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**Whānau Aspirations, Extracurricular Activity  
and Positive Youth Development:  
The leisure activity patterns and narratives of successful young  
Māori men and how they might inform  
urban whānau raising tamatāne.**

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

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by

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to offer parents and *whānau* (extended family groups) insight about the kinds of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys' development. Focused on the positive developmental benefits of leisure participation in relation to Māori boys, and employing a kaupapa Māori framework and qualitative methods, this study represents a foray into new territory.

Conducted 'by, with, and for' *Māori* (the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), and guided by the question 'How might the leisure activity patterns and narratives of successful young Māori men inform urban whānau raising *tamatāne* (Māori boys)?' the three-phase research design was strengths-based, collaborative, and both retrospective and prospective. In phase one, a group of 11 parents participated in focus group *hui* (gatherings) in which they established the criteria for 'successful young Māori men' (SYMM) based on their aspirations for their primary-school aged boys. In phase two, this whānau of interest then selected six SYMM from a pool of eight volunteers, who, along with one or both of their parents participated in one-off semi-structured interviews. In these interviews, we co-constructed life and leisure maps, and discussed how their childhood leisure activities and experiences contributed to their development and who they are today. In phase three, a selection of raw data from these interviews was prepared for a group analysis, during which the whānau of interest made three key observations: (1) As children and youth, these SYMM had participated in a number and range of organised and informal leisure activities including sport, *kapa haka* (Māori cultural performance), music, art, outdoor recreation, and for three of them, faith-based activities; (2) they were "connected" to their parent(s) and whānau; and (3) their leisure activities had brought them into contact with positive male role models. Consequently, the whānau of interest talked about increasing the number and variety of their boys' leisure activities; how they could further support their boys' leisure participation; and bringing more male role models into their boys' lives.

The findings of this study support the current literature regarding extracurricular activity participation in relation to positive youth development, but also highlight some methodological issues and cultural and contextual nuances. The research supports international and local studies in which high-performing students participated in a number and combination of extracurricular activities. In contrast,

however, the experiences and reflections of the SYMM in this study highlight the limitations of combining all sports and all arts into broad activity categories. The research participants' leisure activities also point to the relevance and applicability of the *Te Whare Tapa Whā* model of health and wellbeing. Their involvement in kapa haka contrasts with the (North American) literature in which males are a minority in the performing arts, and while some studies indicate that participation in music making declines in high school, these young men began playing musical instruments in high school. Moreover, the salience and significance of the research participants' casual leisure activities challenges the tendency to cast informal leisure as the antithesis of extracurricular activity participation. These findings raise questions about the applicability of using international activity categories in Aotearoa New Zealand research, and consequently the need to conduct our own leisure and positive youth development studies.

Other topics raised in this thesis include rugby and masculinity, spirituality, and the tensions involved in building and honouring our children's *rangatiratanga* (independence). The short answer to the research question is that a variety and balance of leisure activities has the potential to make positive contributions to boys' lives. Implications, limitations, and recommendations for future research are also discussed.

## HE MIHI

Kia tau ngā manaakitanga a te wāhi ngaro ki runga ki tēnā, ki tēnā o tātou. Kia mahea te hua mākihikihi, ā, kia toi te kupu, kia toi te mana, kia toi te whenua, kia toi te reo, kia toi te hauora o tēnā, o tēnā o tātou. Tihei Mauriora!

*Let our gratitude, respect and responsibility to the universal creator and the many creations be with each and every one of us. Free our path from obstruction, so that our words, spiritual power, the land entrusted to us, and language are upheld, and will foster and promote a state of good health and wellbeing for all people. Tis life!*

Ko wai tēnei e tū ake nei...

Ko Ōtawa te maunga

Ko Te Raparapaahoe te awa

Ko Hei te tūpuna

Ko Takakōpiri te tangata

Ko Waitaha-a-Hei te iwi

Ko Te Arawa te waka.

He uri au nō Taane Karaka rāua ko Hira/Susie Eriwata

Ko Robert Clarke rāua ko Christine Greenland ōku mātua

Ko Gloria Clarke ahau.

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---

<sup>1</sup> \* Pseudonyms.



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Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

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## INTRODUCTION

When I was a little girl, I decided that I wasn't having babies when I grew up. The eldest of four, I was tired of being my mother's helper. I wanted to play. And oh! The smell, the noise, the tears. Babies? No way! But of course, things change. Your siblings become your best friends, and you do become a mother (or a father). And you fall in love with your babies. And you do your best for them, and celebrate your successes, and learn from your mistakes.

The irony is that I had four babies. Just like mum and dad. Except I had four boys, instead of three girls and a boy, and in doing so became a member of a special club. You realise this when you meet people who are raising girls and not boys and you ask each other, "So what's that like?" then compare 'notes' and joke about who supposedly got the better deal. Raising children, however, is not always a laughing matter. You soon realise that it is a serious responsibility. It is not unusual for first-time parents to read prenatal books and visit websites, for instance; knowing the decisions they make will have an impact on their child's immediate and longer-term health and development. Is it okay to give in to my cravings? Should I stop playing sport? A homebirth or hospital? And the decision-making doesn't stop there. Names? To circumcise or not to circumcise? Immunization? Kindergarten, playcentre, or *kōhanga reo*?<sup>2</sup> At what age do we let them have a cellphone? When do we give them 'the talk'? And parents and caregivers ask these kinds of questions, and make these kinds of decisions, in the interests of their children's immediate and future health and happiness.

It is in this spirit of making decisions for our children's well-being that this research responds to the *pātai* (question), "So what kinds of activities should we put our boys into?" As detailed in Chapter 2, this *pātai* was posed by a father in response to my Masters research (Clarke, 2012), which explored why five young men had 'stepped out of sport and into court' and had revealed some of the negative aspects related to playing our nation's 'beloved' game of rugby, and its 'cousin' rugby league. As the author of that study, I felt a sense of responsibility. My research had uncovered a 'problem' but had not offered the 'solution' that this father was seeking. Consequently, the purpose of the present study is to offer *whānau* (extended families) raising *tamatāne* (boys, sons) some ideas about the

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<sup>2</sup> Full immersion Māori language and culture preschools.

types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys' development.

Taking a strengths-based approach, the guiding research question for this study was 'How might the leisure activity patterns and narratives of successful young Māori men inform urban whānau raising tamatāne?' Using qualitative methods, and in taking a 'by, with, and for Māori' approach, the subsidiary research questions were:

- (1) What constitutes a successful young Māori man?
- (2) What kinds of leisure activities did a group of successful young Māori men participate in when they were growing up?
- (3) How did these leisure activities contribute to their development and who they are today?
- (4) What 'messages and lessons' might urban whānau raising tamatāne take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these successful young Māori men?

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research topic and orientate the reader. The chapter has four parts. In part one, I provide the reader with some understanding of the Aotearoa New Zealand context by offering a historical synopsis. In part two, I provide some clarification for the terms Māori, Pākehā, and whānau, hapū, iwi. In part three, I offer some notes on reading this thesis. And in part four, I describe the conceptual framework for the thesis. The following historical synopsis provides a backdrop for the research and should be particularly useful for international readers.

### **A Historical Synopsis of Aotearoa New Zealand**

Aotearoa New Zealand is located in the South Pacific, and in 2019 our population is on the cusp of 5 million. A former British colony, three-quarters of the population identify with one or more European ethnicities, and 14.9% identify as Māori – descendants of the indigenous peoples who migrated here from Polynesia around 1280 AD (Borell & Kahi, 2017). Now a multicultural society, 11.8% of the

population identify as Asian, 7.4% as Pacific peoples, 1.2% as Middle Eastern/Latin American/African, and 0.4% as other ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand, 2017).<sup>3</sup>

When Māori/our ancestors began arriving here, they named the land. The northern island<sup>4</sup> is known as *Te Ikaroa-a-Māui* (The long fish of Māui) and *Aotearoa* (long white cloud), for example. The former name refers to *Māui-pōtiki* (Māui the youngest) who, using the jawbone of one of his *kuia* (grandmothers), blood from his nose, and *karakia* (incantation), fished up this stingray-shaped island. The name *Aotearoa* refers to the story of Kupe, who, while pursuing a giant *wheke* (octopus) (re)discovered *Te Ikaroa-a-Māui* – and upon approaching his wife *Hine-i-te-aparangi* called out “He Ao! He Ao!” (“A cloud! A cloud!”). Some say that this ‘long white cloud’ covered the northern island, and others that it covered the length of the country. According to *Te Arawa*,<sup>5</sup> *Ngahue* later sailed here and hid his precious *pounamu*<sup>6</sup> stone (or fish) in the waters of the middle island, hence the names *Te Waipounamu* (The green waters) and *Te Ika a Ngahue* (The fish of *Ngahue*). This island is also known as *Te Waka-a-Māui* (The canoe of Māui), and according to *Ngāi Tahu*<sup>7</sup> tradition, *Te Waka-a-Aoraki*. *Aoraki* is one of the three sons of *Raki* (aka *Ranginui*; Sky Father) who came down from the heavens to meet *Papatūānuku* (Earth Mother), their father’s new wife. However, before they could return home, their *waka* (canoe) was swamped and the vessel and its occupants were turned to stone, with the brothers becoming the great mountain range that divides the East and West coasts.

Four and five centuries after our *tūpuna* (ancestors) began migrating here, the Europeans arrived and also named the land. The Dutch navigator Abel Tasman sighted the West coast of *Te Waipounamu* in 1642, and thinking that he had stumbled upon a part of *Staten Landt* named it thus. Two years later, realising that *Staten Landt* was an island off the coast of South America, Dutch cartographers renamed Tasman’s partial map *Nieuw Zeeland*, after a province in Holland (J. Wilson, 2016). In 1769, British Lieutenant James Cook was then sent to *Nieuw Zeeland* with instructions to chart the entire coastline; identify parts that might be

<sup>3</sup> This data comes from the 2013 Census and does not equate to 100% because the respondents could select more than one ethnicity.

<sup>4</sup> For the reader’s quick reference, a map of *Aotearoa New Zealand* is located inside the back cover of this report (Appendix 28).

<sup>5</sup> Descendants of the *Ngāti Ohomairangi* people who settled across the Bay of Plenty and over into *Rotorua*.

<sup>6</sup> Similar to jade.

<sup>7</sup> A large southern tribe.

useful to navigation; observe the nature of the soil, flora, and fauna and collect specimens; cultivate a friendship with the natives through trade; and then “... with the Consent of the Natives to take Possession of Convenient Situations in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain...” (Hawke et al., 1768, p. 2). Upon returning to England, Cook’s maps and findings were published, and Nieuw Zeeland was anglicised as New Zealand.

Sealers, whalers, and traders were the first to use Cook’s maps and journals, and soon developed working relationships with the native ‘New Zealanders’. With ships coming and going on a regular basis, Māori also began traveling abroad, where they came to the attention of the missionaries. Based in Sydney Australia, Reverend Samuel Marsden established the first Christian mission in *Pēwhairangi* (the Bay of Islands) in December 1814. After the Anglicans, came the Methodists/Wesleyans (1822) and then the Catholics (1838), each intent on civilizing and saving the ‘savage but noble’ Māori from their false gods, barbaric customs (M. King, 2003), and the carnage wrought by the introduction of muskets.

A number of concerns then led to formal colonisation. Upset that whalers, sealers, traders, and escaped convicts were corrupting their flocks, the missionaries petitioned the British government for a system of law and order, as did the business owners whose livelihoods were being spoiled by lawlessness (A. Middleton, 2014). Responding to rumors that the French or Americans might claim their lands, and angry about the abuse of Māori at the hands of shipmasters, northern *rangatira* (leaders, chiefs) petitioned King William IV (1831) for his protection, and law and order (M. King, 2003). Other petitions for law and order were fuelled by fears that unrestrained land jobbing/grabbing might ignite a war with the ‘natives’ (Sinclair, 1991).

Busy administering the affairs of their other colonies, the British government was reluctant to build another colony (Sinclair, 1991), and sent a ‘British Resident’ (1833) rather than troops or a police force. Charged with establishing a local system of governance and law and order without any means to enforce it, Māori nicknamed this Resident, James Busby, ‘man of war with no guns’ (Binney et al., 2014a). Still, working with northern *rangatira*, Busby was responsible for organising a flag (1834) under which New Zealand vessels could trade as an independent nation, founding the Confederation of United Tribes (est. 1835), and helped draft the Declaration of Independence (signed 1835). However, while the Confederation was debating the

issues associated with forming a collective government, and controlling lawlessness and land jobbing in a tribal society, immigration intensified and forced Britain to reconsider its position (Binney et al., 2014a; Sinclair, 1991). On 29 January 1840, Captain William Hobson arrived in Pēwhairangi to offer the Confederation and “...the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation...” (Orange, 2011, p. 271) a Treaty, in which the British proposed the establishment of a civil government as a means to maintain peace and good order between Māori and British immigrants. A few days later, on February 6, some 40 northern rangatira signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi),<sup>8</sup> after which copies were taken to other *rohe* (tribal territories) and signed by another 540 rangatira. Even though some rangatira never saw *Te Tiriti*, and others refused to sign it (Binney et al., 2014a), British Sovereignty was declared 21 May, 1840.

One of the major problems with ‘the Treaty’ is that there are two versions, each offering and promising different things. In the First Article of the Treaty of Waitangi (the English version), the British proposed that rangatira give the Queen of England “all the rights and powers of Sovereignty” (Orange, 2011, p. 271). However, in *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* – the Māori language version that rangatira signed – the British seek “Kāwanatanga.” For our tūpuna, *kāwanatanga* meant governorship; their point of reference likely being the Australian *kāwana* (a transliteration of governor) who were primarily concerned with keeping the peace. Instead, Sovereignty (supreme power and authority) should have been translated as rangatiratanga or *mana* (status, power). However, having lived amongst Māori for some time, the missionaries who translated the Treaty (Rev. Henry Williams, and his son Edward Williams) knew that rangatira would not relinquish their authority and autonomy (Binney et al., 2014a). In Article Two of *Te Tiriti*, the Crown then guaranteed that Māori would continue to have “tino rangatiratanga”, or in the Treaty, “...full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties...” (Orange, 2011, p. 271). The Treaty thus stressed possession, while *Te Tiriti* emphasised chiefly status and authority. In the second part of Article Two, the signatories were then informed that if they wanted to sell land, they were to “...yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption...” (Orange, 2011, p. 271). The third and final Article then states, “In consideration

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<sup>8</sup> Thus named because it was signed at Waitangi, which is located in Pēwhairangi.

thereof...” the Queen “extends her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects” (Orange, 2011, p. 271).

Following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, immigration from the British Isles increased exponentially.<sup>9</sup> And while the 1840s and 1850s were marked by Māori enterprise and economic expansion as our tūpuna serviced and capitalised the first wave of migrants, there was also an incremental shift in authority from rangatira to Crown officials (Binney et al., 2014a). As the demand for land intensified, the 1860s were then marked by conflict and ultimately the Land Wars (1860-1872) during which Māori defended their homes, people, and livelihoods. The 1870s were then marked by *raupatu*, land confiscations as punishment for their so-called rebellion, and dubious Crown purchases. Consequently, the 1870s through to the 1890s were marked by a quest for justice and *tino rangatiratanga* (self-governance) in the form of passive resistance (e.g. pulling out survey pegs) and political action (e.g. presenting petitions to the British Crown). While hope in the face of increasing immigration,<sup>10</sup> poverty, dislocation, ravaging health epidemics, and consequent feelings of despondency (M. King, 1984a), emerged in the form of prophets (e.g. Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti-o-Rongomai), religious movements (e.g. Pai Marire)<sup>11</sup> (Binney et al., 2014b), and arguably European education.

The turn of the century was marked by another round of legislative land grabbing that was somewhat mitigated by Māori representation in Parliament (e.g. James Carroll, Āpirana Ngata, Te Rangihīroa, Māui Pōmare). The Great War (1914-1918) then divided Māori, with arguments for and against military service including the opportunity to demonstrate loyalty to the Crown (Binney & O’Malley, 2014), earn equal rights (M. King, 2003), exercise rights of citizenship (Ngata, 1943) – or the refusal to fight for the colonisers, an act of rangatiratanga (M. King, 1984b). The latter position was vindicated when only Pākehā (white) soldiers were awarded parcels of land for their service and eligible for rehabilitation assistance. During the Great Depression (1929-1939), Māori were also excluded from the government’s unemployment work schemes, the rationale being “...Māori were unemployed anyway, and could ‘live off the land’” (Harris, 2014, p. 370). When Māori (men)

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<sup>9</sup> Refer to Phillips and Hearn (2008) for a detailed history of New Zealand immigration.

<sup>10</sup> In 1840, the estimated population was 90,000 Māori and 2,000 Europeans. By 1880, estimates were 45,000 Māori and 480,000 Pākehā (Eldred-Grigg, 1984, p. 11).

<sup>11</sup> Meaning ‘good and peaceful’, this faith was founded by Te Ua Haumēne in Taranaki, 1862.

did eventually become eligible, they were paid at a lower rate and sent to work in the poorest conditions.

World War Two marked a significant turning point in Pākehā and Māori relations. Fighting on the front lines as soldiers, rather than behind the lines as pioneers, Māori and Pākehā fought and died alongside one another, and upon their return – as some Māori politicians had hoped – their outstanding service and sacrifice saw Māori soldiers receive the same loans, land schemes, and rehabilitation and educational assistance as their Pākehā comrades (M. King, 1984a). On the home front, ‘manpowered’ into the essential industries, young Māori men and women moved to the towns and cities where they also came into direct and prolonged contact with Pākehā. In 1956, 35% of Māori were living in the urban areas, and despite the associated issues (e.g. racism, discrimination, cultural adjustment) urbanisation steadily increased (Meredith, 2015). Published in 1961, Jack Hunn’s *Report on Māori Affairs* made Māori relocation and integration (i.e. assimilation) an official policy (Harris & Williams, 2014a), and included ‘pepper-potting’ Māori in Pākehā neighbourhoods. By 1966, 62% of Māori were urbanised, and by 1986 this number had risen to 80% (Meredith, 2015). As outlined in Chapter 2, the 1970s and 1980s were then marked by a Māori cultural ‘reawakening and resistance’.

Although the missionaries and colonial administration were reportedly moved by post-slavery humanitarianism (Sinclair, 1991), and despite the promises made in the Treaty, in a matter of decades Māori had become a minority in their own lands, largely landless, the subject of ‘civilizing’ policies, and ultimately subservient to Pākehā and Pākehā interests. Consequently, the Māori language has struggled to survive, and Māori continue to be over-represented in a number of negative social indices. Māori are more likely to experience income disparities; to live in smaller and overcrowded homes; to leave school without any formal qualifications; to suffer from a mental health condition; to be imprisoned; to experience racism; and to take their own lives (Harris & Williams, 2014c; New Zealand Treasury, 2019).

With Māori and Pākehā living in close quarters, ‘the Māori problem’ became an area interest for administrators, economists, educators, and researchers who have tried largely unsuccessfully to fix the ‘problem’ (Harris & Williams, 2014c). More recently, however, hope has been found in the fruition of Treaty of Waitangi claims



and Māori-led initiatives including full-immersion Māori language education, kaupapa Māori research (see Chapter 2), and “...successes the world over in education, music, sport, business, [and] politics” (Harris & Williams, 2014c, p. 487).

One of the goals of the current study is to add to these stories of rejuvenation and success. Towards this end, I have taken a strengths-based approach and approached and worked with ‘the experts amongst us’; parents and young Māori men who have their own opinions and views about what success means, and looks like, for young Māori males.

### **Clarifying Some Cultural Concepts**

The terms Māori, Pākehā, and whānau, hapū, iwi are used continuously throughout this thesis, and thus need to be clarified.

#### Māori

Traditionally, the term *māori* refers to “...an object, person, phenomenon or idea [that is] normal, usual, ordinary, straight forward or uncontaminated” (Benton et al., 2012). For example, *wai māori* is fresh water; *rākau māori*, ordinary trees; and *tangata māori*, ordinary people – as opposed to “unusual beings” (Williams, 1991, p. 179) such as *atua* (deity), *patupaiarehe* (fairy-like beings), and the pale-skinned, blond, red-haired, blue- and green-eyed people who began arriving here on ‘floating islands’ in the late 1700s (Benton et al., 2012). In describing and identifying themselves to these strangers as ‘tangata māori’, *māori* became the “ethnic and cultural label” (Royal, 2012, p. 31) given to and largely adopted by the indigenous people of Aotearoa. However, this label positions us as a homogenous group when in fact we have always been and continue to be tribal people who have both shared and distinct histories, customs, dialects, and vocabularies (Durie, 1998b). Thus, throughout this thesis I refer to a number of different tribes, and also use the phrase *ngā iwi Māori* (Māori tribes).

#### Pākehā

In pre-European Aotearoa, Pākehakeha or *Pākehā* referred to “...imaginary beings resembling men, with fair skins” (Williams, 1991, p. 252), and was thus the name given to the white people who came from the sea. Today, its most common meaning is New Zealander of European settler descent (Benton et al., 2012).

*Whānau, hapū, iwi*

Throughout this thesis I refer to whānau, hapū, and iwi, and also use the phrases ‘whānau, hapū, iwi’, and ‘hapū/iwi’. Whānau means “to be born, to give birth” (Moorfield, n.d.g) and is the primary social unit of Māori society (H. M. Mead, 2016). However, while whānau is also defined as ‘family’, it more correctly refers to all the living generations of a family, which typically includes three or four generations. As Māori began to urbanise, the concept and term whānau was also extended to include whānau-like relationships amongst non-familial groups of people (e.g. sports teams, organisations) who share a common interest or *kaupapa* (purpose, goal, vision) (Durie, 2001).

Traditionally, as whānau increased in size they became one or more hapū, which is the basic political unit of Māori society (H. M. Mead, 2016). Meaning “to conceive, to be pregnant” *hapū* applies to the “kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe” (Moorfield, n.d.a), in the sense that “...its members [have been] born of the same womb” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 227). Hence, hapū tend to bear the name of a common ancestor (Papakura, 1986), or in some cases, a significant event (R. Walker, 1990). Related hapū then make up the iwi. Meaning “bone, strength, nation, people” (Williams, 1991, p. 80), the *iwi* is the largest political entity in Māori society and is responsible for maintaining an alliance of hapū that will defend and care for the wider tribal estate (H. M. Mead, 2016). Iwi were also named after a common and significant tūpuna (Papakura, 1986) through whom the relative hapū and whānau can trace their *whakapapa* (genealogy) back to one of the seafaring waka that carried their tūpuna here from Hawaiki.<sup>12</sup>

Although these social and political structures and relationships exist today, I refer to their organic nature in the past tense because the processes of colonisation have essentially “frozen” them (H. M. Mead, 2016; Te Rito, 2007). To explain, the colonial government established the Native Land Court (1865)<sup>13</sup> for the purposes of converting tribal land into individual title so they could be more easily bought and sold. This process required whānau, hapū and iwi to prove a history of occupation, and after recording what were sometimes conflicting and competing

<sup>12</sup> “The distant home” (Papakura, 1986, p. 33), which include the islands of Rarotonga, Raiatea, and Tahiti.

<sup>13</sup> The forerunner to the current Māori Land Court.

histories, the Court then decided who the ‘proper’ owners were.<sup>14</sup> Once captured on paper these hapū and iwi became permanent entities (H. M. Mead, 2016), which was “...unlike the normal course of events in the history of Māori...” states Joseph Te Rito (2007), for “[a]s prominent chiefs died off, their successors would come to the fore and often their names would replace those of their predecessors, in some cases as hapū or even iwi names” (p. 3).

Some commentators also argue, however, that ‘whānau, hapū, iwi’ is a myth and/or a modern construct. John Winitana of Te Arawa states (as cited in Benton et al., 2012), “traditionally iwi meant just “the people”...it could be used for the people of a hapū, the people of a district or the people of a country” (p. 92), as in te iwi Māori or te iwi Pākehā. Ross Nepia Himona (n.d.) then argues that although hapū “...identified with other hapū of common descent...” (para. 15) they were autonomous entities, not ‘sub-tribes’. In terms of being a modern construct Benton et al. (2012) and Himona (n.d.) note that whānau, hapū, and iwi responded to the Native Land Court’s preference to work with larger representative bodies. This preference was then formalised on a larger scale in the 1980s, when the Labour Government devolved many of its public services and responsibilities, which led to a period of reorganisation for Māori (Hill, 2009). Tribal diversity means, however, that some tribes may have had a whānau-hapū-iwi structure and process.

Taking these points into consideration, I use the phrase ‘hapū/iwi’ to acknowledge that some hapū are now the size of, or may now identify themselves as iwi. I also use ‘whānau, hapū, iwi’ to accentuate familial and tribal identities and relationships rather than an evolutionary process.

### **Some Notes on Reading this Thesis**

To aid the reader, I now provide some notes on my use of other terms and the writing conventions adopted in this thesis.

#### **Aotearoa New Zealand**

As explained above, this *whenua* (land) has many names. Thus, depending on the historical period, context, and the people I am referring to I use Aotearoa, New

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<sup>14</sup> Prior to 1873, the colonial government dictated that there could be no more than 10 owners for each block of land (Taonui, 2012).

Zealand, and the more recent bi-cultural phrase Aotearoa New Zealand. I also use Te Waipounamu.

### 'Te Tiriti' and 'the Treaty'

Also explained above, there are two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, each version making different promises. Thus, depending on the context and whose perspective I am referring to, I use both 'Te Tiriti' and 'the Treaty'.

### Te Reo Māori

Under Article Two of Te Tiriti, and in taking a kaupapa Māori approach to this study (see Chapter 2), I assert my right to use *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). Although I am not a fluent *te reo Māori* speaker, I am a life-long learner and consider my thesis a prime opportunity to 'speak', learn, and deepen my understanding and knowledge of *te reo me tikanga Māori* (the Māori language and custom). I privilege *te reo Māori* by providing English interpretations in brackets (rather than vice versa). Interpretations are provided at the point of their first occurrence, following which the reader can refer to the glossary (see below). The glossary only contains *kupu* (words) that have been used more than once.

It is important to understand that *te reo Māori* is a visual, emotive, contextual, metaphorical, and interpretive language in which a single *kupu* can have a number and range of meanings. Consequently, I offer interpretations rather than definitions, and depending on the context, these interpretations sometimes change. Still, my English interpretations cannot fully communicate the depth of meaning embedded and conveyed in *te reo Māori* (Pere, 1991).

*Te reo Māori* has short and long vowels that change the sound and meaning of some words, and thus adds to the distinctiveness of the language. Long vowels are denoted by either a *tohutō* (macron) or a double vowel (e.g. Maaori). For example, *wahine* refers to one woman and *wāhine* to more than one woman. To maintain the integrity of the language and its meanings, *tohutō* are used consistently. To hear how *te reo Māori* is pronounced, I recommend [www.maoridictionary.co.nz](http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz)

### Western Theories

While some indigenous researchers and theorists avoid, resist, or even reject Western theories (R. Mahuika, 2008), I hold an *Ako Māori* perspective. As discussed in Chapter 2, *Ako Māori* is the kaupapa Māori principle of 'culturally preferred pedagogy' and is about using what we need in order to achieve our goals

(G. H. Smith, 1997). This sentiment is captured in the *whakatauākī* (proverb) offered by Tā (Sir) Āpirana Ngata (as cited in R. Walker, 2001):

*E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao, ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā  
hei oranga mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tipuna Māori  
hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna, ā ko tō wairua ki tō Atua, nāna nei ngā mea  
katoa.*

Thrive in the days destined for you, your hand to the tools of the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of your ancestors to adorn your head, your soul to God to whom all things belong. (p. 397)

### Acknowledging my sources

In this thesis, I provide the first names of all the writers whom I reference, and do so for the following reasons. One, I feel that referring to people by their surname supports the notion of objectivity; that ideas and words are objective truths rather than human constructs. However, because of the word count, I generally include first names in the first instance only, not in the case of more than three authors, and only outside of the citation parentheses. Note that in following APA guidelines, the inclusion of initials for authors who share the same surname (e.g. Mead, Brown, Smith) is prevalent. Two, while some researchers provide the full name of the writers or individuals they are personally familiar with, in the spirit of *manaakitanga* (respect and generosity) I do so for all my sources. And three, I think it is important to give credit where credit is due, in the sense that first names usually reveal whether the writer is male or female, and in some cases whether they are indigenous. For this reason, I would have also liked to include tribal affiliations. However, because Māori often whakapapa (connect genealogically) to more than one hapū/iwi, sometimes ‘lean’ towards certain hapū/iwi more than others, and have non-Māori heritage as well, the risk of making a mistake and causing offense was too great.

My thesis includes a number of images. All attempts have been made to contact and ask the copyright holders for their permission to reprint. The source, copyright, and permission or applicable licence for images are included as footnotes.

Voice

There are a few arguments to consider with regards to deciding which voice to adopt when writing research. Writing in the third person is associated with the Western-scientific tradition of objective observation, which is underpinned by an objective ontology and epistemology. This is the philosophical position that reality exists outside of our subjective beliefs and experiences, and therefore ‘real’ or ‘valid’ knowledge is that which has been observed or collected objectively (D. J. Carson et al., 2001). In contrast, writing in the first person is associated with a subjective or interpretive ontology and epistemology; i.e., the philosophical stance that both reality and knowledge are multiple, relative, and socially constructed (D. J. Carson et al., 2001). Culture then brings another dimension ‘to the table’. For instance, Graham Hingangaroa Smith<sup>15</sup> (1997) suggests that the use of “I” and “we” could be considered *whakahīhī* (boastful), and might also imply that the writer is placing themselves above the work or contribution of others, and/or is assuming the right to speak on behalf of all Māori. On the other hand, Leonie Pihama (2001) suggests that “I” is acceptable if we accept that “we are never alone” – that walking with us in body and/or spirit is our whānau, past and present – and that “we” can mean both tātou and mātou, “us” and “we” collectively and exclusively. She also notes that we do and can use both voices. Thus, Pihama (2001) uses personal pronouns where she feels “personally involved” and a distant voice where she feels “removed or other” (p. 27). While Graham Smith’s points are valid, I have adopted Leonie Pihama’s approach.


Tenses

When traditions meet, there is sometimes a ‘tension between the tenses’. In the academic context, we tend to refer to authors and their texts in the present tense no matter how old the texts are or whether the author is among the living or the dead. In contrast, the storytelling and indigenous voice speaks to the past, present, and future. For example, our tūpuna are our ancestors (past tense), but also walk beside us (present tense). Tenses are complicated again when writers refer to traditions (past tense) that continue to this day or are being revived (present tense). In an attempt to address some of these tensions – and not all of them can be – I use a slash to denote something as both past and present (e.g. was/is).

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<sup>15</sup> Hereafter I refer to Graham Hingangaroa Smith as Graham Smith.

### Punctuation & Emphasis

In terms of punctuation, I have employed the following strategies. Italics are used for emphasis; the first time *kupu Māori* (Māori words) are used; for whakatauākī and *kīwaha* (colloquial sayings); and for Acts, policies, and publications. In addition to denoting something as both past and present (e.g. was/is), forward slashes are used to emphasise my meaning and to communicate a connection between the words on either side (e.g. hapū/iwi). Because there are many grammatical particles in te reo Māori, to help manage the word count, I use dashes for some phrases (e.g. *ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia*, the arts of pleasure). I use *rau* (leaves)  to mark each summary, and in some chapters, to bookend narratives. This thesis is also designed for double-sided printing (meaning there is an alternating wide margin), and for emphasis every chapter begins on an odd/right-hand side page (meaning there are some blank pages).

### Quick reference

To support the reader, a *kuputaka* (glossary) (Appendix 27) and maps of Aotearoa New Zealand (Appendix 28) and the major tribal regions (Appendix 29) are located inside the back cover of this report. The digital report has also been equipped with a bookmark navigation menu. The reader may also notice that I have not included Chapters in my headings and thus the Table of Contents. I have deliberately avoided this convention because it does not align with Te Rākau Rangahau framework (see below). For quick reference, however, the header for each chapter has been numbered.

## **Te Rākau Rangahau Framework**

Within *Te Ao Māori* (The Māori World) our attention is regularly directed to the past and to the spiritual and natural worlds. Our orators and composers quote ancient whakatauākī; our artists employ and are inspired by traditional symbols, patterns, and *Te Taiao* (The Natural World); and we continue to recite the *pūrākau* (narratives) of old – many of which were designed to remind us of our familial relationships and therein obligations to the spiritual and physical worlds around us (Papakura, 1986). In one of these *pūrākau*, our relationship with the whenua begins with Tāne-mahuta (aka Tāne) separating Ranginui and Papatūānuku (aka Rangi and Papa). And following the separation of the Earth and Sky, Tāne clothed his mother

in an emerald cloak of flora, and later shaped from her body the first earthly woman – and the human family began. We are thus *tangata whenua*, people born of the land, and as descendants of Tāne, and he of Rangi and Papa – kin to all creation.

Inspired by such teachings, and emboldened by the kaupapa Māori research movement (see Te Oneone), the framework for this thesis is a *rākau* (tree). However, this *Rākau Rangahau* (Research Tree) framework is more than a conceptual model or a visual illustration of my thinking (Miles & Huberman, 1994), but a conscious decision to turn to Te Taiao for wisdom and guidance. Of all our ‘nature relations’ I was drawn to *rākau* because of the way in which they embody the concept of whakapapa, the relational theory of existence that underpins Māori world views (see Te Kōmoremore).

It is important to acknowledge that individual and tribal diversity dictate that this framework is only one way to conceptualise *rākau*, and that my thinking in relation to this framework continues to shift and grow.

### **Te Oneone**

Acknowledging that the whenua was here before the *ngahere* (forest), as well as the procreative powers Papatūānuku, *Te Oneone* is ‘the seedbed’. As the platform for the research this is the positionality chapter, in which I share some of my ‘born into and lived by stories’ (Clandinin, 2013) and my aspirations as they relate to the research topic. I then offer a whakapapa (chronology/history) for kaupapa Māori research, which I describe as a paradigmatic landscape that supports research conducted ‘by, with, and for Māori’ (Mikaere, 2011b, p. 29). Although kaupapa Māori is often referred to and employed as a methodology – a chapter that tends to be located further into an academic thesis – it is positioned here because kaupapa Māori is more than a methodology: it is “...a way of being; a way of knowing; a way of seeing; a way of making meaning; a way of being Māori...” (L. T. Smith, 2011, p. 10).

### **Te Kākano**

Representing new life, *Te Kākano* is ‘the seed.’ This chapter describes the origins and beginnings of this study. Here, I explain how my Masters research fuelled this study; identify some of the initial decisions that shifted me from a Western way of thinking about research to a kaupapa Māori perspective; and summarise the research aim, purpose, and questions.



### **Te Kōmoremore**

The first sign of life to emerge from Te Kākano was *Te More* (the embryonic taproot), which grew into *Te Kōmoremore*, ‘the taproot’. The primary functions of kōmoremore are to anchor rākau into Te Oneone, and to pump water-soluble nutrients up into and throughout the rākau. This chapter was thus allocated to the theoretical framework; the structure that informed/nourished almost every aspect of my research. In this chapter, I demonstrate how the layers of kōmoremore tissue are comparable to the characteristics and layers of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in whakapapa, and outline the key features of Te Kōmoremore framework.

### **Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai**

Supporting Te Kōmoremore are *Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai*, the lateral ‘feeder roots’. While these *pūtaka* (roots) essentially have the same anatomy and physiology as kōmoremore, their primary function is to feed the rākau. These pūtaka thus grow near the surface where they can absorb the water-soluble nutrients provided by the surrounding ngahere. Acknowledging the contribution of the wider environment, Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai is the literature review. In this chapter, I use Te Kōmoremore framework to offer a critical conceptual/contextual review of leisure and positive youth development literature, and empirical studies that have examined the developmental benefits attributed to extracurricular activity participation, with a particular interest in qualitative studies and studies that focus on males.

### **Te Whakatupuranga**

The next sign of life to emerge from Te Kākano was *Te Pihi* (the embryonic shoot), which grew into *Te Tīwai*, ‘the trunk’. Tīwai provide rākau with its shape and strength, and house the vascular system that transports nutrients up into the *pekapeka* (branches) and out to the rau, and sugar-enriched sap back down into the rākau. This growth, *whakatupuranga*, is reminiscent of the successive cycles of action and interaction that occur in the course of empirical research. This chapter is thus the methodology chapter. In part one I describe *Te Kaikākā*, ‘the heartwood’ of Te Tīwai, the methodological framework or the “...strategy that translates ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show how research is to be conducted” (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 29). I then describe the three major phases of the research. In phase one, I brought a whānau of interest together for focus group hui during which they set the parameters for what constitutes a ‘successful young

Māori man’. In phase two, these parameters guided the recruitment of some successful young Māori men, a selection of whom participated in a semi-structured interview that focused on their childhood leisure activities. In phase three, the whānau of interest then participated in a group analysis of the data. These three phases involved a number of steps that represent pekapeka, while the rau represent the voices of the people involved.

### **Te Puāwaitanga**

The next stage in the growth of this rākau rangahau was *Te Puāwaitanga*, ‘the blossoming’. Representing fertility, this chapter presents the research results. In the first section, I introduce the whānau of interest, present the successful young Māori men profiles created during the focus group hui, and add ‘flesh’ to these profiles by offering a thematic commentary. In the second section, I present a portrait pūrākau for each of the six young men involved in the study. In part three, I offer a thematic commentary for the major themes highlighted in the group analysis.

### **Te Haenga**

*Te Haenga*, ‘the pollination’, represents the commingling of the findings that blossomed on the different pekapeka. This is the discussion chapter, and addresses the subsidiary research questions. In part one, I discuss the results and the literature related to indicators of positive or successful development (What constitutes a SYMM?). In part two, I discuss the results and the literature related to leisure participation patterns and developmental benefits (What activities did they do, and how did these activities contribute to their development?). And in part three, I discuss the results and the literature in relation to the final subsidiary pātai, ‘What ‘messages and lessons’ might urban whānau raising tamatane take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these SYMM?’

### **Ngā Hua o Te Rākau Rangahau**

The result of *Te Puāwaitanga* and *Te Haenga* was *Ngā Hua o te Rākau Rangahau*, ‘the fruits of the research tree.’ In this concluding chapter, I provide a short answer to the research question, an overview of the research, a summary of implications, discuss some of the limitations of the study, and offer some ideas for future research.

### **Te Rākau Rangahau**

Stepping back to take in the ‘bigger picture’, rākau offer some additional insights. One, while the contents of *Te Kākano* emerge in a particular sequence, thereafter,

every part of the rākau grows and matures simultaneously. Likewise, while the chapters in this thesis are sequential, the research and this thesis did not unfold and proceed in a strictly linear fashion. Two, although the different parts of a rākau grow simultaneously, this growth is not symmetrical or proportionate. Similarly, some chapters and sections are decidedly longer or shorter, ‘thicker’ or ‘thinner’ than others. Three, while rākau share the same basic anatomy, there is some variation. Tīwai differ in their girth and length, for example; some pekapeka grow out along the length of Te Tīwai, while others grow out from the very top; and some rākau blossom before or after the new season of rau appear. These variations are meaningful and are described in the relevant chapters. Four, rākau have two spheres of development: that which occurs below the ground, and that which occurs above the ground. These spheres are reflected in the two halves of this thesis, with the first four chapters laying the philosophical and theoretical foundation for the last four chapters, which focus specifically on investigating and answering the research question(s).

In sum, as illustrated in Figure 1, this report includes everything expected in an academic thesis, but presents that information in a format that is grounded in an appreciation for the messages and lessons that can be found in Te Taiao.

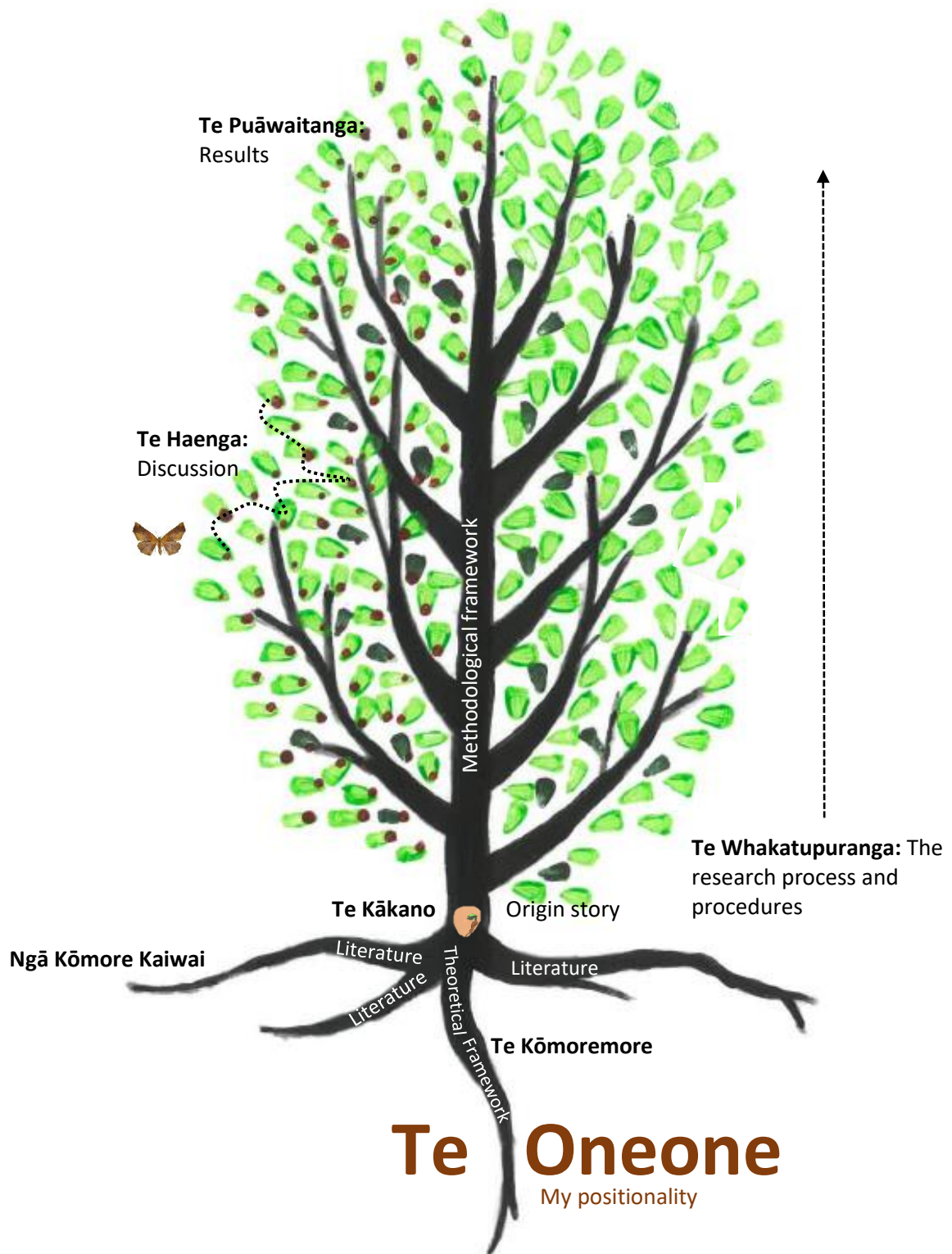


Figure 1: Te Rākau Rangahau framework

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have introduced the research topic and provided some orientations. First, I explained that it is in the spirit of making decisions for our children’s well-being that this study responds to the pātai, “So what kinds of activities should we put our boys into?” To provide the reader with some understanding of the Aotearoa New Zealand context, I then offered a historical synopsis; some explanations for the concepts of Māori, Pākehā, and whānau, hapū, iwi; and some notes on reading this thesis. In the last section, I introduced Te Rākau Rangahau framework.

In the next chapter, I continue to lay the foundation for this thesis with Te Oneone, ‘the seedbed’ that supports and nourishes this Rākau Rangahau.

## TE ONEONE

Oneone refers to soil that has been mounded, to create a seedbed for instance (Rangi Matamua, personal communication, 2017). Seedbeds comprise a blend of nutrients including minerals, organic and inorganic matter, air, and water. Here, the nutrients include Papatūānuku; the Aotearoa New Zealand context; a kaupapa Māori approach to research; and my social, cultural, and historical positionality – all of which provided the foundation for, and nourished this research from ‘the ground up’.



*Figure 2: Te Oneone<sup>16</sup>*

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<sup>16</sup> Photographer: Emma West, 2019.

## **Introduction**

Laurel Richardson (1997) writes, “... each of us sees from “somewhere.” No one can be “nowhere” or “everywhere”.... And, because we are standing somewhere, each of us harbours some ideological preference and political program...” (p. 103). Consequently, when a researcher omits their positionality, a significant part of the research is concealed and can leave the discerning reader wondering ‘why?’ Why has the researcher chosen this topic? Why have they asked these particular questions, of these particular people? Why have they chosen these methods, and used them in this particular way?

The purpose of this chapter is to describe something about the social, cultural, historical, and paradigmatic contexts in which this study is located and has grown out of. This chapter has two parts. In part one, Tōku Oneone: Tōku Whānau, Ōku Wawata, I share stories about ‘my whānau’ and ‘my aspirations’ as they relate to the research. In part two, Tōku Oneone, Tōku kaupapa Māori, I then trace the early development of kaupapa Māori research, the paradigmatic landscape that supports and nourishes this study, and conclude with ‘my kaupapa Māori’. Combined, these ‘elements’ are Te Oneone, the seedbed into which the pātai, ‘What kinds of activities should we put our boys into?’ was planted, germinated, took root, and grew.

## **Tōku Oneone: Tōku Whānau, Ōku Wawata**

*My seedbed: My whānau, my aspirations*

As mentioned previously, I am the eldest of four children, three girls and a boy. Born and raised in the city, away from our tribal lands and people, I am an urban Māori. Our childhood home stood in the middle of an inner-city industrial area in Hamilton. Opposite our house was the main railway trunk, on the other side of which were factories, and over the back fence was the city by-pass. Cutting our road in two was the route connecting the western suburbs and the city, the flow along which was controlled by a level railway crossing, its clanging bells and flashing lights pre-empting every train-induced quake.

The single row of houses on Chilcott Road belonged to the New Zealand Railways (NZR). In 1969, responding to a call for trainee engine drivers, our *Koro*

(grandfather) drove his 16-year-old son to the city from their home near the sea (Mount Maunganui, aka ‘the Mount’). And after getting his ‘ticket’, and marrying his sweetheart, this young couple was eligible for a railway house.

When our parents moved into 26 Chilcott Road, they were 19 years old, and the rent was \$2.50 a week. What I recall most vividly about our 1920s ‘villa without the frills’ was that everything was extra-high – the ceilings, windows, light-switches, and doors handles – and that our house was alive. When the wind ‘picked up’ the fireplaces in the kitchen, lounge, and master bedroom howled, its window-paned eyes rattled, and the walls or lungs of the house literally rippled and billowed.

We lived on Chilcott Road for 12 years, during which we became accustomed to the irregular rhythms of living with a shift worker. When we started school, “Your father is sleeping for work” was often the greeting we received upon arriving home for instance. Fortunately, however, we were surrounded by other railway families living under the same circumstances, and our road was a playground. At both ends, the unmarked tarsealed road and dirt footpath disappeared beneath tall grasses, wild flowers, and blackberry bushes. There were banks to ride our bikes down, and trees and bushes in which to hide. Trucks also came and dumped mountains of broken tarseal and concrete at the end of the road, over and around which we played follow the leader and ‘war’. And then of course there were the railway tracks, which were *strictly* out-of-bounds; although that didn’t stop us from seeing who could throw their rock or stick the farthest, and waving to or pulling faces at the people on the passenger trains.



But living in the city didn’t mean that we didn’t know who we were, or that we were deprived of the larger whānau experience. A couple of Dad’s brothers also ‘got on the job’ and one of their sisters married one of their work mates, and they were the heart of our social life. Coming together to build fences and sheds, paint houses, fix cars, celebrate birthdays, to go to the pub, or just to hang out, we saw our aunts, uncles, and cousins all the time. As a family and a whānau, we also went back to the Mount for East Coast surf, summer holidays, working bees, and whenever our parents felt homesick.

While our parents nurtured our sense of *whanaungatanga* (connectivity), Nanny and Koro wove the threads connecting us to the past and significant places



and spaces. There was once a row of trees on Manoeka Road (Te Puke) for instance, walking or driving past which Koro would point and say “That’s where I was born.” This statement provoked questions about why he wasn’t born in a hospital, why we hadn’t met his mother, and if we had asked or heard these pātai before, our own recitals. “There were no doctors back then (1931) to help women give birth, aye Koro?” “But some of the Waitaha women had helped her.” “She died when you were little, and is buried on one of the islands that we drive past on the way to Rotorua.”<sup>17</sup>

Even though we never met our great-grandmother, we know her face well. She and other whānau members grace the walls of Nanny and Koro’s kaumātua flat<sup>18</sup> in Manoeka. Here, we sit amid our *whakapapa* (genealogy) – people whom some of us have been named after, who look like us, whose names we see in the *urupā* (burial grounds) and that repeat for own our children. To this visual genealogy are then added pictures of recently wedded couples, graduates, and new-born babies.

One of my favourite photos is a black and white picture of a concert party in which Nanny is wearing a *piupiu*<sup>19</sup> and *kahu kiwi*.<sup>20</sup> Taken in 1943 in New Plymouth, Nanny is 14 years old and their group raised funds for returned Māori soldiers. The largest photo in the room is a picture of her father wearing his Freemason (or Buffolo Lodge) regalia; a royal blue uniform with white trim and studded with gold and silver buttons, medals, and ribbons. Surrounding this photo are pictures of him posing with his wife, and their 10 children. The oldest picture in the room is a copy of a watercolour painting of one of his tūpuna, who in the 1800s posed for the artist George French Angus on a Wellington beach wearing a feathered *kākahu* (cloak) and holding a *patu pounamu* (greenstone club). Growing up, these were some of the images that maintained our connection to Nanny’s whānau who lived in ‘a faraway place’ called Taranaki, where the southern tribes replace H with a glottal stop, and follow *kawa* (protocols and customs of the marae) located in their history of passive resistance to the raupatu that occurred in their rohe.

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<sup>17</sup> Our great-grandmother died during a tuberculosis epidemic when our Koro was about 6 years old, and was buried amongst her people of Ngāti Pīkiao (another Te Arawa tribe).

<sup>18</sup> Retirement village built beside or as part of a marae (tribal meeting grounds) complex.

<sup>19</sup> Waist to knee garment made from cylinders of dried flax.

<sup>20</sup> Handmade cloak covered in the feathers of kiwi birds.



Smiling in the frame beside Koro’s mother is Koro’s father, through whom we whakapapa to the places and people of Manoeka and Waitaha,<sup>21</sup> and Te Awahou (Rotorua) and Ngāti Rangiwewehi.<sup>22</sup> I have faint memories of him being a very tall man who wore a suit when he went to the marae, and of his home at the orchard in Manoeka. I remember that it was made of corrugated iron and had a willow tree growing beside it, while our parents recall its immaculate dirt floor.

Manoeka literally means ‘one-thousand acres’ and is a native reserve created by the Government in the late 1800s after confiscating Waitaha lands for their so-called rebellion during the Land Wars. The impact of this raupatu is preserved in the whakataukāki: “*ko Waitaha te iwi, he tangata ngakaurua* – Waitaha was once a powerful tribe, but because of the losses of land they became fragmented and have never been able to unite again” (Waitaha and the Trustees of Te Kapu o Waitaha, 2011, p. 19). Although Koro didn’t specifically teach us about the raupatu, he told us about it in other ways. When walking or working in the orchard, for instance, he would sometimes stop and point to a neighbouring property and tell us that it had been “stolen by the bloody Pākehās!” He would also remind us that we would always have a home so long as we didn’t sell the whenua, and that the whenua is not some ‘thing’ to be sold, and belongs to all generations, not just the living.

During the 1980s and into the 2000s the manager’s shed at the orchard was essentially our *wharenui* (meeting house). The living quarters were open plan and could accommodate about 20 adults and children ‘marae-style’,<sup>23</sup> and if more room was needed we’d put up tents. This is where our whānau gathered en masse for Christmas, and it was here that we were taught how to work; to pick, prune, and tie down kiwifruit vines, and to drive tractors, cars, and motorbikes. We also stayed at the orchard when we came ‘home’ for *tangihanga* (funerals).



I heard “bloody Pākehās” a lot growing up. It was said as pig heads, pork trotters, and fish heads slowly increased from free, to cents, to dollars. It was heard when

<sup>21</sup> A hapū/iwi named after the son of Hei, a *rangatira* (chief, leader) who arrived here on the Te Arawa waka.

<sup>22</sup> Another Te Arawa tribe.

<sup>23</sup> Meaning we covered the floor with mattresses and slept side by side.

the television news was on, in response to stories of mining, clear-felling, pollution, and land protests. And Koro said it the day he told me about finding his original birth certificate. In their late 50s, Nanny and Koro were planning their first overseas trip and needed their birth certificates to apply for passports. Koro had never needed his birth certificate before, and upon finding it discovered that he had been given a different name at birth. At the top of his certificate, “in her handwriting” he said, his mother had clearly given him the name Taane Karaka; below which were then the typed words: “Also known as...” and following which, in another person’s handwriting, was the Pākehā name he had grown up with.<sup>24</sup> “Bloody Pākehās!”

From that point onwards, Koro used his Māori name. He also enrolled in a te reo Māori course at the local Polytech to revive his reo. Although Māori had been his first language it had been suppressed at school, where he was told it was rude to speak a language that other people did not understand; while Nanny remembers school as a “frightening place” where the handful of Māori students were physically punished and shamed for speaking Māori. Consequently, she left school as soon as she was able to secure a job, which occurred at the age of 13 years old when she began working as a housekeeper for a Pākehā family. This *kōrero* (story) explains (in part) why our whakapapa changes from Karaka to Clarke when it reaches our father and his siblings; why Nanny and Koro gave 9 of their 10 children Pākehā names; and why our parents did not grow up speaking te reo Māori.



From my maternal grandparents I received lessons about Pākehā culture. Being their first grandchild, I spent a lot of time with them in my early years, and in moving between them and Dad’s whānau, I learnt how to behave in two very different contexts. Amongst the whānau I could be loud, get dirty, ask questions, and was introduced to and encouraged to host our visitors, for example. In contrast, when I was with Nana and Pop I had to walk and talk quietly, stay clean, not ask personal questions, and “go outside and play” whenever visitors came calling. Most difficult to navigate were meal times, during which I was taught bread is only for breakfast toast and lunchtime sandwiches; the table is for eating and not talking;

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<sup>24</sup> The writings of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (e.g. J. A. Simon et al., 2001) indicate that Māori births were registered by teachers when children started school. Giving their students a Pākehā name was an instituted practice that played an important part in the systematic assimilation of Māori children “into ‘becoming’ Pākehā” (Seed-Pihama, 2017, p. 126).

cutlery is held like a pencil; picking up food with your fingers is a definite no-no; and one must chew 20 times before swallowing. I would then go home where bread was a staple food, sucking noises meant that nothing was going to waste, and greasy fingers and lips were a compliment to the cook. However, while I was sometimes lonely, and anxious at meal times, Nana was a gentle woman and Pop had a cheeky sense of humour.

Another marked difference between our maternal and paternal grandparents was that Nana and Pop did not talk about the past or display family photos. It wasn't until I was in my 30s, and they in their 70s, that they spoke to me about such things. Visiting them one afternoon, I commented on how much we knew about our Māori whakapapa but nothing about our Pākehā side, in response to which they retrieved and opened their boxes and books of photographs. That afternoon, I learned that Nana had been born in the remote village of Ongarue (1933); just one of the places where she and her siblings lived while their father and grandfather clear-felled and milled native timber. Her sepia-coloured photos show that her family were very close, and complemented coloured photos of family gatherings and reunions decades later.

Pop, on the other hand, was an only child. He was born in Greytown in the Wairarapa (1930) and raised in a Catholic boarding school in Wellington, while his mother trained and then worked as a nurse in Auckland. It was in my great-grandmother's house that I learnt what it meant to be 'seen and not heard'. I was not to touch anything; was confined to a designated footstool; and was not to speak to her unless spoken to first. So I usually stayed outdoors. Alone, sometimes for hours (or so it seemed), I inspected the leaves and flowers of the bushes and trees on her tidy urban property; watched birds hunt, nest, and play; created obstacle courses for the ants; and lay by the tiny stream at the back of the property, where Pop said an eel lived and might show itself if I was quiet. It never did.

Giving me a black-and-white photograph taken of himself and his mother on his wedding day, Pop talked about the stigma of being a single mother "in those days." He then gave me a folder of papers containing Native and Māori Land Court letters, and newspaper clippings about his father's marae. The fact that his father was Māori came as a surprise, but explained his tanned complexion, which I thought was due to him working outdoors. Pointing to one of the well-preserved clippings,

Pop remembered going to Te Ore Ore marae (in Masterton) with his father when he was about four or five years old, just before his parents separated. He didn't see his father again until the 1970s, when he visited the farm while in Hamilton for a wedding.

The same wedding photo sparked a different memory for Nana. Shortly after exchanging their nuptials, her mother-in-law had handed her a small photo with an instruction to “never open the door to this man” – her absent husband. This photo and its secret became a burden. Another photo that caused Nana mixed emotions was a black-and-white picture of her parents, an older sister, and their paternal grandparents, and in which their grandfather is holding a large portrait of his father. In terms of whakapapa, this is a great photo – except that for the inquisitive grandchild it raises questions like, What were your grandparents' and great-grandparents names? Where in England did they come from? When did they arrive in New Zealand? These were details that Nana did not have, “because in my day, children were not told such things and weren't to ask. We weren't even allowed in the same room when the adults were talking”.



While there were clear differences between our paternal and maternal grandparents, they also had some things in common. Children of the Depression, they learnt how to be self-sufficient. A carpenter by trade, Pop built all three of the houses in which they raised their six children. He and Nana also grew their own fruit, vegetables, and meat. Koro also grew vegetables, fruit trees, and raised pigs at the orchard. Following their parents' examples, Mum and Dad also tend vegetable gardens and grow fruit trees, and when we were children, they kept chickens. Dad also taught us how to gather *kai* (food): from the *moana* (sea) *pipi*<sup>25</sup>, *pūpū*<sup>26</sup>, mussels, *kina*<sup>27</sup>, and *pāua*<sup>28</sup>; and from the *whenua*, *pūhā*<sup>29</sup>, watercress, mushrooms, and *tuna* (eels). He also warned us about being discrete so non-Māori wouldn't “clean it out” – not because they needed food, but because they were always trying to “make a buck.” He would also comment on whether people had collected too much, if their *kai* was undersized, and repeat his lesson about *kaimoana* (seafood) leaving an area if they

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<sup>25</sup> *Paphies australis*.

<sup>26</sup> Cat's eyes.

<sup>27</sup> Sea urchin.

<sup>28</sup> Abalone.

<sup>29</sup> Sow thistle.

feel threatened – “so never take more than you need for a feed.” Our father is also a self-taught musician (a drummer) and mechanic. Thus, we were all assigned a musical instrument to learn, because music was “something to fall back on if you can’t find a job”. We were also taught how to service and maintain a car. In addition to cooking, cleaning, and gardening, Mum taught us how to knit and use a sewing machine.

Something else I noticed about our paternal and maternal grandparents, was a somewhat absence of spirituality. Even though their tamariki were baptised in the Baptist Church and Koro kept children’s bible storybooks beside the beds in the spare bedroom, except for Christmas, there were no karakia or prayers at the table. And except for one of the aunty-in-laws, no one went to church or talked about God, atua, or the spirit world. Likewise, while Pop was educated by nuns and his children were christened in the Catholic Church, he didn’t speak of God or religion. My knowledge of atua and the spirit world was thus informed by my experiences on the marae and what I read in books (e.g. ‘myths and legends’). It wasn’t until I was in my thirties and began attending te reo Māori classes, worked for a number of Māori organisations, and became a Māori Christian<sup>30</sup> that I gained a deeper understanding of our *ira atua* (divine inheritance).



Outside of my whānau, I also found a calling in sports and academics. In primary school, I was introduced to athletics and netball and earned the title of ‘the fastest runner’, and this designation shaped my earliest aspirations. In primary school, there were plenty of titles and an abundance of optimism. ‘The pretty girl’ would grow up to be Miss New Zealand. ‘The smart kids’ would be astronauts or high school teachers. ‘The kids who could draw’ would be famous artists. And ‘the sporty kids’ were going to represent New Zealand. Gloria was going to be an Olympic sprinter and a Silver Fern<sup>31</sup> – and a schoolteacher, because athletes also need a day job said Mum – and it was common knowledge that some of the Silver Ferns were teachers.

In contrast, the designations at intermediate school were sobering and antagonistic. While our teachers were interested in whether we could read, write,

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<sup>30</sup> My faith does not preclude my cultural identity or beliefs but enhances it.

<sup>31</sup> The name of the New Zealand netball team.

and do math the students were deciding who was the ‘fat kid’, the ‘smelly kid’, ‘the slut’,<sup>32</sup> the nerds, the bullies, the ‘cool kids’, and the ‘sporty kids’. In relation to the latter two, a group of Māori boys called a sprinting race during the first week of school to see if anyone could beat ‘the fastest boy’ from their primary school. This caused a lot of excitement, and drew a large crowd. After the boys raced, their champion undefeated, the girls were then encouraged to do the same. I joined in and won. It was then suggested that the fastest boy race the fastest girl, and while I won that race too – I also lost. The boys were not happy about being beaten by a girl, and demanded a do-over. I won again. And while some of my peers congratulated me, others decided that I was ‘the show-off.’

The real issue, however, was that they thought they had been beaten by a Pākehā girl. *Shame!* And when I tried to explain that I was Māori, they didn’t believe me. I was white and had green eyes. This is when I learnt what a “half-caste” was. In my determination to belong, I spent most of my school years participating in initiation tests that included bullying, fighting, smoking, and shoplifting: because only Pākehās are ‘goody-two-shoes’. It was 1982-83 and being angry and ‘staunch’ was apparently what it meant to be a ‘real’ Māori. And while I continued to play sports and wanted to become a PE teacher, it became clear to me that it was best to keep my aspirations to myself.



My sporting and teaching ambitions died during my first year of high school. There were too many talented netball players; the school didn’t have a softball team;<sup>33</sup> and even though I was receiving specialist coaching and competing at a representative level, I dropped out of athletics because the uniform was too revealing. It also didn’t help that my parents couldn’t afford the spiked shoes I needed to run on the artificial turf, or that athletics was apparently for “baldheads.”<sup>34</sup> Again, my social circle was unpredictable. Friends one day, enemies the next. And it was during one of our ‘off’ days that I discovered that the school library was open at lunchtimes. I remember that my first book series was J.R Tolkien’s *The Hobbit*, and taking home Witi Ihimaera’s *Pounamu Pounamu*. Ihimaera’s collection of short stories was a

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<sup>32</sup> The markers of which were make-up and/or a short skirt.

<sup>33</sup> I did join a women’s team, but after being warned by the older players to never to sit beside the (male) coach I stopped going.

<sup>34</sup> Pronounced “ball-heads” this term is a reference to Nazi skinheads who were equated with Pākehā racism and thus loosely all Pākehā.

revelation. Here was a book written by a Māori, about what it was like to be Māori. After reading his book I started playing around with poetry, and storylines about people ‘like me’: half-castes who were too Māori to be Pākehā, and too Pākehā-looking to be Māori.

At about the same time, one of the teachers started a kapa haka group. This was exciting; I knew a few *waiata tangi* (laments) and *hīmene* (hymns) but I didn’t know any *waiata-a-ringa* (action songs). A little apprehensive, I went to the first meeting, only to slip out again after a senior girl sitting in front of me turned around and sneered, “What the fuck are you doing here baldhead?” My embarrassment that day became rage. I had had enough. Instead of avoiding conflict, I created it. I started drinking alcohol, experimenting with drugs, and running away from home. Choosing instead to ‘live rough’ with street kids. We were all outcasts or rejects of some description, and that is what bound us together. I had left school and home by the time I was 15, was pregnant at 16, and had withdrawn from my whānau.



My life changed, however, when I became a mother. It was like a switch had been flipped. My children deserved better – and quite frankly, I had been taught better. Taking charge of my life, I moved to Papamoa, which is located between ‘the Mount’ and Manoeka, the happy places of my childhood. My boys were given Māori names and when they started school, I enrolled them in the bilingual unit. I also returned to sports, and my boys got involved in nippers,<sup>35</sup> softball, hockey, rugby, and kapa haka. Stuck in what could have become a cycle of welfare dependency, I also decided to go back to school, and while I felt embarrassed about walking into a classroom at 27 years old, I gained some confidence from the examples set by my whānau. Driving engines and fixing cars, Dad had regularly studied at the kitchen table, and when he practiced on his drums, we couldn’t help but listen to him repeat songs and sections of songs for hours on end. A cleaner for many years, my mother had also completed a computer night-class and was now working for a government department. And Koro had just finished his Certificate in Māori Studies. Focusing on the one thing that I thought I was good at, I completed a certificate and then a diploma in Sport and Leisure Studies.

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<sup>35</sup> Junior surf life saving programme.



When I needed help with the boys' homework, or mine, I went to Koro. He was never too busy to talk, and would answer my questions with another question or a story. And there is one story that stands out here, because it changed the way I looked at sports. The assignment was to write about a traditional Māori pastime, and when I took this question to Koro, we walked over to the marae because he wanted to tell me a story. Some time ago, some of the *koeko* (elders) had decided to hold weekend *wānanga* (educational forums) to ensure that the kawa of the marae would not be lost. These *wānanga*, however, didn't 'get off the ground' because they couldn't compete with rugby and netball, post-match drinks, and Sunday hangovers. He then directed my attention to the silence of the marae. While Koro didn't answer my question that day, he gave me something more valuable: a critical 'eye'. It was a defining moment, and while he is no longer physically with us, he continues to guide me.



After completing the *Diploma of Sport and Leisure Studies*, I moved back to Hamilton to complete the bachelor's degree at the University of Waikato, where my childhood aspiration to teach was rekindled. There were a handful of 'mature' Māori students in my cohort, and with some of the younger students 'in tow' we would decipher the readings and lectures by comparing the academic concepts with Māori concepts. It was this *rōpū* (group) who gave me the confidence to apply for a Māori student support position. In this role, I found myself making the unfamiliar familiar, because by and large what Māori students struggle with is academic jargon, concepts, and examples that do not resonate with them. Thus it seems to me that tertiary education is an exercise in code breaking, designed to confuse and weed out 'the unworthy' or 'undesirables'. Every other day, I heard of Māori students (across the university) failing papers, withdrawing, avoiding classes, changing degrees, leaving to go to polytech or to work, or simply disappearing. And I felt for them. Like me, they had come to university with aspirations of turning one of their strengths into a career, but had been set up to fail. This is what motivates me to pursue a doctorate: that I might be part of the solution, which (in part) is more Māori lecturers, perspectives, and content.



## **Summary**

My intention here has not been to share my life story (too much is missing for that to be the case) but to highlight my social, cultural, and historical positionality. Borrowing the words of one of the young men involved in my Masters research, “I’m telling you this, because then you’ll understand what happens next.” I selected these stories because in one way or another they have informed or shaped my research interests, priorities, and approach – not all of which were conscious decisions and choices. My decision to work with urban Māori raising tamatāne, for instance, was a conscious decision to work with people ‘like me’, while employing whakapapa as a theoretical framework (see Te Kōmoremore) did not dawn on me until I was actually working with the research participants and realised that a lot of what I was doing was informed by whakapapa. In particular, the concept of looking backwards in order to move forward.

As the research narrative continues to unfold, the threads between my personal narratives and the research will become clearer, and I am sure that the reader will notice other threads as well. It is important to acknowledge, however, that ‘who we are’ and ‘what we do’ are not simply the result of external forces acting upon us. Human beings not only react, but act, and do so in infinite ways; meaning we can ‘step away’ from our ‘born into and lived in and by stories’, and can also re-interpret and re-write them. As we continue to live our lives, we also write new stories.

## **Tōku Oneone, Tōku kaupapa Māori**

### *My Seedbed, My kaupapa Māori*

In the same way that researchers are located “somewhere” (Richardson, 1997), research as an academic exercise is located within a research paradigm. Following Thomas Kuhn (1978), paradigms are the basic concepts and experimental practices of a scientific discipline; i.e., a community that holds similar ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions. In other words, a group of people who share a common set of beliefs about ‘what is’, or the nature of reality (Crotty, 1998); how we can know ‘what is’, or the nature of knowledge (D. J. Carson et al., 2001); and consequently, how to investigate and assess ‘what is’ (Marshall, 1998).

As an undergraduate in the late 1990s, the paradigms ‘on offer’ were Positivism, Interpretivism, Feminism, and Critical Inquiry. However, when I returned to the university in 2010 to enrol in the Master of Sport and Leisure Studies, I was asked if I would be “doing” kaupapa Māori research. Intent on catching up on what was clearly a significant development, and one that immediately resonated with me, I started reading the literature. But the more I read, the more confused I became. It seemed to me that people could not agree on what kaupapa Māori research was. Was kaupapa Māori a Māori worldview? A methodology? (e.g. L. T. Mead, 1996; Royal, 2012) A paradigm? (e.g. Cram, n.d.) An approach? (e.g. Bishop, 1998) A theory? (e.g. Pipi et al., 2004; G. H. Smith, 1997) A framework? (e.g. Bishop, 1995). Not wanting to rush into a space that I did not understand, I employed an interpretive-narrative approach for my Masters and have spent the last few years reading and listening, and thinking about what kaupapa Māori research is and means to me.

In this second part of the chapter, I offer a whakapapa (history) of kaupapa Māori research, as this is the strategy that helped clarify my understanding. As mentioned in Chapter 1, and as discussed in depth in *Te Kōmoremore*, whakapapa is the foundation of Māori world views and can mean “to create a base or foundation” (Royal, 2007a); “to place in layers” (Tregear, 1891, p. 814); “to recite in proper order” (Williams, 1991, p. 259); and is selective in terms of where it starts and finishes, what it includes and excludes, and can be designed to meet certain ends (McRae, 2017). Here, this whakapapa begins in the 1970s with community expressions of kaupapa Māori, which inspired Graham Smith’s (1997) *Kaupapa Māori* theory and praxis of transformation, Linda Tuhiwai Mead’s (1996)<sup>36</sup> kaupapa Māori methodological framework, and from there a new generation of kaupapa Māori theorists, researchers, scholars, and practitioners.

### **Kaupapa Māori**

The Māori Renaissance of the 1970s and 80s<sup>37</sup> was a period of reawakening and resistance that sparked a number of kaupapa Māori activities and initiatives. Colloquially, kaupapa Māori encompasses notions of “... living a Māori, culturally informed life” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 453) and “... activities, events or endeavours

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<sup>36</sup> Hereafter I refer to Linda Tuhiwai Mead as Linda Mead. To clarify, Mead is Linda Smith’s maiden name.

<sup>37</sup> Which itself had its roots in acts of Māori resistance since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 (R. Walker, 1984).

in which Māori (people, language, culture and/or issues) are at the ‘centre’” (J. Lee, 2008, p. 28). To explain, *kaupapa* can refer to a “level surface, floor, stage, [or] platform” and in a similar vein can also refer to a “topic, plan, purpose, agenda, subject, issue, initiative” (Moorfield, n.d.c) – as in “he aha te kaupapa?” What is the plan? What is our agenda? What are we here to do? Here, the answer to this pātai is found in the qualifying term: Māori. In short, as an agenda, ‘kaupapa Māori’ is about ‘being Māori’ and doing things in ‘a Māori way’ (G. H. Smith, 1992).

The call to ‘be Māori’ was at the centre of the Māori Renaissance, some of the strongest voices for which were *Ngā Tamatoa*, ‘The Young Warriors’. Here, I trace a selection of kaupapa Māori activities led and supported by Ngā Tamatoa, which and who in turn inspired and contributed to other significant kaupapa Māori initiatives, including kaupapa Māori research.

### **Ngā Tamatoa**

Ngā Tamatoa emerged out of the 1970 Young Māori Leaders Conference, convened in Auckland by the New Zealand Māori Council<sup>38</sup> (R. Walker, 1984). With more than 50% of the Māori population living in the cities, the purpose of this conference was “... to discuss the problems confronting the Māori people in the urban situation” (Auckland University, 1970, p. 2). Thus, the hui brought together a wide cross-section of Māori society including members of the Māori Council, the Māori Women’s Welfare League,<sup>39</sup> trust boards, unions, tribal elders, university students, gang members, and church leaders (R. Walker, 1990). Driven by their everyday experiences of racism, inequality, feelings of cultural deprivation, and conscious of Black and American Indian Civil Rights Movements (Social Media University of Waikato, 2017) the conference secretary, Ranginui Walker, remembers the younger delegates speaking of “... Brown power, Black power, Māori revolutionary front, [and] ‘bathing the streets in blood’...” (Rogers & Webby, 2012, 3:30). Hence his suggestion that they take the name Ngā Tamatoa.

### **Waitangi Day protests**

In 1971, Ngā Tamatoa organised the first Waitangi Day protest. Rather than a celebration of ‘one nation’ they declared February 6 a day to mourn the loss of Māori land, and they wore black armbands to the celebrations (Rogers & Webby,

<sup>38</sup> The advisory body to the Government on Māori policy (est. 1962).

<sup>39</sup> A welfare organisation focused on enabling and empowering Māori women and whānau (est. 1951).

2012). Concerned by this turn of events, the government sought the support of the Māori Council – who “...responded by producing a submission citing fourteen statutes that were in breach of the treaty” (Harris, 2004, pp. 27-28). The significant outcome of the Council’s submission (and continuing and ‘louder’ Waitangi Day protests) was the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, under which the Waitangi Tribunal was established; an independent commission of inquiry tasked with hearing and investigating Māori grievances and breaches of the Treaty and making recommendations to Parliament for their settlement (Harris, 2004).

Since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, a number of significant claims have been settled. At the conclusion of the *Te Reo Māori claim* (1986), for instance, the Tribunal agreed that the Crown had breached Article Two of Te Tiriti (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The government subsequently passed into legislation the *Māori Language Act 1987*, which made te reo Māori an official language of New Zealand and established Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), whose mission is to promote the use te reo Māori “...as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2018). In the *Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Settlement* (1995), the Crown also admitted that Waikato-Tainui had been unjustly charged with rebellion and should not have had their lands confiscated (1.2 million acres). The compensation package included \$170 million dollars and the transfer of some lands back to the iwi (Waikato-Tainui and the Crown, 1995). Another example of the Treaty in action was the establishment of Te Māngai Pāho (1989), the Māori broadcasting funding agency under which iwi radio stations and later Māori Television (est. 2004) were able to ‘take to the air’.

### **The Māori Language Petition**

The Te Reo Māori claim can be traced back to the Māori language petition of 1972. This 30,000 signature-petition was presented to the government by Ngā Tamatoa and Victoria University’s Te Reo Māori Society, and called for Māori language and culture to be taught in New Zealand schools (Stephens, 2014). This petition was the first step in raising the alarm about the declining state of the Māori language. By 1974, if parents wanted their children to learn te reo Māori schools were required to provide Māori language classes (R. Walker, 1990); although in reality they could only be delivered in schools that had employed Māori teachers, many of whom could not speak te reo Māori themselves (R. Walker, in Rogers & Webby, 2012).

The Ministry of Education eventually implemented Ngā Tamatoa's recommendation to create a one-year teacher training scheme for native speakers (R. Walker, 1984). Ngā Tamatoa commemorated the first anniversary of the petition by announcing that it was *Te Rā Nui o te Reo Māori*, National Māori language day (Social Media University of Waikato, 2017). This initiative was adopted by the Ministry of Education, and by 1975 had been extended to one week (R. Walker, 1990), and continues to this day.

### **The Māori Land March**

Alongside concerns about the survival of te reo Māori, the continuing alienation of Māori land fuelled rising resentment among Māori and culminated in a powerful Māori land rights movement (Hill, 2009; R. Walker, 1990). This movement was formalised in 1975 when Te Rarawa leader Whina Cooper invited Māori to Auckland to speak about the land issues in their rohe (Bates, 2016). One issue continually raised during this hui were the Acts local councils were using to control and 'grab' what remained of Māori-owned land (R. Walker, 1990). Under the *Rating Act 1967*, local bodies could apply for a court order giving them the right to lease or sell unoccupied Māori land if rates were not paid after absent owners had been given 6 months' notice (R. Walker, 1990). The *Town and Country Planning Act 1953* was used to zone Māori 'wasteland' for farming, industrial use, public parks and reserves, and urban development. And the *Public Works Act 1928* was still being used to take Māori land for power plants, rubbish dumps, airfields, hospitals, and roads. Such Acts thus prevented Māori from building on their own lands (R. Walker, 1990).

Critical of the public submissions process, Whina Cooper called for a more dynamic approach, and the idea of a *hīkoi* (march) to Parliament was agreed upon (R. Walker, 1990). The Hīkoi departed from Te Hapua in the Far North on September 14 (Māori Language Day) and arrived at Parliament in Wellington on October 13 (1975). The first of its kind, and under the slogan, 'Not one more acre of Māori land', the Hīkoi attracted a lot of media attention. Leading this 1100km month-long Hīkoi was 79-year-old Whina Cooper, and while it began with 50 people, the numbers swelled as they passed through towns and cities. Upon arriving in Wellington an estimated five thousand protesters stood with Te Roopu o Te Matakite (The people with foresight) when they presented the Prime Minister with a Memorial of Rights carrying 60,000 signatures, "...demand[ing] that all statues

that could alienate, designate or confiscate Māori land be repealed, and that control of the last remaining tribal lands be invested in Māori in perpetuity” (Harris, 2004, p. 72).

Ranginui Walker (1990) states, however, that the Hīkoi did not produce any “tangible results.” The *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* was passed three days before the Hīkoi arrived, without any amendments, and post-Hīkoi the offending Acts were not repealed. The Tribunal was also limited to hearing claims after the Act came into force, had no power to make awards, and the Government was under no legal obligation to adopt its recommendations (Harris, 2004). The Hīkoi did demonstrate, however, “...the strength of Māori commitment to retain and control their land” (Harris & Williams, 2014b, p. 420); raised the political and cultural consciousness of both Māori and Pākehā (Hill, 2009); and invigorated the Māori protest movement that would eventually force the government to deal with Māori issues (R. Walker, 1990). Moana Jackson (Bates, 2016) states, “the most profound effect of the land march was it showed our people we need not be weary anymore, and that became more obvious in the years following the land march in the more overt and public expressions of opposition” (35:48). Of particular significance was the 1977 Bastion Point (Auckland) occupation, which lasted 506 days and ended in televised scenes of men, women, and children being forcibly removed by more than 800 police officers and army personnel from ancestral lands zoned for luxury housing. In 1978, Māori and Pākehā activists also joined Eva Rickard’s occupation of the Raglan golf course, which had been taken from Tainui Awhiro for an emergency airstrip during World War Two. And it is to these examples that future generations and protesters would refer to and gain strength (e.g. the 1995 Pākaitore, the 2002 Ngāwhā, and the 2019 Ihumātao occupations).

### **Te Kōhanga Reo**

While activist and consciousness-raising groups kept the issues of Māori language, Māori land, and rangatiratanga in the public eye, more conservative individuals and groups continued to work with the government of the day. Of particular significance, Kara Puketapu was appointed head of the Department of Māori Affairs (DMA) in 1977 and replaced its integration agenda and paternalistic mentality with the ‘Tū Tangata’ philosophy (Hill, 2009). Meaning (to) ‘stand tall’, the Department’s new ethos was to encourage and assist Māori in conducting their own affairs. To this end, the DMA invited Māori to submit Tū Tangata proposals and convened Hui

Whakatauirā, conferences in which Māori elders and leaders could discuss issues of concern and influence policy (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014).

A major topic of concern during the inaugural Hui Whakatauirā (1979) were the findings of Richard Benton's (1978) six-year survey of language use in Māori households (Royal-Tangaere, 1997). This study confirmed that te reo Māori was in danger of disappearing because the relatively small number of fluent speakers were elderly, and the next generation was speaking English to their *tamariki-mokopuna* (children-grandchildren) (Benton, 1978). The significant outcome of that hui was an "...affirm[ation] that the Māori language was a poutokomanawa, the centre pole, of mana Māori and therefore Māori people needed to take control of the future destiny of the language and to plan for its survival" (Royal-Tangaere, 1997, p. 6). A working group then recommended that fluent te reo Māori speakers run day-care centres (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013), which would become known as *kōhanga reo* (language nests), total immersion Māori-language and culture nurseries.

The first *kōhanga reo* was piloted in 1982 at Pukeatua Marae in Wainuiomata (Wellington region). By the end of that year there were 50 *kōhanga reo*, and the following year 148 – with many of these centres located in urban areas, where the impact of cultural alienation was most prevalent (L. T. Mead, 1996). Taking matters into their own hands, *whānau* and communities set up *kōhanga reo* in their homes, garages, basements, and church buildings; borrowed and created the necessary resources; and at the forefront were women – many of whom were not tertiary educated but quickly learnt about funding, operating, and managing a 'preschool' (L. T. Mead, 1996). Although Te *Kōhanga Reo* "...guidelines were invented as things developed and most communities had to invent their own rules to meet the local context" recalls Linda Mead (1996, p. 76), the goals and objectives of the movement were clear: the "...revitalisation of Te Reo Māori, support for and utilization of the *whānau*, and to help achieve Māori control over Māori resources" (Hōhepa, 1990, p. 8).

The commitment to te reo Māori is rooted in the belief that for *ngā iwi* Māori to survive, the Māori language must also survive: for "...inextricably bound to Te Reo are Tikanga Māori; Māori concepts, values, beliefs and practices" (Hōhepa, 1993, pp. 2–3). Support for and utilisation of the *whānau* is expressed as *whanaungatanga* (Hōhepa, 1993), which as illustrated in my personal narratives



refers to feelings of kinship, connection, and belonging developed through the experiences of living, working, and playing together. This objective signalled a return to collectivity (vs. individuality) and Māori childrearing practices, with *kaumātua* (elders) taking a leading role in nurturing and socialising the young (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995). ‘Māori control over Māori resources’ is then embedded in the call for Mana Māori Motuhake (Douglas & Barrett-Douglas, 1983), which is similar but different to rangatiratanga. Although both kupu/concepts refer to self-determination, autonomy, authority, and independence (Durie, 1998a), quoting Paora Rōpata et al. (2011), *Mana Māori Motuhake* is “...authority that derives from the land [motu] and is of the land, [while] tino rangatiratanga is what you do on the land or what you do within your society, within your people” (p. 254). In the context of Kōhanga Reo, Mana Māori Motuhake is about tangata whenua having control over how they raise and educate their children (Douglas & Barrett-Douglas, 1983).

### **Kura Kaupapa Māori**

The next phase in Māori education focused on the continuity of care and cultural instruction, and the crisis of Māori educational underachievement (G. H. Smith, 1997). To illustrate, the Hunn Report noted an increase in Pākehā pursuing post-primary education but a drop in “Māori patronage” (Hunn, 1961, p. 24) and concluded, “...the battle on the educational front, and consequently most other battles too, will be lost unless Māori indifference [sic] to post primary and university education is overcome” (p. 23). In response to the Hunn Report, Māori educators and leaders adopted a number of its recommendations, including the formation of a Māori Education Foundation, Māori education-advancement committees, homework centres, and Māori play centres (R. Walker, 2016). Regardless of these efforts, however, nothing changed, states Ranginui Walker (2016). In 1966, the Māori Education Foundation reported that 85.5% of Māori school leavers had no educational qualifications; in 1969 that figure was 79%; in 1974 it was 74%; while the 1981 census indicated that 79% of Māori had left school before the 6<sup>th</sup> form/Year 12 (Ka’ai-Oldman, 1988).

A critical “turning point” then occurred during the 1984 Māori Educational Development Conference (R. Walker, 2016). In presenting the findings of a 10-year analysis of School Certificate<sup>40</sup> examinations, David Hughes reported that although

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<sup>40</sup> The New Zealand secondary school qualification up until 2002.

the system was based on a 50 percent pass/fail ratio,<sup>41</sup> the pass rates for ‘academic’ subjects (e.g. mathematics, science, French) had been increased to 80%, and that to allow for this discrepancy, the pass rates for ‘non-academic’ subjects such as art, woodwork, and Māori language classes had been scaled down (R. Walker, 2016). The Conference thus declared:

The existing system of education is failing the Māori people and modifications have not helped the situation nor will they. Therefore we urge Māori withdrawal and the establishment of alternative schooling modelled on the principles underlying Kōhanga reo.... (R. Walker et al., 1984, pp. 24–25)

Out in the community, kōhanga reo whānau were also taking a stand. Worried that the gains made in kōhanga would be lost, whānau refused to send their tamariki-mokopuna to primary school (L. T. Mead, 1996), and while some did try mainstream schooling many withdrew their children when they noticed a decline in their te reo Māori or attitude (Tocker, 2015). Responding to the needs of their whānau, Te Kōhanga Reo o Hoani Waititi Marae (Auckland) opened a *kura Māori* (Māori school) in 1985. Two years later, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Waipareira opened its doors, and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Awhireinga began operating out of the Auckland Teachers College. And it was whilst establishing the latter, recalls Graham Smith (2012), that Tuki Nepe coined the phrase “kaupapa Māori schools” (p. 10). In applying ‘kaupapa Māori’ to Māori education and schooling, the call and desire to ‘be Māori’ had been “deliberately politicised” and “...invoked the stance of identifying with and proactively advancing the cause of ‘being Māori’ (not wholly assimilated) as opposed to ‘being Pākehā’ (fully assimilated)” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 453).

The Kura Kaupapa Māori philosophy, vision, and unique character is embedded in Te Aho Matua. As published in the New Zealand Gazette (Ministry of Education, 2008a), Te Aho Matua has six *aho* (strands): (1) *Te Ira Tangata* is a commitment to “the physical and spiritual endowment of children...” (p. 741); (2) *Te Reo*, a commitment to bilingual competence; (3) *Ngā Iwi*, a commitment to all ‘the people’ who influence the child’s socialisation; (4) *Te Ao*, nurturing a fascination with ‘the world’; (5) *Āhuatanga Ako*, “...principles of teaching practice

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<sup>41</sup> Meaning that 50% of all students were guaranteed to fail.

which are considered of vital importance in the education of children” (p. 745) including *karakia*, sensory learning, and *tuakana-teina*;<sup>42</sup> and (6) *Ngā Tino Uaratanga*, a commitment to ‘the essential values’ that Kura Kaupapa Māori aim to develop including “...free, open and enquiring minds”; being receptive to and having the capacity for *aroha* (love and compassion), joy, and laughter; and “competent thinkers, listeners, speakers, readers and writers in both Māori and English” (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 746).



### **Summary**

The cornerstone of Māori culture and identity, the fight for full-immersion *te reo* Māori education has been a struggle for the right to ‘be Māori’; to know, speak, and maintain the language imbued with traditional knowledges, values and principles that have been suppressed and eroded by the processes of colonisation.<sup>43</sup> The revitalisation and strengthening of *te reo* Māori represents the rejuvenation and strengthening of Māori ways of thinking, doing, and being, and are proving to be a source of pride, strength, wellbeing, and of wider value to Māori development, and the nation (Te Puni Kōkiri & The Treasury, 2019).

It is imperative to acknowledge these early kaupapa Māori activities and initiatives<sup>44</sup> because kaupapa Māori as discussed and practiced within academia grew out of these community-driven experiences and activities. The leap from the community to the university occurred during the 1990s, when Graham Smith (1997) “...added the word ‘theory’” to kaupapa Māori in “a strategic move to open up a powerful space for Māori in the academy” (p. 10) – another significant site of struggle that has not only marginalised (and ironically appropriated) Māori language, knowledge, and culture but also controls what counts as official knowledge (G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 2012).

### **Kaupapa Māori Theory**

The success of *Kōhanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Māori*<sup>45</sup> was the focus of Graham Smith’s (1997) doctoral study, in which he proposed that kaupapa Māori initiatives

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<sup>42</sup> Referring to the nurturing relationship between older and younger siblings or generations.

<sup>43</sup> This process involves eradication, assimilation, integration, then marginalisation (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011).

<sup>44</sup> Other developments include *Whare Wānanga* (Māori tertiary institutions), *Whare Kura* and *Kura Tuarua* (Māori-medium secondary schools), and bilingual units inside mainstream schools.

<sup>45</sup> As illustrated by the increasing number of *kōhanga* and *kura* (e.g. 800 *kōhanga reo* by 1993).

might “...contain potential for wider application and therefore potential intervention in other sites of struggle” (p. 482). Consequently, his objective was to isolate a set of “significant change factors”, with the aim being to establish the “intellectual validity” of kaupapa Māori as theory of transformation. The challenge, therefore, was to “win over” the traditional intellectuals by constructing a “bona fide” theory (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 461). In this section, I take a closer look at how Graham Smith approached this challenge, and I begin with my interpretation of theory and theoretical frameworks.

### **Theory and theoretical frameworks**

In its broadest sense, theories are “a simplification of the world... aimed at clarifying and explaining some aspect of how the world works” (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xiv). However, the difference between ‘everyday’ and academic theorising is that the latter is based, “...on the work of social thinkers who have come before them”/us; tends to rely on data; publishes its thinking; and while it might be motivated by personal issues and observations, locates its work within the broader context (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017, p. 2). A theoretical framework is then a theory or a selection of related theories and concepts that are used as a structure, scaffolding, or frame with which to theorise, investigate, and/or analyse some other aspect of how the world works (Merriam, 1998, p. 45). In other words, theoretical frameworks are the application of theory, and can be used as a lens with which to examine existing theories and to construct new theories – which is what I see in Graham Smith’s work.

To demonstrate that Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are examples of community-based “conscientisation” and transformative “praxis”, Graham Smith (1997) drew on a number of recognised social and critical ‘thinkers’ including Paulo Freire (e.g. 1970) and Antonio Gramsci (e.g. 1971). Of particular interest was Freire’s theory of transformative action, which Freire (1970) describes as a linear process of conscientisation, resistance, and praxis. As summarised by Graham Smith (1997), conscientisation occurs when “...the oppressed recognise that their everyday thinking has been conditioned and that their consciousness can be freed from this conditioning”; resistance is the “...resolve to take action to transform these circumstances”; and praxis is taking “critical and reflective” action in order to transform those circumstances (p. 84). This process of deconstruction and reconstruction is a feature of decolonisation.

In terms of ‘conditioned thinking’, Graham Smith (1997) refers to Gramsci’s work on hegemony, counter-hegemony, and the concept of a ‘war of position’. In contrast to a ‘war of manoeuvre’, which is a frontal attack, a war of position is an ideological infiltration referred to as hegemony. Gramsci (1971) describes hegemony refers to “[t]he ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group...” (p. 12). Counter-hegemonies are thus developed outside of hegemonic settings (e.g. state schools and institutions), where “organic intellectuals” create their own hegemony and “...make space for their class or interest group” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 155). Complementing Freire and Gramsci’s theories, Graham Smith (1997) also drew on the thinking of Frantz Fanon and Michael Apple, who (respectively) speak “...viscerally of indigenous struggle at multiple levels of cultural oppression and economic exploitation”, and emphasise “...the interface of culture, education, and economics [and] also speaks meaningfully about organic intellectual practice” (p. 34).

### **A new theory and praxis of transformation**

In bringing together existing theories and concepts and the lived experience of kaupapa Māori praxis, Graham Smith made something unfamiliar familiar for the academics who ‘keep the gates’ to the Western academy. Further, drawing on formal and informal interviews and first-hand observations of kaupapa Māori initiatives in Auckland (as a father), Graham Smith not only isolated a set of success factors but also used them to critique existing theories of transformation, and therein developed a kaupapa Māori theory and praxis of transformation. Graham Smith (1997) found, for example, that some Māori parents answered the call for collective resistance without an understanding of social and political processes (conscientisation), or even having a child in kōhanga reo or kura; while others enrolled their tamariki in kōhanga reo simply because it was the only ‘early childhood centre’ in their area. He therefore argued that rather than a linear progression of conscientisation-resistance-praxis, “...all components are important, all need to be held simultaneously, all stand in equal relation to each other, and might best be represented ... as a cycle” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 66) into which individuals can enter at any point, as illustrated in Figure 3.

