

ARTICLE

<https://doi.org/10.34074/junc.23005>

HINEMOA WATENE, JEREMY HAPETA
AND ANNE-MARIE JACKSON

**WHAKAMANA TE TUAKIRI O NG WHINE M ORI
I TE AO WHUTUPORO –
FLOURISHING WHINE M ORI IDENTITIES IN RUGBY:
A LITERATURE REVIEW**

Published by Otago Polytechnic Press. Otago Polytechnic Ltd is a subsidiary of
Te Pūkenga – New Zealand Institute of Skills and Technology.

Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives Works 3.0
New Zealand licence (cc-by-nc-nd), unless otherwise indicated.

Copyright in all images remains with the artists, unless otherwise indicated.

HINEMOA WATENE, JEREMY HAPETA
AND ANNE-MARIE JACKSON

**WHAKAMANA TE TUAKIRI O NGĀ WĀHINE MĀORI
I TE AO WHUTUPORO –
FLOURISHING WĀHINE MĀORI IDENTITIES IN RUGBY:
A LITERATURE REVIEW**

This article presents a qualitative, autoethnographic exploration of personal realities and lived experiences in rugby. The literature highlights the potential harm of imposing a Westernised 'one size fits all' team culture, particularly in relation to its impact on Māori identity and aspirations. Herein we advocate for more inclusive environments that honour the intersections of diverse values, beliefs systems and perspectives of Māori, Pasifika and other marginalised communities. As an authorship team we sit within a research excellence group at the Centre of Indigenous Science. This space validates Māori and Indigenous identity, nurtures personal growth and embraces every facet of existence, from whakapapa to cultural identity, including our shared passion for rugby.

This systematic literature review pursues two primary research objectives: firstly, it aims to identify and compare the challenges confronted by wāhine Māori in rugby, examining both Western and te ao Māori perspectives. Secondly, it uncovers effective strategies for addressing these challenges, with the ultimate goal of safeguarding and empowering flourishing wāhine Māori identities (tuakiri) in rugby.

INTRODUCTION – “LIKE NEVER BEFORE”

This is it. As I take the field wearing the black jersey (iconic silver fern across my chest), with my sisters beside me, I hear the crowd chanting “Go New Zealand,” along with my whānau (family) in the stands – my parents and brother’s voices yelling, “Go Hine!” Time to leave it all out on the field, to give back to those who never doubted me and to show those who did, that I am good enough. As the final whistle blows the roar of the crowd tells us we’ve won, we did it! The first New Zealand (NZ) under-18 women’s rugby sevens team to attend and win the Youth Olympic Games. As I receive my gold medal, I look to the crowd and see my whānau. My brother leads the haka (ceremonial war dance) “Ka mate” to us as we stand side by side in our own mana (authority), knowing that we have collectively made our childhood dreams a reality.

Reflecting, albeit auto-ethnographically,¹ I ponder what it means to be a wāhine Māori (Māori female) rugby player. I wonder what set that team apart from others I had experienced. Two values resonated: sisterhood and whānau. Encapsulated in these values was respect for all team members, managers and coaches included, no matter where they were from – in that team we were whānau (kin). Like the whakataukī (proverb) says, “E hara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini – success is not that of an individual, but that of many.” Everything we did was for collective success to achieve something special, “like never before.” What made this team unique was seeing everyone as people before seeing them as athletes, recognising first our values and aspirations, then our individual talents. Throughout this experience we kept a healthy balance between personal and professional life – yes, to be better athletes, but more importantly, being better people.

Deeply rooted into our team culture was the mantra, “never before.” This meant that nobody before us had done what we aspired to do – we were trailblazers. It also meant that we were leaving the jersey in a better place for those to follow. “Never before” meant so much more to me than winning gold. For I was the first in my whānau to represent NZ in any sport, the first of my Poppa’s mokopuna (grandchildren) to step on the world stage, and the last he witnessed before passing away. The first Olympic medal any of my whānau had held, special for my Nan who passed away not long afterwards. Embedded deeply into my identity was a sport (rugby) that brought my whānau together.

Later, ironically, rugby would also become the very thing that made me question my achievements and capabilities. It became the thing that made me constantly question my worth and identity. Instead of being an escape from the stressors of everyday life, rugby became the very thing I wanted to escape ... and so I did.

FAST FORWARD TO 2021

In September 2021, midway through the women’s national Farah Palmer Cup (FPC) rugby championship, I made the decision to leave the sport in which, until then, I had experienced so much happiness, excitement and success. Essentially, I felt that my cultural identity, as a wāhine Māori, was not respected as the taonga (treasure) that it is. Consistently dehumanised, white-washed and tokenised, I felt like my hauora (well-being) was not flourishing within the rugby structures around me, to the point that I felt I no longer had a safe place of belonging. It was a difficult decision to make, but a necessary one when people categorised and judged me based on outdated racial stereotypes. Comments like “She is brown, she must not be intelligent, but ought to be fast and strong,” or assumptions like “She can create our team culture, dance, lead our prayers and waiata (songs).” By means of “racial stacking,”² these stereotyped categories continually place ethnically diverse people under scrutiny in sport, because they do not conform to certain traits or characteristics perpetuated by hegemonic, white privileged discourse.³

Months later, I realised, however, that these experiences were not mine alone and were shared by others, including wāhine Māori in rugby.⁴ For example, after the Black Ferns’ (NZ’s national women’s team) disastrous Northern Tour in November 2021, Te Kura Ngata-Aengamate (a Māori rugby player) spoke out against ex-Black Ferns’ head coach, Glen Moore, instigating a review into their team’s culture and, ultimately, forcing a coaching ‘reshuffle’ just months out from the Rugby World Cup to be played in Aotearoa in 2022.⁵

For Ngata-Aengamate, now a former Black Ferns' player, similar experiences made her feel as though her cultural identity was a joke. She was constantly belittled by comments like "You were only selected to play the guitar," "You do not deserve to be in the team," "What would your students think of you?"⁶ The continual disregard for her identity as a wāhine Māori or simply as a person (before being an athlete) made her feel isolated from her teammates. Her mana had been so diminished she felt that the only way to voice her concerns and raise awareness was by publicly posting them on social media.⁷

Ngata-Aengamate's post validated my own experiences. Having left the sport three months earlier, for similar reasons, I was still in a place of figuring out what I went through. I found comfort in knowing I was not alone in experiencing isolation and neglect. In only being seen when I could offer cultural aspects to the team, but soon forgotten because I had served my purpose.

