

Uperesa, F. L. (2021). Entangled Histories and Transformative Futures: Indigenous Sport in the 21st Century. Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies. B. Hokowhitu, A. Moreton-Robinson, L. Tuhiwai-Smith, C. Andersen and S. Larkin, Routledge.  
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## ABSTRACT

This chapter provides a survey of several different Indigenous contexts to highlight longstanding historical and emergent engagements with sport forms, which reveal complex genealogies and shifting meanings across time and space. Delving into colonial legacies and indigenous practices, I first explore surfing in the Pacific and lacrosse in Native North America as two customary sports with longstanding Indigenous traditions that have been transformed over time and are thriving today. These coexist with other Indigenous sport activities that have also been revived as part of resurgent efforts toward recognition and symbolic expressions of sovereignty. I then examine how Native communities engage some of the sport forms with colonial legacies, claiming them as their own, imbuing them with meaning, and in some cases transforming them. Finally, with attention to the shifting gender balance in sport participation broadly, I consider the relationship between (gendered) culture and (gendered) sport. Indigenous peoples use sports as avenues toward recognition, opportunity, and as a way of narrating community achievements to themselves and others, even as they navigate colonial, racist, and marginalizing social dynamics and institutional structures toward new futures.

## Introduction

In the weeks leading up to the Rugby League World Cup in 2018, one of the main media stories was Jason Taumalolo's choice to forgo a spot with the New Zealand national team in order to play for Mate Ma'a Tonga, the island group's rugby league team. When Taumalolo and other players like Andrew Fifita and David Fusitu'a, who were eligible to play with "tier

one” teams New Zealand and Australia but chose Tonga, the “tier two”<sup>i</sup> team, it energized a run that many will remember long after the controversial call in the final seconds in the game against England. This was significant as a major upset in player recruiting: historically, Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain have dominated rugby league,<sup>ii</sup> with market share and financial resources that maintain that standing. This gives them privileged access to players residing in these countries and attracts players from places with fewer resources (like the Pacific Islands). Conventional wisdom and financial incentives make the choice to play for the top nations almost automatic, so this defection was a significant disruption to business as usual.

The surprise move, and the run it inspired, did indeed make history – when the team beat the Kiwis on the way to the semi-final match with England, Mate Ma’a Tonga was the first tier two side to ever beat a tier one team. From car flags to painted *ie toga* (fine mats) displayed on lawns, to decorated fences and trees, and jerseys and miniature flags worn as *sei* or hair decorations, the groundswell of support seen all over Auckland electrified the fan base. In the week leading up to the match with England, the Tongan flag was everywhere, and not just in Auckland. Photos and video clips circulating on social media showed support in the Tongan homeland and across the transpacific diaspora, with viewing parties in Los Angeles, Sydney, and Salt Lake City, to name a few. The match drew record crowds for a rugby league match at Auckland’s Mt. Smart Stadium, selling out for the first time since 1995.

In the contemporary Pacific, one of the ways cultural identity and transnational attachments are expressed and honored are via stellar performances on the sportfield. Sport is one of the few sites that can unite the diaspora and homeland in time and space. Thus, as Tonga’s King George Tupou IV looked on in his Mate Ma’a Tonga jersey watching U.S.-based Dinah Jane of Fifth Harmony sing the Tongan national anthem, Tongans and other

Pacific Islanders around the world were live-streaming, singing and praying for a match of momentous significance to many. Player Daniel Tupou explained, “The English meaning of the emblem of our jersey – Mate Ma’a Tonga – is ‘Die For Tonga’. In other words, you love your country so much you would be prepared to give your life for it.” He went on to describe, “I will never forget the experience of representing Tonga over these last few weeks. It is unlike anything I have known in my career” (Tupou 2019). In addressing “Tonga’s World Cup Revolution,” fellow Mate Ma’a Tonga team member Michael Jennings wrote, “[w]e’re not representing ourselves. We’re representing our families and our heritage” (2017).

