

MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AT THE OLYMPIC AND COMMONWEALTH GAMES

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Abstract

Mātauranga Māori has become commonplace in international sport events involving New Zealand athletes and teams to create a national identity. The heart of this article examines the journey and implementation of mātauranga Māori into the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth games teams at Athens 2004, Torino 2006, Vancouver 2010 and Delhi 2010. The experiences of one cultural advisor (referred to here as CA), who is also an ex-Olympian, are presented through an analysis that considers the principles of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga as advocated in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Utilising a combination of Kaupapa Māori theory and narrative inquiry, a critique is provided of the challenges faced by CA. Although CA's perspectives indicate that the integration of mātauranga Māori has been problematic and mistreated, there exists the potential for positive practice to be enhanced and realised within the Olympic and Commonwealth games environs.

Keywords

Kaupapa Māori theory, mātauranga Māori, narrative inquiry,
Olympic and Commonwealth games, sport, Te Tiriti o Waitangi

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Introduction

Sport sociology as a field of inquiry provides the space to explore and interpret the relationships that exist between the domain of sport and the reality of human experience. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, with its unique historical influences of colonisation, assimilation, urbanisation and ethno-cultural recuperation, this field of inquiry naturally encompasses the relationship between Māori and elite level sport. Indeed, Māori have had a distinctive presence in mainstream sport in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly at the elite level of the Olympic and Commonwealth games. However, the attention of Māori sport sociology researchers has become increasingly centralised on the implementation of mātauranga Māori at these global mega sporting events in creating an environment that promotes and encourages a heightened sense of national identity for athletes, coaches and managerial staff (Erueti & Palmer, 2013; Hippolite & Bruce, 2013). In acknowledging the New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) and their implementation of mātauranga Māori for the London 2012 Olympic campaign, the Honourable Dr. Pita Sharples (2012), Minister of Māori Affairs, stated:

Eighty years ago, the late Dame Te Atairangi Kaahu presented the precious Te Māhutonga cloak to the NZ Olympic Committee and then Te Rūnanga O Ngāi Tahu presented pounamu taonga—a pendant and the mauri stone. Since then our athletes have had our most precious taonga at their side, protecting them, giving them strength and carrying the aroha of a nation. I would like to congratulate the NZ Olympic Committee for initiating this tradition. (para. 14)

This article describes the journey and implementation of “initiating” mātauranga Māori as stated by Sharples into the Olympic and Commonwealth games teams as given through

the first-hand experiences of one of the cultural advisors to the NZOC. For the purpose of anonymity the cultural advisor has been given the pseudonym CA. Very little is known about the introduction, influence and impact of mātauranga Māori in the Olympic and Commonwealth games events. Anecdotal evidence in the form of the video recording *One Team, One Spirit* (NZOC, 2004) showed that mātauranga Māori provided a positive vehicle that enhanced the national identity of elite athletes. Additionally, most recently Erueti and Palmer (2013) have reported that traditional Māori cultural practices incorporated during Olympic and Commonwealth games events for some Māori athletes can assist in reconnecting them to their ethno-cultural identity while subsuming their athlete identity.

CA has been engaged in the position of cultural advisor to the New Zealand team for the Summer Olympic Games in Athens 2004 and the Winter Olympic Games in Torino 2006 and Vancouver 2010. CA has also assisted the New Zealand Commonwealth Games team in Delhi 2010. This article is unique in that it is the first the author is aware of that explores a specific narrative detailing the integration of mātauranga Māori at the Olympic and Commonwealth games. The narrative of CA is critiqued via the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, complemented by a combination of Kaupapa Māori theory (KMT) and narrative inquiry methodological approaches offering a refreshing discussion that elucidates the boundaries of indigenous knowledge and mega global sporting events.

