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Cultural identity, leadership and well-being: how indigenous storytelling contributed to well-being in a New Zealand provincial rugby team

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ABSTRACT

Objectives: The purpose of the article was to explore the application and interpretation of indigenous stories introduced in 2015–2017 in relation to the identity and leadership (well-being elements) of players and coaches of a men's provincial rugby team in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ).

Study design: The study utilised a Kaupapa Māori case study approach and indigenous forms of storytelling (pūrākau, whakatauki) to encourage participants to share their narratives and experiences of how the inclusion of Māori knowledge in a team context influenced their sense of identity and leadership and thus well-being on and off the field.

Methods: Semi-structured, one-on-one, interviews alongside focus group discussions generated the data (narratives) collected. Data were thematically analysed, utilising aspects of an indigenous model of Health Promotion known as Te Pae Māhutonga. Specifically, the cultural identity affirmation (Mauri Ora) and leadership (Ngā Manukura) elements were illustrated as these were applicable to high performance sport contexts.

Results: Analysis revealed that the team narrative, values and expectations were enhanced by embracing Māori stories (pūrākau) and symbols. In particular, this enhanced the cultural identity, sense of belonging, leadership and well-being of a number of team members on and off-field. Neither the players nor coaches disclosed any negative impacts to their well-being from incorporating indigenous storytelling (pūrākau, whakatauki) into their team building practices and culture.

Conclusions: Sport-related research and practices that are informed by indigenous knowledge and values can benefit the well-being of indigenous people (in this case Māori), collectives (rugby team) and individuals (researchers, players and coaches). Further research exploring how indigenous knowledge is integrated into sport-related contexts is needed to understand whether the well-being of a wider range of teams and individuals (women, non-indigenous) may benefit from the inclusion of indigenous knowledge, values and practices.

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Introduction

Whāia te iti kahurangi, ki te tūoho koe, me he maunga teitei

‘Reach for the stars, and if you should fail, let it only be to the loftiest mountain’

In relation to this special issue, renowned Māori health scholar Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie suggested that indigenous resiliency is shaped by myriad forces including demographic transitions, human capability, cultural affirmation, attitudinal biases, the economy, lifestyle environments, state policies, indigenous mobility and leadership.¹ To consider all these forces is beyond the scope of this article, but a sharper focus on specific aspects of indigenous resiliency such as cultural identity (Mauri Ora) and leadership (Ngā Manukura) is possible.

The opening whakataukāi (proverb) speaks of aspirations and resiliency that many indigenous peoples worldwide demonstrate as they seek to reclaim resources, values, healthy environments and autonomy postcolonisation.^{1–3} Māori, the tangata whenua (people of the land) in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ), have also experienced dispossession of their lands, knowledge systems and practices due to colonisation and continually fight to reclaim these taonga (treasures), essential for Māori well-being. Despite calls to acknowledge the needs of other ethnic minority groups in NZ, Māori retain specific rights as tangata whenua, represent 16 percent of NZ’s population and are growing faster than non-Māori populations because of a younger demographic.^{4–6}

Comparatively, Māori rights have gained more prominence than those of many indigenous peoples worldwide because of many iwi (tribes) and hapū (sub-tribes) signing a covenant, known as Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Māori version)/The Treaty of Waitangi (English version), with representatives of the British

Crown in 1840.⁷ Despite decades of breaches of this covenant, the interpretation and application of ‘*contra proferentem*’^{8,9} by the Waitangi Tribunal (established in 1975) and ongoing settlements between the NZ government and iwi may eventually restore Māori autonomy and well-being.⁷ The United Nation’s (UN) Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which NZ signed in 2010, also insists that the rights of indigenous peoples worldwide, should be protected and recognised.¹⁰

In citing the World Health Organisation’s Declaration on the Health and Survival of Indigenous Peoples,¹¹ Sir Mason Durie described holistic well-being as a:

perspective incorporating four distinct shared dimensions of life... spiritual, intellectual, physical and emotional. Linking these fundamental dimensions...manifests itself on multiple levels where the past, present and future co-exist simultaneously. (p. 510)

One way of passing on indigenous knowledge is through pūrākau; Māori narratives that share ‘philosophical thoughts, epistemological constructs, cultural codes and worldviews’ (p. 1)¹² and that ‘provide a conceptual framework of representation’ (p. 5).¹² According to one particular pūrākau, about how Māori came to Aotearoa, Te Pae Māhutonga (TPM) or the Southern Cross constellation was used by early voyagers to navigate their way across the Pacific Ocean. Elements of this pūrākau were incorporated into Durie’s indigenous model of health promotion (TPM), aspects of which are utilised herein as an analytical framework² (see Fig. 1).