Conflictingly, rugby has been both a site of identity reassurance and confusion. In a sense, rugby was the epicentre of who I was in my head, but in my heart, I knew this was wrong. With this tension came confusion. I questioned who I was outside of rugby, provoking questions like "Who am I outside of rugby?" and "How am I meant to lead a team or be the voice for wāhine Māori in my team, if I barely know who I am outside sport?" What hurt the most was that I was not alone in feeling this māmae (pain) because of the team culture, the leaders, the systems, everything. Although rugby provides a national and global platform for marginalised identities like Māori females to be seen and heard, there remain improvements to be made that allows wāhine Māori to be fully themselves, not diluted versions. Indeed, in NZ Rugby's (NZR) recent "Mind. Set. Engage" announcement, a rebrand of their "Headfirst" programme, NZR's culture and well-being manager, Nathan Price, said: "We're sometimes asking people to put on a mask when they're on the field, then asking them to take it off when they aren't. There is a bit of cognitive dissonance there ... we've created a mould of what it's like to be a rugby player, but that can be changed."⁸

Thus, there is an urgent need to better understand what can be done for wāhine Māori rugby players to be unequivocally themselves within these spaces. Therefore, it is necessary for culturally informed and appropriate structures to be created for and led by Māori, with Māori, rather than assuming that Māori are comfortable within the structures used to colonise their predecessors.⁹

Having set the scene through this anecdotal positioning and background context, we now focus attention on the study's aims and research questions.

RESEARCH AIM

The aim of this systematic literature review was to identify and compare issues facing wāhine Māori in rugby from both Western and te ao Māori perspectives and reveal how these issues can be addressed to safeguard and enable a flourishing Māori tuakiri (identity). The rationale for this research was to better understand wāhine Māori needs in rugby and to identify, from the published literature, how these needs can be best met. To scaffold this journey for wāhine Māori in rugby, we looked to understand the systems in place outlined in the published research, comprehend what this collectively expresses and close gaps that are yet to be filled.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Our overarching research question was: What does literature at the intersections of Western and te ao Māori perspectives discuss in relation to the flourishing identities of wāhine Māori in rugby? The sub-questions were:

1. What does mainstream discourse say about the needs and flourishing identities of wāhine Māori in rugby?
2. Utilising the Ngā Poutama Whetū Framework, what does te ao Māori discourse say about the needs and flourishing identities of wāhine Māori in rugby?
3. What do both perspectives have to say about the needs of wāhine Māori in rugby and how these needs can be best met to ensure the flourishing of tuakiri Māori?

THE INTERSECTIONS

In the following sections we explore the experiences of Māori in rugby, with a specific focus on the challenges faced by wāhine Māori. We shine the spotlight on the intersections of gender, racism and discrimination faced by wāhine Māori and the impact of these factors on their well-being and their ability to express their Māori identity safely. These intersections coalesce with a diverse range of viewpoints, including Western and Indigenous Māori perspectives, to provide an understanding of how unapologetic wāhine Māori identities might be nurtured within rugby.

EXPERIENCES OF GENDER INEQUITY FOR FEMALE RUGBY PLAYERS

Traditionally male-dominated, rugby has limited the growth capacity and capabilities of female players, coaches and managers.¹⁰ Further exploration is needed to understand the aspirations of female rugby players beyond their physical and physiological needs. The lack of representation and visibility of females in rugby undervalues their skills and achievements, opportunities for growth and advancement in the sport.¹¹ Addressing these issues is crucial for promoting gender equity and inclusivity in rugby and providing female rugby players with support and resources for both their personal and athletic development.¹²

Male players, nationally and globally, receive generous compensation to support their families compared with professional female rugby players.¹³ In contrast, females are forced to balance full-

time work, education and familial responsibilities with their rugby aspirations, without receiving fair (if any?) compensation compared with their male counterparts.¹⁴ An outstanding example of this inequity is the Black Ferns who, until 2022, were expected to play rugby unpaid, or compensated well below the level of their male counterparts, the All Blacks.¹⁵

Although the Black Ferns hold six Rugby World Cup (RWC) titles out of seven contested, in comparison to the All Blacks' three RWC titles from eight, they were initially not budgeted to receive a bonus for winning, whereas the All Blacks each received a \$150,000 bonus after their 2015 RWC win.¹⁶ However, 29 full-time contracts were issued to the 2022 Black Ferns squad, where this select few got to live as full-time, professional rugby players, like their male counterparts.¹⁷ It is necessary to understand these lived experiences of female rugby players, realities which makes this study important in bridging the equity gap between female and male rugby players, in sponsorship, contracts, support and visibility. Albeit a small step toward reducing this disparity, this study is valuable insofar as it validates the experiences of female players in rugby, both past and present.

With issues of gender covered, we now intersect gender with race.

RACISM – WHEN THE 'ODDS ARE STACKED'

Racism is defined as a global hierarchy ranging from superiority to inferiority, a structure that dominates all aspects of life and institutions to further subjugate marginalised communities, forcing them to conform to Western-centric, patriarchal and capitalist norms.¹⁸ It is the structural process of racism that propels marginalised communities into an uphill battle to be seen, heard and supported for their ethnic, cultural and social differences.¹⁹ Racism, oppression and subjugation are longstanding and persistent systemic issues that have continued to plague marginalised communities, like Māori, for centuries. The systemic and structural 'by-products' of colonialism have further compounded the disconnection and heightened intergenerational trauma experienced by Māori in all aspects of life, not just in sports.²⁰

A common experience for ethno-culturally diverse sportspeople is "racial stacking."²¹ Racial stacking is a phenomenon whereby non-white athletes are under-represented in leading and tactically astute positions, but over-represented in positions requiring strength, speed and stamina, as a result of unsubstantiated racial stereotypes. Thus, racial stacking limits the development of non-white athletes and hinders their ability to perform in positions outside their 'assigned' roles based on race.²² Inherent within stacking practices are racialised assumptions about ethnically diverse athletes, usually to do with the fallacy of "biological race." Such assumptions perceive athletes as being physically dominant, while lacking the capabilities to be in decision-making positions.²³ Many of these racial assumptions were attached to both past and current tāne Māori in rugby. The existing scholarship supports this understanding of racial discrimination and shows that, instead of being culturally progressive and making changes to alleviate stereotypes and inequities, many systems in sports (including rugby) are counterproductive in terms of the development of non-white athletes outside the dominant white, heterosexual male identity.²⁴

Thus, the next section briefly examines the intersections of race and gender for Māori men.

Experiences of racism for Māori men in rugby

The whakapapa (history) of tāne (men) Māori in rugby dates back to 1888-89, when the “NZ Natives” team toured the United Kingdom to ‘showcase the colony’ to Mother England.²⁵ One legacy of colonialism is intergenerational trauma and the subsequent impacts of this trauma on Māori identity, connection to self and whenua (land).²⁶ Hokowhitu highlights the perpetual negative stereotypes of Māori as savages and merely physical beings, stereotypes echoed by dominant white New Zealander narratives. Racial stacking, combined with other forms of colonialism such as racialised education and racially driven propaganda, helped solidify the image of Māori culture as backwards and stagnant.²⁷ According to Hokowhitu, the legacy of these racial stereotypes, embedded in the foundational structures of rugby,²⁸ despite perceived changes in attitudes and approaches over time, still remain deeply ingrained in the game.²⁹ It is crucial to acknowledge the experiences of tāne and wāhine Māori in rugby both separately and collectively, as while we can acknowledge the similarities in their experiences, we must also recognise the nuanced obstacles they may face in terms of social subjugation, identity expression and impacts on well-being.³⁰

The following section highlights some of these nuances, specifically regarding wāhine Māori in rugby.