Indigenous sport in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century highlights the multiple loyalties that transnational peoples hold, and their deep and abiding attachment to Indigenous heritage and homeland in the context of local, regional, global, and globalizing sport industries. This chapter provides a survey of several different Indigenous contexts to highlight longstanding historical and emergent engagements with sport forms, which reveal complex genealogies and shifting meanings across time and space. Delving into colonial legacies and indigenous practices, I first explore surfing in the Pacific and lacrosse in Native North America as two customary sports with longstanding Indigenous traditions that have been transformed over time and are thriving today. These highlight the dual reality of continuous local and Indigenous practices coexisting with appropriation by colonial and capitalist interests. In the broader context, Indigenous sport activities have also been revived as part of resurgent efforts toward recognition and symbolic expressions of sovereignty. I then examine how Native communities engage some of the sport forms with colonial legacies, claiming them as their own, imbuing them with meaning, and in some cases transforming them. Indigenous peoples use sports as avenues toward recognition, opportunity, and as a way of narrating community achievements to themselves and others, even as they navigate colonial, racist, and marginalizing social dynamics and institutional structures. Finally, with attention to the

shifting gender balance in sport participation broadly, I consider the relationship between (gendered) culture and (gendered) sport. This includes how postcolonial Indigenous masculinities are shaped in and through sport, and how Indigenous women negotiate bias, sexism, and other barriers to flourish in sport today.

### **From Customary to Contemporary Sport Contexts**

Surfing and lacrosse are two prominent examples of indigenous sports diffused and transformed over the course of the twentieth century. By highlighting their transformations from customary to contemporary contexts, we are able to identify the complex ways they are being used by Native communities as well as illuminate how commercial and national projects have obscured their Indigenous origins in the process of appropriation. Alongside these prominent capitalized sports, other traditional sports have been revitalized as part of national or global games aimed at recovering Indigenous sport practice, often coinciding with cultural revitalization projects or articulations of sovereignty.

Today surfing is diffused across the globe and often understood to be a “lifestyle” sport. While its image is promoted as the commune of individuals with nature serving as a real or symbolic counterpoint to deep investment in modern corporate capitalist structures, its global form is still very much embedded in those commercial structures. Moreover, surfing’s visibility and reach have been built on displacement: in international contests or in advertising contracts, Indigenous men in particular have largely been displaced as icons of ‘authentic’ surfing by young non-Indigenous men.<sup>iii</sup> Yet we know from surfing histories that the sport was historically a diffuse indigenous Pacific practice. In a general sense, different forms of surfing emerged across the Pacific (not exclusively Polynesian), although the sport as we know it today is often traced to the Hawaiian practice of *he’e nalu*, or wave riding (Finney and Houston, 1996; Walker, 2011).

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The ancient Hawaiian sport of he'e nalu had great spiritual importance, from the protocols around the harvesting of the tree and its shaping into a board to the reverence for the elements governed by the god Kanaloa (Kahanamoku and Brennan 1968 cited in Nendel 2009: 2433). "Dancing with the waves" provided an opportunity for spiritual connection with the power and life force of the ocean and water ways (2434) for all – men, women, and children, as well as royalty and commoners alike. Hawaiian scholar Isaiah Walker writes, "[s]urfing was more than competitive sport; it was a cultural practice embedded within the social, political, and religious fabric of Hawaiian society," including prayers, offerings at *heiau* (shrine or place of worship), and *mo'olelo* or stories that commemorated chiefly surfing feats and conveyed important values (2011: 16). Further, surfing also served as a "metaphor for skill, sex, and courage" (Goldsberry 2003: 11 cited in Nendel 2009: 2434). "[S]urfing brought together art and artistic production, spirituality, aesthetics (in the sense of bodily experiences) and a set of ideas about the relationship between nature and culture" (West 2014: 417).

As far back as the late eighteenth century written accounts and engravings depicted wave riding in Tahiti and Hawai'i.<sup>iv</sup> Perhaps because it was seen as unproductive (its ability to divert time and energy), licentious (its connection to physical prowess and sex), and pagan (tied to pre-Christian religion and spirituality), it was strongly discouraged by missionaries and converted ali'i in Hawai'i (see Walker 2008 and 2011). Its practice declined over the nineteenth century, to be revived and transformed in the twentieth as part of a "...colonial refashioning of Hawai'i and Hawaiian culture by nonindigenous promoters who sought to grow the tourism industry there" (West 2014: 417).<sup>v</sup> As surfing-as-sanitized-counterculture boomed in the 1960s and 70s, industry opportunists rebranded and transformed surfing-as-sport through American-style competitive sport contests in the U.S. and abroad. In both California and Hawai'i, the industry was built on Indigenous erasure and dispossession; in

Hawai'i the beach became a "boarder-land" of (anti-)colonial challenge and surfing an exertion of sovereignty (Walker 2008).

The globally corporatized version of surfing flourishes in the new millennium, but so do localized and long-held Native surfing practices passed on from generation to generation. "For many Native Hawaiians, the ocean was a treasured gem that reconnected Kanaka Maoli to a pre-colonial sense of self" (Walker 2005: 580).<sup>vi</sup> Across the islands he'e nalu connects people with movements for *malama 'āina* (to care for the land) and other Indigenous ecological efforts that are reclaiming Hawaiian cultural practices and bringing to the forefront Hawaiian world views and ways of relating to land, air, and sea. In other parts of the Pacific surfing is also reclaimed as connection to country and a symbol of sovereignty. In Australia, for example, Aboriginal knowledge frameworks with regard to place, country, and relationships help to disrupt the construction of white national Australian identity through surfing and highlights instead Indigenous philosophy and practice (McGloin 2007).