From a Māori perspective, the TPM model² depicts six key elements of holistic health and well-being: Mauri Ora (cultural identity), Waiora (physical environment), Toiora (healthy lifestyles), Te Oranga (participation in society), Ngā Manukura (leadership) and Te Mana Whakahaere (autonomy). While acknowledging these interconnected relationships, this article focussed on Mauri Ora (cultural identity) and Ngā

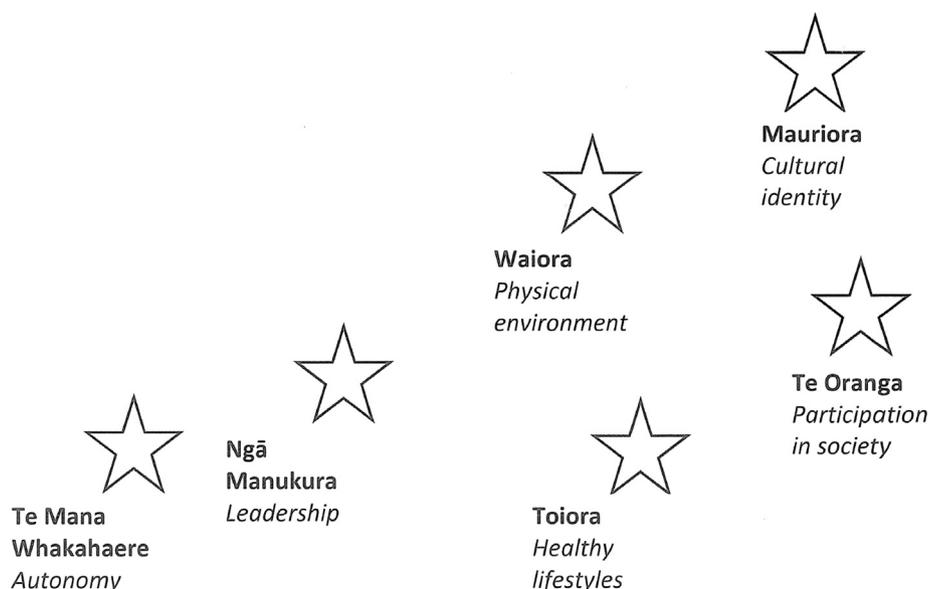


Fig. 1 – Te Pae Māhutonga—Māori elements of health promotion.

Manukura (leadership) specifically because, as Durie suggested, the development of a secure, positive cultural identity (Mauri Ora) is a fundamental right, while leadership (Ngā Manukura) that reflects indigenous worldviews, values and aspirations in tribal, community and institutional contexts is essential for indigenous well-being.^{1–3}

An institution where Māori express Ngā Manukura (leadership), Mauri Ora (identity affirmation) and mana (prestige) is organised sport.^{13–20} Consequently, Māori identity has become closely associated with sports introduced by colonisers^{14,17–21} such as rugby union (rugby). There is, for instance, a NZ Māori Rugby Board, a Māori Representative on the NZ Rugby Board, Māori rugby tournaments, development programmes, teams and individuals who gain mana through rugby.²² Further, Māori symbols and rituals are integrated into major international (e.g. Rugby World Cup 2011) and community events. The All Blacks (national men's rugby team), Māori All Blacks and super rugby teams (e.g. Chiefs), also incorporate aspects of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) to enhance team culture and global awareness.²³

Research has explored the role that sport plays in positively affirming cultural identity and connectedness^{24–26} for indigenous peoples^{27,28} and for Māori.^{29,30} Most of this scholarship has focused on the impact Māori culture has on elite and professional athletes and teams. Scant studies have examined how Māori culture is utilised in semiprofessional and provincial level teams and what impact this may have on well-being. This article, therefore, is based on a case study that examined how Māori knowledge and values may be incorporated in a team to benefit Mauri Ora and Ngā Manukura.