Experiences of racism for wāhine Māori

Although rugby in NZ is founded on structures that oppress Māori and other ethnic groups, the experiences of wāhine Māori players are exacerbated at the intersection of ethnicity and gender.³¹ At this intersection of dual marginalised identities, it is difficult for wāhine Māori rugby players, managers and coaches to be as highly regarded as their male counterparts.³² Palmer and Masters (2010) emphasise the need to understand the experiences of Māori generally, but to also recognise the intricacies of these experiences for other minority groups such as wāhine Māori. Homogeneously grouping Māori experiences as one and the same prevents advancement of wāhine Māori as their own group, with distinctive barriers to face.³³ Indeed, concealing or denying their experiences as separate from tāne Māori can create another layer of obstacles for wāhine Māori seeking to advance in the sporting and rugby worlds.³⁴

METHODOLOGY

Because this research was inspired by a Māori worldview, the methodology chosen employed a mana-enhancing, kaupapa Māori approach, especially important in a review discussing wāhine Māori identities and aspirations. This systematic process juxtaposes the distinctive intersections of a Western worldview and te ao Māori (a Māori worldview) to better understand what each perspective offers, their nuances and similarities. Data used in this literature review was drawn from published qualitative research, across both te ao Māori and Western perspectives. These publications were analysed to identify three emergent themes: whawhai tonu – the continued challenges that Māori face; expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; and promotion of diversity and inclusion in rugby. (The common threads linking these themes are discussed below.)

The specific method used in this literature review involved the utilisation of the Ngā Poutama Whetū (stairway to the stars) model (Figure 1), informed by kaupapa Māori, alongside Smith’s (2016) narrative thematic analysis of the literature reviewed. Narrative thematic analysis enables us to

analyse qualitative literature in a way that maintains the “essence” of the material.³⁵ According to Frank (2010) and Smith (2016),³⁶ this involves understanding the intersections of human lives in and across time, and in terms of both the relational and cultural fabric, while honouring the voices and lived realities of those whose stories are being retold.

A KAUPAPA MĀORI REVIEW APPROACH: NGĀ POUTAMA WHETŪ

In te ao Māori, a kaupapa Māori theoretical approach is described as research *by* Māori, *with* Māori and *for* Māori, in a way that protects and challenges Western ideologies about knowledge while ensuring mana motuhake (independence) regarding a given research task.³⁷ The use of kaupapa Māori theory in this current kaupapa involves the utilisation of the “culturally progressive” Ngā Poutama Whetū (NPW) framework review process, designed and imbued with kaupapa Māori values including kaupapa (the collective philosophy principle), tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), ako (culturally preferred pedagogies and reciprocity) and taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations).³⁸

Below is a brief discussion of what the NPW framework encompasses, the steps it comprises and their meanings, as well its relevance to this current review of literature.

Our kaupapa Māori approach, based on NPW and set out in Figure 1, provides a non-linear, cyclical review process that deviates substantially from the processes used in Western review methods.³⁹

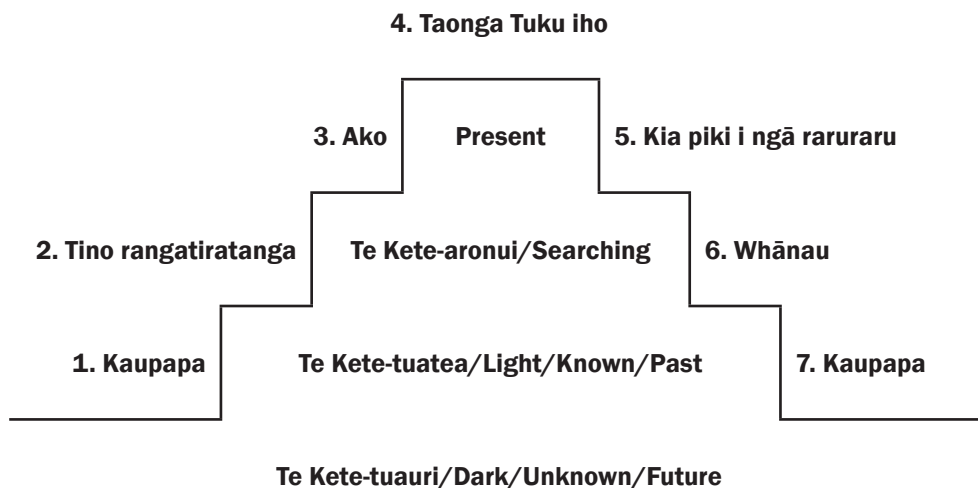


Figure 1. The Ngā Poutama Whetū (NPW) research framework.

Kaupapa (purpose). Steps 1 and 7 entail a clear understanding of the collective aspirations of Māori. In terms of this current kaupapa, it is understanding the collective aspirations of wāhine Māori in rugby, in being treated and seen as equals to their white male and tāne Māori counterparts. We return to this step at the end to ensure that the core of our kaupapa has remained the same and the essence of collective aspirations is intact.

Tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). Step 2 allows freedom in selecting and excluding literature, a process which Western review methods have strict rules about in terms of replicability and validity. Palmer's 2016 article, "Stories of Haka and Women's Rugby in Aotearoa New Zealand: Weaving Identities and Ideologies Together," for example, was not found on Google Scholar when searching peer-reviewed and published articles. However, this source was included due to its importance in understanding the voices and experiences of wāhine Māori in rugby.

Ako (culturally preferred pedagogies and reciprocity). Step 3 allows literature to be organised systematically in a way that meets ako Māori conventions – research *by* Māori, *with* Māori and *for* Māori. For te ao Māori literature, all three parameters needed to be met to be included, while for Western literature none of these parameters needed to be met.

Taonga tuku iho (treasures to pass on). Step 4 is the stage of deciding what material to include and what to exclude through the processes of evaluation. This is done by investigating the relevance of the literature to the research questions, outcomes and kaupapa as taonga (treasures).

Kia piki i nga raruraru (socioeconomic mediation). Step 5 entails further analysis of the credibility of information. This 'top up' measure ensures equity in assessing sources, standards that meet both academic and culturally progressive expectations. These scholarly expectations include peer-reviewed published articles as well as primary sources, and that the content of these works should be mana-enhancing in terms of the aspirations of Māori and wāhine Māori.

Whānau (familial relationships). Step 6 is whānau, which involves coding and analysing literature into broader familial terms used in te ao Māori. These are iwi for themes, hapū for categories, tāngata for key concepts. (However, for this review, we omitted the use of hapū as it was irrelevant to our literature review process.)