A critique of mātauranga Māori via Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)

In 1840 representatives of the British Crown and some (but not all) Māori chiefs signed a treaty of cession called Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Māori version) or the Treaty of Waitangi

(English version). It suggested two specific thoughts that encompassed “commercial and humanitarian interests” that in reality represented conflicting outcomes—“provision for British settlement on one hand, and protection of Māori interests on the other” (Wyeth, Derrett, Hokowhitu, Hall, & Langley, 2010, p. 305). Debate about the place of this covenant in modern Aotearoa New Zealand society continues to cause heated discussion given that anomalies between the English and Māori texts of the Treaty exist. Consequently, both parties have different perceptions and expectations of the Treaty. Nonetheless, Orange (2001) succinctly describes that the English version expressed:

1. Article I: Māori cede sovereignty of New Zealand to the British Crown;
2. Article II: In return, Māori are guaranteed full exclusive rights of ownership and use of their lands, forests, fisheries and other possessions, but if they wish to sell any of these, it must be to the Crown;
3. Article III: Māori enjoy the same rights and privileges as British citizens.

The three Articles of the Māori version respectively are manifested by the terms:

kāwanatanga (governorship), the Crown has the right to govern; *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship), Māori kin groups have the right to own and manage collective assets; and *ōritetanga* (equality), Māori individuals have the same rights and responsibilities as non-Māori New Zealanders. (Wyeth et al., 2010, p. 305)

An examination of the implementation of *mātauranga Māori* in the context of sport using Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a pragmatic shift. Te Tiriti o Waitangi has an historical association to practical revolutionary work translating into social dynamic activism, increasingly noticeable in the areas of education, health and research within Māori societal development

(Reid & Robson, 2007; G. H. Smith, 2012; Tipene-Matua & Dawson, 2003). In this sense it would be more accurate to visualise Te Tiriti o Waitangi as “praxis” with the potential to incorporate elements of liberation and transformation to social justice, particularly in the context of sport in Aotearoa. For this article, the application of *rangatiratanga* and *ōritetanga* principles inherent within Te Tiriti o Waitangi are particularly pertinent.

Firstly, *rangatiratanga* is defined as the principle that promotes Māori autonomy and decision-making in all areas of society, including sport. Specifically for sport it implies the mutual benefit and enrichment for Māori and non-Māori to engage in Māori sport aspirations and understanding. Additionally, it involves the safety of Māori interests, estates, assets and well-being. For instance, the government has a duty and responsibility to ensure that Māori are entitled to the same standard and access to sport as other New Zealanders. It also entails the security of intangible assets such as *te reo me ngā tikanga*. *Ōritetanga* suggests an equitable sharing of power and that one party does not speak on behalf of the other. In regards to sport, Hokowhitu (2005), Hokowhitu and Scherer (2008) and Palmer (2006, 2009) agree that Māori should not have their decisions preempted or determined by those who perhaps do not know what is best. Hence Māori should have a role in sport development and implementation. However, the reality has been in the past that within the realm of sport, Pākehā have assumed aspects of *mātauranga Māori* with very little (if any) dialogue, discussion or negotiation with Māori, a direct violation of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi aforementioned.

Methodology

Kaupapa Māori theory and narrative inquiry

Encouraging the use of the principles of rangatiratanga and օritetanga as espoused in Te Tiriti o Waitangi with a transdisciplinarity and pragmatic convergence of KMT and narrative inquiry ensures that the complex intersection of mātauranga Māori and the Olympic and Commonwealth games events may be investigated appropriately from a Māori perspective. KMT research is responsive to expressed needs of Māori and identifies knowledge of the Māori world, Māori perspectives and perceptions, opinions and attitudes (Jenkins & Morris Matthews, 1995; Stokes, 1985; Te Awekotuku, 1991)—it is about “being Māori and the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 185). In the end, Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) succinctly expresses that KMT is research that is by Māori, for Māori and with Māori.