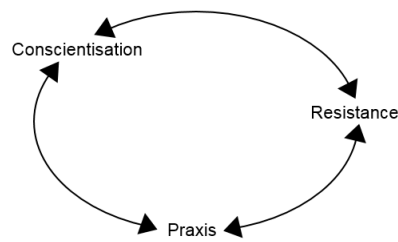


Figure 3: *Conscientisation cycle*<sup>46</sup>

Graham Smith (1997) also noted that the kaupapa Māori initiatives of the 1980s and 90s are “...‘new formations’ of Māori resistance which begin to now take seriously, structural constraints...” (p. 69; original emphasis). In the past, the focus was “...the mode or practice of education rather than the institution or site of schooling and education” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 87), and research was conducted from a culturalist rather than a structuralist perspective. For instance, rather than examining New Zealand’s monolingual and monocultural hegemonic education system and/or unequal power relations between Māori and Pākehā, the Hunn Report (1961) blamed a so-called “Māori indifference” to education for Māori underachievement. In response to which Māori adopted Hunn’s recommendations to provide their tamariki-mokopuna with extra support. The focus decidedly changed, however, when it was revealed that the School Certificate system had been manipulated to advance the economic interests of the State at the expense of Māori (G. H. Smith, 1997). However, instead of shifting the focus from mode to institution Graham Smith (1997) positions kaupapa Māori as a voluntarist or action approach because kaupapa Māori initiatives demonstrate that “...people must intervene in history to make changes and that economic changes and crises provide only the necessary conditions for change and not the sufficient conditions on which to build a superior society” (p. 128). Kaupapa Māori as a theory and praxis of transformation thus focuses on both mode and institution, and is located between the poles of the structuralist and culturalist dichotomy (G. H. Smith, 1997).

In constructing the ‘Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis of transformation’, Graham Smith (1997) isolated six success factors and translated them into six guiding principles that demonstrate that kaupapa Māori initiatives have answered

<sup>46</sup> Source: *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and praxis* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, p. 66), G. H. Smith, 1997, University of Waikato: Hamilton, New Zealand. Reprinted with permission.

the challenge of theory creating actual change (i.e. praxis). (1) *Tino Rangatiratanga* is the principle, and reinforces the goal, of self-determination and relative autonomy. (2) *Taonga Tuku Iho* (treasures passed down) is the principle of validating and legitimising Māori cultural aspirations and identity. In other words, ‘being Māori’ and striving to live a Māori culturally-informed life is taken for granted (L. T. Smith & Reid, 2000). (3) *Ako Māori* is the principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy, meaning Kaupapa Māori theory “...assumes the validity of Māori processes of learning and teaching, and asserts the notion that we have a right to access those processes” (Pihama, 2001, p. 140). This principle should not “...be misinterpreted as a rejection of Pākehā culture” states Graham Smith (1992), “it is not an either/or choice” (Kaupapa Māori: Theory of change, para. 1), as demonstrated by requests from parents and whānau for kura to prepare their tamariki to succeed in both worlds. Kaupapa Māori is also not a retrenchment to traditional Māori culture, states Linda Mead (1996), for “...no claims have been made that Kaupapa Māori is entirely traditional” (p. 334).

(4) *Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kāinga* is the principle of mediating socioeconomic and home difficulties. Central to this principle is that every member of a kōhanga reo whānau (for example) understands that they have a responsibility to support those who need assistance. (5) *Whānau* is then the principle of incorporating cultural structures that emphasise collectivity rather than individuality, and signals a return to collective whānau values as opposed to Pākehā values of individual responsibility and competition. And *Kaupapa* (6) is the collective philosophy principle, with a necessary feature of resistance being a kaupapa (vision) that “...involves a conscious collective will to make change of existing circumstances” and must therefore have “...the power to capture the hearts and minds of the people” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 484).

Graham Smith also offers a couple of caveats. First, demonstrating the selective nature of theory construction, these six principles are only *some* of the success factors identified by the Auckland Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori communities (G. H. Smith, 1997). Second, while his intention was for Kaupapa Māori to be a transportable theory, it was never meant to be a formula. By its very nature, kaupapa Māori is both theory and praxis. In other words, kaupapa Māori will continue to shift and evolve as Māori continue to theorise, act, and reflect. Hence, since its inception, the ‘Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis of transformation’

has been extended and diversified, which brings us to kaupapa Māori research methodology.

### **Kaupapa Māori Methodology**

As illustrated above, the success of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori sparked an interest in information gathering (L. T. Mead, 1997). This interest was met with some resistance by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, which had an “anti-research stance that applied to all researchers, *Māori* and *Pākehā*” (L. T. Mead, 1996, p. 194; original emphasis).<sup>47</sup> However, in the spirit of rangatiratanga, the Trust also “...encourage[d] autonomy amongst its individual units. A consequence of [which] ...was space for *whānau* to problem solve for themselves...” (L. T. Mead, 1996, p. 178). This wariness of research is significant because it represents a wide and long-held mistrust by Māori of Western research and researchers, which and who tend to treat Māori as a homogenous group; conduct research that tells us what we already know; claim Māori knowledge as their own; position themselves as authorities on Māori culture; use deficit theorising to blame Māori for their circumstances, and position Māori as inherently inferior to Pākehā (Bishop, 1999; Hokowhitu, 2008; R. Mahuika, 2008; L. T. Mead, 1996; L. T. Smith, 2012). The challenge, therefore, has been convincing Māori that research can be beneficial *for Māori* – one solution to which being that Māori research be “...undertaken exclusively by *Māori*” (L. T. Mead, 1996, p. 193). This, however, is not a universal stance, with scholars such as Russell Bishop (1995) arguing that our Treaty partners have an obligation and responsibility to work with Māori.

In addition to addressing this wariness of research, another significant issue for Māori interested in ‘Māori research’ in the 1980s and 90s was the absence of an appropriate methodology (L. T. Mead, 1996). Following Sandra Harding (1987), Linda Mead (1996) defines methodology as “a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed” (p. 171). In reviewing the cultural methodologies of the day, however, Linda Mead (1996) found “[t]here was nothing which helped me think about and frame what I wanted to do within my own cultural context, or how I might go about doing some research in one of my own communities” (p. 198). She described her search as *Te Rapunga ki Te Ao Mārama* (The search for The world of light), in the course of which she found “...concerns were also being

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<sup>47</sup> In her thesis Linda Mead italicises and bolds te reo Māori.



voiced by other Māori in other contexts; however our isolation from each other meant that we struggled through these issues alone...” (L. T. Smith, 1991, p. 198). These ‘silos’ of struggle begin to explain the diversity within kaupapa Māori research. Some Māori researchers at that time were influenced by cultural-safety literature (Kathy Irwin, working out of Victoria University in Wellington); others grounded themselves in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (e.g. Russell Bishop, working out of the University of Otago in Dunedin); while those working out of the Education Department at the University of Auckland (e.g. Linda Mead, Graham Smith, Margie Hōhepa, Leonie Pihama, Tuki Nepe, Kuni Jenkins) operationalised Kaupapa Māori theory (L. T. Mead, 1996). To this end, the principles of the Kaupapa Māori theory of transformation and praxis were combined with principles taken from research projects and discussions with other Māori researchers, and which for Linda Mead (1996) resulted in six methodological principles.

(1) *The principle of whakapapa* encourages kaupapa Māori researchers to think deeply about what whakapapa is and its implications in terms of research (L. T. Mead, 1996). Whakapapa influences our understanding of Māori society, for example, including the different and complementary roles of men and women, our biases and assumptions about different hapū/iwi, and tribal differences in tikanga.

(2) *The principle of te reo Māori* acknowledges the significance of the language to the survival of ngā iwi Māori, and as “...a window to ways of knowing the world” and “of interacting in the world” (L. T. Mead, 1996, p. 214). Kaupapa Māori researchers must, therefore, have a commitment to te reo Māori; although given our shared and different experiences under colonisation this commitment will vary and take different forms (Pihama, 2017). In other words, kaupapa Māori research does not exclude Māori who are not fluent te reo speakers (L. T. Mead, 1996; Pihama, 2001, 2017; L. T. Smith, 2012); although in carrying out research of interest and concern for Māori and with Māori, kaupapa Māori researchers will find that they cannot avoid te reo me tikanga Māori (L. T. Mead, 1996).

(3) While Kōhanga Reo, Te Aho Matua, and Graham Smith combine *the principle of tikanga Māori* with te reo Māori, Linda Mead (1996) places a specific emphasis on it. Her focus is on tikanga as “...a rigid set of rules by which actions are judged as ‘tika’, or correct...” – although “...there are other values which mediate against that rigidity” (L. T. Mead, 1996, p. 215). *Tikanga-a-iwi*, for instance, acknowledges that hapū/iwi have their own tikanga; i.e., notions about

how people should behave and how certain activities, events, and ceremonies should proceed. This principle encourages kaupapa Māori researchers to think about their own tikanga and that of the research community, in terms of how they enter that community, negotiate their project aims and methods, conduct themselves and engage with the people (L. T. Mead, 1996, p. 215).

(4) *The principle of rangatiratanga* then encourages kaupapa Māori researchers to think about issues of control and ownership in a research context. To this end, Linda Mead (1996, p. 217) poses the following questions:

1. What research do we want to carry out?
2. Who is that research for?
3. What difference will it make?
4. Who will carry out this research?
5. How do we want the research to be done?
6. How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?
7. Who will own the research?
8. Who will benefit?

Given the centrality of the whānau in Māori society, (5) *the principle of Whānau* encourages kaupapa Māori researchers to maintain collective practices and values. Researchers might form a “whānau of interest” (e.g. Bishop, 1995), a “research whānau” (e.g. Irwin, 1992), or another a participatory design for example.

The last principle, (6) *Māori cultural ethics*, separates ethics from tikanga as protocol and process, with Linda Mead (1996) offering whakatauākī as “...the kinds of comments which are used to determine if someone has ‘good’ qualities as a person” (p. 221). For Linda Mead (1996), these whakatauākī/qualities include: *Aroha-ki-te-tangata*, a respect for people; *kanohi kitea*, the seen face; *titiro*, *whakarongo... kōrero*, meaning look, listen and then speak; *manaaki ki te tangata*, sharing and hosting people, generosity; *kia tūpato*, being cautious; *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata*, do not trample over the mana of people; and *kaua e māhaki*, do not flaunt your knowledge.

In offering this methodological framework, Linda Mead (1996) reiterates that Māori are a diverse people. We belong to different whānau, hapū, iwi who are located in different geographical, historical, social, and cultural settings. As researchers, we also work in different disciplines and fields. Māori researchers will,

therefore, prioritise different principles and cultural ethics; will define them differently; and will bring their own social, cultural, and historical experiences to their research – and therein create their own kaupapa Māori frameworks. This, states Linda Tuhiwai Smith<sup>48</sup> (2011), is “...the power of kaupapa Māori research...”, in that “...it has provided us a space to genuinely use our thoughts, our values, our theories, and our thinking skills, to think and imagine our way through...” the issues and situations that are “irritating” us (p. 15). My preference for lowercase ‘kaupapa Māori’ is located in this *whakaaro* (thinking, notion, idea).

### **Kaupapa Māori Research**

*Kaupapa Māori was what it was, is what it is, and will be what it will be*<sup>49</sup>

Having traced some of the history and evolution of “Kaupapa Māori theory research” (L. T. Smith et al., 2016, p. 142), I now understand why I initially found kaupapa Māori confusing. First, I had read the literature out of chronological order and thus missed the threads connecting what seemed to be disparate interpretations and approaches. Second, in constructing this whakapapa it became clear that kaupapa Māori is first a philosophy and then a strategy (S. Walker et al., 2006); ways of doing (e.g. methodologies, and theories) based on ways of thinking that are grounded in shared and diverse experiences of colonisation, exploitation, the desire to ‘be Māori’ and for self-determination (R. Mahuika, 2008; S. Walker et al., 2006) – and which are themselves entwined with the researcher’s personal experiences and positionality. To illustrate, I offer two examples of kaupapa Māori theorising or ‘dreaming’.

In her doctoral thesis – *Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* – Leonie Pihama (2001) is concerned with the silencing, marginalisation, and the reaffirmation of Māori women and writes, “I am my own case study” (p. 16). Consequently, her experiences as “...a Māori woman lesbian mother academic who was raised under the mindful eye of Taranaki *maunga* (mountain), who has known the injustices perpetuated on our people and who has struggled to hear the knowledge of Māori women” (p. 16), informed her selection and review of works that can be viewed as “Mana Wahine theoretical assertions.” Drawing on the works of Linda Smith, Kathy Irwin, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Ani Mikaere, Annette Sykes,

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<sup>48</sup> Hereafter I refer to Linda Tuhiwai Smith as Linda Smith.

<sup>49</sup> (L. T. Smith, 2011, p. 10)

Rangimarie Rose Pere and others, Pihama identifies a range of necessary (but not exclusive or definitive) elements of Mana Wahine theory. These elements encourage Mana Wahine theorists to be mindful of: *Mana wahine*, the status and standing of our female ancestors; *te reo me tikanga*, the interpretation and translation of te reo and tikanga as it relates to Māori women; *whakapapa*, including the ways in which Māori women and female atua are positioned (or not) in whakapapa and pūrākau; *whānau*, including the domestication and isolation of Māori women within the ‘nuclear family’, recognising diverse realities, and questioning Māori theories that deny gender and sexuality; *wairua* (spirit), including the marginalisation of spirituality in feminist analyses; *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, specifically “...the ways in which Māori women have been positioned in relation to Te Tiriti” (p. 286); *decolonisation*, the role of Māori women in the deconstruction and reconstruction agenda of decolonisation; *mātauranga wahine*, (e.g. pūrākau as a source of Māori women’s knowledges); and *reclaiming cultural space*, including the colonial ideologies that have “...permeated Māori thinking and the representation of our own cultural institutions” (p. 299).

In the second example, Wiremu Doherty’s (2009) doctoral thesis *Mātauranga Tūhoe: The centrality of mātauranga-a-iwi to Māori education* is located in his “Tūhoe journeys and experiences” (p. 25). In this work, Doherty (2009) offers the Ranga framework to explain the relationship between kaupapa Māori, *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledges), and *mātauranga-a-iwi* (tribal knowledges), which are “...distinct but inseparable entities, each of which is required to ensure the survival of Māori language, knowledge and culture” (p. 65).

In Figure 4, the first/upper strand of Kaupapa Māori theory is a “buffer” and “filter”, in the sense that kaupapa Māori theory insists on a shift or refinement in thinking that ensures that generic non-Māori knowledge does not “contaminate” mātauranga Māori – the body of Māori knowledge that “...hosts the core values and principles that apply to all Māori” (Doherty, 2009, p. 67). The second/lower kaupapa Māori theory strand is then a “bridge”, in that, “...access to the deeper interpretations is made through kaupapa Māori theory that connects mātauranga Māori to mātauranga-a-iwi” (Doherty, 2009, p. 68). In other words, “...using the lens created by kaupapa Māori theory, mātauranga Māori becomes visible and accessible” (Doherty, 2009, p. 71), including iwi-based knowledge systems that are

located in tribal landscapes. Doherty’s Ranga framework (Figure 4) contributed to my conceptualisation of kaupapa Māori as a paradigmatic landscape.

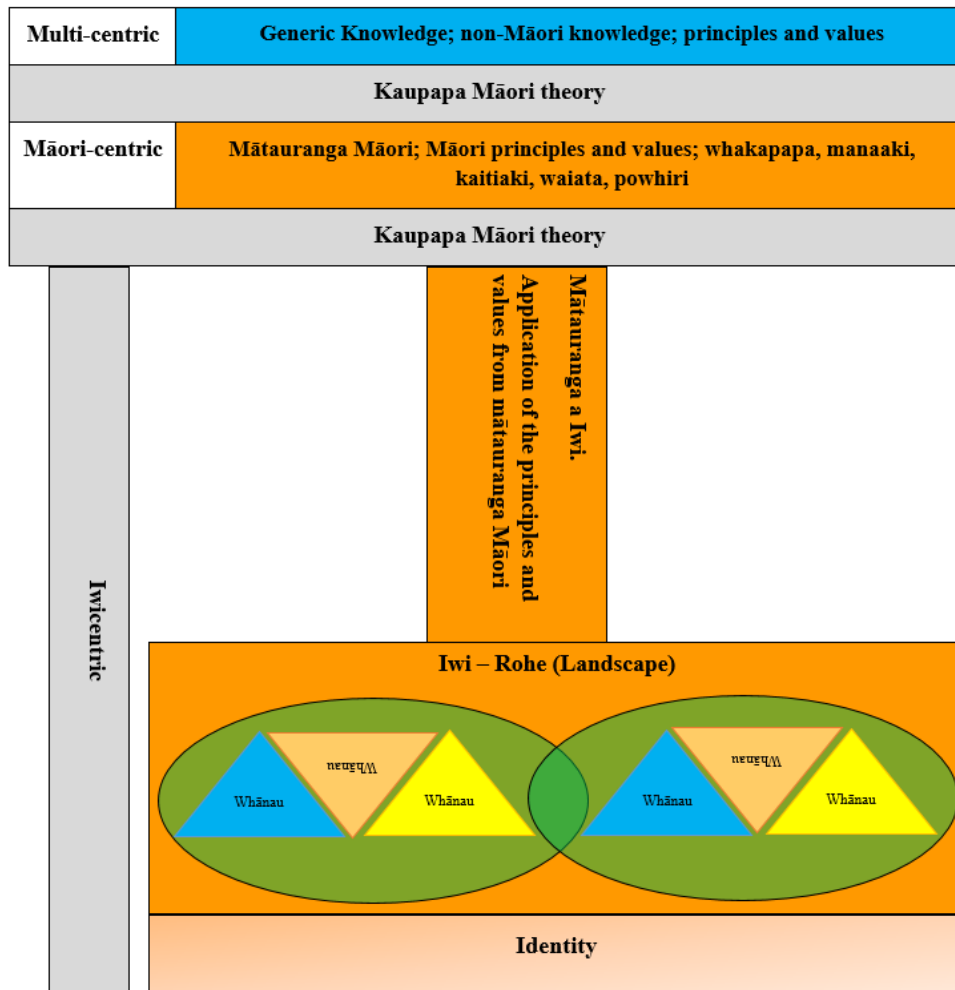


Figure 4: Te Ranga framework<sup>50</sup>



**Summary**

To summarise, Kaupapa Māori theory and research has its roots in kaupapa Māori; the everyday desire and struggle to live a Māori culturally informed life in a society that has been shaped and is dominated by Pākehā and Western interests. This chapter has also illustrated the emergence and existence of a research community who share some ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions; i.e.;

<sup>50</sup> Source: *Mātauranga Tūhoe: The centrality of mātauranga-a-iwi to Māori education* (Doctoral thesis, p. 66), by W. Doherty, 2009, University of Auckland, New Zealand. Reprinted with permission.

a common set of beliefs about the nature of reality, the nature of knowledge, and how to investigate and assess that reality. In other words, although kaupapa Māori research is neither fixed nor rigid – because kaupapa Māori is located in diverse experiences and aspirations – it does have some key tenets. Following Linda Smith (2015), some of these tenets are rangatiratanga, whakapapa, and te reo and tikanga Māori. These core principles are embedded in and find expression in the kaupapa Māori *kāanga* (phrase, expression): ‘*by, with, and for Māori*’.

‘By Māori’ speaks to the argument that research that concerns Māori should be carried out (or at least be led) by Māori, and thus positions ‘being Māori’ and carrying out research in a ‘Māori way’ as ‘the norm’ (Henry & Pene, 2001). This norm includes a commitment to re reo Māori that is grounded in, gives us access to, and revitalises mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi – the intergenerational bodies of knowledge and wisdom that bind us to atua and Te Taiao (L. T. Smith et al., 2016). Given our experiences under colonisation (e.g. Western education), ‘by Māori’ might also entail a process of decolonisation for some Māori researchers (Doherty, 2009); while the principles of rangatiratanga and ako Māori dictate that we reserve the right to access whatever we need to realise the kaupapa.

‘With Māori’ emphasises the call to return to collective values as opposed to individual responsibility and competition. Whanaungatanga, for instance, dictates that researchers work alongside the community rather than seeing their role as emancipation or ‘giving a voice’ to others, as often promulgated in the Action, Critical, and Interpretive paradigms. Whakapapa then emphasises our diversity as a people, and promotes familial and relational values and practices. Tikanga Māori promotes values that tell us how we should treat others and how certain activities, events, and ceremonies should proceed; while te reo Māori is embedded with and thus points to culturally-specific knowledges, values, practices, and aspirations.

‘For Māori’ then speaks to the argument that research concerning Māori should benefit Māori, and thus promotes mana motuhake and rangatiratanga; the call for autonomy and control in terms of what we choose to research, what we think is important, and how we go about investigating that. Although rangatiratanga might be cast as the resistance principle, employing a kaupapa Māori approach in itself “...disrupts the commonly accepted forms of research”, argues Rangimarie

Mahuika (2008), in the sense that it “... privileges our own unique approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being” (p. 4).

In sum, I conceptualise kaupapa Māori as a paradigmatic landscape: a fertile ground and platform that supports research designed and carried out ‘by Māori, with Māori, for Māori’. Reflecting our diversity, growing up out of this landscape are a myriad of Māori perspectives, approaches, and initiatives, each with their own origin stories and characteristics, but all rooted in and nourished by the aspiration for and of kaupapa Māori.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I shared something about the social, cultural, historical, and paradigmatic contexts in which this research is located. While some argue that research is and should be objective, this chapter supports the counter-argument that research as a human endeavour is unavoidably biased (Richardson, 1997). In part one, I shared a selection of my ‘born into and lived by stories’, which explain (among other things) my reasons for pursuing this topic, and my attraction to a kaupapa Māori approach to research. In constructing these narratives, I also wanted to be clear about who I am and am not. I do not claim by omission or otherwise to know everything Māori, for instance, but do lay claim to a bi-cultural, urban Māori, Te Arawa and Rangitāne heritage. I also wanted to introduce concepts that will appear throughout the thesis (e.g. whakapapa, whānau, whanaungatanga) in a real-life context.

In part two, I traced some of the threads connecting kaupapa Māori theory and research to the Māori Renaissance of the 1970s and 80s. In tracing these threads, I came to a better understanding of kaupapa Māori and kaupapa Māori research. This understanding inspired my conceptualisation of kaupapa Māori as a paradigmatic landscape – a fertile platform that provides space for and nourishes research conducted ‘by, with, for’ Māori.

In the next chapter, I continue to lay the foundation for the research by describing Te Kākano, ‘the seed’ that was planted in and nourished by Te Oneone. In Te Ao Māori, Te Kākano signifies the source or origins of life, as illustrated and recited in the following karakia.

Ko te pū  
Te More  
Te Weu  
Te Aka  
Te Rea  
Ko Te Waonui  
Te Kune  
Te Whē  
Te Kore  
Te Pō

Ki ngā tangata māori nā Rangi rāua ko Papa  
Ko tēnei te tīmatanga o te Ao  
Ko tēnei te tīmatanga o te Ao

The root  
The taproot  
The rootlet  
The vine  
The growth and increase  
The great forest  
The form acquired  
The sound  
The nothingness  
The darkness

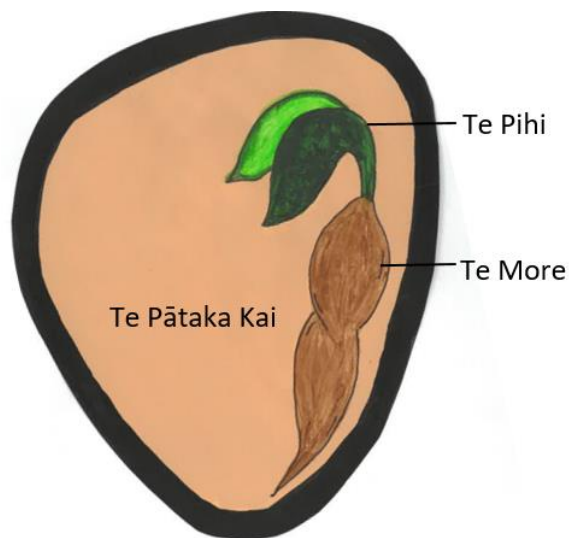
To the Māori people descended from Rangi and Papa  
This is the beginning of the world  
This is the beginning of the world





## TE KĀKANO

Te Kākano is ‘the seed.’ As illustrated in Figure 5, kākano contain Te More, the embryonic taproot; Te Pihi, the embryonic shoot; and Te Pātaka Kai, ‘the food store’ that fuels germination. Here, Te More is the emergent theoretical framework that anchored Te Rākau Rangahau into Te Oneone. Te Pihi is the research question that grew into Te Tīwai, the trunk of this Rākau Rangahau. And Te Pātaka Kai represents the circumstances that initially fuelled the research question and the emerging theoretical and methodological frameworks.



*Figure 5: Te Kākano*

## **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the origin and beginnings of this study. This chapter has three sections. Te Pātaka Kai explains how the present study was initially fuelled by my Masters research (Clarke, 2012). Te More outlines some of the initial decisions that began to move me from a Western way of thinking about research towards a kaupapa Māori approach. And Te Pihi summarises the research purpose, aims, and questions. Compared with the other chapters in this thesis, Te Kākano is characterised by the whakatauhākī: *Ahakoā he iti, he pounamu* – despite being small, it is of great value or importance.<sup>51</sup>

## **Te Pātaka Kai**

When I got the phone call I was so sure it was all a big mistake. The police had got it wrong; someone had simply identified the wrong person. ... My sister however assured me, “he did it.” He had confessed to her a week ago. .... When she rang and said, “Are you alone? You’d better sit down” I thought someone had died. But it was worse: one of my babies is going to prison.

.... And one of the first thoughts that sprang to my mind was: but he had played sport! Doesn’t ‘a kid in sport stay out of court’? .... Isn’t sport supposed to increase their self-esteem, initiative, courage, and persistence? Give them access to good friends and good role models? .... Sure, he had dropped out of sport almost twelve months ago, but had the previous **fourteen years** of playing sport amounted to nothing?

(Clarke, 2012, pp. 1-2)

One of my four sons was awaiting sentencing when I enrolled in a Masters of Sport and Leisure Studies. Encouraged to examine a topic that I was passionate about, I decided to investigate why youth ‘step out of sport and into court.’ To this end, I recruited five young men who participated in three one-to-one semi-structured interviews. These young men were aged between 18 and 25 years old, had been regularly involved in sport as a child and/or youth but had since dropped out, and had stood before a judge at least once. Although there was no ethnic or sport-

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<sup>51</sup> Referring to ‘the little big things.’

specific criterion, all the volunteers identified as Māori or part-Māori, and their primary sport had been rugby and/or rugby league.

Located within the Interpretive paradigm, a thematic analysis of their interview kōrero resulted in three composite narratives. *Taken for Granted* highlighted some of the assumptions parents and society have about sports participation. During their interviews, the boys said or indicated that because they were talented players there was an assumption that they did not have other interests, and an expectation that they would pursue the highest level of their sport. *Taken for Granted* also highlighted the issues of coach intimidation and parental withdrawal. In short, as the boys got older, the coaches got meaner, and parents became less involved. This apparent abdication suggested to the boys that when you get older, coach intimidation is normal and acceptable behaviour.

*Crushing Butterflies* is about ‘feeling the fear’ and doing it anyway. For these young men, being victorious in the face of fear was the highlight of playing rugby and rugby league. But what happens when children are *repeatedly* taught, encouraged, and rewarded for ignoring and overcoming their fear of injury? Well, in the same way that leadership developed through sport is said to ‘spill over’ into educational and occupational settings, this study suggested that fearlessness developed in the sporting context can spill over into criminal activity. As the boys explained it, the fear of injury or making a mistake on the field is a normal part of playing rugby, as is the fear of being caught while offending – both of which, with practice, can be overcome.

The third narrative, *Sport for All*, challenged the assumption that sports people are a ‘better class’ of citizen. There is a copious amount of research supporting the argument that sport improves mental and physical health, moral character and confidence, and self-esteem and emotional regulation, for example (e.g. Ball-Rokeach, 2002; Eccles et al., 2003; Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005; Roth et al., 1998; Weiss, 2008). I was therefore surprised to discover that all these young men had taken up criminal activity *while* they were involved in sport. It had not been a case of ‘stepping out of sport and then into court.’ Without exception, they had all attended trainings during the week and played games at weekends, and offended and appeared in court in between, or even immediately after trainings and games. In some cases, sport also led to and/or supported their involvement in criminal activity. For example, half of Adam’s rugby league team was an organised

burglary ring, and were heavily involved in drugs, while their coach was a senior gang member whose loyalty and motivational strategies hinged on providing his players with marijuana and alcohol.

In sum, my Master's research suggested that combative sports (i.e. sports where athletes are expected to inflict and sustain injury) can dampen a child's sensitivity to fear, and also normalise and reinforce deviant beliefs, attitudes, justifications, and orientations (Clarke, 2012). My findings thus supported the argument that there is nothing innately positive or protective about sports (Miracle & Rees, 1994), and therein challenged the mantra 'A kid in sport, stays out of court.' I therefore recommended that parents continue to be involved in their children's sports right up into young adulthood; support and encourage them to have and pursue other interests; and drawing on the work of Ronald Akers (1996), make a conscious effort to off-set or negate the deviant attitudes and behaviours their children may be exposed to outside of the home.

It was this kōrero that I presented at a conference, afterwhich the father of a five-year-old boy asked me, "So given what you've just said, what kinds of activities should we put our boys into?" His pātai struck a chord with me for two reasons. One, my youngest son was also 5 years old at the time, and as a result of my study I had decided not to actively encourage him to play rugby or league. So what would he play? And two, while I had provided some recommendations, his pātai demonstrated that I had not anticipated the question of positive alternatives.

## **Te More**

Leaving the conference that day, I held in my hand Te Kākano. It would take many months, however, for this idea to germinate and begin to take root. Intent on taking a kaupapa Māori approach to this study, I found that I had to decolonise my thinking, "...to challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research" into which I had been indoctrinated, "...in order to privilege our... own ways of knowing and being" (R. Mahuika, 2008, p. 4). This shift began with three decisions.

To illustrate my struggle to break free from the Western frameworks in my head, my first inclination was to repeat my Master's research on a larger scale by conducting an activity survey of Māori men who were incarcerated. During the process of gaining access to the prisons, however, I realised that this approach

would potentially add to the large body of deficit research and literature about Māori and Māori men. Deficit theories blame the victim for their circumstances by actively seeking out and pointing to a deficit of some sort (e.g. lack of resources or inherent ability), and therein perpetuate ideologies of inferiority and superiority (Bishop, 2003). By example, Raumatī Hook (2009) challenges the ‘Warrior Gene’ hypothesis, which attributes the comparatively high conviction rates of Māori (vs. Pākehā) for violent crimes to a history of war and voyaging that supposedly predisposes Māori males to monoamine oxidase<sup>52</sup> abnormalities. In a similar vein, Brendon Hokowhitu (2004) argues that ‘the noble savage’ discourse has positioned Māori males as inherently physical rather than intellectual, and has been used to channel them into, and limit them to the physical realm (e.g. sports, rugby). Given my intention to identify the types of activities that were over- and under-represented among this ‘cohort’ (e.g. individual vs. team; physical vs. artistic), I could see how my research could be used to support deficit and normative discourses and stereotypes. I consequently decided to take a strengths-based approach.

Thinking about the proposed research participants, I also realised that I would be treating these *tāne* (men, males) as informants rather than participants or collaborators, meaning that while they would be providing all the information they were unlikely to benefit from the research. As Linda Smith (2012) and Russell Bishop (1995) point out, the notion of taking knowledge from one group for the benefit of another is a common characteristic of Western research, as is the conviction that the researcher is the expert and has been endowed with the power to ‘give voice’ to minorities and marginalised peoples and groups. These points are of particular interest to Russell Bishop, Mere Berryman and others (e.g. Bishop et al., 2009) involved in developing Te Kotahitanga, a professional learning and development programme that supports teachers in creating culturally responsive teaching and learning environments founded on power sharing and the co-creation of knowledge. I therefore decided to work ‘with and for’ a group of people who also have an interest in the research topic; a ‘whānau of interest’ who would in some way direct the research.

The third shift in my thinking was the decision to employ a cultural framework. This whakaaro was inspired by the whakapapa charts employed during the analysis phase of my Masters research; large chronological maps of each

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<sup>52</sup> Enzymes that can influence feelings, mood, and behaviour.

participant's life-course including their places of residence, significant relationships, education, employment, sports, and offending. These maps were serendipitous in the sense that I constructed them after becoming frustrated with the impracticalities of managing and comparing printed transcripts.

These three decisions represent my first steps towards adopting a kaupapa Māori approach to research, and informed the research purpose, research aims, and the research questions.

## **Te Pihi**

The purpose of this study is to offer whānau raising tamatāne some ideas about the types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys' development. Thus, the aim of the research was to interview some successful young Māori men about their childhood leisure activities. Toward this end, the plan was to bring together and work 'for and with' a whānau of interest, a group of people who are also raising tamatāne in the city, and would guide the research in some way, and therein have a vested interest in the study. Consequently, the guiding research question for this study was, 'How might the leisure activity patterns and narratives of successful young Māori men inform urban whānau raising tamatāne?' The subsidiary research questions were:

- 1) What constitutes a successful young Māori man?
- 2) What kinds of leisure activities did a group of successful young Māori men participate in when they were growing up?
- 3) How did these leisure activities contribute to their development and who they are today?
- 4) What 'messages and lessons' might urban whānau raising tamatane take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these successful young Māori men?

## **Conclusion**

The Rākau Rangahau framework dictates that I speak about Te Kākano, for without the seed there is no rākau. In this chapter, I have outlined the origins of the study; the initial decisions that began to give shape and form to my methodological framework; and the research purpose, aim, and questions. In describing the origins

and beginnings of the research, I continue to demonstrate that research is a biased and value-laden activity (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017).

In the next chapter, Te Kākano was planted inside Te Oneone. The taproot then emerged and provided the anchor for the study, and the structure for a theoretical framework.





## TE KŌMOREMORE

Planted in, and absorbing nutrients provided by Te Oneone, the first sign of life to emerge from Te Kākano was Te More, the embryonic taproot. As this More burrowed downwards, extending at the tip, it became Te Kōmoremore, the taproot. In nature, the primary functions of kōmoremore are anchorage, to pump nutrients up into and throughout the rākau, and to store excess energy for future use (E. F. Gilman, 1990). Thus, given the significance of Te Kōmoremore to the overall growth and survival of this rākau rangahau, this chapter was allocated to the theoretical framework; the theory (or selection of related theories and concepts) that provides the structure with which to theorise, investigate, and/or analyse some aspect of how the world works (Merriam, 1993). Here, the theory is whakapapa and Te Kōmoremore provided the framework or structure for operationalising this theory of existence.



*Figure 6: Te More*<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Source: *Bean Time-Lapse 25 days, soil cross section* [video file], by Gphase, 2018, retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w77zPAatVTuI>.

## **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and describe my theoretical framework. As mentioned elsewhere, this framework was emergent in the sense that it was during the study that I realised my approach was informed by whakapapa. Examples include reading the kaupapa Māori research literature as a chronology (see Te Oneone), my decision to employ life course maps as a method (see Te Kākano), and my interest in pūrākau, the narratives that accompany and illuminate whakapapa.

This chapter has two parts. In part one, I explore some of the *āhuatanga* (characteristics) of whakapapa, including some of the layers of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in the pūrākau that accompany the cosmological whakapapa. In part two, I then illustrate how whakapapa and kōmoremore are comparable, and explain how Te Kōmoremore framework informed the research.

## **Whakapapa**

Thus far, I have used whakapapa in the sense of genealogy, genealogical relationships, history, and chronology. But whakapapa is even more than this. To begin to explain, *whaka* means “to cause, to make to do” (Tregear, 1891, p. 606); while *papa* is derived from Papatūānuku – the First Mother (Orbell, 1996), the Great Mother (Tregear, 1891), the Foundation of the world (Orbell, 1996) – and therefore anything that functions as a platform or foundation (Moorfield, n.d.e). Whakapapa can therefore be used in the sense of, “to make or move towards papa...” (Winiata, n.d., p. 10); “to create a base or foundation” (Royal, 2007a); “to place in layers, to stack, to lay upon one another” (Tregear, 1891, p. 814); “to recite in proper order” (Williams, 1991, p. 259); and “to list” (McRae, 2017). In short, whakapapa is also “a technique” (Mikaere, 2011a) and “a tool” (Pihama, 2010) that has been used to organise, memorise, retrieve, and transmit layers of meaning, information, and knowledge down the generations (McRae, 2017; Royal, 1998a). In this first part of the chapter, I identify some of the characteristics of this technique, and discuss some of the embedded layers.

### **Ngā Āhuatanga o Whakapapa**

Figure 7 is one version of the cosmological whakapapa. This whakapapa traces the origins of all life back to Ranginui (Rangi) and Papatūānuku (Papa), the primal parents who came into being in the depths of *Te Kore* (The Void), the first phase of creation. In the depths of *Te Pō* (The Darkness), the second phase of creation, Rangi and Papa produced children. These children would eventually be responsible for ushering in *Te Ao Mārama* (The World of Light), the third and present state of existence.

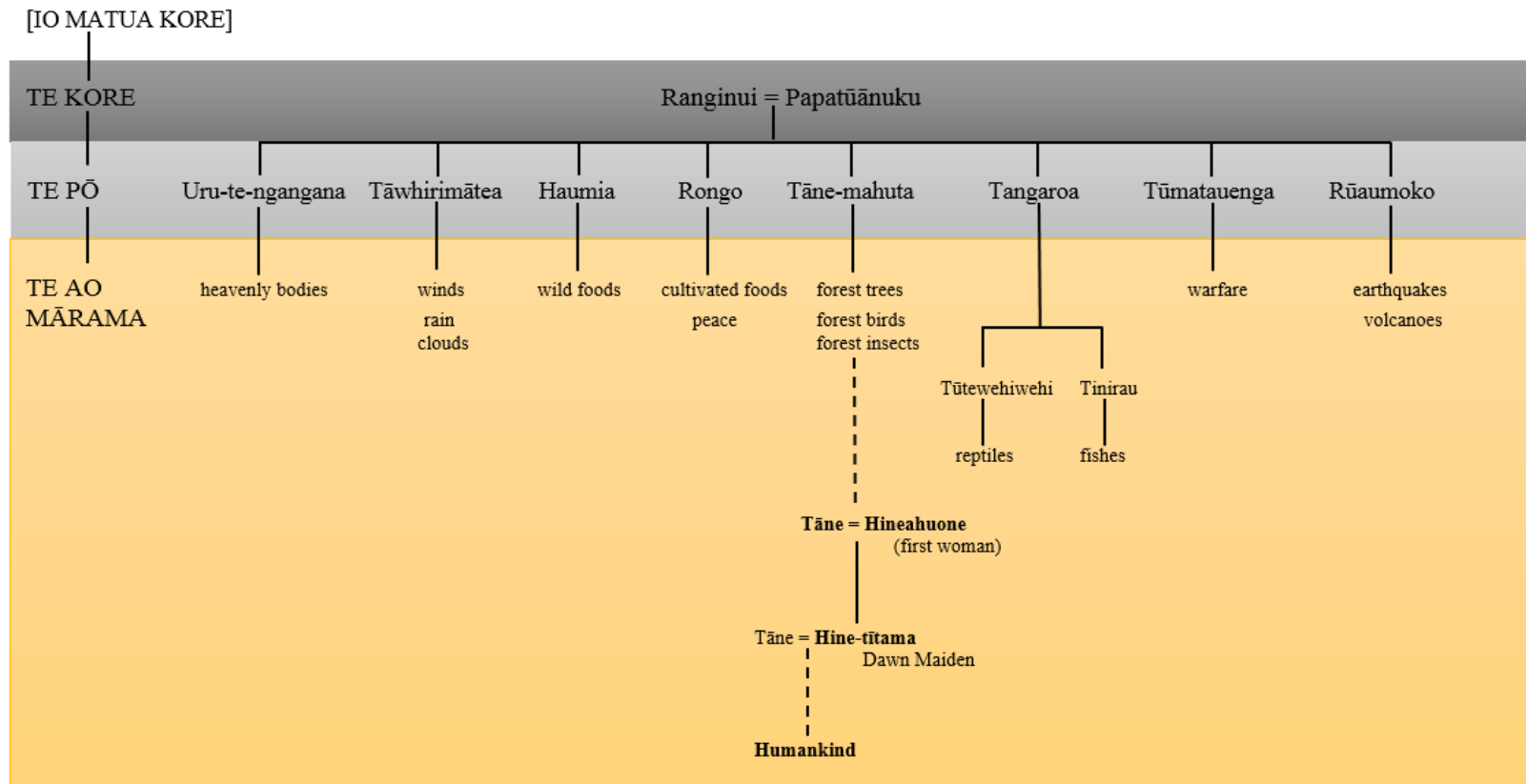


Figure 7: A whakapapa of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Adapted from “Whakapapa as a Māori mental construct: Some implications for the debate over the genetic modification of organisms,” by M. Roberts, B. Haami, R. Benton, T. Satterfield et al, 2004, *Contemporary Pacific*, p. 5. Copyright 2004 Univeristy of Hawai’i Press. Used with permission. Adapted and much abbreviated from Best, E (1982/1995) *Māori religion and mythology: Being an account of the cosmogony, anthropogeny, religious beliefs and rites, magic and folk lore of the Māori folk of New Zealand. Part 2. Dominion Museum Bulletin No. 11.* Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer.

### **Ordered**

By definition, one of the characteristics of whakapapa is its layered and sequential structure. As illustrated in Figure 7, Rangi and Papa represent the first layer or generation; their children, the second layer/generation; and the phenomena located in their respective domains, the third and successive layers/generations. Horizontally, Uru-te-ngangana, the atua (personified spiritual and elemental power, or environmental guardian) of heavenly bodies is the *mātāmua* (the first born child); Rūaumoko, the atua of earthquakes and volcanoes, is the *pōtiki* (the youngest child); with their brothers' and their respective domains located between these celestial and subterranean realms. Birth order is significant as it has implications in terms of inheritance and is discussed in the next section.

### **Interconnected**

As a genealogical framework and record, one of the common purposes of whakapapa is to identify points of origin, and explain why things are the way they are (Mikaere, 2011a). Whakapapa thus encourages us to look behind phenomena for their origins and history, and in particular, “the parental phenomena” – for “...the central idea of whakapapa is two phenomena come together to give birth to a third” (Royal, 1998a, p. 80). In tracing parental phenomena and their respective points of origin, the eye is drawn sideways into a larger web of interconnectedness. In this sense, whakapapa is organic rather than deconstructive, and also dictates that “nothing stands in isolation” (Mikaere, 2011a, p. 291). Thus, ‘to know’ something is to know its whakapapa (R. M. Roberts & Wills, 1998). Our identity as tangata whenua, for instance, is based on the understanding that our point of origin is Tāne and Hineahuone, the female raised up from the earth. Then, in tracing our existence through Tāne back to Rangi and Papa, and Rangi and Papa back to Io and/or Te Kore (depending on one’s tradition), this single point of origin dictates that everything is related; i.e., that there is an “...inseparable link between the supernatural, land, humanity, and the environment” (Graham, 2009, p. 89) and the past, present, and future.

### **Cumulative**

Not only a record of relationships and of the past, whakapapa is also “...continually in a state of cultivation (growth)” (Graham, 2009, p. 127). In other words, whakapapa not only explains where we come from, and the present, but can also predict and be used to set future pathways (Graham, 2009; Mikaere, 2011b; Royal,

1998a). Those working in the area of mātauranga Māori, for instance, are dedicated to recovering, piecing together, and exploring the surviving fragments of traditional knowledges, with a view to “...improv[ing] the way in which humankind exists and lives in the world through new strategies of indigeneity...” (Royal, 2012, p. 37). In other words, whakapapa is both a “causality tool” (Royal, 1998a, p. 80) and “...a means and way to acquire new knowledge” (Graham, 2009, p. 2). Hence the whakatauākī, *Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua*, and the kīwaha, *Ka mua, ka muri* – both of which refer to walking backwards into the future with an eye on, or guided by the past (Rameka, 2016).

### Selective

Figure 7 also demonstrates that whakapapa is selective. According to tradition, Rangi and Papa gave life to approximately 70 children (Buck, 1950; Smith, 1913; Walker, 1996). Thus, by necessity the cosmological whakapapa is truncated, and also changes depending on the author’s purpose, intention, and perspective (McRae, 2017). For example, while Figure 7 includes eight atua, Figure 8 comprises six and in which Tūmatauenga is the mātāmua and Haumiatiketike is the pōtiki. The fact that the female elements with whom the atua created their respective domains are not included in the cosmological whakapapa also highlights its selective nature (Heke, 2018; Matamua, 2017).

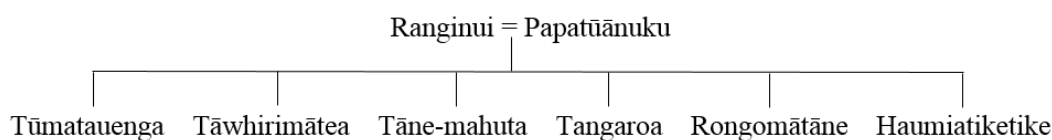


Figure 8: The children of Rangi and Papa<sup>55</sup>

The existence of different whakapapa patterns demonstrates that while whakapapa embodies “...ideas of orderliness, sequence, evolution, and progress” (R. Walker, 1996, p. 13) it can also be composed to achieve certain needs and ends (McRae, 2017; H. M. Mead, 2016). Whakapapa can be modified to fit the occasion, as demonstrated during *pōhiri* (ceremonial welcome) when *kaikaranga*<sup>56</sup> and

<sup>55</sup> Adapted from Papatuanuku – the land (p. 41), by T. C. Royal, 2010, in *Te Taiao: Māori and the natural world*, by J. Phillips (Ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: David Bateman.

<sup>56</sup> Referring to the women who conduct the ritual of calling people onto the marae grounds and into the *whare tūpuna* (ancestral house).

*kaikōrero*<sup>57</sup> acknowledge the genealogical threads connecting the ‘home people’ and their visitors (Te Rito, 2007). Whakapapa can also be used to the composer or speaker’s advantage (McRae, 2017). For instance, whakapapa was/is modified for Treaty of Waitangi proceedings, during which whānau, hapū, iwi explain how they are connected to the whenua and/or resources under examination (McRae, 2017). When reciting whakapapa, speakers also have several options to chose from. As described by Rawiri Taonui (2015) speakers might employ the *whakapiri* pattern (to join or connect) to trace the lineage of two or more individuals who share a common tūpuna but belong to different lines or branches of whakapapa; the *whakamoe* pattern (to sleep) to demonstrate how different whānau, hapū, iwi are connected through marriage; the *taotahi* pattern, to highlight direct descent; or the *tarere* pattern, which also omits spouses and siblings. As illustrated in Figure 7, referring to the flashing nature of lightning, the *tātai hikohiko* pattern omits names and whole generations to create an abbreviated whakapapa, with the dashed threads signifying that several or more generations have been left out.

### **Flexible**

Traditionally, whakapapa was also flexible in the sense that the cosmological whakapapa was revised when our tūpuna arrived in Aotearoa (Roberts, 2013). In Polynesia, for example, Tangaloa was associated with taro, sugar cane, and bamboo but here in Aotearoa he is Tāne, the atua of the forest, birds, and insects (Roberts, 2013). There were also new fauna to name (e.g. native birds), and after examining their “taxonomic patterns and relationships... to assemble upon a genealogical framework” (Roberts, 2013, p.112), and for whom to craft pūrākau. This process of expanding the cosmological whakapapa was disrupted, however, when the Europeans arrived and began introducing an endless stream of new ‘things’ (Tau, 2001). While our tūpuna had centuries to account for the phenomena of Aotearoa, it was difficult to account for Western inventions, and new flora, fauna and foods during a time of relatively swift social change that kept ngā iwi Māori busy on a number of fronts (e.g. trade, war, and politics) (Tau, 2001).

### **Rhythmic**

Although whakapapa is often stored and shared in a written format today, it was originally recorded and transmitted orally. Thus, to aid retention, the hallmarks of whakapapa include the repetition of standard phrasing and a rhythm that is pleasing

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<sup>57</sup> Referring to the men who conduct the formal speeches during this ceremony.



to the ear (McRae, 2017). To illustrate, the following *tauparapara* (incantation used in oratory) traces the three stages of creation (see Figure 7) and thus represents the first whakapapa. Hence, it is said that whakapapa has its foundations in the creation of the universe (Graham, 2009; Mikaere, 2011a; Royal, 1998a).

*I te timatanga, Ko Te Kore*  
*Te Kore-tē-whiwhia*  
*Te Kore-tē-rawea*  
*Te Kore-i-ai*  
*Te Kore-tē-wiwia-ana*  
*Ko Te Kore, Ko Te Pō*  
*Te Pō-nui*  
*Te Pō-roa*  
*Te Pō-uriuri*  
*Te Pō-kerekere*  
*Te Pō-tiwhatiwha*  
*Te Pō tē-kitea*  
*Te Pō-tangotango*  
*Te Pō-whawha*  
*Te Pō-namunamu-ki-taiao*  
*Te Pō-tahuri-atu*  
*Te Pō-tahuri-mai-ki-te-taiao*  
*Ki Te Whai-ao*  
*Ki Te Ao-mārama*  
*Tihei mauri ora!*

In the beginning there was The Void  
The Void in which nothing is possessed  
The Void in which nothing can be felt  
The Void with nothing in union  
The space without boundaries  
The Void, The Night  
The great night  
The long night  
The deep night  
The intense night

The dark night  
 The night in which nothing is seen  
 The intensely dark night  
 The night of feeling  
 The night of seeking the passage of the world  
 The night of restless turning  
 The night of turning towards the revealed world  
 To the glimmer of dawn  
 To the bright light of the day  
 Tis life! <sup>58</sup>

Whakapapa and its repetitive and rhythmic characteristics are also a feature of karakia, waiata, storytelling, the visual arts, rituals, and other cultural activities (Grey, 1855; McRae, 2017).

### **Mnemonic**

Finally, another significant āhuatanga of whakapapa is its mnemonic nature, in the sense that the names included in whakapapa are essentially "...‘word fossils’ within which are buried layers of information..." (M. Roberts, 2013, p. 109). Like the photographs on the walls of my grandparents’ kaumātua flat, each face and name is embedded with memories of their characteristics, relationships, life and death stories, as well as social, cultural, and historical events (Graham, 2009; McRae, 2017; M. Roberts et al., 2004). In a similar vein, the key to unlocking the layers of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in the cosmological whakapapa are the pūrākau that refer to the atua and their relationships to one another. In the course of their retelling, these narratives add ‘flesh’ to the ‘bones’ of this conceptual framework (M. Roberts et al., 2004; Royal, 1998b). These layers (not an exhaustive list) include tikanga, kawa, and mātauranga Māori (M. Roberts et al., 2004; Royal, 1998b; R. Walker, 1990). To illustrate, I will unpack some of the layers embedded in the cosmological whakapapa. Although a lot more detail could be included here, I offer a simple retelling, and supplement my understanding of these pūrākau with those of Te Rangikaheke (as translated by Governor George Grey, 1885), Moihi Te Matorohanga (as translated by S. Percy Smith, 1913), Ranginui Walker, and Rangi

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<sup>58</sup> (Keane, 2011). This source includes an audio recording.

Matamua. To aid memory, retention, and recall, these creation pūrākau comprise a series of episodes (McRae, 2017).

*I Te Kore, ki Te Pō, ki Te Ao Mārama*

*From The Nothingness, to The Night, to The World of Light*

*Rangi & Papa*

As illustrated in Figures 7 and 8, the world as we know it began with Rangi and Papa, Sky Father and Earth Mother, who came into being and found one another in the depths of Te Kore (S. P. Smith, 1913). During the ages of Te Pō, Rangi and Papa then conceived a multitude of children, each of whom represent and created the various phenomena that exist today in Te Ao Mārama. The children of Rangi and Papa, however, had to search for Te Ao Mārama – for their parents were quite content in the tight embrace that kept their tamariki in the dark.

*Te Rapunga*

Becoming increasingly irritated by the lack of space to grow and multiply, *Te Rapunga* refers to ‘The Search’ for light. This search was conducted by the children of Rangi and Papa and is often characterised as the growth and development of plant life that “... culminate[d] in sapient beings capable of reason and therefore seeking enlightenment” (R. Walker, 1996, p. 15).

*Te Rapunga*

*Te Kukune*

*Te Pūpuke*

*Te Hihiri*

*Te Mahara*

*Te Hinengaro*

*Te Manako*

The seeking

The growing

The swelling

The energy

The thought

The mind

The longing<sup>59</sup>Te Wehenga

Although Te Rapunga was eventful, in that the existence of light was found, it was ultimately unsuccessful in terms of finding a way to let that light in (S. P. Smith, 1913). Hence, whilst discussing their options, Tūmatauenga suggested that they slay their parents – to which Tāne replied that it was “...better to rend them apart... let the heaven stand far above us, and the earth lie beneath our feet.... [and] remain close to us as a nursing mother” (Grey, 1855, p. 2). Tāne’s idea was debated for many eons until all but one agreed (Smith, 1913), for Tāwhirimātea grieved greatly at the thought of Te Wehenga, ‘The Separation’ of Rangi and Papa.

Taking turns to push against Rangi with their shoulders, it was Rongomātāne, Tangaroa, Haumiatiketike, Tūmatauenga, and Tāne who led Te Wehenga. However, their father could not be moved. Then Tāne tried a second time, this time positioning his head and shoulders against Papa and his feet against Rangi. This strategy proved successful, and as their father rose “...with cries and groans of woe Rangi and Papa shrieked aloud, ‘Why commit you so dreadful a crime as to slay us, as to rend your parents apart?’” (Grey, 1885, p. 3). The sinews between Rangi and Papa were then cut, and the blood stained their mother’s body red. The atua then erected *pou* (posts) to hold their father aloft.

Ngā Pakanga o Ngā Atua

Following Te Wehenga there arose three great battles amongst the children of Rangi and Papa. The first *pakanga* (battle) was waged by Tāwhirimātea, the atua of winds and rains who had followed Rangi into the skies, where they created storms and hurricanes with which to seek their revenge (Grey, 1885). One day Tāwhirimātea then came down upon an unsuspecting Tāne, and rent and dashed his forests to the earth. He then lashed the oceans of Tangaroa, driving his children Tinirau into the depths and Tūtewehiwehi onto the land. Tāwhirimātea then turned to attack Rongomātāne and Haumiatiketike, but could not find them, for Papa had hidden them. And nestled in her body they became (respectively) the atua of cultivated and uncultivated food. Frustrated, Tāwhirimātea turned his attentions to Tūmatauenga (Tū), the fiercest of Rangi and Papa’s children, and subsequently the atua of war. But Tū “...stood erect and unshaken upon the breast of his mother” until eventually

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<sup>59</sup> (R. Walker, 1996, p. 15).

“the hearts of Heaven and of the god of storms became tranquil, and their passions were assuaged” (Grey, 1885, p. 6).

However, Tū was now furious. Not only had his brothers deserted him but had revealed themselves to be cowards. And so a second battle ensued. Again, Tāne was the first victim, not only because he had not aided Tū but because his offspring had become too numerous (Grey, 1885). Using the leaves of the *tī-kāuka* tree,<sup>60</sup> Tū fashioned nooses and caught the bird children of Tāne. He then made nets and hauled the ocean children of Tangaroa ashore. After which, Tū found Rongomātāne and Haumiatiketike “...by their peculiar leaves, and scraped into shape a wooden hoe, and plaited baskets, and dug in the earth and pulled up all kinds of plants with edible roots...” (Grey, 1885, p. 7). Tū then cooked and devoured his brothers, and quoting Rangi Matamua (Eastern Institute of Technology, 2016), said unto them: “Haere ake nei ko ō uri hei kai mā ōku uri – hereafter your descendants will be food for my descendants.” Tū also assigned *karakia* for each of them, “...that they might be abundant and easily obtained” (Grey, 1885, p. 8).

However, Tū could not capture nor consume the children of Tāwhirimātea. Tāwhirimātea was thus “...left as an enemy for man, and still, with a rage equal to that of man, ... attacks him in storms and hurricanes, endeavouring to destroy him alike by sea and land” (Grey, 1885, p. 7). Tangaroa also attacks the land, angry that Tūtewehiwehi continues to live in the forests of Tāne. And then there is Rūaumoko, who at the time of Te Wehenga was still nursing at Papa’s breast, and was thus buried beneath her when his *tuakana* (older brothers) turned Papa away from Rangi in order to stem the tide of tears that threatened to consume the earth. And there, buried beneath their mother, Rūaumoko causes earthquakes and volcanos to erupt.

### Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga

According to Te Matorohanga (as translated by S. P. Smith, 1913), the atua then attempted to arrange the world, but could not, “...for they were confused about the direction of earthly things...” (p. 123). And Io Matua Kore – the parentless Supreme Being who dwelt in the depths of Te Kore and had laid the foundations of the universe<sup>61</sup> (Pere, 1982; M. Roberts et al., 2004; Royal, 2003; S. P. Smith, 1913) –

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<sup>60</sup> Also known as *Tī rākau*, *Tī whanake*, *Kōmata*, and *Cordyline*.

<sup>61</sup> Here I acknowledge the argument that Io is a post-European invention. This argument appears to have three parts. One, it is argued that the source of this construction was Te Matorohanga, who was a pupil of the *whare wānanga* but converted to Christianity during the 1800s. His teachings, as recorded by Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury, by were published by Percy Smith (1913) and Elsdon Best

saw this and sent two *whatukura* (heavenly male beings) down to the sons of Rangi and Papa to ask who would ascend the heavens to meet with him (S. P. Smith, 1913). This invitation was circulated amongst the different factions of atua, and repeatedly nominated was Tāne (S. P. Smith, 1913). Thus Tāne was chosen to ascend to the top-most heaven to receive *mātauranga* from Io.<sup>62</sup>

But now Whiro-te-tipua (Whiro) – the atua of all things associated with evil, darkness, and death – was incensed. For who was Tāne, his teina to ascend above him?! And so Whiro began climbing the heavens. However, it was Tāne who had been prepared by the *whatukura* for this task, and so Tāwhirimātea lifted Tāne up past Whiro. In his anger, Whiro ordered *Te Tini-o-Poto* (the horde of Poto) to pursue and kill Tāne. But this horde – which included the mosquito, the ant, centipede, huhu beetle, the daddy-long-legs spider, and the Kea (native parrot), the hawk, the sparrow-hawk, the bat, and the owl (S. P. Smith, 1913) – were whirled away by children of Tāwhirimātea. Tested as he entered each realm, Tāne eventually reached the summit of the heavens and received *ngā kete o te mātauranga*, ‘the baskets of knowledge’ containing “...all knowledge and directions for the government of the world” (S. P. Smith, 1913, p. 133).

Upon Tāne’s return, the contents of these kete were distributed amongst the atua, who then used that *mātauranga* and their *ira atua* (spiritual power) to organise Te Ao Mārama (S. P. Smith, 1913). As described by Māori Marsden and Te Aroha Henare (1992) these three kete were *Te kete aronui*, referring to the world “before us” or ‘before our senses’, and therefore knowledge acquired through careful observation (p. 10); *Te kete tuauri*, referring to the world “beyond in the world of darkness” (p. 8) and thus knowledge pertaining to the creation and workings of Te Taiao; and *Te kete tuatea*, referring to the world ‘beyond space and time’, meaning knowledge pertaining to “...the transcendent eternal world of the spirit” (p. 11). To these three kete, Marsden and Henare (1992) then add a fourth, the world of symbol;

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(1976) – and prior to which some argue (e.g. Buck, 1950; H. M. Mead, 2016; Mikaere, 2011a) the name Io and the idea of a supreme god is not found or acknowledged in any other tribal region. Two, it is pointed out that Te Matorohanga’s story of Io creating the universe bears striking similarities to the first chapter of Genesis (Buck, 1950; Mikaere, 2011a), and three, that the counter-argument that Io was esoteric knowledge and therefore hidden from the masses is too convenient (Mikaere, 2011a). S. Percy Smith (1913) points out, however, that “had this grand old legend been derived from European sources... the life and doings of Jesus Christ would also have been incorporated” (p. vii) – which they have not; while Hirini Moko Mead (2016) acknowledges that although he has “great difficulty with the concept of Io” (p. 341), Io might be a Ngāti Kahungunu tradition. In short, recognition of Io varies among Māori.

<sup>62</sup> In other traditions, it was Tāwhaki who ascended the heavens for *Ngā kete o te Mātauranga*.

referring to the art forms, rituals, and pūrākau (for example) humans have created “...to depict, represent, and illustrate some other perceived reality” and “by which the mind can grasp, understanding and recognise the words of sense perception, of the real world behind that...” (p. 10).

### Te Whānau Mārama

Light and understanding, however, did not flood the world immediately. Like Te Kore and Te Pō, Te Ao Mārama also had gradations. Explaining these gradations, Tāne went to his brother *Tangotango* (intense darkness) and his wife *Wainui* (expansive waters) on at least three occasions to ask for one or two more of their tamariki, in order to increase the light in the world. And Tāne placed *Te Whānau Mārama*, the Family of Light (Figure 9), into kete and with Tamarereti (a descendant) paddled across the ocean until they reached Te Paewai o te Rangi, the place where the ocean meets the sky. And there they ascended to the first heaven and adorned Rangi with a great light for the day and many lights for the night (Matamua, 2017).

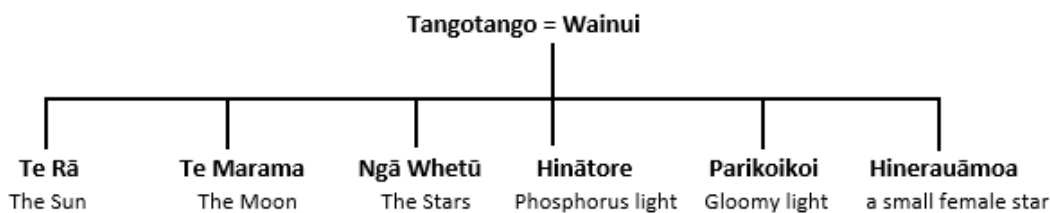


Figure 9: *Te Whānau Marama*<sup>63</sup>

### Te Ira Tangata

After these lights were positioned, and the world organised, the brothers then asked one another “By what means shall we raise up descendants to ourselves in the ‘world-of-light’?” (S. P. Smith, 1913). To which Urutengangana replied, “Let us seek a female that may take on our likeness, and raise up offspring for us” and let us “... take of the Earth, that it may be said they are the descendants of Earth” (S. P. Smith, 1913, p. 138). Thus the search for *te ira tangata*, the essence of humanity, began. To this end, the atua coupled with various supernatural female beings and

<sup>63</sup> Source: EIT Public Lecture - Dr Rangi Matamua: Matariki, Te whetū tapu o te tau, by the Eastern Institute of Technology, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hfuekqz8v3k> Adapted and reprinted with permission from the presenter.

therein conceived the phenomena associated with their particular domains. Tāne, for example, lay with the guardians of the skies, with whom he fathered the different rākau, and therein the air we breathe. He also lay with Hine-tū-maunga, who gave birth to Parawhenuamea, the water that springs from the earth (M. Roberts et al., 2004). Other ‘couplings’ produced birds, insects, stones, and rocks.

Unable to find te ira tangata, Papa directed her tamatāne to Kurawaka, where they shaped a woman from her *uha* (place of femininity) (Best, 1976; Buck, 1950). Amongst other contributors, Tāwhirimātea provided her lungs; Punaweko (personification of birds) her hair; the whatukura, *mahara* (thinking-power); and from Io the whatukura delivered wairua and manawa ora (the breath of life; Best, 1976).<sup>64</sup> Pressing his nose to the nose of this earthly woman, Tāne then breathed “...the life force of his mauri into her mouth and nostrils” (R. Walker, 1990, p. 14). Hineahuone took a breath and sneezed “Tihei!” To which Tāne replied “Mauriora!” (Tis life!).<sup>65</sup>

### Hine-Tītama

Tāne and Hineahuone produced many daughters, the first being Hine-tītama, whom Tāne also married. And then one day Hine-tītama asked her husband, “Who is my father?” to which Tāne responded “ask the walls of the house.” Because the walls of the house were made of timber, Tāne revealed that he was also her father (Ford, 1990). Shocked, Hine-tītama left Te Ao Mārama for the underworld, and there after became *Hinenuitepō*, ‘The Great Lady of the Night’ who receives the spirits of her human descendants as they pass from Te Ao Mārama back into Te Pō.

And here ends my rendering or ‘fleshing out’ of the cosmological whakapapa (Figure 7).



### Summary

Thus far, I have demonstrated that whakapapa is a human construct that has multiple and interconnected dimensions. As a noun, whakapapa refers to genealogy and genealogical relationships; as a verb, it is a technique and a methodological tool that has been and can be used to organise, memorise, retrieve, and transmit layers

<sup>64</sup> In some traditions, these gifts came from Rehua not Io.

<sup>65</sup> This is the origin of hongi; the pressing of noses and sharing of breath when meeting and greeting people.



of knowledge and information; and as a philosophical construct, whakapapa is a theory of existence that dictates that all things – including knowledge – have an origin, do not exist in isolation, and come into being through the process of descent (Mikaere, 2011a; M. Roberts, 2013; Royal, 1998a; R. Walker, 1990). In the following section, I examine another significant dimension of whakapapa – the layers of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in the pūrākau that accompany the cosmological whakapapa as recited above.

### **Ngā Āhuatanga o Ngā Pūrākau**

Inspired by the concrete experiences of childbirth and the germination and development of plant life, whakapapa – the theory of existence that underpins and informs Māori world views – is a human construct (Mikaere, 2011a). Constructing this theory and framework was work of *tohunga*, the “ancient seers and sages” (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 3) who assembled whakapapa and crafted the narratives that effectively “clothed it in flesh” (Royal, 1998b, p. 53). The narratives that accompany whakapapa are known by many names. *Kōrero tawhito* refers to “ancient” stories; *kōrero-o-nehe(rā)* to stories of “ancient times” (Williams, 1991, p. 220); and *kōrero-o-mua*, “history and traditions” (Moorfield, n.d.d). The term *kōrero pūrākau*, however, is more specific in that it points to a purpose and intent. Of particular interest here is Jenny Bol Jun Lee’s (2008) reference to pūrākau as ‘*te pū o te rākau*’ (the roots of the tree) – meaning stories that “... provide the tree with what it needs in order to survive and grow” (p. 126). In other words, pūrākau are stories about Māori, as Māori (J. Lee, 2008) and “... into which important lessons and perspectives on life were encapsulated” (Royal, 2004, p. 10) by Māori, for Māori.

As dictated in the story of Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga, however, not everything *tohunga* knew was for public consumption (Buck, 1950; Marsden, 1992; Pipi et al., 2004; Royal, 1998b). All knowledge comes from the heavens and is therefore *tapu* (spiritually potent), and was used to organise the world and can therefore be deliberately or accidentally used to pull it apart. For instance, Marsden and Henare (1992) point to the atomic bomb as an example of the manipulation and abuse of Te Kete Tuauri. *Tohunga* thus maintained two sets of knowledge: exoteric (public) and esoteric (restricted) (Buck, 1950). To protect esoteric knowledge from misuse, esoteric *kōrero* was reserved for the *whare-wānanga* (sacred tribal houses of higher learning), which were sometimes built away from the village, and upon which a

condition of tapu was placed to deter the uninitiated, and into which were inducted individuals from the senior lines of whakapapa (Buck, 1950). Tohunga apprenticeships were also long and arduous; secrecy and “...mystique was fostered by the use of archaic forms, obsolete words and guttural recitation” (R. Walker, 1996, p. 23), while the more potent pūrākau were “couched” in a way that “...even when related in public, their inner meaning could not be understood without the key to unravel it” (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 4).

It is not surprising then, that when the Europeans arrived they considered pūrākau as the ‘fanciful imaginings’ of the native mind and classified them as fairy tales, and myths and legends. Still, with a long history of collecting the ‘strange and exotic’, amateur and professional anthropologists, researchers, and publishers gathered what they could, then took “...great liberties in translating, editing and embellishing the original pūrākau for their own purposes...” (J. Lee, 2009, p. 6). Writing for an English audience, different tribal versions were used to create composite stories; ancient meaning, information, and knowledge was ‘lost in translation’ and editing; sexual and violent storylines were purged, muted, or sanitised (e.g. Tūmataunga ‘eating’ his brothers); characters were ‘redressed’ in Western romanticism (e.g. “maidens”); and Christian values were introduced (e.g. Tāne “married” Hineahuone) (J. Lee, 2008; Mikaere, 2011a). In addition to ignoring Māori women as storytellers and holders of knowledge, female characters were also “femasculated” (Mikaere, 1995, p. 78).<sup>66</sup>

To greater and lesser degrees, pūrākau have survived colonialisation and successful efforts have been made to re-claim, re-write, re-search, and re-interpret them for our own purposes and intents. Two wāhine working on this decolonising project are Jenny Bol Jun Lee and Jane McRae, who have identified some of the traditional and core characteristics of pūrākau. In her review of manuscripts written and dictated by our tūpuna in the 1800s, McRae (2017) notes that pūrākau are episodic, and often began and ended with a brief introduction and sometimes a blunt conclusion. Storytellers were also “frugal with words”; their sentences were short and character descriptions were never “longwinded” (MacRae, 2017, p. 128). Like whakapapa, storytellers also employed culmulative, repetitive, and formulaic patterns. Depending on the audience and the context, pūrākau were adapted, and the style of delivery ranged from the serious to the more lively and entertaining.

<sup>66</sup> The “female equivalent to emasculation” (Mikaere, 1995, p. 78).

Jenny Lee (2009) also calls attention to the communal nature of storytelling, in the sense that pūrākau belonged to the whānau, hapū, iwi; meaning that while storytellers had creative licence – which was necessary given that the same stories were being repeated (McRae, 2017) – their stories were moderated by elders to ensure that the critical elements embedded within the story were maintained and passed down the generations correctly. Deliberate and purposeful constructions, pūrākau were/are also meaning-full and provocative, and crafted and delivered to inspire and provoke intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and physical responses (J. Lee, 2005).

In the following section, I unpack some of the layers of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in the cosmological whakapapa. Drawing on the writings of Hirini Moko Mead (2016), these layers include (not an exhaustive list) tikanga, kawa, mātauranga, te ira atua, and te ira tangata.

### **Tikanga Māori**

One layer of meaning embedded in pūrākau includes instructions for how we should conduct ourselves (Mikaere, 2011a). These moral imperatives are embedded in *tikanga Māori*; customs and practices or behaviours that are based on the principle of tika, meaning “to be right” and are therefore concerned with “...the correct way of doing something” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 7). However, what one believes to be ‘right’, may be ‘wrong’ according to another. Tikanga is thus less about right and wrong and more about the behaviours that “...naturally and organically arise out of a person and a community” states Royal (2004, pp. 206–207) – “... just like a tree springs from Papatūānuku” (Winiata, n.d., p. 5). Thus, tikanga Māori denotes a practice or tradition as being “... true to the principles and values of Māori culture” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 30), and tikanga-a-iwi as being tribally specific. Whānau and individuals also have their own tikanga.

Following Hirini Moko Mead (2016), most, if not all tikanga Māori are underpinned by the high value placed upon whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, tapu and mana, utu, ea and noa. As discussed elsewhere, whanaungatanga refers to the feelings of kinship developed through practices that promote “loyalty, obligation and commitment” (Hōhepa, 1993, p. 3). These practices include living and working together, coming together to defend and protect what is yours (Pere, 1982), and hui. For example, in coming together to discuss their shared circumstance, the atua developed a sense of whanaungatanga in the cramped conditions of Te Pō; during

Te Rapunga, they then worked together in the search for light; before proceeding with Te Wehenga they met and discussed their options; and during Te Wehenga, a small group actioned the proposed solution.

Providing guests with “... an abundance of food [and] a place to rest” (Barlow, 1994, p. 63) is another example of tikanga Māori, and is a common expression of manaakitanga practiced on marae and in *kāinga* (homes) across Aotearoa New Zealand. Manaakitanga is the principle of love and hospitality (Barlow, 1994), and is concerned with “the mutual elevation of mana in an encounter scenario” (Royal, 1998b, p. 7). Examples of manaakitanga in the cosmological whakapapa include the atua turning Papa away from Rangi to ease their pain; Tāne clothing Rangi and Papa; and Tangotango and Wainui giving their tamariki to Tāne for the benefit of the whole whānau.

Tikanga Māori is also informed by the principles of tapu and mana. Tapu refers to the divine origin and therein divine nature (i.e. intrinsic tapu) of all things, and mana “the actual power” that resides in all things because they are imbued with tapu. In other words, “mana is the actualisation of tapu” (Shirres, 1997, p. 53), meaning our intrinsic tapu has instilled in us the potential to be an influential or powerful force. A significant characteristic of tapu and mana is that they fluctuate; an increase in tapu causes an increase in mana, and a decrease in tapu causes a decrease in mana (H. M. Mead, 2016). Thus life can “...be viewed as protecting one’s personal tapu”, for in doing so we protect our “... physical, social, psychological and spiritual well-being” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 51). By example, the tikanga of keeping body-intimate items (e.g. hats, hair brushes, bath towels) separate from anything to do with food (e.g. dining tables, tea towels) prevents one’s tapu from being neutralised or diminished – as established by Tūmatauenga when he cooked and ate his brothers, thus making them *noa* (common) and therein accessible to human beings (R. Walker, 1990). This act also provided the rationale or legitimised the practice of *kaitangata* (cannibalism), which was also a means to absorb mana and tapu (R. Walker, 1990). In asserting his mana over his brothers, Tū also “...provided the rationale for the superior position of human beings in the natural order” (R. Walker, 1990, p. 13), which might explain why Tū rather than Urutengangana is the *mātāmua* in Figure 8 (above). Mikaere (2011) argues, however, that we are part of the land and cannot therefore be superior to it. Tū also

laid down the tikanga of offering karakia before collecting and using or consuming anything from his brothers' domains.

Concerned with maintaining the balance of one's mana and tapu, *utu* is the principle of “compensation, revenge, or reciprocity” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 35). By example, one might argue that Tāwhirimātea's wrath was fuelled by the feeling that his mana had been diminished when his brothers proceeded with Te Wehenga despite his objections; likewise, Tū's rage when his brothers failed to stand with him against Tāwhirimātea; and Tangaroa's anger when Tūtewehiwehi abandoned him for the forests of Tāne. The creation pūrākau thus provide examples of what our tūpuna thought were appropriate reasons for revenge.

Exacting revenge, however, “is a limited and one-sided aim” states Hirini Moko Mead (2016, p. 36). Instead, the desired outcome of *utu* must be *Ea* – “... to reach a resolution satisfying all parties so that the matter is resolved” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 31) – meaning that balance has been restored and peaceful relations can resume. In the past, *ea* was commemorated with *tatau pounamu* (greenstone door), a metaphor for lasting peace that was marked by the presentation of a durable, strong, and valuable gift (e.g. land, political marriage, patu pounamu). Following Te Wehenga, one might interpret Tāne clothing his mother in an emerald cloak and his father in enduring lights as examples of *tatau pounamu*.

Pūrākau also dramatise particular issues and therein raise a word of warning and offer advice (R. Walker, 1996). Tūmatauenga's suggestion that they slay Rangi and Papa, for instance, warns parents not to ‘smother’ their children. During Te Wehenga, Tāne's decision to use a different approach tells us to never give up and to look at our challenges from a different angle. Ngā Pakanga o te Atua then serve as a warning about what can happen when the principle of *whanaungatanga* is breached. Whiro's attempt to kill Tāne on his journey towards knowledge dramatises the issues of birth order and birthright, as well as the challenges associated with the pursuit of knowledge. The support of Tāwhirimātea in transporting Tāne into the heavens demonstrates that the successful pursuit of knowledge cannot be achieved on one's own; while the distribution of that knowledge reminds us to share what we have learnt for the benefit of the collective. Hineahuone's shock at learning her husband was also her father demonstrates that our tūpuna did not condone incestuous relationships, and that the appropriate course of action for women is to leave the offender but not to abandon one's children.

What my analysis has demonstrated thus far is that pūrākau were constructed by tohunga not only as a means to remember and preserve whakapapa and esoteric knowledge, but to transmit and preserve what they thought was important for the survival of their people and their way of life – te pū o te rākau. In short, pūrākau also have a socializing function (J. Lee, 2008; N. Mahuika, 2012; Marsden & Henare, 1992; R. Walker, 1996).

### **Kawa**

Another layer of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in pūrākau is kawa. As Royal (2004) explains it, kawa is a process – “...an activity that takes place over time and involving a number of behaviours or tikanga” (p. 227) that are conducted in a particular order – the template for which is found in pūrākau. A common example of kawa in action occurs during pōhiri, the welcoming ceremony that involves certain steps of engagement that have been set down in the cosmological whakapapa (Royal, 2004). As described by Royal (2007b), the gathering of tangata whenua (the home people) and their *manuhiri* (visitors) on the *marae ātea* (courtyard in front of the meeting house) during pōhiri represents Te Pō. Standing on the marae ātea, the kaikōrero represent Tāne and re-enact Te Wehenga as they speak to the issues of the day and seek and offer some illumination. By end of the pōhiri process, those present have entered Te Ao Mārama, a state of understanding. This new relationship of understanding and unity is then consummated with hongī; while the tapu associated with the process of pōhiri is removed with the ritual of sharing food.

### **Mātauranga**

Also embedded in pūrākau is mātauranga, which is derived from *mātau*, meaning “to know, comprehend, be certain of” (Benton et al., 2012, p. 210) and is usually defined as knowledge. To illustrate, the pūrākau that accompany the cosmological whakapapa explain exactly who Rangī and Papa are; why the number and order of their children shifts; which domains they personify; why Māori refer to themselves as tangata whenua; and the origin and meaning associated with hongī. In terms of technical knowledge, the creation pūrākau also describe how to remove tapu; how to make resources more abundant and obtainable; and reveal that our tūpuna knew fish and reptiles have a common ancestor (M. Roberts, 2013).

### **Te Ira Atua**

Embedded in the cosmological whakapapa are also the spiritual dimensions of the Māori birthright, which include (but are not limited to) mauri, wairua, hau, tapu, and mana (H. M. Mead, 2016; Pere, 1991). According to our creation stories, te ira atua (the spiritual power of the atua) was fused with te ira tangata (the essence of humanity) in the form of Hineahuone, and was ignited when Tāne shared his breath with her. Described as ‘the spark of life’, mauri is responsible for binding the physical and the spiritual, and is derived from Te Mauri, the life-principle that begat motion in the depths of Te Kore, and “...impelled the seed [of the universe] to send forth the roots to begin their quest to fulfil the latent urge towards being” (Shirres, 1997, p. 115).

Also present in the depths of Te Kore was/is *Te Hauora*, the breath or spirit of life that “gave birth to shape and form” (Shirres, 1997, p. 116). This is the same “...supernatural breath that breathed ora or life into... Hineahuone” (Kohere, 2003, p. 22), and thus *hau* is described as “the breath part of the soul” (Robinson, 2005, p. 216). When Rangi and Papa took shape and form within Te Kore, the spiritual and physical realms were thereafter “immersed and integrated” (Pere, 1991, p. 13). In other words, everything that has a physical form has a spiritual form or wairua (Barlow, 1994). Thus Papa is both the earth and the spirit of the earth, and Rangi the sky and spirit of the sky (Mikaere, 2011a). Unlike mauri and hau, however, wairua is eternal (H. M. Mead, 2016); hence the tikanga of acknowledging the presence and ongoing influence of those who no longer have a physical body (e.g. directly addressing the dead during pōhiri and tangihanga).

The Māori birthright also includes tapu and mana. As discussed above, tapu refers to and describes the divine origin and thus divine nature (i.e. intrinsic tapu) of all things, while mana is “the actual power” that resides in all things because they are imbued with tapu (Shirres, 1997). Tapu also ‘touches’ the other spiritual attributes and must therefore be protected (H. M. Mead, 2016). However, given our shared and diverse colonial history and experiences, the degree to which Māori are aware of, embrace, and live a life informed by these attributes varies (H. M. Mead, 2016). Although, kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori activities (e.g. tribal wānanga/educational forums) and institutions (e.g. Kōhanga Reo) have made some progress in this regard.

### **Te Ira Tangata**

Pūrākau also speak to te ira tangata, the temporal dimensions of the Māori birthright including whakapapa, pūmanawa, and tūrangawaewae (H. M. Mead, 2016). Following Hirini Moko Mead (2016), these attributes “...refer in general to what results from te moenga tangata, the marriage bed of humans” (p. 46), but also have a godlike or spiritual quality, and overlap with tikanga Māori.

Here, whakapapa refers to the kinship system into which Māori are born. This kinship system is based on the birth-order principles of tuakana-teina, mātāmua-pōtiki, and te moenga rangatira (H. M. Mead, 2016). These principles still inform Māori life today, albeit to different degrees. The tuakana-teina principle dictates that “...the older sibling has priority over the younger sibling” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 47). For instance, if there is something of value to give to one’s tamariki-mokopuna it was/is usually given to tuakana before teina. Hence Whiro’s reaction to Tāne being chosen to collect Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga. The tuakana-teina relationship, however, is as much about responsibility and care as it is about seniority. Tuakana are expected to be leaders, role models, and caregivers and thus the responsibilities and expectations placed on tuakana are “numerous and often onerous” (Nepe, 1991, p. 28). Although, as we see in Te Wehenga and Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga, tuakana also delegate.

The principle of mātāmua then dictates that first-born sons inherit the mana of their father – their power, influence, and authority (Tregear, 1891). The mātāmua thus receives the largest inheritance, while the pōtiki receives the smallest. Pōtiki, however, are often ‘the favourite’ and are treated the same as mātāmua (H. M. Mead, 2016; Nepe, 1991), which can create conflict. The last birth-order principle of *te moenga rangatira* then refers to those who descend from ‘the chiefly marriage bed’, meaning the descendants of a founding or illustrious ancestor through the mātāmua line (Barlow, 1991). This principle dictates that these individuals and whānau “...receive more of everything according to their position of birth in the chiefly lineages” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 43). Although, while the title of mātāmua is sometimes used in reference to all first-born children, active leadership was given to first-born sons not first-born daughters (H. M. Mead, 2016; Papakura, 1986). But this was not always the case, argues Api Mahuika (1992), whose knowledge of Ngāti Porou whakapapa demonstrates that their tūpuna gave active leadership to first-born females.



Another identity attribute passed down through te ira tangata is *pūmanawa*, which refers to “natural talents, intuitive cleverness” (Williams, 1991, p. 309). Musical abilities, an outstanding memory, and exceptional skill in the arts, for example, are present and expected in certain lineages (H. M. Mead, 2016). Depending on their relationship with Te Taiao and/or certain deities, specific talents and gifts were/have also been developed, nurtured, and passed down amongst hapū/iwi. However, it was/is also argued that *pūmanawa* could not “...be passed on to people of low class” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 43), implying that talent and intelligence were marks of ‘nobility’ and that *pūmanawa* dissipates if a lineage is ‘watered down.’ Hence the traditional practice of arranged marriages, particularly for females of high rank (Buck, 1950). Examples of *pūmanawa* in the cosmological whakapapa include the distinctive traits and characteristics of the atua’s respective offspring: Rongomātāne and tubular plants; Tangaroa and the creatures that live in and climbed out of the seas and oceans; while it is said that because man developed the same warlike traits as Tūmataunga, he claimed them as his own (Matamua, 2017, personal communication).

*Tūrangawaewae* is then “...the right to be associated with a locality” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 47). This locality comprises the places and spaces “...intimately associated with the identity of hapū and therefore with the identity of the person” (H. M. Mead, 2016, p. 48). *Tūrangawaewae* gives individuals and whānau the right to participate in tribal happenings on the marae; to be buried in the urupā; and to access their maunga and *awa* (rivers), and *wāhi tapu* (sacred places). Thus, in terms of Māori identity, the whenua and whakapapa are critical to one’s sense of purpose and belonging (Te Rito, 2007). An example of *tūrangawaewae* include the various domains of the atua, with the story of Tūtewehiwehi (see above) pointing to the problems that can occur when one abandons or leaves their *tūrangawaewae*.



### **Summary**

In this section, I have demonstrated that whakapapa “...embodies a comprehensive conceptual framework that enables us to make sense of our world” (Mikaere, 2011a, pp. 285-286) and our place within it. Of particular importance is our cosmological whakapapa, which lays the foundation for the physical and metaphysical worlds, the whakapapa framework itself, and Māori world views; i.e., what we perceive

“...reality to be: of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible” (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 2).

### **Te Kōmoremore Framework**

As outlined in the first part of this chapter, whakapapa is a multifaceted and complex conceptual and relational framework that locates phenomena in time and space, and is embedded with layers of meaning, information, and knowledge that underpin Māori world views (Graham, 2009; Mikaere, 2011a; Royal, 1998a; Te Rito, 2007). Quoting Marsden and Henare (1992), a worldview is a “conceptualisation” of what a culture perceives “reality to be” (p. 2) and to which members of that culture “...assent and from which stems their value system” and thus “...strongly influenc[es] every aspect of the culture” (p. 3). What this means in relation to research is that Māori researchers bring with them, and are ‘sensitive’ to, certain concepts including (not an exhaustive list) genealogy, history, ancient knowledge, the metaphysical world, the natural world, storytelling, ‘mythology’, values, and even causality.<sup>67</sup> However, one of the challenges we face as indigenous scholars and researchers is how to apply our world views in a Western academic space. Herein lies one of the benefits of adopting a guiding framework or model.

In this final part of the chapter, I demonstrate how rākau provided the structure with which to employ whakapapa as a theoretical framework. To this end, I describe some of the basic characteristics of kōmoremore; how they are comparable to some of the dimensions and characteristics of whakapapa; and what these observations mean in terms of constructing a framework. Because everything, including rākau, has its own mauri, I speak broadly and descriptively rather than prescriptively.

### **Ngā Āhuatanga o Te Kōmoremore**

As illustrated in Figure 10, kōmoremore comprise four primary layers of tissue: the epidermis, exodermis, cortex, and stele. Each of these tissues has a discrete and interconnected function, which as one organism resonate with the layered,

<sup>67</sup> There seems to be an assumption that because Māori think holistically Māori approaches to research have more in common with the social research paradigms than the scientific paradigm. However, our tūpuna were also scientists. They observed the patterns of the natural world; the movement of the stars, the phases of the moon, and the behaviour of plants and animals for instance (Professor Rangi Matamua, 2017, personal communication; Dr. Ash Pūriri, 2019, personal communication). In short, Māori are not averse to notions of ‘cause and effect’.

sequential, selective, cumulative, and mnemonic āhuatanga of whakapapa. For the purposes of this study, the relative ‘size’ of each layer of tissue is not relevant.

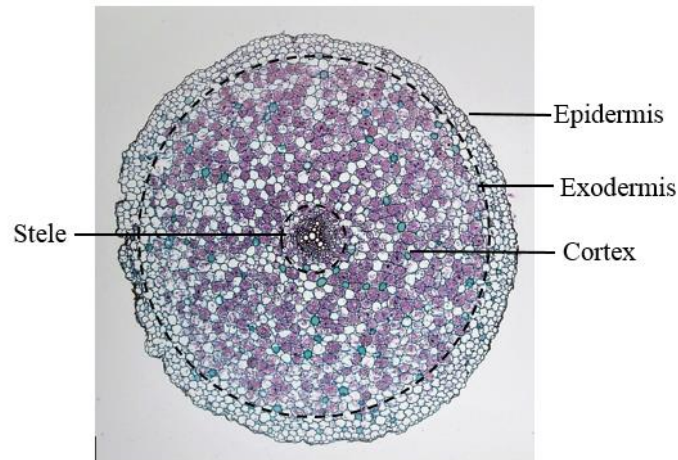


Figure 10: Cross-section of a dicot root<sup>68</sup>

### **The Epidermis : Te Kiri Aronui**

The epidermis is the outer-most layer of skin, and its primary function is to cover and protect the kōmoremore (Urry et al., 2017). Representing notions of what is on the surface, ‘the world before us’, and therefore that which is readily observable (e.g. Te Kete Aronui), I describe this layer as *Te Kiri Aronui* (the observable skin). In terms of whakapapa, Te Kiri Aronui points to the more common perceptions of whakapapa, which tend to be human genealogy and genealogical charts (Mikaere, 2011a). As the first layer of the theoretical framework, Te Kiri Aronui directs attention to the observable world, the present, the status quo, and public knowledge.

### **The Exodermis : Te Kiri Huna**

The exodermis is the second layer of skin, and is a specialised sheath that determines what nutrients enter the kōmoremore (Urry et al., 2017). Selective and difficult to discern with the naked eye, I describe this layer as *Te Kiri Huna* (the hidden skin). In relation to whakapapa, Te Kiri Huna points to the lesser known and accepted dimensions of whakapapa, which tend to be its spiritual dimensions. As the second layer of analysis, Te Kiri Huna directs attention to what lies beneath or behind Te Kiri Aronui including the past and parental phenomena; what has not

<sup>68</sup> Source: *Herbaceous Dicot Root: Mature Ranunculus*, by Berkshire Community College Bioscience Image Library, 2014, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/146824358@N03/35613585260>. Licensed for use under CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication license.

been said, and what has been omitted; and notions and concepts related to the ‘unseen world’ and the sacred.

### **The Cortex : Te Kiko Pūrākau**

The cortex is the flesh of the kōmoremore. This is the storage area that swells when conditions are ideal, and in root crops is the predominant layer eaten by humans and other animals. Adopting the notion of pūrākau as adding ‘flesh (kiko) to the bones’ of whakapapa, I refer to this layer as *Te Kiko Pūrākau* (the storied flesh). As the third layer of analysis, Te Kiko Pūrākau directs attention to the narratives that accompany, illuminate, elaborate, and extend on Te Kiri Aronui and/or Te Kiri Huna – and in particular, the stories that “...provide the tree with what it needs in order to survive and grow” (J. Lee, 2008, p. 126). This is the narrative layer of analysis and is about looking back in order to move forward, as encapsulated in the kīwaha, *Ka mua, ka muri*.

### **The Stele : Te Aho Matua**

At the heart of kōmoremore is the stele, the vascular cylinder containing the primary transport tissues (xylem and phloem) that pump nutrients up, down, and throughout the rākau. Encasing the stele is the endodermis, another specialised sheath that determines what and how much nutrient material moves between Te Kiko Pūrākau and the rākau by way of this vascular cylinder or *Te Aho Matua*. In receiving the nutrients that have passed through Te Kiri Aronui, Te Kiri Huna, and Te Kiko Pūrākau, Te Aho Matua represents the end-point of a distillation process. In other words, Te Aho Matua is responsible for the collection and transportation of key messages and information derived from the previous layers of analysis up into Te Rākau Rangahau, this metaphorical Research Tree.

As illustrated in Figure 11, in transporting nutrients throughout Te Rākau Rangahau, Te Aho Matua assumes a different form. In the trunk and branches, for example, Te Aho Matua is located beneath the bark, but in the leaves diverges into a web of veins that facilitate transpiration (blue) and photosynthesis (yellow). In other words, the application and influence of Te Kōmoremore framework changed as the research progressed.