INTERFACE

This section explores the application of the "interface" approach, which integrates both Western process (PRISMA) and te ao Māori (NPW) worldviews and review methodologies. According to Durie (2004), the interface approach acknowledges the distinctiveness of various knowledge systems while identifying the synergies between them, offering particular benefits for Indigenous peoples, including wāhine Māori in rugby. In academia, Western positivist science has historically been the dominant paradigm, often regarded as the benchmark for research measurement and validation. Conversely, Indigenous knowledge and perspectives have sometimes been branded as 'archaic' within research discourse, although they do not fall into the category of true pseudoscience (Durie, 2004).⁴⁰

Distinctively, the interface approach gives equal power to both knowledge systems, potentially strengthening our research focus, which is to understand how we can best support the identities of wāhine Māori rugby players and enable them to flourish. By taking this approach, we embrace a more holistic and comprehensive perspective, acknowledging the value and relevance of both worldviews in our quest for knowledge and understanding.

RESULTS

This section presents the results of our kaupapa Māori (NPW) review. The Western and te ao Māori sections into which the literature search was divided each contain seven qualitative items that were peer-reviewed and published between 2012 and 2023. The Western literature, selected via the NPW review process, indicates that research according to this kaupapa mainly comprised literature from Australia, the United Kingdom, Fiji and Canada, as well as NZ. They have been grouped by their leading concepts into “tangata” and “iwi” according to their major themes. These themes are: whawhai tonu – the continued challenges that Māori face; expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; and the promotion of diversity and inclusion in rugby.

FINDINGS

This systematic review process identified three key themes: whawhai tonu – continued challenges that Māori face; expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; and the promotion of diversity and inclusion in rugby. Also identified were similarities and nuances between the literature sets analysed, which inform the following balanced discussion of what both knowledge systems offer regarding the well-being needs of wāhine Māori in rugby.

DISCUSSION

Three major themes emerged from this review: whawhai tonu – continued challenges that Māori face; expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; and the promotion of diversity and inclusion in rugby. This discussion takes these themes in order before concluding by considering the research limitations and future directions that will hopefully enable the gap between these two distinctive worldviews to be bridged, demonstrating a consensus in understanding how we can affirm the identities of wāhine Māori rugby players and enable them to flourish.

Theme 1: Whawhai tonu: Continued challenges that Māori face

Racism and discrimination continue to profoundly impact self-expression and hauora for wāhine Māori in rugby, who constantly face barriers due to both their gendered and ethnic identities.⁴² At this intersection of two marginalised identities, the social experiences of these ‘minorities’ in sport are severely compromised. Racism and discrimination, paired with “cultural blindness” in sport,⁴³ are challenges that both Māori and wāhine Māori, particularly, continue to experience. “Cultural blindness” is a lack of awareness or sensitivity towards different cultural beliefs, norms and values.⁴⁴

Borell (2017) has argued that discourse in mainstream sport is predominantly colonial, with few studies examining the connection between sports and cultural identity, particularly for marginalised minorities such as indigenous groups like Māori.⁴⁵ The effects of beliefs grounded on notions of superior and inferior, especially for a culture founded in oral traditions, makes it harder to hear and understand the personal and collective voices of the community.⁴⁶ However, as Hapeta and colleagues have highlighted in two studies, the utilisation of kaupapa Māori approaches that are *by*, *for* and *with* Māori is crucial in ensuring that these voices are heard.⁴⁷

Similarly, through a diversity and inclusion lens, scholars from both sectors note the need for a more nuanced and critical approach to making rugby more inclusive for indigenous peoples, one that accounts for their lived experiences and cultural beliefs.⁴⁸ These scholars recognise the importance for Māori of positive cultural representation within these predominantly white, male, structures, in order to challenge the status quo of the dominant discourse.⁴⁹

The literature also demonstrates neglect of the 'female' aspect at the intersection of Māori and wāhine identities.⁵⁰ Borell argued that research into sport primarily adopts Eurocentric perspectives, silencing the diverse experiences of Māori athletes (and wāhine).⁵¹ Further, Ratna and Samie concur that the experiences of females and wāhine Māori are silenced as rugby players and athletes due to scholarly ignorance.⁵² With this muting comes the oppression of their identities and the promotion of racial stereotypes and racial stacking, acts that aim to further 'colonise' the bodies of indigenous, ethnically diverse athletes. However, Calabrò explains how resilient Māori athletes are in defiantly embracing their cultural identity, heritage and talents, despite the persistence of racial stereotypes perpetuated by Western institutions.⁵³ Wāhine Māori face myriad barriers, yet they remain in our national game.

Despite scant research on wāhine Māori in leadership roles, the term "mana wāhine" denotes the collective strength of wāhine Māori and the powerful movement of wāhine aspirations.⁵⁴ By recognising the journey(s) and potential of wāhine Māori, we can better promote flourishing wāhine Māori identities in rugby.⁵⁵ A key take-away from the literature is the need for celebrating the journey they have taken, and recognising who they will become.⁵⁶ Mana wāhine within rugby are shining examples of women speaking up for what is right and being proud advocates of the sport, including influencers like Te Kura Ngata-Aengamate and Professor Dame Farah Palmer.

Theme 2: Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby

Māori identity is intimately tied to their connection with tūrangawaewae (place of belonging) and whakapapa.⁵⁷ For some Māori, disconnection from self is associated with not knowing their whakapapa or connection to tūrangawaewae, caused by colonisation and alienation from their whenua, cultural practices and identity.⁵⁸ Thus, it is important to enable Māori to govern themselves and self-determine their priorities within (Western) institutional structures. This mana-enhancing approach would allow their hauora to flourish and would also help promote equity and respect for Māori identity.⁵⁹

Identity expression is not limited to cultural background, but also encompasses gender, ethnicity and other elements of sense-of-self, as evidenced in the experiences and protests of Ngata-Aengamate.⁶⁰ Erueti and Palmer discuss how Māori athletes, both tāne and wāhine, excel at utilising strategies to overcome and adapt in the face of adversity, especially in navigating and maintaining their identity whilst seeking to assimilate to Western norms.⁶¹ Thorpe et al. and Turconi et al. share the same perspective of sports resisting non-inclusive systems, while simultaneously being the oppressor that further disadvantages marginalised groups.⁶² Turconi and colleagues discuss the impact of the privileged Western system of meritocracy, where ethnically diverse peoples, like Māori, are racially stereotyped for their 'natural' ability in sports.⁶³