KMT as a methodology is a very important framework in that it provides the space in which Māori ideals, values and experiences can be discussed, thus positioning a Māori worldview as an authentic and legitimate perspective. Māori ways of being and knowing are at the heart of advocating a process of critical self-awareness, reflexivity, and openness during the research process that encourages a paradigm of choices (Bishop, 1994, 1996). When it comes to investigating the Māori athlete experience, Hippolite (2008) has stated that sport in Aotearoa is often seen “as a microcosm of [New Zealand] society” (p. 1). In that sense KMT provides an opportunity to illuminate the tension between popular views of equality, inclusion and melting pot idealism that often go unchallenged (Hippolite, 2008; Hylton, 2010a, 2010b).

Narrative inquiry and storytelling are pertinent devices that can challenge established epistemologies and accepted “truths” to

emancipate the voices of indigenous peoples where formerly those voices had been neglected. Scholars who have captured the phenomena of human experience and meaning contend that modern lives are made meaningful based on the expression of culturally meaningful life-stories (Bruner, 1990; Josselson, 1996; McAdams, 1990, 2008, 2009; McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007). Some methods have taken the appearance of investigating socio-historical contexts (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Strauss, 1959, 1993) and biographical methods (Denzin, 1997a, 1997b; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). These theorists agree that life-stories carry explanations for the origins of identity for the person in their own personal history. Indeed, an individual’s story is continually a work in progress, changing over time reflecting changes in the person’s self-understandings, social environment, social roles and relationships (Cohler, 1982; McAdams, 1990, 1993, 2001).

KMT and narrative inquiry give a critical and structural analysis of the “voice” and a sense of “liberation” within the context of mega global sporting events to transpire (Mara, 2006, p. 124). It promotes thought-provoking emancipatory processes where Māori are engaged to “see the world through [their] eyes as [people] who have been oppressed or subjugated” (Duncan, 2006, p. 201), revealing “the gaps” and encouraging new insights in sport. The Māori experience has been historically “misrepresented, misunderstood and in some instances vilified in an effort to provide justification and rationalisation for the injustices acted upon [Māori]” (Dunbar, 2008, p. 98). The narrative collected provides an opportunity to “listen and see” (Royal, 2002, p. 47) and to make sense via CA’s first-hand experiences as a cultural advisor to the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth games teams. CA’s perspective will likely act as a map, providing “footprints” in which to learn the process of how mātauranga Māori was implemented and the ongoing issues surrounding the use of Māori knowledge in the future.

Participants

Narrative analysis of a cultural advisor

This article presents an emerging theme from the narrative of a Māori elite athlete who was individually interviewed as part of a PhD project. The PhD topic investigates how identity is experienced by Māori athletes who participate in sport at the elite level in providing a more complete picture of what influences Māori identity for Māori elite athletes. The main featuring narrative in this article is provided by CA, a cultural advisor who was also an ex-Olympian. CA provides a unique perspective as an insider that allows for a critical description and assessment of the development, emergence and implementation of traditional cultural practices in the Olympic and Commonwealth games. The justification for publically making this information available eventuated from a comment in CA's narrative:

I think the public needs to know ... I think that the impact that Māori culture has had on our athletes and the support they have shown towards those things like haka and pōwhiri would be a powerful motivator to the public—we need to tell that story!

In that vein it is the aim of the researcher to share the story as wished by CA and to supply in his words a description of the development and process of how mātauranga Māori was incorporated into the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth games teams. Themes extrapolated from CA's accounts will help in clarifying the requirements for the development of mātauranga Māori for those who operate at the decision-making level in high performance sport management in future global events. As CA's narrative unfolds, the influence of the kaumātua for the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth teams is apparent. The voice of the kaumātua appears by default, embedded within the narrative of CA. The kaumātua was

appointed at the personal endorsement of CA to the NZOC as the “guardian of tikanga” (Mead, 2003, p. 14). As CA gave consent for his narrative to be employed in its entirety for my PhD study, it is assumed that his use and interpretation of the voice of the kaumātua was included within that consent. However, the use of the narrative that incorporates the words of the kaumātua is executed with the utmost sensitivity.