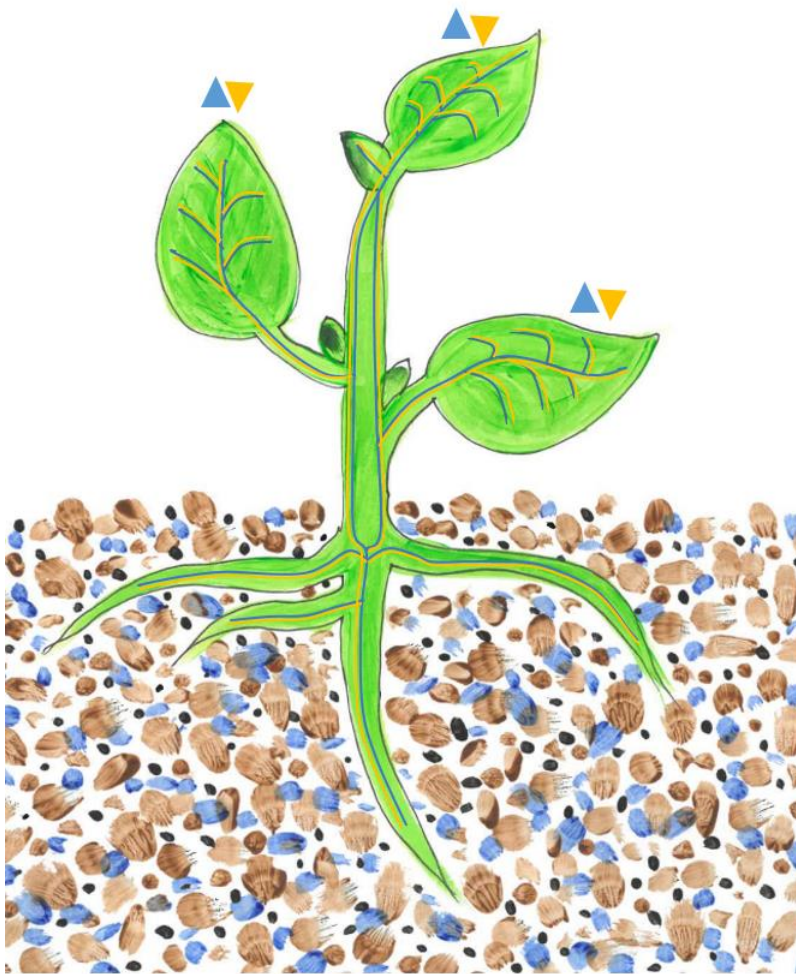


Figure 11: Te Aho Matua vascular system



### **Summary**

In this part of the chapter, I have illustrated and explained how rākau provided the structure with which to employ whakapapa as a theoretical framework, i.e. a scaffold or frame with which to theorise, investigate, and/or analyse some aspect of how the world works (Merriam, 1998). As illustrated in Figure 12, Te Kōmoremore framework comprises three sequential layers of analysis. Te Kiri Aronui represents ‘the world before us’, including the present and what is in plain sight. Te Kiri Huna refers to what lies beneath or behind Te Kiri Aronui, including the past, and anything that is not in plain sight. Te Kiko Pūrākau is the narrative layer of analysis and directs attention to embedded ‘messages and lessons for living’. As a whole, these layers reflect the kīwaha *ka mua, ka muri*, which refers to ‘walking backwards into the future with one’s eyes on the past’. Another way to appreciate this perspective is to visualise a large whakapapa (geneology) chart. Rather than reading

from the very top or very bottom, we often start with someone familiar and thus closer to the present (e.g. oneself, parents, and grandparents), and then trace their whakapapa backward and forward in time.

At the centre of Te Kōmoremore is Aho Matua, the vascular cylinder that pumps the nutrients that have been selected to pass through these layers of analysis up into the rākau/research. In Figure 12, the ascending blue arrow represents the transportation of water-soluble minerals gathered from Te Oneone, and the ascending-descending yellow arrow represents the circulation of the sugar-enriched sap produced during photosynthesis, and illustrates the way in which the exchange of ‘energy’ between the researcher(s) and the research participant(s) feeds back into *te pūtake o te rākau* (root system). Pūtake also excrete nutrients back into the soil, and demonstrates the way in which research informs and influences Te Oneone; i.e. the researcher, their field of research, and the social context.

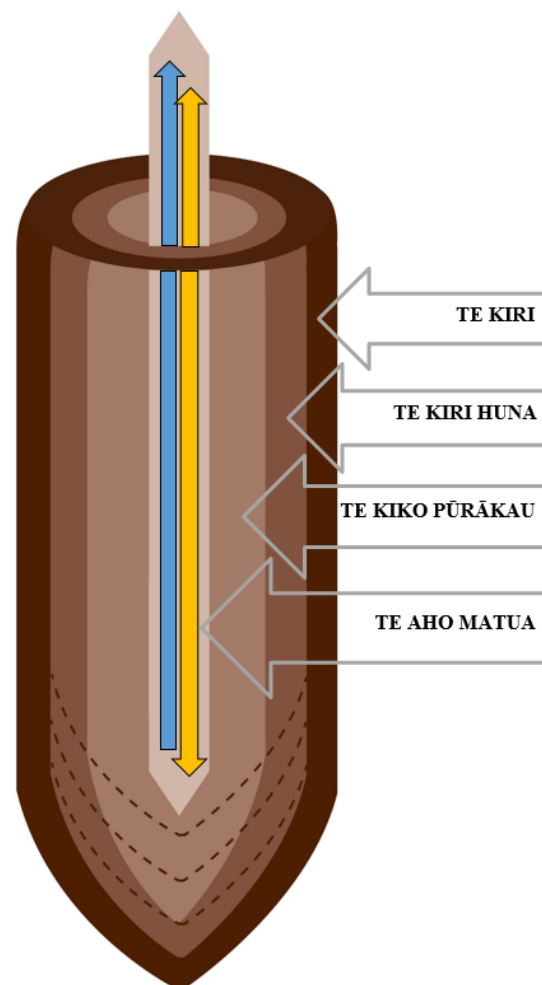


Figure 12: Te Kōmoremore framework

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have described Te Kōmoremore, the theoretical framework for this study. In part one, I explored some of the dimensions, characteristics, and layers of meaning, information, and knowledge embedded in whakapapa – the conceptual framework and pūrākau that our tūpuna used to organise, memorise, retrieve, and transmit layers of meaning, information, and knowledge down the generations. In part two, I then demonstrated how whakapapa and kōmoremore are comparable, and identified the key characteristics of Te Kōmoremore framework. In contrast to whakapapa frameworks that begin with (a selected point in) the past (e.g. Graham, 2009; Royal, 1998b), this framework begins in the present and looks back at the past at the same time as moving into the future.

In the next chapter, I apply Te Kōmoremore framework to the literature review.

## NGĀ KŌMORE KAIWAI

Supporting Te Kōmoremore are Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai, ‘the feeder roots.’ These pūtake grow laterally, near the surface, where they can draw water-soluble nutrients from the leaf-litter donated by the surrounding environment. These pūtake represent my reaching out to absorb the ‘fruits of the field’ in which the research is located. This chapter was thus allocated to the literature review.



*Figure 13: Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai<sup>69</sup>*

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<sup>69</sup> Source: *Bean Time-Lapse 25 days, soil cross section* [video file], by Gphase, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w77zPAAtVTuI>.



## **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to review and discuss the state of knowledge relating to my research topic, and to identify how this study might make a meaningful contribution to this body of knowledge. This chapter has four parts. In part one, I consider the purpose of conceptual and empirical literature reviews and explain how Te Kōmoremore framework informed my review of the literature. Following this explanation are three kōmore kaiwai. The first kōmore kaiwai (part two) is a conceptual/contextual review of leisure literature. The second kōmore kaiwai (part three) is a conceptual/contextual review of positive youth development literature. And the third kōmore kaiwai (part four) reviews a selection of empirical studies that have examined or explored the developmental benefits attributed to leisure participation.

The literature review was guided by three decisions. One, the research question was, and therefore the study would be, exploratory. Two, in the spirit of exploration, rather than focusing on one particular type of activity (e.g. sport) this study would explore leisure activities in their widest sense. Three, interested in what kinds of leisure activities might make a positive contribution to our boys' development, I decided to focus on the field of Positive Youth Development (PYD), and more specifically, research focused on the positive developmental benefits attributed to participating in different leisure activities.

## **Applying Te Kōmoremore Framework to the Literature Review**

The purpose of a conceptual literature review is to become familiar with one's topic and field, develop ideas about how to locate and approach one's study, and to provide a conceptual and contextual backdrop for the reader (Fink, 2014; M. Hammond & Wellington, 2013). The two primary concepts in this study are leisure and Positive Youth Development. Employing Te Kōmoremore framework, leisure and Positive Youth Development represent the first and second kōmore kaiwai, each comprising a three-layered review. Te Kiri Aronui introduces and examines some of the familiar and readily accessible views of and understandings about leisure and Positive Youth Development, which I found are dominated by Western theories and concepts. Te Kiri Huna points to literature that is less accessible or familiar, which were found to be local perspectives of leisure and Positive Youth

Development. Te Kiko Pūrākau then elaborates and extends on aspects of Te Kiri Aronui and/or Te Kiri Huna, with a particular focus on narratives constructed by Māori, about Māori, as Māori, and embedded with lessons and messages for Māori. Finally, reflecting on these layers of kōrero, Te Aho Matua highlights some of the key points distilled from this layered analysis of the literature and how they ‘nourished’ Te Rākau Rangahau.

The third kōmore kaiwai represents the empirical literature review. While conceptual/contextual literature reviews tend to draw on theoretical and historical literature, empirical literature reviews rely on empirical studies (M. Hammond & Wellington, 2013). In terms of generating new knowledge, extending on prior research, and making a contribution to one’s field, an initial review of the empirical literature helps the researcher determine whether a topic “... can and should be researched” (Creswell, 2014, p. 25). The results of previous studies also provide a frame of reference for new studies, benchmarks for comparing results, and locates new studies within the “... larger dialogue in the literature” (Creswell, 2016, p. 58).

In the empirical literature review, Te Kiri Aronui points to the larger body of international research; Te Kiri Huna, to a relatively small collection of studies conducted in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand; while Te Kiko Pūrākau introduces the notion of research as pūrākau. Again, Te Aho Matua highlights some of the key points and how they ‘nourished’ Te Rākau Rangahau.

For the purposes of the literature review the guiding research question was, ‘What kinds of leisure activities might make a positive contribution to the development of boys?’ To be clear, the two conceptual/contextual literature reviews offer a broad overview of the key topics/concepts, and the empirical review focuses on studies that have examined the positive developmental outcomes associated with leisure participation.

## **Te Kōmore Kaiwai – Leisure**

The first conceptual/contextual kōmore kaiwai is leisure. Te Kiri Aronui represents the more common perspectives of leisure as time, activity, attitude, and action. Te Kiri Huna offers a whakapapa (historical overview) of Māori leisure participation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Kiko Pūrākau features four examples of pūrākau employed as a guide for moving into the future and elaborates on the continuance and evolution of Māori forms and perspectives of leisure. Te Aho Matua then summarises how this review informed the research.

### **Te Kiri Aronui: Some common approaches to leisure**

In the course of this review it became clear that there is no one definition of leisure. Instead, theorists discuss the complexities of “...creating an all-embracing definition” (Page & Connell, 2010, p. 7); the “nature” of leisure (Bull et al., 2003); “elements” (Blackshaw, 2010) and “forms” (Rojek et al., 2006) of leisure; and different “theories” (Kelly, 2012) and “approaches” (Page & Connell, 2010) to leisure. Thinking about the nature of Te Kiri Aronui, I focused on approaches to leisure as they more closely reflect everyday perceptions of leisure as ‘free time’, certain types of activities, and the argument that leisure means different things to different people (Borsay, 2006). In contrast, leisure theorists use terms like time, activities, attitude, state of mind and being, and qualities (e.g. Bull et al., 2003; Godbey, 2008; Kelly, 2012).

### **Time**

Leisure defined in relation to time is concerned with when leisure occurs and is arguably the most common approach to leisure (Kelly, 2012). Some time-based definitions include leisure as free time (Bull et al., 2003); time free from work (D. D. McLean & Hurd, 2012); time free from one’s obligations (Page & Connell, 2010); time surplus to the practical necessities of life (Godbey, 2008); and time during which we can do what we want to do (Kelly, 2012). Time-based approaches are useful for establishing benchmarks, tracking change over time, and making population comparisons (Gidlow, 1993; Kelly, 2012). Of particular interest is the idea that leisure can be measured as a distinct segment of life, which has facilitated the notion that work and leisure are opposites. However, leisure can sometimes be work and work can be leisure (Spracklen, 2013). Thus, it is argued that time-based approaches ignore individual experience and meaning (Godbey, 2008). Another

argument is that freedom *from* work and obligation does not necessarily mean that one is free *to* or *for* leisure. Cost, age, and gender are some common exclusionary factors (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). There are also people who experience ‘enforced leisure’ – “...where unemployment or illness remove the work element...” (Page & Connell, 2010, p. 17) – meaning that leisure defined as ‘free time’ is no longer meaningful (Godbey, 2008).

### Activity

According to John Neulinger (1981), certain activities have become leisure simply “...because they are carried out during a period of time designated as leisure or free time” (p. 5). Activity-based approaches are thus concerned with what we do during our free time, and are arguably the most simplistic approach to leisure (Kelly, 2012). Bull et al. (2008) write, for example, that researchers who adopt an activity-based approach, “...simply decide which activities constitute leisure activities and produce a definitive list around which data is collected and analysed” (p. 34). Although activity-based approaches are useful in identifying and tracking leisure choices over time, one of the major criticisms is that the selection or designation of leisure activities is a biased exercise (Page & Connell, 2010). For instance, Bull et al. (2003) argue that activity lists favour “socially acceptable” activities over and above “alternative” activities, and have a “...strong bias towards active and institutionalised leisure at the expense of informal passive forms” (p. 34).

### Attitude

While time-based approaches define leisure as free time, and activity-based approaches focus on the activities we choose to do during that time, attitudinal approaches argue that leisure is “in the actor” (Kelly, 2012, p. 22). In other words, attitudinal approaches focus on what leisure feels like, and how participants “regard an activity” (Page & Connell, 2010, p. 18). The common attitudinal approaches include leisure as ‘a state of mind’, ‘a state of being’, and ‘a quality’.

### State of mind

Theorists and researchers who approach leisure as a state of mind are concerned with individual perception and the emotional states that set leisure apart from other dimensions of life. To illustrate, Neulinger’s (1981) leisure paradigm emphasises “...factors that make a characterisation of and distinction between leisure and nonleisure possible” (p. 15). To experience ‘pure leisure’ one must be feeling the

highest level of perceived freedom and be intrinsically motivated, as opposed to feeling constrained in some way and pursuing some form of external payoff. Other proposed states of mind include perceived competence and positive affect (Edginton et al., 1998), pleasure (Page & Connell, 2010), and non-instrumentality (Kelly, 2012).

#### State of being

Leisure as ‘a state of being’ emphasises the spiritual dimension of leisure (Godbey, 2008). Those who take this approach conceptualise leisure as more than a feeling, but rather “a condition of the soul” (Pieper, 1999, p. 26), “a state of grace” (Godbey, 2008, p. 5), or a feeling of “oneness” (Plummer, 2009). Leisure theorists often refer to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi’s (1997) psychological theory of flow, for example; flow being an emotional state similar to notions of “being in the zone”, “ecstasy”, and “rapture” (p. 29).

#### Qualities

Related to states of being, another attitudinal dimension of interest to leisure theorists and researchers are the qualities that individuals and groups attribute to leisure. Some of the key qualities claimed for leisure include perceived freedom (Neulinger, 1981); pleasure (Bull et al., 2003); feelings of satisfaction, joy, happiness, well-being, and relaxation (Argyle, 1996); desire and happiness (Blackshaw, 2010); and re-creation (Kelly, 2012). In sum, leisure “...is not distinguished by its form or by its location in time...” but is “...a mental condition that is located in the consciousness of the individual” (Kelly, 2012, p. 23). Thus, leisure is also described as an ‘activity that is chosen primarily for its own sake.’

Two qualities or concepts that the literature pays particular attention to are recreation and play, which are often used interchangeably with leisure (Bull et al., 2003). The difference between these concepts becomes clearer, however, when we examine their etymological roots (Kelly, 2012). Leisure is derived from the Latin *licere*, meaning “to be permitted” or “to be free”, and the “...French *loisir*, meaning “free time” (D. D. McLean & Hurd, 2012, p. 20); while recreation is drawn from the “Latin *recreatio*, restoration to health” (Torkildsen, 2005, p. 52), and play from the “...Latin *plaga*, mean[ing] a blow, thrust, or stroke, as in a ball game or combat” and the “...Anglo-Saxon *plega*, referring to a game, sport, or even a fight” (Kelly, 2012, p. 30). Leisure can therefore be conceived as “...an opportunity to carry on

both play and recreation”, and recreation as including “many forms of play” (D. D. McLean & Hurd, 2012, p. 30).

Play is the “cornerstone of leisure and recreation” (Torkildsen, 2005, p. 65) and is one of the characteristics that sets leisure apart from everyday life (Borsay, 2006). In saying that, leisure is also bound to everyday life, in the sense that “culture arises in the form of play” (Huizinga, 1949, p. 66). In other words, play “...contribute[s] to the development in various cultures of their most characteristic customs and institutions” (Caillois, 1962, p. 41). And in play, states John Kelly (2012), “...we are free to create a shadow world in which to act out our imagined place in the real world” (p. 33).

The synonymous use and combination of recreation and leisure implies that leisure activities have re-creative qualities. Karla Henderson (2014) defines recreation, “...as activities pursued for enjoyment as well as for personal and social benefits” (p. 22) – and ‘the outdoors’, tourism, and sport are perceived as particularly ‘re-creative’ (Torkildsen, 2005). The concept of re-creation underpins the compensatory theory, which is the notion that leisure/recreation offers rest from and restoration for more work, and is thus the antithesis of work (Bammel & Burrus-Bammel, 1996, p. 202). Framed as beneficial to health and wellbeing, leisure/recreation is also social institution (Plummer, 2009), and has therefore been theorised as functional, in the sense that leisure makes a “...contribution to maintaining a stable social whole” (Marshall, 1998, p. 241). For instance, concerned with the cost and social impact of obesity and other chronic health conditions, governments provide funding for the provision of public parks, playgrounds, sports fields, museums, and aquatic and recreation centres (Kelly, 2012).

While attitudinal approaches to leisure acknowledge individual meaning and experience, some leisure theorists argue that this approach is too simplistic. One of the common arguments is that leisure as freedom is an illusion (Rojek, 1995). Kelly (2012) states, for instance, that “...leisure is not free-floating but occurs amid cultural, social, political and economic contexts” (p. 24) that not only provide opportunities for, but also restrict and shape leisure choices and experiences. Also problematic is the notion that recreational activities are by definition ‘re-creative’, when in fact mastering some leisure activities can be frustrating (D. D. McLean &

Hurd, 2012), some can be “addictive, obsessional or harmful” (Rojek, 2010, p. 28), and some are not always compensatory (Bammel & Burrus-Bammel, 1996).

### Action

While time, activity, and attitude tend to be grouped together in the literature, leisure as action is treated separately. In sociology, ‘action’ refers to and acknowledges our capacity as human beings to make meaningful decisions and choices (Lawson & Garrod, 2001). Thus, the focus or starting-point for action theories and approaches is the individual. Of particular interest here are John Kelly’s leisure as action theory, and Chris Rojek’s action approach to leisure.

### Leisure as action

Kelly (1987) describes leisure as “freedom *for* being and becoming” (p. 240; original emphasis). In other words, leisure is an experiential process and an opportunity for “self-creation” (Kelly, 2012, p. 512). To explain, Kelly (1987) states that leisure is “freedom *for* action” in the sense that while our “decisions and actions are always limited by situational factors” (p. 229) we can choose *not* to do something. Moreover, in relation to ‘becoming’, “...we learn who we are by taking action in a world that also tells us who we are” (Kelly, 1987, p. 116). In other words, subject to social institutions (e.g. education, government agencies), belonging to various social groups (e.g. ethnic, culture, gender), and in interacting with others we not only inherit and learn social norms, roles, expectations, and conventions – but also test and challenge them, and explore different versions of who we are and want to be.

Focusing on negotiated self-creation, Kelly’s is an interactionist approach (Rojek, 2005a). Interactionism includes a wide range of different perspectives that generally agree on the following premises articulated by Herbert Blumer (as cited in Fine & Sandstrom, 2006):

...that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings those things have for them... that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows ... [and] that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the thing he [sic] encounters. (para. 6)

However, one of the major criticisms of interactionism is that the centrality of meaning emphasises individual experience and neglects or offers a shallow reading of social structure, power, and history (Marshall, 1998). (Rojek, 2005a). In response, interactionists argue that relations of power “...are the product of interaction rather than supra-individual ‘structural’ forces” (Dennis & Smith, 2015, p. 354). In other words, structural forces are not spontaneous creations or entities, but are constructed and maintained by human beings in interaction with one another. As an example, Howard Becker (1963) states, “...deviance is *not* a quality of the act that the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an ‘offender’” (p. 9; original emphasis).

#### Action approach to leisure

Placing more emphasis on context, Rojek (2005b) argues that human behaviour is situational and involves a shifting or fluid balance of power. In other words, while leisure is voluntary behaviour it is nonetheless “rooted” in “...immediate locations that are always caught up in wider relationships relating to community, race, culture, economics and politics” (Rojek, 1995, p. 26). Rather than being completely free or wholly determined, however, the ‘power ratio’ between individuals, and individuals and the wider social structure is fluid (Rojek, 2005b). Personal interactions and structural forces influence location and motivation, but are also sites of resistance.

Further, while Kelly’s (2012) approach to ‘leisure as action’ is concerned with self-creation (aka identity work), Rojek tenders a political agenda for leisure. His position is that in leisure we become conscious of our vulnerabilities, which in turn encourages us to think and behave more ethically and make more ethical leisure choices. In short, leisure participation can lead to active citizenship (Rojek, 2005b). At a contextual level, leisure thus plays a significant and increasing role in achieving the goal of democratic societies to build “...solidarity from conditions of scarcity” (Rojek, 2005a, p. 24). The potential mission of the action approach is thus “...to investigate how power and history condition leisure choice and patterns of behaviour in order to enhance the goals of empowerment, distributive justice, and social inclusion” (Rojek, 2005b, p. 14). Towards this end, action analyses begin with individual and narrative data (e.g. interviews, surveys, life history analysis) and involves “...mapping leisure trajectories, intentions and motivations onto a context of cultural and economic positioning” (Rojek, 2005b, p. 20).





### Summary

In this first layer of the leisure literature review, I have demonstrated that there is no one definition of leisure. Instead, definitions of and approaches to leisure vary depending on one's discipline, perspective, and agenda (Torkildsen, 2005), and each has its strengths and limitations. Some leisure theorists and researchers thus offer 'all-embracing' definitions of leisure. To illustrate, Daniel McLean and Amy Hurd (2012) define leisure as:

...that portion of an individual's time that is not directly devoted to work or work-connected responsibilities or to other obligated forms of maintenance or self-care. Leisure implies freedom and choice and is customarily used in a variety of ways, including to meet one's personal needs for reflection, self-enrichment, relaxation, pleasure, and affiliation. Although it usually involves some form of participation in a voluntarily chosen activity, it may also be regarded as a holistic state of being or even a spiritual experience. (p. 24)

### **Te Kiri Huna: Leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand**

This second layer of the leisure literature review focuses what lies beneath or out of plain sight. Here, I found that while much has been written about European and particularly British leisure, significantly less has been written about leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand. According to Harvey Perkins and Bob Gidlow (1991) the major reasons for this dearth of leisure research in New Zealand are a lack of funding and a lack of interest. Consequently, this section relies more on sport and historical texts than leisure texts. In the course of this review, I also found that more attention has been given to European than Māori leisure participation. In this section, I address this gap by weaving together dispersed reports of Māori 'leisure'.<sup>70</sup> These reports tend to focus on or begin with the work of Elsdon Best.

### **Ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia**

By all accounts, Elsdon Best's *Games and Pastimes of the Māori* (1925a) is the first text dedicated to and the most detailed record of what might be described as traditional Māori leisure (Borell & Kahi, 2017; H. Brown, 2008; Hokowhitu, 2008; Leaf, 2004; Royal, 1998b; G. Watson et al., 2016). To offer a summary, Best (1925a)

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<sup>70</sup> Complementing my review are the writings of Dr. Gray Leaf (2015), who in his PhD thesis traces key moments in the history of Māori sport and recreation, and reviews the work of Māori (and other) scholars in the field of sport.

begins with the “mythical origin[s]” of *ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia* (the arts of pleasure) and refers to the “origin agents or personifications of the arts” (p. 1) including Raukatauri and Raukatamea, Rongo-marae-roa, and the story of Tinirau and Kae. Best also comments on when our tūpuna were “free to devote time to amusements” (p. 2); identifies *whare tapere* (houses of amusement) and marae-ātea as the primary sites for *ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia*; and offers a classification of Māori ‘games and pastimes’. Wrestling, boxing, jumping, foot racing, slinging, and tree climbing are classified as *Military exercises and games viewed as useful training*. Jackstones, dart throwing, cats cradle, and posture dances are categorised as *Games requiring agility or manual dexterity*. Draughts, “riddles, etc”, “word play etc.”, and story telling are classified as *Games and pastimes requiring calculation, mental alertness or memorising powers*. Activities such as kite flying, hide and seek, stilt walking, top spinning, skipping, and swinging are *Games and pastimes of children*. While *Aquatic games and pastimes* include swimming, surf riding, the water jump, the waterside swing (Moari), and canoe racing. Best also dedicates chapters to *Māori songs and Māori singing*, *Musical instruments*, and *Introduced games*.

However, while *Games and Pastimes of the Māori* is celebrated for its scope and detail, it is a product of its time. Brendan Hokowhitu (2008) argues that early European accounts of Māori ‘games and pastimes’ are rooted in “Enlightenment rationalism”, meaning activities that were “incomprehensible” to the ‘rational’ European were unauthenticated; i.e., re-interpreted, dismissed, or simply ignored (H. Brown, 2008). For example, because kites were a child’s toy in Britain, Best included *manu tukutuku* in the children’s section of his taxonomy – even though his informants told him that kites also were flown by adults, and certain kites were used in war, and were imbued with powers of divination (Hokowhitu, 2001). Best (1925a) continues to discredit his informants, stating for example that Tuta Nihoniho was “mistaken in his account” of stone-casting slings, for “men of that generation are always liable to error” (p. 18); the game was more likely introduced by Europeans. Works such as Best’s thus “...elevates the Pākehā researcher to the position of all knowing” (Hokowhitu, 2001, p. 42) and therein cast Māori as unintelligent, delusional, childish, and uncultured.

Despite its limitations, however, Best’s work is “...by world standards, a rich collection and an invaluable reference resource” (H. Brown, 2008, p. 11). The fact that Best’s informants were able to describe and demonstrate traditional

activities one hundred years after first contact, also points to the successful transmission of ngā taonga tuku iho and the resilience of traditional leisure practices (H. Brown, 2008). Further, his comparative and contrasting tribal accounts emphasise the shared but diverse nature of ngā iwi Māori. While “...in outlining the role of oral traditions and the importance of a connection to deities”, state Phil Borell and Hamuera Kahi (2017), “Best captured a connection between leisure and Māori society that transcends simple “amusement”” (p. 131). Examples include the ‘board game’ known as *mū tōrere* (Figure 14), which represents a wheke (Best, 1925a) and/or a star constellation (H. Brown, 2008), including *Ngā mata o te Ariki Tāwhirimātea* (aka *Matariki*, or the Pleiades) ‘the eyes of the god Tāwhirimātea’ – who in his anguish at the separation of Rangi and Papa (see Te Kōmoremore) ripped them from their sockets, crushed them, and hurled them into the heavens (Matamua, 2017). *Moari* (Figure 15), which were a physical representation of Whiro’s attempt to reach the heavens before Tāne (Best, 1925a) (see Te Kōmoremore), Tawhaki’s ascent into the heavens in pursuit of his wife Tangotango (Grey, 1855), were a “psychological support-mechanism during times of stress” (e.g. tangihanga) (H. Brown & Brown, 2017, p. 46), and in young children engendered a fearlessness of heights and water. And *Pōtaka tākiri* (humming tops), which were implements of play and competition for children and adults alike, and were also spun during tangihanga to accompany songs of lament and ceremonial wailing (Best, 1925a).

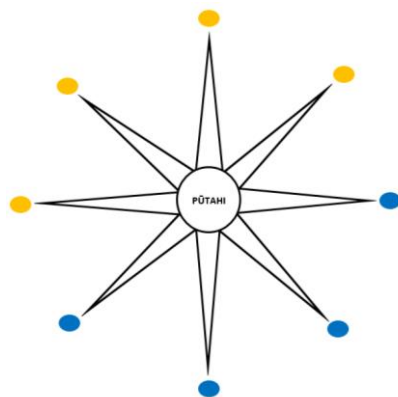


Figure 14: *Mū tōrere*

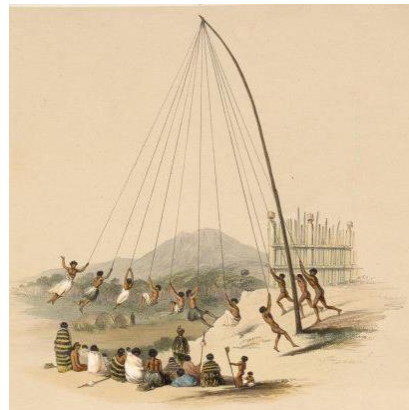


Figure 15: *Moari*<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Source: *Traditional Māori games - ngā tākaro - Games of physical movement*, by George French Angas [artist], 2013, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/traditional-maori-games-nga-takaro/page-7>.

In addition to transmitting cultural knowledge and promoting important skills, ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia were also a means and opportunity to increase one's mana; identify a worthy mate and gain their attention; build and maintain relationships with other hapū/iwi (H. Brown & Brown, 2017; Buck, 1950; Royal, 1998b; G. Watson et al., 2016); and to get close to one's enemies – examples of which have been immortalised and passed down in pūrākau and *pakiwaitara* (legends) (see Bradford, 1997). Of particular significance is the story of Kae and Tinirau, in which Tinirau sends a troupe of female entertainers to a neighbouring island in search of Kae, the tohunga who killed and ate his pet whale. Kae had crooked teeth and the only way to ensure that they abducted the right man was for the troupe to make their audience smile and laugh. Towards this end, their performances included singing, flute playing, hand games, stick games, and puppets. However, it was a seductive and/or humorous haka that sealed Kae's fate (Royal, 1998b).

Another significant characteristic of ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia was the presence and participation of adults (McGregor & McMath, 1993). Early observers note, "...old men amused themselves with looking on and encouraging younger ones" (Colenso, 2001, p. 27), and in the "...manufacture of toys and certain paraphernalia employed in the games played by adults" (Best, 1925a, p. 2). In fact, European observers belittled Māori men for playing "childish" games such as kite-flying and spinning tops (Hokowhitu, 2008). Such judgements were of course rooted in a Victorian worldview, wherein children were considered second-class citizens (Sutton-Smith, 1981). Whereas Māori children were well treated (Papakura, 1986), and were thus described by Europeans as "indulged" and surprisingly forthright (e.g. Polack, 1838).

However, while tamariki were free to play where and whenever they liked (Papakura, 1986), and work was punctuated with moments of *tākaro* (play) and waiata (Shortland, 1851), there were also clear patterns of leisure participation (Best, 1925a). In conducting a survey of *papakāinga* (villages), Joel Polack (1838) comments on the regularity with which singing, haka, and other amusements followed the evening meal. Maggie Papakura (1986) states tamariki regularly went to sleep listening to tales of their tūpuna and tribal lore (e.g. signs in the natural world). Significant events on the lunar and social calendar (Keane, 2013), including

the rising of *Matariki* (aka Pleiades); important births, deaths, and marriages; and political meetings were celebrated with *hākari* (feasting and festivities).<sup>75</sup> While the blooming of certain flowers used to make perfumed oils marked the season of the *whare matoro*, the ‘houses’ of hidden intentions and amorous advances (Royal, 1998b). Ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia was also indulged in only when and where Rongomātane, the atua of peace, held sway (Best, 1925a) – meaning when warfare was in recess (Royal, 1998b) – during which hapū hosted ‘sporting’ contests and extended invitations to their neighbours in the form of a ceremonial *poi* (ball), and/or the flying of certain manu tukutuku (H. Brown, 2008).



In my review of literature related to ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia, I also identified three areas that require more attention. First, when not referring specifically to men, boys, or children, there is a tendency to speak of Māori as a collective and thus women indirectly. When wāhine Māori are mentioned, the topics are limited to dancing for their guests or hosts, ceremonial mourning, weaving, and participating in ‘sham fights’ (Morrell, 1958; Polack, 1838; Reed, 1951). The story of Kae and Tinirau demonstrates, however, that women were competent in a wide range of activities, although this company did comprise high-ranking women including Tinirau’s sisters and wife, suggesting that proficiency in such activities may have been class-based. Further investigation would benefit from a Mana Wahine analysis.

Second, there is a tendency to translate and define, rather than explore Māori concepts of leisure. Tākaro is defined as simply play, games, and sport (Williams, 1991); however if we examine some of the meanings associated with tā and karo this kupu becomes more meaningful. Alisha Smith (1998) offers a brief analysis. *Tā*, used in the sense of *whakatā*, describes the “...catching of one’s breath during a temporary respite from work” (p. 53); *takohe* is a derivative of *whakatakohe*, meaning “to loiter, proceed slowly, dawdle” (Williams, 1991, p. 373); and *ngahau* is a derivative of *whakangahau* (A. Smith, 1998), meaning “to lead by example, encourage, amuse” (Williams, 1991, p. 226). Tā can also be interpreted as “to dump, strike, beat, thump, throw down, and tackle” and karo “to parry, avoid, dodge, duck, evade, elude, and save” (Moorfield, n.d.b); the combination of which supports the

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<sup>75</sup> Western examples of *hākari* include Christmas and Thanksgiving dinner.

definition of tākaro as “to engage in single combat; wrestle” and “play and sport” (Williams, 1991, p. 369).

Finally, there is the mystery of *Rēhia*, “...the deity under whom all amusements and entertainments are said to be conducted” (Royal, 1998b, p. 165). What I mean by mystery is that while both Royal (1998b) and Best (1925b) refer to *Rēhia* the deity, they have nothing more to add. Neither do the Māori language dictionaries (e.g. Tregear, 1891; Williams, 1991) or Margaret Orbell’s (1995) *Illustrated encyclopaedia of Māori myth and legend*. Given the significance of ‘*rēhia*’ this too deserves further exploration, beginning perhaps with the Ngāti Porou equivalent *Ngā mahi a Ruhanui* (the arts of Ruhanui) suggests Best (1925a), or with the star known as *Rēhia* states Professor Rangī Matamua (personal communication, 2019).

### **The coming of the European**

Following Best’s *Games and Pastimes of the Māori*, the historical literature turns to European leisure, and in some cases, how their leisure activities and perspectives disrupted Māori life and leisure. In this section, I weave some of the various accounts together to offer a fuller historical account.

When the sealers and whalers arrived here they brought with them their appetite for tobacco, alcohol, gambling, and women (A. Anderson, 2014; M. King, 2003; McGregor & McMath, 1993; Sinclair, 1991; R. Walker, 1990; J. Watson, 1993; M. Wright, 2013). As mentioned elsewhere, the main port of call was Pēwhairangi, where the “...debauchery natural to a whaling port took place mainly on board visiting ships” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 47) until the 1830s, when traders established grogeries and tavern entertainment ashore. By 1838, the town of *Kororāreka* (aka Russell) had “innumerable grog shops”, five hotels, a theatre, gambling saloons, skittle alleys, and a church (Wright, 2013, p. 48).

Although our tūpuna controlled and often dictated the terms of trade with the early Europeans,<sup>76</sup> they could not control the consequences (R. Walker, 1990). Tobacco, alcohol, and gambling introduced new addictions and distractions (McGregor & McMath, 1993), while inexplicable diseases (e.g. influenza, smallpox,

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<sup>76</sup> During the ‘race for arms’ some hapū would only trade for muskets, for instance.

measles, typhoid) and musket warfare killed thousands.<sup>77</sup> The introduction of muskets and the European demand for women (and boys) and *mōkaikai* (preserved human heads) also increased the threat of (Māori) raiding parties, and therein restricted the mobility and ability of smaller whānau and hapū to use their seasonal settlements and gardens, and maintain tribal relationships (Wright, 2013). The establishment of market gardens and moving to centres of trade also disrupted traditional patterns of living (Sinclair, 1991). Writing in 1840, William Brown (1851) notes, “...instead of enjoying themselves with song and the merry dance, as formerly, [Māori] are absorbed in thinking of their next bargain with the Europeans” (p. 94). The picture emerging here suggests that during the early colonial period, ngā iwi Māori (in certain areas of the country) had less time for ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia, which may in part explain why the historical literature tends to focus on European leisure (e.g. Ryan & Watson, 2018; J. Watson, 1993; O. Wilson, 1990).

As discussed elsewhere, Christianity arrived in Aotearoa in 1814. What the missionaries took as interest in their God, however, was arguably a desire and strategy to have ready access to European skills and technology (Binney et al., 2014b). In short, just as European products were being acculturated so too were the early missionaries, who had very little mana at that time (R. Walker, 1990). Hence, mission stations were often targets of *muru* (plunder; Binney et al., 2014), and their ‘pupils’ came and went as they pleased (see V. Carson, 1992). This casual approach supports the argument that the Europeans themselves were a leisure activity, a ‘sideshow’ (M. King, 2003). The tide began to turn, however, when the missionaries were able to teach, preach, and printed the Bible in te reo Māori (Binney et al., 2014). Associated with trade, literacy also became “...a skill associated with considerable mana” (Binney et al., 2014, p. 196), and given the excitement aroused by literacy and religion, some writers include reading in their lists of introduced leisure activities (e.g. Best, 1925a; Dieffenbach, 1843; McGregor & McMath, 1993).

As the influence of the missionaries and Christianity grew, so did adherence to keeping the Sabbath holy. Often quoted, Kowhia Ngutu Kaka (as cited in McDonnell, 1887) states, “We were much puzzled about the new laws made for our people. We were not to spin humming tops on Sunday, or peel kumara or potatoes...

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<sup>77</sup> It is estimated that by 1840, disease and musket warfare had reduced the Māori population by 40% (R. Walker, 1990).

gather firewood... or fish, or bathe...” (p. 502). The missionaries also exhorted and even scared their converts into abandoning their “national dances and games” (Dieffenbach, 1843); particularly those associated with the spirit world (e.g. Moari), of a sexual nature (e.g. whare matoro), or might arouse the ‘warrior senses’ (e.g. haka) (H. Brown, 2013; Royal, 1998b). These leisure activities were eventually replaced with scripture study and hymn singing (Stack, 2004), European leisure activities (Best, 1925a), and sterilised versions of tākaro (e.g. kite flying and whipping tops without the accompanying ‘charms’) (Buck, 1950).

### **European leisure**

After the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (see Chapter 1), immigration from the British Isles increased exponentially and European leisure swept across the land. Whether they came as colonists (1840-50s), to fight in the Land Wars (1860-1872), to seek their fortunes on the goldfields (1860s), or as government-assisted labourers (1870s), the pioneers arrived with their ‘cultural baggage’ at a time when Britain was “...on the cusp of the shift from pre-modern to modern sport...” (Ryan & Watson, 2018, p. 38). To illustrate, the early Anniversary Day celebrations comprised a mix of serious sport, folk tradition, and village fete, including cricket, shooting, wrestling, and quoits matches; rowing, horse, foot, sack, wheelbarrow, and egg and spoon races; the ‘greased pig’ and ‘soaped pole’; picnicking; and dances and balls (Booth, 2000; Macdonald, 2009). The colonists also ‘unpacked’ their collection of rational recreation institutions such as libraries, mechanics’ institutes, working men’s clubs, newspapers, theatres, museums, pleasure gardens, exhibitions (Daley, 2009), Agricultural and Pastoral (A&P) Shows, and jubilees (Macdonald, 2009). Also ‘unpacked’ were British flora and fauna, so that “... the sports man and lover of nature might enjoy the same sports and studies that make the remembrance of their former homes so dear...” (M. King, 2003, p. 195). And attempts were made to establish sports clubs; however, the realities of life on the frontier meant most folded after a season or two (Ryan & Watson, 2018).

Goldminers and farmers had a different experience to those building the colonial towns and settlements (Sutton-Smith, 1981; Watson, 1998). Servicing the thousands of men who came here for the gold rushes, entrepreneurs built hotels and offered cheap alcohol, music, dancing girls, prostitutes, and games equipment (e.g. quoits, skittles, billiards) and sporting events (e.g. boxing, arm-wrestling, foot-racing contests) on which to gamble (Booth, 2000; Eldred-Grigg, 1984; Macdonald,



2009; Phillips, 1996; J. Watson, 1998). In contrast, after dark, farming families played parlour games (e.g. hide the thimble), read, played musical instruments and sang, and on Sundays attended church, visited nearby friends and family, and pooled their resources to picnic in the bush, and by rivers and beaches (Daley, 1999; J. Watson, 1998). When not working, rural children devised their own play and playthings (Sutton-Smith, 1981), while town-dwelling children had fewer responsibilities and more variety in their leisure (e.g. shops, ports), whereas upper-class children were kept in the home where they were provided with “suitable playmates”, toys, game sets, and music and dance lessons (Sutton-Smith, 1981).

In response to upper and middle-class concerns about unruly gangs of urban working-class children, the *Education Act 1877* marked the beginning of a civilising process aimed at children. This Act provided free elementary schooling for Pākehā children (Sutton-Smith, 1981), and on the ‘heels’ of the Land Wars (see Introduction chapter), boys were instructed in military drill. Schools also featured a “... compulsory ‘village green’” where children “... carried on the games and sports acquired at picnic, parlour, and sports meetings from older children and from the homeland memories of their parents and grandparents” (Sutton-Smith, 1981, p. 18). At the turn of the Century, inspired by trends in Britain, Australia, and Sweden, the *Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act 1901* made exercise (e.g. gymnastics) compulsory for boys and girls (Simon, 1998). Public schools also introduced the civilising character-building games of the English public schools (MacDonald, 2009). And, inspired by the American playground movement (Macdonald, 2009), the first supervised playground was built in Myers Park in 1916.

The expansion of British sports was seen in the so-called ‘character-building game’ of rugby. During the 1880s, provinces formed unions and standardised the rules of the game but there were still local variations. “This civilising process”, states Jock Phillips (1996), “reached a climax in 1892 with the organisation of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union” (p. 96), which instituted strict rules and disciplinary procedures to curtail the culture of fighting, drinking, and swearing. In terms of developing a national identity, emphasis is given to the 1905-06 All Blacks rugby tour of Britain. Amassing 830 points to their opponents’ 39 points, and in beating the Motherland at her own game, the tour “...created idols of the All Blacks and turned them into formal representatives of the nation’s manhood” (Phillips, 1996, p. 109). Debating the reasons for the colony’s superiority on the field,

commentators focused on the pioneering lifestyle and spirit. The (British) New Zealand male possessed the attributes of “...superior physical toughness borne of an open-air life, ingenuity and mental adaptability, courage, teamwork and good fellowship, and egalitarian spirit, modest leadership...” (Phillips, 1996, p. 118).

More recently, however, the legend of the 1905-06 tour – which is credited with creating the myth that the early All Black teams were the embodiment of rural masculinity and that the game was classless and egalitarian – have been challenged. Daley’s (2005) media analysis suggests that until the All Blacks won their first game, New Zealanders had no interest in the team, the tour, or the game; their opposing teams were evenly matched in stature; and the All Blacks were routinely criticised for their uncivilised style of play. Further, Ryan’s (2005) study of historical team demographics <sup>78</sup> (1884-1938) demonstrates that the largest proportion of the All Blacks belonged to urban clubs, and were white-collar professionals who had attended secondary school where they had encouragement, coaching, and playing opportunities not available to the majority.<sup>79</sup>

The turn of the century was then marked by new freedoms and pleasures (Daley, 2003). The economic boom of the early 1900s created opportunities for girls and women to work (Eldred-Grigg, 1984). Shorter working hours combined with an income and greater mobility in the form of the new English safety bicycle and freed young people from the prying eyes of adults (Eldred-Grigg, 1984). Prosperity, technology, leisure time, and a lesser need for interdependence also facilitated the privatisation and commercialisation of leisure (Toynbee, 1995). As technology improved, the gramophone and radio replaced the piano, moving pictures replaced magic lantern shows (Macdonald, 2009), and commercial dances featuring the music of Britain and America became increasingly popular with young New Zealanders (Daley, 1999).

These new freedoms were also a cause for concern. The younger generation was becoming increasingly bold and parents, argued church leaders, too permissive (Eldred-Grigg, 1984). Young women were more interested in working and having fun than becoming mothers; mothers were more concerned with working, politics, and societies than childrearing and their domestic chores; men were becoming

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<sup>78</sup> This survey examined the players’ clubs of origin, and professions and level of education at the time that they were first selected.

<sup>79</sup> Only 3% of the Pākehā population attended secondary school.

alcoholics and fathers were neglecting their families; while young boys and men were more larrikin than citizen (Daley, 2003).

### **Māori were “quick”**

It is often stated in the literature that “Māori were “quick” to adopt European sports and leisure activities (e.g. McGregor & McMath, 1993; Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004; Palenski, 1998; Phillips, 1996). Early observers note that Māori were adept at playing draughts, hosted their own horse-racing meets and were skilled jockeys, became ‘fond’ of tobacco and alcohol, and participated in Anniversary Day celebrations (Macdonald, 2009; Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004; Ryan, 2007; Ryan & Watson, 2018). However, other reports offer a different perspective.

Eldred-Grigg (1984) argues that despite the prevalence of alcohol consumption among Pākehā, drunkenness among Māori did not become visible for two to three generations (about the 1860s). Some Māori even joined the prohibition movement, with four native districts voting to go ‘dry’ in 1910 (Eldred-Grigg, 1984). As illustrated in the following excerpt from the *Nelson Examiner’s* (as cited in Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004) report on the 1843 Nelson Anniversary Day celebrations, the influence of the missionaries also varied:

Only two [Māori] canoes were found to start; some simpletons or other, with an affectation of sanctity, too ridiculous to be called wicked, and only deserving of pity, having persuaded the natives that such amusements were *unchristian* and that, if they joined the race, they must not come any more to prayers. (p. 202; original emphasis)

Moreover, Māori participation in the Nelson Anniversary Day events increased over the years, and extended to horse races, foot races, wrestling contests, and the ‘high leap’ (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004). This is not surprising given that other than horse racing, Māori had been practicing these activities for hundreds of years if not centuries. Moreover, one could argue that our tūpuna viewed the Anniversary Day celebrations as a Pākehā hākari. Understandably, attendance also varied from hapū/iwi to hapū/iwi, particularly in the North Island where the larger and longer land battles had been waged (Borell & Kahi, 2017; Ryan & Watson, 2018).

With the advent of Native schools (1867) and compulsory attendance (1894), Māori children were also *required* to participate in Pākehā leisure activities (Leaf, 2004). Coming to the close of the Land Wars, a white paper written by the Native

Minister Donald McLean (1871) to the Inspector of Schools offers a date and reason for the introduction of sports in schools:

I think it a great matter of importance that all games which the children are taught to play in their hours of recreation should be the same as are played at English schools, such as cricket, football and other similar athletic sports, not only for the sake of the physical benefit the children will derive from such exercises, but also in the hope that the school may thereby be rendered more attractive. (para. 5)

Other than this white paper, generic statements that English sports were introduced in schools during the 1870s (e.g. Ryan & Watson, 2018), and that the *Native Schools Code 1880* provided schools with subsidies for the purchase of games equipment Judith Simon (1998), it is difficult to find references to Māori schoolyard activities.

In relation to education and sport, the success of Te Aute College<sup>80</sup> students in rugby was/has also been taken as a sign that Māori were ‘quick’ to take up the game (e.g. Binney & O’Malley, 2014; Macdonald, 2009; Mulholland, 2009; Ryan & Watson, 2018). In their record of accolades, the Te Aute team won the inaugural 1883-1884 season of the Hawkes Bay club championship, and again in 1900 (Ryan & Watson, 2018), and in 1904 Te Aute was the first New Zealand secondary school to send a rugby team overseas (Sydney, Australia) (Mulholland, 2009). But what put Te Aute ‘on the map’, states Robert Alexander (1951), was the number of students who went on to play representative rugby. The most notable of which was Tāmami Rangiwahia Erihana (aka Tom Ellison). Ellison was one of six Te Aute alumni to participate in the 1888 Natives tour of Australia and Britain, during which he introduced the pre-game haka. He was also the author of the wing-forward position and the 2-3-2 scrum formation. However, Ryan (1993) points to the lack of Māori players, and hence the addition of five Pākehā players. After the 1888 tour, Ellison went on to captain and coach the first ‘official’ New Zealand rugby team (1893), recommended the now legendary black uniform with silver fern emblem, and wrote one of the first books on rugby (see Ellison, 1902) (Mulholland, 2009).

Māori sport participation during the colonial period, however, was richer than rugby. As illustrated in Joseph Romanos’ (2012) text *100 Māori Sports Heroes*, Māori also excelled in boxing, athletics, and golf. During the 1870s and 1880s,

<sup>80</sup> An Anglican boarding school for Māori boys.

tennis became popular in some regions, and Ryan and Watson (2018) report a keen following of cricket in Kaiapoi, Rangiora, and Rāpaki (near Christchurch). In 1889, a Māori baseball club was formed Waiwhetū (Wellington region), and during the 1890s, Māori men and women participated in cycling races (Ryan & Watson, 2018).

Tangata whenua were also involved in tourism; although it was they who were ‘on display’ as opposed to travelling or visiting for their pleasure or recreation. No longer a military threat, photographers and the Tourist Bureau romanticised Māori and appropriated Māori motifs (Binney & O’Malley, 2014), with postcards and advertising featuring the ‘Māori Chief’, ‘dusky maidens’, grinning native children, and Māori arts (McGregor & McMath, 1993). While tourism was a form of work, put Māori ‘on display’, and “...gave non-Māoris little indication of the nature and day-to-day strengths of Māori values...” (M. King, 1984, p. 199), it did become an important source of income for Māori (Binney & O’Malley, 2014) and also played a significant role in the preservation of Māori dance, song, and games for future generations (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004; Te Awēkotuku, 1981). Māori were also invited to participate in national exhibitions, albeit as “... relics of the past... rather than citizens of modernity” (Daley, 2009, p. 429). Brass band instruments were a feature of Māori tourism, and were adopted by the Parihaka<sup>81</sup> and Rātana<sup>82</sup> movements (Binney & O’Malley, 2014). Still, although Māori participation in Pākehā sports and tourism perpetuated the notion of equality and excellent race relations, and “... ingratiated tāne to a Pākehā public who had largely become antagonistic toward Māori after the civil wars...” (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 270), Māori continued to experience racism and exclusion. In short, the racial amalgamation and equality that was being lauded on the rugby field and portrayed in tourism was in reality, selective (Leaf, 2004; G. Watson et al., 2016).

According to Greg Ryan and James Watson (2018), Māori entered the sporting mainstream in greater numbers at the turn of the century. Although, they then point to examples of rangatiratanga. Their examples include the 1888 Natives tour – which was promoted and funded by Māori. They note the poor representation of Māori in the national rugby team<sup>83</sup> and the Māori rugby tours (1910, 1911, 1912,

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<sup>81</sup> A movement for peace and independence, and a village established on the slopes of Taranaki by the prophets and leaders Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi in 1866.

<sup>82</sup> Religious and political movement founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana in 1925.

<sup>83</sup> Between 1896 and 1910 only three Māori represented New Zealand (Ryan & Watson, 2018, p. 111).

1913) – which required NZRFU approval and who also refused to provide any financial support. There were also developments in Māori tennis – including the *intertribal* Marumaru Cup (est. 1907) and the Māori Tennis Association (est. 1909). Further, Ryan and Watson (2018) point to (rare) examples of Māori participating in cricket, athletics, and golf. In sum, rather than ‘entering the sporting mainstream’, it was more a case of Māori creating their own opportunities and sporting communities.

One of the most common charges made against the introduction of European leisure is that it supplanted ngā-mahi-a-te-rehia. As discussed elsewhere, Best (1925a) states Māori “abandoned” their games and pastimes in favour of European activities. Counter-arguments remind us, however, that the missionaries actually suppressed many of these activities (H. Brown, 2008; Dieffenbach, 1843; Hokowhitu, 2007; McDonnell, 1887; McGregor & McMath, 1993; Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004) by convincing their converts that they were evil, immoral, and would “...incur the anger of the new gods...” (Kowhia Ngutu Kaka, as cited in McDonnell, 1887, p. 502). The school system then indoctrinated tamariki into the English sporting culture (Hokowhitu, 2003, 2007; McConnell, 2000). The implications noted in the literature include the division of children and adults (Buck, 1950), which “...undermined the important role of children’s games as preparation for adult life” (McGregor & McMath, 1993, p. 46), and the adoption of the European work-leisure dichotomy, which denigrated the holistic epistemology that underpins Māori world views (Hokowhitu, 2008; Matunga, 1995; McGregor & McMath, 1993). Schools continue to reinforce this dichotomy with the division of academic subjects and play-time, and time for physical education (Hokowhitu, 2003). Still, one cannot rule out that our tūpuna also found the European leisure activities attractive, exciting, and enjoyable (Leaf, 2004).

European leisure has also been charged with corrupting and disrupting Māori masculinities. Binney and O’Malley (2014) note that the leisure institutions in which Māori men encountered Pākehā were the pub, the billiard room, and the race track. These leisure activities and spaces were male preserves, where Pākehā men escaped from their wives and children, and exercised and displayed their patriarchal power and independence (Daley, 1999). Daley’s (1999) study of Pākehā gender in rural Taradale 1886-1930 paints a picture of the colonial drinking culture, which included drunken fights and brawls, and larrikin behaviour, which for some families

concluded with domestic violence. When the liquor laws changed to allow Māori men to consume alcohol on the premises (only), it was into this “masculine leisure world” that they were “forced” (Daley, 1999, p. 148). The same might be said for tāne who followed the gold rushes, worked for the military, and played rugby.

Brendon Hokowhitu (2004) explains that Māori men were drawn to rugby during the colonial period because it was “...one of the few spheres where tāne could achieve success and compete with Pākehā men on an “even playing field” ... and gain mana in the Pākehā world” (p. 260). Their successful participation, however, fed into and confirmed the coloniser’s assumptions about Māori physicality and violence, which in turn reinforced their own identity as civilised and intellectually superior (Hokowhitu, 2007).<sup>84</sup> The presence of Māori on the rugby field alongside their colonisers and excelling at an English game, also created, reinforced and continues to perpetuate the myth that New Zealand has excellent race relations (Hokowhitu, 2007, 2009; Ryan, 2005; G. Watson et al., 2016). For instance, the British media portrayed the 1888 Native tour as “...a testament to the civilising prowess of the young colony” (Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 85).

Further, Hokowhitu (2003) argues that the stereotyping of Māori as an inherently physical race informed an education curriculum designed to channel Māori into manual and domestic labour. Proof of this ‘streaming’ was recorded during the *Te Aute Trust Royal Commission 1906*, during which the school was condemned for preparing their students for the university entrance exam by teaching them Latin, geometry, and algebra. Instead, the Commission strongly recommended<sup>85</sup> that the school pay more attention to technical subjects (e.g. agriculture) that would prepare Māori “...to stay in their rural communities” (Barrington, 1988, p. 48) and stop them from competing with Pākehā for the “...bureaucratic, commercial, and professional positions in the urban areas...” (p. 54). Here, argues Hokowhitu (2003), are the roots of the “racist education system” and ideology that has “suppressed” Māori ever since by channelling Māori boys, and Māori in general, into sports and manual labour.

One of the challenges of the ‘physical Māori’ stereotype, states Farah Palmer (2007), is that it has been internalised. Māori have come to believe they are a

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<sup>84</sup> Which ignores their own history and practices of violence (MacLean, 1999), including the violation and murder of Māori women by European sailors and soldiers (Eldred-Grigg, 1984).

<sup>85</sup> As it was a private school not a State school.

physical and ‘hands-on’ people, that sports is part of being Māori, and it is their destiny “...to play and excel at sport” (F. R. Palmer, 2007, p. 312). This internalisation fuels the stereotypical assumption that Māori are lazy and lack a work ethic because they do step out of what they are ‘naturally’ good at, states Hokowhitu (2007). Thus, while sport is a realm in which Māori can and have gained mana, it is also a site where Māori lose mana and limits Māori aspirations (Hokowhitu, 2005).

Conversely, Judith Binney and Vincent O’Malley (2014) propose that segregation enabled Māori to create distinct Māori spaces, where the agenda was self-determination rather than assimilation. Hokowhitu (2007) states, for instance, that at a time when the government was trying to disrupt tribal relationships and identities, “... Māori sports clubs provided one way Māori could maintain important relationships and a sense of tribal identity” (p. 86).



The published academic history of sport and leisure in colonial New Zealand is clearly Eurocentric. In terms of European settlement, it focuses on the English as opposed to the Irish and Welsh settlers, for instance, and focuses on Māori only when and where they came into contact with Pākehā and Pākehā institutions. It appears historians have simply accepted Best’s (1925a) pronouncement that Māori “abandoned” their games and pastimes for European games and sports. However, aside from being self-absorbed and self-congratulatory (Hokowhitu, 2007), other reasons might be tendered for this bias and assessment. During the colonial period, Māori and Pākehā lived separate lives, meaning Pākehā did not know what Māori did with their time (Binney & O’Malley, 2014; Daley, 1999; M. King, 1984b, 1984a; Toynbee, 1995). Further, given the conditions Māori were forced to live in during this period, there would not have been much time or energy for ‘works of pleasure’. Although Waikato leader Te Puea Hērangi recalls (as cited in Binney & O’Malley, 2014) that her people had a lot of time on their hands because, “...we were so unpopular at that time Pākehā would not give us employment, so old people occupied time with waiata and chants and the young ones made love” (p. 345). Traditionally, ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia was also reserved for times of peace and plenty (Royal, 1998b), which was not the experience of Māori during this period.



Although some argue or imply that Māori participation in Anniversary Day celebrations supports the argument that Māori were “quick” to take up European sports and leisure activities, I offer the following observations. One, writing at the turn of the century, Best (1925a) states Māori have “... abandoned nearly all their old time games and *have adopted but few of ours*” (p. 103; emphasis added). Two, some of Best’s sources report that Māori ‘games and pastimes’ continued well into the latter half of the century. During his 1843-44 visit George Angus (1847) observed moari, manutukutuku, kōauau, whai, and paramako; between 1839 and 1855, Rev. Richard Taylor (1870) also observed moari, manutukutuku, whai, paramako, and hand games; and between 1841 and 1882, Edward Shortland (1851, 1856, 1882) witnessed the works of the whare tapere. Three, the continuance of haka, poi, waka, weaponry, and traditional games demonstrate that the missionaries reach and influence was not absolute. There is a case, therefore, to argue that early references to Māori being “quick” to take up Pākehā games and sports may have instead referred to the speed at which our tūpuna learned new games and skills.

### **War, rugby, and leisure**

At the turn of the century, with 87% of Māori still living in the rural areas (M. King, 1984a), war, rugby, and leisure were the primary points of contact with Pākehā. This contact largely revolved around tourism, civic celebrations, A&P shows, regattas, the pub and billiard room, and rugby matches (M. King, 1984a). However, other than Te Rangihīroa’s story (Buck, 1950) about the Māori Pioneer Battalion playing matimati (a hand game) and photos of the Battalion performing haka, there is a lack of information regarding Māori leisure during World War One.

The interwar years are then described as “the Golden Age of rugby” (Wright, 2013, p. 295). During the 1920s, the All Blacks and/or the New Zealand Māori rugby teams toured annually. The most notable of these tours was the 1921 and first Springbok<sup>86</sup> tour of New Zealand, during which the visitors refused to shake hands with the New Zealand Māori team, and after which, a South African correspondent reported that the Springboks were “frankly disgusted” that white New Zealanders had cheered on a “... band of coloured men to defeat members of [their] own race...” (Mulholland, 2009, p. 39). In 1924, the All Black team that toured Britain, France, and British Columbia won all 32 matches and were dubbed ‘the Invincibles’. And it was during the 1926/27 New Zealand Māori team’s five-leg world tour, states

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<sup>86</sup> The South African national team.

Mulholland (2009), that Māori “...stamped their mark on world rugby” (p. 44). The 1920s also saw an increase in Māori rugby teams and clubs (Ryan, 2005), the establishment of the NZRFU Māori Advisory Board (1922), and the introduction of intertribal competitions (Ryan & Watson, 2018). During the 1930s, Māori also formed other national sporting bodies, including the New Zealand Māori Golf Association (1931), the Tairāwhiti Māori Hockey Federation (1933), and under the patronage of King Korokī, the New Zealand Māori Rugby League Board (1934) (Harris, 2014).

During this period, Māori were also at the fore of the entertainment industry (Binney & O’Malley, 2014; Bourke, 2010). Ana Hato and Deane Waretini recorded and performed both Māori and English songs here and overseas. Jazz bands were popular, and musicians featured in promotional films for the Tourism Board. Te Puea Hērangi formed Te Pou o Mangatāwhiri, a touring entertainment group that performed cultural items and dance music to raise funds to build Tūrangawaewae marae (in the Waikato) (Harris, 2014).

Another prominent figure during this period was Tā Āpirana Ngata. A respected member of parliament, Ngata established the Māori Purposes Fund Board<sup>87</sup> through which he founded the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua (est. 1926). Ngata also promoted Māori land development schemes; discussed the future of te reo Māori, Māori arts, and the Māori people; and promoted sport as a means to maintain whānau, hapū, iwi connections (King, 1984a) and to revive tribal and racial pride (McConnell, 2000). With the help of the Māori Purposes Fund, Te Puea revitalised the construction and ceremonial use of waka on the Waikato River (M. King, 1984a).

Very little has been written about the leisure activities of the New Zealand troops during WWII (1939-1945). Michael King (2003) and Wright (2013) simply note that New Zealand soldiers played the role of tourists when training in Egypt; while Mullholland (2009) writes “...New Zealand soldiers found some light relief in the game played with an oval ball...” (p. 87). However, Harko Brown (2016) has discovered that the 28<sup>th</sup> Māori Battalion introduced the ancient game of *kī-o-rahi* (a ball game) to the French and Italians, and to the American GIs, and where there is still a following today. In his *Story of the Māori Battalion*, Wira Gardiner

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<sup>87</sup> These funds came from unclaimed interest earned by Native land boards (not the government).

(1992) also shares accounts illustrating what it meant to ‘rest and recreate’ in Egypt and England. Compared with WW1, significantly more is known about the fundraising efforts back home during WW2. Māori communities organised dances, picture shows, basket socials, sports tournaments, and bazaars (Harris, 2014). The urban culture club Ngāti Pōneke welcomed troops home and entertained visiting troops, including the American marines and GIs who ‘flooded’ the milk bars and streets and dances, and “made a splash with New Zealand women” (M. Wright, 2013, p. 346).

The range and availability of leisure activities contributed to Māori urbanisation (M. King, 1984a). The cities were exciting places where there were regular dances to attend and featured the latest music from home and abroad (Bourke, 2010). There were also music stores, department stores, milk bars, and a selection of sports clubs where one might work their way up the ‘sporting pyramid’. These leisure activities, however, caused some concern for Māori leaders and organisations such as Tā Āpirana Ngata and the Māori Women’s Welfare League (est. 1951), who became increasingly worried about the temptations and risks associated with urban living, which included alcohol consumption, “... unsupervised access to the opposite sex, and contact with a Pākehā criminal underclass” (M. King, 2003, p. 470). Support networks (e.g. Pan-tribal culture clubs) were thus established and new social ties and connections were forged. In settling in the cities, many Māori became disconnected from their tūrangawaewae (Harris & Williams, 2014), and this disconnect became intergenerational.

Still, across New Zealand some leisure traditions continued. During the 1950s, Brian Sutton-Smith (1976) interviewed individuals who had taught or been educated in Native schools, and members of the Ardmore Teachers’ College Māori club, and found that Māori children in some areas were still playing hand games, knucklebones, stilts, pōtaka, whai, putuputu, hotaka, throwing spears, mock-fights, hunting and fishing, vine-swinging, sliding and sledging, slings, sailing flax canoes, foot races, and throwing and skipping stones and pipi shells. Sutton-Smith (1976) concluded that the persistence of hand games, knucklebones, stilts, whip tops, and string games in particular, was likely due to the existence of parallel games in the European culture, which may have “...acted as a permissive factor on the same games in the Māori culture...” (p. 319). Māori sports clubs also continued in the tradition of inter-tribal tournaments and competitions.

New Zealanders also became famous on the international stage. Edmond Hillary became the first (European) person to climb Mount Everest (1953). The All Blacks won their first-ever series victory against South Africa (1956). And Ruia Morrison became the first New Zealand woman, and first Māori, to play at Wimbledon where she made the quarterfinals (1957). These and other sporting successes on the world stage “...further cemented sport as a marker of New Zealand identity...” (Watson et al, 2016, p. 136), but left little room for New Zealand intellectuals, writers, and artists – many of whom departed these shores for more supportive countries (M. King, 2003; M. Wright, 2013).

### **Sport and the New Zealand Government**

Acts of Parliament during the 1970s then demonstrate the kinds of leisure activities New Zealanders and the New Zealand government valued most. Often mentioned is the first Ministry of Recreation and Sport, and the New Zealand Council for Recreation and Sport (NZCRS), which were established under the *Recreation and Sports Act 1973*. This Ministry provided funding for national and local sport organisations and regional facilities, and initiated New Zealand’s first national leisure activity survey. The *1974-75 New Zealand Recreation Survey* (NZRS) was designed “... to provide a national data base which would allow more informed recreation planning” (Tait, 1984, p. 3) and became a benchmark for New Zealand leisure patterns and participation. This study asked just over 4,000 people (incl. 29% aged 10-24 years) how they spent their leisure time, and was based on a list of 216 sport, interest group, home-based, cultural, and other recreational activities. The NZRS indicated that 92% of men and 80% of women were involved in sport; for men, rugby was stronger in the “town/rural areas” while cricket, rugby league, soccer, and squash were stronger in the cities; and for women, netball ranked highly for the under 25 group (35%), while rugby union appeared at the lower end of the 25-49 age group (10%). Still, although sports participation was celebrated as the cultural norm for New Zealanders, more informal leisure pursuits including reading, gardening, listening to records, swimming, cooking/baking, and visiting/entertaining friends commanded a greater following. The limitations of this survey included the absence of television, sex, and pub-going; no distinction was made between active participants, administrators, and supporters; and although respondents were asked to identify themselves as European, Asian, Māori, or “other Polynesian”, the final report offered no ethnic findings.

Addressing the lack of ethnic data, Joan Metge (1976) offers some commentary on Māori recreation during the 60s and 70s. In the winter, rural communities played rugby, netball, and hockey; and when the focus shifted to seasonal employment in the summer (e.g. shearing, harvesting, freezing works), leisure was centred on the moana. In contrast, urban Māori played sports all year round including rugby, netball, rugby league, indoor basketball, softball, tennis, table tennis, boxing, wrestling, swimming, and golf. Further, whether from ‘town or country’, Māori formed and preferred to join Māori teams, because they felt that Māori had the same style of play.

In 1987, the *Recreation and Sport Act 1973* was replaced with the *Sport, Fitness, and Leisure Act 1987*, under which the Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure was established. In response to concerns about the cost of cardiovascular disease, the Hillary Commission conducted the *1989/90 Life in New Zealand (LiNZ) Survey*, which asked more than 11,000 adults about their and the people in their household’s physical and leisure activities, and health and nutrition. The findings indicated that men spent more time and money on sport and leisure than women; swimming was the most popular sport for both men and women; and the most popular leisure activities were reading for pleasure, watching television/videos, visiting friends/family, listening to music, and gardening for pleasure (N. Wilson et al., 1990). However, the LiNZ survey was also criticised for its lack of Māori data (see Cushman et al., 1991). Conducting a kaupapa Māori analysis Shona Thompson, Poia Rewi and Deslea Wrathall (2000) argue that the proportionately low number of Māori responses reflected the Commission’s preference for mail-out questionnaires as opposed to a Māori preference for *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi*; while Paparangi Reid (1992) states that the reportedly low percentage of Māori participation in physical recreation could be due to the range of Māori activities not included in the survey. In 1990, the Hillary Commission thus launched a Māori Taskforce “... to identify the issues that impacted on Māori and their relationship with sport and recreation” (F. R. Palmer, 2006, p. 70). This Taskforce marked the beginning of a Māori sport initiative/programme named *Omangia Te Oma Roa*, which would later become known as *He Oranga Poutama* (Howie Tamati, 2019, personal communication), a programme that promotes cultural physical recreation and sport.

Concerned by the apparently low level of Māori physical activity, the Taskforce commissioned the *Tainui Survey* to “...collect baseline statistics and question the non-involvement and involvement of Māori adults in physical activity and sport” (Rewi, 1992, p. 48). Employing an interview survey method, the results revealed that 86% of the 400 interviewees (15 years and over) were actively involved in sport, with the top five favourite activities being rugby league, touch rugby, rugby union, outdoor netball, and softball. The top four reasons for involvement were enjoyment, fitness, excitement, and relaxation; the top two barriers to participation were cost and *whakamā* (shyness); and the most significant motivating factors for involvement in physical leisure were a desire to be physical, and to be involved with the whānau and hapū (Rewi, 1992). In sum, the Tainui study revealed, “... Māori people are indeed physically active and have developed activity patterns which provide a sound foundation for further development” (Rewi & Budge, 1992, p. 4).

Also identifying the need to understand the motivation of sedentary and ‘at-risk’ Māori, Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK), the Ministry of Māori Development, initiated the *1994 Physical Leisure Project*. Five groups were contracted to design and implement programmes aimed at specific target groups, and to offer guidelines on programme planning, implementation, and evaluation. Collating the findings of these projects<sup>88</sup> TPK (1995) published *Omangia Te Oma Roa*, a resource offering providers and purchasers of health and physical leisure services advice on how to encourage inactive and at-risk Māori to participate in physical leisure activities. The *Omangia Te Oma Roa* report supports and complements the Tainui Survey in that the identified barriers also included cost, whakamā, and a lack of whānau support; while the seven motivators reflected a desire to get physical and to be involved with whānau and hapū (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995).

In 1998, a second Taskforce on Māori Sport, Fitness, and Leisure was initiated (F. R. Palmer, 2006). After reviewing the literature and consulting national and regional sports organisation, the Taskforce report *E Ngā Iwi E* includes a summary of facts about Māori participation, significant issues, and strategies for increasing Māori participation. Of particular note, the Taskforce found that Māori

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<sup>88</sup> These projects included a walking and aerobics programme for sedentary wāhine; Tiger Tag (a variant of rugby league) for school-aged tamariki; a marae-based whānau sports day; and a summer camp for sedentary youth.

and non-Māori were equally active, although Māori were active for shorter periods of time, and that professionalism was having an impact on Māori interests. The Taskforce also recommended that the Hillary Commission acknowledge their definition for sport, fitness and leisure: "... as all physical activity that enhances whānau, wairua, tinana, hinengaro, and respects tikanga Māori" (Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure, 1998, p. 8).

Moving into the new Millennium, "...as the Sydney Olympics grew nearer and the reality of two recent World Cup losses in rugby and netball hit home..." (F. R. Palmer, 2007, p. 324), there was a call for another national review. The results of the submission process were published in the *Getting Set for an Active Nation* report (aka the Graham Report), which revealed that the perceived benefits of physical leisure were: a healthier society; social cohesion; an enhanced sense identity and image; crime prevention; and as an important source of economic benefit. Further, the major issues to be addressed included: a lack of a common vision; insufficient resourcing; an "urgent need" to support and develop coaching; a "grossly inadequate" approach to physical activity in the education sector; and low participation levels (Sport, Fitness and Leisure Ministerial Taskforce, 2001, p. 10). The authors thus recommended the repeal of the current Act and the creation of a new corporate body; an increase in funding; a greater rationalisation and resourcing of elite sport; restructuring the school timetable to give more time to effective physical education; and increasing the physical activity of all New Zealanders. For Māori, the latter would entail the active promotion of Māori physical recreation, including *waka ama* (outrigger canoe racing), *kapa haka*, and *taiaha* (referring to a long wooden weapon) (Leaf, 2004; F. R. Palmer, 2006).

Established under the *Sport and Recreation New Zealand Act 2002*, the new corporate body was named Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC). Recognising the Treaty of Waitangi (see Chapter 1), SPARC (2003) pledged to:

strengthen the ability of national organisations and regional sports trusts to cater for Māori needs and aspirations; increas[e] the level of understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi and its application to the sector; and ensur[e] that SPARC understands the needs of Māori and is equipped with the knowledge and skills to incorporate Māori culture in the sport and recreation sector. (p. 8)

SPARC also initiated and published a number of participation surveys. In the *Active New Zealand Survey 2007/08*, SPARC (2008) found that for 4,000 adults (18 years and over) active recreational activities such as walking (64.1%), gardening (43.2%), swimming (34.8%), and equipment-based exercise (26.5%) were more popular than organised sports such as touch rugby (6.7%) and netball (6.4%). The survey also indicated that slightly more Pacific peoples were playing touch (22.4% vs. 19.3%) and rugby (17.2% vs. 14.4%) than Māori.

Responding to tensions between SPARC's community-sport and elite-sport goals, SPARC was then restructured and rebranded in 2012 as Sport New Zealand (Sport NZ), and High Performance Sport New Zealand (HPSNZ) was launched as a subsidiary (Sport NZ, 2012). And under Sport NZ, the first sport and recreation survey for school-aged children (5-18 years old) was conducted in 2011. In this study, 17,000 children (including 1,877 Māori) attending mainstream schools completed a questionnaire about how much time they spent in active PE, active sports trainings and practices, and active "mucking around" sport and recreational activities with friends and family in the last 12 months. As reported in *Sport and Recreation in the Lives of Young New Zealanders* (Sport New Zealand, 2012), the study found New Zealand children are active but spend less time involved in organised sport than expected. Participation rates were highest for 'mucking around', and higher for school activities than clubs. Children were also wanted to participate in other "less traditional sports/activities" such as badminton, basketball, martial arts, skateboarding, snowboarding, surfing, table tennis, touch, and volleyball. Further, the survey indicated that 65,000 children (Māori and non-Māori) aged between 5 and 10 years were involved in kapa haka. Rugby league and skateboarding were more popular with Māori boys, who were also interested in playing more or trying rugby league, touch rugby, and snowboarding. Māori boys and girls were more also more likely to watch family and friends play sport than to watch sport on television or online. One of the conclusions of this study was, therefore, that "...informal sport and playful activities are significant contributors to the sporting lives of young New Zealanders" and as such there is a "...need to understand more about sport outside the traditional club structure..." (Sport New Zealand, 2012, p. 11).

The following year, the second *Active New Zealand Survey 2013/14* revealed some similar shifts in adult (16 years and over) active sport and recreation



participation. In particular, there was a decline in organised sports and sports club membership, and an increase in individual and outdoors activities such as gym membership, Pilates/yoga, aerobics, cycling, jogging/running, fishing, tramping, canoeing/kayaking, and hunting. For Māori, touch rugby was more popular than rugby (G. Watson et al., 2016).

In 2013, TPK published the *Moving the Māori Nation* report. In this report it was argued “... that sport can be a means to encourage whānau ora (family health) and engage whānau in Te Ao Māori, in particular te reo Māori, tikanga (Māori culture), whanaungatanga (kinship), manaakitanga (caring) and rangatiratanga (sovereignty)” (G. Watson et al., 2016, p. 139). A reflection of this vision has been the continued and growing number of partnership, community, and tribal initiatives that advance Māori “... aspirations for full citizenship, good health, a high standard of living, and self-determination” (G. Watson et al., 2016, p. 139). These initiatives include He Oranga Poutama; the Māori Sport Awards (est. 1991); tribal sports festivals (e.g. Te Arawa Games, est. 1994; Tainui Games, est. 2000); special-character schools that promote physical activity (e.g. Tū Toa, est. 2011); Māori sports events (e.g. IronMāori, est. 2009); and the revival and rejuvenation of *ngā taonga tākaro* (the treasured games of our ancestors) – in particular kī-o-rahi, waka ama, and kapa haka.

More recently, Sport NZ (2019b) released its *Secondary Age Review* report. Reviewing the findings from several studies involving high school students, the authors confirmed that youth sport and active recreation participation is highest between 12 and 14 years old, and drops significantly from the age of 15 years. Reasons tendered for this drop include PE becoming an option from Year 11, and a higher requirement to specialise and compete, as opposed to playing for fun and fitness. In relation to gender, the authors found that boys were more active than girls; boys and girls were equally involved in competitive activities; and motivation shifts from fun to fitness and health as youth age, and is more evident for girls than boys. The authors also concluded that schools and clubs do not have a common understanding and plan for meeting teenagers’ needs and desires; that selection processes are exclusionary; and that youth are being treated as “a market to tap”, which they argue will lead to a “[c]ontinued loss of resilience and soft skills” (Sport NZ, 2019b, p. 35) and threaten our country’s active lifestyle “culture and ethos” (p. 37). The authors therefore recommend that schools and clubs adopt youth

development and empowerment approaches, flexible and agile designs and delivery models, and be more inclusive and offer more choices.

### ***The arts***

In the literature there are also references to the performing, literary, and visual arts. In 1972, the inaugural New Zealand Polynesian Festival was staged in Rotorua (Metge, 1976). According to Tīmoti Kāretu (1993) the principal function of this festival “... was to raise the standard of performance for, primarily, tourist consumption and to provide an incentive for tribes to actively revive the traditional chant and haka of their own areas” (p. 80). While some have suggested that the transformation of cultural performance into a competitive sport was something new at that time, Kāretu (1993) states, “... competition is an integral part of the rituals of welcome” (p. 84) – as only the best were/are chosen to represent their whānau, hapū, iwi. In a similar vein, Ngahua Te Awekotuku (1981) tells the story of two Te Arawa performance groups competing against each other for the Rēhia Cup, which was a feature of the earliest Waitangi Day observances (est. 1934) (Sutherland, 1935). Today, thousands of people attend Te Matatini, the country’s largest and most prestigious kapa haka competition.

Māori performers and writers have also made a strong contribution to New Zealand’s emerging independence and unique sound. In 1979 and 1980, the theatre group *Maranga Mai* (Wake/Rise Up) dramatised the protests and occupations of the 70s (see Introduction chapter) and “...paid tribute to the burgeoning Māori political consciousness” (Harris & Williams, 2014b, p. 423). Airing on television in 1980, *Koha* provided a weekly window into Te Ao Māori for Pākehā and a link to urban Māori. Cabaret singer Prince Tui Teke, and singer and comedian Billy T James hosted their own television shows; while the films *Utu* (1983), *Ngāti* (1987), *Mauri* (1988), *Once were Warriors* (1994), and its sequel *What becomes of the broken hearted* (1999) pulled Māori into the cinemas. The *Te Māori* art exhibition also made international headlines when it toured the United States (1984-86), and ‘woke’ New Zealand to its unique point of difference (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, n.d.).

In the 1980s, Māori musicians and singers were inspired by the emancipatory and spiritual lyrics of international artists such as Bob Marley, and the anti-establishment culture of American Hip Hop (Harris & Williams, 2014). Local bands and groups such as Herbs, Upper Hutt Posse, Dread Beat and Blood, and Dam

Native fused reggae beats and rap with Māori opinion, aspirations, and lyrics (Harris & Williams, 2014); while in 1984, *Poi E* by the Patea Māori Club was the first te reo Māori song to top the modern New Zealand music charts, and recently enjoyed a revival. Established in 1993, Te Mangai Paho (the Māori Broadcasting Commission) facilitated an explosion in Māori radio stations and provides a dedicated space for Māori artists, music, and opinions. And Māori writers (e.g. Patricia Grace, Witi Ihimaera, Ranginui Walker, Donna Awatere) began the task of filling New Zealand’s bookshelves (Harris & Williams, 2014), which was further supported by Huia (est. 1991), the first Māori publishing house.

More recently, Māori Television was established under *The Māori Television Service Act 2003* and is *Te kūaha ki te Ao Māori*, ‘the gateway to the Māori world’. The long-term objective of this independent service is to significantly contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Its strategic direction is to build a connection to Māori culture for all New Zealanders, and through its range of programmes it “... endeavours to show our place in the world and our world in one place” (Māori Television, 2019, para. 5). Programming includes a range of shows that demonstrate Māori participation in a wide range of leisure activities including sport and fitness, outdoor recreation, gardening, cooking, and the arts including music, film, literature, and dance.



### **Summary**

In the second layer of this kōmore kaiwai, Te Kiri Huna directed my attention to the past, and what is missing in the larger body of literature. First, I found that relatively more has been written about the history of sport in Aotearoa New Zealand than leisure. Early Acts and surveys also demonstrate a shift from informal community and family-based leisure to active and institutionalised forms of leisure, particularly sport, and the social imperative to be physically active. More recently, however, SPARC and Sport NZ have discovered and now acknowledge the significance of informal leisure in New Zealanders’ lives.

Second, significantly more has been written about Pākehā than Māori leisure participation. Weaving together the small ‘pockets’ of leisure writings, however, I was able to construct a whakapapa (chronology) of Māori leisure participation trends. Running through this whakapapa are several threads. One thread of

particular consequence illustrates the consistency of holistic and collective Māori perspectives of leisure. This thread demonstrates that despite the social and political pressures to conform, (some) Māori have maintained the principles of whanaungatanga and rangatiratanga. Further, leisure as an opportunity for ‘self-creation’ (Kelly, 2012) points to the ways in which Māori have adopted, adapted, experimented with, and indigenised Western forms and concepts of leisure (e.g. musical instruments, commercial tourism). And, as illustrated in the following section, some traditional knowledges and practices have been maintained and are being revived.

Another significant thread running through this review is the lack of detail afforded to Māori leisure activities and perspectives, and notable individuals. This lack of detail gives the reader the impression there is nothing else to know, or worth knowing about Māori leisure. For instance, while a number of texts mention Tā Āpirana Ngata and his role in the revival of Māori arts, song, and haka, and/or as the father of Māori tennis (e.g. Ryan & Watson, 2018), they do not offer anything near the narratives afforded to rugby or cricket, and individuals such as Charles Munro<sup>89</sup> and Tom Ellison. In a biography written by Ranginui Walker (2001) we learn, for instance, that it was Ngata who organised the first Waitangi Day celebration (1934), persuaded Lady Bledisloe to donate and present the Rēhia Cup, and drew up the competition rules and the categories for the cultural performances (p. 270).

In the next layer of the review, *Te Kiko Pūrākau*, I shine a light on contemporary forms of Māori leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand.

### **Te Kiko Pūrākau: Reviving and reinvigorating ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia**

As discussed elsewhere, pūrākau are carefully constructed narratives that illuminate whakapapa and have been embedded with meaning, information, and knowledge by Māori, for Māori, and about Māori, as Māori. Adding a final layer of kōrero to *Te Kiri Aronui* and *Te Kiri Huna*, this section elaborates on the continuance and evolution of Māori forms and perspectives of leisure. In this section, I profile four examples of Māori scholars/practitioners whose work is informed by pūrākau. These individuals are Charles Royal, and his vision for contemporary whare tapere; Harko Brown, who is involved in the revival and adaptation of traditional Māori

<sup>89</sup> Munro has arguably been credited with introducing rugby to colonial New Zealand.

games; Rangi Matamua, whose work is informing the revival of Matariki celebrations; and Ihirangi Heke, who has developed an environmental health framework aimed at getting Māori more physically active.

**Kae and Tinirau: Constructing a modern house of entertainment**

To date, Charles Royal offers the most detailed analysis of whare tapere, the traditional ‘houses’ of amusement and entertainment. In his doctoral thesis, *Te whare tapere: Towards a model for Māori performance art*, Royal (1998b) employs a whakapapa framework called Te Ao Mārama in his search for elements of traditional whare tapere, “... that might be brought forth into a new model” (p. 99). His vision is a modern whare tapere, where “Māori and others can explore their culture in an entertaining way...”, explore and answer the “... major issues of our time...”, and therein “... lead us to a better place” (Royal, 1998b, p. 246).

Beginning with the distant past, Royal’s examination began with the pūrākau of Kae and Tinirau (see Ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia above); first, as told in Hawaiki, then in Aotearoa, and then as recorded, gathered, translated, and recited by Europeans (e.g. Best, 1925a). Royal also examined a selection of haka, waiata, whakatauākī and other pūrākau, legends, and histories including those featuring Māui-pōtiki, Tamatekapua,<sup>90</sup> and Te Kahureremoa.<sup>91</sup> At the close of his examination, Royal (1998b) offered the following conclusions. One, whare tapere were not defined by locality (i.e. a house), but rather “... the collectivity and what activities took place” (p. 163). Two, depending on the kaupapa, whare tapere had different names: whare mātoro were ‘houses’ of hidden intentions and amorous advances; whare haka were devoted to dance; whare ngahau, to amusements; whare tākaro, games and contests; and whare pakimaero, storytelling. Three, whare tapere were convened “...under the aegis of a presiding deity” (p. 164), three candidates for which were Rongo-maraeroa (atua of peace), Ruhanui (as mentioned on the East Coast), and Rēhia.

Royal (1998b) then offers his own typology. *Ngā-mahi-a-te-whare-tapere*, the arts of the whare tapere, comprise/d haka; waiata; tākaro; *taonga pūoro* (musical instruments); *ngā momo kōrero* (storytelling); and *ngā taonga o wharawhara* (personal adornments, makeups, and clothing; pp. 165-167). Finally, Royal (1998b) offers an experimental model for a modern whare tapere including possible

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<sup>90</sup> The captain of the Te Arawa waka.

<sup>91</sup> A celebrated wahine rangatira from the Thames area who became a wife of Takakōpiri of Waitaha-a-Hei.

locations, construction, curriculum, and an opening programme. In 2004, Royal founded the Ōrotokare Art, Story, Motion Trust, and in 2010, the Trust in partnership with Te Whānau-a-Haunui began hosting annual whare tapere.

**Rona and the Moon: Reviving traditional Māori games**

Harko Brown is a leader, and passionate advocate and *kaitiaki* (guardian) in the rejuvenation of ngā taonga tākarō. In addition to his many years of educational practice, his publications – *Ngā Taonga Tākarō: Māori sports and games* (2008) and *Ngā Taonga Tākarō II: The Matrix* (2016) – extend exponentially on Best’s *Games and Pastimes of the Māori*. Of particular interest here is Harko’s (2008, 2016) assertion that pūrākau are a critical dimension of ngā taonga tākarō – for without their pūrākau, games have no wairua, and a game with no wairua is just a game. In their fullness, ngā taonga tākarō can open our eyes, teach us about, and connect us to ngā atua, Te Taiao, our tūpuna, our people, and our culture, including te reo me tikanga Māori (H. Brown, 2016). In sum, ngā taonga tākarō nourishes the whole person, and consequently the world around them (H. Brown, 2016). To illustrate, I offer an example from *Ngā Taonga Tākarō II: The Matrix*.

Stripped of its pūrākau, Tauronarona (H. Brown, 2016, p. 96) would simply be a game of tug of war; a contest of strength, strategy, and will. But if we take an interest in the name Rona, this contest becomes more meaningful. There are many versions of this pūrākau, but the general story is this:

One night, a woman named Rona went to the stream to fill some gourds with water. The moon was high and full, and lit her way. At some point along the path, however, the moon disappeared behind a cloud and Rona tripped and fell. Blaming the moon for her misfortune Rona cursed at the moon, who responded by coming down from the heavens and snatching her up. In desperation, Rona grabbed hold of a nearby ngaio tree. Her grip was firm, but the tree was pulled up by its roots. Hearing Rona’s cries, her husband came looking for her and was surprised to hear her voice coming from the night sky. He looked up, and there on the bright surface of the full moon was Rona, holding her gourds and the ngaio tree.

Embedded in this pūrākau are layers of meaning, information, and knowledge that transform a physical contest into something more meaningful. In terms of

tikanga, the story of Rona inspired the whakataūākī: *Kia mahara ki te hē o Rona* – remember the wrongdoing of Rona, which was foremost disrespecting an ancestor and deity. She also blamed someone else for her misfortune, which could have been avoided had she collected water during the day. In terms of mātauranga, the story of Rona illustrates understandings about the relationship between the moon, water, and human nature (H. Brown, 2016). Rona also reminds us that everything is related (whakapapa), everything has mauri, and that there is a price to pay (utu) when the balance is disrupted. Harko (2016) notes that the story of Rona also directs our attention to other pūrākau that feature *taura* (ropes) (e.g. Māui capturing the Sun, and hauling up Te Ika a Māui), and cultural practices such as hauling waka. Thus we see that there is a significant difference between Tauronaronā and ‘tug of war’.

In the spirit of *tatū* (negotiating the rules of play) – and reminding us that tohunga encouraged games and devised game implements to develop certain character traits and skills in tamariki – Harko Brown (2008, 2016) offers suggestions for contemporary versions of ngā taonga tākarō that can be used by teachers and practitioners to teach tamariki about conservation, mathematics, science, leadership, and team work (for example).

### **Ngā Mata o te Ariki Tāwhirimātea: Celebrating Matariki**

Rangi Matamua is one of Aotearoa’s foremost experts on Māori astronomy and is the author of *Matariki: The star of the year*. As mentioned elsewhere, the rising of Matariki was an important event in the ancient lunar calendar and was celebrated with hākari. To elaborate further, disappearing from the night sky during the month of May – after the harvest and thus when the store houses were full – Matariki marked the beginning of a new year. Matariki was thus a time of plenty and inactivity, and therefore a time for rejoicing and festivities (Matamua, 2017). Matariki was/is also viewed as an omen, with each star’s “...brightness, distinctiveness, colour and distance from the surrounding stars” (Matamua, 2017, p. 59), and the movement, colour, and shape of the constellation helping tohunga to make predictions about different food sources (e.g. bird life) and the weather for the year ahead.

In recent decades, an awareness of Matariki and its significance as the star of ‘the Māori new year’ has increased, and sparked an interest in researching and reviving Matariki celebrations. In this regard, drawing on a manuscript written by

his grandfather, and the remnants of ancient knowledges from around the world (e.g. Greece, Germany, Pacific nations), Rangi Matamua offers some clarity and direction. To this end, he takes us back to Te Wehenga, and Ngā Pakanga o Ngā Atua, during which Tāwhirimātea “...plucked out his eyes, crushed them in his hands and threw them into the sky, in a display of rage and contempt towards his siblings” (Matamua, 2017, p. 20). Contrary to other interpretations (e.g. tiny eyes), Matariki refers to Ngā Mata o te Ariki Tāwhirimātea, and turns our attention back to our cosmological whakapapa and everything that it represents.

In terms of leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand, Matariki is now embedded in our national calendar. In the months of May, June, and July, Matariki events and celebrations can be found in museums, galleries, universities, schools, government agencies, businesses, marae, communities, and in homes across the country. These events include pre-dawn ceremonies, ngā taonga tākaro (e.g. kī-o-rahi, waka ama), kapa haka, fashion shows, art exhibitions, storytelling, and the revival of rituals such as *te taki mōteatea*, the reciting of laments/chants to the dead, and *te whāngai i te hautapu*, feeding Matariki a sacred offering to strengthen the constellation for the coming year (Matamua, 2017).

### **Namu and Waeroa: Environmental whakapapa and Māori health and fitness**

Finally, Ihirangi Heke has turned the mainstream approach to health and physical activity on its head. Rather than focusing on the individual, Heke (2018) argues that the focus should be whakapapa; i.e. our familial connection to the environment. In short, if the focus is re/connecting with our environmental relatives then Māori are more likely to go outdoors, meaning physical activity and improved health is incidental. Moreover, Heke demonstrates how environmental whakapapa can be translated into culturally-specific activities that make physical activity and exercise more meaningful and thus sustainable.

Heke’s environmental whakapapa-based approach to health and physical activity is called the Atua Matua Health Framework (AMHF) (Table 1). Comprising two columns, 24 hierarchical levels,<sup>92</sup> a four-step interpretive process, and open to iwi-specific and individual interpretation, this framework is complex and will not be described in full.

<sup>92</sup> Representing the 12 heavens ascended by Tāne to receive Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga (see Te Kōmoremore).