Burroughs and Nauright argue that racial stereotypes, which are heavily ingrained in women's sports, limit the expression of cultural identities and aspirations.⁶⁴ Smith et al. support this

| Author/s (Year) Country# | Title (Kaupapa) | Tangata (Concepts) | Iwi (Theme) |
|---|---|--|--|
| Borell (2016) NZ#1 | One step forward: Cultural politics in New Zealand sport. | Colonialism, imperialism, national identity, cultural politics, social mobility, social control, superiority, sporting identity; cultural identity, assimilation, stereotypes, muscular Christianity, hegemony | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face. |
| Erueti & Palmer (2017). New Zealand. NZ#2 | Te whariki tuakiri (the identity mat): Māori elite athletes and the expression of ethno-cultural identity in global sport. | Ethno-cultural identity; sense of belonging; expression of authentic self; role of traditional Māori cultural practices in well-being; haka. | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby. |
| Forster, Palmer & Barnett (2016). New Zealand. NZ#3 | Karanga mai ra: Stories of Māori women as leaders. | Navigation of Māori wāhine in leadership; expressive; identity affirming; cultural identity informs leadership output; challenging hegemonic discourse; pūrākau | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face. |
| Hapeta, Palmer, Hermansson & Kuroda (2019a). ⁴¹ New Zealand. NZ#4 | A kaupapa Māori, culturally progressive, narrative review of literature on sport, ethnicity and inclusion. | Challenging hegemonic discourse; Ngā Poutama Whetu framework; for Māori, by Māori, with Māori; social inclusion; | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; whawhai tonu: challenges faced by Māori. |
| Hapeta, Palmer & Kuroda (2019b). New Zealand. NZ#5 | Cultural identity, leadership and well-being: How indigenous storytelling contributed to well-being in a New Zealand provincial rugby team. | Cultural identity; sense of belonging; storytelling; leadership; holistic well-being; team dynamics; pūrākau | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby. |
| Palmer (2016). New Zealand. NZ#6 | Stories of haka and women's rugby in Aotearoa New Zealand: Weaving identities and ideologies together. | Weaving of multiple identities and ideologies through haka; resisting dominant narratives; expression of culture and femininity; pūrākau | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face; D&I. |
| Thorpe, Brice & Rolleston (2022). New Zealand. NZ#7 | Decolonising sport science: High performance sport, indigenous cultures, and women's rugby. | Colonisation; decolonisation; challenges to cultural identity; Indigenous knowledge. | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face. |

Table 1. Western literature selection.

| Author/s (Year) Country# | Title (Kaupapa) | Tangata (Concepts) | Iwi (Theme) |
|--|--|---|--|
| Burroughs & Nauright (2013). Australia & New Zealand. INT#1 | Women's sports and embodiment in Australia and New Zealand. | Gendered stereotypes; normative femininity; culture of team environment; marginalisation and stigmatisation; agency; resistance. | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; diversity and inclusion. |
| Calabrò (2016) Fiji. INT#2 | Once were warriors, now are rugby players? Control and agency in the historical trajectory of the Māori formulations of masculinity in rugby. | National identity; agency; control; masculinity; cultural identity; history of Māori in New Zealand. | Whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face; diversity and inclusion; expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby. |
| Gall, Howard, Diaz, King, Willing & Garvey (2021). Canada, New Zealand & United States. INT#3 | Wellbeing of Indigenous peoples in Canada, Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the United States: A systematic review. | Holistic perspectives of Indigenous health ignored; culture; identity; community and family; sense of belonging; whānau (family); colonisation. | Whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face; expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; diversity and inclusion. |
| Kanemasu & Johnson (2019). Fiji. INT#4 | Exploring the complexities of community attitudes towards women's rugby: Multiplicity, continuity and change in Fiji's hegemonic rugby discourse. | Gender; whiteness; minority; colour and cultural blindness; heterosexuality; unconscious white privilege; marginalisation. | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; diversity and inclusion. |
| Ratna & Samie (2017). United Kingdom. INT#5 | Mapping the field: Research about ethnic 'Other' females, sport and physical culture. | Oppression; power dynamics; scholarship as a tool of oppression. | Diversity and inclusion. |
| Smith & Spaaij (2019). Australia. INT#6 | Migrant integration and cultural capital in the context of sport and physical activity. | Culturally and linguistically diverse peoples; cultural capital; social cohesion; integration; identity formation; sense of belonging. | Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; diversity and inclusion. |
| Turconi, Shaw & Falcous (2022). New Zealand. INT#7 | Examining discursive practices of diversity and inclusion in New Zealand Rugby. | Diversity and inclusion; agency; critical theory; othering; cultural blindness; meritocracy; rhetoric vs reality; diverse voices. | Whawhai tonu: continued challenges that Māori face; Expression of cultural practices and Māori identity in rugby; diversity and inclusion. |

Table 2. Te ao Māori literature selection.

conclusion by exploring the experiences of immigrants who have moved away from their homelands where they feel culturally safe in expressing their identities.⁶⁵ Their findings highlight a need for spaces that do not judge or stereotype athletes and promote diversity and inclusion, rather than maintaining systems that seek to oppress marginalised communities further.

Calabrò suggests that sports can enhance hauora and relationships between Māori by providing a space of connection to other Māori and to their cultural identity.⁶⁶ Focusing on the benefits of sport for personal development and expression of identity, Burroughs and Nauright position the “sports-scape” as forever changing, where it is now becoming increasingly acceptable for females to be professional athletes.⁶⁷ Similarly, it is becoming more acceptable for females, including wāhine Māori, to forge their own identities and challenge gender-based norms and perceptions of what females should look, sound and compete like. Importantly, Western institutions heavily ingrained in heteronormative, male-dominant perspectives are being challenged to rethink and evolve with the times or be left behind.

Palmer (2016) showcases haka as a major expression of Māori identity, alongside other cultural practices which provide wāhine Māori with a platform to express their cultural identities, along with multiple others (rugby player, mother, aunt, daughter).⁶⁸ Through the expression of these cultural rituals, dominant discourses about Māori and femininity are challenged and resisted.⁶⁹ Burroughs and Nauright support this notion, explaining how embodying cultural practices not only challenges sport institutions themselves, but encourages other sectors, including the media and commerce, to rethink their approaches to marketing, supporting and expressing notions of femininity.⁷⁰

The unapologetic expression of Māori identity and wāhine Māori identity must be continually embraced if there is to be significant change within the Western structures that dominate the sports-scape, including changes to the very foundations of rugby itself. To be Māori is something innate, to carry this identity is natural – so why should Māori settle for structures that fail to support them? In saying this, we can already see movement and change whereby Māori rugby players are able to represent their iwi and hapū at local rugby competitions and are no longer the token Māori or brown player, but part of a group enjoying the sport as Māori.