Findings and discussion

Violations of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga

In preparation for the Olympic Games in Sydney 2000, the NZOC advertised two positions for a commission member and a non-commission member to travel with the team as support crew for the New Zealand Olympic athletes. CA was approached to apply and during the interview process he introduced the concept of implementing mātauranga Māori, tikanga and cultural practices as part of the Olympic team approach. Although CA had been informed by the NZOC that he contained “the right credentials and personality”, he was unsuccessful in obtaining the position. Regardless, the NZOC decided to execute their initiative and erected a waharoa for the entrance to the New Zealand location at the Olympic village for the Sydney Olympics in 2000. While CA maintains a healthy respect for the chef de mission “because [the chef de mission] was the first to consider the possibilities of introducing Māori concepts and knowledge”, CA was critical of the NZOC and specific Olympic Games team management members because there was very little recognition of rangatiratanga as the NZOC neglected to consult with Māori members of the committee when assembling and raising the waharoa. Consequently, several complications arose when the waharoa was being disassembled at the conclusion of the games.

The Olympic symbol (the five coloured rings) had been carved into the waharoa and these needed to be removed. Although CA had not been selected for the position, he was promptly contacted for his counsel on this matter. CA contacted the artist who had produced the waharoa and “got them to carve [the Olympic rings] out which of course upset them and so [CA] had to deal with ‘smoothing over’ that relationship”. Additionally, the amo were set in concrete at the site where the New Zealand team were located in the Olympic village and so were abandoned with only the maihi returning home. For Māori, highly prized whakairo such as a waharoa are treated with the same respect as if they were an animate object; as such, it was similar to leaving a “loved one behind”. Mead (2003) explicitly testifies that “as a highly valued activity art is surrounded and immersed in tikanga”, continuing that “the observance of tikanga of creative work actually enhances ... gives significance ... and elevates ... something special and highly valued” (p. 265). Furthermore, aspects of tikanga were ignored such as karakia when erecting the gateway.

The employment of a waharoa from a Māori perspective symbolises “a change in state ... a threshold”, that is, a metaphysical “change” occurs that allows those people passing through a waharoa to be cleansed of the “profane” (Barlow, 2001, p. 179). When athletes arrive at the Olympic Games they too begin a process of preparation (psychophysical, and for some, metaphysical) for their sporting event. Had the appropriate advisors been present to clarify this meaning when the waharoa was erected, a unique amalgamation of mātauranga Māori and elite level sport could have been seized. Unfortunately the mana of the waharoa was simply reduced to represent decor rather than as a cultural taonga that could create the link between indigenous epistemology and elite level sport.

Two years later at the Commonwealth Games in Manchester the New Zealand team requested they be welcomed by Ngāti Ranana

through the process of pōwhiri. However, some “smoothing over” had to occur, concerning the lack of understanding demonstrated by the New Zealand Commonwealth team regarding an aspect of tikanga referred to as koha, a practice of reciprocity that is imperative in the pōwhiri process. CA was approached to make contact with Ngāti Ranana to “sort it all out”.

These two examples demonstrate the obvious lack of consideration of both the Treaty principles of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga, yet CA viewed them as “blessings in disguise”. Recognising that change was needed, the NZOC formulated an informal cultural advisory group that included CA, a retired Rugby Sevens Māori athlete and “a higher authority and a couple of others”. As advisors to the NZOC for the Olympic Games in Athens 2004, they engaged in “a phenomenal amount of critical debate” that ensured “the correct people were going over to Athens to protect our taonga and of course make sure that the implementation of Māori culture was correct”. CA and a respected kaumātua were selected to travel with the New Zealand Olympic team to Athens to ensure the appropriate integration of Māori cultural practices and protection of specific taonga.

The potentiality of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga

With the cultural advisory group now in place and the selection of two cultural advisors, the exertion of rangatiratanga could be realised, allowing for the introduction of mātauranga Māori at the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. CA identifies that the Māori concepts of whānau, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga were specific concepts chosen to create a sense of “connection with one another ... and understanding of what it means to wear the silver fern”. To encourage this environment the implementation of several specific Māori cultural practices were employed; namely, pōwhiri, mihimihi and haka.