Like surfing, lacrosse too is a contemporary sport rooted in customary competition. Today it serves as a potent symbol of Indigenous heritage and practice among Native North American communities, even as it signifies both class and race in predominantly White communities across Canada and the U.S. Lacrosse is considered by many to be the first American sport: "[f]or centuries, versions of the Native game of baggataway or twaarathon were played widely by Native peoples throughout the North American continent" (Poulter 2003: 245; see also Poulter 2010). Recounting the full postcolonial history is beyond the scope here, but over the past hundred years in the U.S. lacrosse became a feature of elite prep schools dotting the Eastern Seaboard. Although it has been seen as niche compared to basketball, football, and other more widely played sports, today it is the fastest growing sport in the U.S. sportscape (Craft 2012).

In contrast to lacrosse in the U.S. largely being confined to elite spaces until recently, in Canada it was used widely to articulate a national identity that drew on but eventually supplanted First Nations' culture. Forsyth and Wamsley (2006) detail this development, starting from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, when the Indian Act prohibited a variety of customary physical cultural practices and federal policy marginalized Indigenous sport. Meanwhile, "[t]raditional native games and pastimes such as lacrosse and showshoeing were appropriated by the middle-class sporting clubs" of Montreal and other areas (298). Baggataway was transformed into lacrosse through rationalization (the imposition of rules and regulations standardizing play, the use of strategic 'scientific' play, and changes in positioning and equipment), as well as through the overlay of so-called 'gentlemanly values' (Poulter, 2003; Delashut, 2015). This extended colonial control over the game while marginalizing Native players and communities, thereby appropriating the sport as a symbol of the nation (Poulter 2003: 245-246).

Regardless of its adoption in elite spaces in the U.S. and as a national symbol in Canada, lacrosse has long been and remains an important expression of Native identities in North America. For the Hodinöhsö:ni', the ceremonial and medicinal aspects of the game conferred spiritual healing power and represent ancestral connection: "[t]ogether, 'The Creator's Game' and the founding of the Gai'wiiö<sup>vii</sup> provide a glimpse into the cultural philosophies and the epistemological importance of lacrosse in the Hodinöhsö:ni' Longhouse worldview" (Downey 2018: 42). After having been excluded from championship play for some time, at the end of the twentieth century Aboriginal athletes of the six nations of the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy organized under the Iroquois Nationals team for international competition (Downey 2012). Claiming their ability to compete as a sovereign nation, the team raised visibility of competitive lacrosse on an international level and forced recognition of sovereignty through sport. On the international stage, refusal of their sovereignty by denying

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travel entry on Iroquois Nation passports hampered their ability to compete, but they continued to field teams at the highest level. The stories, meanings, traditions, practices, and names of lacrosse varied across Native communities; still, the sport facilitated connections “resonating throughout Indigenous transnational networks, nations, communities, kinship, and identities” (Downey 2018: 139).

### *Emergent Articulations and Contested Spaces*

While surfing and lacrosse are two prominent examples of longstanding Indigenous sports transformed in contemporary contexts, others have re-emerged as part of a broader reclamation of Indigenous identity and practice. In tandem with the resurgence of customary practice, the re-valuation of traditional sports materializes in contemporary competition contexts, often shaped by cultural revitalization efforts. The *Heiva i Tahiti*, for example, has been celebrated yearly for over a century, but traditional sport events have been showcased only since 2003. According to their website,<sup>viii</sup> these competitions, “embody the most authentic and spectacular Polynesian traditions,” including outrigger canoe racing, rock climbing, javelin throwing, coconut husking, among others. The dance competitions and the outrigger canoe racing have earned international recognition and were well rooted in historical Tahitian practice, while “[o]ther events in the heiva have their antecedents in long-established activities associated with warrior training as well as subsistence, social, and religious activities” (Stevenson 1990: 267). Tahitian academic Karen Stevenson notes that since the 1880s the proportion of French events has steadily given way to Tahitian events (1990: 261). By the 1980s the push to articulate a new Tahitian identity drew both on, “the traditional past and the reinterpreted culture of the present” to explicitly highlight *la culture ma’ohi* (265). In this process of rearticulation, the inclusion of Tahitian sports and games allowed Tahitians to highlight Indigenous identity at a moment when the French showed



renewed interest in Tahiti (272). In the wider context, the heiva, along with other events (like the Festival of Pacific Arts or Māori tribal festivals) have a political dimension to recovery of heritage and cultural practice that speaks directly to recognition of Indigenous tradition and identities.