Table 1: The Atua Matua Māori Health framework<sup>93</sup>

Atua	Matua
1. Atua (environmental representatives) environments. Naming and grouping the Atua connected to the land, water, and stars.	13. Matua (human) understanding of Maramataka (moon phases).
2. Atua personifications. Atua that represent a specific location (e.g. Tangaroa/god of the sea)	14. Matua interpretation of whakatauākī, haka, waiata, mōteatea and pūrākau (performing arts).
3. Atua as guardians of a place (e.g. Tāne te hokahoka, guardian of birds)	15. Matua connections to a particular environment (e.g. ocean, mountain, river, plains).
4. Male Atua	16. The measurement of seasons, months, and daily rotations of time using environment signs.
5. Female Atua	17. Process selection based on environmental signs (e.g. training at night vs. during the day).
6. Atua names of Tāne. The many names of Tāne including his connection to his parents' separation, knowledge and forest lore.	18. Developing health initiatives for tinana (physical), hinengaro (psychological) and wairua (spiritual) improvements.
7. Ngā Pakanga Atua. The three atua battles over the separation of their parents, the pursuit of knowledge, and the revenge of Tū.	19. Specialist training in a specific domain (e.g. tribally centred knowledge of alpine, ocean, river, and plains environments).
8. Tribal variations of Atua.	20. Development of a secondary skill for a domain (e.g. free diving in an ocean domain).
9. The role of tipua	21. Regional specialist (e.g. Rakiura/Stewart Island free diving experience).
10. The role of Kaitiaki.	22. Specific family level skills (e.g. a family that is renowned for handling big seas in a particular bay on the West Coast).
11. Half Atua, half human demigods of Māui, Tāwhaki, Rata, Waihiora, and Tiki (e.g. the transition from god to human).	23. Gender differences (e.g. female free divers from the East Coast between Ruatoria and Gisborne).
12. Using Atua concepts in evaluation and practice.	24. Complete repertoire of individual skills (e.g. physical, psychological, and spiritual environmental knowledge).

<sup>93</sup> From *The Atua Matua Health Framework (AMHF): Using Māori environmental knowledge to improve indigenous well-being* [unpublished manuscript] (pp.6-7), by I. Heke, 2019. Reprinted with permission.

The Atua column refers to the “guardians of environmental knowledge” (Tukaki Waititi, as cited in Heke, 2019, p. 4), beginning with their highest form (level 1). The Matua column focuses on the human form, and concludes with the individual (level 24). These levels represent 24 “... potential pathways to understanding the natural world through a Māori lens and how that natural world can inform human practice” (Heke, 2019, p. 3). Because the AMHF relies on one’s degree of knowledge and experience, practitioners can choose where to enter the framework.

The four-step interpretation process translates the practitioner’s understandings of the selected environmental relationship into physical activity. Herein lies the connection to pūrākau. Our understandings of Atua (levels 1-8), tipua<sup>94</sup> (level 9), kaitiaki<sup>95</sup> (level 10), and Māui-pōtiki (level 11), for instance, have been passed down the generations in the form of pūrākau (as well whakatauākī, haka, waiata). With one or more pūrākau in mind, the practitioner engages in the interpretive process, which involves “... mātauranga (knowledge) and whakapapa (lineage) leading to a relevant huahuatau (metaphor) that can be turned into whakapakari tinana (physical activity)” (Heke, 2018, p. 12). To illustrate, I borrow Heke’s (2018) example for Level 17, where he points to the story of Namuiria and Waewaeroa.<sup>96</sup>

Namu (Sandfly) and Waeroa (Mosquito) were invited by humans to help haul the hull of a great waka out of the forest. However, while the human helpers were well fed, Namu and Waeroa were not. Angry about their mistreatment the brothers decided to attack the humans, but could not agree on a strategy. Namu wanted to attack in large numbers by day, while Waeroa wanted to attack with fewer numbers under the cover of darkness. Unable to agree, Namu attacked the following day without his brother, and his tribe perished in their thousands. That night, Waeroa then set out to avenge his brother’s defeat. However, rather than a frontal attack, a few warriors approached from the side and caused the humans to slap their ears. When their enemy could no longer hear, and had grown weary, Waeroa’s tribe then attacked in greater numbers. By

<sup>94</sup> Various mythological beings (e.g. taniwha, rocks and logs that move).

<sup>95</sup> Animal guardians (e.g. sharks, insects, birds).

<sup>96</sup> Variations include Namu, and Naeroa and Waeroa.

morning, the face of Man was so swollen that he could no longer see, and he was both deaf and blind. And “[a]s the sun rose, the tribe of [W]aeroa departed, for the Sandfly folk were avenged. But ever the war continues between Man and his old enemies....” (Best, 1976, p. 580)

Applying the Atua Matua (from gods to humans) interpretive process, mātauranga tells us the reason for the battle and the different strategies employed. Whakapapa tells us that Namu was the tuakana (older sibling) and Waeroa his teina (younger sibling), and hence Namu had the right of first attack. The metaphor is in the different times of the day that the brothers attacked and their respective strategies. Translating this environmental relationship into human expression, Heke (2018) suggests “... one on one training in the darker hours quietly or in large numbers during the day and with no noise restrictions” (p. 22). Another example of whakapapa informing incidental physical activity, would be taking a group into the bush to observe the behaviours and characteristics of Namu and Waeroa, and to tell their story.

Promoting the AMHF, Heke works with numerous groups and organisations including whānau, hapū, iwi; sports groups and organisations (e.g. Te Papa Tākaro o Te Arawa, Outdoors New Zealand); government departments (e.g. Ministry of Health); and internationally he has also worked with Johns Hopkins University and Washington University. It was one of Ihirangi’s seminar presentations that inspired me to turn to Te Taiao as my guide for this study.



### **Summary**

In this final layer of the leisure kōmore kaiwai, Te Kiko Pūrākau directed my attention to examples of ancient narratives informing modern leisure practices. These are examples of mātauranga Māori, ancient knowledge that has survived time and colonisation and has been pieced back together and re-examined with a view to exploring “... how we can improve the way in which humankind exists and lives in the world through new strategies of indigeneity, rekindling kinship between people, and between people and the natural world” (Royal, 2012, p. 37). This section adds a new layer to the whakapapa of leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand, and illustrates the inclusivity of Māori leisure practices and values that were unauthenticated, re-interpreted, dismissed, or simply ignored by the colonisers. This is not to say that

the practices of colonisation nor the struggle to be self-determining have ended, but that we are moving in a positive direction – including a deviation from the priority placed on sport.

### **Te Aho Matua: Some messages and lessons for the research**

This first kōmore kaiwai represents the conceptual/contextual leisure literature review. Te Kiri Aronui highlighted four common approaches to leisure: leisure as time, activity, attitude, and action, and demonstrated that there is no single definition for leisure. Te Kiri Huna pointed to what lies beneath and out of plain sight, and directed my attention to an inequitable history of leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand. In weaving together ‘pockets’ of kōrero, the review demonstrated that despite colonisation and the ongoing social and political pressures to conform, Māori (in a general sense) have maintained a preference for cultural and holistic approaches to leisure. On a wider scale, government surveys have traced a general shift in attention and preference from sport and organised forms of leisure to informal leisure participation. Te Kiko Pūrākau then reviewed four examples of scholar-practitioners reviving and reinvigorating traditional leisure activities, institutions, and cultural perspectives.

Based on this review, the research methods for this study incorporated the dimensions of time, activity, attitude, and action. Leisure was understood as an overarching term for both organised and informal, active and ‘passive’ activities and experiences including, but not limited to, sports; fitness (e.g. jogging, gym); recreation (e.g. surfing, fishing, camping); cultural activities (e.g. kapa haka, waka ama, festivals); the arts (e.g. music, drama, dance); religious/spiritual activities (e.g. church attendance, youth groups); casual leisure (e.g. television viewing, gaming, hanging out, playing); and hobbies and other interests (e.g. gardening for pleasure, reading). Given that children and youth participate in leisure activities in both formal (e.g. school) and informal settings, and that parents sometimes ‘put’ their children into activities, leisure was not seen as being completely ‘voluntary’. This review also offered a point of reference for the discussion chapter (see Te Haenga).

In the next part of the chapter, the second kōmore kaiwai represents and focuses on positive youth development.

## **Te Kōmore Kaiwai – Positive Youth Development**

As outlined in Te Kākano, the purpose of this study is to offer whānau raising tamatāne ideas about the types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys’ development. In this part of the chapter, Te Kiri Aronui focuses on some of the common approaches to positive youth development, including risk and resilience research, the strengths-based perspective in social work, and the Positive Youth Development perspective. Te Kiri Huna then provides an abbreviated whakapapa (chronology) of child and youth health, wellbeing, and development frameworks and approaches specific to Aotearoa New Zealand. Following which Te Kiko Pūrākau features examples of pūrākau employed as a source of wisdom and inspiration in relation to child and youth health and wellbeing. Te Aho Matua summarises some of the ‘messages and lessons’ for the research.

### **Te Kiri Aronui: Some approaches to positive youth development**

Although Positive Youth Development is a relatively new approach (Holt, 2008; Lerner et al., 2005), there is a huge amount of literature on the topic, particularly coming out of the United States. Here, two generic questions guided the initial review: ‘Who are we talking about when we say ‘youth?’’ And ‘Why are we interested in youth development?’

### **Youth**

There are multiple definitions for the term ‘youth’. Article 1 of the Children’s Convention (United Nations, 1990) states, “... a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years...”. International Positive Youth Development studies tend to focus on high school students, who are typically aged between 13 and 18 years old. Some human development theorists (e.g. Drewery & Claiborne, 2013) refer to 11- to 18-year-olds as adolescents, and 18- to 25-year-olds as youth. While here in Aotearoa New Zealand the Ministries of Youth Development, Health, and Māori Development refer to youth, taiohi, and rangatahi as 12 to 24 years old.

There is also some debate regarding the terms taiohi and rangatahi. *Taiohi* is interpreted as “young, and youthful”, while *rangatahi* refers to a “fishing net” and is associated with the whakatauhākī: *Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi* – when the old net is worn out, the new net is put into use (J. Keelan & Associates, 2002). Thus, as a metaphor, rangatahi refers to “... the succession of a younger person to the

work of a retiring elder” (S. M. Mead & Grove, 1996, p. 181), or in a broader sense, the next generation of adults. Both taiohi and rangatahi (and other terms) are used in Māori society, and often interchangeably.

For the purposes of this study, children refers to young people under 18 years old, and tamariki specially to Māori children. Youth refers to 12 to 24 year olds, and rangatahi specifically to Māori youth. And youth is used interchangeably with adolescence.

### **Youth development and the deficit paradigm**

It is common knowledge that youth is a developmental period during which young people experience a number of physical, psychological, emotional, and social changes as they transition from childhood to adulthood (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Adolescence thus tends to be portrayed as one of the more turbulent developmental stages in the life course, with young people often characterised as vulnerable, reckless, incompetent, irresponsible, self-absorbed, lazy, and rebellious (Lerner, 2007). Consequently, interest in youth development tends to be underpinned by three broad assumptions: (1) youth need to be protected from adult society and themselves; (2) society needs to be protected from youth; and (3) youth cannot successfully navigate this period without adult guidance and intervention (Benard, 1990; Kurth-Schai, 1988; Lerner, 2009).

Caught in the so-called “storm and stress” (Hall, 1904) of adolescence, young people are viewed as fragile (Damon, 2004) and susceptible to peer pressure and the temptation to engage in risky and destructive behaviours (e.g. drug use, unprotected sex, drink-driving). Adults and particularly governments also worry about whether the next generation is on the ‘right path’ to becoming contributing members of society (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). For example, the New Zealand Youth Development Strategy states, “Too many young people are arriving at adulthood unprepared to contribute productively as citizens and employees...” (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002, p. 10), the costs of which are negative investments in justice and health that might otherwise be used for education and other core services. In short, youth tend to be viewed as problems to be fixed and managed (Benard, 1990; Damon, 2004; Lerner et al., 2005; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). This deficit view of youth has its roots in the medical and mental health fields, wherein health is perceived as the absence of illness (Benson, 2007). Youth

development research and initiatives growing out of this paradigm thus focus on preventing and reducing health-compromising and anti-social behaviours (Benard, 1990; Larson, 2000) including drug and alcohol use and abuse, depression and anxiety, and teen pregnancy.

### **The strengths paradigm**

During the 1960s and 70s, an affirmative paradigm began to emerge (Masten et al., 2009). Unable to identify the risk factors of various disorders (e.g. alcoholism, schizophrenia, criminality, delinquency), developmental scientists began conducting longitudinal studies with children growing up in conditions (e.g. poverty, neglect, abuse, discrimination) that put them “at risk” of developing such disorders – and were amazed to find that many deviated from the normative expectation by becoming competent healthy adults (Benard, 1991; Damon, 2004). Consequently, researchers and practitioners began talking about “invulnerability” (Anthony, 1974); “resilience” and “protective factors” (Werner & Smith, 1982); “developmental assets” (Benson, 1996); “strengths” (Saleebey, 1996); “positive psychology” (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2001); and more recently “positive youth development” (Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007).

The basic premise of the strengths paradigm is that research and practice should focus on promoting strengths rather than preventing or reducing deficits (Sanders & Munford, 2010). Three common strengths-based approaches that have emerged in the field of human and youth development include Risk and Resilience research, the Strengths-based Approach in Social Work (or Counselling), and the Positive Youth Development perspective. These concepts, theories, and approaches are complex, cumulative, overlap, and emerged concurrently across several different fields during the 1980s and 90s (Lerner, 2009).

### **Risk and resilience**

Resilience has been framed as the capacity to ‘overcome the odds’, sustained competence under stress, and good developmental outcomes despite adversity (Garmezy, 1991; Rutter, 2012; Werner, 1997). The subjects of resilience research and interventions are thus individuals and groups who have experienced, or are ‘at risk’ of experiencing some type of stress, hardship, or trauma. Further, Ann Masten et al. (2009) note that measures or indicators of ‘good developmental outcomes’ tend to focus on academic achievement, personal conduct, peer acceptance,

normative mental health, and involvement in age-appropriate activities (e.g. sports). The most surprising finding, however – and now a fundamental aspect of resilience theory and research – is that resilience “...arises from *ordinary processes*” such as supportive parents, teachers, friends, and participating in extracurricular activities, rather than “...rare and special qualities” (Masten et al., 2009, p. 129; original emphasis).

According to Margaret Wright, Ann Masten, and Angela Narayan (2013) the study of resilience has advanced in four waves: (1) identifying individual resilience and protective factors; (2) embedding resilience in developmental and ecological systems with a focus on processes; (3) interventions to foster resilience; and more recently, (4) a focus on multiple-systems levels, epigenetic processes, and neurobiological processes. An insightful example of first and second wave risk and resilience research is the *Kauai Longitudinal Study* led by Emmy Werner and Ruth Smith (1982). This study followed a group of 698 ethnically-diverse children from their birth in 1955 until they were 40 years old, with one third identified as ‘at risk’, and 72 of this group as resilient. In contrasting the lives of the resilient and non-resilient groups, the researchers identified three clusters of ‘protective factors’ – i.e. “... supports and opportunities that buffer the effect of adversity and enable development to proceed...” (Benard, 2004, p. 8). Cluster 1: ‘Within the individual’ protective factors were temperamental characteristics that elicit positive responses from others (e.g. happy, sociable, affectionate); problem-solving and reading skills; a talent or hobby valued by peers or elders; a generous nature; and faith that one’s actions can make a positive difference in one’s life. Cluster 2: ‘Within the family’ protective factors were a close bond with at least one emotionally stable adult; clear structures and rules; a family that expresses their emotions, and encourages independence (with support); and religious or spiritual beliefs (Werner, 1997). Cluster 3: The protective factor ‘within the community’ was the presence of at least one other caring adult (e.g. teacher, coach, elder, minister) or peer. Werner (1995) thus concluded that interventions designed to foster resilience should focus on decreasing children’s exposure to risk factors whilst increasing competencies, self-esteem, and sources of support.

In a pioneering example of Third Wave resilience research, Peter Benson and others (Leffert et al., 1998) conceived the Developmental Assets Framework (DAF). Based on a synthesis of resilience research, the DAF features 20 internal and 20



external assets (Sesma Jnr. et al., 2013). Internal assets are personal strengths and include a commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies, and positive identity. External assets are protective factors provided by parents, family, peers, school, and the community and include support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, and a constructive use of time. The theoretical DAF was tested in the 1996 *Search Institute Profiles of Student Life: Attitudes and Behaviors survey*, which also measured 26 risk behaviours (e.g. substance use, violence, depression, sexual intercourse). The findings of this study indicated that the more developmental assets young people reported, the lower their number of risk behaviours (Leffert et al., 1998). The DAF has since been used by thousands of schools, youth-serving groups, communities, and researchers across the United States and the world to profile and assess youth resilience, development, and initiatives.

One of the defining strengths of risk and resilience research is that it challenges the assumption that ‘at risk’ youth will inevitably become negative statistics. Locating youth within their social networks and the individual-environment transactional relationship, resilience approaches are holistic, and thus offer a more balanced view of children’s developmental needs (Damon, 2004). Some resilience theorists (e.g. Rutter, 2003) are also beginning to examine genetic inheritance (Fourth Wave), which creates room for cultural concepts such as *ira tangata* (e.g. *whakapapa*, *pūmanawa*).

Risk and resilience approaches also have their limitations. Concerns have been raised about inconsistent definitions, terminology, and measures (e.g. S. Luthar et al., 2000). Researchers have failed to define the intensity or duration of adversity, and employ ungeneralisable ‘samples’ and populations (Herrman et al., 2011). Resilience has been treated as a fixed rather than dynamic attribute (Benard, 2004). Some models of resilience (e.g. the Developmental Assets Framework) are too prescriptive, and are “... strongly inflected with normative, middle-class values...” that “... may well be irrelevant for children from different ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups” (Howard et al., 1999, p. 317). Some studies look for consistency rather than diversity, which, argues Michael Rutter (2012), is the origin of resilience. And William Damon (2004) argues that because the resilience perspective “... assume[s] a background of danger, stress, and deficit...” and that resilience is a response “...to unfavorable circumstances rather than a normal

adaptation to the challenges of human development” (p. 16), it is still located in the deficit paradigm.

### *The strengths perspective*

While risk and resilience research and initiatives focus on youth who despite adversity are on a positive or ‘normal’ developmental trajectory (life path), the Strengths Perspective in Social Work (SPSW) serves those who are not. Traditionally, the client-expert interaction in social work and counselling begins with identifying problems, which become the ‘linchpin’ for discussions and interventions that tend to focus on ‘fixing’ the client (Sanders & Munford, 2010). During the 1980s, however, the focus shifted from identifying and fixing personal defects, deficits, and disease to “... a singular emphasis on the strengths and resources of the client...” (Weick et al., 1989, p. 353). This is not to say that problems are ignored – as people need an opportunity for catharsis, and in sharing their stories inadvertently reveal their strengths (Saleebey, 1992) – but “... that it will be through the mobilization and articulation of inherent talents, abilities, aspirations, resources, wiles and grit that transformation, rebound, and change will occur” (Weick & Saleebey, 1998, p. 28).

Another defining feature of the SPWS is that it is a philosophy, not a theory (Saleebey, 1996; Sanders & Munford, 2010). In other words, the prime drivers of the SPWS are values and attitudes (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2012) rather than empirically-based methodologies and models (Weick & Saleebey, 1998). A pioneer of SPWS, Dennis Saleebey (2008) states that the SPWS is founded on the belief that every individual, group, and community is unique and has assets, resources, and capacities that can move them “... towards their aspirations, the meeting of their challenges, and amplifying the quality of their lives” (p. 69). The principles of the SPWS include a positive view of people (aroha-ki-te-tangata) and their capacity to change and ‘self-correct’ (rebound); a belief that people know what is right for them (rangatiratanga), possess an inner wisdom, and have learnt from their trials and tribulations; and that change occurs in the context of authentic relationships (whanaungatanga) and is a collaborative, inclusive, and participatory process (W. Hammond & Zimmerman, 2012; Laursen, 2003; Saleebey, 2008). Challenging notions of power (e.g. client-worker equality), and arguing that ‘the problem is the problem, not the person’, the SPWS is also influenced by critical theory (Sanders

& Munford, 2010) and is a socially-just practice (W. Hammond & Zimmerman, 2012).

Founded on the principle that everyone has strengths, strengths-based approaches such as the SPSW challenge the notion that youth are deficient. As philosophy-based practices, strengths-based approaches can also be used in a diverse range of settings, and allow practitioners to be more creative and flexible (Saleebey, 2008; Sanders & Munford, 2010). By encouraging practitioners to work closely with their clients to identify and harness their innate strengths and their resources, strengths-based approaches also expand the perception of expertise and produce tailored and culturally relevant ‘solutions’ (Sanders & Munford, 2010). Helping people to identify and understand the structural forces that limit, shape, and constrain people, the SPSW also involves some degree of conscientisation.

The most common criticism of the SPSW, and strengths-based approaches generally, is that they are overly optimistic and ignore reality (Saleebey, 1996). These criticisms, however, overlook Saleebey’s (1996) comments about catharsis. Being a philosophy and therefore without a clear definition, there is also some confusion about what the SPSW is and therefore how to teach, employ, and assess it (Probst, 2010). Juliette Oko (2006) points to a lack of critical discussion about the nature of strengths, and the assumption that all social workers share the SPSW values. While Mel Gray (2011) argues the idea that people find their own solutions is essentially grounded in neoliberal notions of individual responsibility, and “... glosses over the structural inequalities that hamper personal and social development” (p. 10).

#### *The Positive Youth Development perspective*

While risk and resilience studies and the SPSW focus on ‘at risk’ youth and ‘rebound’, the Positive Youth Development (PYD) perspective is that *all* youth need support because ‘problem-free does not mean fully prepared’ (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). In short, youth are resources to be developed, not problems to be solved (Roth et al., 1998). Benson and Scales (2009) describe PYD “... as something that occurs when an ‘active, engaged, and competent person’ is fused with ‘receptive, supportive, and nurturing ecologies’” (p. 90). In other words, PYD is about more than survival and competence, but rather thriving and moving towards an “...‘idealized personhood’ characterized by socially or *structurally*-valued

behaviors such as contribution to self, family, community, and civil society” (Benson & Scales, 2009, p. 90; original emphasis).

Contribution as the epitome of PYD is a key feature of the Five Cs of Positive Development. Developed by Richard and Jacqueline Lerner this framework began with a synthesis of risk and resilience and strengths-based literature, in which they identified five clusters of character indicators (Lerner, 2009). The Five Cs are Competence (academic, social, and vocational abilities and achievement); Confidence (an internal sense of overall self-worth and efficacy); Connection (positive bonds with people and social institutions); Character (respect for society and cultural rules, an inner moral compass); and Caring (a sense of sympathy and empathy for others and a commitment to social justice) (Lerner, 2007, p. 35). Moreover, the Lerner’s theorized that when all Five Cs are present they should equate to a sixth C: Contribution to self, family, community, and civil society.

The Five Cs framework and hypothesis was successfully tested in the Overcoming the Odds study (C. S. Taylor et al., 2005) and the 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development (Lerner, 2009). These studies revealed that the major sources of support for the development of Character (and other developmental assets) are parents and youth programmes, with the key environmental features being positive and sustained adult-youth interactions, life-skill building activities, and opportunities to lead (Lerner, 2018). Translating this framework into practice, and drawing on life-course sociology, developmental systems theories, and Urie Bronfenbrenner’s (1996) ecological theory of development, the Lerner and their colleagues proposed that it is possible to “... optimiz[e] individual and group change by altering bidirectional relations between individuals and their ecologies to capitalize on plasticity” (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 11). In other words, the two-way nature of the person-context relationship means it is possible to manipulate the life course by changing the environment (Granger, 2002); i.e. matching youth to contexts that fit with and will enhance their existing strengths and interests (Lerner, 2009).

PYD researchers are therefore particularly interested in contexts and the conditions in which youth experience positive development (e.g. 5Cs) (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Consequently, the typical settings for PYD research and intervention programmes include after-school programmes (e.g. Mahoney, Lord, et

al., 2005); community youth programmes (e.g. DuBois & Neville, 1997); in-school and out-of-school extracurricular activities including sports (e.g. Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008), volunteering, and community service (e.g. McIntosh et al., 2005); and youth clubs and organisations (e.g. Kirshner, 2007). Lesser but increasing attention has also been given to music making (e.g. O’Neill, 2005); the arts (e.g. Ersing, 2009); drama (e.g. Dutton, 2001); and religion and spirituality (e.g. Benson et al., 2005). Leisure as a context for PYD is the focus of the empirical literature review in part three of this chapter.

Whether described as a “person-in-context”, “bioecological”, or “developmental systems” approach, the PYD perspective requires researchers and practitioners to ‘see’ the whole child as an active, influential, and valued member of the family, school, community, and society (Lerner et al., 2000). The PYD perspective also promotes intentionality (J. Walker et al., 2008), and thus challenges the notion that simply participating in adult-led leisure activities promotes positive development (Petitpas et al., 2008). For instance, while studies have found sports participation is associated with academic achievement, others have found sports are linked to health-compromising and deviant behaviours including gang membership and crime (Clarke, 2012); increased alcohol consumption (Barber et al., 2001); sexual abuse (Owton & Sparkes, 2017); and injury and illness (Alosco et al., 2017).

One of the common criticisms of the PYD perspective is that researchers describe the ‘black box’ but do not, or do not adequately, examine its contents (Ramey & Rose-Krasnor, 2012). In other words, the focus tends to be the outcome of participation rather than the processes and interactions that contribute to positive development. This is where qualitative methods can complement quantitative methods (Holt & Sehn, 2008). Another criticism is that what constitutes ‘positive’ development and ‘healthy’ adulthood “... fluctuates depending on the purpose and audience” (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003, p. 96). As illustrated in *Te Kōmore Kaiwai – Leisure*, governments tend to prioritise physical health and economic self-sufficiency as indicators of successful development, while communities and families are more likely to prioritise wellbeing, happiness, service, or creativity (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Moreover, Evans et al. (2012) argue that PYD models are “culture-neutral” (p. 254) and thus “... fail to articulate the role of race and ethnicity for positive youth outcomes in families of color” (p. 252). Focusing on external sites of intervention, PYD models also neglect the influence of the

family and in focusing on positive developmental experiences, ignores the significance of oppression and racism for youth of colour (Evans et al., 2012). While Villarruel et al. (2005) argue, "... the notion that communities and adults must create structures that enable youth to achieve their individual potential..." (p. 116) assumes that "...“power” and “knowledge” are owned by one constituency and can be successfully transmitted to others" (p. 116-117).

### *The Positive Deviance approach*

To these more recognised strengths-based approaches, I add the Positive Deviance approach to community transformation. This approach was brought to my attention by my son’s school Principal, who volunteers for an international aid organisation. The interest here is that while the other strengths-based approaches serve youth, the PD approach encourages families and communities to serve themselves by identifying and modelling the behaviour and practices of ‘positive deviants’; i.e. the innovators living amongst them.

The PD approach was developed in Vietnam in the early 1990s by Jerry and Monique Sternin while working for Save the Children (see Pascale et al., 2010). Given a mere six months to tackle childhood malnutrition, struggling to gain the trust of the Vietnamese people, and conscious that NGOs<sup>97</sup> provide unsustainable solutions, the Sternins and their team worked with local organisations to develop a local approach. Inspired by the work of nutritionist Marian Zeitlin (1991), the Sternins proposed that villages might have within them “statistical outliers” who might also be “positive deviants.” Statistical outliers are individuals who “outperform the norm”, and positive deviants, outliers who have deviated from the norm with positive results. The outliers in the case of malnourished children were families with healthy children, with the assumption being that these families had solved the problem of malnutrition by using some uncommon strategies. If present, this local wisdom represented readily accessible and sustainable solutions that might be more readily adopted because they have been devised and successfully employed by ‘insiders’ rather than ‘outsiders’ or ‘experts’. A pilot programme proved the Lerner’s hypotheses, and the programme was ‘rolled out’ to other villages. The Vietnam PD project resulted in a 65% drop in childhood malnutrition (Pascale et al., 2010) and the Basic Field Guide to the Positive Deviance Approach.

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<sup>97</sup> Non-Government Organisations.

Although the concept of positive deviance is not new, the PD approach to community transformation is, and since publishing the story and results of the Vietnam mission the number of PD studies has increased (see Albanna & Heeks, 2019). PD studies have been conducted all over the world to address a wide range of problems (see Herington & Fliert, 2018), including smoking cessation (Awofeso et al., 2008), childhood obesity (Foster et al., 2018), academic underachievement (Harper, 2012), HIV transmission (Babalola et al., 2002), and infant mortality (Pascale et al., 2010).

Similar to the previous perspectives, the PD approach represents a paradigm shift. Traditionally, outside experts and change agents impose ‘best practice’ and often unsustainable ideas, practices, and resources on diverse communities who are cast as deficient (LeMahieu et al., 2017; Sternin & Choo, 2000). In contrast, the PD approach is led by members of the community, and thus far has demonstrated that virtually every community has positive deviants (Pascale et al., 2010). The advantages of this community-driven approach include local solutions that reduce the community’s reliance on external aid and expertise, are almost immediately accessible, and build and enhance feelings of self-reliance, competence, and hope (Albanna & Heeks, 2019). However, researchers have also found that, positive deviants are somewhat rare and difficult to locate/identify (Pascale et al., 2010); discovering and observing positive deviants is time and labour intensive; and assumes that positive deviants are willing to share their unique solutions, and to be observed (Albanna & Heeks, 2019). Researchers have also found that some PD strategies are difficult to observe and/or adopt, and are not always positive (LeMahieu et al., 2017). There are also the issues of conceptual clarity (Herington & Fliert, 2018), and limited generalisability (D. R. Marsh et al., 2004).



### **Summary**

In this first layer of the positive youth development literature review, Te Kiri Aronui directed my attention to the wider body of literature and four strengths-based approaches that emerged in the Northern Hemisphere during the 1980s and 90s. Each approach shares the following assumptions: youth need help to successfully navigate adolescence and prepare for adulthood; all youth have strengths and assets; prioritising strengths does not mean ignoring risks and challenges; and human development is grounded in a transactional person-environment relationship.

In the course of this review, I also noticed that the concept of positive youth development is employed in two different ways. On the one hand, this phrase refers to a general concern that youth are ‘travelling’ on a positive trajectory through adolescence and into adulthood. On the other hand, the PYD approach views youth as “resources to be developed” and focuses on “inculcation” (Damon, 2004); i.e. matching youth to organised settings where their strengths and interests will be developed under the guidance of adults, with the ultimate goal being Contribution to self, family, community, and society (Lerner, 2009). While Contribution is essential in building and sustaining healthy families, communities, and societies – establishing goals for others and matching them to ideal settings, ignores their rangatiratanga, their right to establish and pursue their own goals and aspirations. In contrast, the SPSW and the PD approaches contend that the strengthening process should directly benefit, be driven by, and meet the immediate and long-term needs and aspirations of the individual, group, or community.

Another observation is that the assets and strengths promoted by these approaches to youth development are essentially measures or indicators of success. Success, however, is a social construct and therefore subjective and relative. For example, Jodie Roth and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn (2003) use the terms ‘positive’, ‘successful’, and ‘healthy’ development interchangeably, and state: “... healthy development encompasses all our hopes and aspirations for a nation of healthy, happy, and competent adolescents on their way to productive and satisfying adulthoods” (p. 96). The concepts of ‘hope’, ‘health’, ‘happiness’, ‘competence’, ‘productivity’, and ‘satisfaction’, however, hold different meanings and significance for different individuals, social groups, cultures, and nations – and also shift across time.

For the purposes of my study the question is, therefore, what does positive youth development mean in Aotearoa New Zealand, and more specifically, for Māori?

### **Te Kiri Huna: Youth development in Aotearoa New Zealand**

In the second layer of this kōmore kaiwai, Te Kiri Huna directed my attention to what was lacking in the literature, which included indigenous perspectives of and approaches to positive youth development (Harper, 2012). In this section, I employ the tātai hikohiko pattern to offer an abbreviated whakapapa (chronology) of some



health, wellbeing, and youth development models, frameworks, and approaches unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. First, however, I offer some context.

### **Children in Aotearoa New Zealand**

Children (0-18 years old) in Aotearoa New Zealand make up 23% of our population (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2018), with 71% identified or identifying as European or a New Zealander; 26% as Māori; 15% Asian; 14% Pacific Peoples; and 2% Middle Eastern, Latin, American, or African.<sup>99</sup> According to the Office of the Children’s Commissioner, the majority of our children are doing well and achieving positive outcomes. In the latest health survey, 98% of parents rated their children’s health as ‘good, very good, or excellent’ (Ministry of Health, 2019). In the recent Wellbeing Budget (New Zealand Treasury, 2019) it was noted that 88% of our youth are in education, employment, or training. In 2017, the Ministry of Education (2019) reported that 80.7% of school leavers achieved NCEA level 2, and that New Zealand students achieved one of the highest scores internationally in collaborative problem solving. And, the latest Youth Survey (T. C. Clark, Fleming, Denny, et al., 2013) indicated a significant decline in the use of cigarettes, alcohol and marijuana, and 92% of respondents reported feeling ‘okay, satisfied or very happy’ with their life.

However, these arguably positive indicators were difficult to find, while the dominant statistics and information about children in Aotearoa New Zealand indicate that they are in need of a significant amount of extra support and services. The 2019 Wellbeing Budget (New Zealand Treasury, 2019) is ‘telling’: an estimated 150,000 of our children live in material hardship; every year 41,000 are hospitalised for conditions associated with deprivation; 300,000 are affected by family violence; and the suicide rate for young New Zealanders is one of the worst in the OECD. Furthermore, overrepresented in these and other negative indicators are Māori and Pacific children, who are *also* less likely to attain secondary school and higher educational qualifications; are more likely to live in overcrowded and substandard homes; and to suffer from psychological stress (New Zealand Treasury, 2019). Moreover, young Māori males are *also* most at risk for leaving school without any qualifications, being imprisoned, dying by suicide, and being injured or killed in a car crash (Ministry of Justice, 2009; Ministry of Transport, 2018; New Zealand Treasury, 2019). These statistics arguably represent a ‘norm’ for Māori,

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<sup>99</sup> Figures do not add up to 100 because respondents could select more than one ethnicity.

and thus from a positive deviance perspective, suggest that *successful* Māori are statistical outliers and positive deviants. On the other hand, researchers such as Mohi Rua (2015) might argue that successful or positive images of Māori males are not the exception, but have been subsumed and marginalised by the deficit-orientated characterisations and depictions offered and sort out by academics and the mainstream media.

However, while the New Zealand Government has been slow in keeping its promise under the *1993 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* to “... promote, protect, respect and fulfil the rights of all children” (The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child Monitoring Group, 2017, p. 4), some positive shifts have occurred. These changes include the development of participant/child-centred research- and consultation-based strategies and initiatives, the adoption of Māori perspectives and models of health and wellbeing, and that are driven ‘by, with, and for’ Māori themselves. The following models and strategies paint a picture of what health, wellbeing, and youth development means in Aotearoa New Zealand, and particularly, for Māori.

### **Health, wellbeing, and youth development**

The frameworks in this section focus on the health, wellbeing, and the positive development of tamariki and rangatahi, children and youth. These frameworks begin at a place of strength and positivity, and are some of our more recognised approaches and strategies. This abbreviated whakapapa begins with words of wisdom offered in the 1800s.

#### **Hūtia Te Rito**

‘Hūtia te rito’ refers to a whakataukākī that affirms the significance of tamariki to the future of the whānau, hapū, iwi. There are different versions of the story linked to this whakataukākī, but by all accounts (e.g. Henare, 2012; Metge & Jones, 1995; Peeni, 2016) it is attributed to Meri Ngaroto of Te Aupōuri (Northland), a tribal leader of early the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who said:

*Hūtia te rito o te harakeke, kei whea te korimako e kō?  
Ka rere ki uta, ka rere ki tai.  
Kī mai koe ki a au, he aha te mea nui o te ao?  
Māku e kī atu, he tangata! he tangata! he tangata!*

If you pluck out the flax shoot, where will the bellbird sing?  
It will fly inland, it will fly seawards.  
If you ask me, what is the most important thing in the world?  
I will reply, it is People! It is People! It is People!

Whether offered or interpreted as a prophecy, warning, or lament, the message is, if *te rito* (the new shoot) is plucked, the flax bush will die and the bellbird will have nowhere to perch and sing (Metge & Jones, 1995). A metaphor for the whānau, *te rito* represents the child or new generation without whom the whānau and hapū will wither and die. Another interpretation is, “... without the sound of children in the world mankind will not survive” (Pā Harakeke Eco-Cultural Centre, 2019, para. 4). Here in Aotearoa New Zealand this whakatauākī and the kīanga ‘He Tangata! He Tangata! He Tangata!’ is heard on the marae, in the boardroom, and is printed in reports produced by public, private, and voluntary sector agencies, organisations, and institutions.



Figure 16: *Te Rito* | *Pū harakeke*

### *Te Pā Harakeke*

The flax bush or *Te Pā Harakeke*, is “... a favourite Māori metaphor not just for the parent-child family but for the larger family group, the whānau” (Metge & Jones, 1995, p. 4). An organic developmental framework, *Te Pā Harakeke* places an emphasis on protecting and nurturing the child, and the role of the entire whānau in doing so. The rau on either side of *te rito*, are the *awhi rito* and represent the parents

or caregivers, and, on either side of the awahi rito are successive generations of tūpuna. This nested familial system shelters te rito from adverse conditions, and also provides structure and strength for the entire whānau. Moreover, as individual pū (fan) mature, they multiply and become a pā (village), which provides the whānau and collective with additional strength and protection (Figure 17).



Figure 17: Pā Harakeke<sup>100</sup>

Te Pā Harakeke metaphor demonstrates and emphasises that the child and the whānau are one, and are also members of a larger community. Thus, the key to healthy and positive development is a healthy whānau and community. In other words, the best way to ‘grow’ the child is to ‘tend’ their immediate environment, as illustrated in the whakatauaākī: *Parapara waerea a ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke* – “clear away the overgrowth so that the flax bush will put forth many new shoots” (Metge & Jones, 1995, p. 4).

Since the devolution of public services in the 1980s, increasing attention has been given to whānau development and wellbeing. Of particular significance is *whānau ora* (family health/wellbeing), a philosophy and now whānau-centred

<sup>100</sup> Source: *Harakeke image gallery*, by Landcare Research, 2019, <https://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/> Licensed for use under the Creative Commons Attribution Share Alike 4.0 International license.

intersectoral model of practice launched by the government in 2010. Whānau Ora has shifted the focus from the individual to the collective, from providing solutions to empowering the whānau, and from viewing whānau as a ‘problem to be fixed to assets to be developed’ (Ministry of Health, 2011). Kaupapa Māori research projects grounded in Te Pā Harakeke include *Tiakina Te Pā Harakeke: Māori childrearing within a context of Whānau ora* (Pihama et al., 2015), and *Te Puāwaitanga o ngā Whānau: Fostering Te Pā Harakeke* (Kingi et al., 2014).

#### Te Ara a Tāne | Poutama

The importance of the whānau to child/youth development is also captured in *tukutuku* (latticework wall panels) that line the walls of wharenuī and whare tūpuna. Te Ara a Tāne (Figure 18) depicts Tāne’s journey up into the heavens or realms to receive Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga (see Te Kōmoremore) and is thus embedded with messages and lessons about the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom (Tangaere, 1997). Each step represents a realm where Tāne was tested before he could advance to the next realm, and therein illustrates that the pursuit of knowledge or enlightenment is incremental and is not easy and requires effort. Distributing that knowledge upon his return, Tāne then demonstrates that the pursuit of knowledge is not to be undertaken for one’s own benefit, but for the benefit of one’s whānau and descendants. The assistance and protection provided by Tāwhirimātea then demonstrates that to be successful, learning is not a solitary endeavour.



Figure 18: Te Ara a Tāne | Poutama<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Source: This panel is located inside the whare tūpuna named Tūhourangi at Waitangi, Te Puke. Photo taken and used with permission of Rereamanu Wihapi.

The Te Ara a Tāne pattern is also known as Poutama, which is embedded with messages and lessons about whakapapa, knowledge, and human development. “[H]onouring chiefly wisdom” (Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p. 37), each platform represents the life and works of the previous generation, and each incline, their advances and contributions to the next and following generations. Poutama thus symbolises the continuance of whakapapa and intergenerational knowledge (Skinner, 2016). Accentuating the ‘tama’ dimension of this pattern, Poutama refers to “... the planning of a son’s future, not only by himself but also by his parents, family and tribe...” (Taiapa, 1974, p. 5). The feminine equivalent or partner to Poutama is Pouhine (Dr. Donna Campbell, 2019, personal communication).

A symbol of positive development, Poutama frameworks and models have been adopted by a number of sectors including health (e.g. Drury, 2007), justice and corrections (e.g. Banaghan, 2018), sport and leisure (e.g. Sport NZ, 2019a), and education. To offer an example of the latter, Arapera Royal-Tangaere (1997) has conceptualised Poutama as a Māori human development learning theory. With the help of one’s whānau and teachers, each plateau represents the time for a task or activity to be understood before ascending to the next ‘zone of proximal development’. Tangaere (1997) also offers a four-tone Poutama pattern to illustrate that alongside the learner’s *hinengaro* (mind/intellect) their *tinana* (physical body), *wairua*, and *whatumanawa* (emotions) must also be nurtured and developed.

### *E Tipu E Rea*

*E tipu e rea* is a whakataukāki penned by scholar, politician, and advocate of Māori issues Tā Āpirana Ngata for schoolgirl Rangi Bennett in 1947 (T. J. Keelan, 2009). A reflection of his European-Anglican education and his determination for Māori to achieve equity with Pākehā, he wrote (as cited in R. Walker, 2001):

*E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tō ao.  
Ko tō ringaringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana.  
Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga.  
Ko tō wairua ki te Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa.*

Grow up o tender plant for the days of your world.  
Turn your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the wellbeing of your body  
Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head.  
Give your soul unto God, the author of all things. (p. 397)

Ngata's vision for Māori youth has stood the test of time and has been widely quoted, although not always in print. A significant exception is Dr. Mason Durie's keynote speech at the *1984 Hui Whakaoranga Māori health planning workshop*. A practicing psychiatrist, Durie (1984) explained to the delegates – including health department officials, hospital board members, representatives of other government departments, private and voluntary agencies and health workers – that E tipu e rea is a "... laudable prescription for the mental health of Māori people" (p. 4). Following Ngata, Durie (1985) argues that the three basic nutrients for optimal growth and mental health (*te taha hinengaro*) are *te taha tinana* (physical 'health'), *te taha whānau* (family/cultural health), and *te taha wairua* (spiritual health) – and that these "often contradictory dimensions" (p. 12) must be fused and treated together. Thus, in the pursuit of total health, "... it behoves Māori and pākehā institutions to increase the range of experiences for Māori youth, and to do so in a manner which acknowledges and enhances those other worlds" (p. 12). These four dimensions were later presented in form of Te Whare Tapa Whā.

#### *Te Whare Tapa Whā*

*Te Whare Tapa Whā* literally means 'the four-sided house'<sup>103</sup> and was developed by Dr. Mason Durie in response to the Western mental (ill)health model that pathologizes and alienates Māori, and conflicts with Māori world views (Durie, 2011). Some of the key features of the Western perspective of mental health at that time were based on the arguments that mental health is separate from physical health; good mental health is reflected in one's capacity to be independent; and culture and ethnicity are irrelevant to health (Durie, 1985, 2011). Mainstream mental health care thus focused on the mind and the individual, and relied on medical interventions including pharmacology and electroconvulsive therapy. In contrast, Māori argued that mental health (*te taha hinengaro*) was inextricably linked to the health of the body (*te taha tinana*), the spirit (*te taha wairua*), and the wider family (*te taha whānau*); total independence is unhealthy and "unnecessarily defensive" (Durie, 1985, p. 485); and culture is a prime source of wellbeing. Quoting Durie (2011), "... apart from the cultural knowledge contained in the model... *te whare tapa whā* was especially important because it gave Māori a distinctive voice in the health care services" (p. 30) and boosted the demand for Māori health initiatives, health care providers and workers, liaison officers, cultural

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<sup>103</sup> A 'tapa whā' is a square.

training (Durie, 1985), ‘by Māori, with Māori, for Māori’ research (e.g. Durie & Kingi, 1997), and holistic assessment tools (e.g. Kirkwood, 2015; Pitama et al., 2007).

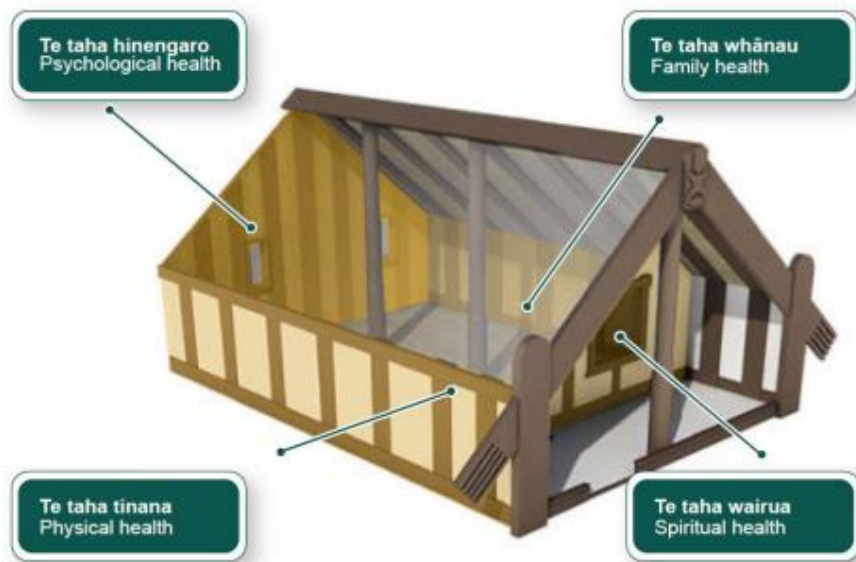


Figure 19: Te Whare Tapa Whā<sup>104</sup>

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Whare Tapa Whā (Figure 19) is firmly embedded in Māori health policy and is one of the most recognisable and widely used models of health and wellbeing. Te Whare Tapa Whā has also been adopted by Pākehā, for the benefit of both Māori and Pākehā, and across a wide range of sectors including employment (e.g. careersnz, 2019), justice/corrections (e.g. Department of Corrections, 2014), palliative care (e.g. Ministry of Health, 2017), education (e.g. Ministry of Education, 1999), and youth development (e.g. Wayne Francis Charitable Trust Youth Advisory Group, 2011). Sharyn Heaton (2015) reminds us, however, of “... the implicit interrelationship of whenua as the foundation for a whare...” (p. 167). She argues that the ownership that mainstream institutions feel they have over Te Whare Tapa Whā since the 1980s, has meant that ‘alternative’ conceptualisations offered by Māori have been rejected, and likely is related to the continuing controversy over Māori land.

<sup>104</sup> Source: *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, by Careers New Zealand, n.d., <https://www.careers.govt.nz/resources/career-practice/career-theory-models/te-whare-tapa-wha/>. Reprinted with permission, and with acknowledgement to Dr. Mason Durie.



### Te Wheke

Another health model introduced during *Hui Whakaoranga* in 1984 was *Te Wheke*, ‘The Octopus’. Grounded in the teachings of her elders, Rangimarie Rose Pere presented Te Wheke as a symbol for the health of the whānau. Similar to Te Pā Harakeke, the head and body of Te Wheke represent the child and whānau as one (Pere, 1984) and each tentacle represents a dimension of wellbeing. The suckers are the various facets of each dimension, and the intertwining of the tentacles represents the interconnectedness of these eight dimensions. Supporting and overlapping with Te Whare Tapa Whā these dimensions are: te taha tinana; te taha hinengaro; whanaungatanga; mauri; *whatumanawa* (the seat of one’s emotions); *wairuatanga* (spirituality); *hā a koro mā a kui mā* (the ‘breath of life’ passed down from one’s ancestors); and *mana ake* (those things that make the individual unique) (Pere, 1984, 1988, 1991). When these dimensions are nourished, *waiora*, or the vitality of the individual/whānau is reflected in the eyes of Te Wheke. Following Hui Whakaoranga, Te Wheke was adopted in the public (Ministry of Health, n.d.) and mental health sectors (e.g. S. Palmer, 2004), justice (e.g. Leaming & Willis, 2016) and education (e.g. Nature Education Network, 2014), and has also been extended (Love, 2004).

### Te Whāriki

Another developmental framework that has grown out of the unique landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand is *Te Whāriki*, ‘the woven mat’. In contrast to Te Whare Tapa Whā and Te Wheke, which emerged in the health sector and have their ‘roots’ firmly embedded in Te Ao Māori, Te Whāriki was developed in the education sector and was bicultural from the outset.

Published in 1993, Te Whāriki is our early childhood education (ECE) curriculum. This framework represents a commitment to the idea of a bicultural society (Carr & May, 1993) and has two parts: *Te Whāriki: He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa* is the mainstream curriculum, and *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* is the full immersion Kōhanga Reo (see Te Oneone) curriculum. The project leaders for Te Whāriki, Margaret Carr and Helen May, were determined that the new curriculum would honour the Treaty partnership, protect the diversity of the various providers and their communities, and maintain “... the integrity of distinctive early childhood aims and practice” (p. 10). Carr and May (1993) thus employed a comprehensive consultation and development process that included a

Māori immersion specialist working group who helped identify the dimensions of mana Māori for the mainstream curriculum (Figure 20), and a working relationship with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, who appointed Tilly and Tamati Reedy to write the Kōhanga Reo curriculum (Figure 21).

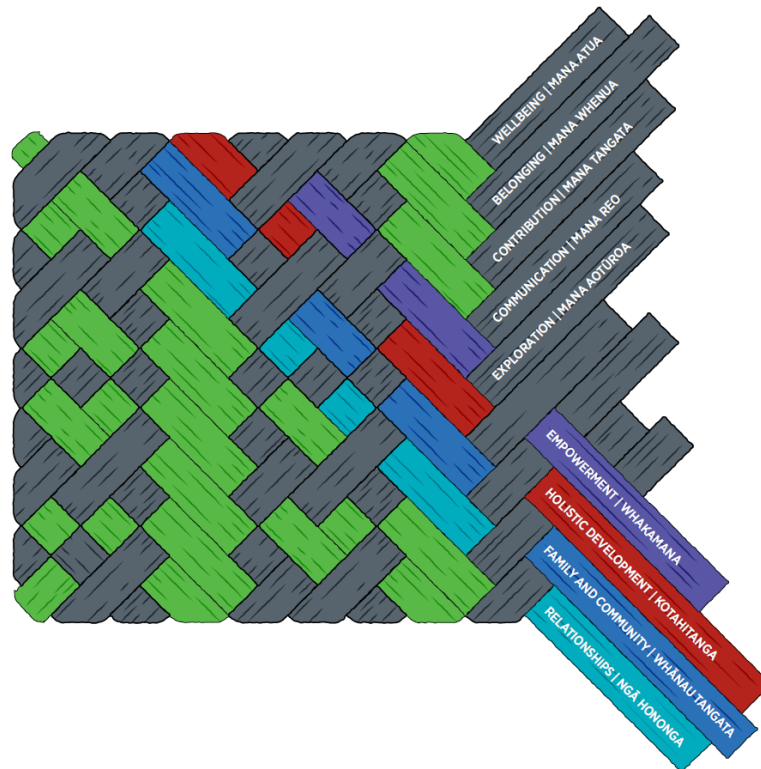


Figure 20: *Te Whāriki: He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa*<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Source: *Te Whāriki: He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa - Early childhood curriculum* (p. 11), by the Ministry of Education, 2017, Wellington, New Zealand. Copyright © Crown. Reprinted with permission.

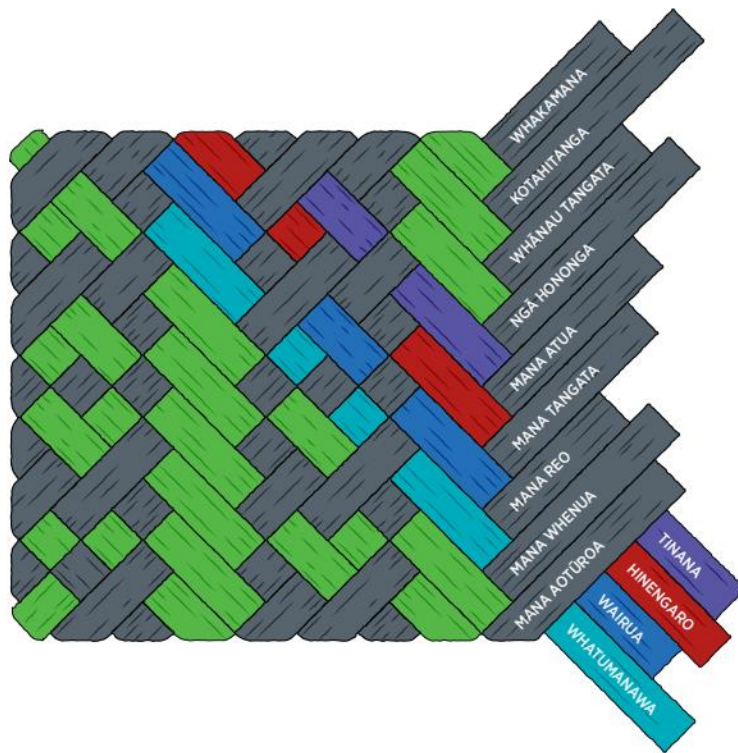


Figure 21: *Te Whāriki o Te Kōhanga Reo*<sup>106</sup>

Indigenizing ECE in Aotearoa New Zealand, the vision of Te Whāriki is, “All children in Aotearoa New Zealand grow up as competent and confident learners and communicators, healthy in mind, body, and spirit, secure in their sense of belonging and in the knowledge that they make a valued contribution to society” (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 5). To this end, employing the whāriki metaphor, ECE providers and their respective communities ‘weave’ a curriculum that includes the founding principles (the coloured *whenu*/weaving strips) and the curriculum aims/aspirations (the grey *whenu*), but also reflects and serves their particular needs, philosophies, and aspirations (Ritchie & Buzzelli, 2011).

Grounded in the cultural and political beliefs of an indigenous minority, Te Whāriki has been recognised internationally as ground-breaking (Te One, 2013). And, while ECE practitioners once worried that the neo-liberal curriculum for schools might trickle downward into ECE, the strands or aspirations of Te Whāriki have been “pushed up” into the school curriculum and the tertiary sector (W. Lee

<sup>106</sup> Source: *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (p. 11), by the Ministry of Education, 2017, Wellington, New Zealand. Copyright © Crown. Reprinted with permission.

et al., 2013). The Health and Physical Education in New Zealand Curriculum (HPENZC) is one example.

*The Health and Physical Education in New Zealand Curriculum*

The HPENZC 1999 was designed to help schools foster learning and academic achievement by addressing the critical health and physical wellbeing issues facing young New Zealanders (Ministry of Education, 1999). Also adopting a whāriki metaphor, the HPENZC comprises three sets of whenu (Figure 22). The aims/strands of the curriculum are personal health and physical development; movement concepts and motor skills; relationships with others; and healthy communities and environments. Reflecting the perceived needs of youth, the key areas of learning are mental health, sexuality, nutrition, body care and physical safety, physical activity, sports, and outdoor education. Woven into these two sets of whenu are the concepts or philosophies of holistic wellbeing as outlined by the World Health Organisation (WHO) which the authors aligned with hauora, “a Māori philosophy of health” comprising “taha tinana, taha hinengaro, taha whānau, and taha wairua” (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31); WHO’s Ottawa Charter for health promotion (World Health Organization, 2019); the socio-ecological perspective (e.g. Bronfenbrenner, 1996); and a selection of attitudes and values that include a positive and responsible attitude to well-being, respect for others, care and concern for the community and the environment, and social justice.

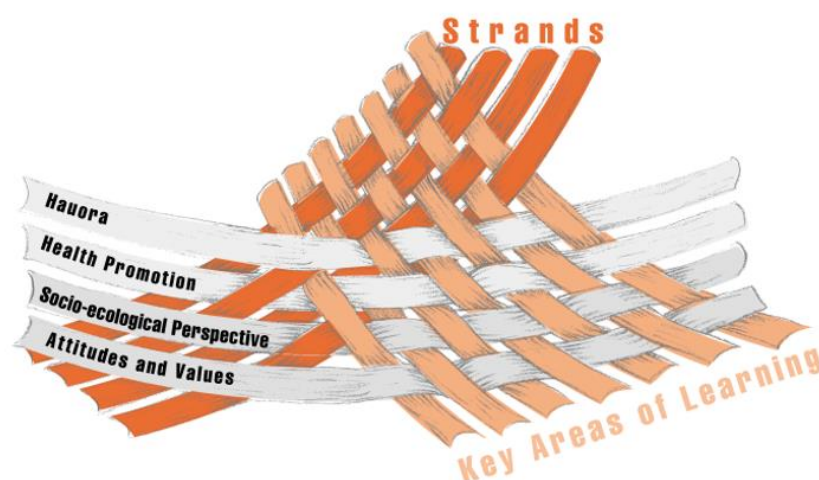


Figure 22: HPENZC framework<sup>107</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Source: *Health and Physical Education New Zealand Curriculum* (p. 35), by the Ministry of Education, 1999, Wellington, New Zealand. Copyright © Crown. Reprinted with permission.

The HPENZC was later absorbed into the revised National Curriculum, which has two parts: *The New Zealand (English-medium) Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), and *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (Ministry of Education, 2008b), the Māori-medium curriculum.

### Youth2000 Surveys

Around the same time that the HPENZC was being developed, researchers at the University of Auckland identified a “paucity” of information about the health and wellbeing of the nation’s youth. To help fill this gap they established the Adolescent Health Research Group (est. 1997) and began developing a national youth survey drawing on international literature and in consultation with local stakeholders including schools, youth, and Māori and Pacific community leaders. Focusing on high school students, the result was a computerised questionnaire comprising a branching design of a possible 523 questions, and spread across the following categories and priorities: ethnicity; home; school; health and emotional health; nutrition; exercise and activities; sexual health; substance use and gambling; injuries and violence; neighbourhood and spirituality. These measures are almost identical to the measures of the Developmental Assets Framework (see Te Kiri Aronui).

The Youth2000 survey was first administered in 2001 and has since been refined, and was re-administered in 2007, 2012, and 2019.<sup>108</sup> Identifying the trends between 2001 and 2012, Terryann Clark et al. (2013) noted an improvement in family relationships, school connectedness, and perceptions of neighbourhood safety; and a drop in substance use, risky motor vehicle behaviours, violent perpetration, and teen pregnancy. Conversely, daily physical activity has declined, and there has been no change in poorer health status and depressive symptoms. No findings are offered for ethnicity or spirituality.

### Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa

The Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) was published by the Ministry of Youth Affairs in 2002. This strategy provides a plan for how to interact with and develop young people so they can participate positively in society. According to the Ministry (2002), a positive youth development approach “... seeks to foster the ideal environment for young people to learn, grow and contribute, thus supporting

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<sup>108</sup> Findings of the 2019 survey were not available at the time of writing.

them to move into responsible adulthood” (p. 15). In developing their strategy, the project team conducted a literature review and consultation process that involved more than 900 adults and young people. The report reveals a synergy with international PYD literature.

As illustrated in Figure 23, the YDSA identifies six principles of youth development, four social environments (the circles) that shape youth development, and the ‘bigger picture’ within which these environments are located. According to the YDSA, youth development is: (1) shaped by the ‘big picture’; (2) about young people being connected; (3) based on a consistent strengths-based approach; (4) fostered by quality relationships; (5) triggered when young people fully participate; and (6) reliant on good information (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002, p. 15). The report includes a matrix that helps the user identify actions they can take to support positive youth development across several social settings and areas of local and central government. Suggestions include encouraging “families to involve young people in family decisions and responsibilities” (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002, p. 29); “... workshops for teachers in understanding young people today, including students’ cultures”; and “... extracurricular activities, such as sports, arts, drama, music, cultural groups, support groups and social activities, and promoting youth leadership and ownership within these activities” (p. 30).

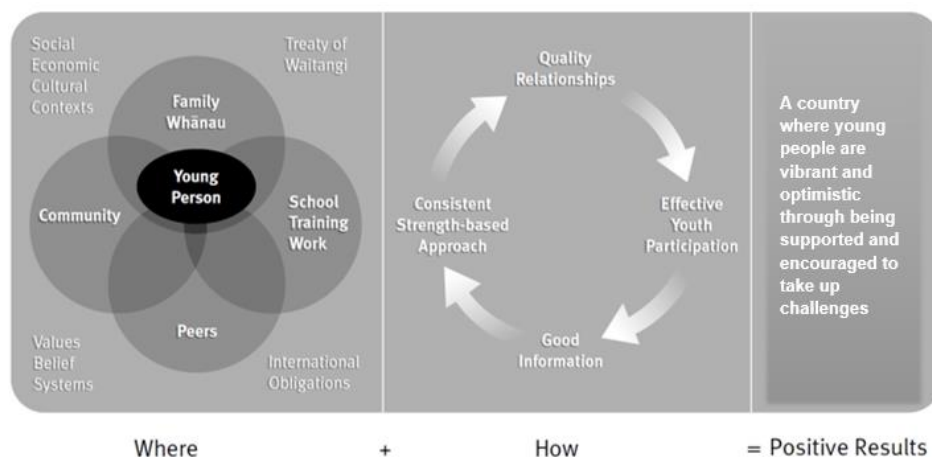


Figure 23: Positive Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Adapted from *Youth development strategy Aotearoa: Action for child and youth development* (p. 24), by Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002, Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Youth Affairs. Copyright (c) Ministry of Social Development. Licensed for re-use under Creative Commons Attribution (CCBY) 4.0 International Licence.

### *E Tipu E Rea Framework and Activity Kit for Taiohi Māori Development*

Based on Tā Āpirana Ngata's whakataukāki, and responding to a challenge laid down in *Kia Piki Te Ora o Te Taitamariki* (Lawson-Te Aho, 1998) – the Māori dimension of the 1998 New Zealand Youth Suicide Prevention Strategy – the *E Tipu E Rea* framework and activity kit (J. Keelan & Associates, 2002) has a particular focus on encouraging taiohi/rangatahi to become involved in Māori development. In its development, the project team hosted three design workshops with three different groups of taiohi aged 12-17, 18-20, and 21-25 years. Kaumātua were then invited to comment on the resources that these groups produced.

The objectives of *E Tipu E Rea* are to: (1) involve taiohi in activities that are important to them; (2) integrate contemporary issues in those activities; (3) provide opportunities for taiohi to integrate the tikanga of their tūpuna in these activities; and (4) ensure that their wairua is nurtured (T. J. Keelan, 2009). The output of the framework is an activity kit comprising 11 activities that come with practical tips and suggestions. These activities include needs assessments; promotional activities; opportunities for taiohi to learn their whakapapa, and to build relationships with kaumātua; and activities in which they can express themselves and be heard.

### *Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa*

The Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa (PYDA) framework was developed in 2009 by a youth advisory group appointed by the Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, a philanthropic family organisation that funds youth work in Christchurch. Commissioned with the task of identifying 'youth work that is of value', the advisory group conducted focus groups and semi-structured interviews with local people and groups that deliver youth programmes (e.g. school Principals, City Council, and the refugee community). In analysing their findings, the advisory group identified four elements of best practice, and three gaps that require investment (Bruce et al., 2009). The four components of best practice were: (1) connectivity (e.g. 'birthed' in the community and relationship-focused); (2) a strengths-based approach (i.e. youth are assets not problems); (3) a commitment to capacity building (e.g. investment in training staff); and (4) a critical awareness of contextual and systemic issues (i.e. the 'big picture'). The gaps included a lack of direction and purpose for youth work in the region; the need for a greater knowledge and understanding of key documents and models of youth development; and some disparity between youth worker rhetoric and practice (Bruce et al., 2009).

The PYDA framework builds on the principles of the YDSA framework (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust Youth Advisory Group, 2011). As illustrated in Figure 24, the key outcomes are developing the whole person and connected communities. Towards this end, approaches to youth development should be based on the best practice elements of a holistic strengths-based approach, respectful relationships, and building ownership and empowerment. The whāriki represents the community and speaks to the role of the people who are “... committed to enabling and empowering young people to take their rightful places in the sacred tapestry of their communities” (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust Youth Advisory Group, 2011, p. 8). Developed for funders and youth workers, the PYDA resource includes assessment criteria, and a number of youth and youth worker narratives and models (e.g. Te Whare Tapa Whā, the 5Cs of PYD) to help the reader understand key Positive Youth Development concepts.



Figure 24: *Tuhonohono Rangatahi: Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa*<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Source: *Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa*, by the Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2019, <https://www.wfct.org.nz/positive-youth-development/> Reprinted with permission.



*Te Kete Whanaketanga - Rangatahi*

The last youth development framework selected for this review is *Te Kete Whanaketanga – Rangatahi*. This framework was developed by Hinekura Simmonds, Niki Harré, and Sue Crengle (2014) who noted a lack of indigenous Positive Youth Development research internationally, and in Aotearoa New Zealand. Rather than adopt an existing Positive Youth Development framework, however, Simmonds et al. (2014) developed one specifically for rangatahi. Their study involved three phases: (1) a review of local literature; (2) a quantitative analysis of data from the Youth’07 National Survey of the Health and Wellbeing of New Zealand Secondary School Students; and (3) interviews and focus groups involving rangatahi (largely Kura Kaupapa Māori students) and youth workers. The authors then conceptualised their findings as a kete.

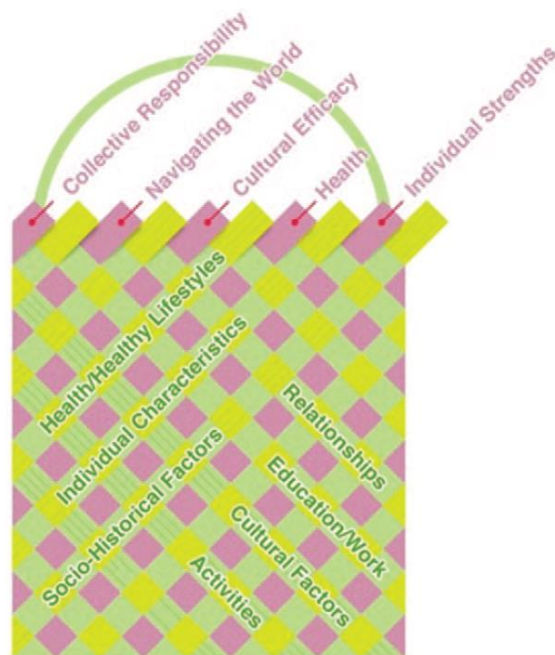


Figure 25: *Te Kete Whanaketanga - Rangatahi*<sup>111</sup>

As illustrated in Figure 25, the authors identified five indicators of Positive Youth Development and seven contributors. The indicators of positive development (pink whenu) included a feeling of collective responsibility; being able to navigate Māori and Pākehā environments; te reo and tikanga Māori, cultural pride, and being spiritually aware; physical, mental, and emotional health; and “... demonstrating

<sup>111</sup> Source: “Te kete whanaketanga - Rangitahi: A model of positive development for rangatahi Māori,” by H. Simmonds, N. Harré, & S. Crengle, 2014, *MAI Journal*, 3(3), p. 220. Reprinted with permission of Niki Harré.

confidence, achieving desired goals, personal responsibility, humility and curiosity” (Simmonds et al., 2014, p. 221). Contributing to this positive development (green whenu) were positive relationships (e.g. parents, whānau, teachers, other adults); “... a wide variety of interesting activities including faith-based, sports, arts or cultural” (Simmonds et al, 2014, p. 221); access to environments to learn about culture; education that supports cultural efficacy and personal strengths; access to health services and active lifestyle; positive attitudes towards Māori and rangatahi; and personal characteristics that motivate rangatahi to move forward (e.g. goals, resilience).



### Summary

In the second layer of this kōmore kaiwai, Te Kiri Huna directed my attention to what health, wellbeing, and youth development mean in Aotearoa New Zealand. Running through this selective review are several threads. First, I note the continuing focus Māori put on the relationship between the child and the whānau. Tamariki and rangatahi are essential to the health and survival of the people; the family and whānau are essential to the health and success of the child; and the child and whānau are one. In short, wellbeing and success are not achieved nor exist in isolation. Second, I note the emphasis placed on holistic health and wellbeing; the tinana, hinengaro, wairua, and the whānau. Third, moving into the 2000s, there is a shift towards being more tamariki-centric; including tamariki and rangatahi in decision-making and creating opportunities for them to speak and be heard, an avenue for which is leisure. Fourth, I note that Māori models and studies place an emphasis on wairuatanga and culture, while the bicultural/mainstream models list or refer to these but do not report on them. For example, the Youth 2000 surveys include spirituality and culture, but their reports focus more on physical and mental health measures and risks; while the English-medium Te Whāriki curriculum appears to avoid spirituality all together. Another notable gap in the literature and all our health, wellbeing, and developmental models and frameworks are male-focused approaches and priorities. In conducting a literature review of strengths-based and male-focused approaches for the Ministry of Youth Development, Helena Barwick (2004) also identified this gap, and concludes, “[W]e need programmes that recognise males have a gender, programmes designed for boys and men that acknowledge, respect and affirm things masculine” (p. 39).

This section also highlighted the unique nature of youth development approaches in Aotearoa New Zealand. Expressions and extensions of Māori world views and perspectives, the Māori models and frameworks discussed here are rooted in a holistic and relational theory and philosophy of existence. Some of these frameworks demonstrate the influence and wisdom of our ‘nature relations’ (e.g. *te wheke, te pā harakeke*). Of particular interest are the similarities between *E Tipu E Rea* (T. J. Keelan, 2009) and *Te Kete Whanaketanga – Rangatahi* (Simmonds et al., 2014), which include the provision of, and rangatahi involvement in ‘interesting activities’; nurturing wairua; and opportunities for rangatahi to learn whakapapa, te reo, and tikanga. Also illustrated is the influence of North American theories of Positive Youth Development (e.g. YDSA) and instruments (e.g. Youth2000 surveys).

I also note the references made to a variety of activities. Back in 1984, Mason Durie concluded that for wellbeing Māori should be involved activities that acknowledge and enhance *te hinengaro, te taha tinana, te taha wairua, and te taha whānau*. Likewise, the 1998 Māori taskforce for the Hillary Commission defined sport, fitness and leisure, “... as all physical activity that enhances whānau, wairua, tinana, hinengaro, and respects tikanga Māori” (Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure, 1998, p. 8). And Simmonds et al.’s study (2014) pointed specifically to “faith-based, sports, arts or cultural” activities. Further, in relation to the Positive Deviance Approach, the emphasis placed on the importance of Māori values, principles, and frameworks for Māori wellbeing and development could be considered a ‘deviation’ from the ‘norm’; i.e., mainstream<sup>112</sup> values, principles, and models.

In the next section, *Te Kiko Pūrākau*, I explore examples of pūrākau-based approaches to health, wellbeing, and positive youth development.

### **Te Kiko Pūrākau: Ki te whaiāo, ki te whaiora**

One of the clear themes in this second kōmore kaiwai is mental health and wellbeing, which is an essential element of positive development. In this particular area, at least two pūrākau-based approaches have emerged, and while they focus on healing, they could be employed in different fields and for different purposes including youth development. Two examples include *Te Mahi-a-Atua* (Duff, 2018;

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<sup>112</sup> Referring to what is considered conventional or ‘the norm’ according to the majority or dominant social group.

Rangihuna, Kopua, & Tipene-Leach, 2018b) and *Te Ara Waiora a Tāne* (Bush et al., 2019). In education, Māui has also been identified as a role model for tamariki and rangatahi. Two examples of Māui-based frameworks include the Best of Both Worlds Māui assessment framework (Rameka, 2013) and the MĀUI Model of entrepreneurship (Keelan, 2009).

### **Te Mahi-a-Atua**

The Te Mahi-a-Atua therapeutic paradigm was introduced to Te Whare Mārie, a Porirua-based Māori mental-health service, in the 1990s by Māori mental health nurse Diana Rangihuna (Bush et al., 2019). Witness to the disproportionate number of rangatahi trying to access mental-health services, and then misdiagnosed by a Western system that pathologises “normal people in distress” and disregards their cultural identity and whānau, Rangihuna describes the mainstream approach as another form of colonisation (Te Wero, 2017). In contrast, Te Mahi-a-Atua philosophy and practice validates Māori worldviews. Working with the whānau, the pursuit of wellbeing begins with a wānanga process in which the participants work together to recite the creation pūrākau. In the course of these wānanga, the *tangata whaiora* (person pursuing wellbeing) discover an atua they can relate to, who shares their challenges, and who help anchor them to a positive identity (Duff, 2018; Rangihuna et al., 2018b).

At the time of writing, Rangihuna was Head of Psychiatry at Hauora Tairāwhiti District Health Board (Gisborne) and a consultant psychiatrist. In 2017, she opened the Te Kūwatawata<sup>113</sup> clinic with her husband Mark Kopua, a tohunga and *tā moko* (traditional tattoo) practitioner. Professor David Tipene-Leach and a team of researchers have studied the outcomes of this initiative and have just released their final report (see Tipene-Leach et al., 2019).

### **Te Ara Waiora a Tāne**

Derived from Te Mahi-a-Atua, and in consultation with Rangihuna and Kopua, staff at Te Whare Mārie have developed *Te Ara Waiora a Tāne* (Bush et al., 2019). This approach focuses on Tāne’s journey into the ‘heavens’ (see Te Kōmoremore), which has been reconceptualised as the pursuit of wellbeing. Here, the client-health

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<sup>113</sup> “Named after the atua who provides guidance to those seeking entrance into the spirit world, granting or refusing entrance based on his assessment of the particular presenting situation” (Rangihuna, Kopua, & Tipene-Leach, 2018b, p. 16).

care worker relationship also begins with collaborative storytelling, and as the story Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga is recited an image of Te Ara Waiora a Tāne is drawn on a whiteboard. As described by Bush et al. (2019), Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga are located at the top of Te Ara (the path/steps) and represent the individual's and/or whānau's goals and aspirations. At the bottom of Te Ara is Tāne, who represents the tangata whaiora and/or whānau. To the left of Te Ara is Whiro, who represents their obstacles and challenges. And to the right of Te Ara is Tāwhirimātea, who represents their strengths and assets. Employing the appropriate assessment tools (e.g. Te Whare Tapa Whā), the *mataora* (face of healing) then explores Tāwhirimātea in more detail. Everyone involved then discusses and agrees upon the steps that will strengthen and 'lift them up' towards their goals. Here, we find a clear example of how to employ Poutama (and Pouhine) for youth development.

The strengths and benefits of these two approaches are similar. As opposed to 'baring your soul' to a complete stranger, storytelling eases the tangata whaiora, the whānau, and the mataora into a collaborative relationship. Pūrākau also resonate with Māori world views, privilege the Māori voice, and are thus more meaningful. Moreover, the active involvement of the whānau acknowledges their role and importance to wellbeing (Bush et al., 2019). Collaborative and inclusive, tangata whaiora and their whānau have more ownership and control over the healing process; externalising their situation and emotions helps clients to reflect on their feelings and can create a shift in awareness; and because the atua are everywhere, they are readily accessible (Bush et al., 2019; Cherrington, 2002; Rangihuna et al., 2018b). In retelling pūrākau and reviving traditional therapeutic mediums, we not only honour our ancestors and the atua, but also acknowledge and strengthen te taha wairua (Cherrington, 2002) and cultural identity. Rangihuna et al. (2018a) have successfully used this pūrākau therapy with non-Māori as well.

### **Māui-pōtiki**

Following the creation pūrākau are a series of narratives about humans with extraordinary powers who were/are intermediaries between the atua and tangata whenua (R. Walker, 1996). The exploits of Māui-pōtiki are particularly popular, and he is arguably one of the more well known and celebrated heroes of Māori 'mythology'. It is not surprising therefore to find Māui-inspired developmental approaches and frameworks – although I did expect to find more.

Māui is known throughout Polynesia. According to tradition he was the youngest son of Taranga and Makeatutara, and was born either prematurely or still-born. Traditions differ about what happens next, but in one version Taranga cuts off her *tikitiki* (top-knot of hair) and wraps Māui’s body in it, then drifts him out to sea. Instead of being dead or dying, however, *Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga* is protected by Tangaroa and delivered to his maternal grandfather who lives on another island. Gaining the favour of an atua, and raised by his koroua who is a tohunga, Māui is an exceptional child and can shape-shift. He is also a quick learner, inquisitive, resourceful, bold, determined, and cunning.

By all accounts, Māui is a teenager when he leaves the island in the form of a bird to find his mother. In the next episode, we then learn how Māui reveals his existence to his mother and four brothers, and in the following episode, how he follows her down into the underworld where his father performs his *tohi* rite (dedication ritual). Māui-pōtiki then accomplishes a series of feats that have benefited humankind. Amongst his many deeds, Māui used the jawbone (a metaphor for knowledge) of his kuia to beat the sun so he would travel more slowly, and fished up the north island of Aotearoa (Te Ika-a-Māui). He also ‘tricked’ another kuia, Mahuika, into giving him the secret of fire; turned his brother-in-law Irawaru into a *kurī* (dog); and attempted to defeat death by reversing the birthing process, but was crushed by Hinenuitēpō. Deliberate constructions embedded with lessons and messages for living, the Māui pūrākau validate and elaborate on tikanga (e.g. introductions), kawa (e.g. tohi ceremony; Walker, 1996), relationships (e.g. grandchildren-grandparents), and gender roles (e.g. women as holders of knowledge; Pihama, 2001). Māui also “... stands as a model for all tēina (juniors) that they too can succeed provided they have the required personal qualities” (Walker, 1996, p. 19).

Inspired by the example set by Māui, the Best of Both Worlds (BBW) bilingual preschool in Papakura (Auckland) has developed a Māui assessment framework. As reported by Lesley Rameka (2013), in identifying Māui as their mentor the staff reflected on, discussed, and identified his key āhuatanga. Although these values were already part of their everyday practice, they now intentionally promote and instill these in their tamariki-mokopuna. These āhuatanga are: mana (e.g. identity, pride, inner strength, confidence); rangatiratanga (e.g. leadership, determination, perseverance); manaakitanga (e.g. caring, sharing, kindness,

friendship, love); whanaungatanga (e.g. relationships and responsibility); *whakatoi/whakakata* (e.g. cheekiness, spiritedness, humour, fun); and *tinihanga* (e.g. cunningness, curiosity, questioning, lateral thinking).

Also inspired by Māui, Keelan (2009, 2010, 2014) developed the MĀUI Model of entrepreneurship. Identifying Māui as someone who was alert to opportunities and transformed them into action, Keelan hypothesised that the Māui pūrākau contained a blueprint or model for entrepreneurship that could be used to develop young Māori entrepreneurs. To this end, Keelan analysed 15 Māui pūrākau and identified some of the embedded concepts, which were then organised into four categories of tikanga based on the letters of Māui’s name: MĀ = Mauri (life force/energy) and Mana (assert control); and Āta (planning and research) and Ārataki (leadership). UI was interpreted as *hoa-haere* (supportive friend), and the means by which these tikanga would be actioned: Ū<sup>115</sup> = resources and resolve, and I (Iwi) = people and community.

To test her hypothesis, Keelan translated the MĀUI Model into an event comprising a series of wānanga attended by rangatahi enrolled in the Lion Foundation Young Enterprise Scheme. The event revolved around the exchange of knowledge and a business and product-development competition, and included rules (mauri, mana), mentors (e.g. Ū, iwi, Ārataki), and prizes (mauri, mana, Ū). While some of the participants went on to win regional and national awards, Keelan (2009) states that her goal was not so much to produce entrepreneurs but to widen their view of the world and their capabilities. Since 2009, the MĀUI Model has been taught in papers with entrepreneurship content at the University of Auckland.



### **Summary**

In this final layer of this kōmore kaiwai, Te Kiko Pūrākau directed my attention to examples of pūrākau being used in health and education in relation to positive child/tamariki, youth/rangatahi, and whānau development and wellbeing. These relatively modern approaches add another layer to the whakapapa (chronology) of youth development frameworks in Aotearoa New Zealand, and signify a ‘deviation’ from the ‘norm’ established by and maintained in mainstream.

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<sup>115</sup> Here, Keelan adds a tohutō to transform U to Ū which refers to breastmilk.

### **Te Aho Matua: Some messages and lessons for the research**

This second kōmore kaiwai represents the conceptual/contextual Positive Youth Development literature review. Te Kiri Aronui traced the shift from deficit theorising, to strength-based and positive approaches to youth development, and reviewed four strengths-based approaches. In this first layer of the review, it was noted that the instrumental focus of the Positive Youth Development perspective does not sit comfortably with the principles of kaupapa Māori (i.e. rangatiratanga). Te Kiri Huna then offered an abbreviated whakapapa of health, wellbeing, and youth development models, frameworks, and approaches unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. This whakapapa emphasised the tamariki-whānau relationship; highlighted a growing interest in and emphasis on holistic, cultural, and tamariki-centric perspectives; and noted that mainstream frameworks and approaches are yet to fully embrace wairuatanga and culture. Both Te Kiri Aronui and Te Kiri Huna identify sport and physical activity as a key factor of positive youth development. Te Kiko Pūrākau then profiled four examples of pūrākau informing youth health and education theory and practice.

Based on this review, and growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape, rather than adopting the Positive Youth Development perspective I made a commitment to a strengths-based approach that assumes that everyone has strengths, possesses an inner wisdom, honours the principle of rangatiratanga, and does not ignore problems and the issues of power and social justice. Moving forward, this explains my use of positive youth development (lowercase) rather than Positive Youth Development, with the former referring to positive youth development in a general sense and inclusive of Positive Youth Development approaches and perspectives. I also adopted the Positive Deviance concepts of working with ‘someone like me’ (i.e. other parents raising tamatāne in the city), and looking for and consulting with the ‘experts’ in our communities (i.e. successful young Māori men and their parents). The research design was also whānau and tamariki-centric, and employed pūrākau as a research method. This review also provided a point of reference for the discussion (see Te Haenga).

In the next section, the last kōmore kaiwai brings the concepts of leisure and positive youth development together and focuses on empirical studies.



## **Te Kōmore Kaiwai – An Empirical Review**

This third and last kōmore kaiwai is the empirical literature review and brings the concepts of leisure and positive youth development together. In this section, Te Kiri Aronui provides an overview of the larger body of studies, which by and large have been conducted in North America. Te Kiri Huna reviews a handful of studies conducted in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. And, in treating research as pūrākau, Te Kiko Pūrākau examines three studies conducted ‘by, with, for’ Māori. Te Aho Matua then summarises the key messages and lessons for the research.

For the purposes of the initial empirical literature review, the key search terms were leisure and positive youth development (pyd), and focused on longitudinal and retrospective studies that have examined the developmental benefits attributed to child (5-12 years old) and youth (12-24 years old) participation in a range of leisure activities. Cross-sectional studies involving university students were excluded, as were studies that focused solely on sports participation.<sup>116</sup>

### **Te Kiri Aronui: North American studies**

As anticipated, studies investigating leisure participation in relation to pyd have been largely conducted in the Northern Hemisphere, particularly in North America. Unexpected, however, is the emphasis placed on extracurricular activity participation (EAP) and the exclusion of informal leisure activities. To illustrate, my literature search<sup>117</sup> identified only four empirical studies involving informal leisure activities, including one focused on outdoor recreation. All four studies were conducted in the United States and relied on quantitative methods, with one focusing on “constructive” leisure activities (Eccles & Barber, 1999). The three studies that focus on or include informal leisure activities are summarised below.

#### **Leisure and extracurricular activities**

Arguing that studies focused on “... unstructured leisure activities are rare” (p. 63), Erin Sharp et al. (2015) examined breadth of participation in structured and unstructured leisure activities among rural middle-school students ( $n=276$ ) in four

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<sup>116</sup> One of the goals of this study is to ‘balance the books’ by placing an emphasis on leisure rather than sports, which as stated at the beginning of this chapter continues to dominate the literature.

<sup>117</sup> My search strategy was limited to longitudinal studies published in peer-reviewed journals in the English language after 1980. These criteria produced 1,607 results sourced from 20 databases and journals including ProQuest, Taylor & Francis, JSTOR, and Sage. The review then focused on the first 300 results.

waves over four-years. The authors found these students took advantage of their natural surroundings (e.g. fishing, tramping) and participated in church-sponsored activities, even though some of them were not religious. Youth of lower socioeconomic statuses (SEs) and males participated in a significantly lower breadth of leisure activities (organised and informal). Youth of higher SEs were involved in a greater breadth of organised activities, and experienced more positive educational, psychological, and behavioural outcomes in the 10<sup>th</sup> Grade. Students who reported average involvement, "... fared better in terms of grades, school attachment, future educational expectations, and substance use than those who reported the lowest breadth of involvement" (Sharp et al., 2015, p. 72).

Identifying a lack of research examining patterns of leisure involvement relative to developmental outcomes in rural environments, Jayson Seaman et al. (2019) examined the extent to which organised and unstructured outdoor leisure participation during adolescence predicted postsecondary education and residential status. The authors surveyed the activities of middle-school students ( $n=114$ ) in five waves over eight years, and found that a high level of involvement in unstructured activities fostered greater community affiliation and educational aspirations. However, these 'highly involved' youth were more likely to leave their hometown to pursue higher education. Conversely, a low level of activity participation was associated with lower community affiliation and educational aspirations, and a greater desire to leave the community. These youth, however, were more likely to remain in their hometown.

Recognising that EAP/pyd<sup>118</sup> studies provide a limited picture of youth leisure activities, Todd Bartko and Jacquelynne Eccles (2003) examined the activity choices of urban and suburban adolescents ( $n=918$ ) in relation to a range of psychosocial indicators. Surveying student involvement in 11 organised and passive leisure activities,<sup>119</sup> the authors identified six unique activity clusters. A cross-section analysis revealed 'high-involved' (in organised leisure activities) youth reported positive adjustment across all the psychosocial indicators, and along with the 'sports' group had the lowest scores for internalising behaviours;

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<sup>118</sup> Refers to the intersection and relationship between positive youth development (in its broadest sense and including Positive Youth Development approaches) and extra-curricular activity participation.

<sup>119</sup> Sports, reading for pleasure, homework, chores, hanging out, watching television, volunteering, school clubs, community clubs, religion, paid work.

‘uninvolved’ youth reported lower grades, and along with the ‘sports’ and ‘work’ clusters experienced high problem behaviours; while the ‘school’ (i.e. highly involved in school clubs, homework, and reading) and ‘high-involved’ clusters reported the highest GPA scores and lowest problem behaviours. The ‘volunteer’ cluster reported average ratings across all indicators.



In sum, organised around developing skills and achieving goals outside of the school curriculum (Mahoney, Larson, et al., 2005), extracurricular (i.e. organised constructive and adult-led) activities include school sports teams and clubs, before- and after-school programmes, and community or out-of-school activities (e.g. sports, music lessons, art classes, Boy Scouts). Conversely, typical examples of unstructured leisure activities include television viewing, playing video games, listening to music, attending community events, and ‘hanging out’. Leisure activities are thus characterised as informal, passive, often unsupervised, and done for personal goals (Sharp et al., 2015), and are thus cast as a risk to child and youth development (e.g. Darling, 2005; Fredricks & Eccles, 2006b; McHale et al., 2001). This may explain the emphasis pyd theorists and researchers place on EAP, and the lack of research that examines the developmental potential of informal leisure.

### **Research priorities**

Referring to research that examines extracurricular activity participation in relation to positive youth development in its broadest sense, researchers have been particularly interested in high school students (Fredricks & Eccles, 2008). However, there has also been some interest in elementary (e.g. Cooper et al., 1999; Mahoney et al., 2007), middle school (e.g. Fredricks & Eccles, 2008), and university students (e.g. Hordósy & Clark, 2018). Another population group of interest are youth ‘at risk’ (e.g. low SES). Studies in this area tend to focus on ethnic minorities. Smaller groups of interest include gifted and talented students (e.g. Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005); youth who hold religious beliefs and/or participate in religious activities (e.g. Adamczyk & Felson, 2012); and youth living with physical or medical challenges (e.g. Jessup et al., 2010), in rural areas (e.g. Sharp et al., 2015), in foster care (e.g. White et al., 2018), and immigrants (e.g. Peguero, 2011). The majority of the studies reviewed included both male and female participants, with a relatively small

number of studies focused on girls or young women (e.g. Chambers & Schreiber, 2004) and boys or young men (e.g. Belton et al., 2017).

EAP/pyd studies also highlight the ‘issues of the day’, and what is and is not considered positive, successful, or healthy development (in North America). Some studies examine the protective potential of EAP, and have found involvement provides a ‘buffer’ against school drop-out (e.g. Charmaraman & Hall, 2011), substance abuse (e.g. McCabe et al., 2016), externalising behaviours such as violence and delinquency (e.g. Gardner et al., 2012), and internalising behaviours including depression and suicide (e.g. Abraczinskas et al., 2016). Other studies have explored the developmental risks attributed to EAP, particularly alcohol consumption (e.g. Hoffmann, 2006), and bullying has become a recent topic of interest (e.g. Lehman, 2017).

Other researchers focus on the positive developmental benefits of EAP. This type of research has largely focused on academic outcomes including academic achievement, success, expectations, and aspirations (e.g. Beal & Crockett, 2010; H. W. Marsh, 1992; Martinez et al., 2016). There has also been an increasing interest in prosocial behaviour such as voting and volunteering (e.g. Shelly, 2011; Zaff et al., 2003), and psychological adjustment including positive self-perception, self-esteem, and self-worth (e.g. Gadbois & Bowker, 2007; Kort-Butler, 2012; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1992).

Some positive youth development researchers examine both the positive and protective potential of EAP. As an example, David Hansen, Reed Larson, and Jodi Dworkin (2003) inventoried the developmental and negative experiences of high school students ( $n=450$ ) involved in school and community-based extra-curricular activities, and found sports were both “character building and character challenging” (p. 50). Sports participation was positively associated with self-knowledge, emotional regulation, and physical skills, but rated lower for learning prosocial norms and higher for negative peer interaction and inappropriate adult behaviour (e.g. sexual abuse). Studies have also found sport participation is linked to an increased GPA and probability of attending college, but also alcohol consumption (e.g. Eccles & Barber, 1999).



In sum, the literature suggests that positive development is marked by academic participation and success; pro-social behavior; psychological adjustment; the development of skills and talents; positive relationships; and ultimately college attendance. In contrast, a negative trajectory through adolescence and into adulthood is signified by school dropout; substance use and abuse; delinquent behaviour; psychological disturbance; unhealthy relationships; and the underdevelopment of one's potential, or latent skills and talents. These negative developmental outcomes are believed to render adolescents unprepared for adulthood and ill-equipped to make a positive and meaningful contribution to society. The previous kōmore kaiwai support these inferences.

### **Research approaches**

Most of the reviewed studies were quantitative and tended to examine one or more predetermined outcomes (e.g. school connectedness) and/or hypotheses (e.g. EAP will raise GPA). Relatively fewer studies were inductive and used qualitative methods such as interviews and focus groups in which youth were invited to speak freely about their leisure and extracurricular activity choices and experiences (e.g. S. Clark, 2015; Dworkin et al., 2003; Roozen, 2008; Simpkins et al., 2013). No action research or collaborative studies were found in the pool of reviewed literature.

There were also relatively fewer longitudinal than cross-sectional studies. Given the costs and resources required for longitudinal studies this is understandable, although a retrospective interview approach offers a viable alternative. A retrospective approach invites research participants to report on and interpret past events (Patton, 2002). Of particular interest here are studies that have examined breadth of participation, which tend to investigate the developmental benefits related to several types of extracurricular activities.

### **Breadth of participation**

The popular hypothesis in relation to breadth of participation is that being involved in a variety of structured leisure activities provides youth with opportunities to develop a range of competencies, interests, and pro-social relationships (Knifsend & Graham, 2012). Supporting such hypotheses are studies that have found different types of activities promote different developmental benefits. Given their relevance to the research topic, I summarise the findings from a selection of these studies.