Methods

Kaupapa Māori (KM) refers to a body of knowledge integral to Māori epistemological and ontological constructions of the world.^{12,31} KM research refers to Māori-centred philosophies, frameworks and methods that re-affirm the importance of mātauranga Māori while providing a critique of dominant Pākehā (non-Māori, usually of Anglo-Saxon origin) knowledge that ‘wields the greatest power’ (p.308).³² Despite the presence of Māori people, knowledge and culture in rugby as stated, rugby as a colonial sport is still a Pākehā institution with the potential to marginalise Māori.^{17,18} Scholars for instance have examined how the appropriation of Māori rituals such as the haka ‘Ka Mate’ in NZ rugby³³ and other elite-level sport settings^{24,30} enhances or hinders Māori well-being. Others suggest the incorporation of the haka enhances the well-being of all New Zealanders by creating ‘a strong and moving experience of bonding and belonging’ (p. 9)³⁴ ... [that creates] a unifying, bi-culturally harmonious setting.³⁴

This study considers how pūrākau, well-crafted, thoughtful narratives that are contextualised depending on the storyteller, topic, purpose and audience to effect engagement,^{12,35–37} were imbedded into the stories of a provincial men's rugby team. In particular, the influence of pūrākau as whakataukī (proverbs), models and symbols on identity (Mauri Ora) and leadership (Ngā Manukura) in a team that included Māori and non-Māori (Pākehā and Pasifika) members was analysed. Applying an

indigenous storytelling approach to sport practices and research will promote interdisciplinary work that weaves together ‘the personal and social fabric of our lives’ (p.280)³⁸ to impact in a meaningful way the communities it serves.³⁹ The knowledge this study contributes, for instance, could encourage more indigenous peoples in sport to affirm their identities and leadership potential through storytelling in ways that contribute to their holistic well-being.

The Steamers are a semiprofessional, men's provincial rugby team based in Mount Maunganui, Bay of Plenty (BoP), NZ. The BoP is a ‘heavily Māori populated’ (p.6)¹⁴ region (26% Māori) and accounts for 11.5% of NZ's total Maori population.⁴⁰ The 2015–2017 Steamers and their team-building practices were the phenomena investigated. The purpose of the study was to explore the interpretations of these practices in relation to the well-being of players and coaches. After the 2016 and before their 2017 rugby season kicked off, the first author visited the team's base for a day seeking permission to conduct this study. A fortnight later, those who were available during pre-season (18 players and 6 coaches) consented to participate in the following:

- a one-on-one, 90 min interview with the Head Coach/Director of Rugby;
- four semistructured focus group discussions (60–75 min in duration) with Māori (FG1), Pasifika (FG2) and Pākehā (FG3) player groups and with coaches (FG4);
- a one-on-one, 60 min interview with a staff member who was absent during the FG discussions and
- two follow-up interviews with two participants to clarify meanings alluded to in the earlier interviews.

All discussions opened with mihimihi (introductions) which aligns with KM practices, and the following topics that guided the interviews were coaching/player philosophies; attributes and competencies; team culture, identity, values and artefacts and leadership, group dynamics and relationships. All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed.

To assist with theming aspects of indigenous well-being, TPM (see Fig. 1) was employed as an analytical tool, although participants were unaware of this latent analysis. In particular, the focus was on participants' expressions of cultural identity (Mauri Ora) and leadership (Ngā Manukura).^{1–3} Thematic analysis^{41–43} of these participant narratives³⁸ using a Māori model^{1–3} aligns with a KM approach to research that acknowledges multiple interpretations of stories exist.

Results

The analysis identified team-building practices employed by the Steamers that are based on pūrākau; a whakataukī (used at the start of this article) adopted by the Coach in 2015 as the team ‘motto’; a model that became known as ‘The Maunga (mountain) of Success’ co-constructed by the head coach and players; a transformed team mascot eventually known as ‘Heme’ and the use of a maunga motif to incentivise learning of local pūrākau of maunga.