“[S]port and games are ‘meaningful dramatizations of reality’ in which the values of the community are represented and contested, and in which people are active agents in the making of their own identity” (Poulter 2003: 238). Examining the Saami sport organization in Norway (SVL-N, or Sámiid Valášállan Lihttu - Norga Poastaboksa), which provides both customary sports as well as ‘universal’ sports, Skille (2014) argues that Saami engagement with both sheds light on the construction of their Indigenous identity through sport. Saami engagement with mainstream Norwegian sports like skiing drew on customary Saami sport skills in a context of an explicitly “modern” competition sport, providing an opportunity “to show their superiority over Norwegians (‘daza’) or others in a specific and direct sport competition” (35). At the same time, the staging of uniquely Saami sports tied to traditional practices of animal husbandry, including lassoing, cross-country skiing with lassoing, running with lassoing, and reindeer racing in SVL-N competition settings provided a space for embodied Saami culture even as they also highlighted Saami difference and served as a “border marker of ethnicity” (Skille 2014: 32). Through participation in mainstreamed Norwegian sports and the sportization of customary activities, Saami demonstrated prowess in a way that also marked their difference as a Native people.

While drawing customary sports and games into contemporary competition formats helps to recognize and revive Indigenous tradition, it raises other kinds of concerns. In particular, people have critiqued how Native principles of sociality (e.g., cooperation, solidarity) can be undermined by the articulation of Indigenous games to the practical logic of competitive sports. Some have raised concerns about turning Indigenous core survival

skills into a competition as in the Dené Games from Canada's Northwest Territories (Heine 2013: 15), and the incorporation of cultural foundations of Indigenous games and play into competitive formats for political purposes as in the *Siyadlala* program in South Africa (Burnett 2014). Others have argued the contradiction between the precepts of neoliberal sport (particularly high-performance elite level sport) and cultural foundations of Indigenous sports in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in relation to the re-emergence of Māori waka ama (outrigger canoe) in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Wikaire and Newman 2014), and neo-colonial aspects of sport for development programs in places like Zambia (Jeanes et. al 2014). As these resurgent events evolve and thrive, the benefits and drawbacks of sportization will continue to be contested and negotiated.

By surveying a variety of Indigenous sport contexts, I bring in to focus sport as continuous and resurgent practice in Native communities. Uncovering obscured Indigenous genealogies of sport, as in surfing and lacrosse, reveals their enmeshment with Indigenous cosmologies and cultures. As I take stock of their transformation to the present day, I note how they are used to articulate identities within and beyond Native communities, as well as serve as a site for sovereign symbolism and practice. Other sports and games are acts of reclamation, often linked to re-valuation and revitalization of Indigenous cultural identities and practices in recent decades. These notable aims coexist with important critiques of how customary games and sports, and their associated cultural values and principles, are being transformed in the current moment, and to what potential ends.

### **Indigenizing sport**

Historically, there are countless examples of Indigenous peoples engaging “global sport” – those competitive bodily practices that have been diffused and mainstreamed internationally, often through or alongside colonial projects (Maguire, 1999; Uperesa and Mountjoy, 2014).

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These sport forms have been carried by sport missionaries expounding on the virtues of particular physical regimens, underwritten by significant funding ventures (e.g., “sport and development” projects), and validated by an expanding global sport industry. The predominance of colonial sports, and their placement in certain contexts like the Olympic Games, evidence dynamics of power on the international stage whereby certain sports are selectively imposed as global standards for competition while others are excluded, or added after years of lobbying (Besnier et al. 2018: 47-48).

In this wider context, including where colonial sport has been a deliberate tool of assimilation and especially in settler colonial contexts predicated on the denigration and disappearance of Indigenous peoples (Wolfe, 2009; Kauanui, 2016), their participation and excellence in sport has served to evidence their societal worth and/or to claims to equality in a system stacked against them (Bloom, 2000; Gems, 2004). It has also proven the lie of settler/White supremacy based on physical and biological attributes (Miller, 1998; Rubinfeld, 2006). Still, Indigenous participation draws on a variety of motivations including, but ultimately surpassing the desire for recognition by the wider society (King 2007). Their presence continues to transform these spaces in ways that highlight the values, priorities, and agendas in Native communities.