In one of the longest studies of its kind Jacquelynne Eccles *et al.* (2003) gathered data from 1,259 high school students in four waves over nine years (10<sup>th</sup> Grade to 25 years old). This study examined a selection of potential benefits and risks in relation to participation in five forms of constructive leisure activities. The authors found that youth involved in prosocial activities (e.g. student council) in 10<sup>th</sup> Grade reported greater enjoyment of school; a higher GPA; a greater likelihood of attending and graduating from college; and less involvement in risky behaviours right into adulthood. Athletes, on the other hand, between 12<sup>th</sup> Grade and 21 years old, drank and got drunk more often than non-athletes, but also liked school more than non-participants; were more likely to attend and graduate from college; and in adulthood, felt they had a job with a future and autonomy. Youth involved in the performing arts were less frequently engaged in risky behaviours during high school, and involvement in the arts did not correlate with drinking as adults. These youth also enjoyed school, had a higher GPA, and a greater likelihood of attending and graduating from college. The protective and promotive roles of performing arts involvement were more significant for boys than girls. Involvement in school activities and academic clubs were related to enjoying school, a higher GPA, and an increased likelihood of attending college.

In another study, Jennifer Fredricks and Eccles (2006b) assessed the link between EAP and developmental outcomes during 11<sup>th</sup> Grade and one year after high school, and found that breadth of participation was associated with positive academic, psychological, and behavioural outcomes. Their cross-sectional data analysis found students ( $n=1,075$ ) involved in prosocial activities reported higher educational expectations than non-participants, while youth involved in sports reported higher levels of self-esteem and lower levels of alcohol use and internalizing behaviour. A longitudinal analysis then revealed that one year after high school ( $n=912$ ), participation in school clubs or in prosocial activity predicted political activity and social and charitable involvement; participation in school clubs *and* prosocial activities predicted educational status and civic engagement; and athletes had completed more schooling than non-athletes.

Employing the Youth Experiences Survey (YES2.0) Reed Larson, David Hansen, and Giovanni Moneta (2006) compared students' ( $n=2,280$ ) experiences in five types of extracurricular activities, and in relation to their experiences in three other developmental contexts (school, work, and leisure with friends). Sports

participation was linked with significantly higher rates of initiative, emotional regulation, teamwork experiences, but also stress and social exclusion as well as lower rates of identity work, positive relationships, and adult network experiences. Youth involved in the arts reported the highest rate of initiative, but low rates of teamwork, positive relationships, and adult networks. Community activities were linked to higher rates of adult networks, but lower rates of emotional regulation and teamwork. And youth involved in service activities reported higher rates of teamwork, positive relationships, and adult networks but significantly lower rates of emotional regulation, and social exclusion. Scoring significantly higher for all six domains of development were faith-based youth groups, while academic club participation rated the lowest. Compared with school, EAP rated higher on all indicators, but varied in relation to work and leisure with friends.

Finally, focusing on virtues, Carol Markstrom *et al.* (2005) examined ego strengths across six structured activity clusters. The authors found that sport was associated with higher scores for hope, will, purpose, competence, and wisdom; issues groups with high scores for hope, will, purpose, competence, wisdom, and care; and arts with the ego strength of care. To their surprise, none of the activity clusters were related to the ego strength of love, and religious attendance was not associated with any of the selected ego strengths.

Breadth has also been interpreted as number of activities. Some studies have found students who participated in a greater number of extracurricular activities experienced significantly higher school satisfaction than those with minimal or no rates of EAP (R. Gilman, 2001). Students who were ‘moderately involved’ (two activity domains) reported a greater sense of school belonging, and higher academic engagement and GPA than non-participants and students who were ‘highly involved’ (Knifsend & Graham, 2012). Participation in a greater number of extracurricular activities was also associated with a lower likelihood of drug and alcohol use (Fredricks & Eccles, 2010).



These examples demonstrate that EAP/pyd research varies considerably. Researchers are also interested in different groups of youth, have created and identified different activity clusters, worked with and measured different variables and outcomes, and produced inconsistent findings (Farb & Matjasko, 2012). More

importantly, however, EAP/pyd studies do indicate that EAP facilitates positive development, some activities are more beneficial than others, and different activities promote different domains of development. EAP/pyd is therefore an important area of study – although, the focus of such studies has largely been white youth and have ignored race and ethnicity (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012).

### **Ethnic minorities**

While quantitative (e.g. correlational) analyses tend to indicate few or no differences by race (e.g. Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Knifsend & Graham, 2012; Larson et al., 2006), some studies highlight between-group comparisons. Researchers have found Euro-American youth have the greatest, and Latino students the lowest, level of EAP (e.g. R. Brown & Evans, 2002; Im et al., 2016). Euro-American students are more likely to participate in performance arts and clubs than African-American students, and Euro-American girls have lower rates of prosocial activity involvement than African-American girls (e.g. Fredricks & Eccles, 2006b). And African-American youth rate themselves higher in social interest and life satisfaction than Euro-American youth (e.g. R. Gilman, 2001).

Other studies<sup>120</sup> also examine and highlight ‘within category’ differences. First-generation immigrant Latino students are less likely than American-born Latino to participate in extracurricular activities (Peguero, 2010). Hispanic youth with non-Hispanic friends participate in more extracurricular activities than youth with co-ethnic and foreign-born Hispanic friends; while foreign-born Hispanic youth participate in more extracurricular activities than their American-born peers (Simpkins et al., 2011). Other studies have found Hispanic boys are more likely than Hispanic girls to participate in community-based extracurricular activities, which has been linked to the cultural expectation that girls take on responsibilities in the home (Villarreal, 2017). A study conducted in the Deep South also found rural African-American youth involved in both school and church activities report higher academic achievement, interpersonal competence, and family involvement than urban African-American youth, who were also less likely to attend church (Irvin et al., 2010).

Although positive youth development researchers claim to have shifted their attention from deficits to positives, there is still work to do in relation to youth of

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<sup>120</sup> Some of these studies rely on ethnic data sets from larger studies.



colour. Some researchers are still fixated on youth ‘at risk’; do not acknowledge ethnic, gender, and class inequalities (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2018); and “... rarely consider culture-specific assets such as racial identity, the larger African American community, or parents’ racial socialization” (Evans et al., 2012, p. 251). In response to such criticisms Aryn Dotterer, Susan McHale, and Ann Crouter (2007) conducted a school engagement study involving African-American students from two-parent working middle-class families, and not at risk of failing. The authors found EAP was positively related to school self-esteem; television viewing was negatively related to time spent in extracurricular activities; while boys who watched more television reported lower school bonding.

### **Gifted and talented**

Another relatively small area of interest for EAP/pyd researchers are ‘gifted and talented’ students (Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005). Although my study is not specifically about ‘gifted or talented’ young men, these were the only EAP/pyd studies that specifically referred to ‘successful’ youth.

Sensitive to time, place, social values, and cultural context and priorities there is no one single definition of ‘gifted and talented’ (Bevan-Brown, 2009; McAlpine, 1996). For example, Joseph Renzulli’s three-ring model of gifted behaviours comprises above-average ability, high levels of task commitment, and high-levels of creativity (Reis & Renzulli, 2004). Yet, despite research supporting multiple components of intelligence, “...the perception that giftedness and high IQ are synonymous...” persists (Reis & Renzulli, 2004, p. 119). For instance, the key criterion for the seven gifted and talented studies found in the course of my empirical literature search was an above-average GPA (e.g. above the 95th percentile). The students involved in these studies were referred to as “academically gifted”, “high-ability”, and “high performing.”

Gifted and talented studies provide an even closer view of what is and is not considered positive or successful development. To illustrate, Leslie Gutman and Vonnie McLoyd (2000) conducted a comparative case study involving 17 low-achieving and 17 high-achieving African-American students; while Sally Reis, Robert Colbert, and Thomas Hébert (2004) followed a group of 35 academically gifted students over three years and documented two contrasting trajectories. Both studies found the differences between high-achieving and low-achieving gifted students include their level of self-belief; personal characteristics (e.g.

determination to succeed); support systems (e.g. supportive friends and adults); participation in special programmes; and degree of EAP. Focusing on the latter, the difference between the high- and low-achieving gifted students is how they used their leisure time. Interviewing their parents, Gutman and McLoyd (2000) found that while the high and low achievers are involved in a similar number of sports, the high achievers also participated in art, music, and religious activities. Likewise, Reis et al. (2004) found that the high-achieving gifted students are involved in a number and a range of extracurricular activities including sports, music, clubs, service groups, and academic competitions; while the underachieving gifted students "...had little or no involvement in [extracurricular activities], clubs, sports, or summer programs, and far too much unstructured time after school" (p. 117). Supporting these studies, two quantitative surveys (Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005; Olszewski-Kubilius & Lee, 2004) found the top two activities for gifted students are sports and music; followed by academic clubs, volunteer work, and religious activities (e.g. youth groups); with lower rates of participation in political groups, dance and performance, and cultural clubs. These comparative studies suggest that gifted and talented students are deviating from some type of 'norm'.

### **Boys**

As stated earlier, there are very few EAP/pyd studies focusing specifically on males. Drawing on the studies reviewed thus far, however, we learn something about male EAP patterns. First, the literature indicates that boys and girls are equally likely to participate in extracurricular activities (Im et al., 2016; Irvin et al., 2010). None of the studies report that boys are absent in any of the activity domains, including dance and performance. The literature also reveals some gender-stereotypical tendencies (Olszewski-Kubilius & Lee, 2004). Boys both prefer and participate in more sports than girls, and are less likely to participate in prosocial groups, performing arts, and school clubs (Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Im et al., 2016; Irvin et al., 2010; Markstrom et al., 2005; Simpkins et al., 2011). There are, however, exceptions. In one study, the boys participate in clubs, leadership activities, and play musical instruments at the same rate as the girls (Rose-Krasnor et al., 2006), and in another study a greater number of boys participate in academic groups and school clubs than girls (Knifsend & Graham, 2012). Two gifted and talented studies also found males participate in academic clubs at a higher rate than their female counterparts (Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005; Olszewski-Kubilius & Lee, 2004).

Although some EAP/pyd studies indicate that sport involvement is positively linked to educational outcomes (e.g. Eccles & Barber, 1999; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Mahoney & Cairns, 1997; H. W. Marsh, 1992), research has also found sport increases the risk for alcohol consumption. In one study, however, boys involved in the performing arts were less likely than their peers to drink alcohol or skip school (Eccles & Barber, 1999). In another study, participation in sport *and* school clubs predicted lower alcohol and marijuana use (Fredricks & Eccles, 2006b). Dotterer *et al.*'s (2007) study indicates that specifically for boys, watching television is negatively related to participating in constructive leisure activities and school bonding, and academic achievement.

Among the literature were also a small number of male-focused EAP/pyd articles. Two articles were case studies, one of which has already been mentioned and is described in more detail in the next section. In another case study, Wei Chen and Linda Harklau (2017) examined the complex, multifaceted ways in which athletic participation negatively affected the academic trajectory of a young Latino male. In this “cautionary tale”, the authors explain that contrary to research indicating that sport promotes positive educational outcomes, ‘Ricardo’s’ athletic talent and ambitions distracted him from his academic ambitions, while ethnic stereotypes and his social networks reinforced his athletic ambitions to the detriment of his education.

A study conducted in England highlights some gender-specific patterns in relation to music making. Susan O’Neill (2005) notes a substantial decline in music making at the transition to high school, which was more “massive” for the boys than the girls; while the ‘male continuers’ started playing their instruments much earlier in their life course. Male continuers are also more likely to have chosen their instrument, and to have friends who play musical instruments; while those who dropped out felt that they had fewer options and choices, including a mismatch between their desired and assigned instruments.

The pattern forming here is that while boys might share some common interests, we cannot assume that boys are all and always the same.

*Qualitative studies*

In this last section of Te Kiri Aronui, I review three qualitative studies that I found particularly relevant to the research topic, and highlight the themes of whānau and wairuatanga.

*'High-ability' male students*

Thomas Hébert (2000) examined the lives of six “high-ability”<sup>121</sup> male high school students to understand how their urban life experiences influence their academic achievement. These young men<sup>122</sup> were observed for 120 days and interviewed several times. Educational documents and other texts were also examined, and teachers, peers, and activity leaders (e.g. coaches) were interviewed.

Hébert (2000) identified eight characteristics that set these young men apart from their “less-successful peers.” A positive statistical minority, these young men might be considered outliers. The characteristics that ‘set them apart’ are self-belief; sensitivity (empathy and emotional self-awareness and expressivity); multi-cultural appreciation; aspirations; inner will; family support; supportive non-familial adults; and participation in special programmes, extracurricular activities, and summer enrichment programmes. In addition to a strong caring support system, Hébert (2000) states that a variety of extracurricular activities – including combinations of sports, clubs, student council, dance, band, summer school programmes, volunteering, and religious activities – provide these young men with a “...strong source of interest and an opportunity to develop talents, work with caring adults in supportive relationships, and experience cross-cultural contacts that allowed for better social and academic adjustment, as well as the development of a strong belief in self” (p. 107). This strong belief in self was the “driving force” these young men needed to succeed in school, face life’s challenges, and to “... decide where they wanted to go in life” (Hébert, 2000, p. 106).

There are two aspects of this study that I find particularly insightful. First, the findings comprise a clear set of characteristics and extracurricular activities. Second, Hébert (2000) offers a cultural analysis that points to the benefits of the extended family. I wonder, therefore, why the boys’ parents or families were not

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<sup>121</sup> The criteria include intelligence or achievement test results above the 85th percentile; superior performance in one or more academic areas; had received awards; and nominated by a teacher/counsellor.

<sup>122</sup> One African-American, three Hispanic, and two Euro-Americans.

interviewed. A potential answer is that PYD approaches tend to focus on external sites of intervention (e.g. schools, after school programmes, youth groups) rather than the family (Evans et al., 2012). Moreover, I have noticed that some EAP/pyd studies limit parental involvement to providing income/SES and/or highest form of education data. While these measures are statistically useful or insightful to some degree, removing the family from the picture essentially means the picture is incomplete. It is akin to examining rau, without seeing or acknowledging the significance of the rākau.

### Parent voice

In contrast, parents are the primary focus of a comparative EAP/pyd study conducted by Gutman and McLoyd (2000). In this study, the authors examine how the parents of high- and low-achieving<sup>123</sup> “poor African-American” elementary and middle school students manage their children’s education at home, at school, and in the community. Using open-ended questions, these topics are explored in the course of a semi-structured interview conducted in the home. One of the first observations made in this study is the overrepresentation of boys in the low-achieving group, and an overrepresentation of girls in the high-achieving group. Focusing on EAP, the analysis then reveals that while an equal number of the high and low achievers are involved in sport (albeit more high-achieving than low-achieving girls), in addition to their extra academic programmes, the high achievers also participate in more art, music, and religious activities. The parents of the high-achievers also “... explicitly discussed engaging [enrolling] their children in these extracurricular activities as a strategy to encourage their children’s development...” (p. 15), while the parents of the low-achieving students focused on their reasons for not enrolling their children in extracurricular activities (e.g. caring for younger children).

There are five aspects of this study that I find interesting. First, this study is a good example of what can be gained by taking a more holistic or ecological approach by speaking to the family. Second, this research reflects a growing interest in examining the potential benefits of EAP at a younger age. Third, I notice that the authors employed local African-American women to conduct the interviews (i.e. ‘someone like us’). Fourth, while girls are overrepresented in the high-achievers

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<sup>123</sup> Criteria: in the top quartile and at least a grade point average of B+ vs. in the bottom quartile and grade point average of D+ or less.

group, the findings support the gifted and talented studies: i.e. gifted or high-achieving (successful) youth are involved in a number and a wider range of activities – particularly sport, music, the arts, and religion. And finally, given the different parental approaches to ECA, one might suggest that the parents of the high-achieving students are positive deviants. One would need to prove, however, that the parents of the low-achieving students represent ‘the norm’.

### Youth development and spirituality

Before I review the last study, I want to briefly review a book and three articles dedicated to the topic of spirituality. *Positive youth development and spirituality: From theory to research* (2008) is edited by eminent leaders in the Positive Youth Development field including Richard Lerner and Peter Benson, and

... explore[s] key conceptual and definitional issues useful in framing the understanding of the association between positive development in adolescents, spiritual development, and the attainment of a sense of self that moves the young person to make contributions to (or, in other words, be generous toward) self, family, community, and society. (p. 4)

The three articles comprised a case study, a longitudinal study, and a quantitative study drawing on secondary data. The case study (Barrett, 2010) focuses on a socially activist urban Pastor, and explores the relationship between religious involvement and educational outcomes for African-American students. The author concludes that this Black church is a social learning community that promotes educational outcomes by publicly addressing inequality, thus promoting critical consciousness; publicly recognises and celebrates academic success; imparts moral directives; creates a relatively diverse social learning community; and provides students with access to social and cultural capital.

The longitudinal study (Good et al., 2009) offers a contrasting case. This study was conducted in Canada and examines the pattern of change over time in religious service versus club attendance in relation to adolescent adjustment. The authors found that between Grades 9 and 12 religious service attendance decreased and was associated with less risk-taking and positive academic marks, but also less positive parental relationships and intrapersonal well-being. In contrast, club attendance slightly increased over time and was associated with positive friendship quality and higher academic marks; while sustained club involvement was

associated with positive intrapersonal well-being and less substance use. The authors offered a number of possible reasons for these results, including parental control and increasing adolescent autonomy. The study drawing on secondary data was not included in the extended review.

While some researchers and research paradigms have perhaps avoided religiousness and spirituality, this small body of literature reflects a growing interest among some positive youth development researchers in the unique influence that religiousness and spirituality seems to have for youth who are thriving (Warren et al., 2012).

### Youth voice

Although quantitative studies might arguably produce statistically robust and generalisable findings, they are generally unable to quantify meaning and human qualities (Patton, 2002). This explains the need for greater speculation in quantitative research discussions. In this last study Jodi Dworkin, Reed Larson, and David Hansen (2003) conducted focus group discussions in which high school students ( $n=55$ ) were asked to describe their growth experiences in youth activities that were voluntary and structured including sports, performance or fine arts, and clubs or community organisations. Defined as “... experiences that teach you something or expand you in some way...” (Dworkin et al., 2003, p. 20) the authors’ thematic analysis identified six domains of growth: exploration and identity work; development of initiative; emotional self-regulation; developing peer relationships and knowledge; teamwork and social skills; and adult networks and social capital. The authors conclude that in extracurricular activities, “... youth see themselves as agents in their own development” (Dworkin et al., 2003, p. 24). Youth programmes should therefore be youth-centred, and allow and encourage youth to take responsibility.

What I like about this study is the emphasis on listening to people’s opinions and views as opposed to measuring them. Although the authors do admit that prior to the focus group discussion they identified a number of possible themes in the literature, but put these aside in favour of listening to the students. I also found the way they presented their findings helpful in terms of how I might present mine.



### **Summary**

In this first layer of the empirical literature review, Te Kiri Aronui directed my attention to the wider body of literature applicable to the pātai, ‘What kinds of leisure activities might make a positive contribution to the development of boys?’ By and large, the reviewed empirical studies were conducted in North America and were for the most part quantitative, deductive, and researcher-led; longitudinal and cross-sectional; and focused on the EAP of both male and female high school students. The notable gaps in the literature are therefore studies that are qualitative, inductive, and collaborative; retrospective and/or future-focused; include or focus on unstructured leisure activities; explore or examine the leisure activities and patterns of males; and involve elementary and middle school students. Of particular relevance were studies that examined breadth of participation, focused on ethnic minorities and gifted and talented students, and three qualitative studies, including one that examined the lives of six academically successful young urban males.

One pattern that caught my attention during this review was that gifted and talented students participated in more sports, music, arts, and religious activities than the ‘average’ student. What I see here is Te Whare Tapa Whā: a balance of te taha tinana (e.g. sport), te taha wairua (e.g. religion), te taha hinengaro (e.g. music and art) – and with the support of their family and in expanding their adult networks – te taha whānau.

In the next section, Te Kiri Huna, I examine a smaller collection of EAP/pyd studies conducted in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

### **Te Kiri Huna: Australasian studies**

Within the larger pool of EAP/pyd studies were a very small number of studies conducted outside of North America, including four conducted in Australia and two in Aotearoa New Zealand. All six studies employed quantitative methods and analyses. Given this paucity, I briefly review each study.

### **Australia**

The four studies conducted in Australia were led by Cory Blomfield and Bonnie Barber (2009, 2011, 2012) together with Kathryn Modecki (2018). These scholars examine the relationship between EAP and the development of academic and social self-concepts, and general self-worth. Self-concept is defined as “... a collection of knowledge structures about the self...” and comprises multiple domains including



academic, social, behavioural, and physical self-concept, all of which make a contribution to self-worth – i.e. “... an individual’s evaluative opinion of themselves in general” (C J Blomfield & Barber, 2009, p. 734). The general premise here is that productive experiences such as success in education strengthen one’s sense of self-worth, which in turn promotes positive development (e.g. initiative, emotional regulation, confidence, and resilience) and protects youth against a range of developmental risks.

In their first study, Blomfield and Barber (2009) survey the sport and non-sport activities of Western Australian high school students ( $n=1,489$ ) in relation to academic self-concept, social self-concept, and general self-worth. The results indicate that students who participate in any extracurricular activities report higher levels of self-concept and self-worth than the no-participation group. The mixed participation group reported the highest measures of social and academic self-concepts and significantly higher general self-worth, including a more positive social self-concept and self-worth than youth involved in one activity, and significantly higher academic self-concept than the sports-only and no-participation groups.

In their next study, Blomfield and Barber (2011) investigate whether the developmental experiences associated with EAP promote more positive self-concept for adolescents ( $n=1,504$ ), and whether this association is particularly salient for students attending lower SES schools. The authors found that mixed participation (sport + nonsport activities) is associated with a more positive sense of self than one type of participation. Further, the authors found students attending lower SES schools are under-represented in extracurricular activities, but that the link between EAP and self-concept is stronger for these students, and significantly weaker for students attending the higher SES schools.

In their third study, Blomfield and Barber (2012) contribute to the emerging literature on adolescent use of social networking sites (SNS). They compare the degree to which SNS (an informal leisure activity) and two structured ECA (one sport and one non-sport) provide high school students ( $n=291$ ) with positive developmental experiences (positive peer interactions, and identity exploration and reflection). However, while their previous studies involved an equal number of males and females, this study involves a larger number of girls (71.2%), which may explain why the top three sports are hockey, netball, and rowing, and the top three

non-sport activities are music, dance, and art. The research participants also report more developmental experiences in sports than non-sports and SNS, although those who use SNS more frequently report more developmental outcomes than those who use SNS less often. What is also notable here is that this is the only positive youth development study identified within the wider literature search that examined technology, perhaps illustrating again the bias the PYD movement has for ‘constructive’ and adult-led leisure activities.

In the fourth Australian study Modecki, Blomfield-Neira, and Barber (2018) examine the breadth and intensity of EAP in relation to measures of self-concept at the transition to high school (8-12<sup>th</sup> Grade). The authors use Eccles and Barber’s (1999) five activity types: sports, arts, academic clubs, service activities, and faith-based clubs – to which they add recreation clubs. Although, the authors do not explain their reasons for this addition nor provide example activities, which is unfortunate as it suggests that this category may be context-specific. Their analysis indicates that after entering high school, intensity (number of hours invested in extracurricular activity) increases significantly during the early years and is followed by a rapid decline. Breadth also declines, more slowly, and students maintain a connection to the same types of activity settings. The authors suggest this might reflect a “narrowing-in” of students’ interests to activities that best fit their talents and developing sense of self. The students’ academic, social, and general self-concepts also declined after entering high school, with slight increases during their final years of school. Here, the authors point to the psychosocial changes that occur as students adapt to their new environment. These findings support the developmental and EAP literature (Modecki et al., 2018).

Adding to the literature, their analysis also indicates that a wider breadth of EAP at the transition to high school enhances self-concept in the early years and mitigates the overall decline in participation, and academic and general self-concept. Students confident in their academic abilities participate in a wider breadth of activities in the first year, and youth who participate in a wider breadth of activities at the transition to high school report the highest measures of academic and general self-concept overall. In sum, a wider breadth of EAP at the transition to high school is associated with a slower and lesser decline in EAP and academic self-concept and general self-worth, and suggests that early breadth buffers the effects of the age-typical decline in EAP and young people’s views of self (Modecki et al., 2018).



These four Australian-based studies support international EAP/pyd studies that report breadth makes a greater contribution to positive youth development. However, these studies also involved predominantly white participants, and in one case, the authors did not explain the inclusion of recreation clubs. Thus, the question must be asked, ‘How do these studies differ to those conducted in the North America?’ This pātai was ‘top of mind’ as I reviewed the EAP/pyd studies conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand.

### **Aotearoa New Zealand**

My search for EAP/pyd studies conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand produced only two results. In their literature review Boaz Shulruf, Sarah Tumen, and Hilary Tolley (2008) also note an absence of positive youth development research in Aotearoa New Zealand and described this gap as a “chasm.” In a similar vein, Seini O’Connor and Paul Jose (2012) note a lack of ethnic minority studies outside of North America. The former study examined a new methodological approach and was excluded from the extended review, and although the remaining EAP/pyd study relied on secondary data it was included in the review.

O’Connor and Jose (2012) analyse the longitudinal relationships between youth (10-15 years old) participation in community-based activities (categorised as sports, nonsport, and mixed participation) and four developmental outcomes (well-being, social support, community connectedness, and negative affect). Drawing on data from the *2006-2008 Youth Connectedness Project survey*, their findings support the existing literature; i.e. youth who participate in extracurricular activities report more positive outcomes in subsequent years. Their findings also demonstrate that culture and ethnicity influence these outcomes. Identifying three ethnic groups, O’Connor and Jose (2018) found:

Pākehā youth ( $n=919$ ) report higher measures of wellbeing than other ethnic groups; sport participation is more beneficial than mixed participation (sports and arts); while the reported benefits are lowest for nonsport participation. Here, the authors point to the status and self-esteem attributed to sport in New Zealand, as opposed to arts and drama. They also suggest that nonsport activities, which include cultural performance/arts, are less relevant for this group.

Māori youth ( $n=172$ ) report higher measures of social support and community connectedness, and nonsport participation is more beneficial than sport and mixed participation. In contrast to the North American studies, the authors found that this ethnic minority do not report less positive outcomes than the dominant ethnic group. Tendering an explanation, the authors suggest nonsport activities (e.g. youth groups, volunteering, cultural activities) are more relevant for Māori youth. Research also indicates that these activities are associated with more positive measures of self-concept and well-being.

Unexpectedly, the authors found the dual heritage group ( $n=278$ ) do not appear to benefit from participation at all, and the developmental outcomes of nonsport participation are lower than those reported for non-participants. O'Connor and Jose (2012) propose that these youth are likely "...grappling with complex ethnic identity issues" (p. 1567), which might be heightened in nonsport activities (e.g. kapa haka). The authors did not find any significant gender moderation of participation outcomes.

This study is significant for a number of reasons. Although it draws on secondary data, it illustrates the difference between positive youth development studies in which EAP is only one dimension (e.g. Simmonds et al., 2014). Not only does this study support the existing literature, it also adds to and challenges that body of knowledge in which minoritised groups are made invisible – subsumed by the dominant group data. This study also demonstrates that culture and ethnicity do matter, and that our 'dual heritage' youth are experiencing particular challenges. O'Conner and Jose (2012) have also highlighted the sliding down of the youth category to 10 years old, while their degree of speculation highlights the limitations of quantitative research methods.

#### *Gifted and Talented Rangatahi*

Given the insights provided by the international gifted and talented studies, I also reviewed two studies focused on rangatahi, in which leisure or EAP is identified as a dimension of successful development.

*Ka Awatea: An iwi case study of Māori student success* was conducted by Angus Macfarlane et al. (2014). The aim of this pilot study is to conceptualise a 'model for success' based on Te Arawa distinctiveness. In preparation for this research, the authors conducted a newspaper analysis of the 2012 Rotorua (Māori)

Young Achievers Award profiles, and identified four traits: (1) strong leadership qualities; (2) commitment to Te Ao Māori including involvement in cultural practices (e.g. kapa haka) and events; (3) impressive academic ability and aspirations; and (4) sporting prowess and leadership. Consequently, and drawing on other studies, the authors determined that students “... who identify strongly with their ethnic group” and experience “positive ethnic socialisation” are more resilient, “... better able to negotiate potentially negative environments, deal with discrimination and prejudice, and enjoy high self-esteem” (Macfarlane, 2014, p. 12) and academic success.

In the larger study, which is centred around eight indicators of success based on the characteristics of eight Te Arawa leaders, the researchers surveyed, interviewed, and conducted focus groups with high-achieving high school students, and their whānau members, teachers and principals, as well as *pakeke* (senior leaders) and *tuakana* (emerging champions). In relation to ‘the factors of Māori student success’, the authors identify five broad themes. (1) Actualising *mana tangata*, i.e. the strength “... drawn from the depth and breadth of social relationships” (Macfarlane et al., 2014, p. 144) and a sense of dignity and overall wellbeing. (2) Success in two worlds, with Māori identity being at the “heart of all things important” with educational attainment being complementary to this. Of particular note were positive and cultural role models (past and present), humility (vs. self-promotion), and physical, emotional and spiritual health. (3) Role modelling and resilience point to internal and external protective factors including tenacity, motivation, inner will, independence, realistic aspirations, cultural identity, and supportive peers, whānau, teachers and other encouraging adults. (4) Student-centred whānau dynamics, which refers to the ‘tamariki-centric’ positioning of tamariki and rangatahi within the whānau; and (5) Place-based learning. For instance, these students felt connected to the land or place where they were born, raised, and educated.

Of particular interest, leisure participation was related more strongly to the ‘Success in two worlds’ theme. In terms of physical wellbeing, 82% of the students indicate that their school helps them to be involved in a range of physical activities. These activities include bands, kapa haka, kayaking, tramping, and surfing, which according to the students promote a healthy, fit and active lifestyle that increases their self-esteem and in turn boosts their confidence to achieve in other areas

(Macfarlane et al., 2014, p. 77). In relation to participating in kapa haka, students said this activity is critical to establishing and maintaining a connection to their culture and cultural identity.

However, the authors also found that the participating schools are not as successful in promoting Te Arawatanga and emotional wellbeing. In their conceptual model of educational success, which is “rooted in the past but operated in the present” (Macfarlane et al., 2014, p. 169) work, leisure, technology, and sport are identified as key domains in which successful young Māori will engage in the future.

In the second example, Graeme Miller’s doctoral research (2015) focused on high-achieving Māori and Pasifika<sup>125</sup> boys. The aim of this study was to identify the elements that contributed to the academic achievements of 30 urban mainstream high school students. Also using mixed methods, Miller employed semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observations, and questionnaires. In his analysis, Miller (2015) identifies three key elements that contribute to boys’ academic success: (1) the influence of parents and other whānau, which includes unconditional love, a priority placed on education, academic expectations and support, and for some of the students religious beliefs/values; (2) interpersonal characteristics, including a strong work ethic, determination, perseverance, and personal and cultural identity; and (3) the influence of teachers and schools, including positive relationships, a streamed and challenging curriculum, mentors and mentoring events, and a feeling that the school is their tūrangawaewae, a place where they belong and are valued.

In relation to leisure, half of the boys participated in kapa haka and said it is integral to their sense of cultural and personal identity and cultural pride. In relation to sport, one set of parents explained how their son’s work ethic and commitment in sport ‘spilled over’ into his academic work. Some students talked about the outdoor activities (e.g. waka ama) they are involved in as part of their gifted and talented mentoring programmes. And although not specifically discussed by the Māori participants, five of the Pasifika students talked about religion and

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<sup>125</sup> I note that Pasifika is a contested term, as it refers to the Polynesian peoples of the South Pacific (e.g. Samoa, Tonga) and thus excludes the peoples of Melanesia (e.g. Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea) and Micronesia (Marshall Islands, Kiribati). Hence the preference some writers have for the inclusive term, Pacific peoples (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2018).

spirituality; that their faith helps them cope with the stresses of life, teaches them patience and to appreciate life, makes them happy, and gives them direction in life.

In identifying sport, performing arts, religion/spirituality, and supportive families and other caring adults (e.g. teachers) as contributing to educational success, these two studies support the international gifted and talented literature. In contrast, they also demonstrate that their research participants place a high value on cultural identity, connectedness, and values, which complemented and contributed to their educational success. This priority aligns with the Māori youth development and wellbeing models reviewed in the previous kōmore kaiwai. These studies also demonstrate that the focal point continues to be extracurricular activities rather than leisure in its broadest sense.



### **Summary**

In this second layer of the empirical literature review, Te Kiri Huna directed my attention to the lack of EAP/pyd studies in Aotearoa New Zealand. For this reason, I also reviewed a small number of studies conducted in Australia, and two gifted and talented studies conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, while the Australian studies make a unique contribution to the literature, they offer no insight on the indigenous youth of Australia or the broader context, and use the same prescriptive approaches as the North American studies. These studies are also quantitative, deductive, and researcher-led; longitudinal and cross-sectional; and largely focus on the structured activities of male and female high school students. In contrast, Macfarlane et al. (2014) and Miller (2015) tailored their approaches, employed mixed methods, worked ‘for and with’ Māori, focused on Māori (and Pasifika) students and boys, and paid particular attention to cultural topics and issues.

### **Te Kiko Pūrākau: Research as pūrākau**

In the previous Te Kiko Pūrākau sections/reviews, I profiled examples of pūrākau as a source of wisdom and inspiration in relation to leisure, health and wellbeing. In this section, I conceptualise research as pūrākau – carefully constructed narratives embedded with meaning, information, and knowledge by Māori, for Māori, about Māori, as Māori (J. Lee, 2008). This part of the review began with a small number of theses that ‘surfaced’ during the wider literature search. An

independent search<sup>126</sup> was also conducted of the AlterNative, MAI Review, and MAI and Te Kaharoa journals, but did not produce any other empirical studies. Unable to locate studies directly related to my research question, ‘What kinds of leisure activities might make a positive contribution to the development of tamatane?’ I have selected three studies that speak to different aspects of this pātai. With regard to positive youth development, I review a study conducted by Felicity Ware (2009); in relation to urban Māori and leisure, I refer to Belinda Borrell (2005); and in relation to EAP (kapa haka) I review a study conducted by Paul Whitinui (2007).

### **Māui styles**

In her Master’s thesis *Youth Development: Māui Styles*, Ware (2009) argues for a dedicated and distinctive Māori youth development strategy (MYDS). In reviewing the literature she argues that Māori development strategies in Aotearoa New Zealand do not include a focus on rangatahi; the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002) is not based on Māori principles; and while *E Tipu E Rea* (J. Keelan & Associates, 2002) is based on the concepts in the YDSA, it is difficult to implement.

Ware conducted a series of focus groups in which rangatahi (5 males, 3 females; 16-18 years old) discussed their values, aspirations, tikanga, and strategies for realising Māori youth potential. Employing the Māui pūrākau as an analysis framework, Ware concluded that the following āhutatanga and tikanga “...were relevant, appropriate and meaningful to their positive development and the realisation of their potential” (p. 101). Like Māui, these rangatahi demonstrate *māia* (potentiality); *ahu whakamua* (forward thinking); *manawanui* (resilience); *ihumanea* (innovation); and māhaki. They are also guided by the principles of whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, and tapu.

Although these rangatahi are not identified as specifically ‘successful’, their āhutatanga and tikanga represent a set of positive or successful traits and characteristics. For example, while the YDSA focuses on independence, these rangatahi talked about their aspirations to be independent but also wanting to belong to the collective (whānau, hapū, iwi). Ware (2009) also argues that rangatahi are a distinctive group within Māori society. In this regard, she notes that tikanga is

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<sup>126</sup> My search terms included sport, leisure, extracurricular activity, tākaro, waka ama, kapa haka, tamatāne, males, rugby, pūrākau, youth, rangatahi.



largely confined to cultural settings (e.g. marae, kura) and is thus far removed from the realities and experiences of Māori youth today. Consequently, Ware (2009) recommends that a MYDS employ a Pā Harakeke approach, wherein tamariki-mokopuna can become independent and interdependent, and learn tikanga Māori and the stories of Māui.

In terms of leisure, each focus group concluded with group-building activities (e.g. bowling). However, other than one or two observations about tuakana-teina interactions, and one participant comment about sport, leisure participation was not a dimension of this study.

### **Living in the city**

Also focused on urban Māori youth development, Belinda Borrell's (2005) master's thesis is entitled *Living in the City ain't so bad: Cultural diversity of South Auckland rangatahi*. The concern outlined in this study is that interventions designed for 'at risk' Māori youth are based on conventional notions of Māori identity that youth may not share, and moreover, define them by what they are lacking, "... hence terms such as disconnection, distanced, detached, and dissociated" (Borrell, 2005, p. 8). Consequently, the aim of her study was to gain a better understanding of Māori youth cultural identity.

Using a focused life story method, 12 rangatahi (7 male, 5 female, 13-21 years old) talked about a range of topics including their parents, friends, neighbourhood, school, future aspirations, and leisure activities. These leisure activities include sport, social outings (malls, dinner, movies), gaming, listening to music, hanging out, partying, computer use, and church. However, while Borrell (2005) states that these rangatahi "... were physically active and enjoyed a wide range of sports and recreation activities", and some of the boys "... stated strongly that their sport was an important part of who they were" (p. 60), the developmental impact of these activities is not a focus of her analysis or discussion.

However, collating the participants' comments about leisure participation we learn the following. Basketball was particularly popular with the boys; while the girls talked about waka ama, rugby, netball, and boxing. Aspirations for some youth include playing representative sports, or becoming a coach. Rangatahi who "showed promise were particularly conscious" of parent and teacher expectations that they succeed in school, in sport, and "things Māori" (Borrell, 2005, p. 52).

Rangatahi who attended Kura Kaupapa Māori had fewer options in terms of school sports teams and extracurricular activities. One of the girls referred to the Tainui Games, and how it “brings the whānau together”, while one of the boys talked about shooting hoops when he wanted to “chill” or when “... someone’s passed away or something bad has happened to me” (Borrell, 2005, p. 61).

Kapa haka, however, is identified as an extracurricular activity of particular importance to cultural identity. Along with te reo Māori, kapa haka was offered at school and provided these rangatahi with direct access to conventional Māori culture. Although Borrell found that this access was curtailed by an ‘all or nothing’ system, in which there was no option to learn te reo Māori but not participate in kapa haka, and vice versa. This system thus “... defeated or was at odds with their wider aspirations and development” (Borrell, 2005, p. 72). Some rangatahi also reported that the commitment required for kapa haka was too much, and that they were expected to prioritise kapa haka over their other subjects and interests. With regular parties after competitions to either “celebrate or commiserate”, kapa haka was also associated with alcohol consumption.

Borrell (2005) concluded that this particular group of urban rangatahi are well aware of the conventional markers of Māori identity, and are proud to be Māori. However, for some of these youth, these markers are not relevant to their everyday lives and therefore ‘living Southside’ was their main “... source of collective strength and pride and individual self-confidence and belonging” (p. 81).

### **Te Haka a Tānerore**

The *wiri* (quiver) of the hands is a central element of kapa haka and acknowledges and is the embodiment of Tānerore, the son of Tamanuiterā (the sun) and Hineraumati (the summer maiden). In this pūrākau, Tamanuiterā has two lovers and when he spends the winter months with Hinetakurua (the winter maiden), Tānerore, “... the shimmering heated air that rises from the ground on hot summer days...” (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2013, p. 5) dances for his mother, Hineraumati. It is thus fitting that kapa haka is a popular extracurricular activity for rangatahi, and has become an area of interest for researchers (Pihama et al., 2014).

In his doctoral thesis, Paul Whitinui (2007) investigated the educational benefits of kapa haka participation for Māori students. This study involved two

focus group discussions with 20 Māori kapa haka students (15-18 years old),<sup>127</sup> and one-off semi-structured interviews with 27 teachers (including 7 Māori) from three rural and one urban mainstream secondary school. In the focus group discussions, Whitinui explored the students' reasons for participating; the meanings they attributed to kapa haka; how they feel whilst performing; the perceived benefits of participation; the differences between participating in kapa haka and learning in the classroom; how kapa haka influenced their learning, participation, attitude, and work ethic in the classroom; and what teachers can learn from kapa haka. Whitinui then embedded the findings of his study in "... a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy for working with 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori in mainstream secondary schools" (p. 200).

Whitinui's (2007) 'culturally responsive' learning strategy is presented in the form of a human heart. The four chambers of the heart represent the four key abilities enabled through kapa haka participation and transferable to other learning environments. The incoming nutrients represent the nourishing environment of kapa haka, in which the students feel valued, cared for, and were coached and given immediate feedback. Reflecting the students kōrero about 'being Māori' and immersed in their culture during kapa haka, the first chamber is 'the ability to protect' "... their culture, language, traditions, customs, heritage, identity and ways of knowing and doing as Māori" (Whitinui, 2007, p. 198). Reflecting their kōrero about feeling motivated and successful in learning actions and words, and in using their bodies and props (e.g. poi), the second chamber is the 'ability to problem-solve', which includes learning how to balance their time. In relation to the different and range of experiences that these students have in kapa haka (e.g. new friendships, trips, performing for different events) the third chamber is 'the ability to provide' "... greater 'access' to a wide range of 'culturally responsive' learning environments and experiences..." (Whitinui, 2007, p. 199). While the fourth chamber is 'the ability to heal' and represents the students' kōrero about feeling competent, confident, and "... in full control of the learning environment" (p. 199). When the heart is replenished the outcomes include socially, culturally, emotionally, and spiritually enriched, highly motivated and engaged 'culturally connected' learners (Whitinui, 2007).

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<sup>127</sup> The number of males and females is not stated, but the participant list suggests at least seven males.



### **Summary**

In this final layer of the empirical kōmore kaiwai, Te Kiko Pūrākau directed my attention to studies that have been carried out by, with, and for Māori. Each research report is a carefully constructed narrative into which the author has embedded meaning, information, and knowledge they believe has the potential to assist and uplift Māori. Some of the messages encapsulated in these studies are that rangatahi have unique needs and strengths, are a diverse group, and thrive in whānau and whānau-like environments where they are recognised and supported as Māori and can explore and develop their skills, talents, interests, and can experiment and be innovative. For researchers and adults generally, one of the lessons here is that the answers we seek can be found in listening to the people at the heart of the matter.

### **Te Aho Matua: Some messages and lessons for the research**

This last and third kōmore kaiwai is the empirical literature review and brought the concepts of leisure and positive youth development together. Te Kiri Aronui provided an overview of the EAP/pyd literature, which is largely located in North America; focuses on the extracurricular activities of male and female high school students; employs quantitative methods; and indicates that EAP is associated with a number and range of positive academic, psychological, and social outcomes. Of particular relevance to my research and Māori perspectives of health and wellbeing (e.g. Te Whare Tapa Whā) are studies that examine breadth of participation, and focus on ‘youth of colour’, and gifted and talented students. Te Kiri Huna then highlighted the lack of EAP/pyd research outside of North America, and more specifically in Aotearoa New Zealand. And while the four studies conducted in Australia were found to be culturally neutral, the three New Zealand studies demonstrate that culture matters. Te Kiko Pūrākau then reviewed three kaupapa Māori studies that explore the thoughts, opinions, and experiences of rangatahi in relation to what constitutes positive or successful rangatahi development (Ware, 2009), urban Māori identity (Borrell, 2005), and the educational benefits of kapa haka participation (Whitinui, 2007). In the course of this review, I did not find any studies that explore or examine the organised and informal leisure activities of successful young Māori men, or ask, ‘What kinds of leisure activities might make a positive contribution to the development of tamatāne?’

Based on this empirical review, I determined that my topic could be researched and make a unique contribution to the current literature. While the prevailing approach to studying the benefits of EAP is quantitative, researcher-led, and deductive, this Rākau Rangahau grew out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape (see Te Oneone) that supports research conducted by Māori (adhering to cultural values), with Māori (using collaborative methods), and for the benefit of Māori (addressing Māori concerns and aspirations). My focus on tamatāne will also contribute to a significant gap in the literature.

The prevalence and boundaries of quantitative methods highlight the strengths, benefits, and richness of qualitative methods. One of the key limitations of cross-sectional surveys is they provide a snapshot of one point in time and are thus not suitable for studying change over time. On the other hand, longitudinal studies collect a series of ‘real time’ snapshots that can be used to make inferences about cause and effect, but are time and resource intensive and cannot account for what happens between each measure (Giele & Elder, 1998). Although retrospective methods look backward in time and collect instant longitudinal data, the major limitations include memory recall and recall bias (Giele & Elder, 1998). In contrast, Te Kōmoremore framework looks backwards and forwards from the present, and is about making plans for the future based on the lessons of the past. Memory recall and bias are limitations within this framework as well.

Although EAP has been associated with positive developmental outcomes, and informal leisure with developmental risks, I have decided to focus on both. For as some of the qualitative studies have illustrated above, we might be surprised! In contrast to the North American studies, and supporting the ethnic minority studies, the review also illustrated that Māori notions of ‘positive’ development and ‘success’ differ from those identified in the wider literature. Consequently, a whānau of interest was invited to set the selection criteria for the SYMM research participants.

Further, in exploring the leisure activity patterns and narratives of SYMM, I chose to adopt the three structural components of EAP/pyd studies. For the purposes of this study, I (1) selected and focused on certain indicators of positive/successful development, (2) in relation to a selection of leisure activities, and (3) identified and discussed the consequent key ‘correlations’ and moderators. The studies in this

part of the literature review also provided a frame of reference and a benchmark for comparing the results of my research.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to summarise the state of knowledge relating to the research topics, and to identify how my study might make a unique contribution to this body of knowledge. Employing Te Kōmoremore framework the review was comprehensive. Beginning with Te Kiri Aronui, which embodies notions of ‘the world before us’, I found the existing literature is dominated by writings and research coming out of the Northern Hemisphere. The ‘common’ concepts of leisure and positive youth development are thus rooted in Western-European world views and priorities. Looking behind or beneath what is readily accessible, Te Kiri Huna then turned my attention to ‘home’ and what leisure and positive youth development mean to us in Aotearoa New Zealand. From a whakapapa perspective, this involved looking into the past in order to understand the present, which illustrated that “leisure is profoundly cultural” (Kelly, 2012, p. 143). Te Kiko Pūrākau then turned my attention to examples of pūrākau being used to heal, inspire, and to move us positively into the future. ‘Distilled’ from these layers of analysis, Te Aho Matua outlined some of the ‘messages and lessons’ that were ‘pumped’ up into Te Rākau Rangahau.

In the next chapter, Te Whakatupuranga, I describe my research methodology, design, process, and procedures.



## TE WHAKATUPURANGA

The next sign of life to emerge from Te Kākano was Te Pihi (the embryonic shoot), which grew into Te Tīwai, ‘the trunk’. The primary functions of tīwai are to give rākau their shape and strength; to house Te Aho Matua, the vascular system that transports nutrients throughout the rākau; and to support Ngā Pekapeka and Ngā Rau, ‘the branches’ and ‘the leaves’. Inside Te Tīwai, Te Aho Matua is located beneath the bark and excretes sap that produces inward and outward growth. Transporting water and minerals provided by Te Oneone up to Ngā Rau, the xylem tissues create Te Taitea, the rings of sapwood; and in transporting sugar-enriched sap produced during photosynthesis from Ngā Rau down into the rākau, the phloem tubes create Te Hiako, ‘the bark’. This growth, Te Whakatupuranga, is reminiscent of the successive ‘waves’ of action and interaction that occur during research. This chapter was thus designated as the methodology chapter.



*Figure 1: Te Pihinga<sup>128</sup>*

<sup>128</sup> Adapted from *Bean Time-Lapse 25 days, soil cross section* [video file], by Gphase, 2018, retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w77zPAfVTuI>.



## **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to explain how the research was conducted, the aim of which is to offer whānau raising tamatāne ideas about the types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys' development. The chapter has two parts. In part one I describe *Te Taikākā*, 'the heartwood' of Te Tīwai. Te Taikākā represents the methodological framework; i.e. the "... strategy that translates ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show how research is to be conducted" (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 29). In part two, I then describe *Te Oranga Whakatupu*, which refers to the care and nurturing invested in the growth of this rākau rangahau; i.e. all the planning, processes, and procedures, and the action, interaction, and analyses. During Te Whakatupuranga, the growth of this rākau rangahau, there were also a number of trials and tribulations. These are outlined in the final chapter, Ngā Hua o Te Rākau Rangahau.

## **Te Taikākā**

Growing out of Te Oneone (Chapter 2), and nourished by Te Kōmoremore (Chapter 4) and Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai (Chapter 5), my research strategy was informed by a number of principles and values including whakapapa, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and rangatiratanga, as well as the literature review. As detailed elsewhere, these principles/values overlap with and 'touch' other cultural values and concepts, and had implications for the research at multiple levels including the research design, methods, ethics, and relationships. To allow the narrative to flow, I point to the relevant appendices in the second part of this chapter.

## **Whakapapa**

Illustrating the wider influence of Te Kōmoremore framework, which is a conceptualisation of whakapapa, the research design involved two groups of research participants: a group of successful young Māori men (SYMM) who were asked to 'look back' for the benefit of present and future generations; and a group of parents who were asked to 'look forward' in order to set the selection criteria for the SYMM participants. The selection criteria for the SYMM was established in focus group hui, during which the parents (the whānau of interest) discussed their present perceptions of success; looked into the past to identify the origins of their

perceptions; and then based on their aspirations for their own primary-school aged sons (the future), constructed SYMM profiles.

Te Kōmoremore framework also informed the flow of the research conversations. As outlined in the next part of the chapter, all the interview schedules were designed to move the discussion from Te Kiri Aronui, the present before us; to Te Kiri Huna, what lies behind or beneath (e.g. the past); to Te Kiko Pūrākau, identifying and summarising some of the messages and lessons for living (i.e. the future). To illustrate, the SYMM interviews focused on constructing a whakapapa or chronological map of their leisure activities from the age of 5 years old. Each SYMM then added ‘flesh’ to their respective maps by sharing some of the stories about their leisure activities. Towards the end of their interviews, they were also asked if they would encourage their own tamariki (current and/or future) to participate in these same activities.

Whakapapa also influenced the types of pātai that were asked. The whānau of interest questionnaire acknowledges the whole person, for example. Drawing on elements of Te Hoe Nuku Roa study (Durie et al., 1996), this questionnaire focused on the household rather than the individual, and asked about the family’s connection to their whānau, hapū/iwi, marae, and Te Taiao.

Whakapapa also had implications for recruitment. For instance, I was conscious that a non-Māori parent/caregiver might volunteer to participate in the study. Thus, when establishing the selection criteria for the whānau of interest I decided that ‘whānau’ included anyone (e.g. grandparent, aunty, foster parent of any ethnicity) involved in raising tamatāne – because ultimately their tamatāne were the beneficiaries of this study. Hence, the criteria for joining the whānau of interest was that their tamatāne had Māori ancestry.

### **Whanaungatanga**

Whakapapa overlaps with whanaungatanga, which refers to whānau and whānau-like relationships (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In a Māori context *mihimihi* (greetings and acknowledgements), *whakawhanaungatanga* (making time for people to make connections), *karakia*, *waiata*, *kai*, *koha* (gifts), *whitiwhiti kōrero* (conversation), and *katakata* (laughter) are essential elements for building healthy relationships (H. M. Mead, 2016). The principles of whānau and whanaungatanga encourage researchers to establish and maintain collective values and practices, as opposed to

maintaining an objective distance, treating people as informants and objects of research, and Western values of individual responsibility and competition (L. T. Smith, 2012). Hence, the collaborative and participatory aspects of the research design were important.

In application, whanaungatanga emphasises a number of cultural ethics. These ethics included *kanohi-kitea* (being seen/present); *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* (face to face communication); *awhi* (physical and moral support); *tikanga* (following cultural rules of engagement); and *utu* (reciprocity) (H. M. Mead, 1996). For example, first contact with the whānau of interest occurred at their children’s school; interested parents/caregivers were also invited to bring whānau members and/or friends with them to their focus group hui; hui started and finished with *mihimihi* and *karakia* and included *kai*; and the contribution made by the research participants was acknowledged with *koha*.

Whanaungatanga also overlaps with the concept of *whakapapa*, in the sense that the Māori kinship system positions individuals in particular roles (e.g. *mātāmua*, *pōtiki*, *tuakana*, *teina*, *kaumātua*) and therefore with certain responsibilities (H. M. Mead, 2016). In the course of this study, I assumed the role of *teina*, a younger sibling seeking understanding as opposed to positioning myself as ‘the expert’. Writing the research report also involved asking for advice and guidance from my whānau, *kaumātua*, and university whānau (who are acknowledged at the start of the thesis).

Furthermore, this study involved a collective and collaborative rather than individual approach. In other words, rather than focusing solely on the individual, there was a focus on the group – for we do not exist in isolation. The focus group pre-questionnaire, for instance, asked about the whānau and household as well as the individual research participant. Rather than interviewing SYMM as described in the focus group hui, the involvement of at least one parent or whānau member was one of the participation criteria. And while it is common practice for researchers to analyse the research data themselves, the whānau of interest conducted the group analysis.

### **Manaakitanga**

Overlapping with *whakapapa* and *whanaungatanga*, the principle of *manaakitanga* guided the spirit in which the research was conducted. As discussed elsewhere,

manaakitanga is the process of showing respect, generosity, and care for others and is often expressed through the provision of food and accommodation (H. M. Mead, 2016). In other words, manaakitanga is about making people feel welcome, respected, valued, and comfortable, and is essentially about the mutual elevation of mana (Royal, 1998b). Inherently bound to tapu, manaakitanga is also about acknowledging and respecting each other's spiritual heritage, potential, and well-being (Pere, 1982) and thus engenders and involves aroha and māhaki, compassion and humility.

In terms of the research design, manaakitanga meant taking a strengths-based rather than a deficit approach. As outlined in *Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai* (Chapter 5), the Positive Deviance approach encourages individuals and communities experiencing challenges to seek out and learn from the people in their community, 'people like them' who are thriving despite their common circumstances. These concepts informed my recruitment strategies and the whānau/household questionnaire (as discussed below). With regard to methods and research relationships, manaakitanga was about everyone coming away from the research experience with a sense of being uplifted and informed. Manaakitanga was also expressed in the provision of food and a comfortable setting/environment.

### **Rangatiratanga**

As discussed elsewhere, rangatiratanga is the principle of self-determination and relative autonomy and is about having meaningful control over one's life and well-being (G. H. Smith, 1997). At a political level, the call for rangatiratanga is inscribed in the kaupapa Māori research kīanga 'by, with, and for Māori' (see Te Oneone), which at a practical level encourages researchers to think about the issues of control and ownership (L. T. Mead, 1996).

Rangatiratanga is also about exercising your right to be who you are and want to be. Hence, ngā iwi Māori accept that other hapū/iwi have their own versions of the cosmological whakapapa, for example, and have similar but different dialects, tikanga, kawa, and pūrākau. Acknowledging rangatiratanga also means following local tikanga; i.e. not directly or indirectly forcing your tikanga upon others when you are in their home or on their whenua. It was this kind of tribal relationship and understanding that our tūpuna expected when they signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi (see Chapter 1).

In practice, rangatiratanga reminds us that ‘one size does not fit all’. This kīanga is particularly apt for urban Māori who are less likely than those who live at ‘home’ to speak te reo Māori, know their whakapapa, and to engage with karakia, tikanga, kawa, and Te Taiao on a regular basis (H. M. Mead, 2016). However, the existence of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga, bilingual units and whānau classes, and te reo and tikanga Māori courses, means this is not always or strictly the case. Given the reality of inner-group diversity, I therefore had to consider how to employ te reo and tikanga Māori without challenging the rangatiratanga or diminishing the mana of the research participants. In this regard, the whānau/household questionnaire was integral because it helped me learn more about the whānau of interest before the focus group hui, and gave me time to plan for some of the potential issues. For instance, the whānau/household questionnaire revealed that only three of the 11 parents in the whānau of interest were religious or spiritually ‘connected’, which made me wonder if the tikanga of opening and closing with karakia would be appropriate – especially since I was going to be a guest in their school. Discussing this with one of my supervisors (Professor Rangi Matamua) it was thus suggested that karakia be offered as an option. Consequently, at the start of each hui the participants were asked if they would like to start with a karakia. I also printed two opening and closing karakia (one Christian, one non-Christian) just in case the participants wanted to offer karakia as a group.

Rangatiratanga also speaks to the research ethics of voluntary participation, informed consent, and confidentiality. The hui were scheduled and located according to the participants’ availability and preferences. Participation was based on the provision of information written in English and avoided technical language. The research participants were encouraged to “pass” on any questions they did not want to answer; could withdraw from the research at any point; had the option of using a pseudonym; and were invited to read, amend, and approve everything they said during the course of the study.

Finally, this entire project is about rangatiratanga. While it would have been arguably easier to adopt a ‘standard’ approach to research and writing this thesis, I maintained my desire to embrace a kaupapa Māori approach to research. This experience, however, was not been easy as it has involved an internal struggle with the “coloniser within” (Freire, 1970). This struggle is reflected in the shift in my

language and research strategy between submitting my initial proposal and this report.

### **Research Ethics**

In addition to the rules of engagement and ethics embedded in whakapapa, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and rangatiratanga – as per the *Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations 2008 (section 12(2))* – this study was approved by the University of Waikato Ethics Committee. As detailed in my ethics application, participation was voluntary; participants were provided with the critical information needed to make an informed decision to participate; and precautions were taken to safeguard confidentiality. These safeguards included the option of using a pseudonym, keeping the research documents in a locked filing cabinet in my office at the university, and saving all the digital documents on the university server.



### **Summary**

To summarise, growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and rangatiratanga are Te Taikākā, the framework at the heart of my research methodology, and that provided strength and structure to this Rākau Rangahau. These are some of the rules of engagement that guided and underpinned the research design, ethics, and relationships. The rings of growth surrounding Te Taikākā represent the subsequent ‘waves’ of action and interaction between myself and the research participants, and my supervisors.

### **Te Oranga Whakatupu**

In this second part of the chapter, I describe the research process and procedures for the three major phases in the study. These phases involved: (1) recruiting and inviting a whānau of interest to set the selection criteria for SYMM; (2) recruiting and interviewing SYMM about their leisure activities; and (3) returning a selection of their kōrero to the whānau of interest for a group analysis.

Each pekapeka represents a point of contact during the research process (e.g. focus group hui). The series of rau that formed each pekapeka represent the conversations that occurred during each interaction. The transpiration and photosynthesis that occurred on the surface of the rau represent the exchange of

‘energy’ between the research participants, and between the research participants and myself during these conversations. The ‘sugar-enriched sap’ produced during those interactions was transported around the rākau, and added to its growth and development. Every step in the research process thus ‘fed’ upwards, downwards, and across this rākau rangahau.

Because my research design involved sequential and alternating rather than concurrent interaction, my attention turned to rākau with alternating rau and pekapeka, and while out walking one day a rākau kōhūhū literally beckoned to me. Kōhūhū is a small native black-barked tree that has small pale-green rau, and hybridises readily, meaning there are many variations in its colour, shape, and size. The influence of kōhūhū is discussed in the following chapters.

### **The Guiding Research Questions**

As discussed in Te Kākano, this study was inspired by the pātai, ‘So what kinds of activities should we put our boys into?’ The purpose of the research is thus to offer whānau raising tamatāne some ideas about the types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys’ development. Growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape, employing a whakapapa theoretical framework, and in taking a strengths-based approach and adopting aspects of the Positive Deviance approach, the decision was therefore made to work ‘for and with’ a whānau of interest and to interview successful young Māori men about their childhood and youth leisure activities.

Consequently, the subsidiary research questions were:

- (1) What constitutes a SYMM?
- (2) What kinds of leisure activities did SYMM participate in when they were growing up?
- (3) How did these activities contribute to their development and who they are today?
- (4) What ‘messages and lessons’ might urban whānau raising tamatane take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these SYMM?

### **The Whānau of Interest**

The first phase of the research focused on forming a whānau of interest; a group of people who are also raising tamatāne in the city and have an interest in the research topic. This group set the selection criteria for the SYMM participants, selected the final pool of participants, and in the third phase of the research, reconvened for a group analysis of the SYMM interview data.

### **Methods**

The methods selected for this phase of the research were focus group hui, which included the administration of a pre-hui questionnaire, and pūrākau.

#### **Focus group hui**

Focus group hui (FGH) are a combination of a focus group discussion (FGD) and a hui. Benton et al. (2012) describe the core meaning of hui as “deliberative assemblies” (p. 97), during which rituals of engagement are followed (e.g. mihimihi), a kaupapa (topic) is discussed, and the group works towards an agreed outcome (Salmond, 1994). In contrast, a FGD is a group interview, and depending on the research agenda, the participants do not always work towards an agreed outcome (Morgan, 1998). One of the unique characteristics and strengths of the FGD method is that these discussions mimic everyday interaction, where the creation of knowledge and understanding is relational, interactive, and negotiated (Chilisa, 2012); whereas hui *are* a form everyday interaction and are thus less contrived or artificial.

Both hui and FGD are suitable research methods when the aim is to hear a range of views and opinions on a particular topic (Morgan, 1998). One of the challenges of the FGD method, however, is bringing together a group of people who might feel a sense of connection and amongst whom individuals will feel safe (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) to share their genuine attitudes, perspectives, beliefs, assumptions, interests, and experiences (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). If achieved, this greater depth of discussion produces a richer view and understanding of the topic (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Thus, some researchers using the focus group method use screening questionnaires to gather some initial biographical/demographic information, so they can select the ‘right’ people for the right group discussion (Morgan, 1998). These questionnaires can also be used to gather information prior to the FGD so the allocated time can be dedicated to talk. The ideal size for a FGD is six to 12 individuals, and the aim is to “... strike a



balance between having enough people to generate a discussion and not having so much people that some feel crowded out” (Morgan, 1998, p. 71). Given that focus groups are small and somewhat homogeneous, the resulting information is descriptive and illustrative rather than representative or generalisable (Tolich & Davidson, 2011).

Hui on the other hand are guided by tikanga Māori; i.e. rules of engagement informed by cultural values (Salmond, 1994). As discussed above, tikanga for hui include mihimihi, karakia, whakawhanaungatanga, and kai. Mihimihi or *mihi whakatau* (words of welcome) typically include a summary or explanation about the purpose and aim of the hui. There is no mystery about what the agenda is, as sometimes occurs in FGD (Morgan, 1998). Karakia offer spiritual protection and enhances the wairua in the room and amongst those present. Whakawhanaungatanga usually involves identifying oneself in relationship to one’s whānau, hapū, iwi, and tribal landmarks (mountains, rivers, lakes), and therein helps people to make a connection and identify potential *whanaunga* (relatives) for example. Depending on the importance of the kaupapa, hui might also be conducted under the guidance of kaumātua or other expert(s). In this case, one of my supervisors, Professor Rangī Matamua, attended the first FGH and gave me feedback and the ‘green light’ to conduct the rest of the hui on my own.

### Pūrākau

The individuals in the whānau of interest were also invited to write pūrākau about what success means to them. As discussed in Te Kōmoremore (Chapter 4) and demonstrated in Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai (Chapter 5), pūrākau are stories about Māori, as Māori, and into which meaning, information, and knowledge including messages and lessons for living were/are embedded by Māori, for Māori (J. Lee, 2008; Royal, 2004). In terms of strengths, storytelling is an intellectual construction that enables the storyteller to redefine themselves and their reality, and to shape the research, and thus challenges and transforms the traditional researcher-participant relationship (Shabbar, 2016). Narratives also offer the reader a closer view of the storyteller’s lived experiences (Chase, 2005; Clandinin, 2013). In this study, pūrākau were employed as a supplementary research method (described below). In other words, the pūrākau written by the whānau of interest were not the primary source of data, but were the *kīnaki*, the ‘relish’ that enhances the main meal.

### **Recruitment**

The first pekapeka represents the search for ‘people like us’; i.e. whānau raising tamatāne within the Hamilton city limits. To this end, I approached mainstream contributing primary schools. These schools are State owned and funded, teach the national curriculum in English, are secular, and cater for Years 1-6 (5 to 10-year-olds) – but also have an obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to give all their students “... the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9; the Māori language and the rules of the language). To reduce the chances of recruiting university staff and students, whose occupations might intimidate other participants (Morgan, 1998), or who may have a closer connection to the research topics and myself, I ruled out schools located near the university. To increase my chances of recruiting Māori, I identified which of the remaining schools had the highest number of Māori students. To increase the chances of recruiting whānau from similar socio-economic backgrounds, I approached two neighbouring schools.

The principals of both schools agreed to support my research. Acknowledging their mana I asked each principal to recommend a recruitment strategy. At the first school, information was sent home with the tamatāne in the bilingual class, but no volunteers came forth. At the second school, the principal arranged for me to meet two wāhine Māori who volunteer at the school, and who subsequently volunteered to participate and to talk to other parents/caregivers about the study. The principal also recommended that the teachers distribute my information sheet (Appendix 1) during their student conferences. The principal felt that this would significantly increase the chances of parents receiving the information, and meant that I would be reaching out to parents who were actively involved in their children’s education. I was also invited to have an information stand at the school on the night of the student conferences.

During the student conferences, 12 parents/caregivers registered at my table and another made contact the following day. The following week, I telephoned everyone to reconfirm their interest, ascertain their availability and preferred venue, and to administer the whānau/household questionnaire. This questionnaire was designed with multiple purposes in mind: (1) to check the participation criteria; (2) to pre-empt the need for people to fill out a demographic questionnaire when they arrived for their hui; (3) if there were too many volunteers, to select a smaller and

similar group of people; (4) to create profiles for the whānau of interest; and (5) to make decisions about tikanga.

The whānau/household questionnaire (Appendix 2) comprised 26 open- and closed-response questions and took approximately 15-30 minutes to administer. While a telephone questionnaire may sound impersonal, because we had already met kanohi-ki-te-kanohi, these calls were very conversational. Parents/caregivers were also invited to bring someone with them to their hui. By the end of the telephone calls, one person had withdrawn; the number of potential participants was 19; and a 50:50 day-evening split in availability had emerged, as did a clear preference for meeting at the school.

Given my plan to conduct one FGH, the next step was selection. However, having made a connection with everyone, I felt uncomfortable with this idea and decided to conduct two hui. The correctness of this decision was confirmed when I was able to identify a day and an evening that suited everyone. Confirmation letters and consent forms (Appendix 3) were posted out two weeks prior to each discussion.

### **Participants**

Of the 19 potential participants, six attended a day hui and five attended a night hui. As summarised in Table 2, the whānau of interest comprised 11 parents<sup>129</sup> (nine wāhine and two tāne) representing a total of nine whānau and 33 tamariki including 15 tamatāne. The whānau of interest profiles are included in the next chapter. Questionnaires completed by those who did not arrive were sent back to them with a letter of thanks, and their information is not included in the research.

To provide the reader with a closer view of the individuals and group who set the parameters for the research, the questionnaire included a cultural identity measure taken from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study (Durie et al., 1996). The members of the whānau of interest were invited to choose one of the following options:

- A. We have a strong sense of being Māori and have good access to Māori cultural and social resources including te reo Māori, tribal/whānau land, marae, extended whānau, and other elements of the Māori world (e.g. values, tikanga).

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<sup>129</sup> All the participants were parents.

- B. We have a strong sense of being Māori, but do not have good access to Māori cultural and social resources (e.g. language, land, marae, extended whānau, values, tikanga).
- C. We are Māori, but do not have any contact with the Māori world.
- D. We do not describe ourselves as Māori even though we have access to the Māori world.

The information in Table 2 reports the demographic information at the time of the first focus group hui.

Table 2: Whānau of Interest - Data from whānau/household questionnaire

	Day Hui					Night Hui			
Participants	Andrea & Jason	Lu	Priscilla	*Dianna	Shona	Pauline	Paula	Fran	*Karen & *Rongo
Relationship status	Married	De Facto	Single	Married	Married	Married	Married	Separated	Married
Age	M35-45 D35-45	M25-35 D25-35	25-35	M35-45 D25-35	M35-45 D35-45	M35-45 D>45	M35-45 D35-45	25-35	M25-35 D35-45
Primary Iwi	Ngāpuhi : Tainui	Te Arawa : Tainui	Te Arawa : Te Arawa	[Waikato] : [Taranaki]	Pākehā : Ngāti Porou	Ngāpuhi : Ngāpuhi	Ngāpuhi : Tainui	Ngāpuhi : Tainui/Ngāpuhi	[Northland] : [Northland]
Number of Tamariki	5 tamatāne	3 tamatāne	3 tamatāne	[4]	1 tamatāne 1 tamāhine	5 tamatāne 5 tamāhine (blended whānau)	3 tamatāne	3 tamatāne 1 tamāhine	[2]
Household composition	3 adults <i>incl. niece</i> 4 tamatāne	3 adults <i>incl. niece</i> 3 tamatāne	1 adult 3 tamatāne	3 adults <i>incl. grandparent</i> 3 tamariki	2 adults 2 tamariki	2 adults 4 tamariki	2 adults 3 tamatāne	2 adults <i>incl. friend</i> 4 tamariki	2 adults 2 tamariki
Tamatāne Under 10yrs	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	1
Local whānau Support?	No	A cousin	Yes	No	Grandmother	No	Husband's whānau	In-laws	No
Highest Qualification	Degree : Degree	HS : HS	Cert	Cert : HS	Degree : HS	HS : Trade tickets	Degree : Degree	Degree	Degree : Trade tickets
Occupation	Full-time mum : University Lecturer	Caregiver : meat industry	Health & Fitness promotional coordinator	Student : [employed]	Nurse : Publications	Transportation : Trades	Management : Assessor	University Student	[Education] : [Trades]
National median income \$30k pa for Māori in 2013	Above	Above	Below	Below	Above	Above	Above	Above	Above
Religiosity	"Being Māori"	No	No	No	"Interested"	No	No	Latter-day Saint	No
Te Hoe Nuku Roa Profile	A	B	A	C	C	B	A	A	B

Key: \*Denotes pseudonym/request for anonymity. [brackets] = information has been made generic. M=Mum, D=Dad (order is consistent). HS=High School. Refer to Appendix 28 for a tribal map.

### **The hui**

The whānau of interest was invited to arrive up to 30 minutes early to share kai. During this time, they had the opportunity to read the agenda and the first pātai, which were written on the whiteboard. Everyone was also invited to check, correct, complete, and sign their whānau/household questionnaires. Hui began with a mihi whakatau, karakia, and whakawhanaungatanga. Following whakawhanaungatanga we reviewed the consent form (Appendix 3). These were signed before the hui continued. Hui ended with words of thanks and acknowledgements, closing karakia, and more kai and conversation. Both hui were recorded with an MP3 recorder and a video camera.

The purpose of these hui was to establish the criteria for the SYMM research participants. To this end, the interview guide (Appendix 4) was designed to be cumulative and to move the conversation from the general to the specific, and employed a Think, Pair, Share approach.<sup>130</sup> In this case, we moved from a general discussion about what success means (the present), to where our notions of success come from (the past), to our aspirations for our own tamatāne (the future), and finally, with all of this in mind, the construction of the SYMM profiles. These profiles represent the results for this phase of the research. The whānau of interest was also invited to add questions to the SYMM interview guide.

### **Transcribing**

The FGH were typed verbatim. All the written elements (e.g. completed SYMM posters) were typed into the transcript in the appropriate places. These master transcripts were used to create truncated anonymous transcripts, which were then used to create eleven personalised transcripts, meaning written information created by the other participants' (e.g. aspirations for their sons) was removed. These personalised transcripts were used for the member-checking phase of the study.

### **Member-checking**

The aim of the member-checking phase was to confirm and clarify rather than gather new information. Before mailing the transcripts out, I telephoned everyone to reconfirm their postal addresses, and two were updated. I also used this

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<sup>130</sup> Write down what you Think; discuss your thoughts with someone else; and then Share with the group.

opportunity to ask whether they would like to conduct their member-checking by mail, or face-to-face. All the whānau members opted for a face-to-face member-checking hui (MCH). In preparation for these hui, clarifying questions were written on their transcripts, which were then mailed out with a whānau profile based on their whānau/household questionnaire. Nine of the MCH were held at the participants' homes, one participant came to my home, and another met with me at the university. Following the MCH Guide (Appendix 5), these hui took between 30 and 60 minutes, and were audio recorded. At the end of each hui, the interviewee signed a release form for their annotated transcript and whānau profile, and was then invited to write a pūrākau, a personal narrative embedded with messages and lessons about success. This gave people an opportunity to retell a story they may have shared during the hui, or wanted to share but did not. This exercise was optional. Five parents wrote stories and two composed poems.

Each MCH was transcribed and the transcript was posted out with a release form and postage-paid return envelope. Upon their return, the personalised and master transcripts were updated with notes of clarification. The analysis phase began when all the transcripts had been approved and released.

### **Data analysis**

The aim of my analysis was to construct a thematic commentary for the SYMM profiles. Towards this end, working with one transcript at a time, an inductive thematic analysis began with three waves of reading. In wave one, each transcript was divided into smaller 'meaning units' (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009), and acronyms identifying the speaker and the question they were responding were attached to each unit. In wave two, I employed holistic coding (Saldana, 2009); a brief description summarising what I perceived to be the speaker's main point or meaning. In wave three, I used the desired characteristics included in the SYMM profiles (e.g. humble, kind) as a set of descriptive codes (Saldana, 2009). The meaning units were then grouped according to these descriptive codes. Similar codes/groups were combined (e.g. happy and fun), and were given a thematic description/name. Rather than breaking the participants' pūrākau (Appendices 14-19) into meaning units for coding, they were kept whole and assigned to one or more of the themes as an illustrative narrative.

### **Representation**

In the next chapter (Te Puāwaitanga), I present the findings attached to these pekapeka. First, I introduce the whānau of interest; present their SYMM profiles; and then add ‘flesh’ to these introductions and profiles by offering a thematic commentary that relies on the voices of the whānau of interest.

In the next phase of the research, the SYMM profiles were used to locate the SYMM research participants.

### **The Successful Young Māori Men**

The second phase of the research focused on recruiting and interviewing SYMM. The purpose of these one-off semi-structured interviews was to map their leisure participation from the age of 5 years old, and to discuss how these activities made a positive contribution to their development and who they are today.

### **Methods**

The research methods selected for this phase of the study were semi-structured interviews, which began with and focused on what I refer to as ‘life and leisure maps.’

#### **Life and leisure maps**

As discussed in Te Kākano, I decided early on in this study to use a whakapapa method/tool that I refer to here as ‘life and leisure maps’. The benefit of this method is being able to view an individual’s life course as a whole. Depending on what is included in these maps, it is possible to view the trajectories and transitions in an individual’s life course, to identify the potential influence of the other people in their life (e.g. parents, siblings, friends), and the impact of the wider context (e.g. significant family, national, and international events).

The life course is a dynamic “... pattern of interlocking trajectories and transitions...” (Elder, 2000, p. 1617). Trajectories are “age-graded” social pathways along which we travel through life (e.g. residence, family, education, work, leisure) and comprise transitions or changes that have a differential impact on human development, and can create cumulative advantages and disadvantages (Crosnoe & Elder, 2015). For example, moving to another town for work signifies a transition in the residential trajectory and most likely in the income trajectory as well. For the



children in this scenario, these transitions create a shift in their educational and friendship trajectories, and, depending on when they occur in their life course (e.g. teenager vs. pre-schooler) will affect them differently. As illustrated in my personal pūrākau (Chapter 1), trajectories and transitions include “multiple choice points” that can change one’s pathway. In life course and life history studies, these interlocking trajectories and transitions are discussed in the course of an interview and are sometimes presented and analysed in the form of a map, chart, or table (refer to Giele & Elder, 1998; Mortimer & Shanahan, 2002). In this study, the life and leisure maps were the focal point of the interview and were co-constructed.

One of the criticisms of developmental theories is that life does not follow a series of predictable stages (Kelly, 2012). This criticism, however, is more applicable to traditional theories of development (e.g. biological life-span) than the life course approach, one principle of which is human agency (Elder & Johnson, 2003). Dale Dannefer (2002) also argues that life course researchers seem to be pre-occupied with identifying generalisable patterns of human behaviour, and tend to focus on the same Western populations. Heterogeneity also presents a significant challenge for researchers (Hutchison, 2008), as does the complexity of dealing with whole lives (Elder & Johnson, 2003) and multiple dimensions (Fry, 2003). Another challenge to be aware of when using life course and life history methods and approaches is adequately linking the micro and macro (George, 1993); i.e. individual experience and the wider social context.

#### *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews are a suitable research method when the aim is to explore and examine the views, opinions, and experiences of one or two individuals (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). These conversations are ‘semi-structured’ in the sense that the researcher works with a set of pre-determined questions but is free to build a conversation. The strengths of the semi-structured interview include a more conversational and natural interaction that facilitates rapport and trust between the people involved (Gratton & Jones, 2010). They also allow the interviewee to shape the flow of the conversation and information. In being free to ask probing and illuminating questions, the researcher can also pursue topics of interest in greater depth (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Using an interview guide, researchers make better use of the allocated time, and when conducting a number of interviews are

more likely to obtain the same type of information (Patton, 1990). Some of the disadvantages of semi-structured interviews include the need for a greater amount of time and resources, while flexibility increases the potential to run out of time, to miss questions, and to collect different information from the different participants (Patton, 1990). Interviews also elicit a large amount of data that can be difficult to analyse (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Interviews are another form of hui.

### Memory stories

During the member-checking phase of the research, the SYMM research participants were also invited to write ‘memory stories’. In this regard, I was inspired by ‘memory-work’ as described by Judith Kaufman et al. (2008). Memory stories refer to a discrete moment in time written in the third person and avoids explicit interpretation, explanation or biography. Like the pūrākau written by the members of the whānau of interest, this method was employed as an illustration rather than a primary source of data. The benefit of these narratives – which might be considered snapshot pūrākau – is that they offered the research participants another way to share and provide the reader with a closer view of their experiences. The key limitation of memory stories is memory recall and memory bias. In the spirit of rangatiratanga, and similar to phenomenology, the research participants’ version of events is accepted as their truth (Moustakas, 1994).

### Recruitment

The search for SYMM represents another pekapeka. Working ‘for and with’ the whānau of interest, their aspirations for their tamatāne provided the foundation for the SYMM participant criteria (refer to Te Puāwaitanga). My task was thus to locate Māori males aged between 18 and 25 years-old, who were studying something creative (music or art), working in the education sector, and working in or studying construction, engineering, or something similar – and were considered by the person nominating them as successful. This search relied on my personal networks, and approaching engineering courses, trade schools, galleries, and high schools and resulted in a pool of 13 potential participants. Initial contact was made by telephone, email, or Facebook. After introducing myself and explaining the purpose of the research – and being clear that a group of parents would select the interviewees – eight tāne volunteered to participate; two working in the trades, two studying a trade, two working in education, and two artists. Conducting a brief

telephone interview, profiles were constructed for each tāne and were emailed to them for editing and their approval. The final set of profiles were then emailed to the whānau of interest, who were asked to select a first and second choice in each vocational area. Their selection revealed a 50/50 preference for the two working tradesmen, and a 50/50 preference for both the educators and the artists. Consequently, I decided to interview six SYMM, two tāne from each vocation. The other volunteers were thanked for their time and sent a koha.<sup>131</sup>

The six SYMM were notified by telephone that they had been selected for an interview. Information sheets (Appendix 6) and consent forms (Appendix 7) were sent by email. Telephone calls were made a week later to reconfirm their interest in participating, to answer questions, and to make arrangements to meet.

### **Participants**

Table 3 provides some demographic information for the SYMM involved in the study. Portraits for each individual are provided in the findings chapter, Te Puāwaitanga.

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<sup>131</sup> Comments made by the whānau of interest indicate that these two tāne were not selected because they were still studying, whereas the other two tradesmen were in employment.

Table 3: Successful Young Māori Men Participants

<b>SYMM</b>	<b>*Taane</b>	<b>Justin</b>	<b>*Angus</b>	<b>*Te Hira</b>	<b>Sam</b>	<b>Maru</b>
Age	26	25	24	24	23	21
Iwi	[Waikato]	Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Maniapoto	[East Coast]	[Taranaki]	Ngāti Maniapoto	Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa
Vocation	Education	Trades	Artist	Education	Trades	Artist
Childhood household composition	Dad and Stepmother 2 siblings	Mum and Dad 1 sibling	Mum and Dad 2 siblings	Mum and Dad 3 siblings	Mum 4 siblings	Mum and Dad 4 siblings
Childhood home	Small Waikato town	Small Waikato community	Small Waikato town	South Island town	Small King Country town	Small East Coast town
Education	Mainstream primary, intermediate, and HS NCEA Level 2 Cert. Te Reo Māori Cert. Māori Arts	Mainstream primary, intermediate, and HS NCEA Level 3 Trades course	Catholic primary and intermediate schools, mainstream HS NCEA Level 2 BA, Honours and Master of Fine Arts	Mainstream primary, intermediate, and HS NCEA Level 3 BA, DipTeach	Catholic primary and intermediate schools, mainstream HS NCEA Level 3 Trade apprenticeship	Kōhanga reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, mainstream HS NCEA Level 3 BA, Honours
Te Reo Māori	Basic/Learner	Basic	“some”	Fluent SLL	“not much”	“intermediate-fluent”
Religiosity	“spiritual in a cultural way”	“not religious”	Goes to church on special occasions	Christian	Attends a Christian church	“spiritual”
Participating whānau member(s)	Not available	Mum and Dad	Mum	Mum and Dad	Mum	Mum

Key: \*Denotes pseudonym/request for anonymity. [brackets] = information made generic. SLL = second language learner. HS = high school. NCEA = National Certificate of Educational Achievement. BA = Bachelor of Arts.

### **The hui**

As outlined in the interview guide (Appendix 8), the semi-structured interviews were conducted in two parts: the son's interview and the parent(s) interview. The reason for conducting separate interviews was to give each tāne the opportunity to share what was important to them before their parent(s) checked their map, and added their thoughts and stories. This, however, did not mean that anyone was asked to leave the room or not to speak. Some whānau members (e.g. siblings, aunts, cousins, and wives) stayed in the room, and did or did not participate in the conversation, while others left to do something else.

Reflecting the influence of Te Kōmoremore framework, these interviews began with what 'is seen' (the mapping exercise), progressed to what lies beneath (the details and narratives attached to each activity), and then looked into the future (e.g. tips and advice for the whānau of interest). The final set of pātai asked the participants if they thought they were successful, and to ascertain their values they were asked to identify people they admired. The parent interview comprised similar sets of pātai, and the final question asked parents to describe their son (e.g. kind, honest).

Three of the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes, two in their parents' homes, and one in the workplace. Four of the interviews took place in Hamilton, one in the King Country (South Waikato), and one in the Bay of Plenty. All but one participant had one or more whānau members present. Each hui was recorded on an MP3 player. I followed the participants' lead in terms of tikanga (e.g. karakia, where to sit for the interview, when we ate, and the pace of the kōrero) and whakawhanaungatanga occurred naturally. Consent forms were reviewed and signed before the interviews began.

### **Transcribing**

Immediately after each interview, I made notes about what did and did not work, and the interview schedule was adjusted for the following interview. These notes were largely related to how I worded pātai, and improvements were made to the map's structure. The interviews were typed verbatim, and the maps were recreated in Microsoft Excel. The master transcripts were used to create truncated anonymous transcripts. In preparation for the group analysis, information from these anonymous transcripts and maps was used to create a one-page personal/whānau profile. The purpose of these profiles was to help the whānau of

interest identify how these young men and their whānau were ‘like them’. These profiles were thus designed to mirror the whānau/household questionnaire. Also included in the SYMM profiles were their answers to the ‘who do you admire’ questions. The maps, anonymous transcripts, and individual/whānau profiles were then prepared for member-checking, which was conducted by mail.

### **Member-checking**

Each personalised transcript and the accompanying map and profile was printed and annotated with clarifying questions. Because the interviews were semi-structured, meaning I sometimes asked different questions or asked questions differently, all the transcripts were compared and pātai that generated insightful kōrero were added to the end of the applicable transcripts. Where I felt there was a story to be told, the participants were invited to write a memory story. Each participant was then mailed a copy of their transcript, profile, and map along with a release form, and a postage-paid return envelope. When these documents were returned, the original documents were edited: corrections were made, and their clarifications, stories, and responses to the additional pātai were added.

### **Preparing the data for analysis**

The next step involved preparing data for the whānau of interest group analysis. In selecting the most relevant information for analysis, this step itself involved a selection/analysis process. For each tāne, the information used for the group analysis included their profile, life and leisure map, and a selection of kōrero from their transcript. Because their profiles and activity maps were already complete, the pre-analysis process focused on their transcripts. The following pātai guided the selection/analysis process.

1. What leisure activities did these tāne participate in when they were growing up?
2. What did they say about each activity? (e.g. like, dislike, stand out memories, what did they learn?)
3. In their and their parent(s) opinion, how did their leisure activities make a positive contribution to who they are today?

Focusing on one tāne at a time, and using their activity map as a guide, kōrero for each activity was copied and pasted from both transcripts (tāne and parent) into a new Word document. Focusing on one activity at a time, repetitive and irrelevant

kōrero was removed, and the remaining verbatim kōrero was rearranged to create a cohesive and flowing narrative. Some of my pātai were retained to maintain the context of certain kōrero. The activities were then arranged chronologically. Also added to this document was other pertinent kōrero, including answers to questions like: How have these activities prepared you for adulthood? Will you encourage your future tamariki to do these activities? What did your parents do really well?

The resulting documents were approximately 10 pages long, and thus required a second round of editing. Priority was given to activities that were clearly important, activities the SYMM had in common, and kōrero that aligned with the whānau of interest's SYMM profiles/posters. Activities that they did not have much to say about were not included. To allow the whānau of interest to come to their own conclusions, the tips and words of advice offered by the SYMM and their parents were not included in the analysis documents. This kōrero was offered to the whānau of interest after the FGH, and is included as an Appendix (10) so that their insights and wisdom can reach a larger and wider 'audience'.

The final set of analysis documents included a life and leisure activity map, a one-page profile, and a four-page transcript for each SYMM. These packages were hand-delivered to the whānau of interest two weeks prior to their respective analysis hui, and included an exercise book in which to record their thoughts and observations.

### **Representation**

In the next chapter, I introduce the six SYMM who volunteered to participate in this study. Their portraits offer the reader a narrative summary of the raw data examined during the group analysis. Written 'by, with, and for' Māori, and about Māori, as Māori – and embedded with messages and lessons for living – these portraits are a contemporary form of pūrākau.

### **The Group Analysis**

The third phase in the study was the whānau of interest group analysis. The purpose of the group analysis was to share what the SYMM participants had shared with the whānau of interest, and to ascertain how they might use this information moving forward. The guiding pātai for the group analysis was, 'Thinking about our boys' current and future leisure time and activities, what kinds of ideas have we got from reading these maps and stories?'

**The hui**

The group analysis followed the same process and procedures as the first FGH. This time, however, two participants were not able to attend, one of whom later emailed his analysis to me. As outlined in the interview guide (Appendix 9) the group analysis was designed to move from the general to the specific, and employed a Think, Pair, Share approach. Pātai included:

- What stood out for you? (Te Kiri Aronui).
- Which stories were the most memorable and why? (Te Kiri Huna/Te Kiko Pūrākau).
- How will you turn your observations into action at home? (Te Aho Matua).

At the close of the group analysis, the whānau members were invited to take home copies of the first set of analysis kōrero (10 pages per SYMM), a summary of tips and advice provided by each SYMM and their parents (Appendix 10), and the answers to the whānau of interest questions (Appendix 11).

**Transcribing**

Transcription and member-checking followed the same processes as described above, but was conducted by mail. The contents of the exercise books were scanned before they were posted back with the drafted transcripts, a release form, and a final pātai: ‘Overall, what have been the specific and general outcomes of the research for you?’ When the annotated and approved transcripts were returned, the original documents were edited where applicable.

**Data analysis**

My data analysis began with the observation that throughout both hui, while they supported one another’s kōrero, the individual members of the whānau of interest continued to stress particular observations and opinions. To examine this observation, I created a summary of each whānau member’s kōrero. This involved three steps. In step one, a selection of meaning units were copied and pasted from the group analysis transcripts into a table comprising three rows and three columns (see Appendix 12). The first row was allocated to their observations; the second row to their resulting ideas/plans; and the third row to their concluding statements (e.g. take-home messages, closing words, and responses to the final pātai). In step two, in the second column, the meaning units were translated into a combination of



holistic and in-vivo<sup>132</sup> codes (Saldana, 2009). In step three, in the third column, I summarised what I thought were the main ‘messages and lessons’.

When the 11 tables were completed, I conducted a thematic analysis. To make the process more manageable, the first column was removed. The tables were then printed and arranged side by side on a wall. Reading each table top-to-bottom and bottom-to-top I noticed where the individual whānau members continued to stress particular observations, and these salient points were highlighted with colour. Reading across all the tables right-to-left and left-to-right, the individual whānau members were then woven back into the group discussion, and the two discussions into one discussion, which revealed a number of overlapping and connecting priorities. These points were highlighted in another colour. From this process emerged several themes. These themes are presented in the next chapter (Te Puāwaitanga).

### **Representation**

In the next chapter, I present the findings attached to all of these pekapeka. I offer a commentary for each of the identified themes, and in doing so I rely on the voices of the whānau of interest.



### **Summary**

Growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape, nourished by Te Kōmoremore framework and Te Oneone, and supported by Te Taikākā, my research design was strengths-based, exploratory, inductive, participant-centred, collaborative, relational, informed by cultural values and a Māori world view, and employed qualitative research methods. The research involved three phases. First, a whānau of interest was brought together to establish the selection criteria for the SYMM research participants. Second, this selection criteria in the form of three profiles were used to locate and select six SYMM, who along with one or both of their parents participated in an individual and one-off semi-structured interview. During these interviews we co-constructed a whakapapa (chronology) of their childhood and youth leisure activities, then talked about how these activities contributed to their development. Three, the whānau of interest then participated

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<sup>132</sup> Conducted manually (not computerised).

in a group analysis of the SYMM's leisure activity maps and a selection of raw data from their semi-structured interviews.

During the course of this study, efforts were made to show my appreciation and to stay in contact with the research participants. To mark the end of the data collection phase, a package was created for each tāne and their parents, and comprised a selection of kōrero illustrating how their contribution informed the parents involved in the study (Appendix 13), and included a koha. Conscious about not overloading people, group and individual updates were emailed out every now and then, and included invitations to read and provide feedback on certain chapters. Plans have been made to celebrate the completion of this work, during which the research participants will be given a copy of the thesis and koha as a token of my appreciation.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have described and explained how I conducted my study. In part one, I described 'the heartwood' of the methodological framework, which comprised whakapapa, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and rangatiratanga. In part two, I described Te Oranga Whakatupu, the three major growth phases in the research, which included: (1) bringing together a whānau of interest to set the selection criteria for the SYMM research participants, and to select the final pool of participants; (2) the search for, and interviews conducted with, six SYMM and at least one of their parents; and (3) the whānau of interest group analysis.

In the next chapter, Te Puāwaitanga, I present the findings attached to these pekapeka.



## TE PUĀWAITANGA

A critical moment in Te Taiao is Te Puāwaitanga, ‘the blossoming’. The appearance of *puāwai* (flowers) signals a change in the length of the night and therein the seasons (Urry et al., 2017). The tiny burgundy flowers of *kōhūhū* blossom in late spring and signal the impending arrival of summer. A symbol of fertility, this is the results chapter.



Figure 26: *Kōhūhū* flowers<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Source: *Pittosporum tenuifolium* (*Kōhūhū*), by the Taranaki Educational Resource Research, Analysis and Information Network, and Phil Bendle [photographer], 2018, <http://www.terrain.net.nz/friends-of-te-henui-group/trees-native-botanical-names-m-to-q/kohuhu.html> Reprinted with permission.