Theme 3: Promotion of diversity and inclusion in rugby

Dominant (Western hegemonic) discourse within rugby often disregards the inclusion of unique and diverse experiences and cultural identities of indigenous female athletes. This further perpetuates gender discrimination and the marginalising of their presence and contributions to the sport.⁷¹ The ongoing racial oppression faced by indigenous women, in this case wāhine Māori, limits their sense of belonging and having opportunities to fully express their cultural identity in rugby.⁷² Hapeta, Palmer and Kuroda have discussed the role of pūrākau (indigenous storytelling) as a way for players to connect with their cultural heritage, as well as with teammates who are non-Māori.⁷³ Pūrākau creates meaningful connections by recognising different cultural values and beliefs. They found that this recognition and inclusion of cultural difference aided the promotion of diverse viewpoints in rugby. Thus, embracing athletes’ differences provided opportunities for growth in communities that are resistant to change.⁷⁴

Furthermore, challenging outdated gendered and racial stereotypes and the systems that perpetuate these notions can create a change in attitudes towards the involvement of females

in sports, including rugby.⁷⁵ However, as noted by Turconi et al., the current discourse on diversity and inclusion in rugby is dominated by white, male voices.⁷⁶ More concrete steps need to be taken to ensure that women and people of colour are given equal representation and platforms to voice their experiences. It is not enough for women and ethnically diverse peoples to have a seat at the table, but they need and deserve to have their voices heard and respected in the same way as the dominant majority at the table. While sport has the potential to act as a powerful tool for social cohesion, bringing people together, definitions of well-being vary across cultures and a one-size-fits-all approach is insufficient.⁷⁷

Wāhine Māori and other women of colour face discrimination and racism based on their gender and ethnicity, and find themselves constantly fighting patriarchal structures in sport to get the recognition and support they deserve.⁷⁸ As a result, it is critical that sport communities and industry work towards diversity and inclusion, recognising and embracing cultural differences and providing equal opportunities for all athletes to express their cultural identities. An approach grounded in indigenous knowledge and values can empower and support athletes, particularly for wāhine Māori in rugby. Smith et al. explain that rugby, by challenging gendered and racial stereotypes and creating more inclusive environments that encompasses different cultural values and beliefs, can be a space where athletes, like wāhine Māori, can belong and express who they are in safe and meaningful ways.⁷⁹ Furthermore, sport has the potential to foster greater understanding and appreciation of different cultural practices. It can contribute positively towards breaking down cultural barriers, which is critical for promoting diversity and inclusion in rugby. Turconi et al. suggest that the future of sport, as a space that is diverse in culture and inclusive of all backgrounds, can be brighter.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

Our primary research objective was to conduct a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, examining the intersections of gender and ethnicity with a view to identifying the factors that will enable the identities of wāhine Māori in rugby to flourish. This kaupapa involved a dual lens, incorporating both Western and te ao Māori perspectives, coalescing through an intersectional approach at the interface.

Reflecting of my rugby journey, it felt like I had nobody to support me, nor did it feel like I was supported in my team. Looking back, I would have appreciated better support systems that not only kept me healthy, but secure in my identity. We are privileged in this current generation, where rugby is evolving to become more inclusive towards diverse cultural practices and values. However, this has not just happened overnight, nor is it fully realised. If rugby was a completely safe setting for diversity and inclusion, with environments that allowed Māori to be unequivocally themselves, then this research would not be necessary.

But change is coming, with Professor Dame Farah Palmer as co-deputy chair of the NZR's board and more wāhine Māori being celebrated for their athletic accomplishments globally. What needs to evolve more rapidly, however, are the structures around rugby, founded in colonisation and racialised and gendered stereotypes. As suggested by Turconi et al., structures and environments that embrace cultural differences and diversity will continue to challenge the status quo. Structures that are established *for* Māori, *with* Māori and *by* Māori will create the environment where Māori

aspirations and interests are respected and nurtured.⁸¹ By structural change we mean not just policy, strategy or board expectations, but the ongoing implementation and integration of cultural practices and values into team and organisational culture, as well as the ways in which coaches are trained and how athletes, both Māori and non-Māori, are influenced.

For us, the chief aim of this review was to assist players and rangatahi (youth) coming through in amplifying their voices. To this end, this study has recognised the successes wāhine Māori in rugby have achieved, the barriers they have overcome (such as paying to play, rather than being paid) and the journey ahead of them as they seek to gain the same equity, respect and support as male (including tāne Māori) rugby players enjoy.

Through this review, not only have we unveiled the barriers that exist for wāhine Māori in rugby, but we have also identified instances of micro and macro-aggression including racism, discrimination and sexism. However, uncovering these examples does not diminish the experience of players like Hinemoa Watene, but adds more weight to challenging why wāhine Māori in rugby are still subjected to outdated discourses. This review has highlighted the limited amount of scholarly research that exists, which may explain why some sports institutions like rugby have taken so long to pivot.

The limitations of this review include the scant scholarly literature available that intimately connects with the experiences of wāhine Māori within rugby. In addition, more general research exploring the intersections of Māori culture, values and practices and the flourishing identities of wāhine Māori identities in sport is also lacking. Exceptions to this include the te ao Māori literature utilised in this analysis, with four of the seven articles reviewed (co-) authored by Professor Dame Farah Palmer. From a Western scholarly perspective, this might be considered a limiting factor because of bias, validity and 'objectivity' issues, due to it being largely reliant on one author's perspective. However, from a te ao Māori and qualitative perspective, we believe this position can be challenged.

Future researchers in this area would do well to consider how we can change the existing sport (and academic) structures to encourage and include more Māori voices. How can we create diverse and inclusive environments where Māori cannot just sit at the table, but be heard? Where Māori identities, like wāhine Māori, are able to know that the barriers to full inclusion are not downplayed and that their experiences are not being grouped with the experiences of others, where they will be seen as the mana wāhine they are, where they can proudly and unequivocally be Māori.

As this article comes to an end, a waiata (song) comes to mind. One line resonates and will continue to do so on my journey of fully embracing who I am and who I will become outside of rugby and within academia:

Because you're magic, magic people to me;/
You're magic people to me./
Hold your head up high;/
Let your voices fly./
I'm proud to be Māori ...⁸²

Imagine how exciting future Rugby World Cups could be, especially for wāhine Māori, when they no longer need to expend their energy tackling gendered stereotypes, and racial discrimination as well.

Hinemoa Watene (Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou, Whakatohea) is a Masters' researcher in the Centre of Indigenous Science and the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences at the University of Otago. Having completed her undergraduate studies in sports management and development and psychology, she undertook a summer internship with Ngā Pae o Maramatanga under the supervision of Dr Jeremy Hapeta, focusing on flourishing wāhine Māori identities in rugby. Her passion for rugby stems from playing for various women's teams, including the Auckland Storm and Otago Spirit FPC teams, the New Zealand Barbarians XV, and the Under 18's Black Ferns' Oceania and Youth Olympic squad. She aims to create a safe space for wāhine Māori in rugby, where they can be their authentic selves and know their voices will be heard.