Indigenous peoples have a long history of adopting and adapting colonial sports for their own purposes (Diaz 2002, Uperesa 2014b, 2018; Sacks 2019). Anderson (2006) points out that on Turtle Island, “...there were many good (mostly political) reasons for native cultures to adopt colonial sports. These reasons include the fact that they served a unifying theme throughout the over 500 recognized tribes in North America; as baseball, basketball and football were played the same way in all cultures” (249). Like many other Native peoples with a community-centered orientation, the Navajo have adopted basketball as their own in ways that promote solidarity (see also McGloin 2007 on surfing and Aboriginal

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communities). Tailoring to their own context, they infused the game with their own sensibilities, including different styles of play, competition against their own performance or a standard rather than against teammates over opponents, and downplaying the elevation of individuals over the collective (Allison 1982).

In Australia, sport is an important component of Māori diasporic cultural identity, and has provided a space to continue specific kinds of *tikanga* or cultural protocol around welcome, celebration, and performance while residing outside of Aotearoa New Zealand: “[i]n the absence of traditional marae or sacred tribal meeting places, the rituals of encounter have to take place in car parks, on sports fields or school grounds, in rugby club-rooms or civic halls” (Bergin 2002: 259; 257). This might include *karanga* (women’s formal call of welcome), *whaikōrero* (formal oratory in Māori usually done by men), *waiata* (songs), *karakia* (prayer), *hongi* (traditional greeting of pressed noses), and shared meals (259). The incorporation of Indigenous protocols of encounter, in addition to the trans-Tasman travel to Aotearoa New Zealand for sport events, help to reinforce the practice of culture in the sport arena, and the incorporation of sport into wider frameworks of culture and cultural practice.

The critical mass of Indigenous players in some sport codes has meant new opportunities for maintaining and developing cultural practices. The rising numbers of Pacific Islander players in Australia’s National Rugby League competition (NRL)<sup>ix</sup>, for example, has made it possible to front the Pacific in advertising and promoting the league in exhibitions and calendars (see Uperesa and Mountjoy 2014), but has also forced a reckoning with Pasifika<sup>x</sup> cultural sensibilities, family expectations, and player welfare in the creation of new player welfare initiatives. Generally, 1% of the population in Australia claims Pacific heritage (see Batley 2017); however, players with a Pacific background comprise 42 per cent of all NRL competition athletes (Shiu and Vagana 2016) and this makes Rugby League clubs significant spaces where critical masses of Pasifika young men gather. As a result, clubs and coaches at

least at the management level, have come to recognize the need to make space for Pacific cultures in their clubs (Shiu and Vagana 2016). With 68 per cent of NRL Pacific Islander players reportedly speaking another language at home (Lakisa et al. 2014: 358), proximity in the clubs represents an important opportunity to speak a Native or heritage language, and reinforces clubs as new sites for validating cultural expression in a settler colonial nation (McDonald and Rodriguez 2014: 245).

#### *Indigenous Representation: Navigating Community and Sport Spaces*

As elite athletes, players have both the burden and privilege of representing their cultural communities, and their accomplishments and leadership in these spaces mean they are elevated and highly visible.<sup>xi</sup> For some, it may be a heavy responsibility that they work hard to fulfill, and in some cases, shy away from. For others, success and visibility in professional codes that have come to value some players' cultural backgrounds (as in rugby and rugby league), is a welcome validation of their (indigenous Pacific) cultural capital. While it may not be their primary motivation, Pasifika players who can navigate mainstream and Native cultural spaces benefit from what Karlo Mila calls 'polycultural capital', or the personal currency that accrues with knowledge and abilities to navigate Pacific-dominated and White-dominated institutions and spaces (Mila-Schaaf and Robinson 2010).

Indigenous athletes and communities navigate representation in settler colonial contexts, even as they contend with institutional structures and biases that erase, minimize, or constrain their presence, or that continue to center Whiteness (Hokowhitu 2004, 2009). When Indigenous athletes reach the pinnacle of sport success by representing the nation on the global stage, they are still expected to do so in a way that mutes their Indigenous identities. Cathy Freeman, for example, had already made history as the first Aboriginal woman to win gold in the 4 x 100-meter relay in the 1990 Commonwealth Games. Ten years later she won

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the gold medal in the women's 400-meter event at the 2000 Sydney Olympics, garnering prestige for Australia, the host country. When she held the Aboriginal and Australian flag high in her victory lap, despite being reprimanded for doing so in the past and being directed not to (IOC rules do not recognize the Aboriginal flag), she became for many a symbol of reconciliation in Australia and beyond. Still, many Australian spectators expected her to perform allegiance to the country she was representing as if her athletic identity superseded (or indeed could be disentangled from) any other aspect of her identity. As if somehow in the rarefied context of the track, the color of her skin and the history and ongoing of treatment of Aboriginal people by the Australian state and its settler citizens was not a part of her identity and experience. She refused, and instead was one of many Indigenous athletes continuing to engage in anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-discriminatory participation that not only contests dynamics within sport, but connects sport to wider social contexts.