In a traditional context tangata whenua hold ancestral rights in the geographical locality and

are responsible for exercising manaakitanga. In Athens, this status, and therefore the hosting rights, belonged to the Grecian people. The tradition of the opening ceremony to the Olympic Games preserves these rights to the hosts. However, in this particular context the process of pōwhiri was conducted in the New Zealand Olympic village, where the cultural advisors involved support staff to assume the role of tangata whenua and the athletes were welcomed as manuhiri. The athletes subsequently became a part of the hosting group tangata whenua when additional athletes arrived. The flexibility of tikanga regarding host/visitor and the formal roles “inherently became a process of reciprocation” that created an innovative strategy essential to the construction of team whānau. The Athens exemplar provides a distinctive example of inventiveness and shows that pōwhiri continues to evolve both in the way it is understood and in the range of ways it is applied to create a sense of whānau, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga for the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth teams.

In regards to the process of mihimihi, the central area for conversation, communication or discussion for Māori is the marae. While a space could not be formally blessed and utilised as a marae at any of the Olympic and Commonwealth games within any of the New Zealand villages, aspects that exemplified mihimihi were deemed necessary to create a sense of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. Mihimihi supplied a vehicle where the underlying link between the physical and social environment is emphasised, where:

Māori and non-Māori are given to the best of their knowledge an opportunity to introduce themselves using geographical locations: maunga, awa, hapū, iwi and marae ... if they could, or to just describe where they come from.

Even though only a few athletes could introduce themselves using geographical features as

an extension of identity, it allows a contextual fascia that connects athletes to one another as “people” from Aotearoa New Zealand “so that everyone could have the opportunity to connect and to relate to one another via those locations”. Mihimihi allowed for the creation of similar identity formation between elite athletes, both Māori and non-Māori, replacing the sterile individuality approach where elite sport participation has depersonalised the whānau perspective.

In terms of working within a Māori paradigm, a high level of reciprocation is necessary between the NZOC and the Māori proprietors of the knowledge being sought. The logistics of cultural proprietorship and copyright were an imperative consideration when it came to utilising the haka “Ka Mate”. Before being gifted such sensitive iwi information, trustworthiness and dependability was required, thus CA invited an expert from the iwi Ngāti Toa, who have legal claim to the haka “Ka Mate”. The invited expert informed those present of the historicity of the haka. This case expresses that although the haka exists to be shared, CA has shown its value as a taonga by ensuring that the rights of the kaitiaki to exercise kaitiakitanga were safeguarded. Succinctly stated, CA considered that the rights of Ngāti Toa be recognised and acknowledged, maintaining the right of Ngāti Toa to exercise authority, including determining how the haka may or may not be utilised. However, Ngāti Toa amicably agreed that CA be given the privilege to act on their behalf when it came to using the haka abroad. This process in its entirety exemplifies the potential application of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga Treaty principles.

An example of where all three aspects of tikanga—pōwhiri, mihimihi and haka—were brought together eventuated when the New Zealand Winter Olympic team were competing at the Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver in 2010. CA deemed it important to create a relationship with the tangata whenua, the indigenous First Nations people of Vancouver.

There are some obvious similarities between the indigenous epistemes of First Nations people and Māori and these became more evident when the New Zealand Winter Olympic team were invited to a formal welcome referred to as a Squamish blanketing ceremony. It involved the didactic interaction between selected tribal speakers called “blanketed speakers”, in which CA was afforded the honour to be the “blanketed speaker” for the New Zealand Olympic team. Furthermore, the gifting of taonga took place in the form of traditional First Nations blankets for each athlete and personnel of the New Zealand team. Given the emotions that were shared, CA decided that the team should honour their hosts with an impromptu haka where, CA exuberantly expressed, “[the New Zealand Team] gave it heaps ... they were mean!” This is a prime illustration of rangatiratanga because it realises that a Māori tikanga approach was a necessity when it came to acknowledge the indigenous peoples of the Winter Olympic Games hosting nation.