Maunga of success

After ‘underwhelming’ consecutive performances (last place in 2013 and 2014), the head coach (who identifies as Māori) became an agent of change in 2015 by initiating the reconstruction of the team’s narrative, which was, to that point:

a mentality of ‘she’ll be right’...around strength and conditioning...the minimum acceptable level...was how they operated...enjoy summer...start getting fit, fast, strong and having this end point of...the same place or worse than last year. They were never moving forward...if you finish last in the championship and your mentality is that you only need to get back to the same point as where you were...regardless of whoever comes in as the coach...if we didn’t change that mentality, we were always going to struggle.

Upon encountering Coach John Wooden’s ‘Pyramid of Success’⁴⁴ model on a work-trip to the United States, the head coach drafted the ‘Maunga of Success’ (see Fig. 2) that incorporated the whakataukī used to introduce this article.

The model included five tiers as follows: physical, technical and tactical, brotherhood, leadership and finally the ‘ultimate-competitor’ to inspire the team to realise their well-being aspirations on and off the field. Although this model is similar to others used in sports team contexts including Wooden’s Pyramid of Success⁴⁴ and Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs,⁴⁵ it was firmly founded upon an indigenous worldview.

There are pūrākau that refer to the significance of the environment for health⁴⁶ and the importance of maunga as cultural forms of identification and sense of belonging (tūrangawaewae) that signify acts of resistance against post-colonial disturbances and postmodern fragmentations.⁴⁷ The

coach embraced these pūrākau by underpinning the model with a whakatauki that referred to maunga. This created an attitudinal change to physical well-being (tier 1) and skills and mind-sets (tier 2) that were now considered ‘non-negotiable’. To make the model more meaningful to players, the coach empowered players to co-construct tiers 3 (brotherhood) and 4 (leadership). Brotherhood (tier 3) featured in all FG discussions:

It’s [tier 3] made me consciously aware of how I integrate with people, socially. Are we strong enough to call each other out? As a reminder, am I willing to do that? Relationships are always something we need to work on (FG3).

In 2015 I was at [another team]...the culture there is a lot different to here. I felt a bit uncomfortable there...there are no ‘big dogs’...all the boys here are on the same-level (FG2)

It’s hard for a team to get buy in if the coach says ‘do this’... What makes a good team great is what we can do and what we buy into...gives us a little edge (FG1)

Similarly, leadership (tier 4) also featured in narratives and was described as earning respect, walking the talk and being and doing the very best they could on and off the field:

All you can do is the best that we can to help them become the best they can...driving the on-field stuff, but you’ve got to learn to drive the off-field first...a better person makes a better rugby player...making good decisions and having good habits. (FG4)

It’s made me a better Dad, finding ways at home, instead of getting frustrated with the kids, is asking them questions to