In the effort to be fully present in the sport space, athletes like Cathy Freeman are increasingly and explicitly bringing their cultural and ethnic identities with them and are less open to checking those aspects of themselves at the gate. This is an historical shift, as there are many examples of Indigenous athletes having to hide or downplay their heritage because of racism and discrimination in sport (Judd 2008, 2015). This change is made possible by public politics around racism and Indigenous rights where outright discrimination is less and less tenable (and likely also social media as an accountability mechanism with local, national, regional, and global reach). At the same time, rising numbers and a critical mass of Indigenous athletes in highly visible sport spaces are also changing the culture of sport. Further, the use of aspects of Native cultures in the branding of certain teams has provided opportunities to challenge the token appropriation of key cultural symbols or performances toward creating space for inclusion. Players and communities continue to navigate how and when to claim space through enactments of embodied sovereignty (Hokowhitu 2014).

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## Gender and Indigenous Sport

Today, the incorporation of Indigenous cultural practices in sport also serves as a site for gender performance. In one particularly clear example we see a global public enamored with the performance of the (Māori) haka on the rugby pitch, and increasingly, other areas like football fields, basketball courts, and swimming pools, to name a few. Popularized after the professional turn in rugby union and particularly through the global media campaign of the New Zealand All Black's key sponsor Adidas in the late 1990s, the haka entered global awareness as a strident performance of Indigenous masculinity (Jackson and Hokowhitu 2002). At home, it has provided an opportunity for incorporating Māori tikanga (protocols) and *mātauranga* (knowledge) into the game at different levels, and corresponds to a significant investment in high profile sport by Māori communities (Eruei and Palmer, 2014; Calabrò, 2016). Abroad, it has been adopted as a modular expression of pan-Polynesian masculinity in sport and had become a significant touchstone for Polynesian identity in colonial or White-dominated spaces. This is a contemporary iteration of what has been a longstanding tradition: sport as an arena for players to enhance and display their own mana, as well enhance the *mamalu* (honor, esteem) of their extended families and communities (Hokowhitu, 2005; Uperesa, 2014; Teaiwa, 2016).

While haka and its variants (including the Tongan sipi tau, popularized by Mate Ma'a Tonga in rugby league or the Samoan siva tau performed by Manu Samoa in rugby union) have become an important practice toward cultural visibility, their adoption in hypermasculine spaces like rugby and football also brands a particular version of indigenous Polynesian (hyper)masculinity based on physical dominance, the threat of violence, and the allure of the exotic, thereby relegating other forms of masculinity to the margins (Hokowhitu, 2004; Tengan and Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2010; Chen, 2014). That this aligns with cis-

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heterosexual<sup>xiii</sup> versions of colonial sport masculinities is no accident; indeed, the acceptance and promotion of this alignment hinges on the ability of the power and passion of cultural performance to energize dominant sport masculinities.

Lesser known on the global stage, but wildly successful and rising in visibility are the Black Ferns (Aotearoa New Zealand's women's national rugby union team). Contrasting their use of the haka in the context of their success helps to highlight some of the issues around Indigenous gender performativity in sport today. Former Black Ferns captain, Dr. Farah Rangikoepe Palmer, has discussed the team's use of haka at the unsanctioned 1991 Women's Rugby World Cup, and the backlash it generated. The haka was a "demonstration of defiance, cultural pride and identity" by women still pushing for space in the game (Palmer 2016: 2177). Contesting both the masculine dominance of rugby and what has become the masculine dominance of haka, it was confronting to both the Māori and White hetero-patriarchy. While some of the critique focused on their stance, what was really being contested was competing notions of gendered performance in sport and cultural contexts. Many traditionalists no doubt debate whether women should be in the sport at all, let alone performing the haka there. Palmer reminds us, "[h]ow women use and demonstrate power lies at the centre of debate about whether women can and should play rugby as playing rugby can challenge dominant discourse with regards to hegemonic masculinity, femininity, and compulsory heterosexuality" (2016: 2179). While curated cultural performance is often used to authenticate men's power performance in sport, for women it can complicate it by challenging (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) expectations around feminine gender performance (Palmer 2016). This reminds us that sport spaces are rarely simply straightforward, but engage significant contradictions or odd alignments, and intersectional analysis is key to critique.