Dr Jeremy Hapeta (ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8853-1572>) is a senior lecturer in Māori physical education (PE) and hauora (health) at the Centre of Indigenous Science at the University of Otago in Aotearoa New Zealand. Previously, he held various roles at Massey University including PE lecturer and research development advisor – Māori in the Office of Research and Enterprise. A fully registered teacher, Jeremy taught in primary, intermediate and secondary schools both in NZ and overseas. He played first class rugby for Manawatū and played professionally in Japan (Hokkaido Barbarians) and France and has coached rugby in Italy and NZ. His research interests include kaupapa Māori methods and methodology, Indigenous perspectives on sport for development, inclusive team culture and games sense pedagogy. Dr Hapeta also serves on NZ Rugby's training and education working group and academic reference groups for Sport New Zealand (including coach developer and physical literacy). In the governance space, he is a board member of Sport Manawatū and serves on a school board of trustees.

Professor Anne-Marie Jackson (ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9576-0173>) (Ngāti Whātua, Te Roroa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai me Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa) connects to the Far North, which grounds her as a Māori academic. She is a (full) professor in Māori physical education (PE) and health and joined the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences at the University of Otago in 2011 after completing her doctorate in Māori studies and PE, examining rangatiratanga and Māori health and well-being within a customary fisheries context. In 2013, she established Te Koronga, a graduate research excellence group. She is also co-director of the Centre of Research Excellence (CoRE) "Coastal People: Southern Skies," a research collaboration that connects communities with world-leading, cross-disciplinary research to rebuild coastal ecosystems. Her research platform is focused on Māori research excellence that uplifts the hopes and aspirations of Māori communities in the context of Māori PE and health – the application of a te ao Māori worldview making for mauri ora, flourishing wellness.

1. B Bennett, G Fyall and J Hapeta, "The Sword of Damocles: Autoethnographic Considerations of Child Safeguarding Policy in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Sport, Education and Society*, 27:4 (2022), 407-20.
2. J Coakley, "Race and Ethnicity: Are They Important in Sports?" in his *Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies*, 13th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009), 248-85.
3. Ibid.
4. P Muir, T Ulinayau, G Enoka and E Butterworth, *Black Ferns Cultural and Environmental Review*, 2022, <https://www.nzrugby.co.nz/assets/Black-Ferns-review-2022.pdf>.
5. Ibid.
6. J Pearson, "Independent Panel Will Review Black Fern Te Kura Ngata-Aerengamate's Allegations after 'Mental Breakdown'," *Stuff*, 16 December 2021, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/women-in-sport/127294949/independent-panel-will-review-black-fern-te-kura-ngataaerengamates-allegations-after-mental-breakdown>; Muir et al., *Black Ferns Cultural*.
7. Ngata-Aengamate, Te Kura [@Teekay713], "Behind the Smile: One Week Post Tour and the Emotions are Real. The Should I Speak up or Should I Stay Quiet Runs through My Mind" [post], *Instagram*, 6 December 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CXIRwQXIWaS/>.
8. Nathan Price, cited in J Wall, "Mind. Set. Engage: What Happens when You're off Your Game?" *Radio New Zealand*, 28 May 2023, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/490855/mind-set-engage-what-happens-when-you-re-off-your-game>.
9. F R Palmer and T M Masters, "Māori Feminism and Sport Leadership: Exploring Māori Women's Experiences," *Sport Management Review*, 13:4 (2010), 331-44.
10. N Kenah, "Taha Wairua: Understanding and Supporting Spiritual Wellbeing in Super Rugby" (A study as part of the Master of Sport Development and Management, University of Otago, 2022).
11. S M Thompson, "Challenging the Hegemony: New Zealand Women's Opposition to Rugby and the Reproduction of a Capitalist Patriarchy," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 23:3 (1988), 205-12; A Adjepong, "'We're, Like, a Cute Rugby Team': How Whiteness and Heterosexuality Shape Women's Sense of Belonging in Rugby," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 52:2 (2017), 209-22.
12. H Joncheray and H Tlili, "Are There Still Social Barriers to Women's Rugby?" *Sport in Society*, 16:6 (2013), 772-88; Thompson, "Challenging the Hegemony."
13. Z George, "Black Ferns Closer to Professionalism with New Contracts Set to be Announced," *Stuff*, 11 January 2022, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/women-in-sport/300493110/black-ferns-closer-to-professionalism-with-new-contracts-set-to-be-announced> (accessed 6 February 2023).
14. P Mckenzie, "A Gender Revolution is Brewing in New Zealand Rugby," *The New York Times*, 17 March, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/17/sports/rugby/new-zealand-rugby-black-ferns.html>; J Tyson, "What New Zealand Women's Rugby Deserves," *Te Ao Māori News*, 24 September 2021, <https://www.teaonews.co.nz/2021/09/24/feature-what-new-zealand-womens-rugby-deserves/>.
15. H Thorpe and A Shanks, "The Black Ferns Review Shows - Again - Why Real Change in Women's High Performance Sport is Urgently Overdue," *The Conversation*, 12 April 2022, <https://theconversation.com/the-black-ferns-review-shows-again-why-real-change-in-womens-high-performance-sport-is-urgently-overdue-181144> (accessed 6 February 2023).
16. G Valencich, "Women's Rugby World Cup Winners Receive Million-dollar Bonus after Public Outcry," *7 News*, 18 November 2022, <https://7news.com.au/sport/rugby-union/womens-rugby-world-cup-winners-receive-nearly-1m-in-bonuses-after-public-outcry-c-8897722> (accessed 8 February 2023).
17. George, "Black Ferns Closer."
18. P Y Caradies and J Cunningham, "The DRUID study: Racism and Self-assessed Health Status in an Indigenous Population," *BMC Public Health*, 12 (2012), 1-12; R Tinirau, C Smith and M Haami, *How Does Racism Impact on The Health of Māori? A National Literature Review for the WHAKATIKA Research Project*, 2021, <https://teatawhai.maori.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Whakatika-National-literature-review.pdf>.
19. Tinirau et al., *How Does Racism Impact*.
20. Ibid..
21. Coakley, "Race and Ethnicity."
22. D Lubbe and M Dufur, "Positional Segregation in Sport: How Rugby Introduces New Ethnicities to Research," *Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 19 April 2013, <http://jur.byu.edu/?p=718>; T Nobis and F Lazaridou, "Racist Stacking in Professional Soccer in Germany," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 58:1 (2022) 23-42, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10126902221081125>.
23. Nobis and Lazaridou, "Racist Stacking."