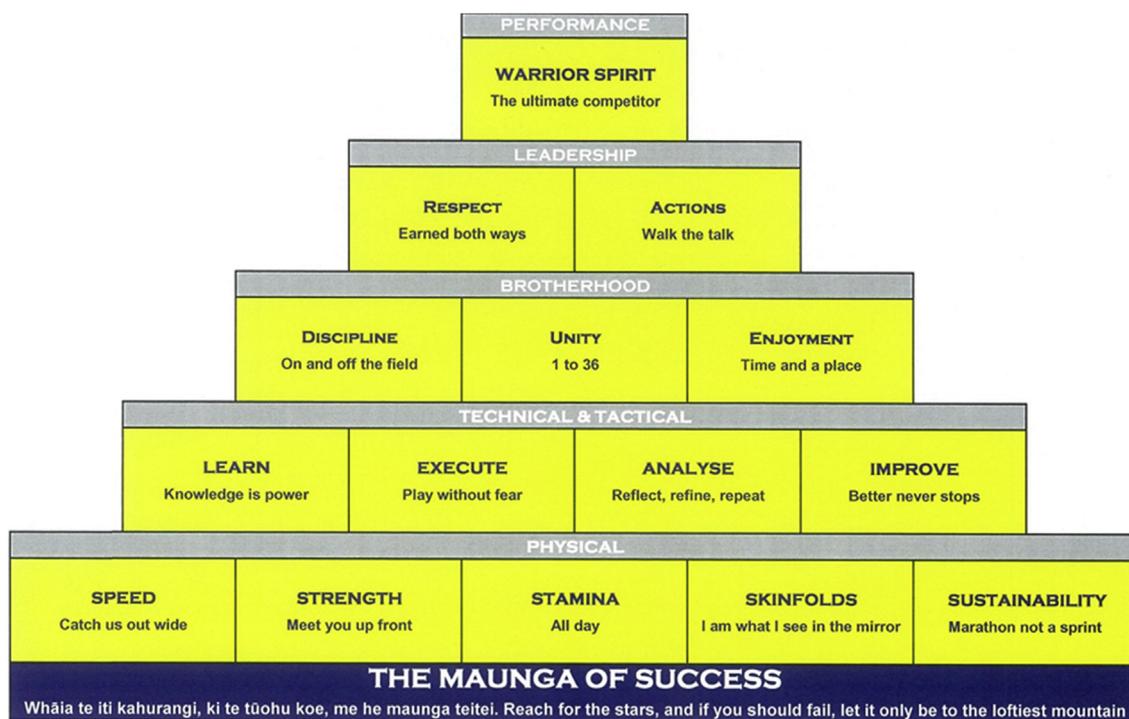


Fig. 2 – Maunga of success.

actually deal with [issues] better. Then they can come up with their own answers (FG4)

The All Blacks' modern mantra⁴⁸ that 'better people make better rugby players' featured in narratives about leadership. One off-field example was a player's past practice of being 'on the waipiro [alcohol] a bit over the holidays' (FG1) which had changed as a result of the team's revised narrative:

This summer I've just been working hard over the last few months...for me it's just more sustainability and skinfolds, I'm never going to be the fastest or strongest in the team, but I'll definitely have stamina (FG1).

The pursuit of excellence and reaching their potential on and off the field was reinforced by the whakataukī and the 'maunga of success' model. In fact, some players reached higher honours and made the 2017 Māori All Blacks team for the first time, while others received full-time professional contracts with one of NZ's five Super Rugby franchises in 2018.

Maunga as a sense of belonging

From a KM perspective, the adoption of a whakataukī and model imbedded with 'maunga' narratives aligned with their steaming maunga motif (see Fig. 3), which depicts Whakaari (White Island) and the region's geothermal resources at a superficial level. At a deeper level, it is also a narrative of love and heartbreak connected with Tarawera and Putauaki that ensures the people of the Mataatua and Te Arawa waka (ancestral sea vessels) are inextricably linked. Understanding this deeper pūrākau helped to create a sense of turangawaewae in a team that includes Māori, represents a region with a significant Māori population and is based in Mount Maunganui (Mauao).



Fig. 3 – The BoP Steamers motif. BoP, Bay of Plenty.

Team-building initiatives incorporated pūrākau about regional maunga to engage players who were often raised in other regions or countries and thus created a stronger sense of connection to a geographically spread region:

... we had some challenges, we are from Te Kaha [East] to Kati-kati [North-West] to all the way down [South] in Reporoa, we are pretty spread...there has been friction...a lot of history...to give those groups an identity and connection to our regions we named them after Maunga in the area...they all had to go away, do some research, come back and present it...players are creative...some pretty good presentations, but it stuck...I tried to bring it back so they can connect with it. (Head Coach).

Indeed, to encourage place-based connection, team 'mini-groups' were formed and named after the region's significant maunga:

- Mauao (Western BoP/Tauranga area);
- Whakaari (White Island North-Eastern);
- Putauaki (Central, Kawerau area) and
- Tarawera (Southern BoP near Rotorua).

Most players, regardless of ethnicity, felt that this initiative helped galvanise them, as this comment from the Pākehā FG illustrated:

Those four mountains just gave me some learning of the place...a bit more belonging...I knew when I tripped up to Whakatane [regional city] what I was looking for, Putauaki and Whakaari...I had something to identify with other than 'the Mount' [Mauao] (FG3).

Mascots matter—cultural identity and mana

The Steamers may have demonstrated Ngā Manukura (leadership) as change-agents⁴⁹ by transforming their mascot.

The term 'Hori' is offensive for Māori with derogatory connotations, referring to something in poor condition or broken. The initial 'Hori BoP' mascot originated in the late 1970s, at a time when Māori were demonstrating resistance towards social injustices in NZ such as racism. Fig. 4 presents this caricature as dishevelled (torn boots and jersey), overweight and amateur in appearance:

growing up...I remember 'Hori BoP'...I guess it was a sign of the times...[he] probably wasn't the most athletic person...has some negative connotations amongst Māori...which wasn't the [artist's] intention...but an important part of BoP history. I wanted to bring him back...it had to be something current players...could identify with. (Head Coach).