The concepts previously described were complemented with material taonga that are unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. The taonga included a ceremonial kākahu to be worn by the flag bearer, a mauri stone, and pounamu for each athlete. CA clarifies that:

all these things symbolise the gifting process, the act of giving and representing the essence of pounamu, that strength can come from small things as represented in the whakataukī “ahakoa he iti he pounamu”. So pendants are gifted to the athletes and it is a hugely personal and special thing.

These taonga are gifted as part of the reciprocal agreement that the NZOC has with Kai who are the kaitiakitanga of the largest repositories of pounamu in Aotearoa New Zealand. Tangible taonga provide learning opportunities as expressed by our tupuna that give constructive strategies in formulating connectivity between athletes and Aotearoa.

The narrative given by CA clearly demonstrates how mātauranga Māori can be positively integrated within the arena of major sporting global events such as the Winter Olympic Games. While the lessons learnt regarding the use of tikanga Māori aspects have been present in Māori society for centuries—for example, pōwhiri, mihimihi, haka—when applied in a contemporary context the pragmatic appreciation of the Treaty principles of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga are realised.

Misinterpretations of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga

Although a cultural advisory group had been constructed to uphold the principles of rangatiratanga and ōritetanga, implementing mātauranga Māori “at the coal face” would endure many inherent difficulties. Indeed, CA voiced that much of “the battle is often with the support staff, the coaches and the managers”, who construed cultural actions as time-prohibitive and irritatingly resource dependent. CA conveyed that implementing “things Māori was about trying to fit into schedules” and “sticking to the itineraries set by management” and ultimately the “itinerary omits Māori knowledge”. Consequently CA felt that “[management] just want the pieces they want”. This indicates that while there is a general consensus that the Olympic and Commonwealth games may unify a diverse range of people from the same nation, it does not automatically lead to all those involved adopting a tolerant attitude of acceptance towards Māori knowledge.

It is clear that in the context of the Olympic and Commonwealth games, management are happy to use or appropriate decontextualised elements of Māori culture (such as haka) to mark their national identity so long as it fits within the stringent time frame that has been allocated. In this sense mātauranga Māori was perceived by some support staff, coaches and managers as an “add-on” rather than an

“inclusive” aspect as philosophically intended by CA. As such, to uphold portions of mātauranga Māori and to adapt them to the needs of the staff (mostly non-Māori), the correct implementation of mātauranga Māori often came at the marginalisation of the belief systems of both CA and the NZOC kaumātua. CA expressed that:

the people that have given up the most for the team as a whole to remain comfortable is [the kaumātua] and I, we reduce our mana for the greater good. I’m not purposely assuming the role of a martyr because we both know that that is a decision that we have to make and we do because it’s what is best for everyone.

While the implementation of mātauranga Māori was indeed a huge step forward in regards to promoting Māori knowledge hidden from public view, both cultural advisors are voluntary and provide their skill set “for free with no remuneration or any type of monetary compensation”. Hence, CA decided not to attend the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne in 2006 or the Beijing Olympics in 2008. The NZOC appointed a cultural advisor to travel with the New Zealand teams; however, a “cutting and pasting” of Māori aspects that worked in Athens was applied to the Melbourne Games campaign. CA suggested that “athletes were beginning to get hōhā because of the amount of haka being performed ... I think they believed [the haka] was losing its value”. This exemplifies that the use of haka is accompanied with both words of advice and caution, as CA explains:

There was definitely a feeling of the cultural aspects being pushed rather than about feeling the right time to implement something Māori—it’s the reason. I believe that if they don’t know why they are doing it then the how can be very difficult. The how to me is not important but the why provides the foundation. I suppose what they also didn’t realise

was that the people who would get blamed for any type of overkill so to speak would be the cultural advisors.

