangatira	Leader, authority
Rāranga	Flax weaved together
Taha hinengaro	Psychic/mental component of a person
Taha tinana	Bodily/physical component of a person
Taha whānau	Family/social dimension of a person
Taha wairua	Spiritual component of a person
Taiaha	Long wooden staff traditional used in warfare
Tāne Mahuta	God of the Forest
Tangata whenua	People of the land, original inhabitants of the land
Tangi	Cry, funeral

Tangihanga..Traditional Māori death ritual/funeral process

Taonga ....A treasure, anything prized that is either tangible or intangible

Tauiwi ....Immigrants or foreigners

Te Ahi Kaa..Radio programme on Māori practices and values hosted by Radio New Zealand

Te ao Māori..The Māori world view

Te Hui Hauora Tāne...The health of Māori Men

Te Kohanga Reo...Early childhood education services

Te Manu Kōrihi..Radio programme on contemporary Māori issues hosted by Radio New Zealand

Te Oru Rangahau ....Māori Research and Development Conference (1998)

Te Pā Harakeke ....Growing positive relationships within and between family members

Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga ....The Māori language and its customs

Te Urewera..National Park in the Central North Island

Te Wheke ....Metaphorical use of an Octopus (Wheke) to describe Māori Health Model

Tikanga...Correct procedure, custom, practice, lore

Tīpuna ....Ancestor

Tūhoe (Ngai Tūhoe)..Tribal people descended from the ancestor Tūhoe Potiki

Tūhoe ki Waikato...Tribal people of Tūhoe descent living in the Waikato region

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Tūpāpaku	Deceased, corpse
Tūrangawaewae	Traditional place to stand, place where one has the right to stand, residence
Waka	Canoe
Waiora	Total well-being for the individual and family
Wairua	Spirit, soul
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Whaikōrero	Formal oratory, speech
Whakahihi	Vain or conceited
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverbial saying
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships, relating to others
Whānau	Family, immediate or extended family
Whānau ora	Well-being of the family/extended family
Whānau pani	Bereaved family
Whanaunga	Relative, relation, kin
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, sense of family connection
Wharekai	Dining hall
Wharekura	Total immersion Māori secondary schools
Wharemate	Structure on the marae built to house the deceased and members of the grieving family
Whare Wānanga	Māori tertiary institutions
Whatumanawa	The open and health expression of emotion
Whenua	Land, placenta, afterbirth