Throughout the 2015–2017 seasons, players and staff re-wrote⁴⁹ their mascot narrative,⁵⁰ rejecting the notion that 'Hori' represented them. They pooled together resources to re-design their mascot:

The team commissioned an artist to reinvent and bring [mascot] into the 21st century...the new version was presented to the team...we had a good discussion...to be honest they were mixed.

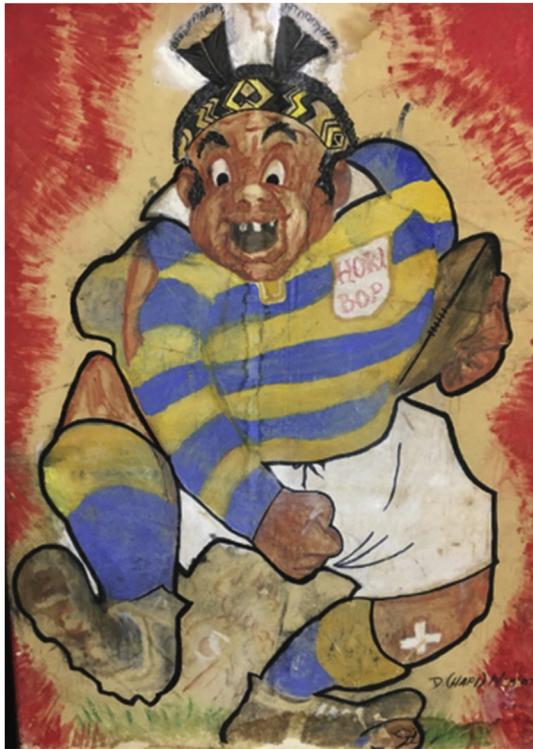


Fig. 4 – ‘Hori BoP’ mascot (1970s–1980s). BoP, Bay of Plenty.

They loved how it looked, but there were differing opinions about what he meant. Some: ‘he’s just a poster’...‘a marketing tool’... others spoke up...‘I disagree...I remember ‘Hori BoP’, but I also know that when I look at that [Heme] I see a warrior’. We like to think our area is synonymous with promoting Maoridom through international activity...when those points were raised we said ‘let’s have a deeper look’. (Head Coach).

Eventually Hori BOP was replaced by an athletic-looking mascot, who for the most part of 2015 was nameless until the semifinal that year where the name ‘Heme’ caught on:

a player said ‘Hemi’ everyone was like, that sounds alright...not too far removed from Hori—Hemi. Then he wrote it on the board as Heme...no one realised and I said ‘Oh isn’t Hemi spelled H-E-M-I?’ [replies] ‘yeah, but he is me’. So that was it, once that happened it made it connect you know? ...that’s pretty cool. (Head Coach).

We went through the season [2015] without really giving it [Heme] an identity...then we had a meeting and the boys talked about what they thought the ‘ultimate competitor’ was...and it developed from there. Initially [2015], it was just a mascot, but now we’ve given him the name and values [2016], so you strive to be like that. (FG3).

Latent-level explorations of what or who Heme represented were revealed when a Pākehā player was quizzed during the FG interviews about Heme’s brown skin-colour and responded with ‘it’s the colour on the inside that matters’ (FG3). This suggests that Heme represented universal team values and goals irrespective of skin colour. A Pasifika player

however mentioned connecting ‘more with the [Maunga of Success] values’ (FG2) than the mascot, which suggests not all players saw themselves reflected in the meanings associated with Heme.

Discussion

The Steamers demonstrated that incorporating pūrākau about maunga into their team stories helped them to connect to their team’s high performance aspirations to each other, to their communities and to their place (tūrangawaewae). The pūrākau aligned with maunga⁴⁷ in whakataukī, models, symbols and characters aligned with indigenous values of resilience, resourcefulness, excellence and holistic well-being.⁴⁶

In challenging some stereotypes of Māori⁵¹ within NZ rugby narratives⁵² and wider NZ society,¹⁴ the team presented an alternative discourse that rejected narratives of being laid back, casual, unfit and broken and aligned more with an image associated with high performance (fit, strong, health and determined). Some scholars may argue that the transformation from Hori to Heme reinforces stereotypes of Māori as aggressive, physical-beings by embracing the warrior metaphor.¹⁴ Narratives expressed by most participants however indicated alignment with a figure in peak condition rather than a violent or aggressive caricature.