In some ways sport offers a vanguard for change, creativity, and progress; however, in others it remains one of the few spaces where regressive practices are tightly held and successfully justified. That sport widely remains foundationally tied to essentialist binary gender conceptions has implications for a relatively narrow set of gender performance forms seen as acceptable in mainstreamed sport. This binary also necessarily excludes non-binary expression and Indigenous athletes who identify as takatāpui, third gender, berdache, fa'afafine, fa'atama, mahū, and so on. For these reasons and others, it is important to pay attention to the way (gendered) sport meets (gendered) culture and how the articulation of Indigenous forms with dominant gendered forms is accepted or contested.

#### *Negotiating More Inclusive Spaces*

While women have for a long time successfully claimed space in sport and have used sport to combat sexism, they continue to be challenged by structural inequalities and gender bias in sport (Acosta and Carpenter 2009). Structural inequalities are clearly marked in struggles over equal pay, the gender composition of coaching, administration, and leadership, as well as content and frequency of media coverage (Cooky et al., 2013; Cooky and Messner, 2018). In short, men are more likely to be seen as belonging and women as interlopers, and this reverberates in assumptions of expertise, access to networks and training opportunities, leadership positions, and so on.

In addition to various disparities between men and women in sport such as pay, access, and opportunities, there are also the inequalities between the athletes from the dominant culture and Indigenous men and women (Hall 2013). Ferguson et al. point out that Indigenous women, "...experience a lack of respect, low levels of influence, lack of opportunity, inequality and few women in decision-making positions that contribute to an imbalanced sport system" (2019: 2). While women generally have historically negotiated

gender bias that marginalizes them in sport, Aboriginal and Indigenous women (as well as other non-White women) have intersecting factors based on racism and colonial histories that exacerbate the barriers to their participation (Maxwell et al. 2017) and acceptance within positions of power. There remain difficult dynamics to negotiate, such as a conflict between cultural activities like smudging and sport participation (Hayhurst et al. 2015: 961), barriers preventing continued participation (Maxwell et al. 2017), or feeling like success in sport comes at a cultural price (Palmer 2007: 14), but sport still provides an important space for self-actualization.

Sport positively influences a variety of social issues for Indigenous peoples, including violence prevention, fostering social relationships, deterring crime, encouraging school attendance, and minimizing substance abuse and self-harm (Ferguson et al. 2019: 2, Cunningham and Beneforti 2005). For many Native communities, sport is one of the few places they are celebrated and cast in a positive light (Palmer 2007: 13). Among girls and women generally, sports often help promote healthy outcomes: helping them to develop a more positive body image, lowering the risk of obesity, early pregnancy, smoking or drug use, and decreasing the incidence of disease (Staurowsky et al. 2009). Participation is also associated with enhanced educational outcomes through secondary school, including higher grades, standardized test scores, and graduation rates.<sup>xiii</sup>

Given that many Indigenous girls and women want to play sport and benefit when they do, it is important to identify how their participation and visibility can be improved and supported as the 21<sup>st</sup> Century unfolds. One of the issues, however, is that in addition to the lack of media coverage more generally, knowledge about Indigenous women's sport practice and experience is underdeveloped: "[s]port has historically been integral to Indigenous women's identity, yet there is little published research to highlight their sport experiences" (Ferguson et al. 2019: 2; see also Stronach, Maxwell, and Taylor 2016). This is a developing

area, where researchers argue that the prospect for continued flourishing will likely depend on the recognition and integration of local Native communities and cultures from the grassroots to the elite levels, and with Indigenous women and girls having an authentic role in shaping sport initiatives to minimize conflicts and barriers (Palmer, 2007; Stronach et al., 2017; Ferguson et al., 2019). With the women's game being the fastest growing portion of many codes (including soccer, rugby, rugby league, and gridiron football),<sup>xiv</sup> and Indigenous participation well established or increasing, it will be fascinating to see how Indigenous women's presence will continue to transform sport spaces in years to come.

### **Indigenous Presents/ce and Futurities**

Indigenous sports have histories, genealogies, presents/ce, and futures. Like any social practice imbued with value and meaning, sport communicates priorities, principles, aspirations, and challenges. By examining selected genealogies and transformations in customary sport across time and space we have identified important continuities and significant shifts in Native communities, and their relationships with local, regional, national, and international contexts. Recognizing also revitalized sport forms, we have seen how they can carry ideals and expressions of peoplehood in conjunction with other efforts toward recovery and resurgence. The sport arena is significant in its visibility globally; bodily performance in these contexts provide visceral, tangible, and visual evidence of Indigenous difference, marking distinct lifeways. At the same time, the effort to indigenize global sport provides potential space to create new futures and thrive holistically and unapologetically in the cultured and gendered space of sport.