## **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the research process as described in the previous chapter. Speaking to the three major phases in the research design, this chapter has three parts and addresses the four subsidiary research questions. In part one, I introduce the whānau of interest – the 11 parents who established the criteria for, and selected the successful young Māori men (SYMM) research participants – and present the SYMM profiles that emerged at the conclusion of the focus group hui (FGH). This part of the chapter addresses the subsidiary pātai, ‘What constitutes a successful young Māori man?’ In part two, I offer portrait pūrākau for the six SYMM who volunteered and were selected to participate in a semi-structured interview, during which we mapped out and discussed their childhood and youth leisure activities. This part of the chapter addresses two subsidiary pātai; ‘What kinds of leisure activities did SYMM participate in when they were growing up?’ and ‘How did these activities contribute to their development and who they are today?’ In part three, I then present the outcomes of the whānau of interest group analysis, which speaks to all the subsidiary pātai, and in particular, ‘What messages and lessons might urban whānau raising tamatāne take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these SYMM?’

## **What Constitutes a Successful Young Māori Man?**

In this part of the chapter, I introduce the members of the whānau of interest, present the SYMM profiles that emerged at the conclusion of the FGH, and add ‘flesh’ to the ‘bones’ of these profiles with a thematic commentary that relies on the voices of the whānau of interest. With the support of the Principal, these parents invited me into their school, and in sharing their opinions, perspectives, and personal life experiences, opened a window into their lives. My hope is that in reading the following, the reader will make a connection with these parents/whānau, and feel their generosity and something about what it means to be urban Māori. As a reminder, the asterisks denote a pseudonym/request for anonymity, and thus the biographical information for these participants is deliberately generic or incomplete.

### **Introducing the Whānau of Interest**

The whānau of interest comprised 11 parents (including two couples) raising tamatāne attending the same urban primary school. While these parents self-selected into two separate groups based on their availability, I refer to them as one whānau/group.

**Andrea and Jason** are one of two couples who joined the whānau of interest. Jason’s tribal affiliations are Waikato and Ngāti Mahuta ki Te Hauāuru, and he has a close connection to Tahāroa, a small coastal community to the south of Kāwhia. Andrea identifies as Ngāpuhi and grew up in the Far North, “but my heart and my home is in Tahāroa.” Before living in Hamilton, they and their five boys were based in Auckland, where Jason continues to work as a lecturer for a tertiary institution. Andrea has a Bachelor’s degree and enjoys being a full-time “māmā” to their boys and the nephews and nieces who also spend time in their home. Andrea and Jason are speakers of te reo Māori, and have raised their tamariki with Māori values, and “make sure they do their bit to look after the marae, the wider whānau, and the tikanga o te whenua” (Jason). Their younger tamatāne are members of the school’s kapa haka group, and a local karate club. When asked about religion Andrea remembered that she has a Rātana Church musical background, and replied “being Māori.” Andrea and Jason identified with the Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) profile A: ‘we have a strong sense of being Māori, and have good access to Māori cultural and social resources’ (Durie et al., 1996). They volunteered to participate in this study because they wanted to help “bring something new forward, to help somebody else” (Andrea).

**Lu** grew up in Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty, and identifies as Ngāi Te Rangi and Te Arawa. Her partner is Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Hauā. They are raising their three boys in Hamilton because “it’s cheaper to live here”, and “it’s good to be away from home... they’re kinder [to you] when you visit” Lu joked. Lu works part-time as a caregiver and her partner works in the meat industry. Lu selected THNR profile B: ‘we have a strong sense of being Māori but do not have good access’ (Durie et al., 1996) because she does not go home regularly – but “I watch what’s going on on Facebook.” Lu teaches their three tamatāne “about the tapu stuff” and “I show them what to do when we go to the marae,” and when the boys bring “their mihi and pepeha home from school” they discuss it as a family. Lu talked about the

challenges of raising a child diagnosed with ADHD, and volunteered to participate in this study because “I need some new ideas.”

**Priscilla** came to the hui with Lu. She lives in another part of Hamilton and her children attend a different primary school. She also grew up in Tauranga, and her tribal affiliations are Ngāti Ranginui and Pirirākau. Priscilla is a Promotional Coordinator and is raising three boys on her own. Priscilla identified with THNR profile A: ‘we have a strong sense of being Māori, and have good access to Māori cultural and social resources’ (Durie et al., 1996). She goes home as often as possible, and feels “totally connected” to the whenua by “getting into the spirit of helping make it a better place to live.” Priscilla volunteered to participate because “... me and my boys are going through the steps of preventing the cycle of abuse from continuing on in our family.”

**Shona** identified herself as Pākehā, and her husband as Ngāti Porou. Shona is a registered nurse, her husband works as a technical publications author, and they are raising two tamariki. Shona selected THNR profile C: ‘we are Māori but do not have contact with the Māori world’ (Durie et al., 1996), and explained that her husband does not know his marae and is “not very connected” to his wider whānau. Their tamariki are learning about Te Ao Māori at school, and are in the school’s kapa haka group. When asked about religion, Shona replied “we’re interested.” Shona joined the group because she “wanted to learn and see what we can do to kind of improve.”

**\*Dianna’s** whakapapa connects her to Waikato and her husband has connections to Taranaki. He supports the family while Dianna is studying. Dianna also identified with THNR profile C. She explained that she is “estranged” from her whānau; there is a “big gap” between her and her marae, hapū, and iwi; and that she identifies more with “nature” than her tribal lands. Their three tamariki learn about Te Ao Māori at school and the family offer karakia at meal times. Dianna volunteered to participate because the topic is related to her studies.

**Pauline** and her husband are from Northland, are both Ngāpuhi, and moved to Hamilton for work opportunities. Pauline works in transportation and her husband is a lines mechanic, and together they are raising a large blended family of five girls and five boys. Pauline also identified with THNR profile C. She explained that while she feels close to her wider whānau, marae, and hapū/iwi, they only go

home for the annual marae hui and sports day, and tangihanga. Pauline joined the study because “I want to make sure that my kids keep on being successful.”

**Paula** is also from Northland and is Ngāpuhi, and her husband is Waikato-Tainui. She is a Project Manager, her husband is a Quality Assessor, and they are raising three tamatāne. Paula identified with THNR profile A: ‘a strong sense of being Māori and have good access to Māori cultural and social resources’ (Durie et al., 1996). Paula feels “slightly” connected to her marae, hapū/iwi, and whenua, but her family are avid watchers of kapa haka, offer karakia at meal times, and have almost daily contact with her husband’s whānau who are involved in hapū/iwi activities. Paula volunteered to participate because “I want to know how to help make my boys successful, keep them out of trouble, and live happy, healthy lives.”

**Fran** is from the Far North and identifies as Ngāpuhi, and lives in Hamilton for “the lifestyle that it offers.” At the time of the FGH Fran was a kindergarten teacher, completing a Bachelor of Teaching, and volunteering at the school. Fran described herself as being “on a journey of discovery” and selected THNR profile A. She makes a concentrated effort to ensure her four tamariki identify and are comfortable as Māori; she teaches them about manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and their whakapapa, and they are in the school’s kapa haka group. Fran feels a connection to Te Taiao and is “pretty connected” to her wider whānau, “although that seems to be lessening with time.” She “doesn’t feel that connected” to her marae, hapū, iwi. Fran volunteered because she believes that “... Māori need to stick together.”

**\*Karen and \*Rongo** are the other couple in the whānau of interest. They are from Northland and moved to Hamilton for work opportunities. Karen works in education, Rongo works in a technical trade, and they are raising two tamariki. Karen and Rongo selected THNR profile B: ‘we have a strong sense of being Māori, but do not have good access to Māori cultural and social resources’ (Durie et al., 1996), and explained that while they feel a “very strong” connection to ‘home’, they only go back three or four times a year. Karen and their tamariki are learning “karakia, waiata, and a bit of te reo” at school. Rongo volunteered because he wants “to learn what steps our son can take towards being successful”, while Karen was “interested to know what other people think, view as success and how people became successful.”



### **Successful Young Māori Men Profiles**

At the conclusion of the FGH, the whānau of interest had created five SYMM profiles/posters (Table 4). Although the whānau of interest were asked to also include vocations in their posters, both groups focused entirely on values and character traits. On a practical level, this intense focus posed a challenge: How would I go about locating and identifying young Māori men who are ‘kind, confident, humble, fair, articulate, and happy’? I needed some place to start. Thus, at the end of the profiling activity the whānau was prompted to think about an ideal age and vocation. In laying the final profiles side by side, I noted some overlap in the vocations and skills, and with the agreement of the whānau of interest, the decision was made to look for an artist/musician, a tradesman, and an educator. To gain insight into the SYMM’s values, the interview guide included a question asking who these young tāne admire.

*Table 4: Successful Young Māori Men Profiles/Posters*

	<b>Karen &amp; Rongo</b>	<b>Shona &amp; Dianna</b>	<b>Paula, Pauline &amp; Fran</b>	<b>Jason &amp; Andrea</b>	<b>Lu &amp; Priscilla</b>
Skills & Characteristics of SYMM:	Kind Confident Articulate Educated Artistic (creative or musical)	Selfless Independent Meets life head-on Enthusiastic learner Influenced by other cultures Happy Musical	Kind Humble Respectful Confident Multi-skilled Connected to family	Principle-centred Determined Te reo Māori speaker Happy	Kind/generous Respectful Fair Committed Fun Understanding
Age:	18	18	23	24	25
Vocation:	School leaver; first year university	Student; apprentice; missionary	Tertiary student; rural connection	Working in education; working or studying trades	Working or studying construction, engineering, or veterinarian
<b>Recruit SYMM who are:</b>	<b>Working in and/or studying the arts</b>		<b>Studying or working in education.</b> (Te Reo Māori speaker)	<b>Studying or working in the trades</b>	

### **Thematic Commentary**

In this section, I add ‘flesh’ to the ‘bones’ of the SYMM profiles in Table 4. This kiko communicates more about the whānau of interest and the aspirations they have for their tamatāne. The following thematic commentary focuses on six āhuatanga representing the 26 skills and characteristics listed in the SYMM posters. These six āhuatanga overlap and are: rangatiratanga (independence); *māia* (confidence, determination); aroha-ki-te-tangata (kind, caring, selfless, generous, humble, fair);

whanaungatanga (connected to whānau); *ringa rehe* (multi-skilled, enthusiastic learner); and *uru hau* (happiness). Five of the six sections dedicated to these āhuatanga begin with kōrero selected from the pūrākau written by members of the whānau of interest. Their full pūrākau are included as Appendices. To set these pūrākau apart from my commentary I have used the Calibri font, and rau as ‘bookends’. Calibri is also used for indented quotes. So not to interrupt the flow of their narratives, explanations and English interpretations are included as footnotes.

### **Rangatiratanga**

Representing the desired characteristics of independence and confidence, the first theme is rangatiratanga. This thematic section begins with an excerpt from the pūrākau written by Jason, who is retelling the story of his son’s interview with the Board of Trustees of a prestigious boarding school. Jason’s pūrākau is entitled *Tikanga Driven* (Appendix 14). The smaller font represents Jason’s ‘inside’ voice.



**Board member: Kia ora Morgan, I see you are part of the student council at your current intermediate school**

Morgan: Yip

*Jason: What?! I twist my head a little and scream at him with my eyes: ‘YES, it’s YES, Y.E.S. I can’t believe this, really?! He doesn’t see me – we practiced saying YES and not to say yep!*

**Board member: So in terms of conflict resolution, what strategies or ideas do you have in place to combat issues regarding conflict resolution?**

*Jason: My mind goes crazy: Aye?! Conflict resolution? He’s 11 man, what does he know about conflict resolution. What the heck is ‘conflict resolution’?! Oh no! We didn’t practice this – oh noooo.*

Morgan: Well, put it this way, when you have two students having an argument in class and they’re getting ready to fight or something like that, I think in terms of conflict resolution, I think it's all about establishing and forming a relationship first, so there’s no need for conflict resolution.

*Jason: Wow! Geez that's awesome. Morgan thought of prevention rather than cure. Can they see my surprise? I'm beside myself and simply nodded appreciatively: mm mm. At the same time I glance casually at the Board and see a couple of them are motionless and stoic, while the majority of them indicate their delight and appreciation of his answer.*

**Good answer, great comment Morgan. How do you feel about learning the school 'haka' Morgan and how do you feel about learning about Māori culture in general?**

I have no problem with that. I speak for the school. When visiting schools come to our school I get asked by the Principal to do that, to stand up and do whaikōrero and also to help with the kapa haka. So I have no problems with sharing our knowledge because I see my dad do the same thing with his students. I'm part of the AUT International Noho Marae programme that run these sorts of things, so culture is part of *me*, and so I'll have no problem learning the school haka.

*Oh yeah! Very good, he's drawing from experiences that we've exposed him to. Good boy! I'm proud to see him draw on these external activities and experiences to help him answer this question – thank God!*

**On a scale of 1-10 Morgan, 1 meaning you don't want to really come here, and 10 meaning you want to start this school now, what number are you thinking about?**

9.95

*I almost fall out of my chair! I thought he was going to say 11 – or at least 7 or 8. Either way they're now going to ask 'why'.*

**Why do you say 9.95?**

I've seen the school facilities and the accommodation buildings and I really want to come to this school but I haven't actually stayed here so I can't call it a perfect 10.

*Hmm, his answer is witty and clever - and we didn't even practice that one.*

**So Morgan we've come to the end of the interview and you have heard all the wonderful things you can learn and achieve here at this school, but my question to you is, what benefits do you foresee the school providing you to make you a successful individual and a successful citizen of society?**

*Oh he's got this one in the bag! He knows this one. You'll help me to become a lawyer, an accountant or a pilot blah blah blah*

Well, you must realise that in our whānau I come from a 1 car, 1 income family...

***Huh?!***

And the benefits of success for me would be that the money for my education, accommodation...

*Oh man, what do you want to bring up the family for?! And I fight the urge to lean over and whisper: you're saying the wrong thing!!!*

...and everything my dad and mum would've spent on me can now be used to benefit my younger brothers my teina who will need looking after while I am away boarding at this school. So yeah, that's all I've got to say about that.

~

*On reflection, Morgan's last answer was so profound that I thought he hadn't understood the question properly. Walking back to the car I felt confused and muddled and wondered about Morgan's last comments. As we drove home the depth at which he had answered that question hit me square in the face. The reality of what he was saying and meaning dawned on me. That day our boy spoke for himself. He spoke from the heart and his 'true colours' shone through. He totally thought of others and put them before himself and this is the kind of thinking that Māmā and I have been trying to instil in our whānau, immediate and extended. I felt so privileged and honoured to be part of the whole interviewing process and it was awesome and astonishing to witness him in action. This story makes Māmā and I think that maybe we **are** actually doing a good job with our tamariki. (Oh! And yes he got in)*



In his pūrākau, Jason is impressed by his son’s natural inclination to put others before himself. What I also see in this story is rangatiratanga – Morgan’s ‘coming of age’ if you will, as he thinks for himself and demonstrates to his father that he has been paying attention and is ready to apply what he has learnt. As discussed elsewhere, rangatiratanga refers to notions of self-determination; i.e. one’s right (as an individual and as a collective) to set and pursue one’s goals and aspirations. Here, rangatiratanga represents the whānau of interest’s kōrero about independence, the freedom to make choices and mistakes, and to choose your own path.

### Independent thinker

One of the consistent threads running through the (daytime) FGH was the ability to think for yourself. Referring to notes from her husband (who was unable to attend) Shona wrote and then talked about, “enjoying what you are doing and ignoring what other people think of that.” In a similar vein, Priscilla talked about teaching her boys’ that when they’re in a group, they’ve got a choice “to either go along with what’s happening... or to make their own decision... because at the end of the day each individual in that group regardless that they’re all doing it all together is accountable for their own actions.” Lu also spoke about her children “knowing their self-worth and not listening to anybody else.” She talked about the freedom with which she and her siblings were raised. Although their mother fretted about them being out in the world, and would paint them pictures of worst case scenarios, their father’s perspective was to “... let them go, and if they make a mistake or whatever then we’re here and we’ll deal with it then.”

### The freedom to make mistakes

The FGH environment provided an opportunity for further explanation and a sharing of parental wisdom. In this case, the road to becoming independent involves the freedom to make mistakes. Andrea wrote, “If you don’t make mistakes and learn from them you won’t know how to take disappointment.” During the discussion she then pointed to the lessons that can be learned when someone gets hurt playing games like stingball<sup>134</sup> and bull-rush<sup>135</sup> – although “... this generation is a lot softer

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<sup>134</sup> Playing tag with a tennis ball.

<sup>135</sup> A game where players must get from one side of a field of play to the other by getting past the ‘bull’ (or bulls) in the middle.

than we are – and I don't mean soft-prissy, but as in ngakau-softer;<sup>136</sup> they actually think before they do anything” she explained. To illustrate, Andrea imitated her boys' thoughtful faces: “If I do this, will I get a growling? Probably not. Will I get caught? *Maaaybe*. Okay we'll try a different way.”

To Andrea's kōrero, Lu added,

... you learn what works when you're a tutu.<sup>137</sup> If you did something wrong, you knew you were going to get punished for it, but, well you obviously learnt from it and either find a different way of doing the same thing, or, you just don't do it at all.

The problem however, argued Lu, was that children today do not have the freedom to make mistakes because it seems they must be supervised at all times. She talked about her childhood experiences of being out all day eeling in streams with a cousin and his mates, “But I just can't let my kids go and do anything like that now cause you got CYFS,<sup>138</sup> you got the Police, you got **narky** neighbours... so if they see your child down the road it's like '*oh I'll ring somebody*'.” Lu's comments struck a chord with the group. “The whole um parental supervision thing is what **today** is asking for aye” agreed Priscilla, “parents have to be included in just about everything.” “I think at 8 years old we were all going down the road to buy milk, bread and a packet of ciggies for our parents”, recalled Andrea. All the members of the group nodded.

On the side of caution, however, Shona later added

... I work at the emergency department – I'm probably not as accommodating with the kids about letting them have a try sometimes because I've seen the, other side; you know the kid whose pulled the television on themselves - and died; the kid that's gone swimming that's unsupervised - and died; there's a lot of 'then died' I'm afraid.

While Jason admitted to,

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<sup>136</sup> Referring to the heart.

<sup>137</sup> A colloquial term that refers to being inquisitive and 'touchy'.

<sup>138</sup> Child, Youth, and Family Services.

... constantly as a parent thinking: Oh, is this the right way? Am I doing the right thing? Am I molly-coddling them? Should they feel a little bit of pain? Shall I let them climb that tree? So that the success is them falling off, breaking their leg or breaking their arm and then they learn from that.

### Self-sufficient

Being independent was also linked to being self-sufficient and self-reliant. These conversations revolved around “having a good job” and “providing for your family” (Paula). Andrea’s statement, “filling the freezer was **our** success; it was family success” sparked memories in the other members of the group. For Shona’s mother, the idea of success was,

... hav[ing] enough money or enough education to get food on the table basically. She is a parent who was born around depression time so she’s had all that to deal with so she’s always very: ‘don’t throw anything out’; save it; keep it; must have it just in case.

In a similar vein, Priscilla shared,

... my family showed me that success is you know not necessarily having the education but being able to hold down stability in your home and in your employment to where you’re bringing in and you’re able to manage your budget so that you can survive without the need to have other influences come in.

Fran wrote “financial success”, and during the discussion she added, “... but that’s not a priority. It’s a bonus. All the money in the world and I have whānau who are *still* not happy, you know?”

The whānau of interest also raised a word of warning about the pressure and drive to be financially and professionally successful. In her pūrākau, Priscilla (Appendix 15) talks about her parents being good providers, rewarding themselves with alcohol, and being shooed out of the house so it would stay “spick and span.” Lu said her mother was also “too busy working and wasn’t there emotionally” because “her idea of being a success was making sure you had plenty of money in the bank so you can get the finer things in life.” Offering a male perspective, Rongo

stated, “I don’t know if it’s the way I’ve been conditioned, but the **first** thing that pops into my head when I think of success, is, having lots money, and, being the best at something.” He continued, “... when you start at school you define your success through being good at sport or um academics, and then that sort of carries on into work.” During his member-checking hui (MCH), he then confided that he had a “bit of a burn out I guess” and,

... so my ideas of what I thought to be a successful man, I guess, for me, changed... I was kinda like work hard, work hard, provide, provide, yeah and, so... I’ve just changed my focus to the kids and my relationship with Karen.

Rongo traced his drive ‘to be the best’ back to his desire to please his parents, which was just one of the messages he embedded in his pūrākau entitled, *Where success begins* (Appendix 16).



My parents had expectations of me. Which is normal for most parents. I remember as a young boy being marched back to a shop where I had taken a candy bar. My mother had noticed me eating it and asked me where I got it from. Innocently, I explained how I got it from the shop we were just in – very matter-of-factly because I didn’t realise that I had done something wrong. But the feeling of having to apologize to the shopkeeper and having my mother explain to me that my actions were unacceptable, ingrained in me for life the importance of honesty. Honesty was a big expectation. “Without honesty there’s no trust,” my mother taught me. And so began my lifelong desire to please my parents.

I liked the feeling of approval I got from them when I was doing the right thing. But from this was born the fear of disappointment. This fear I took with me even after I left home. The negative result was that I hid my life from them. I didn’t want them to know that I was drinking and experimenting with drugs. I didn’t want them to know that my relationship of so many years was failing. I didn’t want them to know that their son,



who I knew they loved and did their very best for, was depressed. All because I feared the disappointment they might have felt.

I would eventually work through my problems. But looking back, it's scary to see that I had stopped communicating about my life with people in general because of this fear I had developed. And I can see now how some people can get trapped in the situation of not asking for help in their most vulnerable moments.

I like to think I'm the product of the best attributes of my parents and I feel fortunate to actually like who I am and who I've become. From my father I have my work ethic and my competitive nature. From my mother I have empathy for others and a love of knowledge and the arts. From both of them I have received good values. But most of all, they gave me in its purest form the gift of love.

If I think about what I have succeeded to do in life and what I am most proud of, just about all of those stories have come with struggle, whether it has been sacrifice, hard lessons or just plain hard work. To really appreciate something you need to sometimes "experience the sour to savour the sweet."

As a father I feel that my children's happiness is my success. If they are happy, feel loved and safe, then that is my success as a father. To make another happy, to bring the best out in someone, to be willing to share your wisdom, to have empathy and to love is what it takes to be a successful person.



### *Choosing your own path*

Overlapping with being self-sufficient, some whānau members talked about breaking cycles and doing things differently to their parents. Dianna confided that her mother had been a victim of domestic violence, and so as a young woman Dianna took up martial arts to ensure that she would never be in that position herself. Priscilla acknowledged that while her parents were independent and excellent providers, they rewarded themselves with alcohol and were emotionally absent "...

and now that I'm older it's, trying not to expose my children to those same similar things....” While Pauline shared with the group that her father had died when she was young, after which she and her seven siblings became part of a blended family where,

... and I always had to wait in line, wait my turn, and, wait my turn. Hence I do not make my kids *wait their turn*. Hence, “you wanna learn, come on in” [beckons with her fingers]. Hence everybody in my family knows how to ride a horse, even my youngest.

Fran explained that her decision to put “connection” over and above money was about trying to reverse what happened to their grandmother,

... because, in her generation um, speaking te reo you'd get punished so she had to stop being Māori; she had to leave home and come to Auckland to make “money” ... so for me – I'm trying to reverse what has happened to my grandmother..... It's not about the money anymore, if you're happy, you know, you can work through the financial problems.

In her pūrākau, Andrea (Appendix 17) explains that she has “adopted and adapted” some of her nan's lessons by including their boys in everything they do, and using “a little more humour and understanding.”

### **Māia**

Overlapping with rangatiratanga is māia, which encapsulates the desired characteristics of determination, commitment, and ‘meeting life head on’. This section begins with an excerpt from the pūrākau written by \*Karen, in which she talks about moving from Northland to Hamilton after finishing high school. Karen's pūrākau is entitled, *Success Takes Time* (Appendix 18).



I was a country girl suddenly living in a large city, trying to find her feet. For the first time ever I had bills to pay. I had responsibilities. I had to learn how to cook. My very first job was part-time waitressing. I had no family or friends. I had no idea what I wanted to do with my life. In truth, I wasn't

really thinking about my life beyond the next day. My brother-in-law was a tutor at the local Polytechnic and he encouraged me to enrol in a year-long bridging course in Health for Māori students. I completed that bridging course and dropped out at the end of the first year. I got my first full-time job, on a production line, and that was 'success' to me. I was happy to have a full-time job and a steady income. For a long time I had no desire to go anywhere else.

In hindsight however I realise I also had no confidence in my ability to do anything else. After five years I'd had enough of this no-brainer go-nowhere job and looked for another. I didn't think I could do much else, but kept telling myself that I was capable of doing more than what I was doing and I eventually got a job working in a call centre for Work and Income. I had made it. I was successful now because I was working for the New Zealand government, and I was proud to tell people about it. But it was a huge change! I was a fish out of water. I'd gone from drilling and packing plastic parts to helping people, sometimes people with huge emotional, financial and personal problems.

While I was working, I also had two children. My eldest started school and we were doing the homework thing. I started to think that this was pretty cool and perhaps I could do this for a job. So before my youngest child turned one I decided to go back to study and enrolled in a Teaching degree. I graduated and was invited to do Honours as well. I had had a goal in mind and I had worked hard and had succeeded.

I realise now that my own success has developed through my growing confidence in my ability to achieve whatever I set my mind to. Over the years I have transitioned from a shy, timid, dependent country girl to a strong, confident, independent woman. And so I want my children to be confident from the 'get go', rather than take the 10+ years it took me to develop my confidence. Nothing motivates you to think about the qualities of success quite like having your own children.



During the FGH some of the terms and phrases related to this theme included “strong-willed” (Andrea); “upoko pakaru” (hard-headed; Jason); “setting goals and striving to achieve them” (Rongo & Karen); “knowing what you want in life and how to get it” (Fran); and “110% committed to everything and everyone in their life” (Priscilla). As an example of young men who are independent, “meet life head on”, and are “influenced by other cultures” Shona included missionary as an ideal vocation; while Jason talked about the ‘passing’ of both his parents when he was teenager, and how surviving his grief made him the man he is today:

... and so what do you do? Do you turn to the dark side, or do you turn to the good side? And fortunately with me, um, I could still hear my father in the background booting my backside saying ‘hey don’t you dare even **think** about going to the dark side’ you know you just carry on. He always said ‘time and tide will wait for no man or woman’ and so I said ‘oh well I’ll just keep going and do that’. But it was the support of the whānau around me aye. I could have easily swung the other way.

Lu talked about resisting the pressure to put her son on medication:

... and that’s my decision I’m going to make for *my* child and um, I said ‘we’re just going to have to work harder as a family’.... so I did the Incredible Years program and I came to this school and I sat with the teachers all the time... and then, um, after patience and perseverance and the determination to, ah, get him heading on the right path, um, he actually improved: so from the boy he first started – was stood down the first day he came to school; that’s kicking the teacher, throwing chairs, things like that, to **now**: likes his maths; very rarely do I get called into the office, um, get a phone call from time to time, so for me that’s success, for my son, by *sticking* with him, sticking with the school, having his programs work *minus* the medication.

In contrast, Fran and Paula talked about their sons’ lack of confidence; avoiding new experiences or challenges for fear of making a mistake or not doing it ‘the right way’. In a similar vein, Karen and Rongo talked about “not pushing” their tamariki into activities and allowing them to choose what they want to do,

even though it “kills” Karen that they don’t want to do kapa haka, “... but I won’t make them go, I just have to accept that they’re not those people.”

**Aroha-ki-te-tangata**

Alongside rangatiratanga and māia, the whānau of interest listed a number of values that dictate how people should treat one another. These values included kindness, respectful, caring, generosity, selflessness, fairness, humility, and principle-centred – which I have grouped under the principle or ethic of aroha-ki-te-tangata. This section begins with a poem written by Pauline (Appendix 19), in which she reflects on her brother’s love and generosity.



Hey Billy

"Crying" Always Crying  
With never a tear shed  
He held me, not with his arms or eyes  
I'm 44 now, no longer crying  
because he held me

Teardrops fall silent, never making a stain  
My heart aches  
but not from pain  
because he held me

How did he hold me you ask?  
He made himself  
Then he made us in his image  
Not God. My brother

Hey Billy  
Thank you for...  
watching out for me  
US.

Inspiring words

... no you don't have any of those  
 But should my kids aspire to anything in life  
 I'd be happy if it's you  
 The way you make people feel at ease  
 in the most serious situations

I've been thinking...  
 what makes you so successful?  
 funny, serious, caring...  
 but most people are... so not that  
 (still thinking)  
 no you don't have to wait much longer...  
 (ten minutes later) nah just kidding!

Aha! It's your ability to share yourself



From question one, right through to the profiling exercise, every member of the whānau of interest listed and talked about values. With regard to being 'respectful' and 'fair', Lu spoke about growing up around gangs and treating them with the same respect as everyone else. In relation to being 'kind', 'generous', and 'respectful' Priscilla talked about using her childhood freedom to discover what made her happy, and finding that unlike her mother, who preferred to worry about her own home and family, she liked going out and helping others. In a similar vein, Jason made the comment that "we live in a world where success is just about me..." – but "success is a shared thing; one's success is everyone's success." For instance, with regards to their ability to kōrero Māori, Jason stated,

... we try and open up those opportunities, um, so that you know everyone in the whānau gets that opportunity to have a chance at giving it a go.... And that's a whole success not just for the one person but it's shared up and down the generations...

The whānau of interest also talked about ‘honesty and trust’ (Rongo), giving to others (Dianna), helping people in the neighbourhood (Shona), and humility in terms of treating others with respect, and not looking down on other people (Lu, Priscilla).

### **Whanaungatanga**

Overlapping with aroha-ki-te-tangata is whanaungatanga, which refers to a sense of connection and belonging. Although ‘connected to family’ stands alone in the SYMM profiles, it represents a topic of particular significance. I introduce this theme with Fran’s story about going ‘home’ to bury their nan.



My nan’s tangi, like nobody had any idea of what to do. And that’s really sad. Like we’re at the marae and [pause] like we call ourselves Māori but we had no idea what to do when my nan passed away. It was what my nan wanted [to be buried at home] and um, there was a lot of fighting about that, but I think – because of that lack of knowledge and not knowing what the person passed away wants and what her husband says as well – it’s what you have to do, because that’s their wishes you know?

At my nan’s tangi all of our immediate family had no idea of the tikanga or the kawa. And my mum couldn’t like locate where our family were buried in our urupā you know? She was like “oh I think they’re over here” and that for me is really sad, cause they’re our people we should know where they’re lying. And like um, with being welcomed on. Um. *Yeah*, just having to ask like ‘what do we do now?’ and ‘are we allowed to do this?’ um, like, like time wise you know, like um, like my mum and her sisters, her own daughters, didn’t know what day we should bury her, like what’s the proper day to bury her, what’s a long enough time [to spend with her], do we have to hire the marae or? You know all that sort of stuff? Like if we wanted to have a proper tangi, a Māori tangi – cause we’re Māori – like I wouldn’t know what to do.



Here, Fran is clarifying a comment she made during her whānau/household questionnaire, when she said she did not feel connected to her marae, hapū, iwi “because in growing up in Auckland it was something I missed out on.” During the FGH, Fran then stated, “success for me is to be sure in yourself – so to know who you are and um where you’re from and just remain connected to your roots.” Likewise Karen, whose tūrangawaewae is also ‘up North’ wrote, “success is being connected to whānau. Success is to know yourself / be confident.” Paula is also from Northland, and at the top of her initial aspirations/SYMM list was “maintain close ties with their whānau and with their ‘home’, spiritual home.” During the discussion, she then described the annual trip ‘home’ she and her siblings would take with their father during the school holidays:

He’d teach us how to bake a Māori bread, and, go fishing and go eeling and dig a hāngī,<sup>139</sup> and fillet the fish, and... I *really* enjoyed it, *loved* it, because we were otherwise living a townie existence. ... then on the way home we’d always call past everybody, to drop off the fish, the bread, some hāngī, some hāngī stones....

Paula has continued this tradition, but admitted that it is becoming more difficult to enthuse her tamariki as they get older.

However, other than Fran, Paula, Jason, and Andrea, no one else talked about culture. Yet, a review of their written responses revealed that culture was on their minds. These points were explored during the MCH. Dianna included “fluent linguist” in her initial aspirations/SYMM list, and when asked about this she replied, “... oh that was a bit of contradiction for me because as a teenager I turned my back on wanting to do anything Māori.” Growing up she associated Māori culture with drinking, fighting, and domestic violence, and therefore became “as plastic as you could possibly get.” This included learning French rather than Māori, and rejecting the invitation and then pressure put on her by “the Māori teacher” to join kapa haka. Only recently, has she “opened up to the fact and accepted that I am Māori.”

Pauline included te reo Māori in her individual aspirations/SYMM list, but dropped it at the final stage. In exploring this attrition, she revealed that her mother and sister are fluent te reo Māori speakers and that she loves the language, but was

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<sup>139</sup> Referring to food cooked in a ground oven.



“blown off it” in high school when her mother had an argument with the te reo Māori teacher about her mark on an assignment they had written together. Consequently, while Pauline loves te reo and would like her children to learn it, she doesn’t speak Māori for fear of getting it wrong.

Karen also included te reo Māori and kapa haka in her individual aspirations/SYMM profile, while Rongo included te reo Māori. These ‘items’, however, were dropped at the final stage of the profiling exercise. Seeking some clarification during their MCH, Karen explained that her desire for their tamariki to join the school’s kapa haka group is based on the confidence and pride *she* developed when she participated in kapa haka in high school; while Rongo explained that te reo and kapa haka were dropped in favour of creativity – which could include kapa haka and by association te reo Māori.

In contrast, Jason and Andrea included te reo Māori, tikanga, and whakapapa in their individual SYMM profiles, and prioritised principles and te reo Māori in their final profile. Clarifying what he meant by ‘shared success’ and ‘principle-centred’ during his MCH, Jason talked about inheriting and passing down the principles of *tika* (knowing and doing what is right), *pono* (truth and honesty), and *aroaha* (an “unconditional respect and care” for others).

In sum, the whānau of interest indicated that successful young Māori men are connected to their whānau and their culture, both of which are essential to one’s sense of place, belonging, and identity (H. M. Mead, 2016). A reflection of their aspirations for their tamariki, their kōrero highlights the tension between their own desire to be and feel Māori, and the realities associated with intergenerational cultural and geographical dislocation as a result of colonisation and urbanisation.

### **Ringa rehe**

Ringa rehe refers to a dexterous hand, and thus metaphorically to an individual who is skilful and adaptable (Rangi Matamua, personal communication, 2019). Here, ringa rehe represents the desired characteristics of being multi-skilled, creative, musical, artistic, articulate and educated, an enthusiastic learner, ‘understanding’, and ‘influenced by other cultures’ (Table 4). This theme is embedded in the following excerpt from the pūrākau written by Andrea (Appendix 17). This story is about her relationship with her Nan and is entitled, *Ingā rā o mua: The days behind us are in front of us*.



Nan was my bedrock, my confidante, my best friend, my everything. My nan is the person I credit for me being able to hold the tunnel open so that light can shine in through the end. She is the person who taught me how to look into the wairua of a person and see their kindness and purity, which ultimately led me to my mate.

My nan instilled in me the whakaaro that we have the ability to mould people. To guide them. And from what I am able to gather, both of my grandparents were able to do this and this is why they were respected in our small community. Nan was also of the schooling that the roles of men and women are very different. Men had their place: manual labour, outdoors, hard yakka, bread winner, protector, whaikōrero,<sup>140</sup> kaiwhakairo<sup>141</sup>... man stuff. And women had their place: indoors, manual labour, hard yakka, kaikaranga, cook, cleaner, nurturer, whare tangata<sup>142</sup>... woman stuff. After grandad died, however, she tried to shift this trained thought within her family. My uncles had that seed of “men do manly things” implanted when they were young so she tried her hardest to tweak it as time went on. And it worked for the most part – almost all of my uncles are all-rounders. They cook, clean, bake, know their way around a chopping block, tractor, milking shed, the paepae,<sup>143</sup> cars, rongoā Māori,<sup>144</sup> and sports etc. But they also know things that are ‘supposedly’ a women’s domain: including waiata, the intricacies of karanga,<sup>145</sup> childbirth and childrearing – the things that aren’t taught today. Not to males anyway.

I have tried to teach my boys similarly. I’ve taught them how to cook, but first they’re taught how to clean. They all make their own beds, clean their own rooms, vacuum, and clean their own bathroom. I’ve made cleaning a priority in their lives, more so than sports and kapa. Although

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<sup>140</sup> Oratory.

<sup>141</sup> Carver.

<sup>142</sup> Referring to the womb, which is the house of humanity.

<sup>143</sup> Orators’ bench.

<sup>144</sup> Māori medicines and remedies.

<sup>145</sup> Calling to people (e.g. calling visitors onto the marae).

sometimes I regret that decision as my boys aren't totally into sports now – but my decision to make sure they know how to cook and clean far outweighs sport when I come home from work to a tidy house and a plate of kai that they've put aside for me.

Our boys love being in the kitchen and I can only assume it's because they see me and their father enjoying cooking and baking, and so they naturally wanted to join in and now we're all involved in the kai making process. We also include the boys whenever we clean, garden, hunt, kōrero and waiata at the marae, talk about whakapapa – in fact, in talk full stop.



Andrea has embedded a number of messages in her pūrākau, including it is never too late to change, to learn something new, and that it is okay to create new traditions. In a similar vein, Shona described 'enthusiastic learner' as meaning a desire to continue learning, and being 'influenced by other cultures', in the sense of travelling and experiencing other cultures and "taking" from those experiences "what he needs to continue to be successful." She explained that the idea of travel was "indoctrinated from when I was a little person because my mum always said: don't have kids early, go off and do travel. Because she didn't get the chance to." Paula, Rongo, Karen, and Jason also had travel on their initial aspirations/SYMM lists.

With regards to 'articulate', 'educated', and 'artistic' Rongo refers to the influence of his mother who often sang at home, introduced him to range of musical genre, took him to museums, and was an influential public speaker in their community. While Lu described 'understanding' as the ability to process and digest information. Fran explained that "multi-skilled" refers to learning skills "that he can use to help himself, and his whānau; something to fall back on, or sharing knowledge to help people." Taken together, these perspectives resonate with some of what Andrea's pūrākau highlights about having or developing a wide range of skills and interests.

### Uruhau

The final desired āhuatanga is uruhau, happiness and contentment. In terms of what happiness means, the whānau of interest offered a range of descriptions and explanations. Reading notes from her husband, Shona referred to “feeling the joy/pride at having achieved that [goal] or at least giving it a ‘good go’.” Karen wrote “Success is being happy with what you have.” Priscilla, “success is being happy and content and who you are” and Fran, “to be happy with your choices and not having regrets.”

Jason also spoke about the feeling of satisfaction he felt as a boy when he completed his chores on the farm, “And so when we see our children not being happy or not being free, then perhaps we look at them and say ‘oh, you’re not achieving something, or you’re not getting to the point where you want to get to.’” He continued,

success can be the inside ‘being happy’, ‘being free’, ‘being glad’ for that moment, for that brief moment, um especially if you’re in an environment where it’s a little bit gloomy and to have some sort of light, that’s another little success as well.

Lu and Priscilla also included ‘fun’ in their SYMM profile.



In part one of the findings, I have introduced the whānau of interest and presented their SYMM profiles. To add some ‘flesh’ to these profiles, I then provided a thematic commentary focused on six themes representing the characteristics that this group of parents felt constituted a SYMM. Working backwards from the SYMM profiles, this commentary demonstrates that the whānau of interest’s aspirations for their tamatāne and their views about SYMM can be traced back to their own childhood and youth experiences, including their relationships with their parents, other whānau members, and teachers. Consequently, the first phase of the research directed me to interview two artists, two educators, and two tradesmen who embody the principles of rangatiratanga, māia, aroha-ki-te-tangata, whanaungatanga, ringa rehe, and uruhau.

## **What Kinds of Leisure Activities Did These Successful Young Māori Men Do Growing Up, and How Did These Activities Contribute to Their Development?**

In this second part of the chapter, I provide portrait pūrākau for the six tāne who were selected by the whānau of interest to participate in a semi-structured interview. These pūrākau have been constructed with the following pātai in mind: *Ko wai koe?* (Who are you?) *Nō hea koe?* (Where do you come from?) How did they meet the selection criteria? What kinds of leisure activities did they participate in when they were growing up? And in their, and their parents' opinions, how did these activities contribute to who they are today? These pūrākau add flesh to their respective life and leisure maps, and provide a narrative version of the raw data examined by the whānau of interest during the group analysis.

### **Introducing Six Successful Young Māori Men**

**\*Taane** [Waikato] is 26 years old and was nominated by one of my supervisors. He grew up in a small Waikato town where he attended three mainstream primary schools, and the local high school. His favourite subjects were Music, Physical Education (PE), Health, and Te Reo Māori. During high school he also worked part-time at a bakery. Taane's father did not appreciate his son's aspiration to be a professional dancer and signed him out of college in Year 12. Taane consequently moved in with an aunty, and despite his efforts to stay in school, left that same year with NCEA Level 2. After leaving school, Taane helped a local kura kaupapa Māori with their performance projects, did a work skills course, and later gained employment as a youth educator. His long-term career goal is to continue to support rangatahi and the wider community. Taane is also a graffiti writer and DJ and describes himself as "Māori and hip-hop." He speaks a "little bit" of te reo Māori, and said that he "feels more disconnected [from his marae] as I get older and busier with my work." When asked about religion, Taane described himself as "spiritual in a cultural way."

Gaining some insight into Taane's *āhua* (character), his manager<sup>146</sup> described him as ambitious, innovative, inquisitive, grounded, and accommodating. When asked who he admires, Taane pointed to a number of people including Bob

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<sup>146</sup> Taane's father was not able to attend his interview, and so with Taane's permission, I invited his manager to answer the pātai, How would you describe Taane?

Marley, for “his nativeness, and ability to push through stuff when everyone was telling him to quit it”; James Brown, “for the lifestyle that he had to go through before he got to live his own life”; Batman, who has “given me so much strength throughout my life”; his manager, because “he doesn’t waste a minute or a second in his life, and does things like 100%”; little children, “for the freedom they still have...”, and “my ancestors – the *craaaazy* strength they showed us today, putting their vision and thoughts into actions.” When asked if he feels successful, Taane replied, “straight off the top I say yes... cause I feel I’ve had lots of times in my life where I feel successful. And um, yeah, still being Māori living in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is a mean success. Being a parent is also success....”

In studying his life and leisure map (Appendix 20), Taane participated in both organised and informal leisure activities. At primary school, he played soccer and rugby, and was involved in Tae Kwon Do and kapa haka. He also spent a lot of time riding his BMX with the neighbourhood kids, drawing with his father, and creating comic book characters and strips with his friends. In his senior year of primary/intermediate school, Taane was introduced to skateboarding and breakdancing by some older boys; began attending a local youth group; and his stepmother gave him his first guitar. In high school, Taane continued to participate in kapa haka, took drum lessons and music as a subject, and joined a band that morphed into a rap group. His skill and passion for drawing translated to tagging and later Graffiti art, while breakdancing with his friends translated to street choreography and later a profession that took him overseas. Taane has also tried ‘his hand’ at surfing and diving, and would like to pursue these further. The leisure activities Taane continued to participate in post-high school included skateboarding, dance, art, and music.

Adding ‘flesh’ to his life and leisure map, Taane only played one game of rugby league, because “I didn’t understand it... I thought they were going to teach me [he chuckles], but... my uncle was down on numbers and just wanted anyone to run around on the field.” In talking about his bike, Taane described his culturally diverse neighbourhood in which the kids would “just do lots of discovering” riding their bikes, playing marbles, and building tree huts. He also joined Tae Kwon Do with a couple of boys from his neighbourhood, and talked about the close relationship his family developed with the sensei, who taught him “you don’t ever say ‘can’t’.” This activity and relationship ended, however, “when we moved over

the other side of town and my dad wouldn't drive us back and forth all the time. And I remember the night I left I was just crying cause, yeah I didn't want to leave."

In contrast, Taane was pressured into playing rugby, and discovered that "rugby was his [father's] thing":

My mate's dad came into school at lunchtime and just walked around trying to sign everyone up, so I just got stuck in that loop like: *oh, Taane you wanna play?* And I was like: *what? Rugby. Oh na not really.* - *Yip Taane is playing.* And then I got home and he had already rung my dad... so I got home to my dad like: *yay! Shot son!* And I was: *what?! Dumb.* And yeah next minute I've got a ball and all this stuff and I'm like: *what?! What did you get all this shit from?* Like when I was skateboarding, na he didn't buy me shit [he laughs]... never saw him at kapa haka, or Tae Kwon Do grading.... But after every game I remember telling him: *like hurry up, just hurry up and go home, so I can go for a skate.*

His story about becoming a professional dancer was similar; 'lured' by teenage girls into a dance competition that he and his friends were not initially interested in:

...we were like: take your comp somewhere else, who cares. Then lunchtime came, they sent out all the girls to find people, and we were like: Oh snap! Yeah! ... next minute we're learning this whole routine... and we're just like: *what the hell is this?* And they started playing eliminations, until they got to the final 8, and they were like: you are the dance crew that's gonna train with us and learn this routine and go enter this battle, and I looked around and I was part of the 8, and was like: fuck I'm not s'posed to be part of this 8 [he chuckles] I just came here for fun.

In relation to his art, Taane started with tracing the pictures his father drew for him (e.g. Batman), "... then as I got a bit older, he'd be like: 'na, *shhhh*, cut that now. Sketch.' So I'd be: OK, sketch." At school, his art skills transformed his sense

of self-worth, “... everyone in the class is like: *oh that’s cool*, and you sort of don’t become that ugly Māori kid no more, you’re that *Māori kid that can draw*.”

When asked how his leisure activities contributed to his development, Taane talked about kapa haka, drawing, skating, dance, and music.

Like kapa haka fully, has helped me, it’s something that I’ve connected with, that like my ancient peoples did. So for me in the present now, I have a connection to like history, and my ancient natives through kapa haka, um which has given me heaps; taught me how important culture is, and how important history is as well.

Drawing taught Taane patience, “which helps me heaps, cause you’ve got to be patient in what you’re doing and even with people.” Skating “... has kept me so real.... It keeps me in check and tells me I’m not trying to be on a higher class of people.” While breaking (breakdancing), is

... like a spirituality thing, especially we just play music and everybody has turns.... it’s like you’ve been through a pōwhiri process or something. And there’s something about making connections like that through music, without speaking this colonised language I guess, without saying “*hello*, where are you from?”

Taane also learned that music “... can bring diverse people and cultures together, um, but I also learnt lots of patience, through learning guitar songs and learning stuff with friends... yeah, patience and uplifting.”



**Justin** (Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Maniapoto) is 25 years old and was nominated by a trades’ education provider. He and his sister were raised by their mum and dad in a small Waikato community. Justin attended a mainstream primary/intermediate school and high school, completed Year 13 and achieved NCEA Level 3. His favourite subjects were Computers, Computer graphics, Electronics, Science, and PE. Justin began working part-time with his father when he was 9 years old, and after high school he worked on an afterschool programme with an aunty, then on a pig farm with an uncle. Justin then completed a six-month automotive course, after which he was offered a full-time position in a parts department, and was promoted



to warehouse manager. His long-term career goal is to become a professional wrestler and to open his own training facility. Justin is also a storywriter, and would like to see his stories turned into games or movies. He has a basic level of te reo Māori, and describes his relationship with his marae as “less active as I have got older.” Justin is not religious and has not participated in any church-based activities.

Fran and Jason describe their son as “a gentle giant, lovable, funny, kind, gentle-hearted, honest, respectful, and caring.” When asked who he admires, Justin replied,

Anybody that has gone through hardship to, to make their life, a lot better than what it may have been in the past. Anybody who has had the courage to go against the grain. Any person who has chosen to work hard to change their life and those around them.

When asked if he feels successful Justin said, “honestly, I don’t think I feel successful at the moment, cause I still got things I want to achieve first and, I want to keep achieving some more things... but I guess I’m, pretty successful.”

Justin’s life and leisure map (Appendix 21) shows that he participated in a blend of organised and informal leisure activities. At primary school, he played touch rugby, rugby for his school and a local rugby club, and has fond memories of the school Principal who played sports with his pupils at lunchtimes. With his dad and uncles, the tamariki in their whānau played on their maunga, and with their nannies and friends they fished the local waterways. He was also introduced to gaming, kapa haka, and skateboarding while in primary school. In high school, following his uncle’s example, Justin switched from rugby to rugby league. He also pulled out of kapa haka, took up basketball, and supporting one of his cousins tried karate and kickboxing. After high school, Justin continued to play rugby and rugby league, and recently tried NFL, and has taken a serious interest in wrestling. He plays social touch rugby, and goes paintballing, go-karting, and fishing with his friends. His favourite family leisure activity was/is trips to the beach.

Adding more ‘flesh’ to his life and leisure map, Justin’s whānau had a long and close relationship with the local rugby club, into which he was inducted when he “came of age.” In playing for both his school and the club, Justin’s circle of friends expanded and he enjoyed catching up with everyone at games and

tournaments. When asked why he stopped playing rugby, Justin said the players in his team started using synthetic marijuana, and he wasn't into "stuff like that."

Justin also joined kapa haka in primary school and the tutor was one of his koro. One of the elements that kept him interested in kapa haka were the stories they were told. He then pulled out of kapa haka in high school because the members of the kapa haka group, "kinda looked down on others. Cause I didn't really like doing that to people. I like to include everybody, no matter who they are." In exploring his interest in wrestling, Justin explained that he used to watch this sport on TV with his father and uncle, and that it became his childhood dream to become a WWF wrestler. Justin credits kapa haka and PlayStation for his interest in story writing and game development.

When asked how his leisure activities contributed to his development, Justin started with team sports, in which he learned about teamwork, supporting people on and off the field, humility, sportsmanship, and "keeping a cool head." From his first school Principal, he learned to give new things a go. In relation to skateboarding, Justin talked about not judging people by their choice of activities, "because when they see skateboarders they just think 'they're no good', but most of my mates were all good fullas, none of them did drugs; we just enjoyed skateboarding and hanging out." Fishing taught him patience, and on the maunga he learned bush-crafts. In martial arts, Justin learned discipline and self-control, and in wrestling, "staying focused under pressure and controlling your aggression." Overall, Fran and Jason said that their son's leisure activities "taught him to communicate with other people, work together with others as a team, look out for others be it a team mate, work colleague, family or friend. They all taught him self-worth and values." When asked what his parents did well, Justin credited his mother with showing him "... the importance of working hard and earning your way", and his father for "showing me how to enjoy life, venture out and experience new things." The following memory story provides some insight about what Justin enjoys about being a pro-wrestler.

Announcer: Over the top rope, Shogun has been eliminated!

Crowd: *ohhhh* [sighs of disappointment]

Laying on the cold floor, feelings of accomplishment and joy flood my body. Stay in character, act disappointed and hurt. Leave the arena.

I had just been eliminated from a Royal Rumble match and I was on my way back stage when a member of the audience a small boy asks me for my autograph.

Shocked and happy.

I tell the boy and his parents to come backstage after the event and I and everyone else signs his programme book and take photos with him. The huge smile on his face just made the entire event that much more enjoyable and it made me happy to know I did that for him.



**\*Angus** [East Coast iwi] is 24 years old, and I invited him to participate in this study after viewing one of his art exhibitions. He and his older siblings were raised in a small Waikato town. Their parents separated when he was a teenager, and their mother, \*Mary, works in the education sector. Angus attended Catholic primary and intermediate schools, and a mainstream high school. His favourite subjects were Te Reo Māori and Maths. Angus decided to leave school at 16, and left with NCEA Level 2. After six months of unsuccessful job hunting, Mary forced him to enrol in art school by driving him to an interview and telling him if he did not get out of the car she would bring the interviewers to him. Angus has since completed a Māori Arts degree, an Honours qualification, and recently a Master of Fine Arts. His long-term career goal is to be a successful artist and an auto-mechanic by trade. Angus was born into a Catholic family and attended church up until he left home for art school. He only goes to church on special occasions.

Mary describes her son as “... humble, loving, whānau-oriented, reserved, considerate, articulate and literate, environmentally-conscious, politically-aware, kind, supportive, talented, and a great protector...” When asked who he admires, Angus was quick to say “My mum – she’s a strong woman, supporting, and loving.”

He also described his Master's supervisor as "supportive, hardworking, and inspirational."

Angus' life and leisure map (Appendix 22) indicates that his parents put him into a number of his leisure activities. His mother enrolled him in swimming and athletics at 2 years of age, and his father introduced him to rugby when he was 4 years old. During primary school, his mother also put him into soccer, scouts, and triathlons, and took her children to church and on bush walks. The two activities that Angus chose during this period were art and PlayStation. In intermediate school, Angus continued to play soccer and PlayStation, and to do art, and joined kapa haka. In high school, he also took up music and his mother encouraged him to try waka ama. After high school, music and art were his primary leisure activities. Sharing a meal is his favourite family activity.

Adding 'flesh' to his life and leisure map, Mary explained why Angus only played one game of rugby,

... I thought that was absolutely 'criminal' back then, I mean little kids running around in **no** boots – who does that? ...so when he said to me 'mum I don't want to play rugby anymore they don't wear boots' I said 'yip ok it's soccer' [she chuckles].

During his interview, Angus shared his regret at not knowing how to play rugby, and the deception required to convince others that he knows the game but is simply too busy to play. Angus said it took him a couple of seasons to 'warm up' to soccer, and that he made a lot of friends in this sport. He then pulled out during high school because "... I got put into a team where I didn't know anyone, it was really hard to, um, create friends... so basically I'd just turn up to the game and start playing." The team, however, had a 'no practice, no play' rule and Angus stopped going after he was confronted by the coach. The experience of not being able to connect with people (and nepotism, said Mary) was why his waka ama experience was short-lived.

PlayStation became an addiction for Angus and his mood swings were a major problem for his family. Angus admitted that he did not enjoy other leisure activities because all he could think about was PlayStation. Mary eventually and literally threw the game out of a window.

Angus' most salient leisure activity was art, an interest Mary constantly 'fed' with arts supplies. However, it was not in art class that Angus discovered his niche and passion, but in his te reo Māori classes where he was introduced to Māori motifs and patterns and their meanings. His interest in learning a musical instrument was also developed outside of music classes, learning instead from a friend and YouTube.

In terms of the positive contribution leisure has made to his life, Angus focused on soccer, kapa haka, and art. In his nine years of playing soccer, he enjoyed a sense of community and friendship, and learnt about teamwork. In kapa haka, he extended his social circle and developed an interest in mōteatea. To his surprise, Angus discovered art was a legitimate career path, and art also "... got me into my culture." Angus is glad that his mother drove him to art school that day, "or else I wouldn't be where I am today." From Mary's point of view, Angus' leisure activities "... gave him a good grounding, a platform of knowledge, skills and experience on all levels, personal, social, physical, spiritual and emotional." These activities have helped Angus become more independent and confident, and have helped him to make his own decisions and better choices (Mary).



**\*Te Hira** [Taranaki] is 24 years old and was nominated by his employer. He was born and raised in the South Island and moved to Hamilton after completing his Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree. Te Hira attended a mainstream primary, intermediate, and high school and completed Year 13 and gained NCEA Level 3. His favourite subjects were Music, PE, and Te Reo Māori. In Year 11, Te Hira decided that he wanted to be a Te Reo Māori teacher, and after high school he received a TeachNZ scholarship and completed his BA and then a Diploma of teaching. Te Hira and his siblings were born into a religious home, and grew up immersed in religious programmes including holiday camps, youth groups, and young leader conferences. His mother worked in social services and their father was a tradesman, and they were also church leaders (e.g. pastor). Consequently, Te Hira's first job was as a camp and youth leader. While in high school, he also worked in the gardens and a packhouse. Te Hira's long-term career goal is to "grow Māori awareness" in his school, complete a Masters in Te Reo Māori, and teach at a Kura Kaupapa Māori or a University. Te Hira is a devout Christian.

\*Sonya and \*Tāne described their son as “amazingly mature, well-rounded, full of life, able to do pretty much anything, and slightly crazy” they laughed. The people Te Hira admires most are his parents and his brother. Dad, “for his work ethic... and he’s hardcase, he’s always pulling pranks, and very loving, he always looks after me.” Mum, because “... she’s very supportive; very loving. When you think you messed up *bad* and then she’s like: *it’s ok, it’s ok*, and she’ll be there, to help you out.” And his brother, because “he’s really good at everything; always doing the right thing; good at encouraging me; fun.” When asked if he feels successful, Te Hira replied “I do. I do, I mean I’ve got a solid job, um, can support my wife while she’s been studying... and like I’ve been involved in a lot, um, yeah. I feel good [he chuckles].”

Te Hira’s life and leisure activity map (Appendix 23) is full of extracurricular activities. In primary school, he was involved in rugby, miniball, softball, cricket, athletics, touch rugby, the annual KiwiSwim programme, and tried karate. He also joined kapa haka, sang in the school choir, and attended and helped his parents with the church holiday programme and youth group. In intermediate school, Te Hira dropped a number of his sports and ‘tried his hand’ at volleyball and the drums, took up swimming again, and began attending youth camps. At the transition to high school, Te Hira pulled out of all his sports and focused on working, kapa haka, music, and attended a couple of taiaha camps. As a senior, he took up rugby and softball again. Except for kapa haka and music, joining a gym, and one season of playing kī-o-rahi, his number of leisure activities dropped again during university. Te Hira’s favourite family leisure activity was/is camping/tenting.

Throughout his interview, Te Hira talked about joining activities because his friends were involved. He also talked about his size and weight, which worked to his advantage when he was younger, but about which he became more self-conscious as he got older. He also remembered the praise he received when he performed well. Te Hira wrote a number of short memory stories in which he talks about feeling nervous about trying a new activity and then discovering that he could do what was required of him.

In relation to his role today as a te reo Māori and kapa haka teacher, Te Hira’s stories also revealed that kapa haka,

... was originally pushed by [his parents] so you know: get involved, and then I started enjoying it and got into it, and, learning the songs at **their** kapa haka and learning the songs at **my** kapa haka... and then I thought you know: this is my culture this is who I am, and, I would see some people that could speak Māori and I thought: I'd love to be able to understand that and to know that.

The following memory story illustrates one of the high points in his pursuit of this aspiration.

A 12-year-old boy, in love with a culture he feels distanced from, sits patiently at his Intermediate prize giving. He has spent the year getting involved in anything to do with Māori at school and became the male leader for his kapa haka group. One by one, awards are given out for academic excellence and success. The Te Reo Māori teacher takes the stage." Tēnā koutou katoa, nau mai, haere mai.<sup>147</sup> Today I have the honour of awarding our treasured taonga to the student who has shown excellence, enthusiasm and wairua for te iwi Māori and tikanga Māori". The boy's heart beats faster, 'could it be me? Please Lord let it be me'.

"E tū Te Hira, tikina mai te paraihe nei."<sup>148</sup>

The boy stands in wonder and goes to collect his award. After hongis with his kaiako<sup>149</sup> he receives his taonga.<sup>150</sup> Before he begins to head back to his seat, 60 students from the kapa haka group stand to haka in acknowledgement of the boy's success. A huge smile appears on the boy's face. 'What an honour, I will not easily forget this moment' he thinks to himself as he smiles and takes his seat.

In terms of contributing to his development, Te Hira credits kapa haka with his sense of cultural pride and identity. The church holiday programmes taught him about responsibility, leadership, independence, and knowing right from wrong. In learning to play the drums, Te Hira learned about perseverance; in rugby,

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<sup>147</sup> Greetings to you all, come, welcome.

<sup>148</sup> Stand up Te Hira, and come forward and fetch this award.

<sup>149</sup> Teacher.

<sup>150</sup> Prize, treasure.

perseverance and fitness; and at taiaha camp, discipline. Te Hira’s involvement in the multicultural advocacy group opened his mind to diversity. Te Hira concluded,

... they gave different traits or different responsibilities or different skills or abilities. It opens up a lot more to you, a lot more opportunity, especially getting around to, ah, as in confidence with people as well, leadership, things like you know no problem getting in front of people, talking away [he laughs] all that kind of thing.

He also learnt about commitment;

You know sometimes I might want to do something else on a Saturday and mum and dad are like: no you’ll let your team down so, so you know there was always that kind of thing, if you start something you gotta commit yourself and stick to it till the season’s done.

To this Sonya added, “they all built on each other so that he felt he could succeed and that he could persevere through difficulties, take on a new challenge... and could learn something new and give things a go.” His father summed up by saying,

all of that stuff teaches you life skills... to not just listen but to hear someone... But he also knows that whatever he does he’s got the backing of his parents: we’ll walk with you, all the way, whatever you chose, and I think that helps a lot.

When asked what his parents did really well, Te Hira talked about them supporting everything he got involved in; making sure he got to where he needed to be; and when he got lazy, “they’d give me a bit of a push again, bit of a nudge: come on, you know? You need to do it. It’s good for you.”



**Sam** (Ngāti Maniapoto) is 23 years old, and was profiled in a Young Achievers calendar I saw pinned on a noticeboard. He was raised and still lives in a small Waikato town with his mother and brother. The boys were raised by mum, who often worked two or three jobs to support them. Sam attended a Catholic primary/intermediate school and then a mainstream high school where he



completed Year 13 and achieved NCEA Level 3 and University Entrance. His favourite subjects were Maths, English, PE, Art and Woodwork. In Year 13, Sam and some of his mates enrolled in the Limited Services academy course attached to their high school, at the conclusion of which he was accepted into the army. This new career path came to an abrupt halt, however, when he broke his ankle just weeks before his enlistment date. Sam returned to his part-time job with a local joinery company, and recently completed his apprenticeship. Sam's long-term goals are to continue with his trade and when he is financially stable he wants to travel. While Sam had three years of te reo Māori classes he "only has a little bit" left. Sam was born into a Catholic family, and as a teenager began attending a different church.

\*Theresa describes her son as "happy, intelligent, compassionate, caring, shows empathy, supportive of life's issues, loving, debatable, and composed." When asked who do you admire? Sam was quick to say, "My mum hands down cause... she worked like a slave to look after us and get us things we needed." He then talked about his (estranged) dad being committed, because "he's like 43 aye and he's still playing rugby", and about his effort to develop a relationship with him by joining his father's rugby club. He also talked about his (maternal) grandfather, who is "a hard worker too, he's a good fulla too, he taught me about animals and meat and stuff." When asked if he feels successful, Sam replied "I do. I could be in worse places but I feel that where I am today is a good place."

The first leisure activity on Sam's life and leisure map (Appendix 24) is playing in the pond behind his grandfather's butcher shop. His second activity was 'going bush' with his friends' dads, "eeling and mucking about", and as a teenager being taught how to use a gun and hunting pigs and culling goats. Being in the bush and hunting is one of Sam's favourite leisure activities. Another favourity activity is rugby, which Sam has played since he was 5 years old. Sam also spent most of his schooling years participating in athletics. In primary school, he also played hockey, miniball, and soccer with his friends and while these activities were fun, his preference was always rugby. In high school, Sam began attending a church youth group and became a youth leader. With some "pointers" from his kapa haka teacher, he learned to play the bass guitar and joined the church band. Sam also joined his workplace soccer and touch rugby social teams. After finishing school,

he learned how to dive for kaimoana. His favourite family activity was/is trips to the beach.

Talking about how his leisure activities contributed to who he is today, Sam said that hunting and diving showed him that “I like nature, aye. Getting out there and doing things.” He also shares his enjoyment of nature with his younger cousins, “I teach them to be humane and respectful and safe around guns and motorbikes....” With regards to rugby, Sam talked about teamwork, comradeship, and having a “bond with your mates... they’re like your brothers I guess and you gotta protect them otherwise, you fullas will lose.” In athletics, Sam learnt about humility and perseverance, in relation to which he talked about his disappointment at being ‘demoted’ to the second-fastest sprinter. Instead of giving up, however, he competed right through to the end of high school. In relation to church, Sam enjoys the “good vibe” and seeing his friends at the end of a long week, and has learnt to respect people of all ages. Theresa went to the church to ‘check it out’, and described it as “happy environment” where her son has learnt a lot from listening to other people talk about their struggles. Church was where his opportunity to work part-time during high school opened up. Theresa also praised the army academy course and the Sergeant, who became a strong male role model for Sam,

... because you know being a young man aye I couldn’t fill it. He had it right on the nail, you know, they need to be boisterous but they need to be controlled. They need to act out and you know, *run like hell* and then next minute fall over and not be shamed about it or you know, if you got a young missus and a young baby you can still come back to school, don’t worry about it. You know all those things, he had no judgement aye about it, and he was Māori himself so I think that influence has to be there. It has to be there.

It was interesting to learn that art, kapa haka, and te reo Māori were compulsory subjects for Sam. This is unusual, and in relation to the latter two ‘activities’ suggests that local iwi have a strong relationship with the schools in the King Country. For Sam, then, kapa haka and art were not strictly leisure activities. What he enjoyed most about the art classes were the trips. Reflecting on his kapa haka experience in primary school, Sam discovered he was “sort of intrigued by Māori things I guess... that I like Māori stuff.” And while he was very shy, with a

lot of support and encouragement, he managed to do some solo parts. In high school, Sam joined the kapa haka group after being repeatedly invited by his te reo Māori teacher, and while he described the experience as “cruisey”, Theresa confided that he pulled out because he became physically and mentally exhausted, and “started to have a few beers and things like that.”

Overall, Sam feels that his leisure experiences have given him “respect” for people and other living things. And in sports, he has learnt about fitness, teamwork, and that “you gotta have a calm head in heavy situations. I’m not like a hardout fulla aye, at sport, I just play cause it’s fun.”



**Maru** (Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa) is 21 years old and was nominated by a local gallery as a promising young Māori artist. He was born in Auckland, and when he was 5 years old his parents moved their family back to the East Coast so their tamariki could be immersed in their *iwitanga* (tribal identity). Mum is a weaver and dad works in the commercial orchards. Maru and his three siblings attended *kōhanga reo* and Kura Kaupapa Māori. In Year 9, Maru chose to attend the mainstream high school, where he completed Year 13 and gained NCEA Level 3. His favourite subjects were Art/Photography, Art/Painting, Art Design, and PE. To ensure that Maru continued to develop his art, his art teacher enrolled him in the Bachelor of Media Arts at Wintec in Hamilton, organised a part-time job for him, and helped him to relocate. Maru completed his Bachelor’s degree, is now doing an Honours qualification, and plans to do a Masters of Arts. His long-term goal is to be a practicing artist and to return to his high school as an art teacher. Maru does not “subscribe to any religious institution” and describes himself as “spiritual.”

Eliza describes her son as “a good boy, awesome, outgoing, bright, and friendly.” When asked about who he admires, Maru pointed to diverse group of male figures: Tā Āpirana Ngata, “for his influence and renaissance of the Māori culture”; Jean-Michel Basquiat, “a famous painter of Haitian descent living in New York, accustomed to cultural alienation, cultural dislocation, and he still made it in the pretentious art market”; and Fire Lord Zuko from the movie *Avatar the Last Airbender*, “[he chuckles] he’s all about redemption and renaissance.” When asked if he feels successful Maru responded, “Um what is success, really? I don’t know. It feels nice that others kind of see it but I don’t know what to call success really.”

When we began drawing up his life and leisure map (Appendix 25), Maru’s thoughts went immediately to rugby. During primary school, his leisure activities were rugby, art, species, skateboarding, and kapa haka. In his transition from kura to high school Maru explored a range of new activities, including volleyball, rock climbing, and basketball, and took art as a subject. His community-based activities included touch rugby, waka ama, and mixed martial arts. Maru also learned to play a number of musical instruments. After leaving high school, Maru focused on art and music. His favourite whānau activities were/are trips to the beach and the river to swim.

In terms of how these activities contributed to who he is today, Maru revealed that not all his experiences were positive but were nonetheless beneficial. Although he did not like playing rugby, he “conformed”, because if you didn’t “... you would be seen as feminine...a fag...” But he later applied his rugby skills to touch rugby, “which I really enjoyed!” Kapa haka was also a “cultural thing... but this one I wasn’t so opposed to, I quite liked that.” Kapa haka helped him speak te reo Māori, sing, and dance “a lot better,” and while his least favourite aspect of kapa haka was the “drilling hours of practice”, he knows that it taught him discipline. When talking about skateboarding, Maru pointed to his activity map and the difference in his activities between living in town and moving out to the “wops.” Besides “physical coordination and balance” skateboarding taught Maru about “subcultures.”

Maru joined volleyball because the team was doing well and the players were popular. The time and financial commitment was high, but the coach was a “real good man” and Maru learnt a lot about camaraderie and team work. Rock-climbing was a response to seeing an indoor climbing wall for the first time, and was short-lived; as were waka ama and basketball, the latter of which he prefers to play on the driveway. Perhaps the most interesting of his school-based activities was Ultimate Frisbee, because he had to ignore the ridicule of other students. Maru shared the memory of his team being laughed at as they walked up to the podium during an assembly to receive an award. He reflected:

Maru: I don’t understand how sports have this kind of taboo about them,  
like what kind of defines that?

*Me: Tell me about the ‘taboo’*

Maru: well, you know I guess, you know, what sport do you play in a New Zealand context? Going with the whole Kiwiana kind of ideology: rugby is the masculine sport so yeah, so compare that with Ultimate Frisbee, which over in Canada has a big reputation as a sport, over here it doesn't seem the same. So yeah. So the whole team [was] immasculine next to rugby.

Regardless, Maru decided to keep playing because he liked it, and "... you know, who cares about the dominant group liking that one sport."

During high school, Maru's community-based activities centred around a local gang member who was interested in fitness and getting the young men in the neighbourhood active. In touch rugby, he developed a number of physical skills and learnt about teamwork, and in Mixed Martial Arts was introduced to dawn trainings and diets. However, mum decided to step in when "I saw, his āhua change, where it got to it wasn't fun anymore; it was just attend, for the sake of having to. So once I saw that: *oh, no, chuck it in, give it away...*"

Of all his activities, art and music have been Maru's constant, and began at home. He explained, "...on my mum's side they're all muso's, by blood. Mum and dad, they also listened to heaps of music, yea. So there was a lot of musical influence." In terms of learning to play musical instruments, Maru learned by hanging out with a group of school friends who had formed a band. In relation to becoming an artist, however, it seems Maru was 'blindsided'. While he had been "drawing forever" he didn't think anything of it until he was "picked up" and "harnessed" by his high school art teachers. His original career plan was to study sports science and become a sports person. In terms of the overall contribution to his development, Maru stated,

... a strong side of my personality has been shaped off those sporting and leisure activities... but you know not all of it, I haven't learnt everything off sports, but I learnt a strong portion of myself from playing sports.

Eliza added that his activities,

... really opened his eyes up to specially people, he's got a good sense of people. Yea, with all of that [his map] cause he got involved with so much and so many, but at the same time he's still got his roots.

When asked what his parents did well, Maru replied emphatically, “Oh picked me up and dropped me off aye!”



These portrait pūrākau illuminate or add ‘flesh’ to the life and leisure maps of the six SYMM (two artists, two educators, and two tradesmen) who participated in this study. With the input of one or both of their parents, each tāne constructed a life and leisure map and then responded to questions about his leisure activities, and how they contributed to his development and who he is today. In the next section, I describe what the whānau of interest observed when they analysed the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these six young tāne.

### **How Might the Leisure Patterns and Stories of these Six Successful Young Māori Men Inform the Whānau of Interest?**

As outlined in the guide for the group analysis (Appendix 9), this hui began with a general discussion about their first impressions of the life and leisure maps. This conversation revealed that the individual members of the whānau of interest approached the exercise differently. For example, Andrea scanned all the documents, paying particular attention to sports, kapa haka, te reo Māori, and *hāhi* (religion); Dianna said she focused entirely on Sam, because “I could relate to him”; while Shona said it’s in her nature to read everything. The whānau of interest agreed that these tāne ‘fitted’ their SYMM profiles and noted that they were all different – which they said was good because it means there is “no formula” for success (Rongo). Their key observations were that these SYMM had participated in a variety of leisure activities, and were independent, confident, connected, resilient and happy young men. These observations aligned with their aspirations for their own tamatāne, as summarised in their SYMM profiles/posters (Table 4).

#### **A Number and Variety of Leisure Activities: Ringa Rehe**

One of the first observations made during the group analysis was that these SYMM had participated in a number and variety of sports. In addition to sport, the whānau of interest also noticed that all but one tāne had been involved in music, and all had

participated in kapa haka, and were “outdoorsy” (Pauline). Paula and Rongo noted that some of these tāne were “quite spiritual or cultural” (Paula), and that church “led to the kids doing other stuff” (Priscilla). They also observed that their activities brought them into contact with different groups of people and male role models. Some whānau members noted that four of the SYMM had been raised in small towns. This observation challenged Priscilla’s assumption that there is nothing for children to do in small towns, and she concluded, “you don’t have to live in the city to be successful.”

In discussing how they might turn their observations into action, the majority of the whānau members stated that while they do keep their boys busy and active, they would now think about providing them with opportunities to try new and different types of leisure activities. In their exercise books, Paula wrote “try other activities outside of rugby and T-ball”; Pauline, “introduce non-traditional sports”; and Lu, “enrol them in music classes, and swimming because he might be Olympic swimmer but we won’t know if he doesn’t have the opportunity.” Priscilla wrote, “introduce church? See if kids are interested/discuss as a family.” And Rongo was inspired by Taane’s list of aspirational people:

... I just thought it was like a real, odd mixture of people. Um, and it kinda made me think about people who kinda just, like listen to different kinds of music and just, yeah, and I was thinking like – I don’t know if he did but it kinda made me think about um, like people just making sure that your kids are exposed to heaps of different things like different *ideas*, different music, different food, you know...

Being involved in or choosing to participate in different types of activities (e.g. sports, music, and performing arts) involves learning different types of skills and knowledges, and reflects the āhuatanga of ringa rehe.

### **Independent, Confident, Determined: Rangatiratanga and Māia**

Returning to the topic of rangatiratanga, the whānau of interest pointed to examples of independent thinking and a lack of independence. Of particular interest was the number of activities that Mary put Angus into, and the story about forcing him into an interview for art school, as opposed to Maru and Justin, who had chosen all their activities. This contrasting observation impressed upon some whānau members that

they should ask their tamariki how they feel about their activities, and what kinds of activities they would like to try. In terms of turning their observations into action, Paula wrote, “find out what they want to do and encourage them on that path”; Karen, “support him in the things he wants to try”; while Priscilla decided to,

... ask my boys about what they like and what they don't, and what they want to do? TO FIND OUT FROM THEM?!? Do up charts, lists, do a life map for us/the kids and discuss it. What the boys think they need to do. I want to follow up and grow on what the boys communicate on in life what they like or enjoy.

On the other hand, some whānau members seemed to find some comfort in Angus' subsequent success. Paula stated, “none of the guys in the study seemed to be adversely affected by their parents making them do something. Until later they realised they didn't like it [a few people chuckle] – so that's encouraging [she chuckles].” Pauline made the comment, “be more forceful, I mean, ok they didn't like this game but hey they ended up loving it hence: *come on, keep at it.*” While Karen maintained her stance on waiting for their son to make his own choices.

The whānau of interest also noted that most of the boys were independent, confident, and determined. The stories that stood out here included Maru playing Ultimate Frisbee even though the sport and his team were ridiculed; Taane's dedication to dance, even though his father was strongly opposed; and Justin's story about leaving rugby when his teammates started taking drugs. Thinking about her son, Lu was particularly inspired by Taane's story:

Cause all the things that he did, he was kinda in his own world, which I see my son doing. Cause now really my focus is the 11-year old and 7-year old, and when I look at my son he's doing exactly the same thing – he likes skating and drawing and all that kind of stuff, he's in his own world. ... But yeah, like with Taane's thing it's all about being you. Doing what you want to do when you want to do it kinda thing and, having support along the journey.

While Dianna observed, “... they had this independence even though they had all this family support.”



**Connected: Whanaungatanga**

The whānau of interest noted that these SYMM were “connected” to their parents, whānau, friends, and other adults who gave them support, encouragement, and motivated them. Of particular interest were the male role models in their lives, and the relationship most of them have with their mothers.

In relation to male role models, Pauline pointed to Justin’s story about playing and learning bush craft on the maunga with his uncles and cousins. Paula enjoyed Te Hira’s story about push-ups at taiaha camp, and the ‘old school’ leadership style:

<p>Push-ups, push up, push up, raspy voice and more push-ups. If we made a mistake we went down for push-ups. If we weren’t paying attention, push-ups. If our row messed up then more push-ups. This caused us to get good fast.</p>
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Shona drew attention to the art teacher who drove Maru to Hamilton for art school and arranged employment for him, and the influence of Sam’s kapa haka teacher who gave him some pointers on how to play the base guitar. Also referring to Sam, Rongo noticed that although he was estranged from his father, he found support in his friend’s fathers. Priscilla noted that in the church Sam was surrounded by positive male role models and that other opportunities had come his way. While Jason was impressed by Sam’s mother, who “wasn’t afraid to acknowledge that she couldn’t provide a male influence and gave him the space to spend time with role models.” He also noted that a common thread connecting all these SYMM was “... their desire to be acknowledged and noticed at crucial times in their upbringing.”

Consequently, the whānau of interest spoke about introducing or increasing the number of male role models in their sons’ lives. Shona wrote, “try to surround my child with whanau/elders/supporters to encourage them – positive role models, not necessarily myself as sometimes different people can be good”, and Rongo, “create and nurture connections with other people (e.g. cousins).” Referring to Sam’s kōrero about trying to reconnect with his dad by joining his father’s rugby club, Priscilla felt that she might be able to organise the same thing for her boys.

The mothers in the whānau of interest were also impressed with the close bond these SYMM have with their mothers. Priscilla, Pauline, and Paula pointed out that the single mothers (Theresa, Mary) did really well on their own. Priscilla referred to Sam’s story about being told at 10 years of age that he had to lose weight to order to get into a rugby team, “... and my mum came in and she was like ‘he ain’t losing no weight rah rah rah!’” Pauline and Paula were inspired by Angus’ kōrero about his mother encouraging his art by constantly buying him art supplies and how she later pushed him into art school. The phrase “mummy’s boys” was also mentioned. Seeking some clarification I asked what this meant exactly. Rongo replied, “their mother was a strong influence in their lives”, and Dianna assured me that “it’s not a bad thing” and that her son is a mummy’s boy:

And I can’t help it but, I think maybe because you know he’s my first born and I delivered him myself so I had that bond with him. And, yeah, I do everything for him, and, he does no wrong, in my eyes. Even like schooling here; if um he’s in trouble for something: oh no it’s not his fault, it’s those other boys [the group laughs]. And so I think with that I push him to be his best at whatever he does – within school as well as at home, so you know if anything was to happen to him my superhero cape comes out, so yeah he’s a mummy’s boy.

Translating their observations into actions, the whānau of interest wrote down and then talked about the following points. Pauline, “if they’re good at it, encourage it. Take them to the game. Be at their practice. Have the right gear (e.g. arts, pens, pencils, rugby boots).” In a similar vein, Dianna wrote “learn their sport and become a coach, or learn how to referee their games.”

In phase one of the research, whanaungatanga referred to ‘being connected’ to one’s whānau and culture; knowing who you are and where you come from. During the group analysis, Lu noted that some of the tāne “were disconnected from, their marae or their iwi and all that kind of stuff”, while Andrea had expected them to have had a “humongous whanau base” but noticed that “a couple of them said that, now that they’re older they *wish* that they had taken more interest, they wish they had been more immersed [in their culture].”

Another relationship tied to this theme was their connection to the whenua and Te Taiao. Both raised on farms, Pauline noticed that they were all “outdoorsy”, while Jason stated,

Sam’s learning of empathy has me impressed; as well as a young boy learning to kill animals quickly so that the animals’ suffering is minimal, he also learns the tikanga of conservation and its effects if not adhered to i.e. taking only what you need and the correct size of pāua etc... He learns that people are taking far too much for their own good and are raping the whenua and in turn, raping the generations to come.

### **Happy: Uruhau, Aroha, and Māhaki**

In relation to the desired characteristic of aroha-ki-te-tangata – which included kind, caring, selfless, generous, respectful, and humility – the whānau of interest focused on the SYMMs feelings of uruhau and aroha in response to the pātai, ‘Who do you admire?’ And their displays of māhaki, in response the pātai, ‘Do you feel successful?’

Paula noted, “they all love what they’re doing.” Lu made the comment, “...t hey were happy with today, not kind of forward thinking like “Oh yeah but I’ll never be like... I’m happy with what I have.” Likewise, Rongo felt “they were all very, comfortable in their own skin, they liked who they were” and Karen, “they were well loved.” Dianna was deeply touched by Te Hira’s love for his parents, and wrote in her summation: “Unconditional love! As parents that’s what we have and do for our children, and reading the stories again it was lovely to read/see and feel the aroha coming off the pages.”

In terms of operationalising their observations, Priscilla decided to ask her boys what they think of her as a mother. Shona stated that the analysis process “... allowed me to think about what I do: Is it behaviour that inspires my little man? Does it show him that we care?” While inspired by some of the kōrero in the *Tips & Advice* handout distributed after the group analysis (Appendix 10), Karen wrote in her final summation:

Show him the ‘real me’! If I am presented a challenge, show him how I deal with it. And tell him I love him every day and show him through

my actions. Listen to him when he speaks, no matter what he is talking about. Talk to him about everything. Answer his questions truthfully.

### **Resilient: Manawanui**

The whānau of interest also observed that although these tāne seemed to be happy, their lives had not been ‘picture perfect’. Andrea noted,

...there’s not a lot of mention of their dads. I think when they get to a certain age – cause I know I’m experiencing that, when boys tend to get to a certain age – as soon as they hit puberty they kinda tend ta – ok mum you’re there for support *but I need dad*.

Likewise, Paula noticed that while some of the boys lived with both their parents, there “wasn’t really much mention of the dads being, you know, physically at these games and things like that.” Priscilla and Dianna were particularly touched by Sam’s efforts to reconnect with his estranged father. His story left Dianna, “thinking, oh, I wonder if his dad ever said: I love you son, I’m proud of you son, that’s what I was waiting for.” Jason was also ‘sensitive’ to comments like, “I could be in worse places but I feel that where I am today is a good place” (Sam), and noted that “they all suffered highs and lows in their own way but it was how they managed to overcome those obstacles and with whom they overcame them with was also important.” While some whānau members said that there was something about Justin’s response to the pātai ‘Who do you admire?’ – “Anyone that has gone through hardship to, to make their life better”, made them wonder if there was more to his story.

### **Affirmation: Whakamana**

Perhaps the most important outcome of the group analysis was a sense of affirmation. In the ‘closing thoughts’ part of the hui, without exception, every whānau member said something along the lines of, “I’m doing okay” (Priscilla), “we’re on the right track” (Paula), and “we’ll keep doing what we’re doing” (e.g. Andrea). Lu shared with the group, “**This** is pretty much telling me I’m not alone, you know, I’m doing ok.” Another whakaaro proffered during the daytime FGH, and confirmed during the group analysis, was that “success is subjective” (Jason), and “there is no formula” or “set path of success” (Rongo) – as Fran poignantly illustrated in her poem (Appendix 25) entitled, *The Journey*.



Like a seed, I'm from a pod of many  
Drifting alone, somewhere in the sky  
I know where my journey started  
But I don't know where I'm going  
I can see many others around me  
But they are not the same

I wonder where I'm really from  
This floating feels like a game  
Many things influencing the way I drift  
Sun, Wind, Rain, Obstacles  
My goals, my own abilities

In the end I get to where I'm supposed to be  
Because it is my journey  
The only journey I know  
What does this journey mean?  
What does it mean for my tamariki?  
Are they just drifting too or will my experience shape me to shape them?  
What is success for them?  
Does it have a face, instructions?  
Is it a book?  
No one knows  
Can I see it? Touch it? Hear it?  
I don't know  
But in the end I get to where I'm supposed to be

Because it is my journey  
The only journey I know



In this final part of the findings chapter, I have offered a thematic commentary for the group analysis conducted by the whānau of interest. The whānau of interest noticed that as children and youth these six tāne had participated in a variety of leisure activities, and through these activities developed relationships with a number of different male role models. Thus, while these young men were independent and confident they were also surrounded by supportive people, including their parents, whānau members, friends, and other adults such as teachers and coaches. These relationships helped them to develop rangatiratanga and māia. The whānau of interest also observed that while these tāne felt good about who and where they are today, some of them experienced challenges, including absent fathers and cultural distance. In terms of how they might apply what they observed, the whānau of interest talked about providing opportunities for their tamatāne to try new and different leisure activities; increasing the number of role models in their lives; asking their tamariki if they enjoy the activities they are currently involved in and if they would like to try something else; encouraging and nurturing their boys' interests more vigorously; and helping their tamariki to become more independent. Being involved in this study also affirmed for the whānau of interest that they are on the 'right path' and 'doing okay'.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have described the puāwai that 'bloomed' on the different pekapeka of this rākau rangahau. In part one, I introduced the 11 parents who formed the whānau of interest; presented the five SYMM profiles that emerged during the focus group hui; and offered a thematic commentary for the six āhautanga representing the desired characteristics included in the SYMM profiles/posters. In part two, I presented portrait pūrākau for the six SYMM who participated in a semi-structured interview, during which we co-constructed a life and leisure map with one or both of their parents. They then shared stories about each leisure activity, and how they contributed to who they are today. In part three, I offered a thematic commentary for the six āhautanga raised in the course of the group analysis. These āhautanga overlap with the desired characteristics identified during the FGH.

In the next chapter, Te Haenga, I discuss these results in relation to each other, the literature (Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai), and the research questions – in particular, the original pātai, ‘So what kinds of leisure activities should we put our boys into?’

## TE HAENGA

Following Te Puāwaitanga, Te Haenga, ‘the pollination’ occurs. In flowering plants, Te Haenga relies on the colour and *kakara* (fragrance) of puāwai to attract birds and insects in order to transfer pollen between the male and female flowers and reproductive organs. Tāwhirimātea also plays his part. The tiny burgundy puāwai of rākau kōhuhu are especially pungent at night, indicating that night-flying insects are particularly important pollinators (Wardle, 2011). Given that many of aha! moments occurred during the night,<sup>151</sup> the significant role of nocturnal moths in the life cycle of rākau kōhūhū is fitting. Here, Te Haenga represents my ‘browsing’ amongst the different puāwai (results) that blossomed on each of the pekapeka described in the previous chapter. During this fertilisation process, Ngā Hua o Te Rākau Rangahau, the ‘fruits’ of this research tree began to form. This is the discussion chapter.



Figure 27: Female Tāwhana Tarata<sup>152</sup>

<sup>151</sup> This experience or process will resonate with people who keep a paper and pen beside their bed.

<sup>152</sup> The Tarata looper moth (tāwhana) also eats of the leaves of the kōhūhū (Crowe, 2002). Source: *Xyridacma ustaria*, by Wikipedia Commons, 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xyridacma\\_ustaria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xyridacma_ustaria) Licensed for use under the Creative Commons Attribution Share Alike 4.0 International license.



## **Introduction**

Reflecting on the germination and growth of this rākau rangahau, this study was inspired by a pātai put to me by another parent (see Te Kākano), ‘So what kinds of activities should we put our boys into?’ Taking a strengths-based approach, the guiding research question was cast in the positive. Growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape (see Te Oneone), this project was conducted ‘with and for’ Māori. Adopting aspects of the Positive Deviance approach, I turned to the ‘experts among us’ – successful young Māori men and their parents, and people ‘like us’ (parents who are also raising tamatāne in the city) – and was ‘sensitive’ to the concept of deviating from ‘the norm’. Employing a whakapapa framework, the research design was *ka mua, ka muri*, both retrospective and prospective, and included narrative methods. The guiding question for this study was, therefore, ‘How might the leisure activity patterns and narratives of successful young Māori men inform urban whānau raising tamatāne?’

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the results of the research in relation to the literature review and previous studies, and the four subsidiary research questions. This chapter has three parts. In part one, I analyse the results relevant to the first phase of the research in relation to indicators of positive development (*Subsidiary pātai 1: What constitutes a successful young Māori man?*). In part two, I interpret the puāwai relevant to the second phase of the research in relation to the developmental benefits associated with leisure participation (*Subsidiary pātai 2 and 3: What kinds of leisure activities did a group of successful young Māori men participate in when they were growing up, and how did these leisure activities contribute to their development?*). And in part three, I discuss the puāwai relevant to the third phase of the research in relation to the results of previous studies (*Subsidiary pātai 4: What ‘messages and lessons’ might urban whānau raising tamatāne take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these successful young Māori men?*).

In this chapter, Te Kōmoremore framework was applied in a more general sense. My analysis and discussion were guided by my first impressions (Te Kiri Aronui), what I perceived to be missing (Te Kiri Huna), and what I have identified as embedded meaning, information, and knowledge, including ‘messages and lessons for living’. Also included in this chapter are some initial recommendations.

## **Ngā Āhuatanga Whakawhanake Tōtika: Characteristics of positive development**

This study focused on the leisure activities of six tāne identified as being successful young Māori men (SYMM). The criteria for SYMM was established by a whānau of interest and were based on their aspirations for their primary school-aged sons. In relation to the extracurricular activity participation and (generic) positive youth development (EAP/pyd) literature, the whānau of interest's lists of 26 desired characteristics and skills represented 'indicators of positive development'. In my thematic analysis and commentary of these indicators or signposts, I then identified six core āhuatanga: rangatiratanga (independence); māia (confident, determined and committed); aroha-ki-te-tangata (respectful, selfless, kind, humble); ringa rehe (multiple skills and abilities, willingness to learn); whanaungatanga (connected to whānau and culture); and uruhau (happiness, contentment, fun).

### **International Indicators and Rangatiratanga**

Some of the āhuatanga identified in this study resonate with the indicators measured in international EAP/pyd studies. Researchers have examined "psychological adjustment" with factors such as positive self-perception, self-esteem, and self-worth (e.g. C J Blomfield & Barber, 2009; Gadbois & Bowker, 2007; Kort-Butler, 2012; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1992) – which might be considered measures of uruhau. Other studies have measured prosocial behaviours such as voting and volunteering (e.g. Fredricks & Eccles, 2006a; Shelly, 2011; Zaff et al., 2003) – which could be measures of aroha-ki-te-tangata; and initiative, positive relationships and adult networks (e.g. Lerner et al., 2006) – which might be considered measures of rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga. In another study, indicators of positive development included hope, will, purpose, competence, care, wisdom, and love (Markstrom et al., 2005). However, none of the studies reviewed identified or measured humility, connection to the family, or the set of six āhuatanga identified in this study. Further, I found no international EAP/pyd studies that invited parents to identify or establish the indicators of positive youth development. By all accounts, indicators of positive development or success were selected by the researchers.

The empirical literature review demonstrates that international measures of positive development often focus on grades, academic achievement, and attending and graduating from university (e.g. Dotterer et al., 2007; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Irvin et al., 2010; Modecki et al., 2018; Sharp et al., 2015). However, while the

whānau of interest talked about ‘being educated’, financial security, and ‘putting food on the table’, they also agreed that education is not the ‘be all and end all’ and that having money is not as important as possessing good values, and being happy and culturally connected. As illustrated in Ngā Puāwaitanga, this perspective appears to be rooted in diverse and shared experiences of humble upbringings; hardworking parents, some of whom were described as distracted and emotionally distant; and cultural dislocation. In a similar vein, the participants in Macfarlane et al.’s (2014) study indicate that educational success was “complementary” to cultural values and identity.