CA exemplifies that utilising haka is a continual process of discovery, innovation and strategic emendations—after all, mātauranga Māori is an evolving concept. Yet deeply rooted in the narrative are the ethical motives of utilising specific iwi knowledge and ensuring that it is used in the same respect in which it was given. That is, its cultural meaning is protected as defined by Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

A final example that highlights the negative beliefs and attitudes of Olympic team management regarding Māori knowledge occurred at the Winter Games in Torino that involved the gifting of possum skin hats, a distinctive act that typified the meaning of creating a national identity that was whole-heartedly supported by the cultural advisors. These hats, along with the giving of pounamu pendants, were presented at an intimate and special ceremony to unify athletes, coaches and management staff. Completing the process also required athletes to perform hongi, another symbol of unity as expressed through Māori tikanga. However, at the conclusion of the ceremony the chef de mission requested that CA and the team kaumātua return their hats due to a calculation error. CA explains his reaction:

My surprise at the audacity of this request was a massive shock, as was [the kaumātua] because his knowledge of the gifting process is that once it has been gifted, to ask for that gift to be returned is a huge insult and he exclaimed “but it has been on my head and so it is tapu!” I was so angry and wild that my emotions took over and I was lucky enough that he trusted me. So I returned the hats to the chef de mission.

The incident attracted publicity throughout the team and athletes vocalised their support for both cultural advisors. CA considerably

commented on this incident in his report of the Torino Games to the NZOC. His action of giving the hats back was a perceptive and strategic act, as in their report they were able to reflect from their viewpoint that:

it was far more powerful to say that we actually gave them back to show how we were treated instead of writing that he was going to take the hats back. Also this would put no doubts in anyone's mind of what actually happened.

In support of CA and the team *kaumātua*, the NZOC decided that the Winter Olympic Games in Torino should be that particular *chef de mission's* last event, which sent a very powerful message that cultural incompetence will not be tolerated. This narrative also serves as a reminder that just because the Olympic and Commonwealth games may bring people together in the same high performance environment does not automatically lead to the progressive adoption of Māori cultural practices. Additionally, the *chef de mission* is in a unique position of power where their leadership and vision can provide the capacity to promote a national identity through a *mātauranga Māori* approach. In this sense, any implementation of *mātauranga Māori* requires the support of the *chef de mission*, hence there is a reliance on the cultural competency of the *chef de mission* and their familiarity with Māori cultural practices.

Conclusion

Aotearoa New Zealand has just completed its first stage in formulating a formal constitution and it has been reported by the Constitutional Advisory Panel (2013) that:

the Treaty is already a fundamental element of our constitutional arrangements. The Crown cannot turn back on the commitments made in the Treaty and subsequently without the

risk of social and political tensions. (p. 31)

Undoubtedly, the narrative given here has identified an aspect of how "the commitments made in the Treaty" can be realised within sport at the elite level. Certainly the intersection of sport and *mātauranga Māori* has identified where the principles of the Treaty have been preserved and where they have been severely marginalised. CA affectionately concludes:

Tikanga as proposed by our ancestors is a wonderful blueprint for achieving those ideas [of *whānau*, *whanaungatanga* and *kotahitanga*] where they were in tune with creating relationships and how they connected not only with people but with their *whenua*. These concepts are as relevant today as they ever were. I believe that while our athletes are 98 to 99 percent physically and mentally attuned to what they have to achieve to compete and go into battle on the world stage I see my role as making up that last 1 or 2 percent that reminds them of who they are and where they are from and who they are doing this for. Our culture provides that vehicle. It aids them in thinking past the physical because they are not thinking about *wairua* or cultural aspects and I try to make them realise the importance of that that makes up that last 1 or 2 percent.