24. Thompson, "Challenging the Hegemony;" B Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby and Subversion: Creativity, Domestication, Oppression and Decolonization," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26:16 (2009), 2314-34; Palmer and Masters, "Māori Feminism."
25. M Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori moon: An illustrated history of Māori rugby*. Huia Publishers, 2009.
26. Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby."
27. Coakley, "Race and Ethnicity."
28. Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby."
29. R Cockburn and L Atkinson, *Respect and Responsibility Review: New Zealand Rugby*, 2017, <https://www.nzrugby.co.nz/assets/NZR-RRR-Summary-Documents.pdf>.
30. K Irwin, "Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms," in *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, eds R Du Plessis, P Bunkle, K Irwin, A Laurie and S Middleton (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), 1-21; Palmer and Masters, "Māori Feminism."
31. Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby;" Palmer and Masters, "Māori Feminism."
32. Palmer and Masters, "Māori Feminism."
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. B Smith, "Narrative Analysis in Sport And Exercise: How Can it be Done?" in *Routledge Handbook of Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise*, eds B Smith and A Sparkes (London: Routledge, 2016), 282-95.
36. A W Frank, *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Smith, "Narrative Analysis."
37. A Eketone, "Theoretical Underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori Directed Practice," *MAI Review*, 1 (2008), 1-11.
38. J Hapeta, F Palmer and Y Kuroda, "Cultural Identity, Leadership and Well-Being: How Indigenous Storytelling Contributed to Well-being in a New Zealand Provincial Rugby Team," *Public Health*, 176 (2019), 68-76, doi: 10.1016/j.puhe.2018.12.010 .
39. Ibid.
40. M Durie, "Understanding Health and Illness: Research at the Interface Between Science and Indigenous Knowledge," *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 33:5 (2004), 1138-43.
41. J Hapeta, F Palmer, Y Kuroda and G Hermansson, "A Kaupapa Māori, Culturally Progressive, Narrative Review of Literature on Sport, Ethnicity and Inclusion," *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 14:2 (2019), 209-29.
42. F R Palmer, "Stories of Haka and Women's Rugby in Aotearoa New Zealand: Weaving Identities and Ideologies Together," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33:17 (2016), 2169-84.
43. A Bennie, J Hapeta, D Henhawk and AR Giles, "Addressing the Needs of Indigenous Children? Coach Education Programs in Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Australia," in *Routledge Handbook of Coaching Children in Sport*, eds M Toms and R Jeanes (London: Routledge, 2022), 345-55.
44. Ibid.; P Moon, "Links Between Māori Cultural Well-being and Participation in Sports: A Literature Review," *Te Kaharoa*, 5:1 (2012); A Ratna and SF Samie, "Mapping the Field: Research About Ethnic 'Other' Females, Sport and Physical Culture," in *Race, Gender and Sport: The Politics of Ethnic 'Other' Girls and Women*, eds A Ratna and SF Samie (London: Routledge, 2017), 10-32.
45. P Borell, "One Step Forward: Cultural Politics in New Zealand Sport," *Political Science*, 68:2 (2017), 161-74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032318716680387>.
46. L Rameka, "A Māori Perspective of Being and Belonging," *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 19:4 (2018), 367-78.
47. Hapeta et al., "Cultural Identity."
48. A Burroughs and J Nauright, "Women's Sports and Embodiment in Australia and New Zealand," in *Sport in Australasian Society*, eds JA Mangan and J Nauright (London: Routledge, 2013), 188-205; L Turconi, S Shaw and M Falcous, "Examining Discursive Practices of Diversity and Inclusion in New Zealand Rugby," *Sport Management Review*, 25:4 (2022), 589-607.
49. Turconi et al., "Examining Discursive Practices;" Burroughs and Nauright, "Women's Sports."
50. H Thorpe, J Brice and A Rolleston, "Decolonizing Sport Science: High Performance Sport, Indigenous Cultures, and Women's Rugby," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 37:2 (2020), 73-84; Moon, "Links Between Māori;" Palmer, "Stories of Haka."
51. P Borell, "One Step Forward: Cultural Politics in New Zealand Sport," *Political Science*, 68:2 (2016), 161-74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032318716680387>.
52. Ratna and Samie, "Mapping the Field."
53. D G Calabrò, "Once Were Warriors, Now Are Rugby Players? Control and Agency in the Historical Trajectory of the Māori Formulations of Masculinity in Rugby," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 17:3-4 (2016), 231-49.
54. M E Forster, F Palmer and S Barnett, "Karanga Mai Ra: Stories of Māori Women as Leaders," *Leadership*, 12:3 (2016), 324-45.

55. Palmer, "Stories of Haka."
56. N Te Awekotuku, 'Conclusions' in Spoonley, P., C. Macpherson, D. Pearson, and C. Sedgwick. "Tuiwi: Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand. (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1984).
57. G Leoni, M Wharerau and T White, "He Tātai Tuakiri: The 'Imagined' Criteria of Māori Identity," *Te Kōparapara: An Introduction to the Māori World*, eds M Reilly, S Duncan, G Leoni, L Paterson, L Carter, M Rātima and P Rewi (Auckland : Auckland University Press, 2018), 372-94.
58. Rameka, A Māori Perspective."
59. A Gall, K Anderson, K Howard, A Diaz, A King, E Willing and G Garvey, "Wellbeing of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the United States: A Systematic Review," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18:11 (2021), 5832.
60. George, "Black Ferns Closer."
61. B Erueti and FR Palmer, "Te Whariki Tuakiri (The Identity Mat): Māori Elite Athletes and the Expression of Ethno-cultural Identity in Global Sport," in *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity*, eds J Nauright and DK Wiggins (London: Routledge, 2017), 67-81.
62. Thorpe et al., "Decolonizing Sport Science;" Turconi et al., "Examining Discursive Practices."
63. Turconi et al., "Examining Discursive Practices."
64. Burroughs and Nauright, "Women's Sports."
65. R Smith, R Spaaij and B McDonald, "Migrant Integration and Cultural Capital in the Context of Sport and Physical Activity: A Systematic Review," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20:3 (2019), 851-68.
66. Calabrò, "Once Were Warriors."
67. Burroughs and Nauright, "Women's Sports."
68. Palmer, "Stories of Haka."
69. Ibid.; Forster et al., "Karanga Mai Ra."
70. Burroughs and Nauright, "Women's Sports."
71. Y Kanemasu and J Johnson, "Exploring the Complexities of Community Attitudes Towards Women's Rugby: Multiplicity, Continuity and Change in Fiji's Hegemonic Rugby Discourse," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 54:1 (2019), 86-103.
72. Palmer, "Stories of Haka."
73. Hapeta et al., "Cultural Identity."
74. Kanemasu and Johnson, "Exploring the Complexities;" Burroughs and Nauright, "Women's Sports."
75. Ratna and Samie, "Mapping the Field."
76. Turconi et al., "Examining Discursive Practices."
77. Gall et al., "Wellbeing of Indigenous Peoples."
78. Adjepong, "'We're, like, a cute rugby team'."
79. Smith et al., "Migrant Integration."
80. Turconi et al., "Examining Discursive Practices."
81. Ibid.
82. R Waititi, "Waititi, Rawiri" [transcript], Hansard (Debates), *New Zealand Parliament*, 3 December 2020, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-rhr/document/HansS_20201203_052110000/waititi-rawiri (accessed 9 February 2023).