My research therefore supports Roth and Brooks-Gunn’s (2003) argument that what constitutes ‘positive’ development and ‘healthy’ adulthood “... fluctuates depending on the purpose and audience” (p. 96). While governments tend to prioritise physical health and economic self-sufficiency, communities and families might prioritise wellbeing, happiness, service, and creativity (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). However, Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003) do not include research and researchers in their critique. The 5Cs of Positive Youth Development framework, for instance, was not created by the government or families but North American researchers in reviewing the work of other researchers, their analysis of which was used to set the parameters for an “idealized personhood.” This idealised personhood is “... characterized by socially and *structurally*-valued behaviors such as contribution to self, family, community, and civil society” (Benson & Scales, 2009, p. 90; original emphasis), which includes a sense of “... responsibility to help others, the intention to volunteer, doing things to make the world a better place, and the connection to a transcendent force that directs individuals to concerns larger than themselves” (p. 94). This agenda, however, raises questions about agency and autonomy (rangatiratanga). To which or whose society are youth expected to contribute? And what about youth and communities who do not fit these ideals, or who have other priorities and aspirations? Thus, while the 5Cs are admirable and resonate with certain āhuetanga, this framework is ‘bound up’ in issues of power and control (Evans et al., 2012) and does not sit comfortably with the principles and goals of kaupapa Māori (see Te Oneone), which includes rangatiratanga (self determination). In a similar vein, advocates of the Positive Deviance approach also argue that every community is unique and will have their own aspirations and solutions (Pascale et al., 2010).

### **Local Signposts of Positive Development**

Growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape, it is not surprising to find that my research resonates with studies demonstrating that ethnic minorities (also) have culturally specific and historically located priorities and aspirations. For example, Evans et al. (2012) argue, "...[Positive Youth Development] studies rarely consider culture-specific assets, such as racial identity, the larger African American community, or parents' racial socialization" (p. 251). For African American children, racial socialisation includes messages and lessons about their racial-ethnic heritage, racism and bias, and the promotion of cultural role models, and these 'messages and lessons' are reinforced in Black churches (Irvin et al., 2010). While the New Zealand studies reviewed for this study do not specifically focus on these topics, it is likely that kapa haka provides youth with similar messages and lessons, and a setting in which to discuss and explore such topics and issue. Further, the prevalence of Māori models of health and wellbeing, and the importance placed on being connected to one's whānau and culture in this and other local studies, highlight the significance of cultural identity for any aspirational strategy. The significance and value of kapa haka as a setting for ethnic-racial socialisation is a topic definitely worth exploring.

The six āhuatanga of SYMM identified in this study also resonate with Māori perspectives and models of health and wellbeing. Whanaungatanga, for example, is embedded in the Te Pā Harakeke, Poutama, Te Whare Tapa Whā, and Whāriki models and frameworks. The six āhuatanga also resonate with the Māui assessment framework developed by staff and stakeholders of the Best of Both Worlds childcare centre. Their framework comprises rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga, whakatoī (e.g. fun), mana (e.g. inner strength), and manaakitanga (Rameka, 2013). Also adopting a Māui analysis framework, Ware (2009) determined that her research participants demonstrated māia (potentiality), māhaki, manawanui, ihumanea (innovation), ahu whakamua (forward thinking), and that they were also guided by the principles of whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, and tapu. Highlighting similar and different indicators of positive rangatahi development, a literature review conducted by Simmonds et al. (2014) pointed to collective responsibility (e.g. whanaungatanga), personal strengths (e.g. confidence, humility, curiosity), cultural efficacy (e.g. knowing te reo and tikanga Māori, cultural pride, spiritual awareness), the ability to navigate Māori and Pākehā environments, and

health (physical, mental, and emotional). When designing research that involves tamariki or rangatahi development, the findings of the present study suggest that Māori health and wellbeing frameworks and models are particularly relevant.

### **Wairuatanga**

One dimension of positive youth development missing from or minimised in the literature is spirituality and religion. Even though religious beliefs have been identified as a protective factor in resilience studies (e.g. Werner, 2005) and models (e.g. the 5Cs), they are not commonly included as an indicator of positive development in EAP/pyd studies. Likewise, while wairuatanga – religious beliefs and spirituality as expressed in multiple ways by Māori – is a critical dimension in Māori models of health and wellbeing, it represents a minor theme in local studies (e.g. MacFarlane et al., 2014; Miller, 2015). Similarly – other than agreeing to start and conclude the FGH with karakia, Paula’s written Think statement about “maintaining ties with their spiritual home”, and Shona’s inclusion of a missionary as an example of independence and confidence – there were no discussions about religion or spirituality, and it was not included as an aspiration or indicator of success.

While this particular finding was surprising, it was not totally unexpected. Missionisation, colonisation, and urbanisation have had devastating and far-reaching consequences for whānau, hapū, iwi. As discussed elsewhere, and as illustrated in the whānau of interest profiles (see Te Whakatupuranga), urban Māori are more likely to be physically separated from their tūrangawaewae,<sup>153</sup> which essentially means being divorced from the source of one’s cultural identity (Mead, 2016). Moreover, not being able to speak te reo Māori limits one’s understanding of tikanga and kawa – the cultural values, principles, and practices grounded in a Māori cosmogony that connects us to atua (e.g. Rangi and Papa) and spiritual concepts/principles such as wairua, mauri, hau, tapu, and mana (see Te Kōmoremore). The absence of wairuatanga as a marker of youth development is also likely related to more than one hundred years of secular education that negates notions of spirituality – Christian or otherwise. In short, wairuatanga may not have been listed as a desired characteristic or signpost of positive development because

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<sup>153</sup> ‘More likely’ because some urban Māori whakapapa to the lands upon which the cities have been built.

it was not a dimension of the research participants' lives (at that particular point in time) – as most of them indicated in their whānau/household questionnaires.

On the other hand, some group members may not have raised the topic because no-one else did or because it did not attract any support. In their questionnaires, Fran identified herself as a Latter-Day Saint (aka Mormon) and Andrea stated that “being Māori” is their ‘religion’ – but they did not raise the topic during their respective hui. In a similar vein, Shona said she was “interested” in religion in her questionnaire, however when she raised the topic of missionaries as a potential vocation during her focus group hui, no one pursued or commented on that idea. Immersed in their *Māoritanga* (a Māori way of life), I also got the feeling that Jason and Andrea were holding back to avoid making anyone feel uncomfortable or self-conscious. Following their FGH, they confirmed as much, and unnecessarily and with humility apologised for being the anomaly in my study.

### **Tānetanga**

Another significant ‘omission’ in relation to the pātai, ‘What constitutes a successful young Māori man?’ are notions of tānetanga – malehood and masculinity (Moorfield, n.d.f). Other than written statements about being a “loving father and devoted husband” in Andrea and Jason’s Pair notes, and Rongo’s kōrero about the pressure to be a provider during his FGH, the final SYMM posters did not include any gender-specific signposts of positive development or success for young Māori males. Likewise, other than correlations (e.g. boys did more or less of these activities), the EAP/pyd literature did not offer any gender-specific indicators. Moreover, I note that Māori models of health and wellbeing do not highlight any gender-specific characteristics – although, they are open to interpretation and can be adapted as needed.

I offer three possible reasons for the lack of gender-specific ‘data’ in my study. One, in my attempt not to ‘lead’ the whānau of interest, the FGH questions were arguably too broad. Two, I assumed that because the topic of the study is boys, everything said during the FGH would be related to tamatāne. However, after one of the whānau members commented that the group’s observations could be applied to both girls and boys, I went back to the transcripts and noticed the (five) parents who are also raising girls sometimes used the term ‘children’ rather than ‘son’, suggesting that when they were speaking they may have been referring to *all* their tamariki. And three, because the two statements above had been written down but

not offered up in the discussion, I was not prompted to explore them during the FGH. In future male-focused studies, I suggest working with individuals and whānau who are only raising boys, and including specific gender-focused questions in the interview schedule. I also recommend that more attention be given to developing the gender-specific dimensions of the Poutama and Pouhine models.



### **Summary**

In relation to indicators of positive youth development, this study supports the literature but also highlights some cultural nuances and two significant gaps. First, international indicators and local signposts of positive youth development include positive relationships, prosocial behaviours, and in particular, academic achievement. However, growing out of a kaupapa Māori paradigmatic landscape, this study suggests that urban whānau raising tamatāne place a higher value on values and principles, cultural identity and whānau connectedness, independence, humility, creativity, and happiness than academic achievement and success. Second, as a member of an urban Māori community and in being ‘sensitive’ to certain topics, this study suggests that one of the consequences of urbanisation, colonisation, and secularisation has been a spiritual dislocation – as illustrated by the absence of spirituality or religion in the SYMM profiles. And third, this study highlights the omission of gender-specific indicators of successful youth development for Māori males, but also the potential to further develop or adapt existing models of Māori health and wellbeing. This section has also highlighted some methodological issues, particularly in relation to methods.

### **Ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia: The arts of pleasure**

In the second phase of the research, the whānau of interest selected two artists, two tradesmen, and two educators from a pool of eight SYMM to participate in a semi-structured interview. In those interviews, I worked with each tāne and one or both of their parents to construct a life and leisure map, after which we discussed how their leisure activities contributed to their development and who they are today. Working ‘with and for’ the whānau of interest, these maps and a selection of raw data was then prepared for a group analysis. The group analysis highlighted the following themes: ringa rehe (a number and variety of activities); rangatiratanga (independence); whanaungatanga (connectedness); uruhau, aroha, and māhaki

(happiness, compassion, and humility); manawanui (resilience); and whakamana (affirmation). The primary observation made by the whānau of interest was that these tāne had been involved in a number and a range of leisure activities. These activities included sports, other extracurricular activities, and informal leisure activities.

### **Sport**

Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, it was not surprising that five of the six research participants started their life and leisure maps with sport, with four referring to rugby or rugby league. Likewise, one of the first observations made during the group analysis was that all six tāne had participated in a number of sports. As outlined in the SYMM portrait pūrākau and life and leisure maps (see Te Puāwaitanga), these sports included a range of field, court, and water-based team and individual sporting codes.

In relation to how participating in a variety of sports contributes to positive or healthy development, the empirical EAP/pyd literature had little to offer. This is probably because EAP/pyd studies tend to group all sports in a single category. In short, the EAP/pyd literature does not examine the developmental benefits associated with or attributed to different or particular sports. This gap in the EAP/pyd literature, however, could be addressed with a comparative review of sport-specific literature.<sup>154</sup>

The SYMM involved in this study attributed the following developmental benefits to their various sporting codes. Soccer was associated with community and friendship; athletics with perseverance and humility; martial arts with discipline, respect, and self-control; touch rugby with teamwork and physical agility; and rugby with perseverance, teamwork, camaraderie, fitness, self-control, and strategic thinking. Considering this range of developmental benefits, rather than treating sport as a single extracurricular activity category, these findings demonstrates that an analysis across a range of different sports is warranted.

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<sup>154</sup> Refer to Jeremy Hapeta (2018) for a recent study highlighting the positive impact of rugby participation for rangatahi. Refer to Sierra Keung (2018) for an exploration of determinants of success according to Māori and Pacific rugby league players. Refer to Bevan Erueti (2015) for an exploration of Māori cultural identity at an elite level across different sporting codes.



### **Rugby and Tānetanga**

Although more than 20 sports were discussed in the course of this study, the only code that prompted negative kōrero was rugby. Of particular note are the experiences of Maru, Taane, and Angus. As described in Te Puāwaitanga, Maru felt compelled to play rugby because he did not want to be called a “fag.” He escaped the sport when he went to high school, but there too was confronted by “the dominant discourse” when he took up Ultimate Frisbee and was publicly ridiculed during an assembly. What he took from this experience was an assertion that his peers were short-sighted. Taane also knew what leisure activities he did and did not like, but still felt obliged to play rugby because that is what boys are expected to do. As a trade-off, he and his father had an understanding that after his rugby games Taane would skate for the rest of the day. He too escaped rugby at the transition to high school. Angus, on the other hand, still feels embarrassed about not knowing how to play the ‘national game’ and which for him involved the invention of a rugby-playing childhood and a set of excuses that have helped him avoid playing even casual games of rugby or touch rugby with his peers. These findings contribute to the body of literature that critiques the role of rugby as the normative symbol of masculinity for New Zealand males – and suggest that participation in a wider variety of leisure activities is a deviation from the norm.

In contrast Te Hira, Sam, and Justin thoroughly enjoy/ed playing rugby, and listed a number of benefits. Te Hira talked about building self-confidence, losing weight, and becoming fitter. Sam used rugby as a means to develop a relationship with his estranged father. And Justin talked about all the friends he made while playing rugby for his school and the local rugby club, into which he was inducted “when I came of age” and reluctantly left as a senior player when his teammates started doing drugs. Although the study was strengths-focused, these stories signalled to the whānau of interest that Maru and Justin are independent thinkers (rangatiratanga).

Rugby was the only activity where the research participants talked about notions of tānetanga. However, the findings do not support Hokowhitu’s earlier work (2003), in which he argues that colonial stereotyping of the Māori ‘warrior’ as innately physical has channelled Māori boys into sports and manual labour. This shift may be related to increasing public discussions about masculinity in the last 16 years. In addition to Physical Education, the research participants’ favourite high

school subjects were Te Reo Māori (Taane, Angus, Te Hira); Maths (Angus, Sam); Music (Te Hira, Taane); Art (Sam, Maru); English and Woodwork (Sam); and Computer graphics, Electronics, and Science (Justin). Other than Taane (through no fault of his own) and Angus, they all completed NCEA Level 3, and Angus, Maru, and Te Hira went on to complete tertiary degrees. Further, besides Maru, the SYMM did not talk about sport as a career or as their destiny or a natural aspect of being Māori (F. R. Palmer, 2007).

Even though these six tāne are not necessarily a representative group of Māori males, and I did not specifically pose questions about rugby and masculinity, I suggest that they represent a generation that is beginning to question and challenge masculine and cultural stereotypes. Sharing their counter-narratives is one of the contributions that this study makes to the fields of sport, leisure, positive youth development, and research focused on Māori males. Their narratives also point to the importance of exploring Māori experiences and perspectives of homophobia in sports.

### **Other Extracurricular Activities**

The whānau of interest also noticed that these SYMM were involved in a number of other extracurricular activities. In addition to sports, they participated in holiday programmes (Te Hira, Sam), youth groups (Te Hira, Taane), scouts (Angus), choir (Te Hira), dance (Taane), attended church (Te Hira, Sam, Angus), learned to play musical instruments (Te Hira, Sam, Angus, Taane, Maru), and were all involved in kapa haka. This finding supports the EAP/pyd literature that indicates youth who participate in a wider breadth of extracurricular activities report a range of physical, social, and behavioural competencies and pro-social relationships (e.g. Fredricks & Eccles, 2006a, 2010; Knifsend & Graham, 2012; Larson, 2006). For instance, the whānau of interest agreed that these six tāne were independent (rangatiratanga); had developed a number of skills and talents (ringa rehe); were loving and humble (aroha and māhaki); were connected to friends, whānau, their parents/mothers, and other adults (whanaungatanga); determined and confident (māia); happy with who they are (uruhau), and were also resilient (manawanui). The research participants' blend of extracurricular activities also aligns with the findings of gifted and talented studies, in which high-achieving students participated in a combination of sports, music, arts, and religious activities (Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005; Gutman & McLoyd, 2000; Olszewski-Kubilius & Lee, 2004; Reis et al., 2004). Likewise, it

was surprising and significant to find that five of the research participants play/ed musical instruments, four were/are artistic, three had been raised in religious families, and all had participated in kapa haka.

In this study, however, the observation that the research participants had been involved in a number of different extracurricular activities was tempered by the fact that not all of these SYMM had chosen their leisure activities. Four tāne indicated that they had been ‘put’ into activities, and/or were encouraged or expected to do the activities their older siblings were involved in. Angus in particular had been ‘put’ into a number of his activities, and the whānau of interest ‘listened’ to Mary’s reasons for taking control of her son’s leisure time and activities, and how she responded to his resistance:

Yes, I **did** put him into soccer because back then my son was **really** reserved and I didn’t want him to miss out on opportunities available to us. I believed it was my responsibility, despite his reservedness to open windows of opportunity for him. ... And if he packed a wobbly and said something like: ‘I’m not going’ or anything like that, I would still get ready for him to go to his practice for example [she chuckles]. And he’d see me, getting his soccer gears and whatever, putting them in the car, and I’d just look at my watch [acting calm] ‘I’m not coming you’re not getting me in there!’ he’d say. Ok so I’d carry on. Make myself a cup of tea and then I’d say ‘right, ok, in the car’ and more often than not, he got in the car.

In a similar vein, Te Hira and his siblings grew up attending the church programmes led by their parents. Tāne and Sonya were highly conscious of this:

We felt bad sometimes that we were dragging them along to like – because we did youth groups and holiday programmes and camps – and sometimes we’d feel bad because they had to come, even though, you know they would mostly enjoy it, and it was really good for them but, it would be long, long days.

There are also the examples of Taane and Maru’s resistance to and temporary compliance with playing rugby. Given the national preoccupation with rugby, I

therefore found it interesting that the whānau of interest did not discuss their experiences or comments. One possible reason for which may have been the number of women in the group (9/11), with females typically being less interested in rugby than males.

Thus, we cannot assume that EAP is a completely voluntary and positive experience. This may explain why EAP/pyd research tends to focus on high school students; the assumption being that teenagers have more autonomy and are therefore more likely to be participating of their own volition (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Good et al., 2009). In this study, for instance, the majority of the ‘parent chosen’ activities occurred during the primary school years – although the number of freely chosen extracurricular activities outnumbered the ‘encouraged’ extracurricular activities. The whānau of interest also highlighted the tension between encouraging and honouring their boys’ independence. Still, it is difficult to ignore studies that indicate children and youth who are involved in a greater variety of extracurricular activities report more positive developmental outcomes than those who are not. Of particular note is the study conducted by Gutman and McLoyd (2000), in which the parents of high-achieving African American elementary and middle school students enrolled their children in extracurricular activities, while the parents of low-achieving students did not. This study does not indicate, however, whether the high-achieving children were involved in the decision-making. My research thus highlights the fine line between parent support and involvement, and giving youth the opportunity to lead and to make choices and mistakes. Issues and experiences of rangatiratanga are thus something to consider and explore further.

In this and the next section, the leisure activities of these SYMM are presented on a continuum; beginning with the activities that they had in common through to those that they did not.

### **Kapa haka**

In contrast to international EAP/pyd studies, in which boys have been identified as a minority in the performing arts (e.g. Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Im et al., 2016; Irvin et al., 2010; Markstrom et al., 2005; Simpkins et al., 2011), all six SYMM were involved in kapa haka. In Sam and Maru’s case, this extracurricular activity was compulsory, while the other boys appeared to be motivated by feelings of whānaungatanga. When Justin’s school introduced kapa

haka, the tutor was one of his koro. Te Hira's mother helped to introduce the activity into the school, and the tutor was a family friend. When Angus started Intermediate school his new group of friends were 'into' kapa haka, and Taane also joined "because all my mates at school were doing it...."

In discussing the contribution kapa haka made to their development, they all talked about how this activity helped to develop and support their sense of cultural identity. Kapa haka motivated Te Hira's desire to learn te reo Māori, for instance, and Sam discovered that he "was intrigued by Māori stuff." It was also interesting to hear how kapa haka provided the foundation for other skills and interests. Justin credited the storytelling dimension of kapa haka with sparking his interest in writing stories, while the performance aspect may have given him the courage and skills he needed to perform as a pro-wrestler. Maru credited kapa haka for improving his te reo Māori, sense of rhythm, and dancing and singing skills, and these abilities were later transferred to his experiences as a musician. While Taane credited kapa haka with his passion for history, and talked about discovering the importance and the "point" of kapa haka. His kōrero highlights the prosocial Contribution that rangatahi can make and experience through extracurricular activity participation.

... I remember thinking like: *ah you don't really need kapa haka*, but after experiencing it through college – and meeting other haka groups too, like: na shit you know imagine if we *didn't* do it? ... So I really learnt how important it is, to keep those traditions of, of culture, and then learning how strong haka is in terms of pushing a message. I remember our haka at third form [Year 9] was about suicide, cause we had lost like 4-5 students that year, one of our friends was one of them and um, yeah we went to one haka comp with that one, our messages were about like, ah, you know drugs and alcohol and not right guidance and leadership can steer you off and get you in a crazy space, and I remember just thinking, all of us just going there to drop that as well as our many messages, and then learning like: far true ow, did we just get that message across? Oh that's dope. Yeah probably just the point of it, was one of the biggest things I learnt.

These findings and reflections support Whitinui's (2007) study in which rangatahi involved in kapa haka felt they had a voice and some control over their learning, and were surrounded and coached by people who genuinely cared about them. These feelings and relationships made kapa haka a safe and high-energy space, in which students were more motivated to learn. In a similar vein, Eccles et al. (2003) found students involved in the performing arts (i.e. dance, music, and other arts) enjoyed school, had a higher GPA, and a greater likelihood of attending and graduating from college. In contrast, Reed Larson et al. (2006) found that youth involved in 'the arts' reported the highest rate of initiative, but lower rates of teamwork, positive relationships, and adult networks.

Given the range of benefits attributed to the arts, and kapa haka specifically, it is important to understand why rangatahi pull out of kapa haka. Justin was put off by expressions of whakahīhī, for instance, while Maru described feeling whakahīhī; choosing to quit his rōpū rather than perform with them because they did not meet the standard that he was accustomed to. The message here is that while kapa haka builds cultural and personal pride and confidence, these emotions need to be balanced with a sense of māhaki and aroha. In Macfarlane et al.'s (2014) study, for instance, teachers acknowledged that they had to "...encourage the right balance between humility and self-promotion" (p. 93). This message intersects with O'Connor and Jose's (2018) study in which they found the developmental outcomes of non-sport participation (e.g. cultural activities) were lowest for "dual heritage" students, whom they proposed were likely "...grappling with complex ethnic identity issues" (p. 1567). One of these complex issues, I suggest, is self and/or peer exclusion based on the conventional notions of Māori identity. A student in Miller's (2015) study, for example, dropped out of kapa haka in his first year of high school because he was bullied for being fair-skinned.

In Borrell's (2005) study, rangatahi also talked about the expectation that they prioritise kapa haka over everything else. In Miller's (2015) research, some students dropped out of kapa haka so they could dedicate more time to their studies. Likewise, the SYMM in my study stated that although they really enjoyed the whānau environment of kapa haka, and the intensity required to be competitive taught them discipline and commitment, it was also their least favourite aspect of kapa haka. And in Sam's case, the consequence of this intensity was 'burn out'. As a contrast, students in Borrell's (2005) study lamented that they could not

participate in kapa haka without being a member of the full immersion te reo Māori class. Combined, these findings indicate that in some schools (and possibly many), there is no social or ‘just for fun’ kapa haka option. If you want to participate, you must make a commitment to being competitive.

Given that schools are a prime site for kapa haka involvement – an activity which Pihama et al. (2014) found was/is “...a gateway into the culture for Māori who were not connected to their marae/hapū/iwi, or who lived away from their home areas, as well as for New Zealanders who came to experience kapa haka as a safe, inclusive activity through which to engage with Māori culture” (p. 67) – they play a crucial role in the ethnic socialisation of tamariki Māori. It is therefore critical that schools address any real or perceived barriers to participation. Offering competitive kapa haka as an option and making participatory kapa haka a standard part of the school day may help negate the issues of peer- and self-exclusion, keep tamariki engaged in kapa haka, and help Māori and non-Māori children and youth to view this cultural activity as inherently worthwhile, and a natural part of Aotearoa New Zealand culture.

### **Music making**

Five of the six research participants were also, and continue to be, involved in music making. Here, I have three observations to share. First, all five tāne said they took up music with their “mates”, and second, that this occurred at the transition to high school. Te Hira began taking drum lessons from a friend’s dad at church, and the following year took drum lessons at high school. In his first year of high school, Sam made a new friend who played the drums in a church band, and where he subsequently took an interest in learning to play the bass guitar. Angus and his friends signed up for saxophone lessons and after that, guitar lessons; while Taane and his mates took drum lessons and the following year, guitar lessons. Maru became friends with a group of high school musicians and learned how to play the keyboard, guitar, and drums in ‘hanging out’ with them. However, their enthusiasm for learning an instrument was tempered by poor delivery. Te Hira’s drum lessons were only 10 minutes once a week. Taane’s drumming lessons involved three boys, and one drum kit, in 30 minutes. Angus and his friends quit saxophone for guitar, and found that it was their responsibility to catch up to their classmates, who were a term ahead of them. As my third observation, it was therefore interesting to find that they all said it was faster and easier to learn to play their respective instruments

with and from their friends, especially if they formed or joined a band. Whether this is a deviation from the norm needs to be investigated.

These observations support O’Neill’s (2005) study, in which she found boys who played musical instruments were highly motivated by their friends, had chosen their (traditionally masculine) instruments, and were more likely to form or join bands. However, while O’Neill (2005) noted a “massive” rate of dropout for boys at the transition to high school, the SYMM in this study *started* playing a musical instrument in their first year of high school. My study also offers insights into why they then abandoned their formal lessons, and formed bands. The ‘messages and lessons’ for high schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are that providing music lessons is worthwhile, and even more so if students are able to learn alongside their friends and can teach each other. A message for parents is that even if their boys are not interested in music in primary school, they might take it up when they reach high school.

In terms of developmental outcomes, the SYMM all pointed to perseverance and patience, and Taane and Maru also spoke about feeling uplifted and discovering another way to communicate. In contrast, the international EAP/pyd literature has measured ‘arts participation’ in relation to a greater ‘liking of school’ and ‘less risky behaviour’ (e.g. Eccles & Barber, 1999). This contrast reflects the different contextual agendas and priorities. John Gerdy (2000) argues, for instance, that while (North American) researchers have focused on measuring the educational benefits of music (e.g. reading, maths), they have ignored the many other benefits of music making, including perseverance and discipline, and in bands, teamwork skills, cooperation, and commitment. Such benefits, states Gerdy (2000), are reserved for the athletic programmes that continue to dominate the American psyche to the detriment of other fields of endeavour.

One of the limitations of EAP/pyd studies in which music, dance, visual arts, and drama are combined and classified as ‘the arts’ is that there is no way to know which activities the reported benefits are associated with. My study demonstrates that while kapa haka and music have some common developmental benefits (e.g. perseverance and discipline) they also promote other developmental outcomes. Of particular note are the cultural benefits of kapa haka participation. Consequently, given that music and kapa haka were particularly salient and therefore important leisure activities for these SYMM, I recommend that EAP/pyd studies conducted



in Aotearoa New Zealand treat music, the visual arts, and the performing arts as discrete extracurricular activity categories.

### **Religion**

One extracurricular activity the research participants did not have in common was religious observance, while the three tāne who did attend church and participate in other faith-based activities had contrasting experiences. Angus was born into a Catholic family and attended a Catholic primary school, because “I had no other choice”, and stopped attending church when he left home; while Te Hira and his family have been involved in different churches over the years and are still regular church-goers. Sam was born into a Catholic family and attended Catholic schools, and as teenager found his place in a modern church.

Talking about the contribution church has made to their lives, Te Hira said he developed a sense of right and wrong, learnt about morals, and made many friends. His parents also observed that their children “... learnt how to get along with all sorts of people... know that they’re loved and how to love others... and have been involved in something that won’t always be fun or exciting but is bigger than themselves.” Sam and his mother talked about the different ways in which the church has enriched Sam’s life, including the church members who have supported him, whether in hunting, helping him get into the army, introducing him to music, or gaining employment. When asked what he liked about church, Sam said it has a “good vibe” and he enjoys relaxing at the end of the week and catching up with his friends, and had gained a “respect for people of all ages.” While Theresa stated that the church has been the “best thing ever” for Sam; it is a “happy environment” where he is surrounded by positive people, and has given him “balance” in his life. Further, listening to people unload their worries and problems “has matured him.”

However, as discussed elsewhere, wairuatanga was not included in the whānau of interest’s aspiration profiles/posters. Neither was it a significant topic of discussion during the group analysis; although, Paula and Pauline noted that “Spiritual, cultural [activities] helped them [the SYMM] to be who they are today”, while Priscilla pointed to the ‘doors’ that opened for Sam when he started attending church (e.g. employment, music). What Priscilla points to are adult networks and social capital (Larson, 2006); i.e. the number of adults or other people youth can go to for support and help, and who open other doors of opportunity (Rose-Krasnor et al., 2006). Increasing the number of adults and adult support in the lives of youth is

a key goal of the PYD approach (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). During the group analysis, Andrea also shared with the group that she and Jason have different religious backgrounds and that one of their sons has been trying different faiths.

In EAP/pyd studies, church attendance and participating in church youth groups are classified as faith-based activities. And while faith-based activities are often treated and referred to as just another extracurricular activity, some researchers have begun to examine what is potentially unique about them (e.g. Adamczyk, 2012; Adamczyk & Felson, 2012; Dowling et al., 2004; Good & Willoughby, 2011; P. E. King, 2007; Lerner et al., 2008). Good et al. (2009) found youth involved in faith-based activities engaged in more discussions about values and morals than youth who were not involved. In this extended family-like environment, adult networks also feature multiple generations, including adults who youth may view as “... friends or acquaintances rather than authority figures” (Good et al., 2009, p. 1155). The insights provided by Sam and Te Hira and their parents support these findings, and suggest that exploring or embracing wairuatanga is a positive deviation from the ‘norm’ of secularism in Western and colonised societies. For parents, whānau, and educators who are not religious or spiritually inclined, there are some useful messages here about the importance of growing children’s adult and social networks, and talking to them about values and principles.

Given that all the SYMM were involved in kapa haka for many years, and took te reo Māori as a subject at school, I was surprised that Justin, Maru, and Taane did not talk about or express a sense of wairuatanga. Although, Taane’s descriptions of skateboarding (see below) and dancing as pōhiri (see his portrait) resonate with the concept of leisure as a ‘state of being’ (Godbey, 2008; e.g. Pieper, 1999; Plummer, 2009). I do wonder, therefore, if this ‘gap’ would have been addressed had I specifically asked about wairua, mauri, atua, and feelings of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997), particularly in relation to art and music. As an essential element of wellbeing and cultural identity (Durie, 1985; Pere, 1991), wairuatanga in relation to EAP and leisure – and kapa haka specifically – cannot be ignored and requires further investigation.

### **Informal Leisure Activities**

The research participants’ leisure maps and narratives also highlight the salience and significance of informal leisure activities as part of their journey into adulthood.

In addition to music making (as discussed above), these informal activities included outdoor recreation, art and storytelling, skateboarding, video games, and dance. In this particular section, it was necessary to search for literature outside of the original literature review.

### **Outdoor recreation**

During the group analysis, the whānau of interest noticed that five of the six SYMM were also “outdoorsy” (Pauline). Justin played on his maunga and fished with his whānau and friends. Sam played in the stream behind his grandfather’s butcher shop, and hunted in the bush with his friends’ fathers, and later learnt how to dive for kaimoana. Taane fished with his father, has been skateboarding since primary school, and has developed an interest in surfing. Maru’s favourite whānau activity are trips to the beach and river to swim, and Te Hira’s, camping/tenting. Maru and Angus also participated in waka ama.

In relation to the contribution these informal leisure activities made to their development, they talked about respecting nature and bonding with friends and whānau members. Fishing also taught Justin patience, and on their maunga, he and his cousins were taught survival skills; while Sam emphasised the importance of killing animals humanely. During the group analysis, Priscilla also noted that a number of these SYMM had grown up in small towns. This observation challenged her assumption that there is nothing for children to do in semi-rural or rural areas, and concluded, “you don’t have to live in the city to be successful.” Her observation sparked a group conversation about other benefits related to living in small communities. In a similar vein, Sharp et al. (2015) also found that rural youth took advantage of the abundant natural resources in their area and were involved in a higher rate of unstructured outdoor leisure activities than the national average. And Seaman et al. (2019) found that a high level of involvement in unstructured outdoor leisure activities fostered a greater community affiliation and educational aspirations. As discussed elsewhere, however, studies focussed on youth development in relation to informal outdoor recreation activities represent a gap in the literature (Seaman et al., 2019). The reasons for which are likely to include the boundaries associated with extracurricular activities (adult-led and supervised activities and settings) and a tendency to conduct EAP/pyd research in urban areas (Seaman et al., 2019).

### **Art and storytelling**

Maru and Angus developed an interest in and passion for drawing as young boys, which was further developed in primary school, and then in high school where they took art as a subject. With the support and encouragement of their teachers and parents they went on to study art at a tertiary level, and today are well on their way to realising their aspirations to be practicing artists. Becoming an artist, however, was not something they contemplated until they entered tertiary education; prior to which Maru was planning to be an athlete, and Angus was looking for a job in a supermarket. Both young men did not consider art a legitimate career path, and Angus was shocked when he discovered how much people were willing to pay for art. As mentioned in my history of leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai – Leisure), the dismissal of art as a legitimate career may be related to a historical lack of art appreciation and/or an over-appreciation of sport in our country (M. King, 2003; M. Wright, 2013).

Art was also a significant activity in Taane’s life course. In primary school, his artistic ability transformed him from “that ugly Māori kid” to that “Māori kid that can draw,” and later contributed to his identity as “Māori and hip-hop.” His graffiti writing can be traced back to his enjoyment of drawing with his father as a boy, creating comic strips with his friends in primary school, and tagging as a teenager. In a similar vein, Justin’s storytelling is a form of art (and art is a form of storytelling). His aspiration to have his stories turned into games and movies can be traced back to kapa haka, gaming, and watching WWF wrestling on television as a boy. Justin’s wrestling alter-ego ‘Shogun’ is also involved in storytelling. However while Maru, Angus, Taane, and Justin associate their arts with the development of patience and perseverance – and in relation to wrestling, self-control – the EAP/pyd literature has little to say about the developmental benefits associated with the *visual* arts and storytelling. This gap in the literature is likely due to the combination of music, art, dance, and performance as a single activity category – and the exclusion of informal leisure participation. The studies conducted in Aotearoa (Macfarlane et al., 2014; Miller, 2015; O’Connor & Jose, 2018) also put more emphasis on the performing arts than the visual arts.

### **Skateboarding**

Justin, Maru, and Taane also enjoyed skateboarding, which is classified as an action sport (Booth & Thorpe, 2007). Action sports refer to a wide range of often

individual activities (e.g. BMX riding, surfing, and snowboarding) that are described as ‘alternative’ because they do not fit, and thus challenge, the “... traditional rulebound, competitive, regulated western ‘achievement’ sport cultures” (Thorpe, 2016, p. 91). Justin talked about being stereotyped as a troublemaker simply because he and his friends enjoyed skating, for instance. Maru talked about changing his appearance to become a member of the skating sub-culture; while Taane explained that skating “... keeps me in check and tells me I’m not trying to be on a higher class of people.” Taane’s descriptions of skateboarding speak volumes about his sense of spirituality, and illustrate the action sport ‘do-it-yourself’ philosophy (Thorpe, 2016), the concept of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997), and the spiritual dimension embedded in some holistic descriptions of leisure:

When that concrete smashes you it’s like: woo that’s right, that’s how hard the earth is... but then you get an elevated higher than clouds when you land stuff or, when you’re going at something for so long, or you’ve set this goal or you’ve envisioned something so crazy, and you achieve it, and you get this little 2 split seconds of a giggle to yourself, like *haha* I did it. Ah yeah and it’s like, it’s like the Universe stops just so you can have your little one second moment, and then everything carries on.

However, while some New Zealand studies have acknowledged the prevalence of informal leisure activities in the lives of young New Zealanders (Sport New Zealand, 2012; Sport NZ, 2019b), including skateboarding for boys generally and Māori boys specifically (Sport New Zealand, 2012), the boundaries of EAP/pyd studies tend to exclude action sports.

### **Video Games**

Justin, Angus, and Maru also included gaming in their life and leisure maps. Of particular note for the whānau of interest, was Angus’ self-described “addiction” to PlayStation. Both Angus and his mother talked about his mood swings and his lack of motivation to participate in other leisure activities. Thinking about the impact of gaming on his relationships, when asked if he would buy his future children a PlayStation he replied, “I wouldn’t even buy them a phone” and pointed to what he felt he had lost:

... before we had PlayStation... we had a lot of good family times together... And I remember back in the days like you would ring up your mates and that but now it's just like texting, um, which I think it had a bit of an impact on, on me like, making new friends.

In contrast, Justin talked about bonding with a family member through gaming. Like Angus, he was introduced to “video games” when he about six or seven years old by his youngest uncle, who would bring his Sega machine over to his house on weekends. Justin also said that his parents did not like the game because he spent too much time on it. As mentioned earlier, however, Justin credits kapa haka and gaming for sparking his interest in storytelling. In relation to his future children, Justin said that if they ‘get into’ PlayStation,

... well then I'll just make sure that they try and make that a career! [he laughs]. You can do that these days, turn it into a career. But I'll always try to encourage them to get into some sports, cause sports, helps with building relationships with people.

“Spacies” (Nintendo) were a “pretty significant” leisure activity for Maru as well, particularly during the summer “... with epic races and everyone playing.” He did not say, however, whether his parents disapproved or if his gaming became an addiction.

The influence of video games on youth development and behaviour is a controversial topic and area of study. A sizable amount of research in this area focuses on negative measures, in particular violent and aggressive behaviour (e.g. C. A. Anderson et al., 2004; Greitemeyer, 2019; Hasan et al., 2013); while a relatively smaller but increasing number of researchers have begun to investigate the potential positive outcomes of videogame use (Bers, 2012; Ferguson et al., 2013). Christopher Ferguson has a particular interest in this topic. In a meta-analysis of the literature, Ferguson (2007) concluded that the purported relationship between violent video games (aka action games) and aggressive behaviour is unfounded, but that video games might be associated with increased visuospatial cognition.<sup>155</sup> In another study, Ferguson and Adolfo Garza (2011) also suggest that

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<sup>155</sup> Visuospatial cognition gives us the ability to estimate the distance between objects and thus reach for and grasp objects, to write and recognise words, and imagine and visualise locations and objects (Milani et al., 2019).

violent games can promote prosocial themes of heroism, love, honor, sacrifice, bravery and teamwork. Moreover, Ferguson et al. (2013) contend that far from being passive consumers, children actively “... seek out media that fits their interests, motivations, internal drives or what they hope to learn” (p. 119). Ferguson (2010) argues that the purported influences of video games are over-reported and simplistic, and that discussions about the potential benefits of action game playing are prohibited by myopic and exaggerated views, and moral panic discourses.

Although brief Justin, Angus, and Maru’s kōrero offers some insight into both the positive and negative aspects of gaming. In retrospect, I wonder if and how the moral panic discourses surrounding gaming coloured the stories they chose to share. I am also surprised that the other SYMM did not mention PlayStation, and that no one mentioned social networking (e.g. Instagram, Facebook), or television viewing (e.g. Netflix). This topic represents a gap in this study, and therein a potential focus for future research and leisure literature reviews. Again, along with skateboarding, the absence of video games in the EAP/pyd literature is likely due to the exclusion of informal leisure activities as legitimate forms of extracurricular activity.

### **Dance**

For Taane, dance was an informal leisure activity. He was introduced to ‘breaking’ by some older boys in his last year of primary school, and although he became a member of a professional dance crew, he eventually grew tired of the dance culture and returned to dancing for fun and as a form of personal expression:

... it’s sorta like my present day, kapa haka fix. It’s my ah it’s like a spirituality thing, you can ah – especially when we think in cypher, when you dance, we just play music and everybody just, has turns. Someone will jump in and do something and then someone replies, or someone might be like: well that’s too close to my moves so I’m going to *step* to you and we’re going to go at it for a few rounds just to make sure we know whose move that is, or, or I just want to have a convo with you, and it’s cool cause you meet people from around the world, and you haven’t spoken, you’ve just stood in the circle: ok I’m going to throw down soon, and you’ll have conversations with a French dude, or a German dude or some brother from the Congo or, another

Māori native, and you hear them talking. And soon as the cypher's finished, it's like yeah it's like you've just formed – like you've been through a pōwhiri process or something. Ah and so there's something about making connections like that through music, without speaking this, colonised language I guess, without saying 'hello, where are you from?'

In dancing outside of an adult-led and formal setting, this highly emotive and enriching experience is also excluded from EAP/pyd research.



### **Summary**

In relation to the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these six SYMM, and how they contributed to their development, this study supports the existing EAP/pyd literature, but also adds to and extends on this body knowledge. In particular, this study supports the findings of gifted and talented research in which high-achievers are involved in wide a range of extracurricular activities including sports, music, art, service, and faith-based activities – as well as the findings of extracurricular activity studies demonstrating that different activities promote different developmental benefits, and therefore a combination of activities is the ideal.

However, this study also demonstrates that the activity categories used in international EAP/pyd studies limit the scope and potential of positive youth development studies. In comparison to *extracurricular* activities, scant attention has been given to *informal* leisure participation (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Seaman et al., 2019; Sharp et al., 2015). Rather than examining informal leisure activities as a distinct category, researchers have either combined them with extracurricular activities (e.g. Bartko and Eccles, 2003) or contrasted the two, with informal or casual leisure activities cast as a risk factor (e.g. Cooper et al., 1999; Sharp et al., 2015). This observation highlights the “strong bias” Bull et al. (2003) noted earlier, that favours active and institutionalised leisure over and above informal and alternative leisure activities. As my study illustrates, however, extracurricular activities such as sports and particularly rugby and kapa haka are not always positive developmental experiences; while informal leisure is more than simply watching television or passively ‘hanging out’ and can provide a foundation and



space for meaningful and rewarding experiences, relationships, and careers. These results challenge the PYD position that positive youth development is best facilitated in adult-led settings and activities (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012; Ramey & Rose-Krasnor, 2012). I argue therefore that rather than treating informal leisure as the antithesis of ‘constructive’ leisure, it should be approached in a positive light and seen as being full of potential. Approaching informal leisure activities as productive would represent a significant shift in research focus, and likely involve a critical examination of social, economic, and cultural aspects, and consequently educational agendas and priorities.

The research participants’ range of leisure activities also highlights a synergy with ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia. Ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia comprise/d a range of constructive and informal games and activities that prepare/d young minds and bodies for the tasks of adulthood – which in traditional Māori society included combat, hunting and gathering, courtship, leadership, and relationship building. These activities included running, jumping, fighting, swinging, swimming, singing, dancing, storytelling, musical instruments, and hākari (festivities). Similarly, ngā-mahi-a-te-whare-tapere also include/d dance, musical instruments, song, games, and storytelling (Royal, 1998b).

Further, the research participants’ range and combination of leisure activities resonates with the dimensions of Durie’s Te Whare Tapa Whā model. The balanced development of te taha tinana (e.g. sports), te taha hinengaro (e.g. music), te taha wairua (e.g. religious activities); and in being supported by whānau and with greater access to a range of other caring adults – te taha whānau. This observation supports Mason Durie’s (1984) statement that the growing child should have access to the technological, cultural, and spiritual worlds, and thus “... it behoves Māori and Pākehā institutions to increase the range of experiences for Māori youth...” (p. 12). It also supports Simmonds et al.’s (2014) finding that one of the key contributors to positive youth development is a wide “range of interesting activities”; and Reis and Renzulli’s (2004) argument that being ‘gifted and talented’ is more than a measure of academic intelligence, but rather a blend of above-average ability, high levels of task commitment, and high levels of creativity. Moreover, the research participants’ outdoor activities highlights te ‘taha’ whenua, one of the critical dimensions of health and wellbeing currently missing from Te Whare Tapa Whā (Heaton, 2015), and a gap in the existing EAP/pyd literature.

Emphasising balance, Te Whare Tapa Whā represents a deviation from the normative expectation and assumption that boys/males, and Māori boys in particular, are physical rather than intellectual, creative, and spiritual beings. It is therefore significant that traditional games, celebrations, and other cultural activities and events designed to strengthen the whakapapa connection between people, the atua, and Te Taiao are being revived and reinvigorated.

This study also paints a picture of the leisure activity patterns of a small cohort of successful indigenous males who were involved in the performing arts (kapa haka), began learning musical instruments at the transition to high school, and for whom informal leisure activities were particularly salient and therefore significant to their development.

### **Ka Mua, Ka Muri: Moving forward informed by the past**

In the third phase of the research, the whānau of interest participated in a group analysis, during which we discussed the SYMM's life and leisure maps and a selection of raw kōrero. Towards the end of the group analysis, they were then asked how they might turn their observations into future action. To be clear, the intention was not to educate the whānau of interest but rather 'to see what they see', and ascertain whether, and if so how, they benefited from participating in this study. For this reason, the tips and advice provided by the SYMM and their parents (Appendix 10) were not included in the analysis but distributed after that hui. In this final part of the chapter, I discuss the key outcomes of the research based on the major themes raised by the whānau of interest. This section speaks to subsidiary pātai 4, 'What 'messages and lessons' might urban whānau raising tamatāne take from the leisure activity patterns and narratives of these SYMM?'

### **A Variety and Balance of Leisure Activities**

Supporting international and local studies, and Māori models of wellbeing and development, the primary finding in this study is that a variety and balance of leisure activities is important for growing SYMM. The whānau of interest commented that their number and combination of childhood activities had kept these SYMM busy when they were growing up, had brought them into contact with lots of different people, including male role models who made important contributions to their development, and helped them develop a range of skills (e.g. artistic, musical, physical) and positive character traits (e.g. confidence). As

discussed above, these observations support the existing EAP/pyd literature, particularly the gifted and talented studies in which high-achieving elementary, middle-school, and high school students were found to be involved in a wider range of (extracurricular) activities than their lower-achieving peers, and their range of activities were associated with a range of competencies (e.g. academic and psychological), and pro-social behaviours and relationships (Bucknavage & Worrell, 2005; Fredricks & Eccles, 2006b; Gutman & McLoyd, 2000; Knifsend & Graham, 2012; Reis et al., 2004). In this study, the research participants' range of activities – sports, arts, music, service, religion – also align with the Te Whare Tapa Whā model of health and wellbeing, which promotes four critical domains of development: te taha tinana, te taha wairua, te taha hinengaro, and te taha whānau. Moreover, this study adds the outdoors to this range of activities, and thus supports the argument that te 'taha' whenua be added to Te Whare Tapa Whā (Heaton, 2015).

In relation to males, one study overlaps with some of these observations. Employing qualitative methods, Thomas Hébert (2000) studied the lives of six high-ability urban male high school students and concluded that their wide range of extracurricular activities – which included sports, arts, music, and to different degrees, faith-based activities – had provided them with,

... a strong source of interest and an opportunity to develop talents, work with caring adults in supportive relationships, and experience cross-cultural contact that allowed for better social and academic adjustment, as well as the development of a strong belief in self. (p. 107)

One point on which the present study differs to Hébert's findings is that for urban Māori, the 'cross-cultural dimension' would include learning more about themselves 'as Māori' through participating in kapa haka. What my research also adds to the literature are the views of parents in terms of how this information might be applied, with most of the whānau members planning to keep their tamariki in sports, to increase their number of activities, and to widen their range of organised and informal leisure activities (e.g. non-traditional sports, music lessons, art at home, kapa haka, and outdoor activities).

### **Whānau Support**

The second key finding of the research appeared to be a renewed energy to support their tamariki. In other words, a lot of the kōrero that the whānau of interest

analysed was not new to them, but served as a reminder. In relation to the EAP/pyd literature, their determination to be a force for good in the lives of their tamariki highlights the role of the family as the major protective factor for and moderator of positive development. However, while the resilience and Positive Youth Development literature emphasises the protective and supporting role of parents or the family unit (Benard, 1991; Benson, 2007; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Werner, 2005), the empirical EAP/pyd literature is limited. As mentioned elsewhere, the role and influence of the family is too often reduced or limited to one or both parents' highest level of education and/or income bracket. Hence my interest in Gutman and McLoyd's (2000) study in which they interviewed African American parents about how they managed their children's education, including their extracurricular activities.

To Gutman and McLoyd's (2000) study, my research adds a forward-looking account of how parents raising Māori boys plan to manage their sons' leisure time. For instance, at the conclusion of the group analysis, Dianna shared her plans to "... empower my son's independence more", and "... be more involved in their activities by learning how to coach or to be a referee." Pauline talked about "pushing the activities that [her boys] are good at and like doing"; talking to them "about their better qualities and make them feel good about it"; and taking them to games, being at their practices, and making sure they have all the right gear. Paula intended to "find out what [her boys] want to do and encourage them on that path. Expose them to different activities and opportunities through school and family outings." Rongo wanted to be "more forward about what [their son] likes to do... and just give him a little bit more encouragement"; whereas Karen stated, "... it's hard for me to look at these things and think: oh, I might try that because... I don't think my son would *grow* that way, he might just come to resent me." Again, she reiterated, "I'll wait for him to show me what he wants." Inspired by Taane, Lu talked about wanting her son to,

... feel comfortable in his own skin and be ok with you know who he is, so I've put down – and he likes drawing and dancing too – so it's like go and buy him some art supplies you know push that one, and then take him to like a pro-skate comp, and um cause I think he'll really enjoy it and his brain will start ticking over. Dance and sing with

him; stand with him, and do those kinds of things if it allows him to open up. Like with Taane’s thing it’s all about being you.

Whereas Priscilla planned to ask her boys if they would like to attend church, if they actually like the activities she had put them into, and intended to construct life and leisure maps with them as a means to plan for the future.

The idea of sitting down with our tamariki to talk about their activities and to plan for the future is significant, and highlights the importance and role of the whanau – as illustrate in the various Māori models of health and wellbeing (e.g. Te Pā Harakeke; see Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai – Leisure). Andrea pointed out, for instance, “we already know what we want to see in our own kids but to see it down on paper is very rare.” While Rongo stated, “... I’m not sure how many families have actually stopped, to actually ask that question. Like, you know, what is success? Like I’m asking myself now.” Although goal setting is a common exercise in schools, positive feedback about the life and leisure maps during the group analysis suggested that goal setting may be more effective if students/tamariki can see where they have come from and, therefore, where they might go. Goal setting in schools tends to focus on academic improvement, and therefore reflecting on ‘what is success for us’ and the role of leisure participation should be a family or even hapū focus. As discussed elsewhere, Poutama represents and illustrates the importance of planning for and with our tamatāne, and how their growth and success builds upon and adds to the wellbeing and success of the collective, and would be a useful tool.

### **Male Role Models**

The third *Ka Mua, Ka Muri* finding was the intention to bring more male role models into their boys’ lives. Having the support of least one other adult is a key finding of resilience, Positive Youth Development, and EAP/pyd research and includes other family members, coaches, teachers, church members, and peers (Benard, 1991; Benson, 2007; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Werner, 2005). Jason highlighted this topic at the close of his FGH:

... you gotta walk the walk and walk the talk. ... I know our Māori tamariki, our Māori boys, are looking at **me** [pointing to himself], I know that, and so I personally go out of my way to make sure that I’m modelling appropriately and um, yeah, yeah, so I’m always checking

myself... um so yeah, that's just my little contribution that I think, I feel I can make, um and it's not a hard job for me to do – just be *good around people*... kia u ki te pai – just do good things...

Andrea reiterated the importance of male role models during the group analysis, when she noted that their boys seem to want more time with Jason as they get older.

In terms of how the whānau of interest planned to apply this particular observation, they shared the following. In addition to the help she already receives from agencies, Priscilla planned to talk to the boys' father about their boys joining his rugby club. Paula said her son could learn music from his dad and his grandfather. Rongo suggested that he could nurture connections between their tamariki and their cousins, while Shona wrote, “try to surround my child with whānau/elders/supporters.”

What is significant here is that while the whānau of interest credited the boys' mothers with being strong role models, in their analysis they pointed more specifically to “male role models.” Male role models, however, is not an obvious focal point in the literature. A possible reason for this may be that other studies have reported the presence and input of both non-familial men and women (e.g. teachers), whereas the tāne in this study referred more often to their fathers, grandfathers, uncles, male teachers and principals, instructors, employers, and their friends' fathers. This topic warrants further investigation.



### **Summary**

In terms of key ‘messages and lessons for living’, the findings of this study support the current EAP/pyd literature. Previous studies indicate that young people who participate in more, and a wider range of (extracurricular) activities, as opposed to no participation and participation in one type of activity, are more likely to report more and a range of positive developmental outcomes and benefits. Further, studies indicate that integral to positive development are supportive parents and at least one other caring adult, which include the adults that young people meet and interact with in positive developmental settings such as schools (e.g. teachers, counsellors) and extracurricular activities (e.g. sports, clubs, holiday programmes, volunteering, church).

The qualitative, collaborative, and prospective dimensions of this study also add to the existing literature. While previous studies provide the reader with information that *might* inform subsequent action, this study reports on how a group of parents plan to apply the research findings. Further, while EAP/pyd studies have identified very few gender-specific findings, the whānau of interest highlighted the presence and positive influence of male role models.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have ‘visited’ the different puāwai that blossomed on the branches of this rākau rangahau, and in transferring pollen from one place to another stimulated the development of hua. I have discussed three sets of findings in relation to the literature and the four subsidiary pātai at the heart of the research.

In relation to indicators or signposts of positive development, the whānau of interest based their SYMM profiles on their aspirations for their primary school-aged sons. Although international studies focus on some of the same indicators (e.g. competence, caring, self-esteem), this group of parents prioritised happiness, independence, relationships, cultural identity, and values over and above academic achievement and money. In tracing the origins of the desired characteristics for their tamatāne, these priorities are rooted in diverse and shared experiences of humble upbringings, and in some cases hardworking but sometimes distracted and emotionally distant parents, and therefore a desire to do better than the previous generation. A thematic analysis of these markers demonstrates that other than wairuatanga, their aspirations resonate with local studies and Māori perspectives and models of positive and healthy development and wellbeing. However, notably absent in the SYMM profiles/posters are wairuatanga and gender-specific signposts of positive male development.

In relation to ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia, the discussion highlighted ways in which the results support, build on, and challenge the (reviewed) literature. Of particular relevance are gifted and talented studies that indicate (academically) successful youth participate in a wider range/breadth of activities including sport, music, arts, and faith-based activities – to which this study adds outdoor recreation/whenua. Leisure activities of particular interest include rugby in relation to notions of masculinity, kapa haka in relation to cultural identity, and the significance and salience of informal leisure activities.

In the last section of this chapter, I then discussed the three major outcomes of the research as observed by the whānau of interest. These outcomes include their intentions to encourage and create opportunities for their tamatāne to participate in more and a variety of leisure activities, to provide them with more support in their leisure activities, and to bring more male role models into their lives.

In the next chapter, Ngā Hua o Te Rākau Rangahau, I bring this thesis to close by summarising the various ‘fruits’ of this research tree.





## NGĀ HUA O TE RĀKAU RANGAHAU

When puāwai are fertilised, the hua or fruit begins to form. In the case of rākau kōhūhū, the hua include ngā puāwai, which can be used to make a grass-green dye. Other hua/fruits include ngā rau, which can be used to treat skin conditions and to freshen houses, and the sap, which can be combined with other ingredients to make chewing gum, hair and body oils, and perfume (Tipa, 2014). Also known as tāwhiri, sprigs of kōhūhū were used during pōhiri to beckon visitors, and tohunga use/d them for tohi rites and lifting tapu. Kōhūhū also provide a home and nourishment for insects and *manu* (birds), the latter of which are responsible for distributing the sticky kākano. In sum, rākau kōhūhū have multiple uses and can service multiple users. In this final chapter, I provide a summary of the different hua of this Rākau Rangahau, and answer the original pātai, ‘So what kinds of activities should we put our boys into?’



Figure 28: He kākano hou<sup>156</sup>

156 ‘Some new seeds.’ Source: *Pittosporum tenuifolium* (Kōhūhū) capsule, by Wikipedia Commons, 2019, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pittosporum\\_tenuifolium\\_\(Kohuhu\)\\_capsule.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pittosporum_tenuifolium_(Kohuhu)_capsule.jpg) Licensed for use under the Creative Commons Attribution Share Alike 4.0 International license.

## **Introduction**

This study began as a tiny seed that was planted in fertile soil. Te Kākano then sprouted a taproot that buried itself within Te Oneone and provided the anchor for this study. Te Kākano has now grown into a rākau that is now bearing its first season of fruits. These hua are the product of years of tending this rākau, which has had its trials and tribulations. There have been winds and storms, droughts and frosts, and seasons of dormancy and of rapid growth and development. I now step back to look at this rākau, and identify and discuss its various hua. In this concluding chapter, I offer a short answer to the research question; provide an overview of the research journey; identify some implications, limitations, challenges, and highlights; and offer some recommendations and some ideas for future research. Of course, there are no guarantees that these messages and lessons will be taken up, and I thus humbly offer them as koha.

## **A Short Answer**

The aim of this study is to offer whānau raising tamatāne some ideas about the types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to their boys' development. The short answer to this pātai is that a variety and balance of organised and informal/casual leisure activities is required. When these six young tāne were growing up they participated in a combination of organised and informal leisure activities including sport, kapa haka, music, outdoor recreation, and (for some) art, and faith-based activities. Consequently, and to different degrees, the parents in the whānau of interest have decided to keep their boys in sport, increase their number of sports, and to encourage them to try a wider range of leisure activities. Further, the whānau of interest was inspired to be more involved in their boys' leisure participation, to include them in decisions about their leisure activities and plans for their future, and to bring more male role models into their lives. They also came away from the study with a sense of whakamana; affirmation that as parents they are doing okay. I therefore conclude that this study was successful in achieving its primary aim to offer some ideas about the types of leisure activities that might make a positive contribution to boys' development.

An Overview

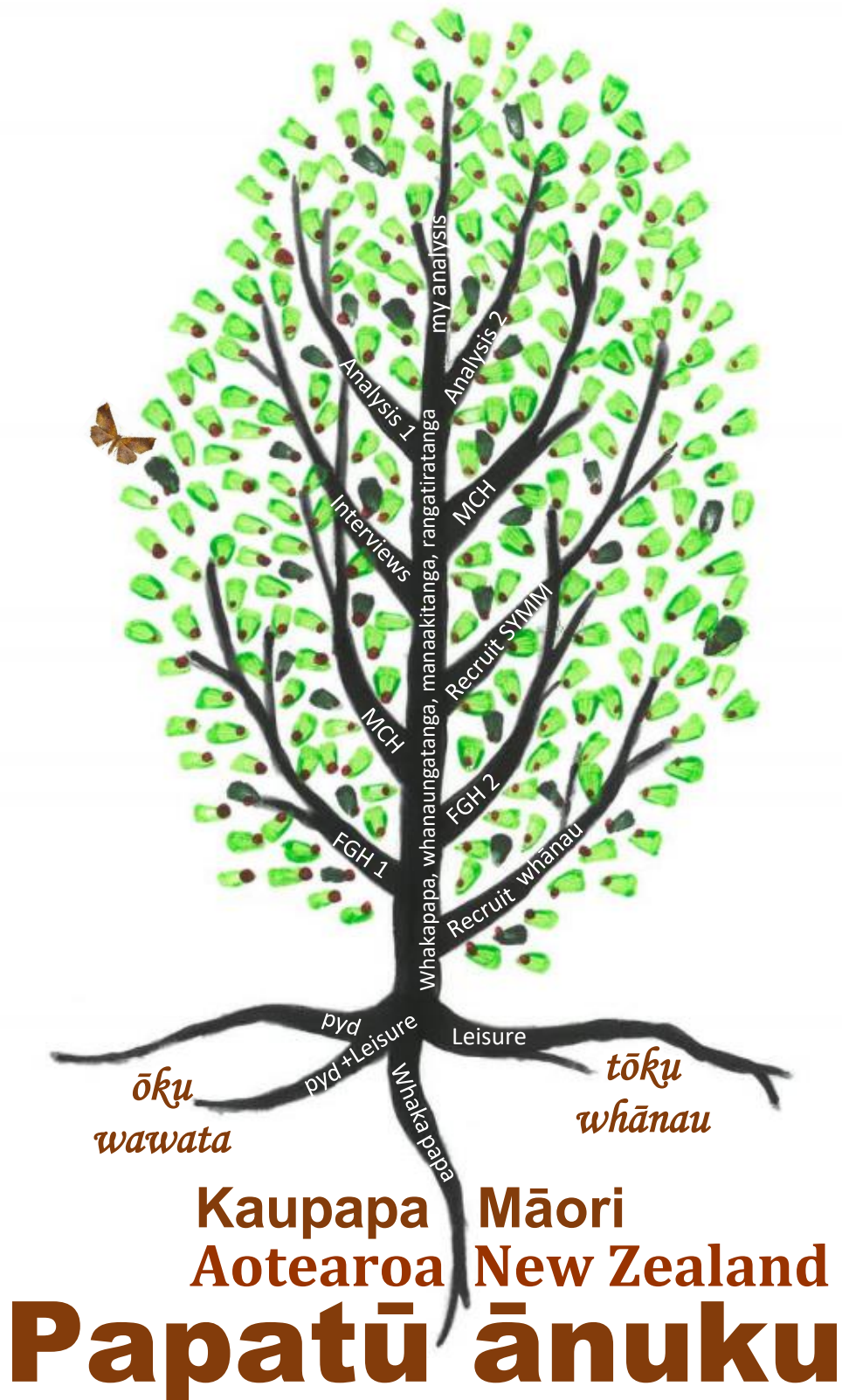


Figure 29: An overview of Te Rākau Rangahau

In the **Introduction**, I explained that it is in the spirit of making decisions for our children’s health and well-being that this research responds to the pātai, ‘What kinds of activities should we put our boys into?’ As context, I offered a synopsis of Aotearoa New Zealand history, including some of the key events leading up to and following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I then clarified some key cultural concepts, and described Te Rākau Rangahau framework, the organic framework for this study and thesis.

**Te Oneone** is the seedbed. This chapter opened with a selection of my ‘born into and lived by stories’, and into which I embedded meaning, information, and messages illustrating my connection to the research topics. I then offered a selective whakapapa (history) for kaupapa Māori research, which I describe as a ‘paradigmatic landscape’ that provides space and a platform for research conducted ‘by, with, and for’ Māori.

**Te Kākano** is the seed. In this chapter, I described the origins of this study; highlighted three decisions that began to shift me from a Western way of thinking about research towards a kaupapa Māori perspective; and summarised the research purpose, aims, and questions. Growing out of a kaupapa Māori landscape, and taking a strengths-based approach, the guiding research question was, ‘How might the leisure activity patterns and narratives of successful young Māori men (SYMM) inform urban whānau raising tamatāne?’ To this end, working ‘with and for’ a whānau of interest, the subsidiary research questions were: (1) What constitutes a SYMM? (2) What kinds of leisure activities did SYMM participate in when they were growing up? (3) How did these activities contribute to their development and who they are today? (4) What ‘messages and lessons’ might urban whānau raising tamatāne take away from the leisure patterns and stories of these SYMM?

**Te Kōmoremore** is the taproot. This theoretical framework is a conceptualisation of whakapapa and provided the anchor for and pumped nutrients up into this research tree. In this chapter, I illustrated how whakapapa and the layered and cumulative structure of kōmoremore are comparable. Inspired by the pūrākau, *Ngā kete o te mātauranga*, these layers consist of: Te Kiri Aronui, representing the world before us, the status quo, and the present; Te Kiri Huna, what lies out of plain sight, including the past and the spiritual world; Te Kiko Pūrākau, stories embedded with meaning, information, and knowledge including messages and lessons for living, for the future; and Te Aho Matua, the vascular system that

transported the distilled messages and lessons up into the research. The intention of this research design is expressed in the kīwaha *Ka mua, Ka muri*, which refers to walking backwards into the future with one's eyes on the past.

**Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai** refers to the three primary lateral feeder roots that absorbed nutrients provided by the external environment. These kōmore kaiwai comprise conceptual/contextual literature reviews for the concepts of leisure and positive youth development (pyd), and an empirical literature review that brought these two concepts together. Applying Te Kōmoremore framework, I discovered that the leisure and pyd literature is dominated by research conducted in the Northern Hemisphere; that what is missing from or buried beneath this literature are our local theories, perspectives, and approaches; and that far from being 'stuck in the past' Māori theorists, researchers, and practitioners are drawing on the past as a way to move Māori and Aotearoa New Zealand positively into the future. Of particular note were studies that indicated breadth of participation was more beneficial than one type of activity; gifted and talented studies that found high achieving students participated in sport, music, arts, and faith-based activities; and that a crucial protective and moderating factor are caring parents, friends, and other non-familial adults.

**Te Whakatupuranga** refers to the growth of this rākau rangahau and is the methodology and methods chapter. In Part One, I described Te Taikākā, the heartwood or core values/principles that provided this rākau with structure and stability. In Part Two, I described the research methods and processes for the three major phases in the study. First, I recruited 11 parents who during a focus group hui determined what constitutes a SYMM. Based on their aspirations for their primary school-aged tamatāne, their SYMM profiles/posters comprised the āhuatanga of rangatiratanga (independence), māia (confidence, determination), aroha-ki-te-tangata (e.g. kind, caring, selfless, humble), whanaungatanga (connected to whānau and culture), ringa rehe (e.g. multiple skills and willingness to learn), and uruhau (happiness). Second, I used their SYMM profiles/posters to locate and recruit two artists, two tradesmen, and two educators who together with one or both of their parents participated in a semi-structured interview that revolved around a life and leisure mapping exercise. Third, the whānau of interest reconvened for a group analysis of the SYMM leisure maps and narratives, during which we discussed how they might translate their observations into action at home.

In **Te Puāwaitanga**, I then described the results that ‘blossomed’ during the data analysis phase. In Part One, I introduced the whānau of interest, presented their five SYMM profiles/posters, and offered a thematic commentary that essentially added ‘flesh’ to these profiles. In Part Two, I offered portrait pūrākau for the six SYMM research participants, and in Part Three, a thematic commentary for the whānau of interest’s group analysis. During the group analysis, the whānau of interest made three key observations. These SYMM had: (1) participated in a number and variety of leisure activities (ringa rehe); (2) were connected to their whānau and other caring adults, particularly male role models (whanaungatanga); and (3) were independent (rangatiratanga), confident and determined (māia), happy (uru hau), humble, caring (aroha-ki-te-tangata), and resilient (manawanui) young men.

**Te Haenga** refers to the pollination of these puāwai/results, and is the discussion chapter. Here, I identified and discussed how this study supports and builds on previous studies, which have largely focused on the positive developmental benefits of extracurricular activity participation. My research supports the premise that breadth of participation is associated with a wider range of developmental benefits – that children and youth experiencing a positive developmental trajectory into adulthood participated in sport, music, the arts, and faith-based activities; had the support of caring parents/families, friends, and non-familial adults; and came into contact and spent time with other caring adults in their various leisure activities. Further, the findings related to music-making support O’Neill’s (2005) study, in which boys were highly motivated by their friends, chose their instruments, and formed or joined bands.

Building on previous studies, the findings highlight some contextual and cultural differences and significant gaps in the literature. First, this group of urban whānau were conscious of the typical indicators of positive development and success (e.g. academic success, financial security) but prioritised values, whānau and cultural connectedness, creativity, and happiness. However, in contrast to both international and other Māori-focused studies and frameworks, wairuatanga was not a priority. Further, similar to other studies and cultural frameworks the whānau of interest did not offer gender-specific markers of success or positive development. They did, however, point to the presence and positive influence of male role models.

This study not only points to a ‘number and variety’ but also to a balance of leisure activities that uphold and develop te taha tinana (e.g. sport, kapa haka), te taha hinengaro (e.g. music, storytelling), te taha wairua (e.g. faith-based and spiritual activities), te taha whānau (e.g. social and adult relationships), and te ‘taha’ whenua (e.g. outdoor recreation). Further, in the spirit of ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia, the SYMM’s activity patterns include both organised and casual forms of leisure. The significance and salience of their informal leisure activities challenge the argument that informal leisure is the antithesis of ‘constructive’, organised, adult-led extracurricular activities. Further, the prevalence of kapa haka participation for these six tāne directly contrasts with international studies in which boys report less involvement in the arts, illustrating that the international extracurricular activity categories may not be applicable in Aotearoa New Zealand. Moreover, the different developmental benefits that the SYMM attributed to sports and arts suggested that breadth of participation analyses should be applied to/within these categories.

Finally, in this chapter, **Ngā Hua o Te Rākau Rangahau**, I identify and discuss the various ‘fruits’ of this study. These hua include the messages and lessons that have been raised in this thesis, and some of the limitations of the research, and some of the challenges and highlights that I experienced as the researcher.

### **Limitations**

Like most things in life, this study has its limitations. These limitations, however, should not reduce the value of this study, and point to the need for further investigation/studies.

First, although I have highlighted an apparent ‘chasm’ in relation to EAP/pyd research literature in Aotearoa New Zealand, I acknowledge that there are sport and outdoor recreation researchers and practitioners who have investigated and are studying the benefits of particular activities for children and youth development (e.g. sports in particular). Such works were not included my literature review because they sit outside the scope of this particular study, which focuses on the developmental benefits associated with a *range* of leisure activities. However, a broader and a closer literature review of particular activities would be worthwhile.

Second, focused on the personal experiences and opinions of a relatively small number of parents and young Māori men, the findings of this study are not



generalisable. However, this study was not designed to be generalisable – but was tailored with and for the whānau of interest. Nevertheless, the contents of this thesis and the research findings may prove useful to other groups and individuals. To build a bigger picture of leisure in relation to pyd, it would also be worthwhile repeating this study with other SYMM.

Third, while the all the research participants reviewed and approved their transcripts and drafted profiles, they declined the invitation to review and provide feedback on the findings and discussion chapters. This means that the research participants had no input into the overall research findings. Their decision, however, suggests that they trusted the research process and the researcher – and I have done my very best to honour that trust.

### **Challenges**

There were two challenges that I found particularly difficult in the course of my doctoral journey. The messages and lessons shared here are for other researchers, and for the university.

The most difficult challenge was finding the confidence to approach this study from a kaupapa Māori perspective. As I shared in Te Oneone, I do not fit conventional notions of Māori identity and have experienced peer exclusion, and as a consequence, moments of self-exclusion. Even after three years of exploring kaupapa Māori research, I did not have the courage to ‘plant’ Te Kākano until I was able to ‘secure’ a Māori supervisor. It was Professor Rangī Matamua who reassured me that there are many versions of what it means to be Māori; that there are Māori world *views* rather than *a* Māori worldview. Even though I was aware of this, I still felt that I needed confirmation from, and the support of, ‘a real Māori’. Without a Māori scholar and mentor on my supervision team, I may not have developed my rākau rangahau and kōmoremore frameworks, both of which have been an important outlet for me. The fact that it took me two years to find a Māori supervisor who had the capacity to supervise another student illustrates the demand for Māori academics and the pressure under which they work. With an increasing number of Māori pursuing post-graduate qualifications, this situation needs to be urgently addressed.

As discussed in Te Kākano, shifting from a Western to a Māori approach to research was also a struggle. As Paulo Freire (1970) describes it, I was and am still wrestling with ‘the coloniser within’. This struggle meant that this rākau rangahau was slow growing, and signs of my struggle with my inner coloniser are sprinkled throughout this thesis. The completion of this study, however, is evidence that this struggle was not lost. In the course of this study, and in writing this thesis, I have found my voice and created a space in which to explore what I know, what I *think* I know, and my birthright and inheritance. In short, this study has been a source of healing and strength.

### **Highlights**

This project, while challenging, also had many highlights. One of these highlights has been establishing and developing personal and professional relationships with a wide range of people, and being part of a community of learning. The members of this community have been very generous with their time, talents, and wisdom and include the research participants, my supervisors, my student peers, other university staff members, scholars, and practitioners, and whānau and hapū members. Another highlight has been developing Te Rākau Rangahau framework. Although it took an immense amount of time and effort to develop, it was a deeply creative, reflective, enlightening experience and both personally and professionally satisfying and rewarding. This framework encouraged me to spend more time in the outdoors, to look more closely for and at the patterns and lessons offered by Te Taiao, and as a result, I feel much closer to and a deeper respect for our nature relations and spiritually in tune. Te Rākau Rangahau framework also highlights the significance of the kaupapa Māori research paradigm or movement, which has created a space within academia and from there the wider New Zealand and international context for Māori and indigenous worldviews, and out of which shared and diverse expressions and elaborations have grown and will continue to spring forth. I highly recommend that post-graduate students who may be searching for their ‘voice’ within academia to consider and explore the natural world for guidance and inspiration.

## **He Kākano Hou: Implications and Ideas for future research**

In this final section, I highlight some key messages and some implications for parents and whānau, educators, schools, and potentially local government and policy makers, and some more ideas for future research. These messages, implications, and ideas highlight the exploratory nature of this study.

### **Variety and Balance**

One of the key findings and messages from this study is that a successful trajectory from childhood into adulthood involves a variety and balance of leisure activities. I therefore recommend introducing our boys to, and involving them in, organised and informal leisure activities that nurture te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro, te taha wairua, te taha whānau, and te taha/papa whenua. Moreover, being supportive of our boys' leisure interests involves fostering their rangatiratanga by including them in the decision-making process. To facilitate their active involvement, it is essential that parents and whānau are able to provide everything their tamariki need to participate in their activities, including transportation and moral support.

In order to realise these recommendations, a number of things need to happen. Schools and activity providers need to ensure that their activities are more varied and attractive, and are also affordable and accessible. Schools and activity providers could offer children and youth opportunities to experience leisure activities beyond the typical activity menu of sports, and local councils could offer reduced leisure facility rates for community services cardholders. Given that schools are the primary captive sites for activity participation, teachers need to be supported through professional development and time allocation. This support should include and start with teacher education providers allocating time to support aspiring teachers to learn more about working in extracurricular and leisure activities at all programme levels (ECE, primary, and secondary). To further support parents, whānau, educators, and activity providers (e.g. after-school care providers and clubs), the sport and leisure industry could host an annual leisure activities expo, and central government/policy makers should discuss the provision of an annual leisure activity subsidy. Conversations also need to be had in relation to extending Te Whare Tapa Whā to acknowledge the importance of whenua to health, wellbeing, and positive youth development. I am also interested in developing and promoting Te Whare Tapa Whā as a positive youth development

framework – but also acknowledge that whānau, hapū, iwi and *hāpori* (communities) may have or prefer to develop their own balanced models and frameworks.

These recommendations will need to be supported by further research. However, rather than relying on the ‘indicators’, variables, and measures used in international studies, we need to conduct our own *leisure* participation/pyd research. Moreover, future studies should investigate the distinct activities (e.g. dance, music) that make up the typical activity categories (e.g. the arts).

### **Informal Leisure**

As a result of this study, I also challenge the assumption that informal leisure is the antithesis of organised leisure activities, which are considered to be the prime sites for Positive Youth Development. Informal leisure activities of significance and salience for the tāne involved in this study included peer-led music making, outdoor recreation, visual arts, video games, skateboarding, and dance. One of the major implications here is that researchers should view casual participant-led leisure as positive and valuable. The immediate significance for families is that the pressure to put their tamariki into organised activities is somewhat alleviated, in the sense that parents often feel that one of the signs of a ‘good parent’ is paying for their children to participate in organised activities (e.g. music lessons). For families who cannot afford or access organised leisure activities, this study indicates that informal leisure activities are also beneficial and are perhaps more meaningful. However, to understand the significance and value of informal leisure participation for child and youth development, more research needs to be conducted. One topic of particular significance and of increasing relevance today, is the influence of technology and social media.

### **Male Role Models**

It is apparent that tamatāne involved in a range of leisure activities increase their social capital and adult networks. One of the implications for parents, schools, and activity providers is therefore to ensure that the adults involved in their children’s activities do in fact make a *positive* contribution to boys’ development. As explained in Te Kākano, the original pātai for this study was a response to the findings of my Master’s research (Clarke, 2012), in which the research participants experienced bullying and intimidation at the hands of their rugby coaches. I thus recommended that, (1) parents/caregivers remain involved in their sons’ sporting

activities right up into high school and beyond, and (2) that schools and activity providers (e.g. sports clubs) continue to vet and monitor their activity leaders. Adding to these recommendations, I now also suggest that government agencies, and hapū and iwi initiate positive role model programmes, including public health messages reminding young and older tāne that the younger generations are watching them, and need their support and guidance. Schools and community groups could also do more to encourage and provide deliberate mentoring interactions and relationships.

In addition to addressing the noticeable gap in the literature, there are at least two reasons to conduct more studies focusing specifically on Māori males. First, to negate the negative stereotypes associated with Māori and Māori males we must promote and celebrate the fact that there are Māori males who are doing well and are thriving. The Positive Deviance approach suggests that we investigate what these thriving tāne are doing differently, which would require identifying/establishing ‘the norm’. Second, the absence of male-specific indicators for positive development suggests that we are not talking to tamatāne about what is expected of them as Māori males and future husbands/partners and fathers. As some of the parents in the whānau of interest pointed out, they had not really thought about what success means to them for instance. Talking with boys about their aspirations and then mapping out an action plan could be a useful approach. Towards these ends, Poutama and Te Ara Waiora a Tāne (Bush et al., 2019) would be useful tools for whānau and schools (see Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai), and the application and results of which would make for valuable research projects.

### **Kapa Haka**

Another important aspiration the whānau of interest pointed to in this study, was a desire for their tamariki to be connected to their (wider) whānau and to their culture. These aspirations were grounded in positive and negative childhood experiences, including the feelings of pride and confidence experienced in kapa haka, the joy and freedom associated with ‘being’ on and with the land, and the shame associated with not understanding what might be considered basic tikanga. Readily available in their children’s primary school, joining the kapa haka group was identified as an important activity for developing a sense of cultural identity, which was in turn supported by the fact that all the SYMM had participated in kapa haka.

In this study, kapa haka has been linked with a positive sense of cultural identity and feelings of whanaungatanga, as well as promoting discipline, commitment, and confidence. However, this and other studies also found that although tamariki and rangatahi thoroughly enjoy this activity, some of them found the level of commitment required to be competitive too intense. Some rangatahi dropped out of kapa haka in order to do better or well in school, or as a result of bullying; while others did not join because it was ‘both or nothing’ (Borrell, 2005; Miller, 2015). Given the reported benefits associated with kapa haka participation, and the significance of this cultural activity for urban tamariki in particular, I recommend that schools and tutors offer a social option or make kapa haka compulsory for all students and offer a competitive option. To explore the soundness of this recommendation, it would be worthwhile studying the experiences and developmental outcomes of voluntary and compulsory kapa haka participation for diverse groups of children and youth. In a similar vein, it would also be worth investigating how other formal and informal leisure activities can nurture and promote Māori cultural identity.

### **Wairuatanga**

Related to cultural identity, wairuatanga is a core dimension of Māori cosmology and thus Māori worldviews including Māori models of health and development. In this study, however, wairuatanga was not specifically identified as a desired characteristic or aspiration for tamatāne. In contrast, some of the participants in Macfarlane et al. (2005) and Miller’s (2015) studies identified wairuatanga, and international studies, faith-based activities as an important protective factor and indicator of positive youth development. As discussed in Te Haenga, this absence of wairuatanga as a characteristic of success is likely one of the many intergenerational implications of colonisation and urbanisation. Thus, the on-going work of decolonisation, and within the New Zealand Curriculum, must continue. Moving forward, the ‘concept’ of wairuatanga in relation to positive youth development also warrants further investigation.

### **Music Making**

Another leisure activity that caught my attention was music making, which has been linked to the developmental benefits of patience and perseverance, and feelings of being “uplifted” – and to which the literature adds teamwork skills, cooperation, commitment, and educational outcomes in reading and maths (Gerdy, 2000).

Moreover, the SYMM involved in this study provided insights about how their friends motivated and facilitated their music making, the (low) quality of music instruction in schools, and the value of youth bands. Consequently, one of the recommendations for schools is that music making for boys be a peer-led activity.

Another message embedded in the findings of this study is that boys' leisure interests continue to grow and shift in high school. Prior to this study, I was under the impression that for leisure participation to make a positive and long-lasting impact on our children's development they needed to be involved as early as possible. Indeed, O'Neill (2005) found that children who began playing instruments earlier were more likely to continue playing while in high school, while Modecki et al. (2018) found that breadth in EAP at the transition to high school delayed the age-typical decline in EAP and young people's self-concept. However, the tāne in this study took up musical instruments in high school, and continue to play to this day. Thus, one of the lessons here is that rather than giving up activities boys may actually develop and pursue new leisure activities at the transition to high school. Schools should therefore continue to provide their students with a variety of activity options, and remove any restrictions placed on taking up music making at high school (e.g. prerequisite skill or study).

Music was also the one leisure activity that pointed to a possible gender-specific pattern. My findings support O'Neill's study (2005), in which she found boys were highly motivated by their friends, chose traditionally 'gender-appropriate' instruments (e.g. drums, guitar), and formed bands earlier than girls. If our goals include broadening boys' leisure participation, and developing and strengthening te taha hinengaro, offering music making experiences that enthuse and are rewarding for boys deserves further exploration.

### **Ngā Mahi a Te Rēhia**

Finally, the leisure literature review highlighted the substantial attention given to sport at the expense of leisure, and to European/Pākehā leisure history at the expense of Māori leisure history. In weaving together pockets of kōrero, however, I was able to construct a history of leisure that highlighted some of the gaps in the literature that require and deserve further investigation, including the legacies of Māori leaders such as Tā Āpirana Ngata and Te Puea Hērangi. Taking a *Ka mua, Ka muri* approach, a focused history should also include the revitalisation projects initiated in recent decades. A valuable contribution would be organised according

to the dimensions of Te Whare Tapere as described by Royal (1998b) and Durie's Te Whare Tapa Whā model (inclusive of te 'taha' whenua). The history of leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand is one area in which tangata whenua have been largely ignored, forgotten, and misrepresented, and needs to be reclaimed and rewritten for the pride and for the benefit of current and future generations. My research interests moving forward also include exploring the developmental benefits related to participating in ngā mahi a te rēhia including ngā taonga tākarō.

## **Conclusion**

When I was a little girl, I decided that I wasn't having babies when I grew up. But of course, things change. I actually had four tamariki, four boys, and my responsibilities and experiences as their mother (as well as my own childhood experiences) have informed my research interests, and my desire to work with and for young people, and rangatahi Māori and urban Māori in particular.

My exploration of whānau aspirations, extracurricular activity participation, and positive youth development has highlighted some common findings and notable gaps in the literature, some contextual and cultural differences, and a number of topics that deserve further investigation. This ending is, therefore, another beginning – which is appropriate given my organic framework. While this study was designed for the whānau of interest, my hope is that readers might also derive some benefit from this study. I also propose that this research project makes a positive contribution to the fields of research that overlap in this thesis. These fields include the history of leisure in Aotearoa New Zealand; kaupapa Māori research and methodology, and mātauranga Māori; Māori aspirations; strength-based studies about young Māori men; Māori models of health and wellbeing; urban Māori studies; whānau ora; positive youth development; sport and leisure; kapa haka, and music making.

In closing, I wish to again acknowledge and thank the whānau of interest, and the six young men and their whānau members, for working together and with me on this project. It has taken time for this rākau to germinate, to grow, and to blossom – but tending to it and watching it grow has been rewarding and my privilege. Due to your willingness to share your thoughts and experiences, this humble rākau is now bearing fruit; fruit that might prove useful to other parents and whānau, as well



as educators, researchers and others who may also want to know: *What kinds of leisure activities might help tamatāne to grow into successful young Māori men?*

He karakia whakamutunga<sup>157</sup>

Tēnei kaupapa, ōku whakapapa.

Mai i te atatū, kia takatū, kia hautū, kia whakatū.

Tae noa ki te ahiahi pō, kia kāpō, kia ngaro, kia āpōpō.

He wānanga.

E Rongo, kia rongo.

Whakairia ake ki runga.

Tūturu whakamāua, kia tīna, tīna!

Hui e, tāiki e!

*This project is an extension of and has become part of my lineage/life story. From the early dawn, to be prepared, to be explored, to be constructed. Until the dusk, to be in nightly slumber, to be in the dream world, to be until tomorrow. It is a higher learning and sharing. Supreme Peace, with intonement. Elevated to the upper region. Permanently held, to be firm, yes it is! Assembled and completed!*

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<sup>157</sup> A closing karakia. Nā Hoani Eriwata i whakahua ngā karakia.

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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix 1 – Invitation to participate in the study**

Tēnā koe / Tēnā kōrua,

My name is Gloria Clarke, I am a mother of four boys, and I am currently a University of Waikato PhD student.

[Name of the school] has kindly agreed to support my research and this invitation has been extended to you because your whānau includes one or more primary school-aged boys.

Very briefly, my research asks ‘successful young Māori men’ (18yrs+) to talk about the sport and leisure activities they did when they were growing up, so that parents like you and I will have some more ideas about the kinds of activities that might be good for our sons.

But before I talk to any ‘successful young Māori men’, I need your help: What does a successful young Māori man ‘look’ like? In other words, what are they doing that means they are ‘successful’?

To answer these questions I am inviting parents/caregivers like yourself to attend a group discussion.

This group will meet sometime in May. The exact date and time will be scheduled after I talk with everyone who would like to participate. The group will be made up of approximately 8-10 parents/caregivers from your school and will meet once for approximately 2 hours. Please note, parents/caregivers do not need to be of Māori descent, but their son should be.

If you have any questions please feel free to contact me. I will also be here during the Student-Led Conferences to talk about the project, answer questions, and to start a list of interested parents. If you would like to accept this invitation please come and see me, or use the details below to contact me before the end of Term 1.

Kia ora, Gloria Clarke  
[contact details]

## **Appendix 2 – Whānau/Household questionnaire**

**Name:**.....**Ph. Number:** .....

Guiding script: Everyone participating in the discussion is being asked to complete a questionnaire, and rather than spend our time filling out forms I thought we could do this over the phone *{do you have 10-20mins?}*. These questions are not the focus of the discussion; they are going to help me find ‘a whānau like yours’ (e.g. similar size, income, cultural experience etc.). Your answers are also going to be used to create a picture of the group that has defined ‘success/achievement’ for this study, but your identity will be kept confidential and you’ll get to check what I write before it goes into the final report. If you don’t want to answer any of the questions just say ‘pass’.

**1. What is your son’s first name and how old is he? .....**  
*{if more than one son attends school, answer questions with your youngest son in mind}*

What is your relationship to him? *(e.g. dad/mum/aunt)*.....

Does he have Māori ancestry?            No / Yes

Does he identify as Māori?            No / Yes

### **Thinking about me finding and interviewing ‘a son like yours’:**

How many brothers and sisters does he have, and how old are they?

.....

How many of your children are living at home at the moment? .....*{incl.son}*

What sports and activities did your son participate in over the last 12mths?  
*(prompts: kapa haka, rugby, music, arts, dance, clubs?)*

.....

Does he have any other interests?

.....

What kinds of things does he do that helps him connect/bond with his Māori heritage? *(prompts: te reo Māori, culture groups, tv shows, karakia, games, anything outdoors?)*

### **2. Thinking about me interviewing ‘a whānau like yours’:**

Besides your children is there anyone else living at home? *(e.g. dad/mum, koro/nanny, cousins)*

.....

Are there any other family members helping with your children on a regular basis? *(e.g. your mum/dad/sister/brother/cousin; how do they help out?)*

No / Yes .....

Is your *total* (mum and dad) income above or below \$30,000 a year (\$575wk)?

Above / Below

**3. Again, thinking about the idea of a whānau like yours:**

Is Mum:            under 25            25 to 35            35 to 45            over 45

Is Dad:            under 25            25 to 35            35 to 45            over 45

Mum's occupation: .....

Dad's occupation: .....

Mum's highest level of education:.....

Dad's highest level of education:.....

Mum's favourite activities (*prompts: sports, arts, outdoors, music, clubs, hobbies*)

.....

Dad's favourite activities (*prompts: sports, arts, outdoors, music, clubs, hobbies*)

.....

Mum's cultural/ethnic background: .....

*(If Māori)* Do you / does she identify as Māori?            No / Yes

Iwi/Tribal affiliations: .....

Dad's cultural/ethnic background: .....

*(If Māori)* Do you / does he identify as Māori?            No / Yes

Iwi/Tribal affiliations: .....

***[If not Māori = skip to next page]***

How do you respond to *Nō hea koe*?

.....

How often do you go back there, and why do you go? .....

Why do you choose to live in Hamilton?

How connected do you feel to your wider whānau, marae, hapū and iwi, the whenua/environment/land?

What kinds of things do you as a *family* that connect/bond you with the Māori world/your Māori heritage? (*prompts: te reo Māori, culture groups, tv shows, karakia, family wananga*)

Do you practice any particular religion?      No / Yes .....

---

**>>Questions to be completed at the hui**

---

**1. Which of the following best describes your household? (*circle one*)**

- A. We have a strong sense of being Māori and have good access to Māori cultural and social resources, such as te reo Māori, tribal/ whānau land, marae, extended whānau, and other elements of the Māori world (e.g. values, tikanga).
- B. We have a strong sense of being Māori, but do not have good access to Māori cultural and social resources (e.g. language, land, marae, extended whānau, values, tikanga).
- C. We are Māori, but do not have any contact with the Māori world.
- D. We do not describe ourselves as Māori even though we have access to the Māori world

**2. At a later date, would you be willing to participate in a one-to-one interview?**

Yes/No. If yes, what is the best way to contact you? (email, telephone, text)

.....

**I give Gloria Clarke permission to use this information in her research:**

.....(signature)

Date: .....

### **Appendix 3 – Whānau of interest consent form**

#### **I consent to:**

- 1) taking part in a 2 hour group discussion with approximately 8 other parents
- 2) the discussion being audio- and video-recorded (*video ensures that talk is attached to the correct speaker. Recordings will only ever be seen/heard by Gloria Clarke and her supervisors*)
- 3) being asked about my opinions and experiences including my aspirations for my son and/or family
- 4) Gloria using the information I provide to write her Ph.D dissertation/report
- 5) being assigned a false name | using my real name in her dissertation (*please cross one out*)
- 6) my data/talk, as presented and interpreted in Gloria's dissertation, being used for future research articles, presentations, and teaching – so long as my identity is protected and I cannot be identified – unless I have given my **explicit consent** to be named (see point 5).

#### **I understand that:**

- 7) my participation is voluntary and therefore I am free to withdraw from the study at any time and can decline to answer particular questions
- 8) in signing this form, I am saying that I understood the purpose of this research and my rights as a research participant *before* the discussion began
- 9) Gloria will type up everything I say and I will be asked to read and approve that information
- 10) I have the right to access my information and to make amendments to or withdraw all or parts of that data *prior to analysis*
- 11) analysis will begin when I have approved and released my typed information
- 12) only Gloria will have access to my data and she will keep it in a secure location for the duration of the research process
- 13) after Gloria's dissertation has been submitted for examination my information will be kept in a secure location for approximately 5yrs (for academic examination, challenge, or peer review), after which it will be destroyed
- 14) after assessment, Gloria's dissertation will become widely available via the University's website
- 15) while my identity will remain confidential in Gloria's dissertation, any information I share will not be (e.g. my opinions and experiences)
- 16) because this is a *group* discussion confidentiality cannot be guaranteed
- 17) at some time in the near future I may be invited to participate in an additional 30-60 minute one-to-one interview
- 18) after Gloria has shared her initial findings with the parent groups I may be invited to talk about whether I have and/or how I have used that information
- 19) if I have any questions, concerns or would like to make a complaint I can contact Gloria's chief supervisor, Associate Professor Clive Pope (07 8384466 ext. 7838, email: [cpope@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:cpope@waikato.ac.nz))



**I agree:** *(please tick)*

- that my son/nephew meets the criteria set out in the Information Sheet (i.e. of Māori descent)
- that I have read the Information Sheet and the details of the study have been explained to me
- that my questions have been answered to my satisfaction
- to participate and supply information to Gloria under the conditions set out above
- not to repeat what is said in the discussion group to others, or to talk to others about who participated in the discussion

Name.....*(one form per participant)*

Signed..... Date.....

## **Appendix 4 – Focus group hui interview guide**

### **SET UP:**

- Camera and MP3
- Folders, forms, name stickers
- Seating
- Kai
- Whiteboard: Agenda; whanaungatanga points; first question

*(Agenda items: Introductions / Consent forms / Discussion & Activity / Closing thoughts / more time to complete forms)*

### **WELCOME:**

- Mihi
- Karakia?
- Kaupapa/Agenda
- May not have time for a break so feel free to get up and down as you need
- Wharepaku [location]

### **Whakawhanaungatanga:**

1. My intro: *I know more about you, than you know about me...*
2. Going around the room: name; something about your family and children; why you volunteered to participate in this discussion today [leave it up to them whether they give their pepeha]

### **Consent forms:**

1. Any questions?
2. Emphasise questions: 2, 5, 16
3. Any questions before we move on?

---

### **START PROPER:**

I have a particular interest in storytelling, so I encourage you to think and talk in stories – memories, past experiences, past conversations.