At the time of his interview, CA was in preparation for the London Olympic Games and had indicated his retirement to the NZOC as a cultural advisor. However, most recently CA has been appointed as the Deputy *Chef de Mission* for the New Zealand Olympic Committee for the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, Scotland. As such, CA will have the opportunity to assert new frontiers by continuing to build on the potential to strengthen the borderlines between *mātauranga Māori* and future Olympic and Commonwealth games events. This task is not easy because it involves the responsibility of actively protecting that which is considered traditional knowledge and reshaping, rebuilding,

reinterpreting and reincorporating elements to make mātauranga Māori fit the world of elite sport today. Therefore further studies will need to be conducted that explore the junction of contemporary utilisation of mātauranga Māori and the Olympic and Commonwealth games. This article highlights the need to embrace alternative stories that capture how Māori and non-Māori athletes, coaches and management perceive, experience and understand mātauranga Māori at the Olympic and Commonwealth games. Indeed, for Māori researchers interested in this interface it is unquestionably a time of invigoration.

Glossary

Ahakoia he iti he pounamu	a well-known whakataukī translated as, “Although it is small, it is greenstone”. It represents a humble way to deliver a small gift. As such, the word pounamu stands as a metaphor for something precious or a treasure from the heart.	he kanohi kitea	a term used in Kaupapa Māori research translated as “the face that is seen” (see Te Awekotuku, 1991), referring to the importance that researchers be “seen” as part of the interview process and in the community
amo	upright supports of the lower ends of the maihi on the front gable of a house. In regards to the waharoa these were represented as the side vertical posts.	hōhā	wearied with expectation
Aotearoa	the Māori name for New Zealand, translated as “Land of the Long White Cloud”. For this article the unified term “Aotearoa New Zealand” is used.	hongī	a greeting between two people that involves the pressing of noses
aroaha	unconditional love	iwi	tribe
awa	river	kaitiaki	carers, creators
haka	dance	kaitiakitanga	caring
hapū	sub-tribe	kākahu	garment, clothes, cloak, apparel
		karakia	blessing
		kaumātua	elder
		Kaupapa Māori	Māori “perspectives”—Kaupapa Māori theory (KMT)
		kāwanatanga	governorship
		koha	donation/gift/contribution
		kotahitanga	community or unified vision
		maihi	facing boards on the gable of a house. In regards to the waharoa these were the angled posts that form the apex in the centre and connect to the amo.
		mana	integrity, charisma, prestige
		manaakitanga	hospitality
		manuhiri	visitors
		marae	ancestral home
		mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge and cultural practices
		maunga	mountain
		mauri stone	a rock made entirely of greenstone that travels with the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth teams to the games

mihimihi	greeting formalities	Te Māhutonga	the name of the ceremonial cloak worn by the New Zealand flag bearer at the Olympic and Commonwealth games. It is named after the Māori designation of the Southern Cross constellation.
Ngāti Ranana	literally translated as “London Tribe” that describes a group of Māori expatriates who have created a Māori identity in London		
Ngāti Toa	the tribe who have legal proprietorship of the haka “Ka Mate”		
ōritetanga	equality (see Wyeth et al., 2010)	te reo me ngā tikanga	Māori language and customs
Pākehā	a person in Aotearoa New Zealand primarily of European descent	Te Rūnanga O Ngāi Tahu	the iwi organisation that gifted the precious greenstone to the New Zealand Olympic Committee
pounamu taonga	treasured gift/prized possession. In this context it came in the form of a greenstone pendant gifted to Olympic and Commonwealth games athletes.	tikanga	the correct Māori procedures and conventions as a general guide in Māori traditional customs
pōwhiri	welcoming ceremony	waharoa	gateway
rangatiratanga	chieftainship (see Wyeth et al., 2010)	waiata	song
		wairua	spiritual
tangata whenua	host	whakataukī	proverb
taonga	prized possession, gift	whānau	family
Te Atairangikaahu (Dame)	the late Māori Queen as anointed within the Māori monarchy system	whanaungatanga	developing family ties, building relationships
te hiringa i te mahara	the power of the mind (see Royal, 2002)	whenua	land

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