Fig. 5 – Heme: He is Me (2015).

Sport in NZ is promoted as an avenue for healthy living and well-being.^{53–55} This study demonstrates how sport practitioners and researchers can utilise indigenous knowledge (pūrākau), health promotion models (TPM) and methods (KM) to achieve holistic well-being. The broader narratives suggested Māori values, stories and symbols⁵⁶ benefitted well-being (identity and leadership) in the team environment, but also in other contexts (e.g. as a father). This suggests that indigenous storytelling can enhance collective well-being (task and social cohesion) and individual well-being through a sense of connection^{57–59} to a particular place and identity (Mauri Ora) and opportunities to demonstrate leadership (Nga Manukura) on and off the field.

Māori are highly engaged as players and leaders in rugby (27% of players in 2017 identified as Māori).⁶⁰ From a KM perspective, teams such as the Steamers who embrace Māori stories transform depictions of Māori and enhance the mana and relevance of local pūrākau in a sport that is influential in NZ society, thus demonstrating influence and leadership beyond the rugby sphere. Incorporating Māori knowledge into team-building initiatives in this instance created a place where indigenous (Māori) and non-indigenous (Pākehā, Pasifika) men could feel a sense of well-being.

However, findings from this case study where all coaches but only 60% of the players (all male) were available pre-season to be interviewed and within a region with a significant Māori population means the findings cannot necessarily be generalised to other regions and team contexts in NZ and globally. Like pūrākau, the narratives shared in this case study are contextual. Future research should examine teams with different contexts, demographics, resources and motives. The sharing of more contextualised stories will aid in understanding the impact indigenous knowledge may have on the holistic well-being of indigenous and non-indigenous individuals and communities.

In conclusion, the BoP Steamers provided an example of how a sense of belonging, identity and leadership on and off the field can be enhanced to benefit well-being by including indigenous knowledge through stories, models and symbols. In regard to performance also, it is notable that having been in bottom of the Table in 2013 and 2014, they made the semifinals in 2015 and 2016 and only lost the 2017 final in extra-time. In closing, we refer back to the meaning of the whakatauki that opened this article; in 2017, while reaching for the stars, the team shared a stronger connection to their purpose, people and place through pūrākau, as this narrative illustrates:

We went up [Mauao maunga] on a really clear day and you could see everyone's mountain...look over the whole region and see Putauaki, Whakaari, Tarawera it showed that we were representing the whole region, we're all part of that. (FG3)

Author statements

Ethical approval

This project was evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk by the authors' University's Human Ethics Committee. The researchers named were responsible for the ethical conduct of this project.

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Competing interest

None declared.

Author contribution

The primary author of this manuscript is Mr. Jeremy Hapeta (J.W.Hapeta@massey.ac.nz). As the primary author, I was heavily involved in the conceptual design of the study, the acquisition of the data, its interpretation and analysis. I drafted and co-edited several versions of the final manuscript submission. Approval of the final submission came from all members of my Doctoral supervisory team.

Dr Farah Palmer (School of Management, Massey Business School). As part of the PhD candidate's supervisory team for the first author, I was involved in guiding the conception and design of the study and its purpose and alignment with a bigger piece of work (PhD thesis). Feedback was regularly provided to the first author on the approach that should be taken in acquiring the data, for what purpose and how this should be analysed. I was substantially involved in editing and revising this article, including theoretical guidance and literature where appropriate, advising on how the data should be interpreted and ordered. We worked collaboratively to create what we feel is a cohesive piece of work that aligns with the focus of this special issue.

Dr. Yusuke Kuroda (School of Sport, Exercise and Nutrition, College of Health).

1. I was involved in the conceptualisation and design of the lead author's Doctoral theses, which includes this study.
2. I was involved in the revision process for this study, the drafting process of this manuscript, especially the methods section.
3. As a part of the supervision team, every author of this manuscript has approved the version to be submitted to *Public Health*.

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