### **Tikanga/Group rules:**

1. one person speaking at a time
2. no right or wrong answers = different points of view is why I am here
3. group talk = speak and reply to each other rather than me

### **PRESENT: What is success?**

**Your 10yr old son asks you for help with his social studies homework. The question is: How does your family define or describe ‘success’? How do you answer – what do you talk about?**

Write individual response on paper provided, then group share:

**Prompts/Clarification:** *One thing I’ve heard several people mention is [...] can we talk about that some more; So what you’re saying is...*

### **PAST: Origins of whakaaro**

**I’m really interested in how past events inform the present and future events: What kinds of past experiences have influenced or informed your thoughts about ‘success’?**

**Prompts/Clarification:**

- *looking at your opening answer sheet, what kinds of memories come to mind?*
- *[name] you talked about [topic] – is there a particular story that comes to mind?*
- *I’m surprised that no one’s mentioned [...] so that isn’t that an issue?*
- *So what you’re saying is...*
- *One thing I’ve heard several pp mention is [...] lets talk about that*

### **FUTURE: Profiling/Poster Activity**

**The goal of this activity is to create a profile for a SYMM, the type of young man you want your son to grow up to be.**

**Steps:** [as listed on activity sheet]

1. Make a list of the attributes and skills you would like your son to have when he’s older. [list provided to get them started]
2. Tick your TOP 6 picks
3. Find a partner, ideally someone who has some similar ideas, and combine your Top 6 lists. You can combine similar points into one point.
4. Together, rank your list (1 being the most important)
5. Create a poster (name sheet)
6. Now agree on TOP 6 picks

## 7. Age? Occupation?

## GROUP TALK ABOUT POSTERS

- How are you, or are you planning to help your son become this young man?
  - Are these profiles realistic? [ie. Achievable?]
- 

**WRAPPING UP:**

- 1) Going around the room, invite everyone to share a final thought about the topic
- 2) {I go last and sum up}

**What happens next:**

- Type up and send out kōrero
- After both FGH, I will interview three young Māori men and their whānau...
- I'll bring what I find back to you for another discussion [analysis]
- I hope to be back by the end of the year...

**Final tasks:**

- Signed your consent form?
- Checked and signed your questionnaire?
- Any final questions?

**Thank everyone / Karakia Whakakapi**

Invited to stay and finish kai (or take kai with them)

## **Appendix 5 – Member checking interview guide**

### **Take:**

- Folder and pen
- Copy of their profile
- MP3 recorder
- Kai

### **1. TRANSCRIPT:**

- a. Go through and check/talk about each written question/note
- b. Any other changes to make?

### **2. YOUR PROFILE:**

- a. Accurate?
- b. Are you comfortable this information being used?
- c. Sign release form

### **3. TE HOE NUKU ROA PROFILE:**

- a. You ticked this (a, b, c, d) – does this still stand?
- b. How do you interpret this statement?

### **4. POST HUI:**

What impact, if any, did the hui have on your thinking? What have you done since that might be related to participating in that hui? (e.g. did you talk to the kids or partner about what success is/isn't?)

### **5. SYMM PROFILES:**

- a. What do you think?
- b. Accurate?
- c. Any suggestions or referrals?

### **6. PURAKAU [optional]**

Invite them to write a story or poem (etc.) about what success means to them. (i.e. a narrative embedded with messages and lessons for the reader).

### **7. NEXT?**

- a. I will type up what was said today and send you a hardcopy and release form
- b. Email your pūrākau to me.

## **Appendix 6 – Successful Young Māori Men information sheet**

Kia ora, thinking about the types of sport and leisure activities that I should encourage my 5yr old son to do, I want to ask successful young Māori men (SYMM) **what they did when they were growing up and how those activities contributed to their successes.** However, rather than focus on my needs only I have invited other parents to participate in this study. Together, our goal is to learn from successful young Māori men like yourself (and your parent/s), with a view to trying what we learn from you, with our own boys.

The research has 5 stages:

# 1

### **PARENT FOCUS GROUP**

In May, 11 parents discussed ‘success’ and their aspirations for their sons and created three SYMM profiles. In addition to values like honesty, generosity, and humility they would like to see their boys become educators, tradesmen, or artists/musicians/creatives.

# 2

### **PARENT FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS**

In July, I met with the parents individually and we looked at what they said in the parent focus group.

# 3

### **FIND SYMM**

The search for SYMM concluded in November. A short (anonymous) profile was created for each volunteer and these profiles were sent to the parents, who then selected 6 SYMM for an interview.

# 4

### **SYMM INTERVIEWS**

The next step is to interview you. Together we will map out and talk about your childhood leisure activities. Your parents or other whānau members are also invited to participate, as we’d like to hear their perspectives.

# 5

### **SHARE**

Your information will then be taken back to the parent group. The research journey and findings will be written up as a PhD thesis. The outcomes of the research will be shared with all those who have participated in the project, and the wider community.

## **Appendix 7 – Successful Young Māori Men consent form**

**I have read the attached information sheet and the details of the study have been explained to me.**

### **I consent to:**

- 1) taking part in an approximately 2-3 hour interview
- 2) that interview being audio-recorded (*Recordings will only ever be heard by Gloria Clarke and her supervisors*)
- 3) being asked about my experiences and opinions
- 4) Gloria using the information I provide to write her Ph.D dissertation/report
- 5) being assigned the false name \_\_\_\_\_ /using my real name in her dissertation (*circle one*)
- 6) my data/talk, as presented and interpreted in Gloria's dissertation being used for future research articles, presentations, and teaching – so long as my identity is protected and I cannot be identified – unless I have given my **explicit consent** to be named (see point 5)

### **I understand that:**

- 7) my participation is voluntary and I can withdraw from the study at any time and decline to answer particular questions
- 8) in signing this form I am saying that I understood the purpose of this research and my rights as a research participant before the interview began
- 9) Gloria will type up everything I say and I will be asked to read and approve that information
- 10) I can access my information and to make amendments to or withdraw all or parts of that data *prior to analysis*
- 11) analysis begins once I have approved and returned my typed information
- 12) only Gloria will have access to my data and she will keep it in a secure location for the duration of the research process
- 13) after Gloria's dissertation has been submitted for examination my information will be kept in a secure location for approximately 5yrs (for academic examination, challenge, or peer review), after which it will be destroyed
- 14) after assessment Gloria's dissertation will become widely available via the University's website
- 15) while my identity will remain confidential in Gloria's dissertation any information I share will not be (e.g. my opinions and experiences)
- 16) at some time in the near future I may be invited to participate in an additional 30-60 minute one-to-one interview

17) if I have any questions, concerns or would like to make a complaint I can contact Gloria's chief supervisor, Associate Professor Clive Pope (07 8384466 ext. 7838, email: [c pope@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:c pope@waikato.ac.nz))

**I agree:** *(please tick)*

- that my questions have been answered to my satisfaction
- to participate and supply information to Gloria under the conditions set out above

Name: ..... Signed: .....

Dated: .....



## **Appendix 8 – Successful Young Māori Men interview guide**

**Research Question:** What kinds of sport and leisure activities did SYMM do when they were growing up and how did those activities contribute to their successes?

*\* items that were added to the original guide*

### **Introductions**

- Myself
- The study [use info sheet] and their part in project
- What we're going to do and estimated timeframe
- Pātai?
- Consent form: Walk through this together, sign, and leave them a copy

### **Tamatāne Interview:**

#### **CREATE WHAKAPAPA MAP**

**Biographical questions, from 5yrs old:**

- **Where** did you live?
- **Who** were you living with? (siblings, parents, other whanau)
- What **schools** did you attend?
- **Work/Jobs/employment?\***

**Activities:**

1. **First activity** you remember? [most salient]
2. **Other activities?**
  - **Sports:** games with rules, referees, winners/losers, uniforms, training
  - **Leisure:** (e.g. fishing, camping, hunting, trips, music, dance, arts)
3. **Any others?** (e.g. musical instruments; dance; art; drama; kapa haka; mau rākau, trips...)\*

**NARRATIVE for each activity (working across the page)**

1. How did you **get involved** in that? [did parents put him in or did he choose]
2. What did that **involve?** [commitment e.g. trainings, game days, trips etc.]
3. How was **mum/dad** involved? [coaching, manager, fundraising etc.]
4. What was your **favorite / least fav.** thing about it?
5. Why did you **stop?**
6. What did you **learn?** (e.g. about yourself, others, the world?)
7. Is there anything that **could've been done better?**

**TIPS & ADVICE for whānau for interest:**

1. Regarding childhood activities, **what did your parents do really well?**
2. Are there any activities you would have **liked to have done, but didn't?** [explore]
3. What **advice** would you give to parents with young boys, about sport and leisure?

**SUCCESS & VALUES (re. profiles):**

- How do you think all these activities **prepared you for adulthood** and contributed to your success?
- **Thinking about everything here and the success of your future children,** what will you do with their sport and leisure time? Would you encourage them to do these activities too?

- **Who do you admire** and why? What words would you use to describe them?
- Do you **feel successful**?

### Parent/Whānau Interview:

#### MAP:

1. Is anything **missing**?
2. Which activities did **he choose** and which did **you put him into**? [tick ones they did]
3. How were you **involved**? [he may have forgotten]
4. Why did he **stop**? [your view]
5. Thinking about who provided these activities, what could've been **done better**?
6. Was there anything he **wanted to do but didn't** or couldn't? [explore]
7. I notice **there's no**: (e.g. music; dance; art; individual sports; team sports; drama; kapa haka; rākau)...
8. Did **you participate in any activities** when they were growing up? [role modeling; list]
9. What was **your favourite thing to do with the kids**?

#### TIPS & ADVICE:

1. Were there any commitment **issues/struggles**? What did you do?
2. What were your strategies for managing **transportation and fees**?
3. If you could do it again, is there **anything you would do differently**?
4. What's **your philosophy** or thoughts about children/boys and activity?
5. What **advice** would you give other parents about activities and boys?

#### SUCCESS & VALUES (re. profiles):

- How did his primary activities **help prepare him for High School**?
- How have all of these activities **contributed to his successes**?
- How would you **describe him** to other parents? (e.g. loving, humble, caring, kind, adventurous)

### WRAPPING UP:

#### **Bring everyone together**

>Check that I have their iwi affiliations.

#### **Final questions come from the whanau involved in the study:**

1. What were your chores?
2. When did you leave and what did you have when you left home?
3. What is your career goal?

#### **Would you like to share any last thoughts about this topic?**

#### **What happens next...**

- Map and kōrero typed up and sent to you
- Will include a release form and paid/addressed envelope
- Please read, sign, and return
- Feel free to make changes, delete things, correct me
- Will include some clarifying questions

#### **Do you have any questions about anything?**

## **Appendix 9 – Group analysis guide**

### **Agenda: (on board)**

Karakia

Introductions

Start with an open discussion to get everyone talking

Part 1: Maps

*Break*

Part 2: Stories

Part 3: wrap up; consent form

**FOCUS: thinking about our boys' current and future sport and leisure activities and time, what kinds of ideas have we got from reading their maps and stories?**

### **Karakia**

**Introductions (on board):** Name; something about your children/whanau; one thing you're keen to talk about today? (take notes)

**Breaking the ice:** So what do you think? And how did you do your reading?

### **PART ONE: Maps**

Does anyone have any questions? (codes, acronyms, etc.)

(1) **Pair poster activity:** What did you notice? What stood out for you? List as

many observations as you can (quick-fire thinking; bullet points)

(2) **Group share...** We noticed that... (anyone else have that?)

(3) **Circle the points** you'd like or plan to somehow use at home with your boys

(4) **Write your plans in your book:** how you might turn these into actions.

(5) **Group share:** What's your observation and what's your plan. Who else has that observation? What's your plan?

- Is there anything else before we move on?
- Which map format is best? (easy to read; nice to look at)

### **PART TWO: Stories**

(1) **In pairs** (new poster): Which were the most memorable stories for you (e.g. Taane: rugby) and what made them memorable?

- 
- (2) What words would you use to describe each story?
- (3) What do you think are some of the messages and lessons (MLs) for parents and other adults?
- (4) **Write in your books (write on board):**
- Name of story (e.g. Taane/rugby)
  - List messages and lessons you're going to try at home
  - How you'll turn ML into actions
- (5) Group share

### **PART 3: Wrapping up**

- Before we wrap up, is there anything else anyone would like to talk about?
- Consent forms
- What happens next
  - *Will be sent transcript to approve*
  - *I'll keep you updated on progress*
  - *I'll invite you to read what I've written in the report (related to you)*
  - *I'd like for us to gather again at the end when I submit, to thank you*
- Handouts: 10pg stories; tips and advice; answer to your questions
- **Round Table: closing thoughts on (1) the maps and stories and (2) the research as a whole**
- Karakia

## **Appendix 10 – Tips and advice for the whānau of interest**

### ***What tips and advice would you like to give parents/whānau raising boys?***

(Key: yk = you know; bc = because; pp = people; sp = short pause; mp = medium pause; lp = long pause)

#### **BOYS' ANSWERS:**

##### **Taane:**

I would just say tell your children you love them every day; um, be open minded, about what they have to say in terms of what they might want to get into; and I would say: have a go, like just have a go at it, *if you can*; um yeah have a go at it with them; let them experience it; um, there's a great feeling about, as a kid when your parents are there, an present in the room, so being present would be supercool; ummm, and I would say yeah teach them, teach them what you know, but be open minded to new stuff too. Ah [mp] yeah, that's probably about it, young boys and maybe for boys specifically physical stuff, umm, yeah nothing wrong with letting young boys, do lots of physical stuff and burn a lot of their energy. Um but it's good to have a – I would say yeah, *if you can*, if you're able to, you should give your children a diverse, um spread of activities and leisure I think that's supercool too. I think if knowledge really is power, then variety an diversity definitely helps

### **If someone wanted their child to be creative, what tips would you give them?**

I would say, give them, blank canvases, or give them a stick, or a tree, to play with. Umm, give them a blank lawn of grass, to play with, to see what their kids come up with – and so that your children build with nothing first, I think that's where creativity comes from. When something is already made its like: *ok it's done*, but, if you had a blank piece of grass, or if you had just one tree, um and you had 5hrs, um, it would be amazing to see what kids would do with that in 5hrs, or see what they'll do with a blank paper, in 2hrs. Um, but I would say also to support as they're creating, um, bc it's um, cause it's such an internal thing to create, it comes from in to come out, ah sometimes we express, some deep stuff, though you might not mean to, and so sometimes us parents are always there to guide us, so that we're not expressing negative stuff, **all** the time – cause it's ok to express negative stuff, but not all the time – I'm just thinking in an artistic expression way, just so your

paintings aren't just all **death and darkness**, um yk to get them to paint light and brightness too. Yeah but I say stick with simple stuff. I grew up next to lots of trees, so we built bows n arrows, an we climbed the fuck out of trees, and fell off trees

### Angus

mm. Um I don't know, if they find that there's something, that their children are passionate about I think, um, push it. Um, further it bc it could turn into something big, without, no one even knowing. Like I didn't know that I was gonna, be, like an artist. Ah, but it wasn't until like my mum saw something in me that she pushed it she furthered, my, gift in a way. [mp] yeah

### Justin:

Encourage them, whatever their kid is getting into, see the side that they see, see why they like that activity or how come they're getting involved in that sort of thing an try to help them, succeed in that activity. Cause a lot of kids don't get away, to see events or, try new things which is sad, so just be understanding and encouraging. Take them out, let them experience different sporting events, you never know they might like it. Just expand their horizons in sports, activities, whatever they like, showing them new stuff, encouraging them if they actually come up with an idea or something. Just listen to, what that kid likes.

### Maru:

[lp] oh, I almost feel, too immature to say to answer that question. Hypothetically if I was to give advice to parents, mm, I'd even say to the parents I can't give quantifiable advice, but that said, yeah, so I would say – *oh I don't know what to say!* [all chuckle] ah I don't know, I can't answer that question, I feel [mp] mm [mp] that's tricky [chuckle]. [mp] I would just advise them to make sure they have enough money to sustain their child's interests.

### What kinds of tips would you give parents about art?

I think a question that I think worthy of posing, to any child, is why? Why? If you can teach a child how to ask why? At an early age, then they will just – bound, end, limitless. They won't restrict themselves and that's how children start learning how to restrict themselves in their own mind, they put up their own boundaries then

there's only so far that they can go, feed – ask them why? I think why, now, they don't limit themselves at all

**Sam:**

In all honesty, I'm not really sure. When I look back it was the people who I was hanging out with that had an influence on what I was doing e.g. had mates who played rugby, so that's what I wanted to do. But just encourage your child in any positive thing they're doing.

**Te Hira:**

um [sp] I think the same thing I was saying about my kids, just get them involved, um, if they're not liking it, yk for a solid while then find something they're interested in but don't just say ok give up and don't put them in somewhere else, cause I feel like you always have to have – oh it's a good output for things, um, so I'll be definitely getting them involved, but finding those things that they enjoy. Yeah, and even if they don't like it at the start just keep nudging them for a little bit longer, and then you can tell if they're *really* hating it: yeah ok, na. Boys need a good output in their lives. It keeps them active and out of trouble. Activities like sport teach great skills, team work, control, discipline. You get to meet new people and make good friends. Like I said with my first rugby practice I ran home – like mum walked me there, and I ran home and left her there, but then, yk, kinda gave me another nudge: *come on, come on*, and then my friends the same thing but yeah, you get in and then I ended up loving it. Mm

**PARENTS' ANSWERS**

Te Hira's parents: Sonya & Tāne

always encourage them; walk *with* them; um, go through their hard times *with* them; and um go through their celebration times with them; and just, be there. Be there for them, and with them, yeah, so, cry with them laugh with them, yeah, mm. and I think being involved, you, can help them sort through issues that, come up bc there always will but, but all the time though learning how to problem solve – yk if they don't get on with someone in their team or the coach is really mean one day then how are they going to deal with that? But if you're not

involved then you're never going to know that stuff and they're just gonna stop. And they're just not gonna, yeah, not even, you might, yeah, get that opportunity for them to carry on doing, being involved in all sorts of things. I think um, I think it's really cool for them to try lots of different things too – even though it might seem [grinning] that they're kinda flitting all over the place. Um [sp] and if yk when they find what they're really really good at then to really go into that thing cause there will be something that they love doing that they want to, carry on. I think also, allowing them to, see you as parents, when, struggles come, how you work through those, bc they watch and they learn. And when they get older they go: well when mum and dad went through that, this is what they done. So, allow them, to see the real you not the you that goes: *oh we better close the doors bc, they don't need to see this* bc sometimes, maybe they do need to see, you work through stuff, bc it helps *them*, to hang in there when their stuff comes, and they can work through theirs, bc they go: well mum and dad did it, I can do it, and they work through it, yeah. So, yeah, just be the real you. Mm, let them see your good times and your hard times cause you'll walk with them, through theirs and let them see how you work through yours, mm. And get them to love the outdoors mmm bc [sp] when you're in the outdoors, you are physically moving [laughs] and you are, um it refreshes your brain yeah, and it keeps you healthy and um stress disappears [mp] um, just support for your kids and be real, really be you, be yourself. Like I've always had this belief of, what you are outside the home, what pp see outside the home, should be what you are when you're in the home. If you're anything different, then to me there's a problem [chuckle] yeah. and culturally I think, if you can help your kids explore their own culture – like it, it was actually really hard for dad – bc his mum, wouldn't let them be involved in any kind of Māori stuff when he was growing up. It was actually a really big – he had to work through a whole lot of stuff in order for our children to be free to be able to, um, be involved in kapa haka, and um, and, kohanga reo was a big thing. In fact Dad started going along just so he could start to learn **with** them and, and then it's been, it's actually Te Hira who led Dad into doing more of te reo Māori so [sp] it's like you just go on the journey with him it's really cool. Mm, and we were only told to stay away from it bc, back then, our parents weren't allowed, to, have Māori and it was like you went to school it was beaten out of you, stuff like



that, so, yeah, it was like a 'no go' area. Yeah so she just didn't want us to, have to go through the same, abuse, from pp bc you were a brown person. I would say definitely listen to, pp who've been parents and their kids are teenagers or they're moved on from teenage years, preferably moved on, and um – bc there's a lot of um gems I guess, that we've gone through and it's like when you go through stuff, it stays with you, but to be able to pass that on to a younger person, starting out, it would be a treasure so I would encourage them: either grab somebody, that's, at that stage, and really listen to them, like take it in don't just go: oh yeah but things are different now it's like: well times change, but sometimes some of the things that you go through are still the same and so, the gems that we've learnt, sometimes they're still, very precious and can be used even today

#### **Angus' mum: Jane**

Be involved. Love them. [mp] have faith in them. Have faith in yourself. Um, I did all the things that I did for Angus and for his sisters bc I consider being a mother as a privileged job, I **love** my children. So it was easy. Be involved. Um, give them an either or choice. There are **way** too many choices out there for children. Don't give up on them, *even when they think they know best you just keep going*. ...Get involved. Always be there for them. Um, provide them with, [rich experiences] I like to, I try to keep a balance of sport and, and cultural activities. *Remember always to keep the communication lines open. Love them*. Be open, have a wide view on things. ....journey with them the whole time.

#### **Maru's mum: Eliza**

Try until you find it. Try as many, everything till you find one, you really really want to do, really really like. Commitment: mmm [Lp] give it a go for the year. Probably like what I do for their, kura, mahi, yk if you want to change it, try if for a year, if you don't like it, yip, try something else. Again depending on pūtea, yk, if it's a 'try it for free' **well try away!** [both laugh] We're pretty lenient parents [she giggles]. I think, let them grow, let them have a try, yk – oh I wouldn't put too many restrictions on, aye. I just don't see the point, why restrict something? They're still learning to grow, yk, just having a dabble in everything. So, um, yeah. Try everything [mp] just feel your way, aye. And just, and maybe make sure you know

where your kids are [she laughs]. Yea see what they're up to, to a point yk, they may get, stuck.

**Justin's parents: Jason & Fran**

if their little boy, sees something that he's interested in, don't be afraid to let him try it. Just go: ok! Let's try it. So long as it's something sensible. Especially if it's a hands-on active, sport. If a little boy shows an interest in something encourage them to try it, as a parent you have to show some interest too and be prepared to make some sacrifices. Go for it, let him go for it. Let him have a go! If he wanted to play soccer or cricket: ok, let's go! [chuckle], there were no boundaries towards whatever activity Justin or his sister wanted to try, so long as they were good activities, not the ones where you break the law. We're not too fussed as long as he's happy in what he's doing. That's the main thing for us.

**Sam's mum: Theresa**

Have someone who's got the knowledge and who knows to listen – about your background, your mum and dad, and especially you. And then try and figure out where you can potentially be. You've got to really listen about what's been said, from all aspects.

...all these pp have made Sam *feel* he's acceptable, not bc of colour creed or race, but bc of who, he is, around them aye, yk and they've put confidence in him. I think for young men, they have, yk a bit of confidence instilled in them when they're little – like you say 'oh gosh! That's a beautiful drawing' and then they yk you see them [grin] you see the buzz you give them. If you keep giving a buzz like that, then that is the happiness that's in them aye. Like my nephew, to his mother, 'oh can I go to aunties to have a shower when I go to the ball?' he doesn't want to have a shower at home he wants to come here and have a shower – put out all this praise and, yk that gives me a real buzz aye cause he wants to come here.

[Taane's father wasn't available for his interview]

## **Appendix 11 – Answers to the whānau of interest’s questions**

### **(1) Growing up what were your chores?**

#### **Maru:**

dishes, the *lawns*. when did you start dishes? forever [laughs] when I could walk. When did you start lawns? when I could push a mower. My dad made sure I done the lawns every week. Um, cleaning up our rooms, we always had to clean them up, the lounge, um, just tidying up, the dishes and the lawns, outside work

#### **Justin:**

Oh everything [laughs] Doing the dishes. Ah I would just help mum do the dishes, do the washing, whatever I could. Looking after the animals, helped dad look after animals. basically my chores were helping around the house. I just did what I was told, bc I respect my parents

#### **Te Hira:**

um [sp] cleaning the car, ahhh dishes, washing. Um, can't remember at primary if we had to do lawns, I think we may have done lawns even at primary. [mp] Um those were the main ones just cleaning up and yeah dishes washing lawns car. Lawns and car we got paid for, the rest were family jobs; yk you're family, you do the jobs [chuckle]. Um, yeah, and I think when we got to HS – oh didn't really have much lawns when we got to HS, but that was just: oh na you're family just do the lawns now [chuckle]

#### **Sam:**

Oh do the dishes mow the lawns. I like doing the lawns aye, I just like doing them. But the dishes [chuckle] I didn't always do them. Mum made me do them aye.

#### **Angus:**

Cleaning the house, everything. Which was good in a way bc like um, like not being mean or anything like that but you can tell by pp that haven't been brought up with, with parents that yk get you to clean and stuff like that it's just you walk into a house and it's just untidy and everything. But then, like um, like my mum, my mum was [chuckle] – both my parents actually, that told yk like me and my sisters to clean up the house, clean up everything. Um, vacuum every day which was something that I didn't like doing, dishes, um, like it was something that we didn't like however it was a life lesson it taught us to be clean and to be healthy and that, um, which was like a huge factor, like I'm glad that yk, um, um that they got me to do something that I didn't like, cause it really helped in the long run.

#### **How did they get you to do things you didn't like?**

Oh I think it was discipline like if we didn't do it we would, um yk get a hiding, um, or, yk, with the playstation like they would, take it away from me or, I wasn't

allowed to play it. Um [mp] Yeah. Everything had a consequence if we didn't do it, which was really good like if I had kids yk I'd be the same way with them. Um, and I think, like in terms of, yk, umm [mp] I think slapping is a good way [chuckle]. Slapping? yeah cause in terms of discipline, like again I wouldn't be who I am today, yk be the person that I am, today, yk, bc I needed that discipline to, um, to be the person that I am. Cause I know that if I didn't I'd probably get away with anything. Yeah so, cleaning and um helping, um, stuff like at um [sp] like at family functions and things like that

**Taane:**

bedroom was fresh every day: like bed, ah clothes folded in drawers – like if my dad opened a draw and your shit was playing up [whistles]; ah dishes – um my sister started at 6 so I had to start at 7; umm lawns. I think I was just doing catcher for my dad, ah yeah cutting down trees, lifting wood. **Coal**, coal was far I miss that job – no I don't. yeah we had a coal fire in lots of our homes. Coal buckets were definitely a pleasure of my childhood [chuckling]. Ahhh, yeah, when I got older – my stepmum did a lot of stuff around the house, so washing clothes I never learnt. It was just: *put your stuff in the basket*. Um but when I got to my aunty's then I learnt how to use a washing machine, added a vacuum... making dinner – that was like some crazy stuff for me I was like: *what? we gotta make dinner?* Um, cause she was a hard worker at night, she was home late. Umm, what other chores, yeah just washing cars, washing the house. My dad would always have these random times, when I was round primary school age when, he'd become a builder, and he'd be like: ok we're building a fence around the whole house, and then you'd end up building a fence around the whole house with your dad, made out of corrugated iron that looks like a bloody scrap metal [chuckle]. Um, yeah doing lots of stuff at my nans too: hedges, lawns, gardens [mp] ahh, looking after my brothers, and my sister were my chores too, while my parents partied, ah yk: feed your brothers and sisters first; make sure they're all good; get them ready for bed. Big sis, if she wasn't with us she was out with friends, left when I was 14yrs. It's a cool question

**(2) What did you leave home with?**

**Taane:**

I probably had like, maybe 2 suitcases of clothes; boxes of shoes; I had a skateboard; my guitar; and I had [art] scrapbooks. I had a frying pan I think, and a spatula, cause I lived on eggs, I loved eggs so much. I had money, cause I was working. But I was living in a hostel which was so cheap before my first flat. *What a crack up*, what a good question

**Angus:**

I think, the good thing with my mum is that, um, she would always buy, stuff like stuff that we didn't even need um things like plates – we already had enough plates

but she would keep on buying more and she'd say 'oh well you're going to thank me later' and it wasn't till later when we moved, um, cause when I left, um, that's when like she gave me all this stuff like gave me plates and cups and blankets and stuff cause when she, we [sister] already had them

So you actually haven't 'left home' cause you're still staying with whānau  
yeah [chuckle]

**Maru:**

I had a guitar and a bag of clothes. I was lucky cause I had a relative in Ngāruawāhia so I went and stayed with her, so I had a bed, and a place to stay but I had no flowing income; no, no dole; no, no student allowance at that time; I was enrolled to classes, living out in Ngāruawāhia and I had no – I think I had 50 bucks to last me a few weeks until I signed up to student allowance. Yeah, cause I got forced enrolled, I was prepared for a gap year, just got a new job, had to ditch that; was just about to start saving money, ditched that, leave town with no money [chuckle]

**Justin:**

When I went flatting all I had was my TV and a bed. Yeah a TV, and then, as soon as I turned 20 I got my car, still got my car today. Yeah that's probably my only possessions. Yeah I didn't really have much, possession wise: TV, my car, I usually try to use my money on my family anyway. That's all I use my money for really is um, providing happiness really for everyone else. That's what I work for haha.

**Te Hira:**

um, so, me and my friends found a place, to stay, so we did all that research thing. Um, my cousin gave me a washing machine for my birthday, which was good cause my birthday is in January, so right before we left, and I actually got my nana's old lounge suite, which is real old, and a table from her. I bought my own bed, um took my drums down there, took my drawers from home. So I basically had, a lot. Me and my friend went halves on a TV [sp] and a heater, um. I did have some money in the bank bc I was doing – oh I used to do summer jobs so I didn't work throughout the year. In summer I was doing berries – oh sorry the kids camps throughout the middle. Um, did packing stacking at ENZA and working in a kitchen, and, other labourous jobs. So there was whatever money I had there, but I wasn't rich, but I also um managed to get a full scholarship for – from Teach NZ, so I wasn't worried about having to fork out money for this and that, um and at the end of every year, as long as I passed everything I took, then they would give me 25 hundred, um just as an allowance money, so, that always made me keep in mind: I'm going to do well. I think there was *one* paper, I got a C+ and everything else was, pretty good, yeah. They paid for all my papers, for 4 yrs and at the end of every year they give you – oh they basically divide up 10 grand over how many years you study, and then their only requirement is that I teach for a minimum of 4yrs um, if I stop now,

I've done 2yrs, if I stop now then I have to pay back all that [mp] but I mean this is my career so I've got no trouble working [chuckle]

**Sam**: Hasn't left home yet.

(3) **What are your career aspirations?**

Answers are included in their profiles

## **Appendix 12 – An example of the group analysis process**

### Paula

#### **What stood out for you?**

Meaning units:	Invivo and holistic coding:	Key points:
“They were all very active and busy and involved in lots of different activities”	Paula has picked upon the ‘variety of activities’	Keep them busy Variety

#### **How will you turn your observations into actions?**

<p>“try other activities outside of rugby and TBall through the school and family outings (e.g. swimming lessons, cut some firewood, pick watercress, kapa haka”</p> <p>“Find out what they want to do and encourage them on that path”</p>	<p>Paula is planning to ‘mix things up’ at home</p> <p>“family outings”</p> <p>“kapa haka’</p> <p>What do they want to do?</p>	<p>Variety Kapa haka Outdoors More than rugby</p> <p>Include tamariki in the decision-making</p>
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#### **Take home messages?**

<p>“Its okay to make the boys try things that they don’t want to do, if its in their best interests”</p>	<p>Thinking back to the FGH, Paula supported the idea of ‘putting’ tamariki into activities.</p> <p>Here, she has added, “if its in their best interests”</p> <p>Nb. She was impressed by Mary/Sam stories.</p>	<p>Paula has found some support for putting her tamariki into activities that are good for them, and their annual trip up north.</p>
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## **Appendix 13 – Whānau of interest feedback for the Successful Young Māori Men**

### **How your kōrero is transforming the lives of others**

(Key: yk = you know; bc = because; pp = people)

Eleven parents volunteered to participate in the research (including 2 couples). They all have sons attending the same mainstream primary school. The size of the participating whānau range from 2 to 8 tamariki, including some adult children, and there is one blended whānau, and another step-parent family. Two parents are parenting alone. Their educational backgrounds range from high school education to a university education, and everyone is currently studying or working. Seven parents come from the Far North; two are from the East Coast; and two are from the Waikato (Tainui). All but one parent identifies as Māori (she married into a Māori whānau). Nine of the eleven parents say they feel disconnected from Te Ao Māori; they feel they cannot fully participate in the Māori world, but would like to. Whereas the other two parents (a couple) are immersed in Te Ao Māori; they are fluent speakers, they go home regularly, and the father has leadership responsibilities on the marae and at work.

A year ago this parent roopu/group described success for me and talked about their aspirations for their sons. I then used their descriptions to find 2 artists (Angus and Maru), 2 educators (Taane and Te Hira) and 2 tradies (Sam and Justin)<sup>158</sup> willing to talk to me about their sport and leisure activities. I then interviewed those 6 SYMM and one or both of their parents (you ☺). The six edited/approved interview transcripts were then sent to the parent roopu, and a couple of weeks later we met again and talked about what they found interesting and how they will turn their observations and thoughts into ‘actions at home’. Here is some of their kōrero.

### **What did you notice? What popped out?**

- You don’t have to be in a big city to be successful
- Single parents can do just as much for their kids
- ... they were quite well loved
- a lot of sport
- ... humility, when asked the question do you feel successful, they were quite humble
- they were happy with today, not kind of forward thinking like “Oh yeah but I’ll never be like... I’m happy with what I have”

<sup>158</sup> Most of the SYMM have changed their names.



- I liked the way you left a bit of swearing in there, cause for me it made it seem a bit more real and you could just picture how they would be talking kind of thing ... it made a difference I think cause for me I was like: oh I'd like to know who this guy is yk, talk to him and stuff like that.
- Sam, he wasn't brought up by his father but he did have a lot of like male role models – like his friend's father and they'd go out hunting and stuff
- mums and how much support they gave; cause the majority of them just had mums. Um, they all do music at some point; which I think is yk a big influence. And then we have values and humbleness, they were all humble, well I reckon, in some way or another. Like not go extreme, like that whole Black Power thing<sup>159</sup> ...I actually quite liked that one too, bit of the gang influence bc it's just reality these days.
- probably the thing that stood out most for me was the support. ...No one was adopted or raised by grandparents... and one of the boys in particular wrote that there was unconditional love from his mum so that kinda got him what he needed or was the thing that drove him... that resonated most with me.
- I found that, um, that there's not this um, like, um, this set path of success. Yk pp can be very different but still successful... there's no formula and I think the thing is if parents were quite supportive and they kinda just tailored to their kids. Like there's that one who was quite shy [Angus], so she just made sure he just got like, just gave him heaps of opportunities to do stuff, like um, that he wouldn't usually do. And that one kind of resonated with me cause our son's like that, and that's what we try and do, we try an just get him into as much stuff as he is quite shy and reserved
- they were connected to friends and family, in some way.
- yeah whether it was sport, they did all seem very connected, to something whether it was family or friends or yeah. And pretty much like looking through all these, like one guy was talking about being on a team and, yk, like looking after your mates and stuff so, yeah, for me it's all just about connection.
- I felt like I related to some of those boys... how they come from the bush, and they all seemed to love bush. But they all wanted to get out there...
- ... even when they were younger like even though they were in small towns they did a lot of stuff that they had, yk like activities that they could be in. Some parents are like: well we live here and there's nothing...
- so it was kinda like there was outside support that the mothers got to, yk, to reiterate what they were trying to get their kids into or what they had put their kids into

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<sup>159</sup> *one of the SYMM trained/played sports with the local Black Power members for a period of time*

- it wasn't just sports that they got involved in... there were sports, there was dance, music, kapa haka
- they were exposed to a lot of different activities
- ...and their activities weren't just the traditional ones...there was karate, there was wrestling, Ultimate Frisbee
- ... and they were quite spiritual or cultural...
- and they all had someone to admire, someone who was living it up there, to admire, that male influence role model ...
- they don't seem to be shy bc they're in so many different sports they've got to mix up with pp...
- they all love what they're doing
- hmm they did, they were passionate about what they were doing
- I must say that did come through, they loved it all. Um and they all felt successful.
- they all stayed at school. I mean mine, all left, but these guys are all school boys cause they've got a brain, I mean they all stayed there, awesome
- Um, good relationship with the parents, and, family associations – it was not necessarily the dad but the father as in father figures as well, that sort of influence
- one thing that I did notice, was that they were all very, comfortable in their own skin, they liked who they were. So I was like talking about<sup>160</sup> learning to love yourself and being happy with where you are, and with what you've got, and always being positive and then when I went to write *how*, I had big question marks. Um, I think, like I wrote 'kind words' but I think a lot of being able to love yourself is if you've got heaps of pp around you that love you, that kinda just happens.

### **How will you turn your observations into actions at home?**

- ... I've already implemented some of, or most of, what is already in the maps; so for me looking at it, and seeing how you mapped it out and the whole what did the kids like and what did the brothers and sisters did – basically I want to sit down and do a map of my own kids and ask them. ... what have you liked, what don't you like, what would you like to do? ... I want to know from my kids how they think about it.
- I'm thinking, yk I've taken all that information in and, I'm obviously on the right path as a mother ... I take my hat off to these mothers yk, they've obviously raised um independent, um respectful sons and yk I'm doing my job, I'm hoping that yk I can continue to do my job and be the best that I can be for my children

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<sup>160</sup> *The parents were given notebooks to write their thoughts in, prior to us meeting*

- ... keep them in their sports... all our boys, keep pushing it forward. Force it, *nicely*. ...and if they don't like it at least I can say 'hey we gave it a go'. They may not like it; they might just **absolutely hate it** but yk: "keep going son".
- I'm thinking I need to be a little more forceful and get them outdoors, get them back in those activities and off the *frick'n Xbox*.
- ... to keep on with the sports. None of the guys in the study seemed to be adversely affected by their parents making them do something. Yk and I think it was just that um they were busy, and not just with sports, but with their cultural and church activities and um like outdoorsy stuff and family things.
- the main thing for me was that all the guys seemed to be exposed to a *wide* range of *different* activities
- and there has been an option aye; so like the parents haven't just said: oh I want you to play rugby, or I want you to do this. The kids have actually had an input as well
- Show him the 'real me'; when I have a challenge show him how I deal with it
- Continue to make him do his chores (we may have to add mowing lawns to his list ☺)
- ... I would like to have my kids experience and explore things.
- ... it's okay to get the boys i.e. make them, try things that they don't want to do, um if it's in their best interests. And I've just got a list of things to encourage them to get involved in: swimming lessons; cut some firewood; pick some watercress; kapa haka
- ... if they're good at it and like it, encourage, push a little. Hence loving it may come later. Take them to the game, activities, be there at practice, have the right gear ie. Art pens pencils, rugby boots.
- ... supporting the choices they make; I think for me this will reflect on my personal aspects of my son um to become supportive; how I would action it would be to um, perhaps, learn their sport and become a coach, or learn how to referee their games so I can involve myself that way
- ... like Sam with the rugby one like talk to my kids' dad about like – cause when they were little he encouraged them a lot but now that we live out of town, like discussing the option that maybe the kids *can* still play for the team that he played for and just yk they can be a part of it, yk like every second week or something. That might just boost them a little bit more in their performance.
- have as much positive male role modelling in our kids lives as possible
- give them that wide variety, if you can, that choice of whatever
- *Positive* communication
- to be supportive in the choices that they make

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**Closing Words:**

- I'm watching my boy I'm thinking 'ok I've got one, he's up there, he's on the right track'. Given him all this and I'm thinking 'now my next one; I'm going to do this a *little* bit different ... we can use all this knowledge now... so yeah, I'm using what I think out of these stories, what I can apply to my boy now. And I think: more activities, keep him busy. So I'm using their knowledge
- it's been good; reading the stories and then especially yk um, just the closing, um, pieces of papers that you gave us, the advice, it's really good – I think the fact that we're all here participating in this means that we're already on the right track to raising successful young Māori men. Yeah, so really good, cool. Awesome.
- I just think it's been useful in general. I mean for me sometimes – specially with my oldest son I feel alone. I can't just go to talk to somebody about my son and his conditions and stuff bc it's not that easy. So, being able to have this kind of information... **This** is pretty much telling me I'm not alone, yk, I'm doing ok.
- I did like that they were all different.
- It's been good, it just opens your eyes a little bit kind of thing: what am I doing? How am I doing? It's been a reflection.
- It was lovely to feel the aroha coming off the pages
- Given me an insight into my role/life as a parent
- Allowed me to think about what I do – is it behaviour that inspires my little man?

## **Appendix 14 – Jason’s pūrākau**

### **Tikanga Driven**

A story of success I would like to share relates to our second eldest son of five boys. He was 11 years old at the time. To set the scene we were encouraged to submit an enrolment application for him to attend a prestigious boarding school. This particular school funds successful applicants, from accommodation to clothing, food and education; thus their entry criteria is high, to say the least. And they not only look at the academic or physical abilities of the child but also their ability to communicate, to be part of a team, to have the right attitude, to be an active person in their community, and to display potential leadership qualities. This school prides itself on turning good young boys into good young men, who will grow up to be good citizens of the world.

Anyway our 2<sup>nd</sup> eldest, Morgan, really wanted to go and so māmā and I read and completed the necessary paperwork meticulously, and addressed all the school’s standards and requirements. And our efforts were rewarded when Morgan made the 1st cut. The whole whānau was excited. The first round of interviews was conducted by a recruiter. We were interviewed separately, Morgan first and then myself. Our interviews were an hour long and basically they wanted to know our aspirations and our reasons for choosing their school. Afterwards we drove home feeling hopeful, a little scared and excited that we survived the first onslaught but we didn’t want to get our hopes up too high as there were many more steps to go to be considered a successful applicant. A few days later the school contacted us again: Morgan had made it to the second round of interviews! But this time he would be interviewed by the school’s Board of Trustees.

It’s at this point that I began to feel anxious and scared, because there was no way of knowing what to expect. Preparing for the unknown, Morgan and I began running through some probable questions and we practiced answering them, repeatedly. Little did we know that these questions would not be asked! When the interview day finally arrived, we were called into the School's Boardroom where we met eight elderly men, well dressed and very important looking. Honestly, I was a *nervous wreck* – while Morgan, dressed in the clothes we prepared the night before still looked as if he had just woken up. These eight gentlemen all stood up

and approached us with handshakes, then invited us to sit. One glance at these men and I thought we were in a scene from a Harry Potter movie because the place and people reminded me of Hogwarts School of Wizardry and Witchcraft!

The interview began with introductions, small talk, and what I think were a couple of warm up questions – then they pulled out the **big** ones. I don't remember everything that happened in that day but four particular questions are stamped into my memory, because of the way our boy answered them. What he said made me so proud and this is why I'm sharing this experience as my story of success. What's funny, is that it didn't feel like success at first.

### **Question 1**

**Kia ora Morgan, I see you are part of the student council at your current intermediate school**

Yip

*What?! I twist my head a little and scream at him with my eyes: 'YES, it's YES, Y.E.S. I can't believe this, really?! He doesn't see me – we practiced saying YES and not to say (yep!)*

**So in terms of conflict resolution, what strategies or ideas do you have in place to combat issues regarding conflict resolution?**

*My mind goes crazy: Aye?! Conflict resolution? He's 11 man, what does he know about conflict resolution. What the heck is 'conflict resolution'?! Oh no! We didn't practice this – oh nooooo.*

Well, put it this way, when you have two students having an argument in class and they're getting ready to fight or something like that, I think in terms of conflict resolution, I think it's all about establishing and forming a relationship first, so there's no need for conflict resolution

*Wow! Geez that's awesome. Morgan thought of prevention rather than cure. Can they see my surprise? I'm beside myself and simply nodded appreciatively: mm mm*

At the same time I glance causally at the Board and see a couple of them are motionless and stoic, while the majority of them indicate their delight and appreciation of his answer.

### **Good answer, great comment Morgan**

#### **Question 2**

The Board then move on to a question relating to Māori culture and one of them comment that the school has their own signature ‘haka’ which was composed by past students of the school and says that everyone needs to learn this special ‘haka’.

#### **How do you feel about learning the school ‘haka’ Morgan and how do you feel about learning about Māori culture in general?**

I have no problem with that. I speak for the school. When visiting schools come to our school I get asked by the Principal to do that, to stand up and do whaikōrero and also to help with the kapa haka. So I have no problems with sharing our knowledge because I see my dad do the same thing with his students. I’m part of the AUT International Noho Marae programme that run these sorts of things, so culture is part of *me*, and so I’ll have no problem learning the school haka.

*Oh yeah! Very good, he’s drawing from experiences that we’ve exposed him to. Good boy! I’m proud to see him draw on these external activities and experiences to help him answer this question – thank God!*

#### **Question 3**

#### **On a scale of 1-10 Morgan, 1 meaning you don't want to really come here, and 10 meaning you want to start this school now, what number are you thinking about?**

9.95

*I almost fall out of my chair! I thought he was going to say 11 – or at least 7 or 8. Either way they’re now going to ask ‘why’.*

#### **Why do you say 9.95?**

I’ve seen the school facilities and the accommodation buildings and I really want to come to this school but I haven't actually stayed here so I can't call it a perfect 10.

*Hmm, his answer is witty and clever - and we didn’t even practice that one.*

**Question 4**

**So Morgan we've come to the end of the interview and you have heard all the wonderful things you can learn and achieve here at this school, but my question to you is, what benefits do you foresee the school providing you to make you a successful individual and a successful citizen of society?**

*Oh he's got this one in the bag! He knows this one. You'll help me to become a lawyer, an accountant or a pilot blah blah blah*

Well, you must realise that in our whānau I come from a 1 car, 1 income family...

*Huh?!*

And the benefits of success for me would be that the money for my education, accommodation...

*Oh man, what do you want to bring up the family for?! And I fight the urge to lean over and whisper: you're saying the wrong thing!!!*

And everything my dad and mum would've spent on me can now be used to benefit my younger brothers my teina who will need looking after while I am away boarding at this school. So yeah, that's all I've got to say about that.

On reflection, Morgan's last answer was so profound that I thought he hadn't understood the question properly and that he wasn't answering correctly. I was baffled that his reply was so left-field, but I was wrong. Walking back to the car I felt confused and muddled and wondered about Morgan's last comments. As we drove home the depth at which he had answered that question hit me square in the face. The reality of what he was saying and meaning dawned on me.

Children say the most revealing things and most of the time it is unscripted, raw and honest. Morgan was a good example of that. That day our boy spoke for himself. He spoke from the heart and his 'true colours' shone through. He totally thought of others and put them before himself and this is the kind of thinking that Māmā and I have been trying to instil in our whānau, immediate and extended. I felt so privileged and honoured to be part of the whole interviewing process and it was awesome and astonishing to witness him in action.

This kind of thinking is built on strong foundations, genuine relationships and imprinting principles. It was a typical Māori whakaaro: it's not just about me. To put others before self is an act of tikanga or principles that governs how we should



live and behave in the world today. It is a mixture of old and new tikanga taught to us as children so that we can make sense of the world and lead good successful lives.

The success here is Morgan's decision making and thinking in this interview situation. As an 11 year old he answered superbly, well beyond his years, and he was acknowledged by all of the interviewers who were also impressed with his answers.

This story makes Māmā and I think that maybe we **are** actually doing a good job with our tamariki.

Oh! and yes he got in.

P.S. Since I wrote this story, Morgan's younger brother (our 3<sup>rd</sup> boy) was also successful this year in gaining a scholarship to attend the same school.

The legacy continues...

## **Appendix 15 – Priscilla’s pūrākau**

### **Our Daily Dilemma**

**“Cilla, Marie, Casey!”** yells mum from the back door.

It’s 7ish on a school night and that shout is our queue to head home for our evening routine of dinner, bath, and bed by 8.30pm.

Mum was one of them lucky ladies, a stay-at-home-mum, married to a man who owned and worked hard in his own business (a builder). Our mother had routines and lists and a time and place for everything. When we were at school she baked and created a clean and tidy home for her 3 daughters and son. We would arrive home from school to a spick and span house and afternoon tea on the table without fail. And after eating we’d be shoo’d out of the house so it could stay picture perfect.

But life was less than picture perfect. One could say I was the problem child. Pushing against her routines I often jumped out my bedroom window after dark out to hang with mates who were allowed to roam. I’d steal her smokes to be ‘cool’ and smoked them with the older kids down the street. We’d get up to all sorts of things, things that these days would mean police involvement while inside our spick and span house were our hard-working parents resting from their day of work, who had poured all of their time and energy into providing everything our family needed. Okay, they were more often drunk or hung-over, but surely they had earnt it.

Now that I look back to those days it wasn’t as bad as it seemed. I thought I had the meanest mum on the street; she had expectations. I didn’t treat her very well. But now that I’m a mum I can see that all she was doing was trying her best to instil good morals and values in her children; routines, manners and values that did ultimately rub off on us as young women and eventually as mothers.

Success for my parents was and is working hard and paying the bills. They taught me about routines, consistency, and having someone at home for the kids. What I’ve added to their lessons is encouraging learning and getting an education; our parents didn’t talk to us about that, and being more interactive, actually mingling with people outside of our family circle.

## **Appendix 16 – Rongo’s pūrākau**

### **Where success begins**

I was born late December 1976. Induced a couple of weeks early because mum was in hospital for complications which meant she was bedridden for weeks before my birth.

The story goes that because mum was lying down for so long, I got so fat they had to remove me. That story may have been embellished a bit for my benefit and to amuse other people. The reality was however that the complications due to her pregnancy were serious and after I was born my mother started to lose consciousness. Fortunately the doctor knew straight away what was happening and she was rushed into emergency surgery. She almost died that day from major internal bleeding. So the true story is not so amusing.

My mother was 40 when she had me and my father was 50. There is a fourteen year difference between me and my next sibling and I am definitely the baby of the family. None of my earliest memories include any of my siblings living at home with us and I might have experienced the only child syndrome were it not for my older sister who gave birth to a baby girl 3 months after I was born. I don't know what the circumstances were at the time, but my sister gave her baby to mum and we were brought up together like brother and sister, and like all siblings we fought, bickered and drove mum and dad up the wall. But also like most siblings we would instantly have each other's back if the other was being hurt by someone, be it physically or verbally.

My father was a dairy farmer. A man of few words, hardworking and strict. But according to my siblings, he had mellowed a lot by the time I came into the picture. I think they felt I didn't get as many hidings as they did. But I think it's just that I wasn't as naughty as them. I have met in my later year's men who knew my father when he was younger and they all spoke about him with great admiration: "hard worker" "mighty football player", they would say. "He was a hard man who could handle himself" and "a man you wouldn't mess with."

I can't help but feel a tinge of proudness when I hear these stories, despite my own beliefs that being a man doesn't mean you can knock another man's block off.

My mother, ten years younger than my father, was a loving, compassionate, calm and very articulate woman. In fact she would be considered the polar opposite of my father, I guess proving the saying that opposites attract. As a young girl she was sent to Auckland Girls Grammar. She was a top student, excelling in literacy. She loved words, writing, reading but especially the spoken word. And she loved to sing. Always singing. Songs from musicals and country is what I remember most but she also played the guitar and listened to a variety of music. Pop music, classical music, world music and instrumental music.

Her love of music soon became mine and I learned to appreciate the creative skill and talent of an artist regardless of their medium, genre or style. And I was able to talk to her, and ask her about things. She would gladly share what knowledge she had of things. We had a close mother son bond.

This didn't mean my father and I had no shared interests. I loved my sport, I loved being outdoors and I was fortunate that my father always made time to attend any sporting events I was competing in. The problem was his expectations were high, and even though I mentioned he was a man of few words, when he did speak, he shot straight from the hip. Whatever he felt about the performance he made sure I knew about it and sometimes his choice of words were not exactly 'encouraging'. But that was dad.

Over time I learnt that all my brother's wives dreaded visiting mum and dad because he would always state the obvious and say something like they've put on weight. He didn't mean to be hurtful, I just don't think he had much of a filter between what he thought and what came out of his mouth.

Compared to my brothers and sisters, my upbringing was very different. Theirs included the traditional father out working, making ends meet and the mother at home keeping the fire stoked and putting dinner on the table kind of thing. As for me, by the time I was about eight, my father had handed the majority of the responsibilities of running the family farm over to my oldest brother. This meant he had more time to be home and it allowed my mother to pursue her own career in local governance. And so there was a role reversal. My father was now home cooking dinner and my mother would be out working and getting home late

in the evenings. It showed me that when it comes to parental roles, man or woman, flexibility is what works.

My parents had expectations of me. Which is normal for most parents. I remember as a young boy being marched back to a shop where I had taken a candy bar. My mother had noticed me eating it and asked me where I got it from. Innocently, I explained how I got it from the shop we were just in – very matter-of-factly because I didn't realise that I had done something wrong. But the feeling of having to apologise to the shopkeeper and having my mother explain to me that my actions were unacceptable, ingrained in me for life the importance of honesty.

Honesty was a big expectation. "Without honesty there's no trust," my mother taught me. I imagine a life without trust or being trusted is probably a pretty crappy and very difficult way to exist. All the normal values of how you behave and treat other people were thrown into the mix. My mother always made sure she explained to me how my actions affected others. Sometimes she didn't even have to vocalise it. A simple look could speak a thousand words. And so began my lifelong desire to please my parents.

I liked the feeling of approval I got from them when I was doing the right thing. But from this was born the fear of disappointment. This fear I took with me even after I left home. The negative result was that I hid my life from them. I didn't want them to know that I was drinking and experimenting with drugs. I didn't want them to know that my relationship of so many years was failing. I didn't want them to know that their son, who I knew they loved and did their very best for, was depressed. All because I feared the disappointment they might have felt.

I would eventually work through my problems. But looking back, it's scary to see that I had stopped communicating about my life with people in general because of this fear I had developed. And I can see now how some people can get trapped in the situation of not asking for help in their most vulnerable moments.

Because of my parent's different attributes, they actually complimented each other when it came to raising their kids. My teenage angst was kept in check through a healthy fear of a father who wouldn't take any crap and a mother who could shut

down any argument through the power of her words and calm resolve. I like to think I'm the product of the best attributes of my parents and I feel fortunate to actually like who I am and who I've become. From my father I have my work ethic and my competitive nature. From my mother I have empathy for others and a love of knowledge and the arts. From both of them I have received good values. But most of all, they gave me in its purest form the gift of love.

When I look at my parents and my upbringing I see a story of success. They had seven children and have been married for over fifty years. And that is an achievement, not just because fifty years is a long time but because I know now that relationships (and I mean real relationships not the Disney fairy-tale ones) are a journey filled with ups and downs.

If I think about what I have succeeded to do in life and what I am most proud of, just about all of those stories have come with struggle, whether it has been sacrifice, hard lessons or just plain hard work. To really appreciate something you need to sometimes "experience the sour to savour the sweet".

A huge part of my parents' success was just the example they set for me. All their actions, their words, their love shaped and molded me. A template, which I try to now apply to my own children. As a father I feel that my children's happiness is my success. If they are happy, feel loved and safe, then that is my success as a father.

I hope that my legacy will be that I made a difference in their lives for the better. And not just their lives but anyone. That the world will be just that little bit better because I was in it.

To make another happy, to bring the best out in someone, to be willing to share your wisdom, to have empathy and to love is what it takes to be a successful person.

## **Appendix 17– Andrea’s pūrākau**

### ***I ngā rā o mua: The days behind us are in front of us***

Nan was my bedrock, my confidant, my best friend, my everything. My nan is the person I credit for me being able to hold the tunnel open so that light can shine in through the end. She is the person who taught me how to look into the wairua of a person and see their kindness and purity, which ultimately led me to my mate. My mate is the other half of our five boys and the other half of me. Without him I would not have recognised my inner strength and without this inner strength and his support, I would not now be trying to teach our boys how to be successful young Māori men.

My nan instilled in me the whakaaro that we have the ability to mould people. To guide them. And from what I am able to gather, both of my grandparents were able to do this and this is why they were respected in our small community.

Nan was widowed in 1975 and was left on her own to raise eight sons and two daughters. Raising children alone is hard work for any parent, but nan had to raise growing men; at the time my uncles were either in or just out of college, a time when young men very much need their fathers. But nan never gave up. Even when she wanted to give up, and it hurt too much to carry on, she didn’t give in. That, in the eyes of a moko (me), is success.

I was born six months after my grandfather passed away. I was lucky enough to spend most of my informative years with nan. My mum and I lived with her from the time of my birth until I was about 8 or 9, when mum decided we needed to move out. But I missed nan so much I went back to live with her a couple of years later and stayed with her until a week or two after she passed away, when I was 15.

A few days after nan’s tangi I was physically, spiritually and emotionally beaten and told to leave and never come back unless I was in a pine box. And my mother allowed it to happen. She was inside the house the whole time while it was happening outside. That one act broke me and I spun completely out of control. I felt completely alone and unwanted and so I lived on the streets, in a 40 gallon drum behind a shop. I lived like that for three months, determined NOT to ask anyone for help. But eventually I got over myself and I asked our school guidance councillor

for help. With his help I became one of the first five young nzer's to receive the Independent Youth Benefit. To collect my weekly allowance I was expected to stay in school, to meet regularly with my dean and to meet specific learning goals.

That time in my life was one I once wanted to completely forget about. In order to survive, I did some things that I'm not proud of. But I snapped out of that downward spiral when I realised that in order to 'disappear' I would have to go against everything my nan had taught me. It would mean giving in, giving up, failing, and therein proving them right and showing them how weak I was – and I wasn't going to do that to my grandmother's memory. So I decided to sort myself out and this involved creating a mantra for myself: *Everything in my life, the good and the bad, has gotten me to where I am today. Never regret your past.* This was the 'mantra' I lived by, and it has got me through the toughest of times. Without my 'mantra' I would quite literally not be here today.

To give up was never in my nan's nature and I have adopted and adapted that and many of the other things she taught me. She taught me about juggling family, work, and friends. I watched her cope with a highly dependent child, one of my uncle's is epileptic. I watched her raise/foster Social Welfare children alongside her own children. I watched her participate in community life, as a Māori Warden, a member of the local Māori Women's Welfare League branch, a staunch supporter of DOC and MAF, and a competition level Kapa Haka judge. And she did all of this and still had the energy and time to love me and my younger brother. She always made time for those most precious to her. But nan was only human, and all humans make mistakes.

For instance I try to use a little more humour and understanding in my teaching/parenting style than nan did. She was of the generation where a child was seen and not heard, especially when we had visitors. But I think that children add to the life of a conversation, and I'll only ask them to remove themselves from the room if it's a conversation they shouldn't be privy to.

Nan was also of the schooling that the roles of men and women are very different. Men had their place: manual labour, outdoors, hard yakka, bread winner, protector, whaikōrero, kaiwhakairo... man stuff. And women had their place: indoors, manual labour, hard yakka, kai karanga, cook, cleaner, nurturer, whare



tangata... woman stuff. After grandad died, however, she tried to shift this trained thought within her family. My uncles had that seed of “men do manly things” implanted when they were young so she tried her hardest to tweak it as time went on. And it worked for the most part – almost all of my uncles are all-rounders. They cook, clean, bake, know their way around a chopping block, tractor, milking shed, the paepae, cars, rongoa Māori, and sports etc. But they also know things that are ‘supposedly’ a women’s domain: including waiata, the intricacies of karanga, childbirth and childrearing – the things that aren’t taught today. Not to males anyway.

I have tried to teach my boys similarly. I’ve taught them how to cook, but first they’re taught how to clean. They all make their own beds, clean their own rooms, vacuum, and clean their own bathroom. I’ve made cleaning a priority in their lives, more so than sports and kapa. Although sometimes I regret that decision as my boys aren’t totally into sports now – but my decision to make sure they know how to cook and clean far outweighs sport when I come home from work to a tidy house and a plate of kai that they’ve put aside for me.

Our boys love being in the kitchen and I can only assume it’s because they see me and their father enjoying cooking and baking, and so they naturally wanted to join in and now we’re all involved in the kai making process. We also include the boys whenever we clean, garden, hunt, kōrero and waiata at the marae, talk about whakapapa – in fact, talk full stop.

Our boys are an integral part of everything we do and everything we do is for them. My hope is that they will be stronger than I was when things get tough, and that their lives will be filled with the uneventful happiness that childhood should be.

## **Appendix 18 – Karen’s pūrākau**

### **Success takes time**

I grew up in a small, isolated settlement where the populace was predominantly Māori. Almost all of the families were receiving a benefit because there weren't many jobs. I was raised by my father who did his best to raise a daughter alone and on a benefit. We didn't have a nice house or indoor plumbing – but those things didn't bother me – but having reliable transport to get to town to pay bills and get groceries each week was essential, so success was someone who had a car that would start the first time, every time, and would get you to where you needed to go.

The only primary school had two classrooms with less than 30 children from new entrance to Form 2 (Year 8). The nearest area school was a 30 minute bus ride away and had roughly 192 students. I attended both these schools, right through to Form 7 (Year 13). The available High School subjects were English, Maths, Science, Horticulture, Māori, PE, Visual Art, Woodwork and Home Economics – and that was it! If there was another subject you were interested in, you had to complete it through correspondence.

I mucked around and didn't achieve anything in my Fifth form year. Mostly because I was in love. But I eventually got School Certificate, when I was in Sixth Form, and my Sixth Form Certificate when I was Form 7. Most of my friends left after Sixth Form so I guess I felt successful because I chose to stay and do my 7<sup>th</sup> form year.

When I finished, I moved to the city to live with my boyfriend. I was hugely dependent on him. I was a country girl suddenly living in a large city, trying to find her feet. For the first time ever I had bills to pay. I had responsibilities. We were flatting with other people so I had to learn how to cook. My very first job was part-time waitressing. We didn't have a car, so we bussed or walked everywhere. Not that it mattered. The thought of driving in the city was daunting. I had no family or friends. I had no idea what I wanted to do with my life. In truth, I wasn't really thinking about my life beyond the next day.

My brother-in-law was a tutor at the local Polytechnic and he encouraged me to enrol in a year-long bridging course in Health for Māori students. If I was

successful this course would guarantee me a place in the nursing degree programme the following year. It was during this time that I noticed working part-time, studying full-time, using public transport or owning a car and basically being independent were normal everyday things for the students around me. Everyone knew how to use a computer. Typing skills were learnt at high school, along with various sciences and languages. These had been a normal part of their curriculum. They were already far more successful than I was. High schools in the city had up to 1000 students, primary schools had up to 700 students, and I found out that Intermediate was another school entirely. These things were mind-blowing to me.

I couldn't help feeling that I had missed out on learning basic skills for living in the city because of where I grew up and where I went to school.

I completed that bridging course and dropped out at the end of the first year. I got my first full-time job, on a production line, and that was 'success' to me; working 40hrs a week and receiving a regular income. I was happy to have a full-time job and a steady income. For a long time I had no desire to go anywhere else. In hindsight however I realise I also had no confidence in my ability to do anything else. After five years I'd had enough of this no-brainer go-nowhere job and looked for another. I didn't think I could do much else, but kept telling myself that I was capable of doing more than what I was doing and I eventually got a job working in a call centre for Work and Income. I had made it. I was successful now because I was working for the New Zealand government, and I was proud to tell people about it. But it was a huge change! I was a fish out of water. I was using technology and dealing with real people. I'd gone from drilling and packing plastic parts to helping people, sometimes people with huge emotional, financial and personal problems.

While I was working, I also had two children. My eldest started school and we were doing the homework thing. I started to think that this was pretty cool and perhaps I could do this for a job. I knew that I didn't want to work in the call centre for the rest of my life, so before my youngest child turned one I decided to go back to study and enrolled in a Teaching degree. I was terrified, but I figured that surely I could gain the skills and knowledge to teach in the three years it would take to complete the degree. I graduated in 2013 and was invited to do Honours as well. I had had a goal in mind and I had worked hard and had succeeded.

I realise now that my own success has developed through my growing confidence in my ability to achieve whatever I set my mind to. Over the years I have transitioned from a shy, timid, dependent country girl to a strong, confident, independent woman. And so I want my children to be confident from the ‘get go’, rather than take the 10+ years it took me to develop my confidence.

I know it’s a cliché, but they are my greatest success. Nothing motivates you to think about the qualities of success quite like having your own children. I think about the person I’ve become and what kind of people I would like our children to be. Ultimately my views about success come down to the qualities I think a good person should possess. Above all is kindness and confidence: a solid belief in yourself and your ability to do, to be, and to get whatever you want – if you are prepared to work for it. Education is also important: to be able to make informed decisions about everything. And artistic and creativity are secondary qualities. Those would be icing on the cake!

## **Appendix 19 – Pauline’s pūrākau**

### **Hey Billy**

"Crying" Always Crying

With never a tear shed

He held me, not with his arms or eyes

I'm 44 now, no longer crying

because he held me

Teardrops fall silent, never making a stain

My heart aches

but not from pain

because he held me

How did he hold me you ask?

He made himself

Then he made us in his image

Not God. My brother

I haven't written a poem before. I like them. The first part is about when my husband died and I didn't cry for two weeks. When I was ready I went to the beach and screamed. I wrote the second bit cos that's how I felt after reading the first bit (teary eyed). The third section explains who held me up, and the "He made himself" is about how my brother has a job, a family, a house and the luxuries to go with it. I know that should we need for anything my brother is there to help us, so we can have what he's got; which is "HAPPY"

When I reread this poem two weeks later, tears came to my eyes and a lump got stuck in my throat. There is much more emotion inside me than I can write.

When my stepfather got sick and mum lost the plot, I knew that he'd be there. I was secure in the knowledge that he would look after them, and us. And he did. Billy has the heart and the resources and he shares himself with everyone whanau wide.

Everyone says he takes after his father, our dad. But my memories of Dad are vague, and like most memories I think I learned them.

Hey Billy

Thank you for...

watching out for me

US.

Inspiring words

... no you don't have any of those

But should my kids aspire to anything in life

I'd be happy if it's you

The way you make people feel at ease

in the most serious situations

I've been thinking...

what makes you so successful?

funny, serious, caring...

but most people are... so not that

(still thinking)

no you don't have to wait much longer...

(ten minutes later) nah just kidding!

Aha! It's your ability to share yourself

### Appendix 20 – Taane’s life and leisure map

	AGE:	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
<b>T A A N E</b>	<b>Location:</b>	Small community	Small town	Moved to the other side of town										Hamilton city											
	<b>Household:</b>	Dad + 2 tamariki	plus stepmother and more tamariki over the years										With aunty				Hostel	Flatting		with partner					
	<b>Education:</b>	Primary 1	Primary 2	Primary 3						Mainstream High School						Work Skills course		Prof. Development							
	<b>Mahi:</b>											Bakery	Kura	Prof. Dancer	Youth Educator										
	<b>Dance Trips:</b>												LA						Hawai'i		AU			AU	
D	<b>1st Memory:</b>		League	<i>x1 game</i>																					
ES	<b>BMX:</b>	with neighbourhood kids																							
ES	<b>Tae Kwon Do:</b>																								
EE	<b>Skateboarding:</b>																								
SD	<b>Rugby:</b>																								
E	<b>Dance:</b>											Breaking	Street choreography				[mahi]	Casual/for fun							
EE	<b>Youth Group:</b>											Participant													
E	<b>Soccer:</b>											Casual fill in													
EES	<b>Kapa Haka:</b>		Traditional	Pākehā styles						Traditional															
EES	<b>Te Reo:</b>			Once a week lesson						Subject				Aunty and classes through work											
EE	<b>Art:</b>	Drawing with dad		Comic book strips with friends						Tagging						Graf. Art.									
ED	<b>Fishing:</b>											x4	x5	x5											
EE	<b>Diving:</b>																				x1				
EE	<b>Surfing:</b>											x1			x2			x2							x1
EE	<b>Guitar:</b>											Gift	Subject	Band	Casual										
E	<b>Music:</b>											Drums			Rap Crew										DJ

- E Enjoyed
- EE Favourite
- S Activities older sibling did too
- D Activities dad chose

**Chores:** clean bedroom; clothes folded; dishes; lawn mower catcher; helping with cutting trees/hedges; stacking wood; coal bucket; babysitting younger children

AU = Australia

## Appendix 21 – Justin’s life and leisure map

J U S T I N	AGE:	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25			
	<b>Location:</b>	Small Waikato community					a neighbouring community										Hamilton		Small Waikato town						
	<b>Household:</b>	2 parents + 2 tamariki															flattening								
	<b>Education:</b>	Mainstream Primary										Mainstream High School										WINZ Course			
<b>Mahi:</b>						helping dad on farm (part-time)										Afterschool programme		Pig farm			Parts Dept.				
EE	<b>1st memory:</b>	Rugby (see below)										Club only													
	<b>School games:</b>	volleyball, soccer, cricket																							
EE	<b>Rugby/League:</b>	Rugby for school and club										rugby league club					Rugby	Rugby	League	League	League	Rugby	Rugby		
EE	<b>Touch:</b>	School team															Local social competition with rugby mates								
	<b>Basketball:</b>										School team														
EE	<b>Martial arts:</b>											Karate	Kickboxing	Greco Mat wrestling				Pro-Wrestling							
EE	<b>Video games:</b>	introduced by uncle													got his own										
EE	<b>Bush Bashing:</b>					playing on maunga; bushcraft																			
EE	<b>Fishing:</b>				went out with nannies; linefishing with whanau/mates										started going out on boats/moana										
ES	<b>Skateboarding:</b>		with mates																						
E	<b>Paintball:</b>																about twice a year; different locations								
EE	<b>Go Karts:</b>																about 4x a year; work mates/mates								
E	<b>NFL:</b>																								
E	<b>Kapa Haka:</b>			school group							2mths														
EE	<b>Storywriting:</b>														plots/backstories for games										

E Enjoyed

EE Favourites

S Sister did this too

**Chores:** dishes; laundry; help around the house

**Fav. whānau activity:** Beach trips (2-3x a year)



**Appendix 22 – Angus’ life and leisure map**

A N G U S	AGE	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
	<b>Location:</b>	Small rural town									East Coast town						A different East Coast town			Hamilton					
<b>Household:</b>	2 parents + 3 tamariki									mum and tamariki						dad			hostel	mum	sister	sister			
<b>Education:</b>	Kohanga		Kindy		Catholic Primary					Catholic Intermediate			Mainstream High School			Art school			Wintec						
<b>Mahi:</b>																		Kitchen hand							
<b>1st memory:</b>			rugby		<i>one game: didn't like it</i>																				
EEM <b>Soccer:</b>					club		school			club			school												
EEM <b>Waka ama:</b>																4mths									
MS <b>Bush walks:</b>					with mum																				
EE> <b>Playstation:</b>	dad bought this, mum didn't want it; mum threw it out the window when he was 15; they talk about his addiction																								
EMS <b>Scouts:</b>					with sisters																				
> <b>Music:</b>													Sax as subject	guitar as subject	self-taught guitar using youtube; continues to 'play around' with it										
EE> <b>Line dancing:</b>																									
E> <b>Art:</b>	drawing at home; arts'n crafts with family									chosen as option						Degree + studio year			Wintec - post-grad quals						
E> <b>Te Reo:</b>													chosen as option			complusory subject									
E <b>*Kapa Haka:</b>										school group			school group												
M <b>*KiwiKids Tri:</b>	<i>annual event</i>				x1	x1																			
M <b>*Swimming:</b>	up to 4 trainings a week																								
E> <b>*Athletics:</b>			club & school																						
ES <b>*Gymnastics:</b>					x5																				
MS <b>*Church:</b>	born into a Catholic family; active until he left home																								

- E Enjoyed
- EE Favourite
- M Mum put me into this
- S Activities older siblings did too
- > I chose this activity
- \* Mum remembered these activities

- Chores:** general house cleaning
- Fav. whanau activity:** Sharing a meal

## Appendix 23 – Te Hira’s life and leisure map

T E  H I R A	AGE:	2-3yrs	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			
	<b>Location:</b>	East Coast			South Island													South Island Uni.		Hamilton						
	<b>Household:</b>	2 parents + 3 tamariki										plus foster children					flating		Parents	School house	Married					
	<b>Education:</b>	kohanga	kindy	Mainstream Primary							Mainstream Intermediate	Mainstream High School					BA: Maori & Music		PostGrad DipTeach							
<b>Mahi:</b>									Leader: Day Holiday Programe			Leader: overnight week-long camps			kitchen hand						Teacher					
													Berry picking													
													Packhouse													
<b>1st memory:</b>				soccer														social					coaching			
PB <b>Rugby:</b>					local club											1st 15										
EB> <b>Miniball:</b>					school team (s/t)																					
E <b>Softball:</b>				T-Ball (P)	softball s/t >									Club												
E> <b>Volleyball:</b>										school team																
EBP <b>Cricket:</b>								school team																		
EB> <b>Holiday prog.</b>				led by church/parents																						
EBS> <b>Youth Group:</b>								led by church/parents				leader														
EBS> <b>Holiday Camp:</b>								camper			then became leader (see mahi)															
E> <b>Taiaha:</b>					one week during summer holidays							x1	x1													
E> <b>Drums:</b>										informal lessons	Lessons & band	band	Rock Quest	Rock Quest	Rock Quest	church band										
<b>Multicultural awareness group:</b>													Youth Centre													
<b>Church:</b>	born into a Christian whanau																									
<b>Ki-o-rahi:</b>																				1 season						
EBS> <b>Kapa Haka:</b>			school group							Club					Uni roopu				tutor							
EEBS> <b>Te Reo:</b>												Took Te Reo Māori as a subject									Te Reo teacher					
P <b>Swimming:</b>			KiwiSwim lessons						Club																	
EP <b>Athletics:</b>			Club and School																							
EBS> <b>Choir:</b>			School																							
E> <b>Touch:</b>			school teams																							
E> <b>Karate:</b>							x1	didn't like it																		
<b>Gym:</b>																	free weights and Xfit									
<b>Latin dance:</b>																							2mths			

P Parents put me into this activity

Chores: dishes; lawns; cleaning car etc

E Enjoyed

Fav. whānau activity: Camping/tenting

EE Favourites

B Brother did this activity too

S Sister did this activity too

> I chose this activity

**Appendix 24 – Sam’s life and leisure map**

		AGE:	2 to 4	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
<b>SAM</b>	<b>Location:</b>	City	small rural town									small semi-rural town													
	<b>Household:</b>	Parents + 2 boys	Mum and boys living with grandparents									Mum and boys													
	<b>Education:</b>		Mainsteam Primary	Catholic Primary/Intermediate									Mainsteam High School						Army Academy						
	<b>Mahi:</b>															Trade - part time			Trade - full time						
	<b>1st memory:</b>		playing in stream/bank by house																						
B	<b>Bush:</b>		Going bush with friends' dads: eeling, 'mucking around'											Started using guns/knives: hunting pigs and goats											
PE	<b>Soccer:</b>								s/t										Work team - social comp.						
EE	<b>Athletics:</b>				school and interschool activity. Trainings after school; Tried a Club								School team			School/PE athletics									
EE	<b>Rugby:</b>			School team (s/t)						resumed		School team						s/t & Club	Club only						
PE	<b>Hockey:</b>								s/t																
E	<b>Miniball:</b>																								
E	<b>Kapa Haka:</b>							complusory																	
E	<b>Te reo Māori:</b>												complusory		option										
E	<b>Guitar:</b>												tips from Te Reo teacher; began playing in church band												
BEE	<b>Diving:</b>																			introduced by aunty/uncle					
E	<b>Touch rugby:</b>																			Work team - social comp.					
EE	<b>Church:</b>													incl. Friday night games, camps, trips. Was also a youth leader											
E	<b>Hol. Progs:</b>						incl. sports, movies, golfing																		

- E** Enjoyed
- EE** Favourites
- B** Brother did this too
- P** Parent/s put me into this

- Chores:** dishes and lawns
- Fav. whānau activity** Country drives; beach trips

## Appendix 25 – Maru’s life and leisure map

	AGE:	0-2	3to4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22			
<b>MARU</b>	<b>Location:</b>	Auck	North	East Coast									East Coast Village			Hamilton								
	<b>Household:</b>	2 parents: 3 tamariki. And eventually 2 more tamariki																						
	<b>Education:</b>	kohanga			Kura Kauapapa Maori									Mainstream High School			Wintec: Bachelor then Honors, then Masters							
	<b>Mahi:</b>													Liquor outlet			Hospitality							
	<b>1st memory:</b>				Rugby/Kura																			
EE	<b>Kapa haka:</b>	Kura																						
EE	<b>Te Reo:</b>	daily kura life											<i>not taken as a subject at HS</i>											
EE	<b>Volleyball:</b>													school team			school team							
E	<b>Rock climbing:</b>																							
EE	<b>Touch:</b>																							
EE	<b>Basketball:</b>																							
EE	<b>Ultimate Frisbee:</b>																							
EE	<b>Music:</b>	guitar/base/drums/keyboard: bands; no lessons; not HS subject; now amateur music producer																						
EE	<b>Waka ama:</b>																							
E	<b>"Spacies":</b>																							
E	<b>Skateboarding:</b>																							
EE	<b>Mixed Martial Arts:</b>																							
EE	<b>Athletics:</b>	PE classes and annual athletics days											PE classes and annual athletics days											
EE	<b>Art:</b>	watching/with dad											as a subject			Degree & Postgraduate qualifications								

**E** Enjoyed

**EE** Favourites

Maru chose all his activities

**Chores:** Dishes; lawns; rooms

**Fav. whānau activity:** River and beach trips

## **Appendix 26 – Fran’s pūrākau**

### **The Journey**

Like a seed, I’m from a pod of many  
Drifting alone, somewhere in the sky  
I know where my journey started  
But I don’t know where I’m going  
I can see many others around me  
But they are not the same

I wonder where I’m really from  
This floating feels like a game  
Many things influencing the way I drift  
Sun, Wind, Rain, Obstacles  
My goals, my own abilities

In the end I get to where I’m supposed to be  
Because it is my journey  
The only journey I know  
What does this journey mean?  
What does it mean for my tamariki?  
Are they just drifting too or will my experience shape me to shape them?  
What is success for them?  
Does it have a face, instructions?  
Is it a book?  
No one knows  
Can I see it? Touch it? Hear it?  
I don’t know  
But in the end I get to where I’m supposed to be  
  
Because it is my journey

### The only journey I know

The kaupapa behind my kōrero is that success, for me, is knowing what you bring – knowing your strengths, desires, to be resourceful, and to use that to go wherever you're going. For me this journey means ensuring that my children know who they are and where they're going to. A big part of that is accepting what is.

As far as 'success' goes, we don't know what it looks like because it's subjective - we all have our opinions and definitions of what success is. We are all on our own journey.

**Appendix 27 – Te Kuputaka**

<b>aho</b>	cord, string, line, thread
āhua	character
āhuatanga	characteristic(s)
ako	“traditional modes of Māori learning” (Pere, 1982, p. 1)
ako Māori	culturally preferred pedagogy (G. H. Mead, 1997)
Aotearoa	‘Long white cloud’; the Māori name for the North Island, and New Zealand
aroha	compassion, care, respect, love
aroha-ki-te-tangata	love, respect, care, compassion for people
atua	Māori deity; personified spiritual and elemental powers; environmental guardian(s)
Atua	God
awa	river(s)
awhi	physical and moral support; help
awhi rito	the blades of flax on either side of te rito, the new shoot
<b>ea</b>	to be satisfied, to be paid in full, to reach a resolution (Mead, 2016)
<b>haka</b>	dance
hākari	feasting and festivities
hāngī	referring to food cooked in an earth oven
hapū	kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe; (verb) to conceive, to be pregnant
harakeke	New Zealand flax; Phormium tenax
hau	The breath part of the soul, derived from Te Hauora
Haumiatiketike, Haumia	One of the sons of Rangi and Papa; the atua of fernroot and uncultivated food.
hauora	health, wellbeing; a Māori philosophy of health
hīkoi	march
hinengaro	mind, thought, intellect, consciousness, awareness
hongī	A greeting involving the pressing of noses and an exchange of hā (breath)

hua	fruit(s) (e.g. of a plant); benefits
hui	gathering, meeting, deliberative assemblies
<b>Io, Io Matua Kore</b>	The Supreme Being who dwells in the depths of Te Kore and laid the foundations of the universe; Io the parentless.
ira atua	spiritual genes, divine inheritance (e.g. wairua)
ira tangata	human genes, mortal inheritance (e.g. kinship group)
iwi	bone, strength, nation, people, tribe
<b>kai</b>	food
kaikaranga	referring to the women who conduct the ritual of calling people onto the marae
kaimoana	seafood
kāinga	home(s)
kaitiaki	guardian
kaiwhakairo	carver
kanohi-kitea	the 'seen face'; being physically present
kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	face to face communication
kapa haka	to dance/perform in rows; cultural performance
karakia	incantation(s), prayer(s)
kaumātua	edlderly, old, aged men and women; person of status within the whānau, or hapū
kaupapa	topic, plan, purpose, agenda
kawa	cultural protocols and customs of the marae
kete	basket, flax kit
kia ora	hello; be well
kīanga	phrase, expression,
<i>Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua.</i> <i>Ka mua, ka muri.</i>	Proverb and saying that refer to walking backwards into the future, or walking into the future with one's eyes on the past.
kiko	flesh
kī-o-rahi	a traditional ball game
kiri	skin
kīwaha	colloquial saying(s)
Kiwi	Native flightless bird; national bird of Aotearoa New Zealand



koeke	elder(s)
koha	gift, contribution, offering
kōhanga reo	language nest; full immersion Māori language and culture preschools
kōhūhū	Pittosporum tenuifolium; a small native black-barked tree of lowland forest and scrub
kōrero	talk, speak, story, information
koro	grandfather
koroua	elderly man/men, grandfather
kuia	elderly woman/women, grandmother
kupu	word(s)
kuputaka	glossary
kura	school(s)
kura kaupapa Māori	full immersion Māori language schools
kurī	dog
<b>māhaki</b>	humility
māia	confidence, determination, commitment
mana	Status, power, influence, pride, inner strength, confidence. The power that resides in all things because they are imbued with tapu.
mana Māori	Māori wellbeing and integrity
mana Māori motuhake	authority and status derived from the land (motu)
mana wahine	referring to the status and power of women
manaakitanga	generosity, hospitality, care, and respect for others
manawanui	resilience
manu tukutuku	kites
Māori	referring to the indigenous people of Aotearoa
māori	referring to an object, person, phenomenon or idea that is natural as opposed to strange or unusual
Māoritanga	Māoriness, Māori way of life
marae	tribal meeting grounds
mātāmua	first born child
mataora	face of healing; referring to health care workers

Matariki	aka. Pleiades (constellation)
mātauranga	knowledge(s)
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledges; modern term for the body of knowledge brought here by our Polynesian ancestors (Royal, 2012); core values and principles that apply to all Māori (Doherty, 2009).
mātauranga-a-iwi	tribal knowledge(s)
Māui-pōtiki, Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga	Māui the youngest, Māui the topknot of Taranga (his mother)
maunga	mountain
mauri	the life principle, the spark of life
mihi whakatau	words of welcome
mihimihi	greetings and acknowledgements
moana	ocean, sea, large lake
Moari	giant strides swing; water swing
mokopuna, moko	grandchildren, grandchild
mōteatea	songs/chants of lament
<b>Namuiria / Namu</b>	referring to the sandfly
Ngā hua o te rākau rangahau	The fruits of the research tree
ngā iwi Māori	referring to the indigenous <i>tribes</i> of Aotearoa
Ngā Kete o te Mātauranga	The baskets of knowledge
Ngā Kōmore Kaiwai	The feeder roots
Ngā Tamatoa	The Young Warriors
ngā taonga pūoro	musical instruments
ngā taonga tākaro	‘the treasured games’ of our ancestors
ngā taonga tuku iho	the treasures that have been passed down
ngahere	forest, bush
ngā-mahi-a-te-rēhia	the arts of pleasure
ngā-mahi-a-te-whare-tapere	the arts or works of the whare tapere (houses of entertainment)
<b>paepae</b>	speakers’ bench
pakanga	battle(s)
Pākehā	Referring to New Zealanders of European descent

Papatūānuku, Papa	Earth Mother
Parihaka	A village established on the slopes of Taranaki by the prophets and leaders, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi.
pātai	question(s)
patu pounamu	short club made of greenstone
pāua	aka. abalone
pekapeka	branches of a tree
pepeha	tribal motto that identifies where the speaker is from
Pēwhairangi	referring to the Bay of Islands in the far north
pōhiri / pōwhiri / tāwhiri	ceremony of welcome
poi	ball, ball on string
pōtaka / pōtaka tākiri	whipping top / humming top
pōtiki	the youngest child
pou	posts
pounamu	greenstone, similar to jade
poutama (f. pouhine)	staircase pattern
pū harakeke	flax fan
puāwai	flowers, blossoms
pūmanawa	inherited and natural talents, intuitive cleverness
pūrākau	Carefully constructed narratives/stories about Māori, as Māori that are embedded with meaning, information, and knowledge, including messages and lessons for living by Māori, for Māori.
pūtake	root(s)
<b>rākau</b>	tree, stick
rākau rangahau	research tree
rangatahi	to be young, younger generation, youth
rangatira	chief, leader
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, independence, autonomy
Ranginui, Rangi, Raki	Sky Father
Rātana	Referring to the Rātana church, a religious and political movement founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana in 1925.

rau	leaf, leaves
raupatu	confiscation; taken by force (e.g. land)
Rēhia	The deity under whom all amusements and entertainments are said to be conducted (e.g. Best, 1925a).
ringa rehe	referring to a dexterous hand
rohe	tribal territories
Rongomātāne, Rongo	One of the sons of Rangi and Papa; the atua of kūmara and cultivated food, and peace. Aka. Rongo-marae-roa-a-Rangi.
roopu	group
Rūaumoko	The youngest son of Rangi and Papa. The atua of earthquakes and volcanos. Aka. Rūaimoko.
<b>taiaha</b>	a long wooden weapon
Tainui	The waka on which the people of Waikato arrived in Aotearoa
taiohi	young, youthful
tākaro	play, games, sport; (verb) to engage in single combat; wrestle, play
tamāhine	girls, daughters
tamariki	children
tamariki-mokopuna	children-grandchildren
tamatāne	boys, sons
tāne, taane	men, males
Tāne-mahuta, Tāne	One of the sons of Rangi and Papa; the atua of the forests and birds, and progenitor of humans. Also known as Tāne-te-wānanga, Tāne-te-waiora, Tānenui-a-rangi.
tānetanga	maleness, manhood, male sex, masculinity
Tangaroa	One of the sons of Rangi and Papa; the atua of the seas and fish.
tangata whaiora	person in pursuit of health and wellbeing
tangata whenua	people born of the land, people of the land
tangi	cry; short for tangihanga
tangihanga	funeral(s); rites for the dead
taonga	things of value (e.g. the Māori language)
tapu	spiritually potent, significant

tarata	lemonwood, <i>Pittosporum eugenioides</i>
tātai hikohiko	referring to the flashing nature of lightening; abbreviated whakapapa
tāwhana	generic name for looper moths
Tāwhirimātea, Tāwhiri	One of the offspring of Rangi and Papa; atua of winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and storms. Aka Tāwhiri-rangi and Tāwhiri-mate-a-Rangi.
te / ngā	the (singular / plural)
Te Aho Matua	The primary thread; the vascular system
Te Ao Māori	The Māori World
Te Ao Mārama	The world of light; the third and present stage of creation
Te Arawa	Referring to the people who descend from the crew of the Te Arawa waka who settled in the Rotorua-Maketū area.
Te Haenga	The pollination
Te Hiako	The bark (of a tree)
te ira tangata	the essence of humanity, human genes
Te Kākano	The seed
Te Kiko Pūrākau	The ‘storied flesh’
Te Kiri Aronui	The ‘observable skin’
Te Kiri Huna	The ‘hidden skin’
Te Kōmoremore	The taproot
Te Kore	The Void; the first stage of creation
Te More	The embryonic taproot
Te Oneone	The seedbed
Te Oranga Whakatupu	Nurturing the growth of a plant to help it reach its fullest potential (Tāpua Te Amo).
Te Pā Harakeke	Native New Zealand flax bush; a metaphor for the whānau
Te pātaka kai	The food store
Te Pihi	The embryonic shoot
Te Pihinga	The shoot
Te Pō	The darkness; the second stage of creation in Māori cosmology; the spiritual realm
Te pū o te rākau / Te pūtake of te rākau	The root system

Te Puāwaitanga	The blossoming
Te Rākau Rangahau	The research tree
Te Rapunga ki Te Ao Mārama	The search for The world of light
Te Raupunga	The Search
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te reo Māori me ōna tikanga	the Māori language and the rules of the language (Prof. Rangi Matamua)
te rito	the (new) shoot
te taha hinengaro	the mind, the intellectual dimension of wellbeing
te taha tinana	the body, the physical dimension of wellbeing
te taha wairua	the spirit, the spiritual dimension of wellbeing
te taha whānau	family health, the social dimension of wellbeing
Te Taiao	The Natural World
Te Taikākā	The heartwood of a tree
Te Taitea	The sapwood
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi
Te Tīwai	The trunk
Te Waipounamu	The Green waters; one of the Māori names for the South Island
Te Wehenga	Referring to ‘The separation’ of Rangi and Papa, the earth and the sky
Te whakatupuranga	The growth (of a plant) (Tāpua Te Amo).
Te Whare Tapa Whā	The four-sided house; a model of health and wellbeing
Te Whāriki	The woven mat
Te Wheke	The octopus
teina	younger sibling(s) of the same gender
Tēnā koe, Tēnā kōrua	Greetings to you (singular), Greetings to you (two)
tika	correct, true, upright, right, just, fair, accurate, appropriate, lawful, proper, valid
tikanga	behaviour informed by cultural values and principles
tikanga Māori	behaviour that is true to the principles and values of Māori culture

tino rangatiratanga	self-governance, self-determination
tīwai	trunk (e.g. of a tree)
tohi rite	dedication ritual
tohunga	priest, ancient seers and sages
tohutō	referring to the macrons that lengthen the sound of a letter
tuakana	older sibling(s) of the same gender
tuakana-teina	referring to the elder-younger sibling relationship
tukutuku	latticework wall panels
Tūmatauenga, Tū	one of the sons of Rangi and Papa; the atua of war and humans
tūpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	places and spaces where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
<b>uruhau</b>	to be happy, pleased, glad, content
urupā	tribal burial grounds
utu	the principle of compensation, revenge, or reciprocity
<b>Waeroa, Waewaeroa</b>	Long legs, referring to the mosquito
wahine, wāhine	woman, women
waiata	song, sing
Waikato	Referring to the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe and whose territory includes the Waikato, Hauraki and King Country areas.
waiora	health
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality
waka	canoe
waka ama	outrigger canoe
wānanga	educational forum
whaikōrero	formal speech(es)
whaiora	referring to the pursuit of health
whakaaro	idea, notion, thought
whakahīhī	boastful

whakamana	to affirm, feelings of affirmation
whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical relationships, history; chronology; (verb) to cause, to create a foundation, to stack, recite in proper order, to list.
whakatauaāki	proverb(s)
whakawhanaungatanga	to create an opportunity for people to make connections and strengthen relationships
whānau	Referring to the extended family. Modern use includes non-familial whānau-like groups and relationships; (verb) to be born, to give birth.
whānau ora	family health
whanaungatanga	connectivity; feelings of kinship and connection developed through practices that promote loyalty, obligation and commitment
whare matoro	‘houses’ of hidden intentions and amorous advances, courtship
wharenuī	meeting house, large house
whare tangata	house of humanity, womb, uterus
whare tapere	house(s) of amusement
whare tūpuna	ancestral house
whāriki	a woven mat
whatukura	heavenly male beings
wheke	octopus
whenu	weaving strands
whenua	land, tribal land, country, ground. Also the name for the placenta.
Whiro-te-tipuna, Whiro	One of the sons of Rangi and Papa; the atua of things associated with evil, darkness and death



## Appendix 28 – A map of Aotearoa New Zealand



Adapted from *File: New Zealand relief map.jpg*, by Wikipedia, 2010., Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:New\\_Zealand\\_relief\\_map.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:New_Zealand_relief_map.jpg). Licensed for use under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license.