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<sup>i</sup> In rugby league, the rankings are calculated with a variety of considerations including wins, wins over higher ranked teams, and match significance. The rankings are also lucrative in that higher ranked teams enjoy more monetary support from the International Rugby League and can generate more revenue locally through home tests (personal communication, Caroline Matamua, 3 April 2020). In rugby league as in rugby union, these distinctions ostensibly are to account for the more elaborate infrastructure supporting the nation's team but in effect correspond to "developed" and "developing" nations (see also Dewey 2008).

<sup>ii</sup> Rugby and rugby league are similar, but distinct sporting codes. Rugby league traces its roots to Britain's workingclass areas while rugby union was promoted in elite public schools. The sports have evolved different playing and governance rules, but one of the longstanding differences until the 1990s was the amateur (union) vs professional (league) aspect. Because of the workingclass associations of the league game, the culture of the sport is also less constrained and may foster a more vibrant and vocal fan culture. See also Collins (2013) on the union/league split.

<sup>iii</sup> While high profile surfers like Kalani Robb, Sunny Garcia, and Rusty Keaulana, among others, represent for Kanaka Maoli on the pro-surf tours, the media production of capitalized surfing has branded it largely as a non-Indigenous sport. See Rutsky (1990).

<sup>iv</sup> British missionary William Ellis is often cited as the having the first illustration of surfing in the Western Hemisphere on the cover of *Polynesian Researches* vol IV (Finney 1959), but there are accounts of wave riding and canoe surfing in Hawai'i and Tahiti by crew on Captain James Cook's ships the Endeavour and the Resolution, along with John Webber's etchings a bit later.

<sup>v</sup> There are competing accounts over whether it was banned outright or whether surf-related festivals were cancelled, and gambling and coed recreation were denounced as immoral. Globally surfing emerges as a corporate colonial project across the world in the early to mid-twentieth century (Laderman 2014).

<sup>vi</sup> At the same time, demographic shifts in Hawai'i meant surfing has also provided a sense of place and belonging for non-Hawaiian "locals" (often used to refer to those who are raised in Hawai'i or may trace several generations of residency but are not Kanaka Maoli) (Higa-Puaoli 2017). For many locals, surfing provides a significant connection to Hawai'i and a source of belonging.

<sup>vii</sup> In the Hodinöhsö:ni' Longhouse perspective the Gai'wio (Good Word or Good Message) outlines the Shongwayädihs: on (the Creator's highest code of ethics) on earth. In it, lacrosse features prominently as a healing ceremony and the lacrosse stick is imbued with spiritual, life-giving powers (Poulter 2010: 38-39).

<sup>viii</sup> See <https://www.heiva.org/en/event/heiva-tuaro-maohi-en/>

<sup>ix</sup> The NRL is the premier professional rugby league of Australia, with 15 teams based locally and 1 in New Zealand; it holds a significant share of the general sport market in Australia.

<sup>x</sup> "Pasifika" has been adopted by New Zealand and diasporic Pacific communities in this area as a pan-Pacific representative terminology. For Australia, this largely draws on Polynesian communities and includes Māori. In these contexts, Pacific/Pasifika/Pasefika are often preferred over "Pacific Islander" because of pejorative connotations carried by "Islander," and also the desire to mark the diasporic space/place of the new host country.

<sup>xi</sup> This visibility provides a platform also for controversial views. Israel Folau's online commentary representing homophobic tenets of his faith shows the risk of representing one's beliefs when they conflict with those of the broader society and may compromise the mental health or safety of others.

<sup>xii</sup> Cis-gender refers to one's gender identity matching the gender identity associated with their birth sex.

<sup>xiii</sup> See National Women's Law Center Title IX: 40 Years and Counting Factsheet 2012 available at [https://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/nwlcathletics\\_titleixfactsheet.pdf](https://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/nwlcathletics_titleixfactsheet.pdf)

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and The Case for High School Activities (National Federation of State High School Associations, Indianapolis, IN, 2008) available at <https://www.nfhs.org/articles/the-case-for-high-school-activities/>

<sup>xiv</sup> See Middleton (2019), NRL Women and Girls Factsheet v5 accessed at <https://www.nrl.com/siteassets/community/nrl---women--girls-fact-sheet-v5.pdf>, and “World Rugby launches campaign to increase participation in women’s game” (2019) accessed at <https://www.bbc.com/sport/rugby-union/48348245> on April 4, 2020. While the numbers of girls and women playing flag and tackle American football is increasing, the sport remains overwhelmingly male. Still, the National Football League reports that nearly half of its fans are women (Johnson 2020).

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